This book should be cited as
UNESCO, 2011, *Island as Crossroads: sustaining cultural diversity in Small Island Developing States*.
Edited by Tim Curtis, UNESCO: Paris, 224 pp.

This UNESCO publication is a collaborative effort of
The Division of Cultural Polices and Intercultural Dialogue, Culture Sector and
The Small Islands and Indigenous Knowledge Section, Natural Sciences Sector

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Cover image
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Published in 2011 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO),
7 Place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France

ISBN: 978-92-3-104181-5

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Islands as Crossroads

Sustaining Cultural Diversity in Small Island Developing States

United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

Culture Sector
Natural Sciences Sector

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INTRODUCTION

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IN the early twentieth century, when the discipline of anthropology was emerging as the study of diverse human societies and cultures, Branislow Malinowski, often called the 'father' of contemporary ethnographic research, chose an archipelago of small islands off the eastern coast of Papua New Guinea to undertake his research, and pioneer the new methodology of 'participant observation'. The choice of small islands in relatively remote parts of the Pacific was not fortuitous, as it was assumed that such small islands, because of their relative isolation over time, would provide perfect 'laboratories' of 'untouched' or 'intact' cultures.

This came to be the dominant trend for the early investigators into 'human cultures', who were indeed rewarded for their ventures into the islands of the Pacific, where they found a remarkable diversity of languages and cultural practices. However, the assumption that somehow islands offered a 'natural' boundary for delineating supposed 'intact cultures' quickly began to fall apart. Instead, it became apparent that cultural and linguistic affinities exist that link small land masses spanning the thousands of miles of the turbulent Pacific Ocean, and that these affinities stretch far back in time. The islands of the Pacific Ocean, as it turned out, far from being 'natural incubators' of coherent cultural entities, were very much focal places, or crossroads, of manifold human interactions.

In the Caribbean as well as the Indian Ocean the historical context that led to the remarkable diversity of contemporary populations was marked primarily by the traumatic experiences of the slave trade and maritime warfare. The main exceptions to this are Madagascar and Comoro, where the cultural complexity in evidence today predates the era of European expansion. This is in marked contrast to the Caribbean, where the local indigenous population was virtually annihilated. In both of these regions the islands saw peoples from various parts of Africa, Asia and Europe cohabit in small terrestrial spaces through a complex network of social, political and economic interactions, thereby giving rise to new cultural forms. Here again, the islands were sites of intense social and cultural interaction exchanges, often both violent and oppressive.

Small islands have thus long been crossroads of human cultural interaction, rather than isolated or self-enclosed communities, as may be imagined by their 'insularity'. This notion of crossroads, therefore, draws on the historical situation of many Small Island Developing States, or SIDS, which for different reasons seemed to become 'encounter points' for different human populations and the cultures they embodied. These include issues related to geography (islands naturally served as crossroads during the times when

In Kiribati you kn[illegible] e you if they help you to dance

Teweiariki Teaero, 2006

Banaban children in a community displaced from Kiribati to Fiji in 1945, performing on 15 December 2007, Rabi Island

CHOREOGRAPHING OCEANIA

Katerina Martina Teaiwa, *Australian National University, Canberra, Australia*

This chapter[1] focuses on dance and culture in relation to the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) concept in Oceania. Here, I situate the contemporary Pacific within an inter-regional and historical context, explore the significance of dance and performance to Pacific communities, reflect on the development of the Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture, and identify strategies for integrating dance into policies for supporting cultural industries in Oceania.[2]

The Pacific Islands represent about 20 per cent of the world's distinct languages amongst a population of over 12 million people (including New Zealand and PNG, excluding Australia) on 1 per cent of the world's land. As a region, the Pacific likely has the highest ratio of cultural and linguistic diversity per capita, and while the islands are small, the ocean covers one third of the globe. The term '*Océanique*' or 'Oceania' was once fairly inclusive but today primarily refers to Australia and the groups conceptually organized by French explorer Dumont d'Urville in 1832 as Polynesia ('many' islands) in the east and south, Micronesia ('small' islands) in the central and northwest, and Melanesia ('black' islands) in the western Pacific. Oceania, thus refers to all the Pacific Islands, but also includes Pacific diasporas within the region and communities extending from Australia and New Zealand to Canada, the US, the UK, the Middle East and Europe. While d'Urville's terms have problematic origins they have been adopted by people in both the islands and diaspora as meaningful ways of describing wider and fluid cultural identities.

Dance is a fundamental vehicle of cultural expression throughout Oceania. As is the case for indigenous groups worldwide, Pacific peoples have carried and passed on their knowledge for millennia through oral, visual and embodied traditions. Performance arts embody spiritual, political, social, economic and aesthetic values and practices. As Adrienne Kaeppler writes,

> *... dance is not only important and worthy of study for its own sake, but is equally valuable for what it can tell us about social change and cultural history.*
>
> 1993: 96

While art is very low on the sustainable development agenda for most island countries, much can be learned about Pacific peoples, their histories and contemporary experiences by paying attention to indigenous dances and body movements, and how these change over time.

Dance, music, architecture and other arts have always functioned as primary vehicles for creating, recording, sharing and transforming knowledge.

These aesthetic forms reflect codes for conduct and responsibility, provide the glue for social cohesion, and mediate relations between the human, spiritual and ancestral realms. While the advent of colonialism, Christianity and written text – from as early as the sixteenth century in Guam, to as late as the twentieth century in the highlands of Papua New Guinea – altered the style and content of dance and music in some islands, these continued to function as the most visible markers of local and national identities. Today, in both the islands and the diaspora, cultural dances also build self-esteem and instil pride in performers and audiences, particularly in the younger generations, who exist at the nexus of competing local, national and global forces (Teaiwa, 2005).

Artistic practices in Oceania usually exist within state environments where culture and the arts reside on the lowest of priority scales due to their very 'lived' nature. Officially, culture is often present in rhetoric and adds colour to formal ceremonies; however, it does not always concretely or strategically manifest itself in national or regional economic and political policies and plans. But there are exceptions: the highly valued tourism sector in which island culture is perceived largely as service or entertainment for visitors; the Kingdom of Tonga, where 'culture' in the form of the monarchy dominates political and economic life; and where the *Fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan way), which shapes Samoan society both at home and abroad. For everyday people across the islands, dance, music, ceremonies and local languages are some of the primary ways in which they continue to express their highly valued heritage.

The Teaero epigraph to this chapter reflects the special relationship between dance and human society in the islands of Kiribati in the central Pacific. With the exception of the raised atoll of Banaba, these low-lying atolls are at the centre of current debates concerning the dangers of sea level rise in the Pacific. As environmental and other material resources are limited in Kiribati, artistic energies are often channelled into maritime skills, music and the art of the moving body (see Whincup, 2002). Kiribati dance is extremely difficult to master and there are well-understood grades of skill and virtuosity within a healthy and diverse environment of informal, traditional, contemporary and competitive dance. In Kiribati, all manner of movement is passionately performed, from the traditional sitting dance *te bino* to Bollywood dance (Teaiwa, 2007a).

Limited scholarship exists on music and dance in the Pacific, with the majority of work produced by ethnomusicologists focusing on traditional indigenous genres.[3] Study of the capacity of Pacific peoples to incorporate, re-fashion and re-produce introduced choreographies and sounds, is a limited but slowly growing field of research. There is also little appreciation of the fact that what we understand as 'traditional' is the result of exchanges and movements over hundreds of years of peoples, ideas, materials, sounds and choreographies across Oceania – a distance that covers almost one third of the planet's surface.[4] Even less is known or understood of the artistic forms of production of the Pacific communities in the diaspora, although museums such as Te Papa Tongarewa and popular journals such as *Spasifik* Magazine do strong work in this area for the New Zealand context.

The evolution of culture across the vast and diverse Pacific has been a core stream of the discipline of anthropology. Early scholarship was heavily shaped by a perception of Pacific peoples as rooted and static, with each island providing a perfect laboratory for analysis. Pacific dance practices often archive historical and cultural information through the moving, and sometimes travelling body, and the process can be difficult to document if scholars themselves do not possess the literary, musical or choreographic background to grasp the significance of these practices. The few with the appropriate skills include notable scholars Adrienne Kaeppler and Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman. With a dearth of scholarship on dance, however, the translation, of Pacific performative arts into a language of relevance to the studies of nation or region building, or to contemporary political and economic participation in the global marketplace, is still very slow to develop.

Despite these limits, local and regional dance festivals have become major cultural and economic opportunities for showcasing performing arts (Teaiwa, 2005). These festivals are growing fast both within the islands and the overseas diaspora (see, for example, the Culture Moves Programme, 2005). Festivals in the diaspora are often marked by the term 'Pasifika' – the Polynesian pronunciation of 'Pacific'. This was first used formally in New Zealand to distinguish the minority Pacific Islander populations, who comprised migrants primarily from Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, Tokelau, Niue, Fiji, Kiribati and Tuvalu. Today, the annual Pasifika Festival is a showcase of Pacific music, dance, food and art, and constitutes one of the biggest cultural gatherings in the region. The great economic benefits of such a gathering are not lost on the host city of Auckland.

Every four years, the nations of the Pacific gather for two weeks in a host country for the regional Festival of Pacific Arts. In addition to music and dance performance, there are displays and discussions on the visual and literary arts, navigation and canoe building, indigenous sports, museum curatorship and development, artist networks and alliance building, as well as the latest developments in fashion and textiles. Pacific countries take great pride in their participation in this forum, but its impact in the home islands in terms of government policy remains low. At the 2004 festival, the difference between New Zealand's investment in the arts – a priority under the Helen Clark government – stood in stark contrast to that of other nations: a contingent of over a hundred Maori and Pacific artists from New Zealand were flown in on a specially commissioned jet while many artists from other countries arrived by a very slow boat.

Islands of globalization

If the Pacific is often seen by scholars as indigenous and static, the Caribbean is frequently perceived

in almost the opposite terms, that is, diasporic, dynamic and profoundly shaped by a history of slavery. These opposing perceptions emphasize the differences, rather than the similarities between the island regions, and potentially exclude the indigenous element in the Caribbean and the diaspora in the Pacific.

A Caribbean scholar noted that the ways in which people move their bodies in any given time belies the diversity and layering of relationships between people, travelling ideas, various landscapes, and the sea (see Benitez-Rojo, 1996: 10). For example, if you observe closely the dance movements of a group of young men in a popular nightclub on any given Saturday in Suva, Honiara, Port Moresby, Koror or Vila, you might consider the massive impact of reggae in the Pacific.

In 2003, scholars at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and the East-West Centre in Honolulu began a collaborative research and instructional project entitled Islands of Globalization (IOG), in an attempt to foster direct intellectual and artistic exchanges between the Caribbean and Pacific. The project, funded by the Ford Foundation, sought to understand the origins, nature and consequences of globalization from the perspective of small island societies, and in the context of changing notions of 'islandness'. IOG initiated pedagogical, policy and popular projects targeted at diverse audiences, including a postgraduate course, a public film series, a pedagogy workshop, a literary festival, several exchanges of scholars between the Caribbean and Pacific involving visits to Fiji, Hawai'i, Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, Pacific participation in the Caribbean Studies Association Conference, and a special issue of the *Journal of Social and Economic Studies* (Lewis et al, 2007).[5]

The project exemplified the possibilities of learning between island regions. It enabled an understanding of how each space was carved out, initially by Spanish, British, French and American colonialism and imperialism, and then by globalization, through the production of material wealth and industry and the expansion of trade routes and commodities. It also contributed to an appreciation of how contemporary island societies constructed diverse and creative strategies for surviving and indeed thriving – particularly evident in the literary, visual and performance arts. Nevertheless, the stark differences in terms of the histories of slavery and creolization in the Caribbean, and the indigenous approach to Pacific identity remained a point of constant reflection and debate.

While the grouping together of island regions as Small Island Developing States (SIDS) has immense benefits, cross-regional strategies are sometimes best realized when the diversities within and between oceanic cultures are also well understood. To my understanding, the grouping of SIDS is based on geographic and economic factors. These are articulated in terms of similarities, specifically the smallness, dependency and limited nature of island economies and land bases. In short, the grouping is based on a terrestrially centred perspective, rather then an ocean-based one in which small islands are understood in terms of what they lack.

Pacific scholar Professor Epeli Hau'ofa has long-critiqued this disabling view, describing Oceania[6] as a 'sea of islands' rather then 'islands in a far sea' (1993), emphasizing a heritage that is unique and cultural, and for many, 'of' the ocean (2000).

Given UNESCO's push for the integration of cultural strengths into development policy, it is necessary to articulate specifics in terms of how island peoples and cultures are similar and different within the diverse regions, in order to produce effective policies on culture that will be useful across such varied areas. Diversity cannot merely be pronounced as valued; scholars, practitioners and policy-makers alike must have a grasp of what diversity looks like on the ground (or in the sea). Furthermore, there seems to be an urgent need to re-imagine the ways in which we just accept our economies and islands as small and dependent.

The next section focuses on the Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture in Fiji, the development of which brings together the significance of dance and performing arts in the islands with the context of constraint in which SIDS are assumed to operate.

The Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture

Belittlement in whatever guise, if internalised for long, and transmitted across generations, could lead to moral paralysis and hence to apathy.

Hau'ofa, 1993: 6

The Oceania Centre for Arts and Culture was created in 1997 on a small hill near the west entrance of the University of the South Pacific's Laucala campus in Suva. Like the University of the West Indies on which it was modelled, the University of the South Pacific (USP) is a multi-national university owned by the countries of the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. The main campus in Suva educates the largest number of Pacific Islander students in the region and satellite centres in member countries provide extension services for an even larger number of students. The university is also funded by overseas aid, primarily from Australia, New Zealand and Japan. One of its goals has always been to train students in areas important for filling the civil service ranks of its member states and it offers programmes in education, business, accounting, management, communications, the natural sciences, development, sociology, English, literature, law, history and politics. Disciplines like anthropology, cultural studies or the arts have traditionally not been considered as pragmatic or as urgent as the technical training required to run developing states. Unlike UWI, which has significant strengths in Caribbean Studies, USP's institute of Pacific Studies was not converted into a teaching programme until 2006.

The Oceania Centre's founder, Epeli Hau'ofa, was a trained anthropologist who never worked in an anthropology department. In the South Pacific, as many islander scholars joke, culture was not something one studied in a university. In the early

1980s, Hau'ofa wrote *Tales of the Tikongs* (1983), a critique of the questionable direction in which he thought independent island nations were heading. This took the form of a satire in which the institutions and forces of native government, the church, tradition, colonialism, aid and development were skilfully mocked. One of Hau'foa's central characters, aptly named Ole Pasifikiwei (Old Pacific Way), symbolized the vast array of creative survival strategies that islanders had developed over centuries, now hastily discarded for money and shortcuts to Western-style progress.

The University of the South Pacific had never had or desired an anthropology department, so Hau'ofa eventually found himself teaching a 'practical' social science that took for granted the smallness, isolation and dependence of Pacific islands. In *Our Sea of Islands* he wrote of his original stance on this negative characterization:

> *Initially I agreed wholeheartedly with this perspective, and I participated actively in its propagation. It seemed to be based on irrefutable evidence, on the reality of our existence [...]*
> *The hoped-for era of autonomy following political independence did not materialize [...]*
>
> Hau'ofa, 1993: 4

Hau'ofa became Head of the School of Social and Economic Development at USP and his initial acceptance of this fatalistic approach to small island nations transformed after he began to pay attention to the reactions of his students. He wrote, 'Their faces crumbled visibly, they asked for solutions, I could offer none' (ibid: 5). He began to ask himself,

> *What kind of teaching is it to stand in front of young people from your own region, people, you claim as you own, who have come to university with high hopes for the future, and you tell them that our countries are hopeless? Is this not what neocolonialism is about? To make people believe that they have no choice but to depend?*
>
> ibid

Throughout his essay, Hau'ofa reimagines the Pacific not as small isolated islands, but as a sea of islands in a vast and ever-expanding Oceania. He cites indigenous cosmologies which include worlds far above, beyond and below the surface of land and sea as evidence of a vast and ever expanding indigenous worldview, boldly displayed in Pacific oral, visual and performing arts. The worldview was ever expanding, that is, until islanders arrived in universities to be told that their islands and cultures were small and dependent.

Hau'ofa declared that 'Smallness is a state of mind' (ibid: 7) and his essay moved beyond the individuality of islands to a perspective in which things were seen in terms of the totality of their relationships (ibid). He imagined Pacific cultures at their most positive and impressive, where contemporary travels and migration marked an expansion that had long been the mode of islander survival. If the world of Oceania today did not always include the heavens and the underworld, it did now include cities in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the US, where large numbers of Polynesians,

in particular, now reside. The piece became such a work of discussion that USP published a series of nineteen responses in 1993 that examined *Our Sea of Islands* from every conceivable angle. What was needed next, however, was a concrete manifestation of Hau'ofa's ideas.

As early as 1985, Epeli Hau'ofa had petitioned the Vice Chancellor of USP for a building that 'creative people could call home' (pers. comm., 2003). This was viewed as a request for some kind of 'Bohemia' and denied but Hau'ofa kept the concept in mind. When other ideas surfaced for a formal programme in Pacific Arts, Hau'ofa resisted, knowing that such a space would not be autonomous if linked to academics. While a successful writer, he felt that writing was a personal and solitary activity tied too much to the self or ego. Moreover, writing, at least on paper, was not a feature of Oceanic culture and he wanted to support forms of expression that were 'our own' (ibid). His aim was to create a space for collaboration and for the production of creative arts amongst an Oceanic community of artists.

The Oceania Centre was launched in February 1997 with just the kind of freedom Hau'ofa had envisaged. No overall plan or specific programme of action existed until 2001. He was given a small building and a modest budget for the director, an assistant and a part-time cleaner. There was no formal teaching programme and the Centre was thus autonomous but, initially, marginal to the university (Oceania Centre, 2001: 1).

What began as four small rooms and a veranda today comprises three offices, a metal workshop, an open-air painting and carving studio, a recording studio, an exhibition space, and an outdoor performance area. Permanent staff include a director, an administrative assistant, a cleaner, a sculptor, a choreographer and a composer. In addition, the community of artists now includes a large number of painters, wood carvers, musicians, sound mixers, part-time musicians, and a growing number of male and female dancers. In any given year, the Centre runs public art and dance workshops, puts on several exhibitions, dance and theatre productions in Fiji and overseas, and hosts visiting artists and choreographers from across the region.

Dancers at the Oceania Dance Theatre are exposed to choreography from a wide variety of Pacific genres which they then blend under the direction of Samoan director Allan Alo. They strive to produce something that transcends national boundaries while acknowledging specific choreographic cultures. The goals have always been to create something 'of Oceania'.

When the dance programme began in 1998 it relied on the abilities of existing performers in Suva, many of whom like myself had danced in the tourism industry and had some training in ballet and modern dance. I eventually became a founding member of the Oceania Dance Theatre collaborating with Alo on two productions: *The Boiling Ocean I* and *The Boiling Ocean II* (2000a and b). In the early 2000s, we struggled to attract versatile dancers due to a lack of formal training. Today,

however, young people with dance potential are trained at the Centre and the programme has become highly disciplined. Dance productions are supported by all resident artists including visual artists and musicians, all of whom contribute to the final production.

However, certain dance movements involving the broad extension of the limbs can prove difficult for young people in the Pacific to perform. This is a result less of physical than of cultural constraints. The problem is one of progressing beyond traditional forms of choreography that in most islands prescribe restricted movement for women, and a more vigorous but still limited repertoire for men. The region below the waist is particularly taboo, and outside Trobriand, Tahitian, Hawaiian and Cook Island dance, certain pelvic movements are only employed in humour or anger. Today, the Oceania Centre has carved out a space for a growing genre of 'contemporary Pacific dance', employing in particular traditionally taboo movements for women. In the last two years in Fiji there has also been a rise in the popularity of 'krumping', an energetic dance that developed in Los Angeles, and is often likened to an ambiguous notion of 'tribal' dance. Krumping appears to map well on to the bodies of young indigenous Fijian male dancers with a convergence in the grammar of krump and traditional Fijian choreography.

Contemporary Pacific dance as practised at the Oceania Centre and increasingly across the islands and diaspora, involves an expansion of the vocabulary of the body, based on either a 'Western' choreographic or indigenous Pacific base with elements from across the region woven in. The dancers leap, roll across the floor and pirouette, yet their movements retain a Pacific flavour. Contemporary dance often attempts to transcend pan-ethnic boundaries, working across the regions of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. It is theoretically and potentially inclusive and patiently recuperative of undervalued traditions, while remaining experimental.

Several other dance companies have grown out of the Oceania Dance Theatre and are now working on their own versions of contemporary dance. Meanwhile, the Dance Theatre's productions regularly express indigenous values concerning the past, place, human relations and the environment, while commenting on rising social challenges and concerns such as domestic violence, the spread of HIV, and the growing loss of cultural identity.

The Oceania Centre's mission to practise an inclusive regionalism may still be an impossible and romantic task, but Hau'ofa has no illusions about who should participate in such a venture. He knows that such a vision does not necessarily appeal to everyone in the entire region. 'That's bloody impossible', he said to me in an interview in 2003: 'We're starting small, with a community of like-minded thinkers and artists.' Moreover, for him, art, at least today, seems to have a wider-reaching and transformative potential lacking in politics and other more direct forms of activism. There will always be a larger audience for music and dance then for reading and writing in the Pacific – a point perhaps underlined by the way in which audiovisual media (television, video, film and the internet) have been wholeheartedly embraced by our mainly oral, embodied and visual cultures. This situation, however, does not deny the critical and intellectual work of many Pacific community leaders, scholars and artists alike.

In Hau'ofa's thinking the Centre embodies a resistance to multiple pressures – ethnic, national and international – and even at the regional level, resists the term 'Pacific', which connotes passivity. 'Pacific Island states', 'South Pacific' and 'Pacific Community' are also terms Hau'ofa says are used by 'the powers that be'. He said to me:

> *The ocean is not confining though we do happen to be in the middle of it somewhere. At the moment it applies to us but it can be extended, the idea [of a sea of islands] is to include other places [...] but I hesitate to say too much about it as I've been accused of fantasizing. [...] When the 'powers that be' use the term Pacific they usually refer to the Pacific Rim and islanders are excluded. Oceania, the word itself, means the sea.*
>
> (ibid)

Hau'ofa finds encouragement in the idea of expanding Oceania, its reach encompassing the whole world – a world 70 per cent covered by ocean, and whose leaders have hitherto focused mainly on land-based activities or simply used the ocean as resource. He says, 'The notion of Oceania cannot be contained. Metaphorically, for creative purposes, it's tremendous. For the mind it is a liberating concept, the idea of limitlessness [...] we can at least dream into eternity' (pers. comm.). He maintains that this in actuality is a practical exercise: creativity is what keeps us alive.

> *... You have lived long and time has passed*
> *The buzzard added*
> *Don't call the wind that will carry you away*
> *The gull counselled*
> *Don't talk to the rain that will drown you*
> *And the turtledove concluded*
> *Do not confine to the hut those who inhabit the world.*
>
> Dewe Gorodey (1993: xvi)

Policy recommendations

There are many more exciting programmes and activities in the performing arts occurring across the Pacific, but the infrastructure for really capitalizing and developing this potential remains loose and tenuous. The formation of the Pacific Arts Alliance based in Suva is a move by artists themselves to organize a regional network and information hub.[7] Elsewhere, I have described the potential of cultural industries in the Pacific in terms of the economic valuing of culture (Teaiwa, 2007b). Here I recommend five strategies to enable a more integrated and regional support base for performing arts development and education in Oceania.

The first is that the Pacific Arts Council under the Pacific Community be expanded into a separate regional arts foundation that would provide

monetary, technical, material and human resources for the development and support of music, dance, theatre and multimedia industries. This would be added to the current line-up of organizations comprising the Council of Regional Organization in the Pacific (CROP). At present, these include the Pacific Community, the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), the South Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP), the South Pacific Applied Geoscience Commission (SOPAC), the Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP), the South Pacific Tourism Organization (SPTO), the University of the South Pacific (USP), the Fiji School of Medicine, the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment (SPBEA) and the Forum Secretariat.

The second is that the oral, visual and performative arts in Oceania be integrated into primary, secondary and tertiary curricula, drawing on research on the impact of the arts on educational achievement in and beyond our region. Studies supported by UNESCO have already made such recommendations but action is yet to be realized in most island countries.

Third, that anthropology, archaeology, cultural studies, dance studies, film and visual studies, theatre, music, and other oral, visual and performance-related studies also be supported as programmes of tertiary study for Pacific Islanders by the institutions, government bodies and aid agencies that currently provide scholarships in the mainly functionalist and state-building areas of economics, public policy, development studies, business management and the like. AusAID scholarships for islanders for study in Australia, for example, can be expanded to cover these fields.

Fourth, that governments prioritize and explicitly fund the arts in their annual budgets, not just in terms of supporting troupes to participate in regional festivals, but in the building and staffing of institutions dedicated to the cultural industries. The rationale for this should be based on a sense of nation-building embedded in traditional and contemporary cultures. The Vanuatu Cultural Centre is a shining example of this.

Finally, it is imperative that SIDS devise specific strategies for exchanging knowledge between their islands, especially between the Pacific, Caribbean and Indian ocean groups. By this I mean that SIDS be approached not just as islands with similar economic and geographic limitations, but rather that SIDS learn from each other, support each other, and trade directly with each other in terms of creative strategies, materials and ideas. Within curricula this could be imagined as island children learning the histories of each others' countries rather than history primarily in terms of national or Western civilization. This approach to regional learning can take place at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Exchanges that took place between island regions at the 2007 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) festival in the Dominican Republic, and work undertaken through the Islands of Globalization Project, represent initial attempts in this field.

Implementing all of this necessitates a long-term approach, but inter-regional dialogue is a productive place to start. At the Seychelles meeting at which this chapter was first presented in 2007, I proposed a methodological question to the forum: If you were to choreograph a dance representing the Small Island Developing States, what would it look like?

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Tim Curtis and his staff for inviting me to participate in the UNESCO-SIDS meeting in the Seychelles in 2007. This chapter is based on my presentation at that meeting and the feedback from colleagues there was greatly appreciated. I would also like to acknowledge the members of the Islands of Globalization team at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and East-West Centre in Honolulu, as well as Allan Alo at the Oceania Centre at the University of the South Pacific. Many more developments in dance and the culture sector have occurred since I wrote this piece and the Human Development division of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community based in Noumea, New Caledonia, is leading these initiatives with the support of the European Commission, ACP Cultures, UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organisation among others. Finally, I would like to acknowledge my dear friend and colleague Professor Epeli Hau'ofa who passed away in January 2009. The sections on the Oceania Centre and his ideas are based on a long interview I had with him in 2003. Epeli has inspired countless scholars, students and artists and is truly missed by much of Oceania.

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Endnotes

1 This chapter is a modification and expansion of a presentation given at the Seychelles meeting of a UNESCO group. The mandate was to examine the relationship between cultural diversity, cultural industries and Small Island Developing States in the Caribbean, Pacific and Indian oceans.

2 The article is based on several previously published works including Teaiwa (2005), Teaiwa (2007a and b) and Teaiwa (2008).

3 The Study Group on the Musics and Dances of Oceania recently added 'dances' to its title and is part of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM). Professor Philip Hayward and a cohort of Music Studies scholars have also done significant work on contemporary music in Melanesia.

4 See Matthew Spriggs' chapter for more on these histories.

5 The IOG team in Honolulu consisted of Gerry Finin, Terence Wesley-Smith, Katerina Teaiwa, Scott Kroeker, Esther Figueroa and Monique Wedderburn. Scholarly and pedagogical exchanges, including visits between the islands, were initiated with Patsy Lewis, Hopeton Dunn, Matthew Smith, Hamid Ghany, Patricia Mohammed, Jennifer Holder-Dolly, Susan Mains, Diana Thorburn and Keith Nurse of the University of the West Indies; Biman Prasad, Epeli Hau'ofa, Asenati Liki and Ropate Qalo at the University of the South Pacific; Steven Winduo of the University of Papua New Guinea; April Henderson and Alice Te Punga Somerville at Victoria University of Wellington; and Elizabeth DeLoughrey at Cornell University. Other scholars at the EWC and UHM included Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, Tim Britos, Richard Rath and Erin Weston.

6 Pacific Novelist Albert Wendt, revived the term for islanders much earlier in the 1970s when he wrote the 'Angry Young Men of Oceania' for the *UNESCO Courier*.

7 See the Pacific Arts Alliance website at: www.pacificartsalliance.com/