

# SGDIA WORKING PAPER SERIES

---

## Working Paper No.9

### THE RUSH FOR OCEANIA: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CONTEMPORARY OCEANS GOVERNANCE AND STEWARDSHIP

Reclaiming Oceania Collective



School of Government, Development  
and International Affairs

Suva 2018

### **Editorial Committee, SGDIA Working Paper Series**

Asoc. Prof. Sandra Tarte

Dr. Andreea Torre

Dr. Wesley Morgan

### **Author (s)**

This brief was prepared by the ‘Reclaiming Oceania Collective’.

For more information contact:

Professor Matthew Allen: [matthew.allen@usp.ac.fj](mailto:matthew.allen@usp.ac.fj)

Associate Professor Katerina Teaiwa: [katerina.teaiwa@anu.edu.au](mailto:katerina.teaiwa@anu.edu.au)

Dr Cresantia (Frances) Koya-Vaka'uta: [cresantia.koyavakauta@usp.ac.fj](mailto:cresantia.koyavakauta@usp.ac.fj)

Dr Wesley Morgan: [wesley.morgan@usp.ac.fj](mailto:wesley.morgan@usp.ac.fj)

Dr Rebecca Monson: [rebecca.monson@anu.edu.au](mailto:rebecca.monson@anu.edu.au)

Dr Tammy Tabe: [tammy.tabe@usp.ac.fj](mailto:tammy.tabe@usp.ac.fj)

**See back page of this brief for a full list of SGDIA Working Papers.**

**Also available online at: <https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=piasdg>**

The Views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the SGDIA or the USP.

© Copyright is held by the author(s) of each working paper; no part of this publication may be republished, reprinted or reproduced in any form without permission of the paper’s author(s).

# The Rush for Oceania: Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Oceans Governance and Stewardship

The management, governance and control of the world's oceans have become major policy and research agendas. Nowhere is this more the case than in the Pacific Ocean, the world's largest ocean. The world wants Oceania like never before.

Against a backdrop of renewed geostrategic competition, Pacific-rim powers view the Pacific Ocean as an important 'domain' for the maintenance of regional and global order (Ratuva 2017; Medcalfe 2018; Morgan 2018). Furthermore, in a context of global natural resource scarcity and environmental overshoot, remaining oceanic 'wild spaces' are increasingly important both for capitalist accumulation and for ecological conservation (Voyer et al. 2018b). Corporations and states have their eyes on rare minerals on the Pacific seabed (Blue Ocean Law and PANG 2016); distant water fishing fleets (having driven fisheries in other waters to catastrophic collapse) are keener than ever to exploit Pacific tuna stocks (Tarai 2016; Aqorau 2016; Tarte 2009); and corporate-friendly conservation organisations are working to set aside large areas of Oceania as 'protected areas' and to shape regional governance of maritime spaces (Bennett et al. 2015; Conservation International 2010).

The imperatives of external actors are driving a political re-spacing or 're-scaling' of the Pacific Ocean (Brenner 2001; Swyngedouw 2004): strategic thinkers view Oceania as a single naval 'domain'; region-wide regulatory regimes have evolved to govern fisheries and seabed minerals; and conservation groups press for a joined-up 'Oceanscape' of marine-protected areas, linked across national jurisdictions (see Pratt and Govan 2010).

At the same time however, Oceania is also a space of resistance. Pacific islanders – stewards of the ocean for thousands of years – are organising at unprecedented scales. New social movements aim to reassert an 'oceanic' identity, and are confronting forces that would usurp their sovereignty and heritage (Teaiwa 2018). Pacific islanders are also leveraging their 'oceanic presence' in processes of multilateral oceans diplomacy; and in so doing so have become global leaders, actively shaping international regimes designed to protect the world's ocean and to tackle climate change (Quirk and Hanich 2016; Gruby and Campbell 2013).

### **Three moments: Conceptualising the contemporary ‘Rush for Oceania’**

Early in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century three distinct ‘moments’ are combining to produce an unprecedented ‘rush’ for the Pacific Ocean (See Table 1 for key processes associated with each of the three ‘moments’). These three moments can be broadly characterised in the following way:

- 1.) The ‘Securitisation’ of Oceania:** An intensified securitisation of Oceania in the context of the re-emergence of ‘sea power’ and the ‘maritime domain’ in renewed great power rivalry.
- 2.) The ‘Blue Economy’ in Oceania:** An intensification of efforts to exploit, commodify and enclose the Pacific Ocean’s natural resources, including in the name of conservation.
- 3.) Resistance in Oceania:** Indigenous-led activism and resistance to moves to securitise and commodify the Pacific Ocean; and an assertion of ‘Oceanic’ identity and stewardship in regional and global processes of governance.

Following Steinberg (2001), these three ‘moments’ broadly map onto three competing social constructions of the Pacific Ocean, namely:

The *Securitisation* moment is primarily grounded in a construction of the ocean as a ‘placeless void’ and a ‘frictionless surface’ upon which force can be projected – as a ‘force field’ or ‘maritime domain’ over which maritime powers maintain naval hegemony, but no one state has sovereignty. This construction also reserves the ocean as a space of free movement and free trade (approximately 90% of global trade is carried across the sea).

The *Blue Economy* moment is grounded in a construction of the ocean as a space inhabited by places and things that can be enclosed, accessed and exploited, primarily for the purposes of capitalist accumulation, but also for management and conservation.

The *Resistance* moment is grounded in a Pacific construction of the ocean as ‘place-full’, densely connected and networked, and inseparable from history, society, political and cultural identities. This construction is closely associated with the writing of Samoan author Albert Wendt (1976 and 1984); the work of Pacific philosopher Epeli Hau’ofa and his conceptualisations of ‘Our Sea of Islands’ (1993) and ‘the Ocean in Us’ (1998), as well as the work of Teresia Teaiwa (1995, 2006, 2008) and Katerina Teaiwa (2014 a & b, 2018).

While there is at times considerable overlap and shades of grey between these three constructions,<sup>1</sup> each one offers an all-encompassing conception of the Pacific Ocean as a discrete governable space.<sup>2</sup> Seen in this manner, as competing and encompassing constructions – each produced by particular configurations of actors and interests – oceans governance can be understood as a dynamic set of institutional and community arrangements which, at any particular point in time, reflect a negotiated compromise between competing constructions of the ocean itself (Steinberg 2001, Campbell et al 2016:519).

### **A (very) brief history of oceans governance**

Globally, the modern (Western, capitalist) history of oceans governance has been dominated by tensions and compromises between the first two constructions: on the one hand, the desire to keep the oceans free and open as a surface for trade and the projection of military force; and, on the other, the desire to enclose (or territorialise) the ocean in the service of capitalist exploitation and accumulation. Since the Second World War, technological advances (particularly in fishing technology and the extraction of offshore oil and gas), growing uneven development (between North and South), and increasing resource scarcity and environmental degradation (both on land and at sea) have seen a rapid intensification of agendas to territorialise the ocean (see Steinberg 2001, Oxman 2006).

In the context of decolonisation, developing-country coastal states have also sought to assert rights to maritime resources (Aqorau 2014; Hanich et al. 2009). Beginning in the 1950s and over subsequent decades, a series of global negotiations fleshed out, and ultimately codified, a compromise amongst competing conceptions of the ocean; culminating in the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Today, moves to extend and strengthen the international maritime legal regime continue in UN negotiations for a new treaty to govern the high seas (a treaty governing marine biodiversity in Areas Beyond National Jurisdictions) and a

---

<sup>1</sup> Securitisation, for example, covers both the re-emergence of sea power in geopolitics and the desire to police the blue economy.

<sup>2</sup> This is evident in the ways in which the constructions are expressed in discourses and narratives: for example, ‘the Pacific theatre’ (the United States navy), ‘the Blue Pacific’ and the ‘Pacific Oceanscape’ (the Pacific Islands Forum), and ‘Our Sea of Islands’ (Hau’ofa 1993).

number of other on-going international negotiations concerning different aspects of oceans governance, including in relation to deep-sea mining.

As several scholars have noted, UNCLOS represents a compromise between these two longstanding Western social constructions of the ocean, one emphasising ‘free mobility’ on the high seas and the other emphasising ‘fixity’ and clearly assigned rights to maritime and seabed resources (for discussion see Steinberg 2001 and Oxman 2006). The global oceans legal regime also represents a compromise between industrialised maritime powers in the global North and coastal states in the global South (Hanich et al. 2009:24).

Ultimately coastal states have been granted rights of stewardship (including exploitation) over resources within their Exclusive Economic Zones, but this territoriality falls well short of full state sovereignty thereby preserving the principle of freedom of movement and navigation. It would now appear that a similar compromise may be extended to the high seas in the context of current negotiations for a UN High Seas Treaty, with a key difference being that rights of access, enclosure and exploitation may be assigned to non-state and corporate actors, rather than to contiguous seaboard and island states, and will be managed by an international body (the UN Oceans Commission).

### **The Ocean in Us: Pacific constructions of Oceania**

Alongside dominant Western social constructions of Oceania – and never fully submerged by them – are indigenous Pacific understandings of the ocean as a place full of rich meaning and connection (see Hau'ofa 1993, 1998; Teaiwa 2008). In the traditions of Oceania, the sea is not understood predominantly as a space for free trade, naval power-projection or resource extraction. Of course, countless economic and political agendas have been played out on the ocean by Pacific islanders; but these activities have been conducted within a cultural context marked by long-term, embodied and spiritual relationships with ocean spaces. Diverse Pacific island cultures have, for countless generations, understood the ocean in intimate imbrication with society, identity and place. Rich and diverse systems of management and stewardship patterned maritime spaces long before – and throughout – the era of European colonialism (see Veitayaki 1998; Norman 1949).

In the post-colonial period, Pacific islanders have sought to reassert their identities as ocean states, even as they have struggled for control of resources in their waters (Aqorau 2014:345). Key works

by Pacific writers and artists have ‘destabilised myths of island isolation’ and helped reclaim a ‘transoceanic imaginary’; one rooted in kinship connections and indigenous agency (see Deloughrey 2007:96-157). Pacific researchers and educators have also sought to decentre Western epistemologies and assert the importance of indigenous ways of knowing (see Koya-Vaka’uta 2018, 2017).

During Law of the Sea negotiations at the UN, newly independent countries like Fiji diverged sharply from centuries of continental, land-centred, legal norms (which based maritime sovereignty in reference to land-masses) and asserted an identity as ‘a country of water interspersed with islands, and claim[ed] jurisdiction over a block of ocean, far from any continent’ (Andrew 1978:50). In the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Pacific islanders are again reasserting oceanic identities, repositioning themselves as ‘large ocean states’ and working together as a ‘blue continent’ in order to shape regional and global political contestation around oceanic spaces (see Malielegaoi 2018; Taylor 2017; Quirk and Hanich 2016). Pacific civil society voices are also organising at scale, and defending Oceania from those who would usurp their sovereignty and heritage (see Teaiwa 2018).

### **Toward a research agenda for the ‘Rush for Oceania’**

In October 2018 academics, artists, and civil society representatives met at the University of the South Pacific in Suva, Fiji, to discuss a new research agenda exploring oceans governance and stewardship in the Pacific. From that initial meeting emerged a project intended to critically interrogate competing social constructions of the contemporary Pacific Ocean. In other words, to document and analyse the actors, interests, agendas, strategies (material, spatial and discursive), knowledge systems and world views that are working to solidify and harden the Pacific Ocean as discrete space or scale of contestation, accumulation and resistance. This research agenda seeks to unpack the political economy (and political ecology) of the contemporary ‘rush for Oceania’, with a view to informing scholarly debates and influencing policy processes in this critically important arena of governance and heritage. Recognising that oceans research and policy agendas have long been dominated by economists, lawyers and marine scientists – and the production of highly technical and managerialist forms of knowledge (see Campbell et al 2016) – the research will adopt a transdisciplinary and decolonised social science and humanities approach involving a research team consisting of human geographers, anthropologists and international relations scholars, as well as key Pacific civil society partners, writers and artists.

**Table 1. Contemporary social constructions of Oceania: Key processes, discourses and programmes\***

<b>Securitisation</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maritime strategies of Pacific-rim powers (China, US, Australia, NZ)</li> <li>• ‘Free and Open Indo-Pacific’ (Japan, US, Australia, India?)</li> <li>• ‘Maritime Silk Road’ (China)</li> <li>• Pacific Fusion Centre (Australia, Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), Pacific Islands Forum)</li> <li>• Pacific Maritime Security Program (Australia, FFA, Pacific Islands Forum)</li> <li>• Australia-Pacific Security College (Australia, Pacific Islands Forum )</li> <li>• ‘Boe Declaration’ on regional security cooperation (Pacific Islands Forum )</li> <li>• Manus Island naval facility (Australia, United States, Papua New Guinea)</li> </ul>
<b>Blue Economy</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UN High Seas Treaty</li> <li>• Pacific ‘Oceanscape’ Framework</li> <li>• Large scale Marine Protected Areas (MPAs)</li> <li>• Fixing maritime boundaries/claims under UN Convention on Law of the Sea</li> <li>• Pacific regional treaty on Seabed Mining</li> <li>• Tuna fisheries management: e.g. Nauru Agreement (PNA) Vessel Day Scheme</li> <li>• Marine spatial planning /management and remote sensing</li> </ul>
<b>Resistance</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pacific Ocean/Climate diplomacy at the UN</li> <li>• The ‘Blue Pacific’ narrative ( Pacific Islands Forum )</li> <li>• ‘Green Growth for Blue Economies’ narrative (Pacific Islands Development Forum)</li> <li>• Pan-Pacific civil society regionalism and activism</li> <li>• Wansolwara/ Youngsolwara activism and the arts</li> <li>• Rethinking and reframing Oceania indigenous scholarship</li> <li>• Pacific feminist scholarship and activism</li> <li>• Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement</li> </ul>
*Table indicative only, not intended as an exhaustive list.



## References and Reading List on the ‘Rush for Oceania’

Dale Andrew. 1978. 'Archipelagos and the law of the sea: Island straits or island-studded sea space?' *Marine Policy*. January 1978. pp.46-64

Transform Aqorau. 2016. 'How Tuna is shaping regional diplomacy', in Greg Fry, Sandra Tarte (eds.) 2016. *The New Pacific Diplomacy*. Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Transform Aqorau. 2014. 'The evolution of International Fisheries Law in the Island Nations of the Pacific: The Quest for Control' in Michael Lodge and Myron H. Nordquist (eds.) *Peaceful Order in the World's Oceans*, University of Virginia Law School.

Mads Barbesgaard. 2017. 'Blue growth: savior or ocean grabbing', *Journal of Peasant Studies*. (45)1: 130-149.

Nathan James Bennett, Hugh Govan, Terre Satterfield, 2015. 'Ocean Grabbing', *Marine Policy* 2015(57): 61-68.

Neil Brenner. 2001. The limits to scale? Methodological reflections on scalar structuration. *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no.4: 591-614.

Blue Ocean Law and the Pacific Network on Globalisation (PANG), 2017. *The UN Oceans Conference: A momentous effort, but one which indigenous voices must carry*. Pacific Network on Globalisation, Suva.

Blue Ocean Law and Pacific Network on Globalisation. 2017. *Statement in Preparation for the United Nations Conference to Support the Implementation of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 14: Conserve and sustainably use the Oceans, seas and Marine Resources*. Pacific Network on Globalisation, Suva.

Blue Ocean Law and the Pacific Network on Globalisation. 2016. *Resource Roulette: How Deep Sea Mining and Inadequate Regulatory Frameworks Imperil the Pacific and its Peoples*. Pacific Network on Globalisation, Suva.

George (Siosi) Carter, 2016 'Establishing a Pacific Voice in Climate Change Negotiations', in Fry and Tarte, eds., *The New Pacific Diplomacy*, ANU press, Canberra

Aisake Casimira. 2004. 'Governance and Security: A major challenge to Pacific civil society'. *Pacific Ecologist*. July 2004.

Conservation International. 2010. *New 'Pacific Oceanscape' Makes History*. Press Release following 2010 Pacific Islands Forum. August 8, 2010. Port Vila, Vanuatu.

Paul D'Arcy 2014. 'The Lawless Sea? Policy Options for Voluntary Compliance Regimes in Offshore Resource Zones in the Pacific', *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies*. Australian National University, Canberra.

Paul D'Arcy 2013. 'The Nourishing Sea: Partnered Guardianship of Fishery and Seabed Mineral Resources for the Economic Viability of Small Pacific Island Nations', *Sustainability*. 2013, 5, 3346-3367.

Greg Fry. 1997. 'Framing the Islands: Knowledge and Power in Changing Australian Images of "the South Pacific"'. *The Contemporary Pacific*. Vol 9. No 2 1997 305-344

Hugh Govan. 2018, 'From Locally Managed Marine Areas to Indigenous and Community Conserved Oceans', *SGDIA Working Paper No.3*. School of Government, Development and International Affairs, University of the South Pacific, Suva.

Hugh Govan. 2017, 'Ocean Governance - Our Sea of Islands', in Resina Katafono (ed.) *A Sustainable Future for Small States: Pacific 2050*. Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

Rebecca Gruby and Lisa Campbell, 2013. 'Scalar politics and the region: strategies for transcending Pacific Island smallness on a global environmental governance stage' in *Environment and Planning*. (45) 2046-2063

David Harvey, 2001 *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. Edinburgh University Press.

Shahar Hameiri, 2015 'China's 'charm offensive' in the Pacific and Australia's regional order', *The Pacific Review*. 28:5 2015 631-654

Quentin Hanich, Clive Schofield and Peter Cozens, 2009 'Oceans of Opportunity? The Limits of Maritime Claims in the Western and Central Pacific Region', in: Quentin Hanich and Martin Tsamenyi (eds.). *Navigating Pacific Fisheries: Legal and Policy Trends in the Implementation of*

*International Fisheries Instruments in the Western and Central Pacific Region*. Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security (ANCORS).

Epeli Hau'ofa. 1993. 'Our Sea of Islands', in Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu and Epeli Hau'ofa (eds.) *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*. University of the South Pacific, Suva

Epeli Hau'ofa. 1998. 'The Ocean in Us', *The Contemporary Pacific*. Vol 10, No. 2. pp. 392-410

Stefanie Hessler (ed.) 2018. *Tidalectics: Imagining an Oceanic worldview through art and science*. The MIT Press, Massachusetts

Karin Amimoto Ingersoll. 2016. *Waves of Knowing: A Seascape Epistemology*. Duke University Press, London.

Tarcisius Kabutaulaka 2015. 'Re-Presenting Melanesia: Ignoble Savages and Melanesian Alternatives' *The Contemporary Pacific*, Vol 27:1, 73-180.

Tarcisius Kabutaulaka 1993. 'The Bigness of our Smallness' in Eric Waddell, Epeli Hau'ofa, Vijay Naidu. 1993. *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*. University of the South Pacific, Suva. pp. 91-93.

Makereta Komai. 2016. 'Fiji's Foreign policy and the New Pacific Diplomacy', in Fry and Tarte, eds., *The New Pacific Diplomacy*, ANU press, Canberra

Cresantia F Koya, Lingikoni Vaka'uta and Rosiana Lagi, 2018. 'Reflections from Oceania on indigenous epistemology, the Ocean and sustainability', in Stefanie Hessler (ed.) 2018. *Tidalectics: Imagining an oceanic worldview through art and science*. The MIT Press, Massachusetts. pp. 127-132

Cresantia F Koya, 2017. 'Rethinking Research as Relational Space in the Pacific: Pedagogy and Praxis', in Upolu Luma Vaai and Aisake Casimira (eds.) 2017. *Relational hermeneutics: Decolonising the mindset and the Pacific Itulagi*. University of the South Pacific and Pacific Theological College, Suva

Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi. 2018. 'Pacific Perspectives on the New Geostrategic Landscape'. Speech delivered by the Prime Minister of Samoa at the Lowy Institute, August 30, 2018, Sydney.

Marc Andrej Mallin 2018. 'From sea-level rise to seabed grabbing: the political economy of climate change in Kiribati', *Marine Policy*. In Press.

Fulori Manoa, 2016 'The New Pacific Diplomacy at the United Nations: The rise of the PSIDS', in Fry and Tarte, eds., *The New Pacific Diplomacy*, ANU press, Canberra

Rebecca Monson and D Fitzpatrick. 2016, 'Negotiating relocation in a weak state: land tenure and adaptation to sea-level rise in Solomon Islands', in S Price, J Singer (ed.), *Global Implications of Development, Disasters and Climate Change: Responses to Displacement from Asia Pacific*, Routledge, Abington and New York. pp. 240-255.

Tania Murray Li. 2014. *Land's End: Capitalist Relations on an Indigenous Frontier*. Duke University Press

Rory Medcalf, 2018, *Mapping Our Indo-Pacific Future*. Speech delivered on 21 May at the National Security College, Australian National University, Canberra.

Wesley Morgan. 2018. 'Back on the Map: Pacific islands in a new era of strategic competition', *SGDIA Working Paper No. 5*. School of Government, Development and International Affairs, University of the South Pacific, Suva.

Wesley Morgan. 2018a. 'Considering the Indo-Pacific and the Blue-Pacific', *The Interpreter*. Lowy Institute for International Affairs, Sydney.

Unaisi Nabobo-Baba, Cresantia Frances Koya and Teweiariki. 2010. *Education for Sustainable Development*. University of the South Pacific, Suva

Noelene Nabulivou, 2014. 'Speech at the 8<sup>th</sup> Session of the Open Working Group on the Sustainable Development Goals – Session on Oceans and Seas'. February 3, 2014. UNHQ, New York. Development Alternatives for Women in a New Era.

Anna Naupa. 2017 'Indo-Pacific Diplomacy: A View from the Pacific Islands', *Politics and Policy*, 45 (5): 902-917

Albert Norman, 1949. 'The reclamation of Oceania', *Christian Science Monitor*. June 4, 1949.

Bernard Oxman. 2006. 'The Territorial Temptation: A Siren Song at Sea'. *American Journal of International Law*. vol. 100:830-851

Pacific Conference of Churches, 2010 *Re-thinking the household of god in the Pacific: Towards sufficiency and solidarity, inclusiveness and participation*. Concept paper to island leaders.

Maureen Penjueli, 2016 'Civil Society and the Political Legitimacy of Regional Institutions', in Fry and Tarte, eds., *The New Pacific Diplomacy*, ANU press, Canberra.

Cristelle Pratt and Hugh Govan. 2010. 'Our Sea of Islands, Our Livelihoods, Our Oceania: Framework for a Pacific Oceanscape: A catalyst for implementation of ocean policy'. South Pacific Regional Environmental Program (SPREP), Apia.

Genevieve Quirk and Quentin Hanich, 'Ocean Diplomacy: The Pacific Island Countries' Campaign to the UN for an Ocean Sustainable Development Goal', *Asia-Pacific Journal of Ocean Law and Policy* (2016:1) 68-95

Genevieve Quirk and Harriet Harden-Davies, 2017 'Cooperation, Competence and Coherence: The Role of Regional Oceans Governance in The South West Pacific for the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Areas Beyond National Jurisdiction' *International Journal of Marine and Coastal Law* vol. 32, no. 4 (2017) 672-708.

Steven Ratuva. 2014. 'A new regional cold war? American and China's posturing in the Pacific', *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 1(2), pp. 409–422.

Steven Ratuva. 2017. 'Anxiety and Diminished Hope: The Potential Impact of Trump's Presidency on Security in the Pacific Islands Region', *The Round Table* 106:2, 165-173

Claire Slatter. 2006. 'Treading water in rapids? Non-governmental organisations and resistance to neoliberalism in Pacific island states', in: Stewart Firth (ed.) *Globalisation and Governance in the Pacific Islands*. ANU Press, Canberra. ACT. pp.23-42

Claire Slatter 2006b. 'Neoliberalism and the Disciplining of Pacific Island States—The Dual Challenges of a Global Economic Creed and a Changed Geo-political Order'. In *Pacific Futures*, edited by Michael Powles. Canberra: Pandanus Press, 91–110.

Claire Slatter and Yvonne Underhill Sem. 2009. 'Re-claiming Pacific Island Regionalism: Does Neoliberalism Have to Reign?' in *Gender & Global Politics in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Katrina Lee Koo and Bina D'Costa. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 195–210.

- Phillip Steinberg, 2001. *The Social Construction of the Ocean*. Cambridge University Press.
- Eric Swyngedouw 2004. Globalisation or 'glocalisation'? Networks, territories and rescaling. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 17(1):25-48.
- Jope Tarai. 2016. 'The New Pacific Diplomacy and the South Pacific Tuna Treaty', in Greg Fry, Sandra Tarte (eds.) 2016. *The New Pacific Diplomacy*. Australian National University Press, Canberra.
- Sandra Tarte. 2014. Regionalism and changing regional order in the Pacific Islands. *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 1(2): 312–24.
- Sandra Tarte. 2009. 'The Convention for the Conservation and Management of Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean: Implementation Challenges from a Historical Perspective' in: Quentin Hanich and Martin Tsamenyi (eds.). *Navigating Pacific Fisheries: Legal and Policy Trends in the Implementation of International Fisheries Instruments in the Western and Central Pacific Region*. Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security (ANCORS).
- Sandra Tarte. 2002. 'A Duty to Cooperate: Building a Regional Regime for the Conservation and Management of Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific' *Ocean Yearbook*, Volume 16. University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, pp. 261-99.
- Dame Meg Taylor 2017, 'Opening Remarks on the 'Blue Pacific': 2017 'Pacific Update'. University of the South Pacific, Suva. Available at: <http://www.forumsec.org/secretary-general-dame-meg-taylors-opening-remarks-to-the-2017-pacific-update/>
- Katerina Teaiwa. 2018, 'Our Sea of Islands: Pan-Pacific Regionalism in the Age of Climate Change', *Pacific Studies*. vol. 41. pp. 26-54
- Katerina Teaiwa. 2014 a. *Consuming Ocean Island: stories of people and phosphate from Banaba*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Katerina Teaiwa. 2014 b. 'Reframing Oceania: lessons from Pacific Studies', in Hilary Kahn, ed. *Reframing the Global*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Teresia Teaiwa and Claire Slatter. 2013. 'Samting nating: Pacific Waves at the Margins of Feminist Security Studies', *International Studies Perspectives* (2013) 14, 447-450.

Teresia Teaiwa. 2008. 'Globalising and Gendered forces: The Contemporary Militarisation of Pacific/Oceania', in Kathy Ferguson and Monique Mionescu (eds.) *Gender and Globalisation in Asia and the Pacific: Method, Practice, Theory*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu

Teresia K Teaiwa. 2006. 'On Analogies: Rethinking the Pacific in a Global Context' *The Contemporary Pacific* 18:1. (71-87).

Teresia K Teaiwa. 1994. 'bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans', *The Contemporary Pacific*. 6:1 (87-109).

Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2003. 'Natural Resources and Capitalist Frontiers' *Economic and Political Weekly*. 38:48 (5100-5106).

Jason Titifanue, Romitesh Kant, Glen Finau, Jope Tarai. 2017. 'Climate change advocacy in the Pacific: the role of information and communication technologies'. *Pacific Journalism Review*. Vol 23, No. 1.

Joeli Veitayaki, Simmonne Pauwels, Elodie Fache, 2014. 'Pacific islanders. "custodians of the ocean" facing fisheries challenges', in Elodie Fache and Simonne Pauwels (eds.). *Fisheries in the Pacific: The challenges of governance and sustainability*. Pacific-Credo Publications, pp.7-18, 2016.

Joeli Veitayaki and Esaroma Ledua, 2014. 'Policy options for coastal and tuna fisheries in the Pacific Islands: sustaining resources on the same side of the same coin', in Elodie Fache and Simonne Pauwels (eds.). *Fisheries in the Pacific: The challenges of governance and sustainability*. Pacific-Credo Publications, pp.255-280, 2016.

Joeli Veitayaki. 1998. 'Traditional and community-based marine resources management system in Fiji: An evolving integrated process', *Coastal management*. 26:1, 47-60.

Jason Titifanue, Romitesh Kant, Glen Finau, Jope Tarai. 2017. 'Climate change advocacy in the Pacific: the role of information and communication technologies'. *Pacific Journalism Review*. Vol 23, No. 1.

Upolu Luma Vaai and Aisake Casimira (eds.) 2017. *Relational hermeneutics: Decolonising the mindset and the Pacific Itulagi*. University of the South Pacific and Pacific Theological College, Suva

Upolu Luma Vaai and Unaisi Nabobo-Baba (eds.) 2017. *The relational self: Decolonising personhood in the Pacific*. University of the South Pacific and Pacific Theological College, Suva

Peter Varghese, 2017 'A Contested Asia: What comes after US strategic dominance?', 2017 *Griffith Asia Lecture*, The University of Queensland, Brisbane, September 6 2017.

Davor Vidas, 2011. 'The anthropocene and the international law of the sea', in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. 369, 909-925

Michelle Voyer, Clive Schofield, Kamal Azmi, Robin Warner, Alistair McIlgorm, Genevieve Quirk, 2018a. 'Maritime security and the Blue Economy: intersections and interdependencies in the Indian Ocean' *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* vol. 14, no. 1: 1-21.

Michelle Voyer, Genevieve Quirk, Alistair McIlgorm, Kamal Azmi, 2018b. 'Shades of Blue: what do competing interpretations of the Blue Economy mean for oceans governance?' *Journal for Environmental Policy and Planning*.

Michelle Voyer, Genevieve Quirk, Alistair McIlgorm, Kamal Azmi, Stuart Kaye, and Michael McArthur. 2017. 'The Blue Economy in Australia: Conceptualising the Blue Economy, its Relationship with Maritime Security, and its Role in Australian Oceans Governance'. Australian National Centre for Ocean Resources and Security and Sea Power Centre - Australia (SPC-A) is the research directorate of the Royal Australian Navy (RAN), Commonwealth of Australia Canberra.

Eric Waddell, Epeli Hau'ofa, Vijay Naidu. 1993. *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*. University of the South Pacific, Suva.

Joanne Wallis and Michael Wesley, 'Unipolar Anxieties: Australia's Melanesia Policy after the Age of Intervention', *Asia and the Pacific Studies*. (3:1) 26-37

Albert Wendt. 1986. 'The Angry Young Men of Oceania'. *UNESCO Courier*, May-June: 22-23.

Albert Wendt. 1976. 'Towards a New Oceania', *Mana Review*. 1:1, 49-60



## List of SGDIA Working Papers

### Briefs

Hugh Govan (2018) *From Locally Managed Marine Areas to Indigenous and Community Conserved Oceans*. Working Paper No 3, SGDIA, USP, February 2018.

Lee-Anne Sackett, Romitesh Kant and Jason Titifanue (2018) *The Rotuma Bill No. 6 of 2015: What is at Stake for Rotuma?* Working Paper No 4, SGDIA, USP, June 2018.

Wesley Morgan (2018) *Back on the Map: Pacific Islands in a New Era of Strategic Competition*. Working Paper No 5, SGDIA, USP, June 2018.

Simon Bradshaw (2018) *Friend or Foe: Australia, Climate Change and the Pacific*. Working Paper No 6, SGDIA, USP, August 2018

Jope Tarai and Eliko Drugunalevu (2018) *Citizen Journalism, Social Media and the Media in Fiji*. Working Paper No 7, SGDIA, USP, October 2018

Esther Pavihi (2018) *Perceptions of Women's Representation in Pacific Parliaments: The Case of Niue*. Working Paper No 8, SGDIA, USP, November 2018

Reclaiming Oceania Collective (2018) *The Rush for Oceania: Critical perspectives on contemporary Oceans governance and stewardship*. Working Paper No 9, SGDIA, USP, December 2018

### Working Papers

Vasemaca Lutu, Vijay Naidu and Kesaia Seniloli (2017) *The Fijian Ethos and Dawasamu Miraculous Healing Water: A Study of Delakado and Natadradave Villagers' Response to God's Gift*. Working Paper No 1, SGDIA, USP, September 2017.

Paul Carnegie (2017) *Rethinking constitutional reform in the Pacific: What can we learn from the Indonesian experience?* Working Paper No 2, SGDIA, USP, September 2017.

Cordelia Belezair (2018) *Rethinking the Limits of Labour Casualisation in the Public Service*. Working Paper No 10, SGDIA, USP, December 2018