



CENTER FOR PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES
TEACHING OCEANIA SERIES
VOLUME 7

PACIFIC STUDIES: A TRANSFORMATIONAL MOVEMENT



UNIVERSITY
of HAWAII®
MĀNOA

Credits

Cover:

USP student Philip Subu holding West Papua Morning Star flag during 2018 Melanesian Arts Festival. Photo: Courtesy of Joy Enomoto.

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2021 *Pacific Studies: A Transformational Movement*. Volume 7 of Teaching Oceania Series, edited by Joy Enomoto.

Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i–Mānoa.

Preface

The Teaching Oceania series is an initiative by the Center for Pacific Islands Studies (CPIS) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa to produce teaching and learning resources for undergraduate students in Pacific Islands Studies in Hawai'i and beyond. In collaboration with colleagues from universities in Hawai'i, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, across the Pacific Islands, and in the continental US, the series provides open access to teaching materials that illuminate Pacific Studies' importance to the contemporary region. Prior volumes have largely focused on viewing and reframing critical issues confronting our region and its Indigenous peoples and local communities. This latest volume offers students an extraordinary window on the transformative history of Pacific Studies itself. Guided by lead author Joy Enomoto, the authors of volume seven ask readers to consider how Pacific Islands Studies is "part of a long journey toward gaining a comprehensive and deeper understanding" of the region and its peoples. For Indigenous readers, perhaps the volume goes further, observing that "for a deeper understanding of self, there can also be a greater connection to other people and their movements from which solidarity can grow."

The authors' orienting goals are worth noting. The foundations provided here encourage students to (1) understand how regional and global social movements shape Pacific Island Studies and how different "brands" of Pacific Studies emerged in different historical moments and different regional contexts, (2) perceive the dynamics of both historical and contemporary

challenges to Pacific Studies as a scholarly endeavor, and (3) reflect on the scholarly, political, and cultural possibilities of Pacific Studies for navigating from the present into an ever more empowered future. Also notable is the authors' theme of solidarity. Woven connections within and between communities and transformative actors, historical events and sovereignty of communities navigating towards unfolding futures is at the heart of the transformative vision of Pacific Studies offered here. This vision passionately and compellingly reasserts the value of research and scholarship as a meaningful part of transformative social movements, from the 1970s to the present, reminding students that activism and critical discourse are potent allies.

We congratulate Joy Enomoto and her co-authors for this deeply researched and exquisitely detailed and storied volume. Additional thanks to Dejan Ann Kahilina'i Perez and Talei Mangioni for editorial support. The layout was designed and completed by Teora Morris, a CPIS BA and MA alumna who significantly contributed to the realization of the volume.

Alexander Mawyer
Professor and Director
Center for Pacific Islands Studies

About the Teaching Oceania Series

Teaching Oceania is a publication series created with the collaboration of scholars from around the Pacific region to address the need for appropriate literature for undergraduate Pacific Islands Studies students throughout Oceania. The series is designed to take advantage of digital technology to enhance texts with embedded multimedia content, thought-provoking images, and interactive graphs.

The Teaching Oceania series is defined by:

- A regional perspective
- A collaborative process. The current texts have been written by teams of 4 or more scholars with regional representation to appeal to a broad audience through diverse examples
- A theme or topic that is not yet accessible to undergraduate students through current literature
- A Pacific Islands Studies approach that is interdisciplinary, creative, comparative, and grounded
- Attractive, relevant images, video, audio, and interactive features
- Accessibility in multiple formats, interactively as iBooks, EPUBs, and broadly as PDF files
- Free access to the texts at permanent links on the University of Hawai'i Scholar Space [Center for Pacific Islands Studies Community](#)

The Center for Pacific Islands Studies invites collaborative proposals for additional volumes in this series. For inquiries and more information contact, please feel free to contact us at cpis@hawaii.edu.

Other Volumes:

1. Militarism and Nuclear Testing in the Pacific
2. Gender in the Pacific
3. Health and Environment in the Pacific
4. Oceanic Arts: Continuity and Innovation
5. Islands of French Speaking Oceania
6. Introduction to Pacific Studies
7. Pacific Studies: A Transformational Movement



North Pacific Ocean

South Pacific Ocean

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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Contributors and Acknowledgements



EMALANI CASE

Emalani Case is a Kanaka Maoli woman, activist, and writer living and teaching in Aotearoa. As a lecturer in Pacific Studies and a researcher, she is deeply engaged in issues of Indigenous rights and representation, settler colonialism and decolonization, and environmental and social justice in Oceania. Her work is motivated by a desire to strengthen trans-Indigenous solidarities across the Pacific to work toward building better futures. She is the author of *Everything Ancient Was Once New: Indigenous Persistence from Hawai'i to Kahiki*. She comes from Waimea, Hawai'i.



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Vince Diaz is a professor at the University of Minnesota. Vince Diaz is an interdisciplinary scholar working at the intersection of history, anthropology, cultural studies, and comparative and global Indigenous studies who specializes in critical Indigenous studies in North America and the Pacific Ocean region. He is most notably the founder and director of The Native Canoe Program, housed in the Department of American Indian Studies. He earned a BA and an MA in political science at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and in 1992 earned a PhD in history of consciousness from the University of California, Santa Barbara. His contributions to the field of Pacific history, among others, are numerous and include his 2010 book, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam*.



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Leora (Lee) Kava is a hafekasi poet and musician of Tongan descent who recently received her PhD in creative writing from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She is the founder of the Pacific Verse project, a community-based workshop series based in Nuku'alofa, Tonga that works with participants to create, perform, and publish original poetry and music. She recently completed a Fulbright grant in Tonga, where she worked with Seleka—a community arts organization based in Haveluloto, Tongatapu—to develop a curriculum and host poetry and music-writing workshops. In August 2020, she joined the community, students, faculty, and staff at the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University as an Assistant Professor of Critical Pacific Islander & Oceania Studies (CPIOS).

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VEHIA WHEELER

Vehia Wheeler is a child of Moana Nui a Hiva, born and raised in Waiau, O'ahu, but traces her roots to Tahiti Island and Mangareva Island in the South Pacific. She works as a cultural and environmental consultant, and lives on Mo'orea island in Mā'ohi Nui (French Polynesia). She is an advocate for the perpetuation of her Indigenous culture in the islands of Tahiti.

Editors



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DEJAN PEREZ

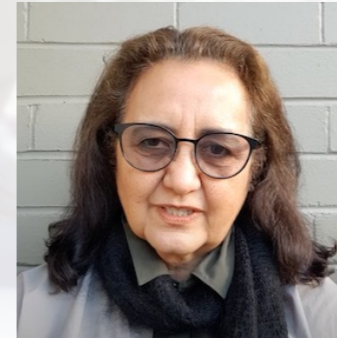
Dejan Ann Kahilina'i Perez is a second-year M.A. student in Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She was raised in Honoka'a and Waimea on Hawai'i Island and is of mixed Kanaka Maoli, Okinawan, Puerto Rican, and Portuguese descent. Her current research interests include contemporary poetry, Indigenous Queer Theory, and reproductive justice. Perez currently works for CPIS as a research assistant and hopes to continue her education in creative writing.



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Talei Mangioni is a PhD candidate and lecturer at the School of Culture, History and Language in the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University. Talei was born and raised on Gadigal land of the Eora Nation and is of Fijian and Italian descent. She now lives and works on Ngunnawal and Ngambri lands. Her current scholarship charts the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) movement across Oceania through historical ethnography, weaving archival records and material objects with oral histories of activists and artists. She is also a research officer for the Oceania Working Party for the Australian Dictionary of Biography and for the CHL Indigenous Remix and Decolonial Possibilities Flagship. She is the Secretary of the Australian Association of Pacific Studies and a member of Youngsolwara and ICAN Australia.

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VINAKA VAKALEVU

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The editors would like to extend special thanks to Dr. Vanessa Griffen and Dr. Claire Slatter for their significant contributions and personal photographs of social movements and activists from ATOM and the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific during the 1970s-1980s (Image 1 & 2).



MAHALO NUI LOA

ELEANOR KLEIBER & STU DAWRS

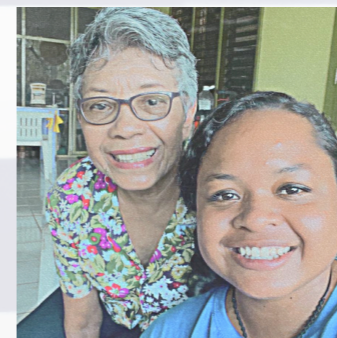
The editors deeply appreciate librarians Eleanor Kleiber and Stu Dawrs of the Pacific Collection at Hamilton Library at UH Mānoa for their support in providing access to important resources during the restrictions of the COVID-19 pandemic. (Image 3).



KE KMAL MESAUL

RIMMUU WILLIAMS

The editors also extend their appreciation to Rimuu Williams, undergraduate alum of the University of Hawai'i's Center for Pacific Islands Studies, for contributing her research and voice to this volume. (Image 4; pictured with activist-scholar Salvadora Katosang).



Volume 7 Teaching Oceania Series

Pacific Studies: A Transformational Movement

Introduction and Overview

Student Learning Objectives (SLOs)

1. Identify, describe, and understand the significance of how regional and global social movements help to shape Pacific Island Studies
2. Identify and explain the emergence and trajectory of different "brands" of Pacific Studies
3. Identify and explain the historical and contemporary challenges to Pacific Studies
4. Engage in the academic, political, and cultural possibilities of Pacific Studies for the 21st century



Introduction and Overview

Pacific Studies: A Transformational Movement

The second half of the 20th century was an era of formal decolonization for several countries in Oceania, but also a time of global upheaval due to war, racialized violence, Indigenous land displacement, and nuclear testing. Universities became important hubs to develop **critical consciousness** among students to challenge ongoing colonial violence, resource extraction and institutionalized racism. As students' consciousness began evolving, many started participating in various **social justice movements** and organizations. As they were transforming into critical thinkers, activists, and leaders, educational institutions throughout Oceania were being pushed to rise to student and community demands for social justice.

Students seeking structural change wanted to decolonize the academy and rebuild it from the ground up on their own terms. This meant that the validity of nearly every discipline came into question by a rising tide of politically awakening students. However, the idea of decolonizing the academy or Pacific Islands Studies, which exists in only a few institutions, is

not a process that happens overnight. Fundamentally, how do you design a Pacific Studies program "to address rather than reproduce imbalances of power, to be of and for the region rather than simply about it?" (Wesley-Smith 2016, 156). This is the question that was first asked by young students seeking to change not only what they were taught but how they learned about themselves.

Pacific Islands Studies or Pacific Studies, as it is often taught today, had to first be imagined into being. Dr. Teresia Teaiwa reminds us Pacific Studies is something "**imagined and made**" by students, professors, their communities, and the universities together (Teaiwa 2014). As stated in the text, *Introduction to Pacific Studies*, "Pacific studies began as a typical academic field which approached the region from the outside-in; over time practitioners sought to re-center the study of the region from the inside-out, taking a stance on the region not as an object of inquiry but as a site of empowerment, cultural renaissance, and assertive reclamation of cultural identity" (12).

Section header.

Joan Yee, Claire Slatter & Vanessa Griffen in sit in protest, Suva 1970s.
Photo: Vanessa Griffen.
(Page 1).

“

Pacific Studies for us is not something the professors or academics imagine and make alone. It's got to be something the students imagine and make...

”

Teresia Teaiwa, speech for the Center on Learning and Teaching (2014)

This volume of Teaching Oceania will take an in depth look at a few of the most important activists, scholars and political events that laid the groundwork for the concept of a decolonial Pacific Islands Studies, and more importantly how those students and scholars went on to work toward decolonizing Oceania.



Video 1.

Click [here](#) to see the full video of Teresia Teaiwa's 2014 presentation for the Center of Learning and Teaching, "Imagined and made."

Image 1.

Teresia Teaiwa. Source: USP Fiji Dec 11, 2008.

The Meaning of Decolonization

But what does it mean to **decolonize**? This term is heard often in relation to liberation movements to convey many things. Technically, it means the full withdrawal of a non-indigenous colonial regime from a colony, restoring its independence. It can also mean, reflecting “critically on the

nature, scope, and processes of colonialism in the Pacific Islands (or Oceania), particularly its impact on colonized people and their environments” (Thaman 2003, 1). Lastly, to decolonize can mean how a formerly colonized or occupied people can make a way forward without interference by external imperial powers.



Some of you people speak from independent platforms, places that have already gained their independence, and determine their own education system; whereas in our areas that exist under colonialism, this problem is not only duplicated, it is multiplied, because the education system is not only an imposed one, it is in many ways in contradiction to our traditional way of education.



Grace Mera Molisa, On education in French occupied territories at the 1975 Pacific Women’s Conference (Griffen 43).



Image 2.

Grace Mera Molisa
(Melanesian Women Today,
Facebook, October 3, 2019).
Photo: Garry Toomey.



Image 3.
"Decolonize" Community
Resistance at 2016 Festival
of Pacific Arts (June 5,
2016). Source: Cece Carpio
Facebook.

It is common to also hear the phrase, *decolonize your mind*. The most popular application of this phrase comes from the work of Kenyan writer, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, in his groundbreaking book *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. In this text, Dr. wa Thiong'o discusses the impact of what he calls the **cultural bomb**,—"to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves." Dr. wa Thiong'o sought to push back against this type of internal

mental colonization of being disconnected from your ancestral languages and remove the stigma of feeling inferior as colonizers would have their subjects feel. Dr. wa Thiong'o stressed that "language carries, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in our world" (1986, 15). For Pacific communities whose languages had been rendered illegal and nearly lost through state repression, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's words were treated as a rallying cry for those seeking to revitalize their ancestral languages. When you consider that there are several thousand languages and dialects spoken throughout Oceania, it becomes clear that "language is not only a medium of communication, it is a repository knowledge and of culture" ("Talanoa Dialogue" Kabutaulaka, 2021).

However, we can be so inspired and empowered by the cultural ideas of decolonization that we sometimes forget decolonization alone is not necessarily liberation. Pacific countries that gained independence in the 20th century often found themselves in a **neocolonial era**, in which they were still bound to their former colonial occupiers through Western concepts of development and security. Pacific countries suddenly found themselves in debt in to the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. In some cases, where colonial settlers, militaries or companies had been driven out, toxic

environmental damage remained, saddling the emerging nations with the cost of cleaning up the damage that their occupiers had created.

Therefore, it is important that when we speak about decolonization, we do not limit the discussion solely to the restoration of Indigenous/Aboriginal culture, dance, language, and knowledge but also take seriously the full breadth of the dynamics of power that continue to challenge our liberations. This was the original intention of those who sought freedom for Oceania, and it remains true.

The years between the 1960s–1970s were an incredibly politically dynamic period. Activists from Kanaky (New Caledonia) to Hawai'i began to fight for a more just and equitable world through anti-war and anti-nuclear testing demonstrations, held conferences on the question of feminism and the role of women, joined the call for Black Power, and participated in land occupations to protect traditional lands and waterways from excessive development. The South Pacific, in particular, became an epicenter for political uprisings, regional gatherings, and protests of solidarity. Many young students from across the Pacific became involved in these movements, of whom a good number went on to become significant cultural and political leaders.

Many youth led organizations were created during this time, such as the group **Against Testing on Moruroa**

(ATOM) started by the Students Association at the University of the South Pacific, Laucala campus, which raised awareness of the impacts of nuclear testing in French Polynesia and organized one of the earliest movements to stop the tests (Leckie 183). ATOM laid the foundation for the organization the **Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific** and its first Conference in Suva, Fiji 1975 included participants spanning from Tahiti to the Marshall Islands and Hawai'i.



Image 4. Biologist Suliana Siwatibu warns of the dangers of nuclear testing at the ATOM Youth Conference (*Fiji Times*, May 16, 1974).

Image 5.

Participants at Pacific Women's Conference held in Suva, Fiji (1975).

Image 6.

Leo Hannett, Niugini Black Power Group leader. Source: Douglas Oliver Collection, *Library Digital Image Collections*, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Video 2.

Click [here](#) to watch "Ngā Tamatoa: 40 Years On. NZONscreen.

At the end of the same year, the first Pacific Women's Conference was also held in Suva and included many students from throughout Oceania and activists from the US and the Caribbean. Around 1970, in connection with the Pan-Africanist movement, students at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) created the **Niugini Black Power Group** to demand independence from Australia.

In Aotearoa, informed by and in solidarity with the US based Black Panther party, students at the University of

Auckland formed **Ngā Tamatoa**, and in solidarity took on issues of racism toward Maori, South African apartheid, Indigenous land struggles, and promoted language revitalization and the overall struggle for self-determination. Meanwhile, in New Caledonia, the **Foulards Rouge** or Red Scarf Movement was started by radicalized students determined to gain independence from the French.





Image 7.
Ngā Tamatoa members
on the steps of Parliament
(November 11, 1972).
Source: The Dominion
Post Collection, Alexander
Turnbull Library.



Image 8.
Stop the Evictions protest for
Waiāhole-Waikāne on O'ahu
Hawai'i.

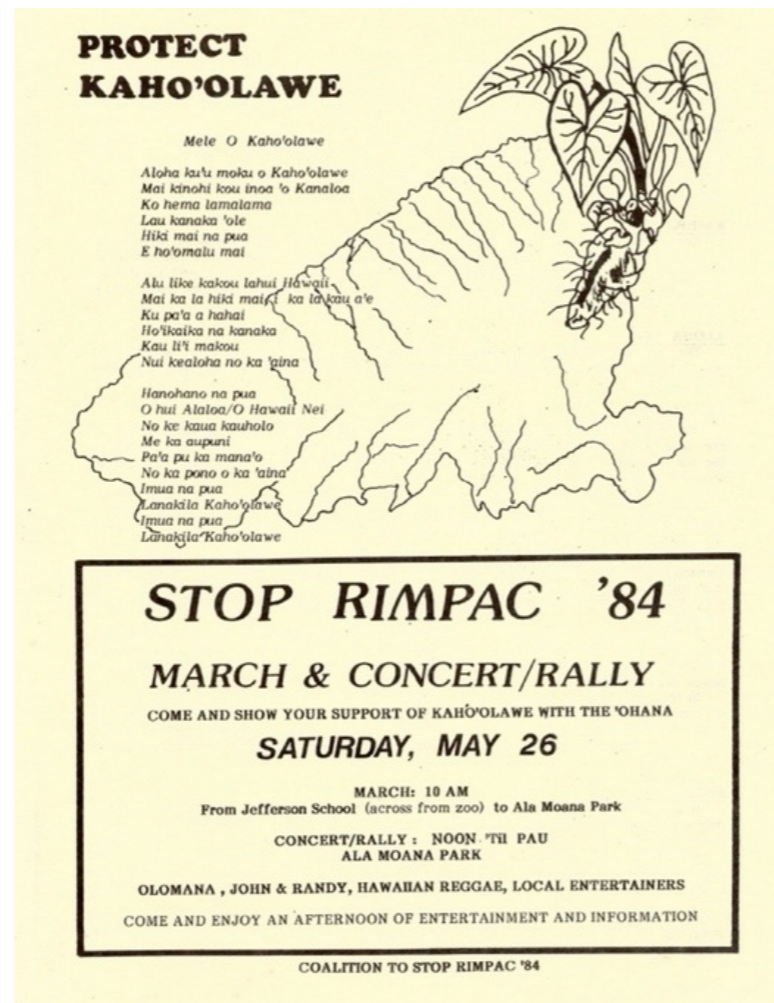


Image 9.
Protect Kaho'olawe "Stop
RIMPAC '84" (Rim of the
Pacific Military Exercises)
(May 26, 1984). Source: Joy
Enomoto.

These movements promoted regional and international solidarity. Student-led social justice movements began to transform both the **ideologies** and the **pedagogies** of literature, history, anthropology, and all areas of education with the intention of recentering the stories, cultures, language, and science of the Pacific. At USP, a regional university, currently with eleven campuses throughout Oceania, the students did not just protest, they also created newspapers, literary journals, art collectives, political reading groups, and new student organizations. USP, Saweni, Lautoka campus, became a key source for generating South Pacific Literature (Leckie 209). Simultaneously, students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UH) became involved in what is known as the Hawaiian Renaissance, a period spanning from the 1970's to the 1990's that revitalized Hawaiian language education, pushed for Hawaiian independence from American occupation, demanded an end to the evictions of Hawaiians for aggressive housing and hotel development, and an end to US military land seizure and the bombing of the island of Kaho'olawe. The energy and passion of students and Kānaka Maoli faculty during this era was vital in the creation of the UH Hawaiian Studies department.

For the first time, the youth of Oceania were at the center, forming distinct, culturally relevant educational

institutions invested in the issues that were impacting their communities.

Pacific Studies: A Transformational Movement will build upon and add to the scope of the *Teaching Oceania Series: Introduction to Pacific Studies* by focusing specifically on the global and regional social justice movements that influenced and helped to shape Pacific Islands Studies as part of a genealogy of resistance toward decolonization. We will hear directly from Pacific Islands Studies alumni and faculty on the ways that both historical and contemporary social justice scholar activists brought them into the discipline and informed their work beyond the academy. We will also explore the challenges Pacific

Islands Studies scholars continue to face within institutions that remain resistant to change. Considering Pacific Islands Studies as a dynamic academic interdisciplinary field, we will close this text by discussing what it means to decolonize Pacific Islands Studies in the 21st century, in the midst of climate change, by learning from the current discussions happening between the faculty of newly emerging Pacific Islands Studies programs (primarily in the United States) and the faculty of programs located in Oceania.



Image 10. Center for Pacific Studies Alumni Video collage (Ken Gofigan, Vehia Wheeler, D. Keali'i Mackenzie, Serena Michelle, and Leora Kava. July 2020.

Video 3. Click [here](#) to listen to alumni of UHM's Center for Pacific Islands Studies share their experiences in Pacific Islands Studies.

REVOLUTIONARY

Haunani-Kay Trask

(October 3, 1949 – July 3, 2021)

Dr. Haunani-Kay Trask was a Kanaka Maoli scholar, activist, and poet. Trask was a co-founder and champion of the field of Hawaiian Studies and a leading light in the struggle for Hawaiian Sovereignty. Often considered a polarizing figure in the Hawaiian Independence movement, she co-founded Ka Lāhui Hawai'i with her sister Dr. Mililani Trask to promote language revitalization, the returning of Native lands, and self-determination for the Kanaka Maoli.

Trask was also an internationalist who believed in solidarity with oppressed peoples throughout the world and actively opposed Indigenous displacement from their lands due to nuclear testing, militarization, colonial extraction, overdevelopment, tourism, and settler colonialism. She worked closely with the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, supported and was inspired by the Black Power Movement, and stood in solidarity with the liberation struggles of the Indigenous peoples of West Papua, Timor Leste, South Africa, and Palestine.

She is best known for her books, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (1993), *Eros and Power: The Promise of Feminist Theory* (1986), and *Kū'e! Thirty Years of Land Struggle in Hawai'i* (2004) and two books of poetry *Light in the Crevice Never Seen* (1994) and *Night Is a Sharkskin Drum* (2002).

A beloved mana wahine and aloha 'āina to so many around the world, she is often cited as the reason many Kanaka Maoli living abroad returned home to fight for social justice, to work and protect the 'āina, and to learn to speak 'ōlelo Hawai'i. Sadly, she joined the ancestors on July 3, 2021, following a prolonged illness. Perhaps CHamoru writer Julian Aguon, says it best, "In so many ways, we all live in the house that she built."

“

I am slyly
reproductive: ideas
books, history
politics, reproducing
the rope of resistance
for unborn generations.

”

Haunani-Kay Trask,
from her poem "Sons"

"On Our Own Terms": Toward A New Pacific Studies





1

In 1969, Francis Saemala (pictured above) was among the eight students from the Solomon Islands to attend the newly opened USP. When the university began, the dining hall maintained racial and gender divisions by serving “Indian” and “Islander” food, and women did not sit with the men. But the issue that united them was the poor quality of the food. Saemala organized the first of several student “food strikes” (Leckie 46-47). Later, according to USP professor Vijay Naidu, during the mid-1970s, students joined the dining hall staff in their protests over low wages and poor work conditions by refusing to eat in the dining hall to apply pressure on the administration (Leckie 184-185). These seemingly small protests and acts of solidarity provided spaces for students to meet and learn about each other’s cultures by organizing together. As a result, they were able to develop stronger movements pushing for structural change.

Long before professor Epeli Hau'ofa published his famous essay, “Our Sea of Islands,” which dramatically shifted

“ your way
objective
analytic always doubting
the truth
until proof comes
slowly
quietly
and it hurts
my way
subjective
gut-feeling like
always sure
of the truth the proof
is there
waiting
and it hurts ”

**Konai Helu Thaman, “Our Way”
Decolonizing Pacific Studies**

Section 1 Header.

(Above) Francis Saemala, Food Strike at University of South Pacific, April 28, 1969.

Photo: Fiji Archives M5915.



Image 11.

Konai Helu Thaman presents a copy of a new book of poems by ni-Vanuatu brother, Garae, March 24, 1984. Source: USP.

the perspective of Oceania into a sea of many islands connected through deep relations, rather than tiny islands in a remote sea, the peoples of Oceania created alliances of solidarity and kinship through social justice movements.

Although the ocean does indeed connect the peoples of Oceania and our relations do in fact run vast and deep, the legacy of colonization severely interrupted those relations, creating divisions where there were none or exploiting divisions that previously existed, shifting our gender relations and completely changing the world as we knew it, while relying on the vastness of the ocean to keep us separated. Throwing off the yoke of colonialism means that Pacific peoples must push through centuries of racism, trauma and repressive state violence, and profound political, spiritual and cultural loss. Pacific knowledge is often called into question and undermined by Western academics, scientists and governments. The peoples of Oceania learned very early that in order to shift the tide of history toward reclaiming their cultures and lands, they would not only need to fight for the survival of their own cultures, they would also need to support other nations in their struggles for liberation. But that is easier said than done. Each village, archipelago, atoll and island have specific place-based ways of knowing, governance, landscapes and ontologies. For example, "not all Indigenous peoples throughout the Pacific region were saltwater people, nor were they navigators, and

throughout the Solomons, Papua New Guinea, New Caledonia and Australasia, trade between highlanders and lowlanders, or saltwater and inlanders, crossed the dynamic borders of hundreds of language and kinship groups" (Banivanua-Mar 2016, 25). Furthermore, Pacific peoples have distinct ways of identifying themselves, have different names for the ocean, and are not always in agreement on who is considered Pacific Islander. As a result, using generalized terms to describe such a vast and varied region presents complex and unique challenges. It is clear that there needed to be other points of connection to understand how to support each other beyond our islands meeting at the edge of the Pacific. One of the most significant sites for broader connection was often such spaces as the university.

Tinian land is for farming

"Because of recent events we have come to realize that 'if you starve a person, He'll eat anything he is given.' We have been getting only crumbs. Our land is precious and scarce, we cannot condone the use of it by a foreign government. We are Chamorros and proud of it and want to stay that way."

"We steadfastly oppose the military takeover of any of our Beautiful Island for purposes of destruction and instead offer a life-giving alternative – the growing on our super-rich soil of food for our Struggling Nation."

Tinian students at the University of Guam 1973

Image 12.

"Tinian Land is for Farming."
Source: Micronesia Support Committee Bulletin Vol. 3 No. 6 September/October 1978, p. 38.

Just like students of today, the students of the late 1960s and 70s went to university carrying all the weight of their family's expectations. They were curious, homesick and anxious, overwhelmed and excited by their new surroundings, eager to learn and expected to gain a degree to help their families. Also like today, universities represented many new possibilities. Students got the chance to meet other students from throughout Oceania and to develop their own critical thinking through exposure to new ideas. Away from their families they could ask hard questions about their material conditions both at home and in the world beyond Oceania. Youth from Kanaky to Hawai'i started to create dynamic regional organizations and international networks of resistance. In 1960, "when decolonisation became a global imperative sanctioned by the United Nations, the vast majority of Pacific's Indigenous peoples were under some form of colonial rule" (13). By the late 1960s, tensions regarding colonial extraction of mineral and natural resources, displacement of Indigenous/Aboriginal peoples from their lands for urban development and tourism, the toxicity of nuclear testing, wealth disparity and demands for self-determination were rising. The restoration of sovereignty to countries who were still occupied by colonial and imperial powers both prior to and during World War II was becoming a pressing demand among the Indigenous/Aboriginal citizens of Oceania. Places such as West Papua, Kanaky (New Caledonia),

Guahan (Guam) and the Northern Marianas, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Palau, Kiribati, Tahiti and French Polynesia, Aotearoa, Hawaii and Australia remained contested sites. Internationally, opposition to the Vietnam War and South African apartheid were on the rise, as well as a growing solidarity among youth within Oceania with the Black Power movement of the US, Indigenous rights movements, feminist, gay rights, and socialist movements throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America and China. Everything about how the world functioned was coming into question. Oceania was at the forefront of decolonization and social movements, actively engaging with international communities to move the world toward justice.

By the 1990s, many students, scholars, community, political and church leaders in Oceania were involved in a variety of issues. University campuses became centers of intense political study, debate and protest. Student strikes, sit-ins or marches across campuses often resulted in clashes with university administrations and local police. It was a time of deep awakening for many students in Oceania, not just for Pacific Islanders but for students from every ethnicity. Many of those early student activists went on to become important leaders, activists, scholars and artists in Oceania. In this chapter, we will focus on a few of those young activists whose work has helped to shape the field of contemporary Pacific Islands

Studies either by becoming professors themselves, becoming significant political figures or by becoming mentoring activists and artists who inform the discipline in a multitude of other ways.

Universities such as the University of the South Pacific, the University of Papua New Guinea, the University of Auckland, and the University of Hawai'i became hubs for political organizing and attracted progressive scholars and activists from around the globe wanting to engage with the Pacific. Simultaneously, students who had been sent to study abroad often returned with radicalized ideas informed by other student movements. For example, Kanak leader Nidoish Naisseline, who formed the youth-led "Foulards Rouge," returned from France to Noumea after participating in the May 1968 Student Strike in Paris, ready to organize other students and challenge the French occupation. He stated, "The Paris students only thought of throwing the culture and values of their parents into the gutter. We, in contrast, dreamt of rehabilitating that of our ancestors, which had been crushed underfoot by the colons" (Chappell 2013, 248). Revolution, as they say, was in the air.

Section 2 will further explore a few of the key social movements that emerged out of this era. But first let's begin by learning more about some of those first student organizers who inspired the critical approaches to Pacific Islands Studies that contemporary educators use today.

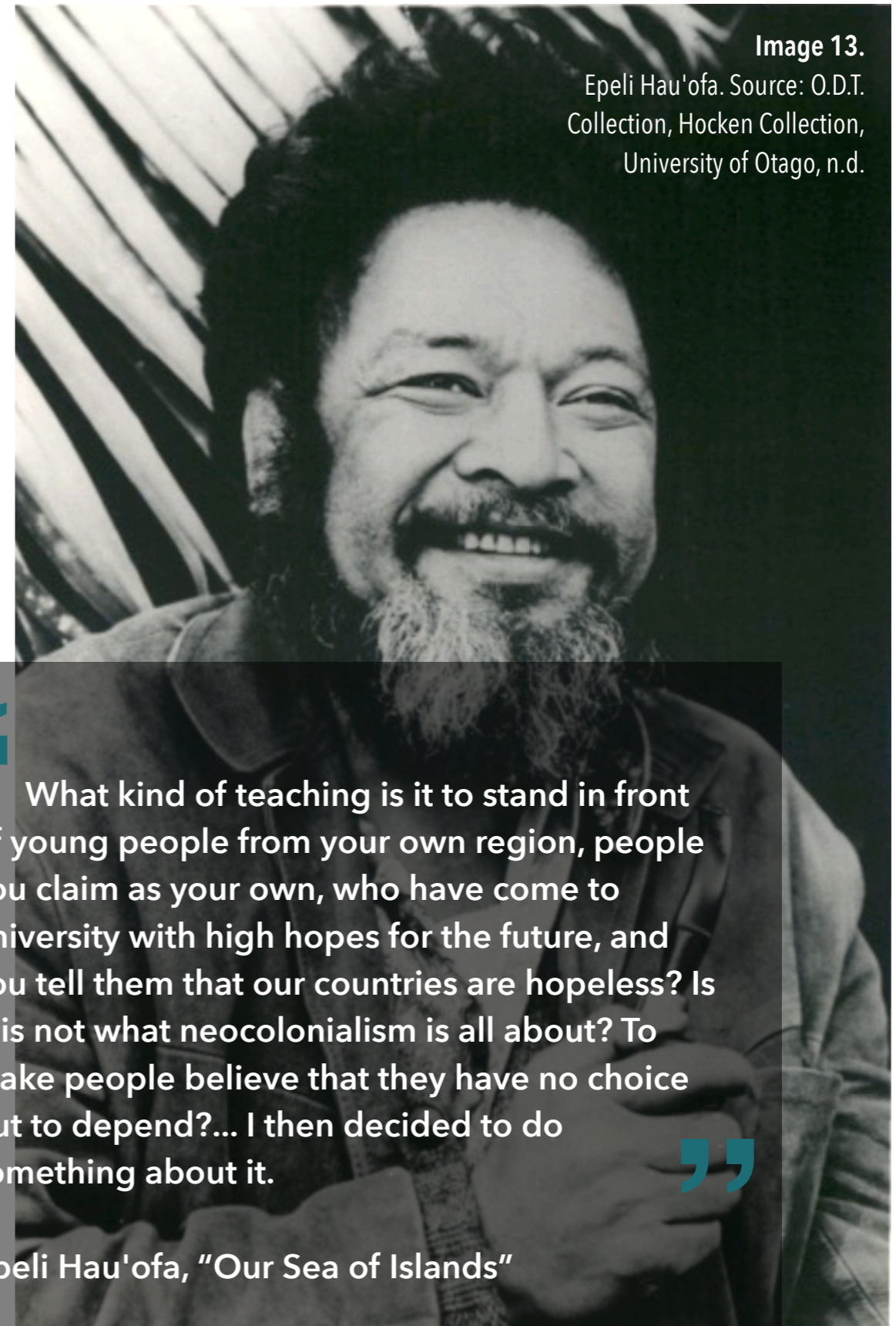


Image 13.

Epeli Hau'ofa. Source: O.D.T. Collection, Hocken Collection, University of Otago, n.d.

“

What kind of teaching is it to stand in front of young people from your own region, people you claim as your 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 all about? To make people believe that they have no choice but to depend?... I then decided to do something about it.

”

Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands"

Finding a Collective Voice

"I belong to Oceania – or, at least I am rooted in some fertile portion of it – and it nourishes my spirit, helps to define me, and feeds my imagination" (Wendt 1976, 49). These are the opening words of Samoan writer and artist Albert Wendt's reflective and innovative essay "**Towards a New Oceania**." He wrote this creative piece for the first issue of the newly formed USP student journal, *Mana Review: A South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature* in 1976. As you read his words, you can hear a young artist who is sincerely trying to find his way, often frustrated by the trappings of tradition and eager to carve out new liberated futures for the peoples of Oceania. Wendt insisted that "our quest should not be for a revival of our past cultures but the creation of new cultures which are free of the taint of colonialism and based firmly in our own pasts." In this statement, Wendt conveys the sentiments of many students of this time who were hungry for change. His essay is unique in several ways. While he has no desires to recreate the past, he is rooted in it. In his writings, Wendt often wove in the voices of other young Pacific writers from Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, and Kanaky (New Caledonia). By including voices from other cultures of this emerging generation of writers and activists in the midst of the decolonial era, he "challenges Pacific Islanders to take charge of their own images, of their own representations" (Hereniko, *New Oceania*). That is exactly what

“ The quest should be for a new Oceania. ”

Albert Wendt, "Towards a New Oceania"

began to happen during this time period. Writers like Konai Helu Thaman, Subramani, Vanessa Griffen, Mildred Sope, Grace Mera Molisa, Jully Sipolo, and Witi Ihimaera, Déwé Gorodé, Patricia Grace, and Regis Stella were all beginning to publish and become known for writing poems, novels and plays in their Indigenous languages. Other creatives followed such as film makers Merata Mita of Aotearoa and Vilsoni Hereniko from Rotuma, centering Pacific stories, struggles, language and representations, shifting the gaze away from colonial desires and restoring their own visions from within their own cultures.

Throughout the Pacific, Pacific Islander student artists began producing journals, newspapers, posters and magazines. In a brief conversation with University of Hawai'i Center for Pacific Islands Studies professor, Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, shared how important producing these student newspapers and journals were in building community on campus. Reflecting on



Image 14.

Albert Wendt. Source: Creative Talanoa. October 15, 2012.

Video 4.

Click [here](#) to watch "The New Oceania" directed by Shirley Korrock in 2015. Video, 70:45.



Oloman!
 Cain banap bilong em
 Cain banap bilong em
 Cain bilap bilong em
 Cain wokabaut bilong em
 Brokim lewa atrot
 Oloman!
 Bel bilong mangki Buka sikirap
 Mangki Sepik daunim spot nating
 Boi Tolai singaut maiiau
 Boi Simbu singaut kekeni Favour
 Boi Papua singaut kusan
 Boi Keremai i kus giaman
 Boi Samarai wuisil
 em i no laik lukluk bek
 Oloman!
 Marmari long mipela liklik
 Marmari long mipela liklik
 Meri wantok
 Mipela bagarap pinis
 Mipela pundaun pinis
 Mipela drai pinis
 Mipela drai pinis
 Mipela sikirap pinis
 Oloman! Yu olsem wanem

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YUPELA MERI I SENIS HARIAP PINIS

Not long ago I used to go up the Hekika hill.
 When I looked below over the green valley
 I could see smoke popping up here and there —
 From amongst the jar trees and burial gran.
 And I could see you young girls
 Working very hard in your gardens.
 In your traditional pulupe
 With pig grease reflecting in the sun
 From your beautiful skin.

But now
 When I go up the Hekika hill
 And look below over the beautiful valley
 I can see grey smoke popping out of mills and factories
 From amongst the huge ugly lumps of metals
 And I can see you young girls
 In blue jeans and jackets
 With high heel shoes and stinky perfumes
 Purse in one hand and newspapers in the other.
 As you walk from shop to shop gardening
 With your breasts sweating in the breast bags.

Oh yupela i weni hariap pinis!
 Not long ago your names used to be Unkome, Mhow and Fale
 You never looked at boys nor talked to them
 Always eyes were on the ground
 With bilum on your heads.

But now
 All your names have changed
 To Marys, Bettys, Jennys, and Rones
 And you go around hand in hand

With your mangi poroman without bilum
 Oh yupela of meat i weni
 Pinis mihi Queens!
 No ya Gorkka, ya laik winitin Tokyo and New York!

BALUWE UMETYRIFO Sept 27, 1978.



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Image 15.
 "Oloman," Ondobondo Poster
 Poem by Regis Stella, illus.
 Michael Ayulo. January 1980.

Image 16.
 "Yupela Meri I Senis Hariap
 Pinis" Baluwe Umetyrifo, illus.
 Titus Tilley. April 1980. Source:
 Athabasca Virtual Library.

the creation of the USP student newspaper *UNISPAC*, he said,
 "We used to all come together in a small room on campus, type
 the newspaper on a typewriter, and then cut out the different
 paragraphs and do the layout. Then we would print it by
 cranking it out on a mimeograph machine by hand! This was
 how we got to build community, by working together. It was
 how we got to learn about each other's cultures."

A particularly exciting set of creative literature and visual
 art produced during this period came was created by student at
 the University of Papua New Guinea. A set of poster poems

called *Ondobondo*, a "Binandere word meaning festival,
 singing, and feasting" (Chakravarti quoted in Dawrs 2009, 1).
 Between 1979–1980, co-editors Prithvindra Chakravarti and
 Russell Soaba of The UNPNG Literature Department organized
 the publication of sixteen poster poems, eleven of which were
 presented at the Third South Pacific Festival of the Arts in 1980
 (28–29). Because the festival was created to "show outsiders
 our true cultural ways" (Dawrs quoting Kaeppler 31), the
 posters stood out as a tremendous reflection of a time that was
 very much in transition between the traditional and the new.



Steven Winduo

Papuan New Guinea writer and scholar Steven Edmund Winduo lectures in literature at the University of Papua New Guinea and is director of Melanesian and Pacific Studies in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. Winduo writes poetry in several languages, the language of his people, Nagum Boiken, Tokpisin and Hiri Motu, to name a few. When he chooses to write in English it is for political reasons for others to see Papua New Guinea in relation to the larger world.

He is the author of the poetry collections *Lomo'ha I am, in Spirits' Voice I Call* (1991), *Hembemba: Rivers of the Forest* (2000), *A Rower's Song* (2009), and *Detwan How? Poems in Tok Pisin and English* (2012) a short story collection, *The Unpainted Mask* (2010), a work of historical fiction, *Land Echoes* (2014) and *Transitions and Transformations: Literature, Politics, and Culture in Papua New Guinea* (2013). He is also a founding editor of *Savanna Flames: A Papua New Guinea Journal of Literature, Language, and Culture* (2004).

Rivers stand as a text for me, and it is up to me to read what is inscribed on the surface, beneath it, and along it.

Steven Winduo, on rivers as metaphors (2006, 85).

Following the festival, poetry events and the Ondobondo Club gathered about thirty people monthly. They went on to create a literary journal to showcase young Melanesian writers in a variety of languages. The Ondobondo poster poems were designed as collaborations between poets and visual artists. Each poster took on a different political or social issue, such as women's liberation, Black Power, development, and independence. Because there were few outlets for young writers and artists within the university, *Ondobondo* became an important source for Papua New Guinea literature and art. But it is also important to note that even though there were limitations to the university, other forms of cultural expression such as live theater and radio broadcasts spread out into the wider community, reaching wider audiences and providing even more outlets for emerging creatives.

SOLIDARITY

Makeu Opa

As you struggle
in your paradise
I make my thoughts
bear with you
for I stand in solidarity
with you in your cause
knowing deep in me
that I'm part of that struggle.

O, bro; don't count me out
'cause I stand beside you
in thoughts and desires
I know that your actions will shape
the destiny of our people
It's only a beginning
I salute you for this start.

The arts were a key entry point toward this concept of a new Oceania and important in terms of changing the field Pacific Studies into something that was both place-based and

regional, critical and political. And just as the early days of the decolonial era were a dynamic time for the reawakening of Pacific arts and culture, they were also a dynamic time for the development of Pacific centered research, theories, and political consciousness, which really began to blossom in the early 1990s.

To understand the critical research that began to form in the 1990s, it is important to understand the Indigenous Pacific Islander relationships both within and outside of the academy to critical theory during the late 1960s-1980s. Students throughout the Pacific were actively engaging with activists and theorists

from around the world. Students read many of the writings produced by Third World writers such as Edward Said, Franz Fanon, and Paolo Freire. They were also reading the writings of many controversial revolutionary leaders such as Amilcar

Image 17.

"Solidarity" by Makeu Opa in *Siboda Henari: poems on independence*. Source: Athabasca University Virtual Library Papua Pocket Poets (1975).

Cabral, Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara and Malcolm X, to name only a few. Students often read these materials outside of the classroom and took both their academic and political education very seriously, which often resulted in vigorous debates and disagreements, but also revelations and calls for societal change. At that time, the university was still prioritizing foreign perspectives on history and economics, and students felt compelled to read beyond the classroom. However, the point was not necessarily to read these writings to commit to a particular political party or ideology, but to understand their position in relation to the rest of the world. They wanted to understand not just how the world worked around them, but *why* it functioned the way it did. They intended to apply those readings to their everyday reality. To form a decolonial Pacific Studies, it became evident that new methodologies and pedagogies needed to replace ideas of the outsider looking in and shift toward theories that were place-based and rooted in the knowledge that has always been embedded within Oceania.

The narrative that Pacific Islanders are strictly oral cultures has often been used to deny and dismiss the wide array of literacies and theoretical knowledges that have always existed within Oceania. The idea that theory and history must be written down to be considered valid intends to keep Pacific peoples trapped in the past. It is better to consider the peoples

of Oceania as holding expansive theories that can exist beyond the page and, at times, beyond Western understanding. This being said, Pacific Islander scholars and allies who were committed to creating a dynamic discipline were more than aware that dismissive and racist institutional assumptions were exactly what they were going to be pushing back against. As Maori theorist, Linda Tuihawai Smith wrote,

“It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations” (1999, 1).

Seeking to undo the harm of centuries of colonial education, critical theories about the Pacific from a Pacific worldview by Pacific scholars needed to be written to both challenge inaccurate colonial histories and theories and to empower Pacific Islands Studies students. Understanding that in a Pacific context, knowledge comes from many schools—from

elders, storytellers, weavers, their communities, the land, the rivers, the sky, the sea and the academy. Therefore, in Pacific Studies, all of these forms of knowledge are considered valid sources to draw from. It is what Professor Kawika Tengan calls, "Oceanic Reason" (Lyons and Tengan 2015, 545). But what is considered common sense to Pacific peoples is often challenging for educational structures reluctant to change.

Writing theory, reading theory and putting that theory into practice was central to the liberation movements. It is not now, nor has it ever been just about protests and on the ground activism. Popular education theorists such as Paulo Freire, argued for a combination of theory and practice, learning and doing, what he called **praxis**. In the 1990s, Pacific scholars drew from this perspective and began creating theories of change for Oceania that shifted the center of knowledge toward a Pacific centered approach and away from the West. They then began applying these theories to their teaching. This was made possible by years of social movements both on and off campuses, demanding change on all levels, including their academic institutions. Students recognized that if Pacific Studies was going to function as a decolonial space, they were going to have to build it for themselves. This meant that both cultural knowledge and theoretical knowledge were necessary.

In places where there was a need to advocate for more focused studies, such as Aotearoa and Hawai'i, demands for

programs in Maori Studies or Hawaiian Studies and Te Reo Maori and 'Ōlelo Hawai'i created direct confrontation with the University that required theory and research as a tactic to create policy change. Following mass protests in Hawai'i on issues that threatened Kanaka Māoli lands and culture and following a proposal to establish a Hawaiian Studies program at UH Mānoa in 1977, the State of Hawai'i amended its constitution to include the mandate that "the state will provide for Hawaiian education, consisting of language, culture and history in public schools. The use of community expertise shall be encouraged as a suitable and essential means in furtherance of the Hawaiian education program" (Constitutional Convention 1978). But it wasn't until 1985 that Hawaiian Studies was granted permanent status. In 1986, a committee of eighteen Kanaka, Maoli scholars, including eminent scholars Kekuni Blaisdell, Daviana McGregor, Haunani-Kay Trask, and Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, produced the *Ka'ū Report* to hold the university accountable to this mandate because the University of Hawai'i is the only public higher education institution in the State, by demanding the university provide a physical location for Hawaiian Studies, expanded curriculum, resources for Hawaiian research, hiring of Hawaiian faculty, and recruitment of Hawaiian students (Hawaiian Studies Task Force 1986, 7-10). The research and knowledge that went into the *Ka'ū Report*, along with sustained pressure from students, faculty and



Image 18.

The haka Ka Mate performed at parliament 1972 by Te Reo Māori Society members.
Source: Te Reo Māori Society.

community members, helped to lay the foundation for the Hawai'inuiākea School for Hawaiian Knowledge.

In Aotearoa, the Te Reo Māori Society and the student led Ngā Tamatoa initiated a te reo Maori petition and march to parliament in 1972. It was a nationwide petition demanding the inclusion of te reo Maori in primary and secondary schools

that eventually gathered 30,000 signatures. On the inaugural, Māori language day, September 14, 1972, the petitions were hand delivered to parliament (Harris 2004, 48). Ngā Tamatoa grew out of a conference for Young Maori leaders in 1970, which produced a report outlining the primary issues facing the Maori community. Issues such as loss of land, language, racism

and ensuring the **Treaty of Waitangi** was upheld (2004, 44-48). Ngā Tamatoa were students whose organizing was informed by the needs of the community. However, because they were primarily urban youth who did not already speak the language and because they were also informed by organizations such as the Black Panthers and the American Indian Movement (AIM), they received harsh criticism from other Māori and the Pākehā (White) community alike. Despite this, their efforts were the catalyst to establishing Kura Kaupapa Māori immersion schools, the passing of the 1987 Maori Language Act and continued organizing to include te reo Māori in radio, television, and film.

The University of Hawai'i and the University of Auckland are significant examples of overlapping points between Pacific research and grassroots organizing to demand state accountability showing how students can be active players in bringing about societal change. Research and organizing in these cases are not separate but instead generate new points for discussion of political and cultural issues. It was not easy, but perhaps that was part of the beauty of it.

The *Introduction to Pacific Studies* shares in detail the foundational and theoretical approaches to Pacific Studies pedagogy and research. The chapter "Teaching and Research in Oceania" highlights the scholarship of some of the most well-known theorists in Oceania. At the forefront of developing

Pacific Studies theories of change were scholars such as Konai Helu Thaman, Albert Wendt, Vilsoni Hereniko, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Leoni Pihama, Regis Stella, Terence Wesley Smith, and of course, Epeli Hau'ofa. They were soon followed by scholars like Teresia Teaiwa, Vicente Diaz and Tina DeLisle, Katerina Teaiwa, Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, and others.

All of these scholars shape their theories through the use of metaphor – the ocean, the canoe, navigation, weaving, dance, carving, tatau (tattoo), or the vā (the space between time and people). They do this because the use of metaphor is part of Pacific storytelling and knowledge. But perhaps more importantly, use of metaphors helps Pacific Islands Studies students see themselves in the production of theory and it helps them see themselves as capable of writing theory. Those who teach Pacific Islands strive to engage students into what Teresia Teaiwa describes as "deep learning" between the teacher and the students (2011, 214). Deep learning is the idea that teachers learn from their students as much as students learn from their teachers. Together they create the Pacific Studies classroom environment. Students are pushed to think about their place in the Pacific and who their work will serve because their own communities will ask them those same questions.

Keep in mind that when most of these concepts were being introduced, these scholars were relatively isolated and

See [Introduction to Pacific Studies](#) to learn more about theoretical approaches to Pacific Studies pedagogy and research.

had to have the courage to stand in rooms where they were often challenged by Western “experts” and sometimes by their own communities. There were times they may have been the only Pacific Islander or the only person advocating for an Indigenous perspective in the room at a history, anthropology, or linguistic conference and they chose to speak so that they could carve a path for Pacific centered theories that they themselves wrote. They were often frustrated and angry and had to overcome all of their own histories of colonization and self-doubt and defend their work many times to those who were not going to understand them. But they did it anyway and in doing that, in being brave enough to sometimes stand alone and defend what they knew to be true, they made it okay for other Pacific peoples to write theory, books, art, poetry, etc. Those who once were student activists made it possible to change the landscape of Pacific Studies. Theory and research, reading and writing are not done to mimic former colonial masters, but to spite them.

“

But more than anything I remember the power we felt we had as young Pacific Islander scholars moving from session to session to give each other moral support or terrify the stodgy palagi presenters who had gotten used to not being questioned about their work by Islanders. No more.”

Teresia Teaiwa, Reflections on PHA conference in Guam (1990). Excerpt from “L(o)osing the Edge” (2001, 344).

GROUNDBREAKING

Merata Mita

(June 19, 1942 - May 31, 2010)

Maori film maker **Merata Mita** is often considered the "grandmother of Indigenous cinema." She is known for the documentary films **Bastion Point Day 507** (1980), considered one of the most significant Maori land struggles involving the Ngāti Whātua tribe's stand against government plans for a new subdivision and occupied Bastion Point for 506 days, and **Patu!** (1983) a "startling record of the mass civil disobedience that took place throughout New Zealand during the winter of 1981, in protest against a South African rugby tour." She made these films as a single mother of five children and both she and her children were consistently under surveillance, harassed, threatened and beaten by police, who wanted to suppress her films because they documented police brutality.

Her film **Mauri** (1988) made Mita the first Maori woman and first woman in Aotearoa to individually write and direct a feature film. It was a Maori story that incorporated Maori cast and crew, including well known Maori artist Ralph **Hotere** as set designer, whose life she went on to make into a documentary film. In total, Mita was involved with 14 documentaries and films and she was an actor in the film **Utu**, worked in Maori television, and taught documentary filmmaking at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her work and courage opened the doors for many Indigenous film makers who followed in her footsteps and were often mentored by her. In 2010, just prior to her death, she was appointed the Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit for her service in the industry. Her commitment to speaking truth to power, to putting the power of storytelling and representation into the hands of the Maori people, as well as many other Indigenous peoples across the Pacific and the world stays with us today.



One of my primary goals is to decolonize the screen and Indigenize what we see.



Merata Mita

Why the South Pacific Matters: Revisiting Social Movements of the South Pacific Islands



The importance of the student and grassroots organizing in the South Pacific during the 1970s cannot be overestimated. While much attention is given to the student organizing of countries such as Aotearoa, Hawai'i, Tonga, Samoa and Tahiti, the Marshall Islands, Guahan and Palau, historically, other major organizing centers such as Fiji, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Bougainville, and Australian South Sea Islanders of Australia, have not always received the same attention within Pacific Islands Studies. But the impact of their organizing and critical engagement with scholars within Pacific Studies is undeniable. This chapter will highlight some of the most important gatherings, movements, and social issues that laid the foundations for our contemporary struggles.

Compared with the preceding decolonization eras of Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean, liberation struggles of the Pacific are often misrepresented as "peaceful," "late," and relatively "slow" from the 1960s onwards. As the British began to wind up their empire, France and the United States still

viewed their Pacific possessions to be of immense strategic value in the escalating Cold War with the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, new states such as Indonesia were attempting to become new powers in West Papua and East Timor, while settler Pacific rim states like Australia and New Zealand were using development as a neo-colonial means of influence. Nevertheless, from the early armed resistance to the annexation of Tahiti in 1842 to the post-WW2 grassroots movement of Maasina rule, Indigenous resistance against foreign occupation was eclectic yet definite across the Pacific. By the 1970s, an emergent grammar of decolonization meant "the withdrawal of colonial powers from direct legal and constitutional control over their territories" (Firth 2000, 314). As the region gained proximity to the rest of the world and renewed connections between each other through travel and communication, the grassroots call for regional decolonization became more imperative in the South Pacific.

Section 2 header.

(Above) "Amelia Rokotuivuna and Moses Uludong." n.d. Photo courtesy of Claire Slatter.

The Importance of the University of the South Pacific

The formation of the University of the South Pacific (USP) in 1968 and several other non-governmental organizations allowed newly independent Fiji to affirm its position as the political, social, and cultural hub of the South Pacific. To be a student of the USP in the 1970s was to encounter the mass decolonial project of the Pacific alongside the special “ones that were sent out” from overseas. The Fijian scholar and feminist Claire Slatter has described this early cohort of Pacific students as “a great social experiment” where students encountered one another from all over the Pacific, many areas of which were still territories or colonies. As education became increasingly democratized beyond the domain of the elites, Pacific students in the university began to challenge colonial modes of education. Many of the educators were either Pacific islander intellectuals or progressive scholars from outside the region. While there was no formal discipline of Pacific Studies per se, the USP became a vibrant cultural base where Pacific studies ideas and issues around sovereignty and creative revolution were explored and critically discussed.

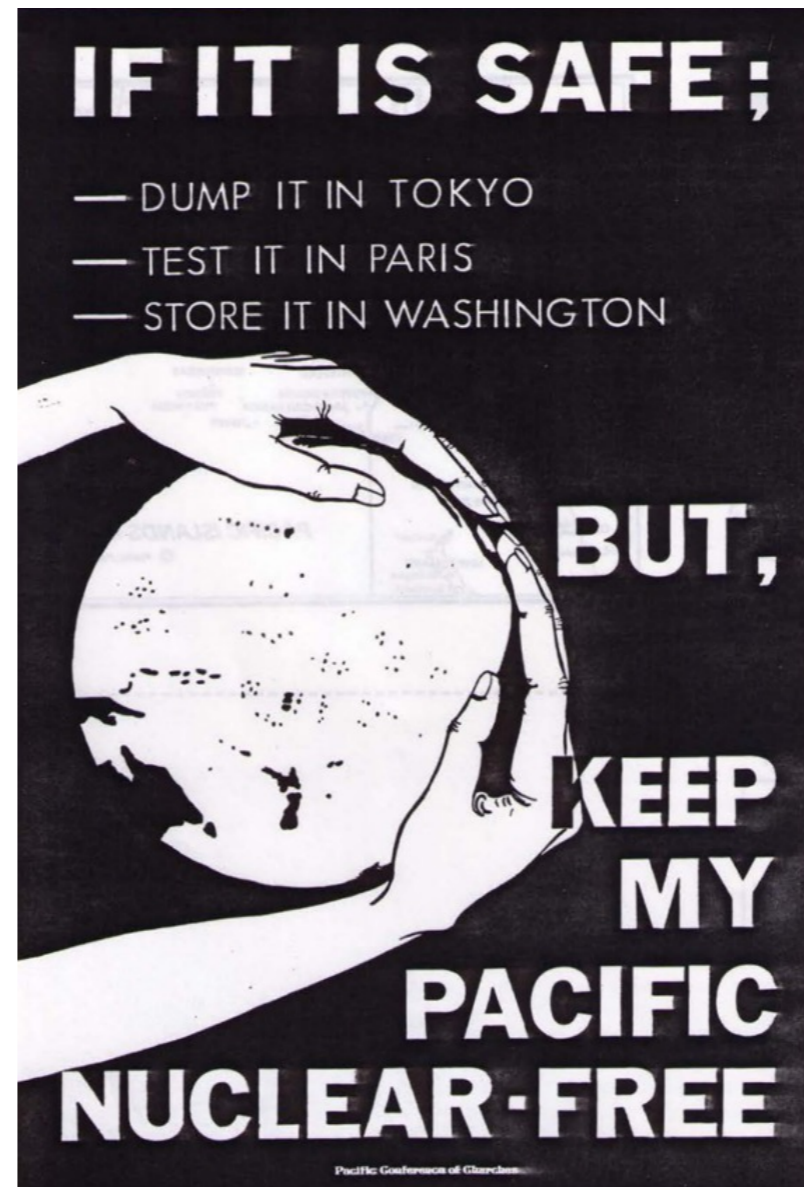


Image 19. USP ATOM Committee students protesting French nuclear testing (1972).

Image 20. Poster by the Pacific Conference of Churches promoting a Nuclear Free Pacific (1983). Source: Tok Blong SPPF.

See [Oceanic Arts: Continuity and Innovation](#) to learn more about the the Oceania Centre of Arts and Culture in Suva, Fiji.

Many of the most well-known Pacific Studies scholars either received their degrees or taught at some point at USP. The USP Fiji became a hub for Pacific writers, visual and performing artists. Epeli Hau'ofa established the Oceania Centre of Arts and Culture in 1997 as a symbol of regional cooperation. As a regional institution that has grown to now include fourteen campuses, and has survived civil conflict and many other challenges over more than fifty years, USP has shaped much of the knowledge and cultural production of Oceania, and this work continues today.

The Pacific Conference of Churches

The Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC) is an ecumenical organization representing Christian churches, was another mouthpiece for social issues from across the region. The organization came into being in 1961 and developed a critical network of religious leaders from many different faiths, concerned with the diverse host of issues due to colonialism. Through the language of Christian values and ethics, the PCC encouraged the preservation of Indigenous cultures and sustainable economic growth and environmental protection in response to new calls for the development and closer integration into Western capitalist systems of resource extraction and trade.



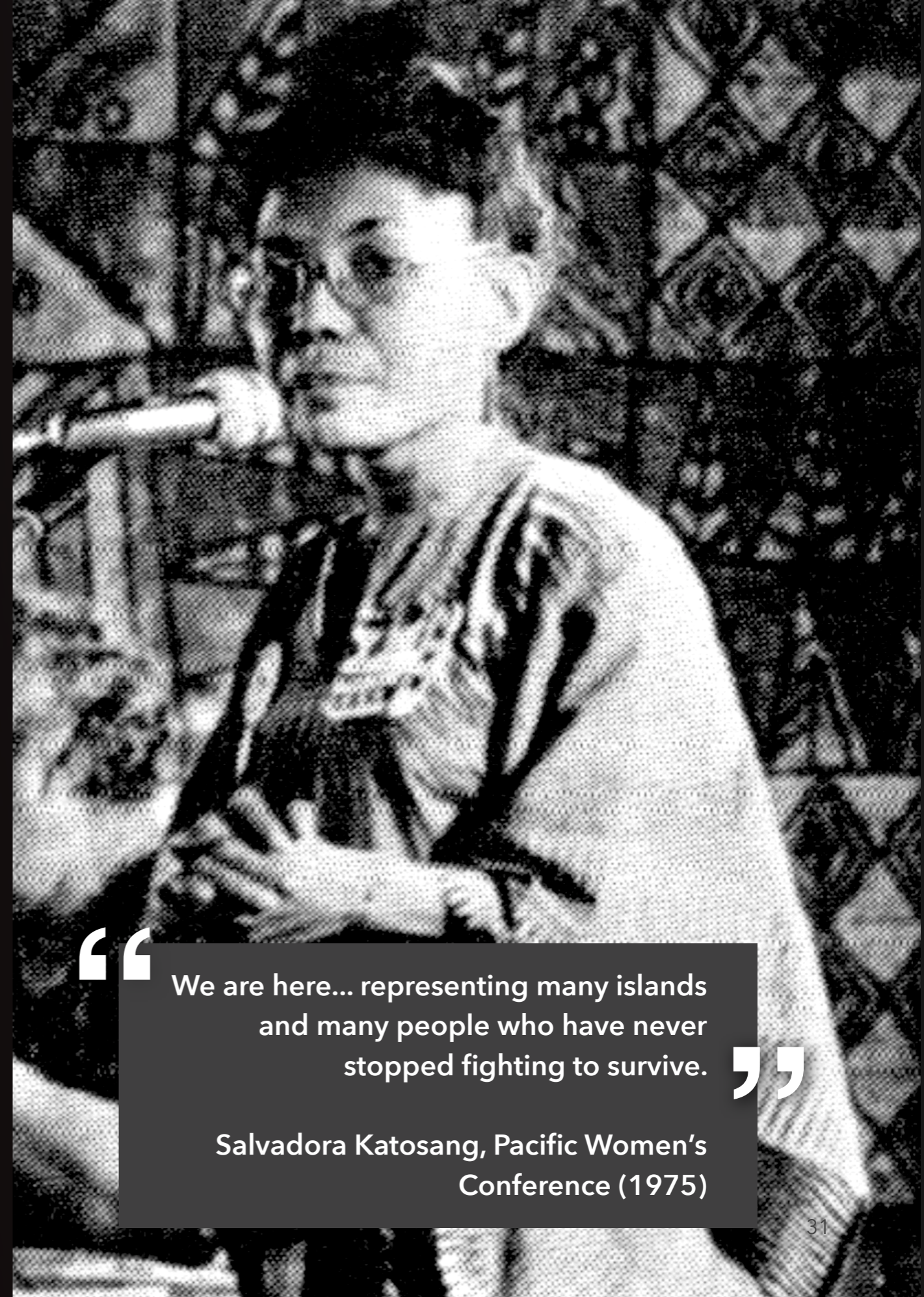
The PCC has a long history of supporting social justice movements and worked closely with the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific in French Polynesia. Today it continues to call for regional solidarity among faith leaders to end the human rights abuses by the Indonesian government in West Papua and continues to support communities during the outbreak of the COVID-19 virus by creating robust networks that connect and educate peoples through sermons and small groups from the elite to the village level. Through a "**liberation theology**" approach, PCC seeks both regional solidarity and regional protection for the lands, waters, and peoples of Oceania.

Image 21. Pacific Conference of Churches general secretary, Reverend James Bhagwan, walks in the "We Are Not Alone" Remembrance Day March to ban nuclear testing. Source: Youngsolwara.com.

Salvadora Katosang

Palauan demilitarization and peace activist Salvadora Katosang graduated with an MA in Pacific Islands Studies at UH Mānoa in 1977 (EWC 1997, 103). She organized with other Micronesians in Hawai'i as a member of the Save Palau Organization to stop the American and Japanese oil superport that threatened the marine life and reefs of Palau. She also participated in Palau Strategy Meeting and Fifth Annual Symposium on International Affairs at Idaho State University to advocate for Palau's independence and protection of its natural environment.

Committed to Pacific Island independence, solidarity, and decolonization, Katosang was involved with the Hawaiian land struggles of Waiāhole-Waikāne and opposed the US military occupation of Kaho'olawe. She was also a delegate at the first Pacific Women's Conference where she advocated for raising "political awareness in the people through unceasing education" (Griffen 1976, 103).



“ “ We are here... representing many islands and many people who have never stopped fighting to survive. ” ”

Salvadora Katosang, Pacific Women's Conference (1975)

Interview with Salvadora Katosang

Rimuu Williams, August 16, 2021 ~ Salvadora's Residence in Ngiwal State, Palau



Salvadora Katosang
Activist

1. How did you get involved in organizing against the Super Port?

"There were several of us who were—I wasn't alone—but there were some of us like Moses Uludong, Moses Ramarui, Vicky Ramarui, Bena Sakuma, Tony Bells—we were the core environment activist group. Many of us graduated from catholic school, so that's how we all knew each other. But we all had different tracks in life; we were all doing different things.

SuperPort came about as a conglomerate to refine oil for the use of Japan—this was going to be channeled from Saudi Arabia through Malagas Strait near Indonesia. So, when they exit into the pacific rim, there was Palau; Palau's location was convenient. They were going to refine oil near Kayangel Atoll, north of Koror.

We had just started Tia Belau group in the early 1970s. We banded together to fight against the conglomerate. Environmental groups around the world—like the U.S. with the Environmental Defense Fund, Natural Resource

Defense Council, and a few others supported our fight.

Japan organizations banded together with us as well—they were behind us 100%. They had experienced Hiroshima and Nagasaki, so they supported us through monetary funds. They almost funded our campaign—they gave us some of our money to print, boat fuel to go to different villages to raise awareness.

We were poor and young at the time, but we were passionate about saving the environment of Palau. That was our common ground. By all means, we were going to stop this Super Port.

We had outlined many reasons for that. One of the reasons was because the oil will hit the fringing reef along the coasts of Palau. It would've threatened our fringing reef, which protected us.

We quickly realized that it was so important; we needed to invest our time. And so that's how we started."

Interview with Salvadora Katosang

continued...

2. History behind their Fight Nuclear Clause within the Palauan Constitution:

"At the time of Palau's first constitutional convention between 1974-1975, the U.S. government funded awareness and education for the Compact of Free Association. The Nuclear Clause was the key problem which got many backlash from the community.

Tia Belau movement was the only non-political group that was hired and given \$10,000 to run the educational campaign. This was from U.S. government to help people learn about the constitution...We were really hard...We [the Tia Belau movement] were being featured on T.V. for campaigns and awareness on the Constitution. That really inspired the younger kids, who were still new to the technology of television.

It was a godsend—the timing was perfect (speaking on the timing of the Tia Belau

group's fight against nuclear activity and how it paralleled the creation of the first constitution of Palau)...We had the people, the passion.

By the end of 1975, we DEFEATED the conglomerate of 4 super countries. We were hot on our tracks, young, and broke—but we shared our food. It was a fun time. Our Japanese friends were very, very important in this fight. They showed us how to package the whole idea, deliver the messages, and opened our minds to other ways of thinking about the environment; for example, the subsequent consequences of changes to different parts of our ecosystem. And, the people of Palau agreed with us. We were on the radio and the T.V. The support we got from the community was overwhelming!"

Salvadora Katosang was 24 years old at the start of the Tia Belau movement. It took 15 years to fight against the United States

government to change the Palauan constitution to include the nuclear free clause within its language.

3. What other kinds of organizing did you participate in after?

"Between the Super Port fight and getting my Master's degree at UH Mānoa, I was participating in the Pacific Islands Women's Conference which was funded by the Methodist Church of the United States—via Fiji and the South Seas. I was also participating in the movement against the United States from taking land from the Native Hawaiians. I spent much time in rallies and headquarters.

It was an intense experience and an intense time, and I managed to graduate on very thin ice because I had spent so much time in activism. By the grace of God, I made it through."

Interview with Salvadora Katosang

continued...

4. What was University of Hawai'i like when you attended?

*"It was an exciting time. Demonstrations were common throughout my time there. For me, I was trying not to fail my classes because I was there on scholarship. It limited my time because **I gave a lot of my energy to both studies and activism**—I had very limited free time to do anything else. I lived on \$90 a month, and yet I still managed to eat out at least once a week. I learned to be frugal.*

"I learned to be poor and I didn't mind being poor because I was an activist. I didn't have to show off to anybody!

Gif Johnson and his parents who were activists lived in Kailua. He married a Marshallese woman who was an activist as well. His parents would invite us to their home, and they would feed us, and we would talk about issues. I went there to get a lot of my information. It was sort of a hub for our group of activists.

I loved Hawai'i. I didn't have anything at the time, but it was a beautiful time. The weather was right for me, the food was great, and I kept myself sustained. People I was attending University with were on the same boat as me. We had come from poor families to change our hearts and minds to understand the U.S. so that we could strengthen our fight. We enjoyed the lifestyle; there was no sense of animosity. I was there at the start of the Hawaiian heritage movement; we picketed with the Hawaiians to save their land."

5. What was the relationship between Hawaiians and Micronesians in those days?

In my time, there was no animosity between us activists. There was a sense of unity, and I do not recall any tension between the Pacific Islanders. It's hard for me to remember any specific relationship or tension between the Pacific Islanders.

“

You cannot destroy the environment, and have people live in it as well.

”

Salvador Katosang,
August 16, 2021



Special thanks to interviewer and CPIS' alum Rimuu Williams for her contributions to this volume of the Teaching Oceania series.

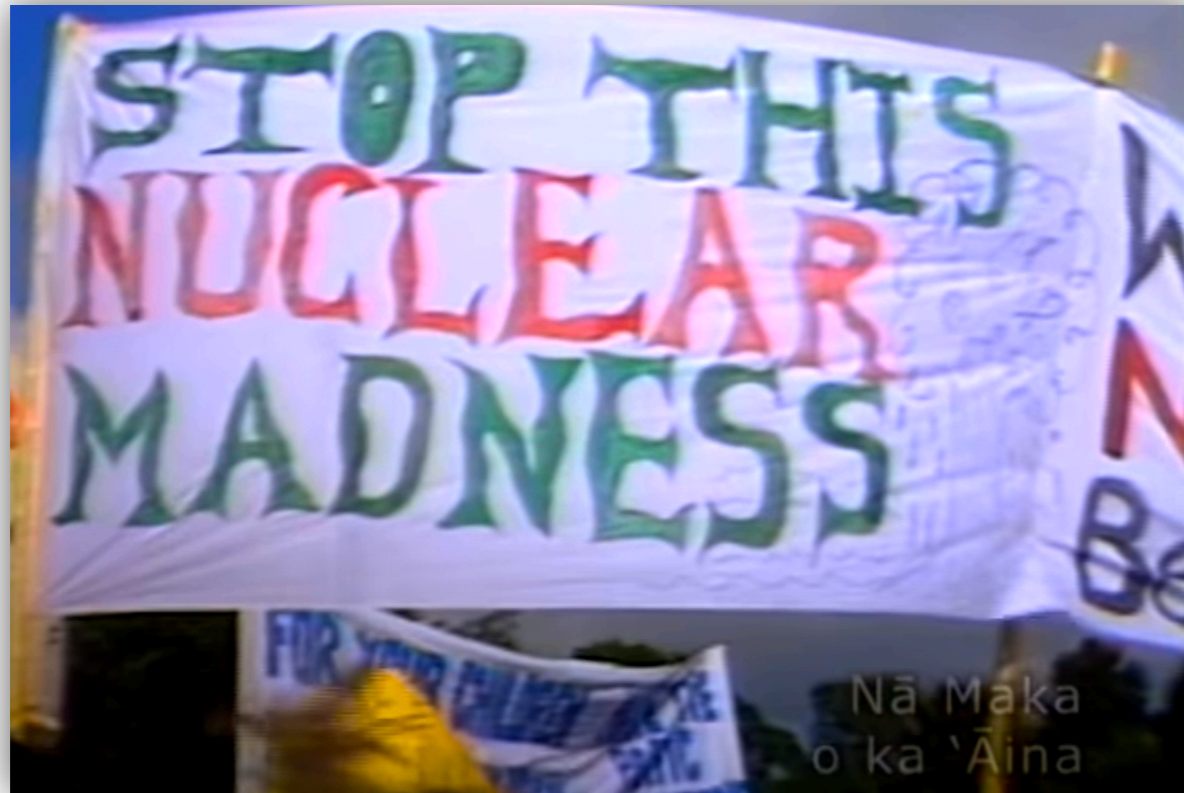


Video 5. Presentation still. Click [here](#) to watch "The Creative Revolution of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific - Talei Lusia Mangioni" for Center for Pacific Islands Studies UH Mānoa 2021. (Youtube video, 1:01:20).

Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific

As France continued testing nuclear weapons in French Polynesia, Pacific outcry, particularly in Fiji, became widespread amongst its citizens. The Against Testing On Moruroa (ATOM) Committee was composed of a cadre of student activists and directed by an executive committee comprising the YWCA, Fiji Council of Churches, and the University of the South Pacific

Students Association. The ATOM Committee, led by lecturers Graham Baines and Suliana Siwatibau, was committed to "protest against all nuclear testing but had a specific concern with the Pacific area, and therefore anyone who tests in the Pacific." The lecturers paid particular attention to the negative consequences of radiation on the body that the "big-science" of the atomic age had purposely overlooked. The ATOM



Committee sought to educate Fijian citizens through public rallies, plays, songs, poetry, vigils, concerts, and variety shows. Every Saturday morning, the ATOM committee would dispense the ATOM newsletter, hand out leaflets, talk to everyday folk and ask for donations for their movement.

In 1975, the ATOM committee hosted the first-ever Nuclear Free Pacific Conference, bringing together grassroots activists from all over the Pacific. These early conferences, including a later one at Pohnpei (1978), dissolved the communication boundaries between North and South and Anglophone and Francophone territories. It created an important network of activists from across the Pacific backed by churches, universities, feminist organizations, trade unions, and

peace groups. Ten years before the Treaty of Rarotonga, this group of activists imagined a Nuclear Free Zone that included Australia, Micronesia, and French Polynesia. The movement was renamed the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP) in 1980 to reaffirm the crucial need for Indigenous sovereignty within the nuclear-free vision. The organizing secretariat was formalized through the establishment of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre (PCRC). Further conferences were held in Hawai'i (1980), Vanuatu (1983), the Philippines (1987), Aotearoa (1990), Fiji (1996), French Polynesia (1999), and Tonga (2003). The NFIP continued to be an important representative of Pacific civil society that addressed issues ranging from human rights and good governance, demilitarization, decolonization, environment to sustainable human development.

Land Struggles and Sovereignty

Land struggles are one of the most important issues for Indigenous/Aboriginal peoples throughout Oceania. From Hawai'i to Rapa Nui, from Banaba to Guahan, from West Papua to New Caledonia, from Australia to Aotearoa, the land is a contested space where foreign powers seek to assert their desires. Strip mining for precious metals or mining for phosphate, excessive logging, over development, live fire military ranges, military base expansion and leaking nuclear waste are all activities that bring irreversible harm to land and

Video 6.

Click [here](#) to watch "Nuclear Free: Huarere" performed this song at a rally during the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific conference in Vanuatu, 1983. Source: Hawaiian Voice Nā Maka o ka 'Āina.



● **NEW CALEDONIA:** Hundreds of pro-independence demonstrators, mainly Kanak, took to the streets of Noumea to protest French anniversary celebrations of the annexation of New Caledonia on September 22. The demonstrators confronted French gendarmes for two hours before returning to a rally in a nearby park. The French have flown in large military and para-military reinforcements in a bid to quell the unrest. But each escalation by the French is being greeted with larger demonstrations and growth of the independence movement.

Image 22.
Protestors enveloped in banner 'Return Takaparawhā to Ngāti Whātua Bastion Point Not for Sale' Orakei Bastion Point Occupation. Photo by Gil Hanly. Source: Auckland Museum.

Image 23.
Excerpt from Sydney Tribune, NSW. October 31, 1979. Source: Australia National Library.

waters. These activities have led to the displacement of Native peoples from their ancestral lands, destroyed fishing and agricultural lands, and desecrated sacred sites. This is considered to be a form of state violence both physically and mentally for generations of Indigenous peoples.

In attempts to protect Indigenous sites that are considered to be sacred and to interrupt unchecked development or military expansion, Indigenous peoples will mount protests that include land occupation, marches, rallies, etc. as a means to achieve justice when Western legal avenues fail. Police and military are often utilized by the state to forcibly remove peoples who are protecting their rights and their homelands. These tensions are often misunderstood as a struggle between the "progressive" West and the Indigenous outdated past. However, this is a dismissive and reductive approach to these

struggles. The tensions are much more complex than this. Fundamentally, there is a tension between who is allowed to determine how natural resources are managed and who should determine the most appropriate forms of development within a country or region. In countries that remain occupied by foreign powers, it is often Indigenous lands that have historically been and continue to be targeted for resource extraction, mining, development for foreign settlers or tourists, military expansion, or sites for waste storage, often at the expense of poisoning fresh water sources, killing native flora and fauna, or desecration of burial sites. This exhibits a basic lack of respect for Indigenous lands and people. Because of this legacy, strong tensions exist regarding what is considered to be progress versus what is just unnecessary destruction for the sake of profit. From an Indigenous Pacific world view, the need to

protect those resources that are necessary for our collective survival, to take serious steps to prevent an irreversible climate crisis, and to shift our economies toward being generative rather than extractive are very much grounded in progressive thinking that is critically engaged in the future.

Land struggles are most often connected to movements for sovereignty and independence, yet, even in countries where independence has been gained, state or corporate interests also pose continued threats to traditional lands. Corporate funding and promises of housing and health care offered to local governments can often perpetuate the issues that existed prior to colonization, with extraction of resources continuing but without the promised infrastructure put in place. Meanwhile, corporations receive tax breaks or police protection from Indigenous communities opposing these extractive industries. Crippling debt from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank structural loans can also create new complications, often referred to as



Video 7.

Click [here](#) to watch “Project Banaba” to learn about the impact of phosphate extraction of Banaba (MTGHawke’s Bay, September 2, 2019. YouTube Video 4:47).

neocolonialism, in which colonialism takes on new forms beyond formal colonization. These can lead to ongoing displacement of Indigenous communities by Indigenous elites, creating new tensions and civil conflicts.

Solomon Islander scholar Tarcisius Kabutaulaka has focused much of his research on conflicts that have occurred post- decolonization in the Solomon Islands and Bougainville. A important case study of neocolonialism can be seen in the logging industry in the Solomon Islands. Kabutaulaka interrogates the reasons why after more than forty years of

logging activities, Solomon Islanders, the undisputed landowners have not benefitted from the activity. One structural reason Kabutaulaka states is “the formula used to distribute revenues from logging: 60 percent to logging companies, 25 percent to the state and 15 percent to landowners” (Asia Pacific Report, 2019). The research reveals that the revenues effectively leave with the logging companies, resulting in devastated

landscapes with little to no benefit for the landowners. This financial imbalance creates tension among the landowners, the state and the logging companies. If the goal of sovereignty is to correct the errors of the past, and benefit the all of the people, than economic arrangements like these must be revisited.

Video 8.

Click [here](#) to watch “On Our Land” (OaklandInstitute December 5, 2013). Video, 35:59.



Black Power & Pacific Solidarity

Beginning in the late 1960s, the Black Power movement took hold in the Pacific as a bold force for decolonization, emphasizing racial pride, economic empowerment, and the creation of political and cultural institutions. In Melanesia (Papua, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia/Kanaky, New Hebrides/Vanuatu and Fiji), the Torres Strait and Aboriginal "Australia," there was a rise in the demand for a greater embrace of internationalist Indigenous and Black cultures and a spread of raw artistic expression displaying the realities of Melanesians. Indigenous peoples of the South Pacific defined by the racial categorization of their phenotype had collective experiences of Blackness, given their histories of racism, genocide, blackbirding, and targeted political and

economic policies to erode their rights to traditional lands and waters. Accordingly, they began to forge strategic political and artistic connections with those from the African continent, the Caribbean, and diaspora in the United States as part of a global **pan-Africanist movement**.

Pacific social movements were heavily informed by the global ferment of Black Power of the late 1960s in a myriad of ways. For example, Black Power gave voice to experiences of police brutality and black incarceration. In New Caledonia/Kanaky, Déwé Gorodé and the Foulards Rouges (Red Scarves) condemned the French colonial presence and practices related to land rights and racial discrimination by the police. Correspondingly, when New Guinea was a territory of Australia, trade unionists such as Albert Maori Kiki critiqued Australia's

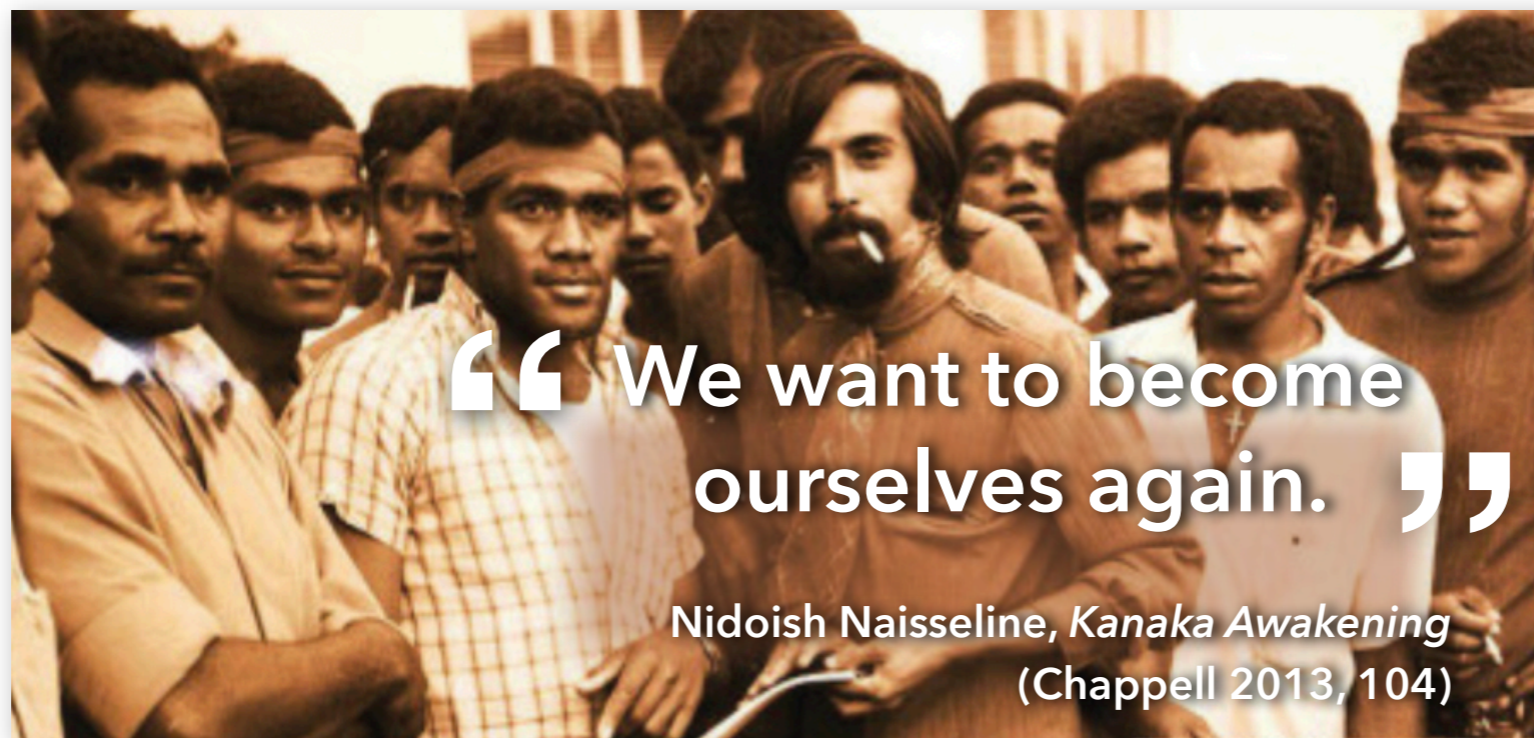


Image 24.
Nidoish Naisseline with
Foulards Rouge 1972 Trial.
Source: Noumea Post.

distant and misguided rule from Canberra and the belief that Black natives ought to be thankful for bringing them out of the "stone age". In Australia, the legacy of political, social, and economic exclusion of Aboriginal, Torres Strait, and Australian South Sea Islanders led to a shared sense of Black/Blak kinship in urban centers like Port Moresby, Port Vila, Suva, Noumea, Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. The African American Black Panthers and global Black Power movements inspired the formation of Black Panther chapters and other Black Power organizations throughout New Caledonia, Australia, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Aotearoa and West Papua. As regional consciousness began to develop during the mid-1970s around the two "**forgotten wars**" of the violent and genocidal occupation by Indonesia of East Timor and West Papua, regional resistance began to be articulated



Image 25.

Jean Marie-Tjibaou (center) leader of the political group FLNKS and Yeiwéné (left) marches with the Kanaky Flag to protest the New Caledonia elections and declare the provisional government of Kanaky (Dec 1, 1984). Source: lefigaro.fr (2009).

within the framework of Black Power. Contemporary political thought-leaders of the "Melanesian Way" such as Father Walter Lini of Vanuatu, Bernard Nakarobi of Papua New Guinea, Leo Hannett of Bougainville, Jean-Marie Tjibaou and Nidoishe Naisseline of Kanaky/New Caledonia, were leaders in the cause for Melanesian decolonization and Oceanic modernity across the Pacific. Feminist organizers such as Déwé Gorodé, Mildred Sope and Grace Mera Molisa were instrumental in the liberation struggles of Kanaky and Vanuatu promoting the Melanesian independence and anti-imperialism internationally. Both Gorodé and Molisa became the first to women to hold political seats in the progressive parties in their countries, leading the way for women politicians in Melanesia.

Pacific scholar Tracey Banivanua-Mar writes extensively on the far-reaching impact of the Black Power movement within the South Pacific in her book, *Decolonisation and the Pacific*. Banivanua-Mar's points out how the Black Power movement promoted internationalist unity and promotion of pride in Aboriginal and Melanesian identity and culture worked to subvert neo-colonial attempts of undermining independence. "Black Power, and the wider Indigenous rights movement that emerged from and in parallel with it, was effectively an independence movement, focused on dealing with the aftermath of colonialism from the inside out" (2016, 194).

Black Power movements gained particular momentum among university students and other young organizers in places such as the University of Papua New Guinea, USP in Fiji, the University of Queensland in Australia and the University of Auckland in Aotearoa, to name just a few. Students were drawn to the radical platform of Black Power for its promotion of decolonizing the mind, independence, community driven economics and Black pride. After centuries of being labeled black to imply inferiority and savagery, being able to reclaim such labels as a source of pride was incredibly empowering. They eagerly met with Black Power leaders from the US, the Caribbean and the Africa. Youth organizations such as Black Power Australia, Black Power Niue Guinea, **Polynesian Panthers**, **Ngā Tamatoa**, and the Foulard Rouge incorporated aspects of the Black Panther party's platform, as well as other



•Dewe Gorodey, FLNKS activist — "Why should we in Kanaky accept anything less" than full independence.

Third World revolutionary leaders with Indigenous independence struggles. These youth groups organized against racism toward Indigenous peoples, promoted Indigenous language programs, opposed apartheid in South Africa, and fought for the rights of workers and for what they believed to be true independence.

Image 26.

Interview with Déwé Gorodé in *Sydney Tribune* NSW, August 19, 1987. Source: National Library of Australia.

Video 9.

Click [here](#) to watch "Polynesian Panthers" filmed by Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision (2005) in four parts.

However, because these organizations took an openly anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and pro self defense stance and because of prevailing histories of structural racism and anti-Blackness, these organizations and individual members became particular targets of state repression in the form of harassment, surveillance, arrests, torture, and assassinations, and were labelled by the settler state as violent and subversive.

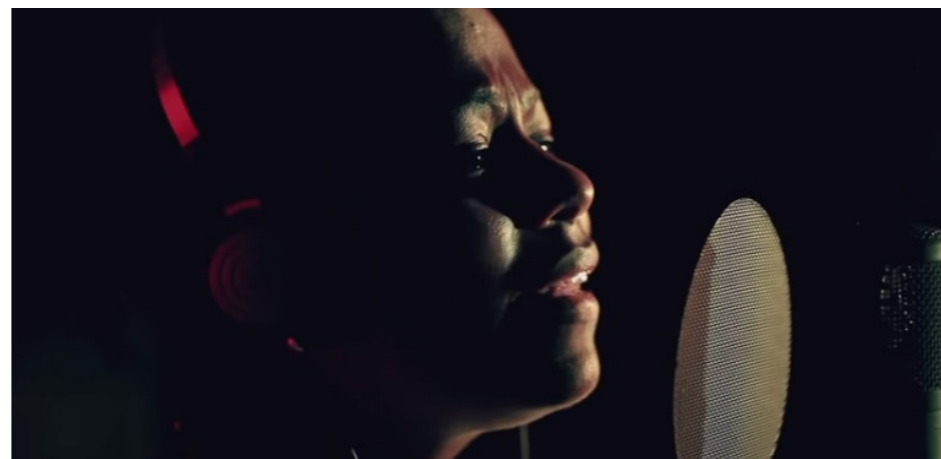
While there was tremendous regional solidarity that grew out of these movements, Black Power was and remains a highly controversial subject among many Pacific peoples who view Black Power or the slogan Black Lives Matter as being solely a Western concept that somehow has no place within Oceania. This division raises historical issues of racism, white supremacy and privilege among Pacific peoples that were initially colonial introductions and after two centuries of negative representations of Melanesia and its peoples this discourse has become internalized among Pacific Islanders themselves (Kabutaulaka, 110). For Melanesians, Aboriginal Australians, Torres Strait Islanders and **Australian South Sea Islanders** there is an easy solidarity with global Black Power movements because they have shared similar levels of subjugation and colonial violence that find their origins in anti-Blackness.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people should be aware that the following section contains names, images, and words of deceased people.



Image 27.

Wayne Toleafoa Peseta, Minister of Information of the Polynesian Panthers. Source: "Localised Racism" in Craccum magazine Volume 46, Issue 22, September 14th, 1972.



Video 10 .

Click [here](#) to listen to "Jamulo Ataï," song written by Nidoish Naisseline for the Foulards Rouge Movement after his arrest in 1969.

Australian South Sea Islanders and Black Power

Between 1863 and 1904, 62,000 Pacific Islanders were kidnapped, tricked into servitude, or “blackbirded” from 80 Melanesian Islands, primarily within the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, New Caledonia, New Ireland, and Milne Bay Provinces in Papua New Guinea, but also Tuvalu and Kiribati, to work in the sugar and cotton plantations of Queensland, Australia, Fiji, and Sāmoa (“[Plantation Voices](#)” 2019). Australian South Sea Islanders occupy a unique category within Oceania because although they are a “community that was colonized they are not considered Indigenous” (Banavanua-Mar 2016, 196). When demands came from other parts of Australia to end the practice of blackbirding, thousands of plantation workers suddenly faced mandatory repatriation under the White Australia Policy and the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1901 (Plantation Voices 2019). The descendants of those who chose to remain were called Australian South Sea Islanders. They faced extreme levels of discrimination and their status was so stigmatized that they were not recognized as an official ethnic group or allowed to qualify for Aboriginal support services. Prior to the 1970s, these descendants were derogatorily referred to as Kanakas (Kanaka Maoli word meaning person, but applied in this case as laborer or servant). It was not until the rise of the Black Movement in



Australia in the 1970s that these descendants began to identify as Australian South Sea Islanders.

Among those who joined the Black Power Movement were South Sea Islander activists Phyllis Corowa, Faith Bandler and Eveylyn Scott, who created networks for Australian South Sea Islanders to reunite with their ancestral homelands and relatives, and act as leading advocates in the long campaign for proper recognition and rights from the government of Australia. As a founder of the United South Sea Islander Council, Phyllis Corowa was a participant in the 1975 Pacific Women’s Conference, where she hoped to “obtain lists of Pacific Islander organisations and education centres; to search for

Image 28.

Australian Chapter Black Panthers. Source: The Australian Sunday, Dec 8, 1971.

“The Black Power salute from Black Panther field marshals Gary Foley (foreground), Billy Craig (right), anonymous field marshal (left) and Dennis Walker (centre). Photo: Barrie Ward.”

contacts for Australian-born Australian South Sea Islanders looking for family; and to find people or organisations that could come to Australia and teach the 'dances, songs stories and languages ' lost to Australian descendants" (as cited in Banivanua-Mar 2016, 203).

Due to the tireless efforts of activists like these, Australian South Sea Islanders were finally officially recognized as an ethnic group by the Commonwealth Government in 1994 and the Queensland Government on Sept 7, 2000 ([Queensland Museum](#)).

“ Rights are not handed on a platter by governments. They have to be won. ”

Faith Bandler



Image 29.

Australian South Sea Islander activist, Phyllis Corowa. Source: assipj.com.au.

Video 11.

Click [here](#) to listen to Faith Bandler's Faith, Hope and Reconciliation Speech from the Talkin' up Reconciliation Convention in August 1999. Source: MTC Audio Lab.



Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people should be aware that this recording may contain names and words of deceased people.

“ He whiriwhiri korero, ka
whatungarongaro
He whiriwhiri wahine, ka tonu.

Words fade.
Women endure. ”

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku Whiringa a Nuku 1991.
Mana Wahine Reader (2019).

Pacific Feminism

In the decolonization era, as Pacific men accrued professional and political power in the independent Pacific, women's organizations became increasingly engaged with national political debate. In Fiji, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) became a hotbed of political activism in the 1970s led by the Fijian activist Amelia Rokotuivuna. Local women became increasingly involved in provocative political activity with their focus of engagement moving from a narrow articulation of "women's issues" extending to a "series of campaigns that challenged prevailing community values at the local and national level, as well as the broader structures of

international political and economic power" (George 2012). The YWCA focused its work on improving the working conditions and earning capacity of household workers, as well as providing practical courses that aimed to improve the training of young women in the workforce. Steadfastly critical of the paradigm of Western development, the multi-cultural organization also had a wide set of policies focusing on racism and racial discrimination, social and economic justice, the status of women, peace, and disarmament.

In 1975, the YWCA organized the first Pacific Women's Conference in Suva, Fiji. This conference brought together participants to specifically focus on issues relevant to women in the Pacific, and also attracted women from the US, Canada and the Caribbean. The participants discussed education, religion, media, culture, law and politics, revealing distinct regional relationships for each. Several of the participants, especially those from the French Pacific - Kanaky (New Caledonia), Vanuatu (then called New Hebrides), and Tahiti had previously found it difficult to connect to others in the region and with one another. The conference presented an opportunity to not only connect to one another but to create a set of resolutions collectively regarding the empowerment of Pacific women. After this, some of the participants, including Amelia Rokotuivuna, Dewé Gorodé, Claire Slatter, and Vanessa Griffen, attended the first United Nations World Conference on Women

held in Mexico City during the international “Year of the Woman.”

During the 1980s, Maori women began to explore the concept of mana wahine Maori, described as a way of reclaiming and celebrating who Maori women are and who they will become (Te Awekotuku 1991, 10). Women here also engaged in debates regarding feminism. Maori scholar activist Ngahuia Te Awekotuku disagreed with those who viewed the feminist movement as something that did not belong within the Maori world. She stated, “feminism is what we make it; it’s a matter of how we define it for ourselves in terms our own oppression as women.” Te Awekotuku brings forward the discussions that were occurring among Pacific women throughout Oceania, who were gathering to define themselves in relation to and distinctly different from Western feminism. It is important to understand that women in the Oceania, Africa, Asia and other **Third World** countries were often accused of “copying” Western women’s movements and told that to fight for women is to challenge the foundations of their traditions (Griffen 1976, 5). But after much struggle, women outside of America and Europe and the First World began redefining feminism by incorporating those issues that meant the most to their situations – issues of “poverty, colonialism or imperialism or racism, and white domination in some parts of the world”

(6). Internationally the definitions of feminism began to expand and take shape in Oceania in its own right.

But feminist is still an identity that is often questioned or criticized because it is most often used by those with high levels of education in urban centers, not in rural villages or the belief that to declare yourself a feminist is to reject men and not want children. Some Pacific women argue that given the traditional status of women in their cultures Pacific women have always been feminist in some way or another, while others reject this perspective stating that we must be willing to examine their cultures critically, especially as they affect women (23-24). For others, decolonization and overall liberation was far more important than focusing solely on women’s liberation. What is vividly clear is that concepts of feminism varied by region, by country and by village. There was no one agreed vision for Pacific feminism.

Throughout the Pacific, “concepts of feminism continue to be received, rejected, reworked, and, in some cases, reclaimed in order to better the position of women and their societies in the South Pacific” (Tusitala Marsh 1). These debates are very much alive in our cultures today and they are expanding into even more complex notions of gender and sexuality.

Video 12.

Click [here](#) to watch “Sogorea Te’ Land Trust” from the University of California Berkeley Critical Pacific Islands Studies Library on Community Archive and Activism. Video, 1:55:41.

Image 30.

Déwé Gorodé, in Fiji - Women Speak Out! A Report of the Pacific Women's Conference. October 27–November 2. The Pacific Women's Conference, Suva 1976.

“

Our cultural identity, our identity as women, or our human dignity, we will NEVER have under the capitalist system. I have no illusions on this point: I know what this system has done to my people and to all people that they colonize... For me, the struggle against colonialism and the struggle against capitalism is one and the same. No longer am I in any way inclined to believe that the family, culture, religions, education, the law, or the media, must be separated from POLITICS.

”

Déwé Gorodé, Pacific Women's Conference





Image 31.
Joey Joleen Mataele in outtake
of *Leitis in Waiting*. Source:
UHWO 2019.

Reclaiming Pacific Gender Fluidity & Sexuality

Prior to the arrival of missionaries and colonialists, gender expression in Oceania was not confined to male/female/man/woman. As described in *Teaching Oceania: Gender in the Pacific*, "Indigenous Pacific conceptualizations might better be described as third gender, both genders, or in between" (Dvorak et al. 2016, 30). However, it is more

appropriate to think of Indigenous gender expression as more fluid and expansive than this description, which cannot be accurately described within Western frameworks. These complex sexual identity and gender expressions were an integral part of Pacific societies before they were severely repressed by foreign missionaries and forced colonial assimilation programs, which forced Pacific peoples to behave



Video 13.

“Digital painting by Dylan Mooney.” ABC Australia. Click [here](#) to watch “Ancient artefacts come to life in works empowering Indigenous and Queer Community.” Video, 3:39.

more like colonial settlers. This repression was so comprehensive that it became internalized by Pacific communities, spreading homophobia and transphobia where it did not previously exist. It is out of the violence of cultural and gender repression, that social movements are born.

Much like the feminist movement, the gay, lesbian, and transgender rights movements were viewed as foreign introductions and often deemed as having no place within the cultures of Oceania. But also like the feminist movement, Pacific peoples researched their own histories, began to use terms from their own languages that existed prior to colonization and grounded their organizing in place-based knowledge. In this way, sexuality and gender identity in Oceania draws directly from lives of the ancestors. That being

said, tracing the beginning of the LGBTQ+ movements in the Pacific is difficult because Pacific movements beyond urban centers are not always as easily recognizable. Formal organizing around gay rights didn't really begin in most countries until the 1990s and in some countries it is only now beginning to tentatively take shape. The essay “Wahine Taharua” written by Te Haa o Ngā Wāhine: He Rōpū Mahi shares the history of what it was like for Māori lesbians in Wellington during the 1960s, who at that time were referred to as “kamp” Māori women. As more and more people were leaving the safety of their whanau in rural countryside and moving to towns, Māori lesbians came together for reasons of survival and protection, because they were often attacked or harassed. They formed a tight knit, streetwise community with its own codes of conduct. “Being Maori and lesbian was never easy” (“Wahine Taharua” [nzhistory.govt.nz](#)).

Influenced by changing times and the Influence of Women's liberation and the Stonewall Riots of 1969 in New York, “Gay Liberation was started [in Auckland] by Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku, and five others at the University of Auckland” (Te Awekōtuku et al. 2018). Te Awekōtuku was in a university atmosphere that was majority Pākeha (White) and so it was important for her to assert herself not just as a lesbian, but as a Maori lesbian. One of the distinct historical challenges to organizing lesbian or gay movements in the Pacific, was culture. Culture in the sense that tribal identity, fluency in te reo

Māori and Maori liberation took precedence over everything else especially for those who were still living in the country. The younger, urban college educated lesbians were initially driven by a different set of priorities and political agendas, but eventually there was a need to come together. "In the 1980s the Māori word takatapui or takatapuhi, 'beloved and intimate friend of the same gender', was recognized and celebrated by Māori lesbians and gays" (Te Awekōtuku et al. 2018) and is becoming the preferred term for those who identify as gender non-conforming, as well as those who identify as lesbian, gay or transgender.

Tonga, the last remaining kingdom in the Pacific that was never formally colonized, was a very gender fluid place prior to the arrival of missionaries. Since their arrival, attitudes toward the those who identify as leitis and who historically have always played a key role within the royal family and Tongan society were becoming marginalized and victims of violence both within their family and the larger community. Human rights activist Joleen Mataele explained the need to protect leitis and the gay community from violence and discrimination within Tonga, but "we find that standing with banners and shouting and all that, doesn't solve anything. We find that through talanoa (discussion), sitting down, face to face with your opposition and just talk is a more peaceful way of doing your activism" (Amnesty International. "Because I am here to stay." Mar 12, 2019, YouTube video, 11:44).

In Sāmoa between the 1960s -1980s, the fa'afafine movement began to develop social activities such as sports or pageants, but there was also a central gathering spot in a tailor shop in the Saleufi district of Apia, which came to be known as "Hollywood." (Dolgoy 2014, 57). Starting as a network of friends who were tailors, this space became a site of empowerment, socializing and safe space to live for those who had left their families or villages (59). It became a place to create family, develop



We are not dangerous or subversive perverts, but real & thinking individuals: why should we hide our faces while the public exposes its bigotries? Why should we be invisible?



**Ngahuia Te Awekotuku in *Craccum*
15 July 1971 page 6. Auckland
University.**



Image 32.
Awekōtuku. Source:
Sogorea Te Land
Trust. "**Rematriation
and Indigenous
Feminisms**" (March
8, 2021).

a sense of agency and to form identity and goals for the future, with older fa'afafine mentoring, mediating quarrels, providing support in times of family loss or providing financial resources for the younger fa'afafine. The relationship became more of one of fa'alavelave (kinship obligation) (64). Although, the movement was primarily formed in the urban center of Apia, during 1960s -1980s, it did not mirror the form of "coming out" in the same way as it occurred in the West, but similar to Tonga, formed through kinship formation and empowerment models rather than taking it to the streets. However, this is beginning to change as gender identity becomes more fluid.

The term fa'afafine is applied to all gender non-conforming persons within Samoa, whether you are gay, lesbian, transgender or otherwise. But the term doesn't always land as easily with Samoans who were raised or live abroad who apply the term primarily to mean transgender. Fa'afafine in places like Auckland and Wellington in New Zealand, face very different challenges than those in Samoa. Although there may be more opportunity, there is also greater economic stress and other stresses that come from living in a large city. Here also, movement works like family for protection and survival.

The gender equality movement in Fiji is born out of the long-standing activist tradition, particularly the feminist movement, that was created in the

late 1960s. It is considered to be an inherent part of self-determination, social and economic justice. Unlike much of the Pacific, "Fiji is one the few sites in the Pacific Islands where the political status of homosexuality is openly debated, where groups promoting gay rights have a visible presence in civil society, and where legislative protections have been offered to those who openly articulate a same-sex sexuality" (George 2014, 293). However climate justice and LGBTI+ leader Noelene Nabulivou reminds us that while "Fiji is

one of only eight countries to explicitly mention sexual orientation and gender identity in its constitution, in practice LGBT+ rights are limited" (Greenhalgh 2020).

During the 1990s and the early 2000s, very strong conservative political and religious leaders began to actively work against those fighting for more human rights and anti-discrimination protections within Fiji. This provoked

very intense public debate, which has increased homophobia and transphobia over recent years. The political coups, particularly the coup of 2000, shifted the political landscape of the country and previous gains made by the LGBTQI+ community were potentially at risk, driving the movement to regroup as violence increased. (George 2008, 173). The mid-2000s began to see some headway with organizations such as Equal Ground Pasifik (previously the Sexual Minorities Project connected to the Women's Action for

“ I want a world for her that is amazing, in which she can be liberated and free. ”

Noelene Nabulivou, On the world she wants to see for her daughter (Greenhalgh 2020).



Change) and Diverse Voices and Action (DIVA) for Equality who take on issues of anti-discrimination, visibility, public health and domestic violence and also issues of poverty and climate justice which cannot be separated out from issues of gender and recognizing that the LGBTQI+ live multi-dimensional lives. It is clear that navigating the movement for LGBTQI+ is difficult in Fiji, but Fiji is also representative of struggles throughout Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands where church, culture and international movements clash and where movements may need to tread lightly.

In 2018, Marshallese spoken word artists and activists Anfernee Nenol Kaminaga and Patsy Peji Glad co-founded the first openly LGBTQI+ initiative, called **"Brighten the Rainbow"** in Majuro, Marshall Islands. The organization creates a safe space for youth through small gatherings and actions that impact the atoll nation. Brighten the Rainbow, much like DIVA

for equity, is committed to climate justice and creative social justice campaigns for youth in the community.

There is simply not enough space within this text to review the complete range of movements across the rest of Oceania but hopefully this provides a starting point for understanding how organized movements are created within a Pacific context. It is also important to understand all the ways that Pacific peoples are collectively working toward understanding how gender and sexuality existed within their societies prior to the introduction of missionaries and the taint of colonization, as well as trying to find a way forward as they continue to live with the pain and weight of those legacies. Oceania has expressions of intimacy that are nuanced and do always translate into Western languages or framework. What is clear is that there are no easy answers and multiple approaches are necessary.

Video 14.

Click [here](#) to watch "Fa'afafine Documentary -Nothing to Declare: Fa'afafine in Transit." (November 16, 2017). YouTube video, 46:18.

Video 15.

Click [here](#) to watch Champions for Change: Noelene Nabulivou, Fiji (International Women's Health Coalition April 22, 2020). YouTube video, 9:41.

Trade Unionism and Labor Movement

Trade unionism and labor movements have long roots in the South Pacific, often standing for 'improving the position of their workers through representation, bargaining, and collective determination' but also 'encompassing broader objectives such as the promotion of democracy, human rights, social justice, and social policies to support disadvantaged groups and unorganized workers' (Prasad and Snell 2004, 267). Labor organizing preceded most of the other social justice

movements of the 1970s; for example, the Pacific Islanders' Association in Australia was an organization composed of South Sea Islander laborers who called for the reversal of their mandatory deportation in 1906 (National Archives of Australia 1906). In Fiji, indentured workers were recruited from India to work on sugar plantations at the turn of the century and laid the foundations for powerful industrial unions (Prasad and Snell 2004, 272). Trade unionism expanded exponentially in the 1960s particularly across Melanesia, Australia and New



Image 33.

General Strike in Wellington 1979. Source: National Library of New Zealand (Ans Westra).

Zealand. Grassroots critiques on development (such as tourism and foreign investment) and moves for workers' rights threatened foreign development and economic security interests (Rokotuivuna et al. 1973). Here, there was immense worker potential to organize labor strikes and bans on goods and services, for example, many organized bans on French goods and airlines in the name of disarmament and a nuclear-free Pacific, working with other organizations.

Organized labor and industrial relations represented various workers from white-collar and blue-collar industries to teachers to dock workers. By the 1980s, the early seeds of a regional labour movement were started with the Pacific Trade Union Forum, born in 1981 in Vanuatu. More recently, unions have suffered legal restrictions on trade unionism, restrictive political climates, the narrow base of formal sector employment, institutional weaknesses, and the failure to represent those engaged in agrarian and informal sectors of the economy' (Prasad and Snell 2004, 268). These were further weakened by a 'harsh economic climate' through 'domestic political instability' and 'structural adjustment reforms' (268). Overall, however, this history of resistance and disillusionment with development has provided a more critical understanding of development, cheap labor, and resource extraction within Pacific studies.



Video 15.

Click [here](#) to watch "KINLEITH STRIKE 1980," narrated by Merata Mita. In 1980, Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill in Aotearoa went on strike for 3 months for higher wages and eventually won their demands. Video, 38:33.



•Workers demonstrate against Kiribati president Tabai's attack on unions

Image 34.

"General Strike in Mid-Pacific." Sydney Tribune, NSW. July 23, 1980 p. 12. Australia National Library.

Climate Justice

The issues that the world is facing regarding climate justice today are directly tied to the social justice movements of the 1960s-70s. As has been discussed in other movements, climate justice is connected to issues of self-determination, to a nuclear free Pacific, demilitarization, the extraction of natural resources, food and housing insecurity, poverty and gender. The climate crisis reveals the intersectionality of social movements in Oceania. The Pacific Ocean covers more than 30% of the

earth's surface. The nations of Oceania were among the first to feel the impact of rising sea levels which has forced permanent migration for some low-lying nations since 2009. The nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands permanently displaced communities because their islands were rendered uninhabitable by nuclear fall out. Those same communities must now consider how to organize to stay on their islands as sea levels rise. The nuclear waste of 67 nuclear weapons tests stored beneath a concrete cap known as the Runit dome in



Video 16.

Click [here](#) to watch "ANOINTED" by Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner & Dan Lin. (Pacific Storytellers Cooperative. April 15, 2018). YouTube video, 6:08.

Bikini atoll is beginning to leak into the sea. This contributes to the overall temperature rise of the ocean which will impact the reefs and bleach the coral.

Increased cyclones throughout the South Pacific are devastating working class communities where a tremendous amount of housing is lost. In some areas such as West Papua, increased cyclones means a much higher potential for mining tailings to leech into the soil. Women who are often the primary farmers or sometimes the primary income earner have to adjust to the changing climate, affecting the economy and the stability of the home, as well as food resources. Threats to economic stability lead to increased situations of domestic violence and poverty. Those who are already marginalized such as migrants or members of the LGBTQI+ community become even more marginalized. As fresh water and food resources become threatened, militarism increases, and the depleted uranium and other military waste becomes a greater threat to the health and safety of the community as poor storage containment from the mid-twentieth century begins to deteriorate. Military exercises compounded with overfishing and warming waters change the migration patterns of the schools of fish and severely reduce the stock for fisheries. The list goes on and on.

The Pacific has long been at the forefront of the climate justice movement. From the Carteret Islands of Papua New Guinea to Vanuatu to the Marshall Islands, Pacific Islands

Studies scholar, spoken word artist and climate justice advocate Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner performed her poem “Dear Mataele Peinam” and addressed the United Nations in 2014 to draw the world’s attention to rising sea levels and most importantly to state that the peoples of the Pacific have no desire to become climate refugees. Shifting the language of the climate crisis away from one of despair toward agency and empowerment, her presentation opened the door to a global youth movement. In 2014, Jetñil-Kijiner co-founded the climate justice organization **Jo-Jikum**, which uses art and performance as an education tool, as well as training youth to organize and advocate for dramatic improvements to existing regulations on greenhouse gas emissions. Climate justice organizations have developed throughout the Pacific, such as the **Kiribati Climate Action Network**, **Women Vanua'tai Resource Monitors of Land & Sea**, **Te Ipukarea Society** and **Women Defend the Commons** initiative of DIVA for Equality to name just a few.

While we live in the midst of the global COVID-19 pandemic, it becomes clear that Oceania no longer has the luxury of theorizing or simply discussing climate justice. The climate justice movement is imperative. Connected to each movement like the tendrils of an octopus, climate justice cannot be disconnected from other areas of injustice. It is a movement that both informs and is informed by other movements.

Video 17.

Click [here](#) to watch “Women Vanua'tai Resource Monitors of Land & Sea.” (Island Reach, July 1, 2018). Video, 17:21.



Image 35.
"We are not drowning
we're fighting!" Source:
350pacific.org.

A "Genealogy of Resistance"

We are connected by more than just the ocean. We are connected by shared political legacies of grassroots resistance. Indeed, liberated travel and communication allowed people to bond in monumental ways as kin across a variety of organizations and social issues. Speaking to a sense of regionalism in contemporary activist connections around climate change in the Pacific today, Katerina Teaiwa has described this activist legacy as a "genealogy of resistance" formed through interwoven struggles and vibrant creative and critical modalities education (2018). As we have demonstrated, activism in the Pacific didn't begin with climate activism but because of the historical experiences of colonialism and dispossession across the Pacific. A deep source of Pacific intellectualism and grassroots critique, these movements have indeed shaped Pacific studies today.



Image 36.


Click [here](#) to view "Lee Kava" from Its Lit with PhDj, "Ep. 98 – Lee Kava." July 7, 2019.

Amelia Rokotuivana

(August 7, 1941 - June 2, 2005)

Amelia Rokotuivuna was a Fijian feminist and socialist who dedicated her life to peace, women's rights and social justice. As an early advocate for women's liberation, Rokotuivuna's political viewpoints often shocked fellow Fijians and she was considered a radical ahead of her time.

She was a founding member of the first YWCA in Suva, Fiji in 1962 and the first Fijian Executive Director in 1972 (Fiji Times 2012). In this role she championed women and workers' rights and demilitarization. As an early member of Against Testing On Moruroa (ATOM), Fiji Anti-Nuclear Group (FANG), and the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP), Rokotuivuna developed public education campaigns to raise awareness of the impact of nuclear testing on women's health in the Pacific. She forged strong links with the student population at the newly formed USP and pulled them into the radical organizing of the YWCA (Griffen 2005). Rokotuivuna, along with Claire Slatter and Vanessa Griffen, were among the few Pacific delegates to attend the World Conference on Women in June 1975. A staunch advocate for democracy, she organized marches against fascist dictator Pinochet, organized youth rallies following the first Fiji Coup in 1987 and worked to forge a new democratic constitution (Peace Women Across the Globe).



““ Feminism also means activism. ””

Amelia Rokotuivuna, Addressing the Women, Development and Power Workshop (1987)

Outspoken and uncompromising, Rokotuivuna was instrumental in politicizing and developing many young Fijians, particularly women, into the social justice movement. At her funeral in 2005, "women from across the Pacific converged on Suva to celebrate her life and remember with fondness and admiration her unwavering efforts to promote equality and justice for Pacific peoples" (George 2012, 184).

Continuing the Work





Pacific Islands Studies in the 21st Century

The field of Pacific Islands Studies is an ever-evolving process. Beginning as a field in which Oceania and its peoples were once the objects of study, during the 1970s it began to shift toward a regional discipline that threw off the taint of colonization. This new era of Pacific Studies scholars was rooted in the belief that another world was possible. Students became involved and informed by the social movements around the world, and applied those liberation strategies to the struggles that were happening in their own countries.

Pacific Islander students at places like USP, the University of Auckland, the University of Papua New Guinea, the University of Guam, and the University of Hawai'i began to demand a seat at the table and they started finding their own voice by organizing protests and rallies, journals, newspapers, political organizations, student strikes and campaigns. They joined international struggles against nuclear testing and South African Apartheid, promoted an end to war and sought self

determination, democracy and equality. Some of those young organizers went on to apply their education to leading newly independent countries while others continued to fight for liberation. A decolonial approach to Pacific Studies was born out of this shifting landscape, placing the needs of Pacific peoples, lands, waters, and cultures firmly in the center. Decolonizing the mind and the academy became the order of the day. There were few university administrations eager to assist those interested in decolonizing the academy and removing the old regime. It is safe to say that Pacific Studies as we have come to know it today was born out of protest.

Pacific historian, Dr. Vince Diaz recalls that at the Center for Pacific Islands Studies in Hawai'i, "During the late 1980s into the 1990s, the field began to give way to Native politics, culture, history and art" (Diaz 2021). This was due in part to the work of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars who were willing to support Pacific Islander agency and calls for self-determination and other social justice issues throughout

Section 3 Header.

(Above) "Decolonize Oceania Free Guahan!" twelve Guahan delegates protesting at the closing ceremony of 12th Festival of the Pacific, Paseo Stadium, Hagatna, Guahan. June 5, 2016. Photo: Cece Carpio from Facebook page with permission from owner.

Oceania. Diaz, who is Pohnpeian and Filipinx, born in Guahan, went on to say “while engaging in critical discourse in colonialism, taking Pacific Islands Studies courses, and learning from the Kanaka Maoli Sovereignty movement, in 1983, I made a political commitment to support CHamoru self-determination as a non-CHamoru.” This kind of critical consciousness and a continuing commitment to engage in critical discourse has informed how he teaches Pacific history today. CHamoru scholar Dr. Christina Taitano DeLisle teaches along with Diaz at the American Indian and Indigenous Studies Program at the University of Minnesota. DeLisle was drawn to Pacific Studies as part of her sense of accountability to CHamoru sovereignty. She declares “I see myself firmly situated in Pacific Studies even within American Indian Studies. That was one of the things that I insisted on, was to be able to teach Pacific Studies and Pacific History” (DeLisle 2021).

“ **The Pacific diaspora has to be taken seriously. People are firmly located out here, and movements are taking place on the ground.** ”

Christina DeLisle, On teaching Pacific Studies in the Midwest

What Do We Mean by Diaspora?

Technically, diaspora refers to a permanent severing from the homeland usually by force, war, or natural disaster. For many Australian South Sea Islanders, this was case. They were taken from their homeland, and many could not return because they had already lost those connections after several generations in Australia. Or, the people of Banaba who were forced to relocate to Rabi Island in Fiji and cannot return because phosphate mining has rendered their island uninhabitable. But many times when people say they live in the diaspora, they mean they live away from the land of their ancestors, but they still visit annually, or it could mean that they have not gone back to visit and have lived for more than one generation away from their homelands. However, in Oceania, “our people have always been moving. So our notion of diaspora is already going to be totally different” (Robinson 2021). Some Pacific Islanders living in other parts of Oceania or in other parts of the world may not identify as part of the diaspora, while others make it a point to assert that identity. But sometimes for those who have never seen or know where they are from in the Pacific or cannot go back, the term diaspora can bring up many emotions of shame or inauthenticity because of how those who live abroad are treated by those who live in the islands or vice versa. However, migration is becoming more frequent particularly because of



Image 37.
"The stake Pacific Islanders have in Ethnic Studies." Source: Pacific Islanders' Club (February 28, 2016).

sea level rise and other natural disasters. Building community abroad is how people negotiate their survival. This is why recognizing the positionality of those who live abroad is important for understanding how they might relate to social movements. This is why DeLisle makes the case that they are firmly in the Pacific because their commitment to Pacific liberation is unwavering, they are not severed.

Both Diaz and DeLisle represent educators whose original grounding began with a Pacific Studies that was tied to social movements. During the 1980s -1990s, they along with Teresia and Katerina Teaiwa, Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, Mary Ann Hattori, James Viernes, and others who all came into Pacific Studies from other disciplines, carved out spaces within conferences to interrupt the narrative of the "experts" in the

region. Pushing conversations about the Pacific by Pacific Islanders outside of the Pacific, Pacific historians like Diaz and DeLisle were among the first of a growing number of Pacific Studies scholars creating Pacific Studies programs within the continental United States that engage in comparative studies in relation to the Indigenous communities of Turtle Island (North America). Pacific Studies programs in the midwest can be a much needed space for Pacific Islander students who were born and raised outside of the Pacific or who have migrated for work, housing, healthcare, climate concerns and many other reasons. Pacific communities have long been established within the US, yet remain marginalized in mainstream American education classrooms. Although Pacific communities often remain tied to the issues, movements and concerns of Oceania, they face new challenges and it is still rare to enter a university classroom and see themselves reflected among those teaching them or the student body.

Over the past twenty years, alongside the program in Minnesota, Pacific Studies programs are starting to develop in California, Oregon, Washington, and Utah. Pacific Islander communities are beginning to rise up and organize to incorporate Pacific Islands Studies Programs, just as there are American Indian Studies, African American Studies, LatinX Studies, and Asian American Studies. It has been a complex movement for the expansion of Pacific Studies within the US.

Although often placed within American Indian or Asian American or Asian Studies program, Pacific Islander students and allies insist upon creating programs that are distinct, while remaining in solidarity with other programs.

The Critical Pacific Islands and Oceania Studies Minor Program (CPIOS) is housed in the department of Race and Resistance Studies in the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University. It is built out the legacy of the 1968-1969 Third World Liberation Front that “demanded the establishment of four departments: American Indian Studies, Asian American Studies, Black Studies, and La Raza Studies within a College of Ethnic Studies” (History n.d.). When the community, students, and faculty wanting Pacific Islander peoples, knowledge, culture and history to be honored advocated for the program (Critical Pacific Islands and Oceania Studies n.d.), CPIOS became an official minor in March 2019 and works in coalition with partner programs at the Community College of San Francisco, the College of San Mateo and De Anza College. Both alumni of the University of Hawai'i, Assistant Professors Lee Kava and Ponipate Rokolekutu became the first Pacific Islander scholars to join the CPIOS faculty of San Francisco State in 2019.

Dr. Kava is Hafekasi (Tongan and White descent) and was raised in Sacramento, California. Reflecting on her childhood education in a recent interview, she recalls, “We’re

“ Pacific Studies being housed in Ethnic Studies, means that Pacific Studies is being true to a critique of power. ”

Lee Kava, On Pacific Studies at San Francisco State

everywhere, but I did not see us in education. I had never been taught by a Pacific Islander, except in the community. I had never seen our name or our intellectualism or our cultures in print” (Kava 2021). It wasn’t until college that she actually saw the term Pacific Islander in print. She had the opportunity to meet Dr. Fuifulupe Niemeitolu, who Kava brought out to speak to her Ethnic Studies course at Brown University. Niemeitolu read aloud from *We Are The Ocean*. This was the first time Kava got to hear Epeli Hau’ofa. “It was so galvanizing it changed my life... wanting to follow the genealogy of Pacific intellectualism is what drew me to Pacific Islands Studies at UH” (2021). Kava’s connection to her cohort and her relationship to not only the department but the affiliate faculty from other departments really transformed her research. Kava is also a musician and poet who sees Pacific arts and literature as central to Pacific social justice movements. Many of the poets, writers, and artists that she teaches in her classrooms were people she met during her time in Pacific Islands Studies. “I teach now, the

nuclearization of the Pacific, through Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner’s work. Because the way that I was able to understand these huge concepts of militarization or missionization was through Pacific literature” (2021).

Kava’s reflections are reminiscent of the work of Albert Wendt, who through his writings and through Pacific literature in general advocated for a new Oceania. When asked why she thinks Pacific Islands Studies is important at San Francisco State University (SFSU) she says, “the only reason that me and my colleague professor Ponipate Rokolekutu have a job is because of student activism. There was a 2016 student hunger strike to let SFSU administration know Ethnic Studies matters” (2021). To provide some context, in 2016 SFSU threatened cuts to the Ethnic Studies department and more than 5,000 students protested. Pacific Islander students in the protests not only opposed the cuts, they demanded an expansion of the Ethnic Studies department to include Pacific Islander representation (Pacific Islanders’ Club 2016). They also worked in solidarity

with the General Union of Palestinian Students to create the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas Studies program. The time and place may be different, but international solidarity looks and feels the same.

Dr. Ponipate Rokolekutu is iTaukei (Indigenous Fijian) from Vunimono, Tailevu Province, in Fiji. His work focuses primarily on the colonial project of land dispossession and the resulting marginalization of Indigenous peoples in Oceania (Rokolekutu bio n.d.). He interrogates capitalism and the ways in which it is used to exploit natural resources and undermine customary land rights of Indigenous people, particularly in Fiji. On June 23, 2020, Rokolekutu was invited to speak in a virtual talanoa session entitled "[Fijian Identity – Talanoa w/ Dr. Ponipate Rokolekutu](#)" by young iTaukei living in the diaspora. During this session, he posed this question, "If capitalism doesn't value who you are, how do you deal with that? One way is to value your culture... this is what anchors you." The passion and critique of power from a Pacific perspective that Kava and Rokolekutu bring to SFSU is part of the long history of social justice activism and organizing in the Bay Area and upholds the long history of cross-cultural solidarity and social justice organizing that comes out of Oceania. Their work is inherently tied to the social activism of their students and their work helps to bring the critical concerns of Oceania to Pacific Islander

“ **Capitalism is not an economic system that values your identity.. your culture, your language, your sense of Indigeneity.** ”

Ponipate Rokolekutu, Speaking on Fijian identity and capitalism (2020).

students living in the diaspora and to Pacific Islands Studies students overall.

Pacific Islanders have been a consistent community in the state of Utah since 1880's due in part to the missionary work of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In fact, Utah has the largest number of Pacific Islanders per capita (Aguilar 2020). The community includes Hawaiians, Tongans, Samoans, Tahitians, Cook Islanders, Maori, and islanders from the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands. The new Pacific Islands Studies program and the Pacific Islands Studies Certificate in the School for Cultural and Social Transformation at the University of Utah were created out of a

Video 18.

Click [here](#) to watch "Fijian Identity – Talanoa w/ Dr. Ponipate Rokolekutu." Video, 2:52.

growing demand by Pacific Islander faculty and students to meet the needs of this cross-cultural community. Pacific Islands Studies at the university began as the *Pacific Islands Studies Initiative* in 2017. Four faculty, including Dr. Maile Arvin, were hired across four different colleges over two years to develop an Interdisciplinary Certificate in Pacific Islands Studies (Aguilar 2020). Kanaka Maoli Associate professor and initial director of Pacific Islands Studies, Hokulani Aikau described the initiative as being about “transforming the university and making it a place where our Pacific Islander kids can come and feel like they belong, which we know is essential to their success and the success of other students of color” (2020). The program in Utah endeavors to be “the premiere Pacific Studies premiere academic institution for Pacific Islands scholarship” (School for Cultural and Social Transformation 2016). Much like SFSU, the University of Utah has the opportunity to create a program that carries the weight of previous area studies models and includes Pacific Islander faculty from its inception. What makes this program distinct is that its faculty are planning to extend the program to include Native American students and to create a Climate Justice field school that would take both Native American and Pacific students to the Marshall Islands, Guahan, Pohnpei, and Chuuk. The field school would connect issues of climate justice between Utah and the Pacific, placing Pacific Islanders in the right relation with the Indigenous peoples of

Utah and giving Native American students the opportunity to learn about Oceania. Pacific Studies at University of Utah is looking toward Vince and Tina’s programs at the University of Minnesota and their work with Native Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Dr. Angela Robinson of the Wito Clan of Chuuk, Micronesia, who was raised in Hawai’i, became the inaugural Mellon-Pasifika scholar through the Pacific Studies Initiative. In 2021 she joined the faculty of the University of Utah in Transform & Environmental Studies and Gender Studies. One of her primary areas of research is “climate change and how Indigenous peoples are using expansive and creative ways to address climate change impacts” (Pike 2021). Robinson describes becoming politicized early, realizing she was gay/queer when she was young, and she remembers the first time she heard someone say, they didn’t like Micronesians. But as she recalls, “I was drawn to the punk scene in Hawai’i, there weren’t really accessible movements for me to take a part in then, and so a lot of that injustice I was feeling didn’t really have an avenue. It wasn’t until I went to college [in Oregon]... when social justice movements became a major part of my life” (Robinson 2021). Robinson learned much from movements like the SF State Occupy Movement, the movements surrounding the murder of Oscar Grant by BART police, and movements for prison abolition. But it wasn’t until 2014, when

she saw Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner performing at the UN, “that I realized how much I had been taken in by the language of climate scientists talking about drowning and disappearing islands and then I saw the light and realized, no, we are fighting. That was when I started getting involved in climate justice movements” (Robinson 2021). Robinson’s movement work has also been informed by the Black Lives Matter Movement and the LatinX Brown Berets in Utah. She said, regarding contemporary movements and Pasifika people, *“Thinking about the connection between Pasifika people and social movements in the 21st century, it’s crucial for people in the diaspora to support the movements in those places where you are. I mean at the same time Black people are being shot, Pacific Islanders are being shot too. We live in the same neighborhoods that are getting heavily policed. So anti-Blackness is a Pacific Islands issue. Over policing is a Pasifika issue. The prison industrial complex is a Pasifika issue”* (2021).

The #BlackLivesMatter social justice movement was started by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, (blacklivesmatter.com “herstory” n.d.) in 2012 in response to the murder of Trayvon Martin, a Black teenager, who was shot and killed in Sanford Florida by George Zimmerman a



neighborhood watch coordinator. Martin was visiting his relatives and had gone out to get some candy. While walking back, Zimmerman, against instructions from the 911 operator, followed Martin, got into an altercation with him and shot and killed the unarmed youth. When Zimmerman was acquitted, Martin’s death was a tipping point for the Black community which has grown tired of the number of murders of Black people without justice (nytimes.com 2013). As shootings and in-custody deaths increased at the hands of police throughout

Image 38.

Pacific Islanders 4 Black Lives Salt Lake City Utah. Source: Angela Robinson.

Video 19.

Click [here](#) to watch Angela Robinson speak at a Black Lives Matter Rally in Salt Lake City, Utah (June 5, 2020). Video 3:43.



Video 20.
Click [here](#) to watch Pohnpei, Micronesia for #BlackLivesMatter (Isa Mwah, June 20, 2020). YouTube video, 1:55.

the United States, a groundswell of resistance grew to call for an end to state violence. What began as a simple #BlackLivesMatter grew into a multi-chapter organization supported by many communities who also agreed enough was enough.

On May 25, 2020, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, six months after the world went into quarantine following the outbreak of the COVID-19 virus, a Black man named George Floyd was killed by officer Derek Chauvin who placed his knee

on his neck, cutting off his oxygen for 9 minutes and 29 seconds. Chauvin ignored pleas from both Floyd and witnesses that Floyd could not breathe. Floyd died. Enraged by such a blatant disregard for Floyd's life, adding salt to already open wounds, riots broke out in Minneapolis and across the United States demanding justice (New York Times 2020). Monumental marches, rallies, sign wavings, and other forms of protest were sustained nearly every day until the end of the year. The protests were taken up by members of every community of all

“ Anti-Blackness is a Pacific Islands Issue. ”

Angela Robinson, On the connections between Pacific diaspora communities and 21st century social movements.

ages. Calls to defund the police or to stand with Black lives were heard around the world and Oceania was no exception. Solidarity with the movement was not seen as limited to the violence in the US alone but also to the legacy of colonialism and structural racism all too familiar to the nations of the Pacific where Indigenous communities could be killed without recourse. Solidarity marches, rallies, and sign wavings followed in **Auckland and Wellington in Aotearoa, Suva, Fiji, West Papua, the Solomon Islands, West Papua, Pohnpei, Vanuatu, American Samoa, Australia, Guahan and Hawai'i.** The march for Black lives in Honolulu, Hawai'i on June 6, 2021 was one of the largest protest marches in Hawaiian history with more than ten thousand people in attendance, many of whom were Pacific Islander and Kanaka Maoli. On April 5, 2021, a sixteen-year-old Chuukese teen, Iremamber Sykap, was shot six times in the back and killed by Honolulu Police who were in pursuit of Sykap and three other teens, allegedly for car theft.

The teen drove the car into a ditch and police fired from above. None of the youth in the car were armed and all were shot at by police while trying to flee the crashed vehicle. Sykap, who was the driver of the vehicle, never exited the vehicle. The death at the hands of Honolulu Police instigated a round of protests and repeated calls for the defunding of the police, while others in the community rallied around a primarily local police force. Comparisons of the treatment Micronesian youth in Hawai'i were compared with similar treatment of Black youth by police in the continental US. During the controversy, the prosecuting attorney chose to charge three Honolulu Police officers with murder, increasing tensions within an already divided community (Ancheta 2021).

Much like the Black Power movements of the 1970s, the Black Lives Matter movement has been both a galvanizing and polarizing movement within Pacific Islander communities, both within Oceania and abroad. The language surrounding the issues raised by Black Lives Matter in many ways mirrors that of the 1970s. Both internal and external issues of anti-Blackness have re-emerged and have once again become an issue led by youth and college students. Regardless of where you land on the issue, for Pacific Studies scholars committed to decolonization, anti-Blackness is in fact a subject within Oceania.

Similar to San Francisco State, the University of Washington has created a minor program in **Oceania and Pacific Islander Studies** and, like the University of Minnesota, it is housed in the Department of American Indian Studies. This program was also forged out of years of organizing by students and faculty who did not see themselves reflected in the college's courses and curriculums, even though Pacific Islanders have been **present in the region** for more than a century. According to Rick Bonus, Associate Professor of American Ethnic Studies at the university, "The Pacific Islander students who advocated with us wanted to be co-learners and co-producers of knowledge. They wanted their cultures and histories to be part of our academic community: That's what being an Islander is all about. In true Pacific Islander spirit, this is a collective" (Eckart 2016). There is something intriguing in the Pacific Studies programs developing within the US. When detached from old area studies models, they are no longer necessarily bound or attached to Asian Studies or Asian American Studies programs, and they can form new alliances with Indigenous peoples or historically political departments with long histories of social activism. Free to organize themselves, they are no longer swept under the umbrella term of the "Indo-Pacific" and the military implications that go along with this term. Instead, Pacific Studies departments become invested in the lives of the Indigenous people where they are living. This is much more than a simple land acknowledgement, this is a relationship with the

people of the land, building solidarity and grounded in social justice movements. It will be interesting to see how they will continue to grow and transform.

Looking back toward the South Pacific, Pacific Studies at the University of Victoria Wellington (VUW) or Te Herenga Waka in Aotearoa started 21 years ago with Dr. Teresia Teaiwa as the first lecturer "tasked with developing content and curriculum for a suite of courses that had been approved by the national Committee on University Academic Programmes in 1999" (2017, 266). Teaiwa had to map out an entire department! At the time the University of Auckland only had a minor in Pacific Studies, the University of Hawai'i did not have an undergraduate program in Pacific Studies, and "USP, the only university in the world owned by twelve Pacific Island countries—offered no degrees in Pacific studies at all" (266). Teaiwa was still getting her PhD. This is what we mean when say there was no roadmap for emerging Pacific Studies professors. Or, in this case, as she said, "I was in uncharted waters" (266). It was during this time that Teaiwa developed the now often taught concept of the **classroom as a metaphorical canoe** to promote cooperative learning. At the core of her teaching philosophy was the belief that "a teacher must continue to be a learner in order to be of any lasting benefit to themselves or their students" (268).

For many Pacific Studies scholars today, Teresia Teaiwa was our roadmap, our canoe through uncharted waters. She helped



Image 39.
Youngsolwara Pacific We Bleed
Black and Red Campaign.
Source: Youngsolwara Pacific
(2017).

her students take research and reading seriously, while supporting creative endeavors such as poetry, painting, dance, and song. She perhaps more than any other Pacific scholar thought deeply about the question of what makes Pacific Studies, Pacific Studies. She thought deeply on how it should be taught and how it should make Pacific Studies students feel. Not just her teaching but her willingness to sit with students and just listen made her a movement unto herself because she was a catalyst of transformation for hundreds, if not thousands of students, educators, and activists.

Teaiwa was committed to social justice and was a key mentor for youth organizations such as [Youngsolwara Pacific](#). Youngsolwara Pacific was created in 2015 at a conference in Madang Province in Papua New Guinea. It is a regional organization of Pacific Islanders from every part of Oceania. Through Teaiwa's mentorship the youth use art and poetry as a tool to take up issues such as self-determination in West Papua, a nuclear free Pacific, seabed mining and other extractive industries, and militarization. As an iKiribati, Banaban and African American scholar who was raised in Fiji she took issues of anti-Blackness in Oceania seriously, as well as the issue of Pacific Feminism. Teaiwa was mentored by Pacific feminists such as Amelia Rokotuivuna, Claire Slatter and Vanessa Griffen. In this way she was a part of a genealogy of Pacific Feminist resistance.

At the University of Victoria Teaiwa worked closely with Pacific scholars April Henderson and Emalani Case. Emalani Case is Kanaka Maoli scholar from Waimea, Hawai'i. She was teaching at UH West O'ahu when she learned that Teresia, who had previously been her advisor, passed away. Initially she returned to support the staff, but was eventually hired and returned to the university. In a recent interview, she shared some of her thoughts on what Teresia taught her about Pacific Studies and how she applies those lessons in her teaching today.

“ I am here to radicalize you.”

Emalani Case, On teaching Pacific Studies

In an interview with Case, she shared the lessons she learned from Teaiwa regarding Pacific Studies and how she incorporates social movements into her work today. “Teresia was not nationalistic and not ethnocentric. Pacific Studies has to be focused on a greater regionalism” (Case 2021). One of the first points that Case shared is that Pacific Studies remains rooted in regionalism. “It promotes a shared obligation to the region not a homogenizing regional identity” (14). Because the

region is so vast and diverse and the issues within it are similarly overwhelming, "Teresia would introduce key concepts each week, like 'structure' or 'agency' just to give them the language to understand the structures around them" (2021).

Often students will come into Pacific Islands Studies classes somehow expecting to only learn about the country that they are from or the country that they are interested in, something closer to a focused Hawaiian, Maori or Samoan Studies. However, Case explains Pacific Studies "gives us the opportunity to understand the Pacific and our place in it and to look at our histories and begin to understand the why, not just the what" (2021). Case, much like Teaiwa did, has a lot of students who are either involved in social justice movements or want to be, or at least they go to a lot of protests. But they don't want to do any reading about the history of those movements or other readings to make "connections between movements" (2021). To address this disconnect, for her third-year students she has them read Robin D.G. Kelley's *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* and Edward Said's work on intellectualism. "I am increasingly surrounded by well-meaning students who want to be activists but exhibit anxiety about doing intellectual work. They often differentiate the two, positioning activism and intellectual work as inherently incompatible" (Kelley 2002, 8). Kelley's words capture an overall sentiment of young activists within Pacific Studies as

well. Case reminds students that "being an intellectual isn't just about sitting in the library or in your office in the university reading and writing, it's about being a mouthpiece for your people, standing up and being a visible representation of a cause or of a movement...You have to engage in that intellectual labor" (Case 2021). As this text has bought out, Pacific peoples come from very long histories of social activism and intellectual engagement. Even in the past they realized, "You can't really be that effective in the social movements unless you know what is going on" (2021). However, these conversations tend to happen later for students who choose to pursue a degree in Pacific Studies. For those students who are coming in for the first time, Case explains that Pacific Studies helps students "unpack their everyday reality" (2021). Most of our Pacific Islander students arrive in the classroom with their own experience of trauma and racism and know about the impacts of colonialism. Maori and Pasifika students know about the **Dawn Raids**, Kanaka Maoli students remember the bombing of **Kaho'olawe**, Marshallese Students live with the legacy of **Operation Bravo**, so they are aware of the histories. So Pacific Studies is "our chance to use this space to further understand all of our realities, all of the oppressions and to understand history."

One of the core concepts within Pacific Studies is the concept of positionality. "Positionality is the social, cultural, and

Video 21.

Click [here](#) to watch "Dawn Raids" by Isola Productions (2005). Video, 11:33.

Video 22.

Click [here](#) to watch "Kaho'olawe Aloha 'Āina (trailer)" (2012). Video, 5:14.

Video 23.

Click [here](#) to watch "Atomic Testing in the Marshall Islands" (2008). Video, 5:14.

Image 40.

Weaving the mat at
Youngsolwara Art Camp
Nadave, Fiji. Source: Joy
Enomoto.



political context that the student or researcher brings with them including, but not limited to, their identity in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, or sexuality, discipline, research, motivations and goals, or personal experience" (CPIS 2020, 93). This is really to help our students, whether of Pacific heritage or not, understand their responsibilities within the region and "ask themselves what is going to be your contribution to the Pacific?" (Case 2021). Because a central aspect of making Pacific Studies decolonial framework is to re-center Oceania, it can sometimes be difficult for non-Pacific Islanders or non-Indigenous students to know how to contribute. Pacific Studies provides the structures for those

students to learn how they can contribute to field in multitude of ways while being conscious of who they are.

A saying that is often heard in the South Pacific is "the mat is open," meaning that there is an opportunity for us to come together to discuss important issues, hold ceremony and build community. Sometimes the mat is referred to metaphorically, but quite often it is meant literally, with a mat that is shared by a specific group of people. Sometimes sent to other countries, to be opened for an important gathering and continually woven while the gathering takes place, then it is closed and sent to the next country to be re-opened to continue the conversation. This is much like Pacific Islands Studies. The mat is open to all students to come and add to the fabric or the weave of the course, but to weave the mat correctly, you have to know the protocols; certain people may be designated to sit on certain side of the mat, while others sit just outside of the mat. When you're weaving you need to know which direction to weave in and how to properly end each row, basically know your position in relationship to the mat. That is positionality.

Also, depending on where you live in the Pacific and as you move through the Pacific, how you are seen or not seen as a Pacific Islander changes. For example, the Maori are the tangata whenua (people of the land in Aotearoa) and within this context are not considered Pasifika or Pacific Islander, who within Aotearoa would be Samoan, Tongan, Niueans, etc. who have migrated from other parts of the Pacific, even though to other

Pacific Islanders and to outsiders, the Maori are Pacific Islanders too. Kanaka Maoli, are sometimes not seen as being Pacific Islander or part of Oceania by other Pacific Islanders because their islands are occupied by the US and considered American, despite genealogical ties that go back centuries. The same assumptions are often made about American Sāmoa, who may be accused of losing their culture, because they are Americanized, unlike independent Sāmoa. So “identity and positionality is always shifting within the Oceania” (Case 2021).

But even with all of that knowledge, Pacific Studies is still sometimes mistakenly thought of by some Pacific Islanders and non-Pacific Islanders alike as a space where they will only learn about Pacific culture and traditional arts, in a sort of romantic way, only to realize that it is very much a critical and political space that addresses the complex issues challenging the region. “We are not gonna just be dancing and singing” (2021). That being said, art, dance, music, and kava ceremony is still very much a part of Pacific Studies. Case introduces a new piece of art, whether it be a poem or song, dance or visual piece to the class each week, to take in critically. Artists such as South Sea Islander **Jasmine Togo-Brisby** challenge the idea that all Pacific peoples willingly migrated. When she comes to speak in Case’s class, there are no romantic canoe metaphors, “My ancestors come from a slave ship” (Case quoting Togo-Brisby 2021). So arts are very much a part of the critical discourse of Pacific Studies.



Emalani Case follows in the tradition of Teresia Teaiwa’s pedagogy of deep learning about Oceania and commitment to social movements that impact the peoples of the Pacific. As a Kanaka Maoli from Hawai’i Island, she organizes on issues that impact Hawai’i directly, as well as those that impact the region. Case is involved in the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, is a *kia’i* (protector) of **Mauna Kea** and Pōhaku’loa, the Free West Papua movement and an active member of an Oceania wide coalition of peace activists committed to stopping destructive and polluting naval military exercises in the Pacific, such as the **Cancel RIMPAC Coalition**, now called KOA Futures. RIMPAC stands for the Rim of the Pacific exercises that have occurred every two years since 1971, and currently involves militaries from 29 countries. It has been actively opposed in Hawai’i since 1980.

Demilitarization and self-determination are primary themes at the University of Guam where CHamoru Pacific

Video 24.

Click [here](#) to watch CANCEL RIMPAC, a collective poem. Source: Cancel RIMPAC Coalition (July 8, 2020). YouTube video, 4:36.

Islands Studies scholars like professors Kenneth Gofigan and Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo are among a growing number of organizers and artists, including Keri Ann Borja, Monaeka Flores, Tia and Melvin Won-Pat Borja, who have been organizing CHamoru led social justice organizations and campaigns since the early the early 2000s while they were still students. In fact, Gofigan and Quichocho-Calvo, while receiving their Masters degrees in Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawai'i, started a cross-cultural organization called **Oceania Rising**, and on March 1, 2013 held an event with the slogan Remember! Recommit! Resist! to commemorate Nuclear Survivors Day.

Oceania Rising was a coalition of Kanaka Maoli, CHamorus, Okinawans, Marshallese, Japanese, Korean and other Pacific Islanders committed to building Pacific solidarity in Oceania. They remained active from 2013 -2017 organizing several events and sent a delegation to Mauna Kea in 2016 to support the Kanaka Maoli opposition to the Thirty Meter Telescope. Oceania Rising was reminiscent in some ways of Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific in calling for an end to military occupation and accountability for the legacy of nuclear testing by the United States and France, and opposed the building up of bases in Henoko, Okinawa and the occupation of Jeju Island in Korea, as well as the continued calls for independence in Guahan, Hawaii, and Okinawa. Gofigan and

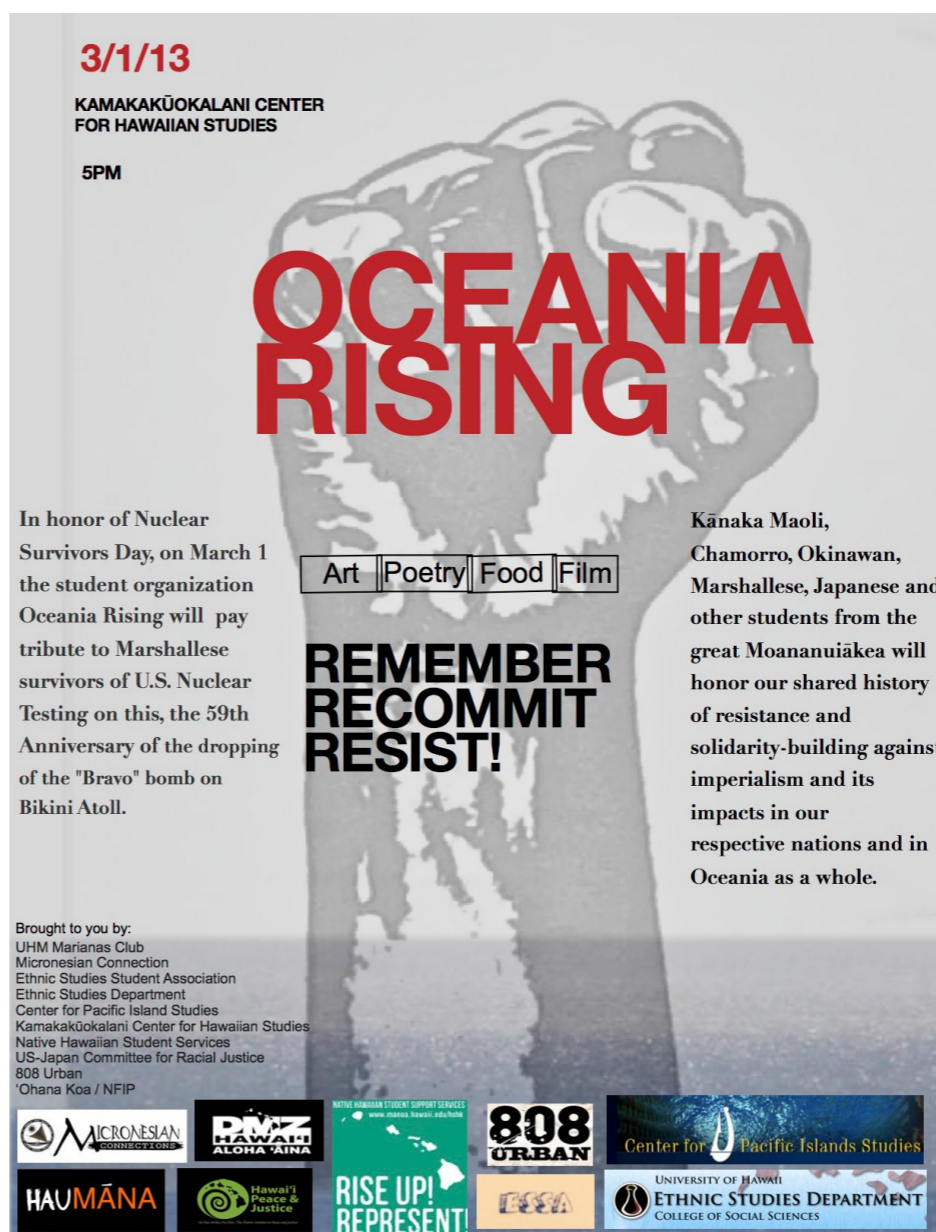


Image 41. Flyer for Oceania Rising Event Remember Recommit Resist! for the 53rd Nuclear Survivor Day (March 1, 2013). Source: Joy Enomoto.

Image 42. Oceania Rising stands in solidarity with Mauna Kea kia'i (2016). Source: Oceania Rising Facebook page.

Borja-Quichocho-Calvo were organizing both in Hawai'i and Guahan raising awareness of land struggles in the Guahan and the Northern Marianas. They were actively involved with **Prutehi Litekyan**, (Protect Litekyan) which is one of the oldest CHamoru villages and the island's main water source. There are ancestral lands that still belong to the customary land owners, and it is one of the largest archaeological sites on the island. The US military, which already controls more than 49,000 acres (Nguyen 2021) of land on Guahan not including the more than 15,000 acres (CJMT EIS/OEIS 2015, 4) of the Northern Marianas to station Marines on Guahan, is seeking to build a live firing range above Litekyan threatening the ecology and denying access to the customary landowners who have always had right of access. Other movements such as Independence Guahan and Fanoghe



occupation. Guam has been an unincorporated territory since the end of World War II, and has no voting rights although residents are considered US citizens. As an insular unincorporated territory it is classified within the Department of the Interior, limiting its political powers considerably. Military expansion has raised more than environmental concerns. When the outbreak of COVID-19 occurred, the **USS Roosevelt** docked in Guahan filled with infected soldiers. The soldiers were kept in local hotel rooms, potentially endangering the local community. Being unable to determine their own safety measures underscores CHamoru calls for self-determination.

Video 25.

Click [here](#) to listen to Much To Do (Back to Guahan) by CHamoru singer Erica Nalani Benton. Youtube video, 5:05.

are working with the CHamoru, FilipinX and other Micronesians living in Guam to call for independence and an end to the US military

Video 26.

Click [here](#) to watch "Unfurling Takirie with Jasmine Togo-Brisby. NZ Maritime Museum, March 2021. YouTube video, 5:48.

Video 27.

Click [here](#) to watch "Prutehi Litekyan." Prutehi Litekyan-Save Ritidian, July 14, 2019. Facebook video, 5:14.



Video 28.

Click [here](#) to watch Dr. Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo in Oceania Rising: Peace Pivot to the Pacific. Source: Ed Mays. Feb 25, 2019. YouTube video, 1:54:55.

Calls for CHamoru self-determination have been led by leaders such as Robert Underwood, Laura Souder and Hope Cristobal since the 1970s. In recent years new youth-led Independence movement has been gaining momentum with political education programs at the University of Guam Micronesian Studies Department and through popular education and land campaigns within the community. Youth

organizers incorporate spoken word, murals, community gardens and other forms of resistance. Knowing that these movements include students transformed by Pacific Studies reveals the potential for new knowledge and new movements to come.

Conclusion: A Call to Action

For many students, Pacific Islands Studies is part of a long journey toward gaining a comprehensive and deeper understanding of themselves and their ancestors. But, as you can see, in that search for a deeper understanding of self, there can also be a greater connection to other people and their movements from which solidarity can grow. Hopefully what this text has been able to show is that Pacific Studies as we know it now was born out of protest. From the 1970s until today, the demand from Pacific Islanders to be seen and heard on their own terms is largely due to student movements. Social movements exist from the mountains to the sea. From the Torres Straits to West Papua, from Tahiti to Guahan, Tokelau to Rapa Nui, Chuuk to Hawai'i, Aotearoa to Kiribati. We must acknowledge that even though we may meet at the water's edge, there are hundreds of stories of resistance that have yet to be told of those who live in the mountains and never see the sea, whose movements have been made invisible by empire or by urban centers. Pacific Islands Studies is a place to seek out those stories and to tell them. There are movements waiting to be expanded, while others have yet to begin. There are emerging Pacific Studies programs that are coming into right with other indigenous peoples by maintaining a



Image 43.
USP student, Philip Subu
holding West Papua
Morning Star flag during
2018 Melanesian Arts
Festival. Photo: Courtesy
of Joy Enomoto.

clear critique of power. Their Pacific Studies scholars advocating for a broader sense of solidarity for those living beyond Oceania. As a growing and dynamic field we must acknowledge where there are gaps in our scholarship and ask ourselves "what do we deem worth seeing" (Case 2021). There are also new struggles and old tensions and there are global concerns for our collective health. The COVID-19 pandemic has taken countless lives globally, with some of the highest spikes being seen in Oceania. This is your kahea (call to action) to join a genealogy of resistance and head toward a new Pacific Studies. In closing, we leave you with these words from the late Dr. Haunani-Kay Trask:

"For students, as for any other organic group, organizing occurs at the site of engagement. The campus- where students study, live and work- is the primary site of their resistance. This is not to say that students do not participate in community efforts, but the main arena of student resistance, is the campus. It has to be, since that is where the forces of power penetrate, and construct student lives" (From A Native Daughter 1999, 186).



Image 44.

"Road Closed Due to Desecration" banner held by Kia'i of Mauna Kea to protest the proposed Thirty Meter Telescope (July 15, 2019). Source: Joy Enomoto.



Image 45.
USP Vanuatu Law students
solidarity with Black Lives
Matter (June 6, 2020). Source:
Risha Jones.

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Academic disciplines

Fields of study that provide their practitioners with a particular orientation towards kinds of questions about the world, how to ask those questions, and how to evaluate and understand possible answers.

Related Glossary Terms

Critical scholarship

Index

Find Term

Against Testing on Moruroa (ATOM)

Students association at the University of the South Pacific, Laucala campus, which raised awareness of the impacts of nuclear testing in French Polynesia and organized one of the earliest movements to stop the tests.

Related Glossary Terms

Anti-nuclear

Index

Pacific Studies: A Transformational Movement - Introduction and Overview

Agency

In the social sciences, the term agency brings into view the capacity or ability of individuals or collectives to enact change in the world or to resist the enactments of others.

Related Glossary Terms

Empowerment

Index

Find Term

Anti-nuclear

Activism opposing nuclear testing and militarism in Oceania has been significant across the region since the 1970s and frequently intersects with other social and environmental causes. Groups such as the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific association brought Pacific Islanders together across national boundaries, advocated for local agency to determine environmental futures, sought to eliminate the use of Pacific Islands as sites of weapons testing, and advocated for reparations by those powers to support the challenging work of restoring the wellbeing of individuals, communities, and environments profoundly altered by nuclear testing in the region.

Related Glossary Terms

Against Testing on Moruroa (ATOM)

Index

Find Term

Anticolonial

An anticolonial stance would be one that not only seeks to dis-establish colonial institutions and practices (see decolonization) but actively opposes them wherever they are found.

Related Glossary Terms

Decolonization, Decolonize

Index

Find Term

Area studies

Fields of study organized around particular geographic or cultural areas of the world which use a variety of disciplinary tools to study different aspects of that region or country.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

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Find Term

Australian South Sea Islanders

Australian-born direct descendants of Pacific people brought to Australia between 1863 and 1904 to work as indentured laborers.

Related Glossary Terms

Drag related terms here

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Find Term

Pacific Studies: A Transformational Movement - Why the South Pacific Matters: Revisi

Biodiversity

The variety of life found in a particular environment. Some high islands in Oceania as well as coral reef systems across the region are remarkable for the sheer number of unique flora and fauna. Because of environmental degradation, climate change impacts, and other hazards, biodiversity has declined and is very much at risk across the region.

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Collective diplomacy

While many international agreements are bilateral—made between two partners—in collective diplomacy a group of nations pursues a diplomatic agreement with some other party as a united whole.

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Colonial projects

Because colonization was never one simple process that played out in every aspect of life in exactly the same way and because, in many cases, there were diverse powers working to establish control for different reasons over different aspects of a colonial situation, scholars sometimes use the term colonial project to focus on one domain in which colonization has occurred or is occurring due to the efforts and actions of one or another agent.

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Colonized

Colonization is the process of settling among and establishing control over the Indigenous people, local communities, and resources of an area by an external power.

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Find Term

Compact of Free Association (COFA)

Agreements between the United States and several sovereign Pacific Islands states—Federated States of Micronesia, The Republic of the Marshall Islands, Palau. Among key features, these agreements allow COFA citizens to freely enter and reside in the United States and allow the United States military the use of certain land and sea spaces.

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Critical consciousness

The ability to recognize and analyze systems of inequality and the commitment to take action against these systems.

Related Glossary Terms

Critical scholarship, Decolonize

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Critical scholarship

This term to point to scholarly work which takes that fact of its own production into account as well as the object of study. In effect, critical scholarship is aware of its own production including, for instance, the positionality of the scholar as well as the political contexts and implications of the work.

Related Glossary Terms

Academic disciplines, Critical consciousness

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Find Term

Cultural bomb

Term defined by Dr. wa Thiong'o in *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* referring to the internal and psychological impacts of Indigenous communities being separated from their languages and histories by imposed colonial institutions and systematic racism.

Related Glossary Terms

Decolonize

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Cultural relativism

An important stance which particularly developed in anthropological discussions that accepts that every culture is irreducibly unique and should be understood in its own terms.

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Culture

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Find Term

Culturally grounded

Scholarship is culturally-grounded when it rests upon a foundation of cultural knowledge or practice.

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Methods

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Culture

Notoriously difficult to define, culture is most simply the beliefs, values, and practices which an individual possesses by virtue of having been raised by and belonging to a particular group of people.

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Cultural relativism

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Find Term

Decolonization

The legal, political, social, cultural, and economic process through which a colony becomes self-governing or independent.

Related Glossary Terms

Anticolonial, Decolonize

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Find Term

Decolonize

To free (a people or area) from colonial status; to free from the dominating influence of a colonizing power; to identify, challenge, and revise or replace assumptions, ideas, values, and practices that reflect a colonizer's dominating influence over another people and their lands, waters, histories, social institutions, etc.

Related Glossary Terms

Anticolonial, Critical consciousness, Cultural bomb, Decolonization

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Deep time

A term borrowed from geology, the term deep time reminds readers of the challenge of thinking about or understanding the past, particularly the past prior to or in the absence of memory or records (whether written or otherwise).

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Demilitarization

The process of disestablishing military presence and activities in an area.

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Find Term

Development

A key term in Political Science and Economics, development points to the degree of industrialization and civil and political infrastructure in an area.

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Find Term

Diaspora

A group of people living away from their ancestral homeland, often in more than one location.

Related Glossary Terms

Regionalism

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Find Term

Empowerment

Process by which agency is acquired by those who have been marginalized or previously excluded.

Related Glossary Terms

Agency

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Find Term

Environmental change

Environmental change is a constant and ongoing feature of a dynamic Earth. However, the term has a particularly heightened significance in the Anthropocene when the intensity and impact of human driven environmental change such as climate change, sea level rise, ocean acidification, loss of biodiversity, and other factors, is putting the wellbeing of local communities and their environments at risk.

Related Glossary Terms

Hazard drivers, Health

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Find Term

Epistemology

Formally, epistemology is branch of philosophy concerned with questions of knowledge such as what distinguishes justified belief from opinion. Academic disciplines frequently differ in the procedures they use to produce and evaluate knowledge.

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Fatal Impact

Identifiable in many guises, at its root the Fatal Impact Theory asserts that contact with outsiders, particularly Europeans, results in the loss of Indigenous cultures, societies, and populations.

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Fieldwork

Used across the academy, fieldwork refers to research which does not occur in laboratories, libraries, archives, or offices but out in the world. While this term may be unproblematic for natural scientists, it has come under scrutiny by social scientists who note that research which touches on human lives is not out in the world but in the home places of individuals and communities.

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Forgotten wars

Refers to the violent and genocidal occupation by Indonesia of East Timor and West Papua that continues to occur.

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Genealogy

A key feature of how culture organize their social lives around the world. In many Pacific Islands contexts, genealogy is a foundational dimension of individual and collective identity and plays a central role in Indigenous epistemology.

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Find Term

Genealogy of ideas

This phrase points to the ways in which the ideas we use are dependent on earlier ideas which, in turn, are dependent on even earlier ideas. The genealogy of ideas reveals a great deal about how we perceive or conceive the world around us.

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Globalization

Since the early 19th century, advances in transportation, communication, and other technologies have led to an intensifying and accelerating flow of ideas, things, and persons, across national borders resulting in an incredibly complex interdependence of markets, governments, and social lives across the globe.

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Governance

The legal, administrative, and executive processes which result in policy- and decision-making that shape how individuals and communities act and interact with environments, social institutions, or in everyday life.

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Hazard drivers

The complex factors playing a role in environmental or climate change; for instance global addiction to the use of disposable plastics and the flow of those plastics into the world's oceans and their accumulation in the two garbage gyres in the Pacific, is a hazard driver for Oceania's environmental degradation including changing sea chemistry and threats to numerous species due to accidental plastics consumption.

Related Glossary Terms

Environmental change

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Find Term

Health

The state of being free of illness; a state of complete physical, mental, social, and spiritual well-being.

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Environmental change

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Find Term

Ideologies

Collections of ideas, principles, ideals, or beliefs held by individuals, groups, communities, or institutions that order their view of how the world should work.

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Indigenous

The native people of a place. Indigeneity was recognized by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, begun in the early 1980s and formally adopted in 2007, which “establishes a universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world and it elaborates on existing human rights standards and fundamental freedoms as they apply to the specific situation of indigenous peoples.” See, https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

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Indigenous epistemologies

Culturally-grounded ways of producing, evaluating, or circulating knowledge about the world.

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Indigenous knowledge

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Find Term

Indigenous knowledge

Knowledge about natural resources such as terrestrial or marine geographical features, of weather and climate, or of local species, or about particular cultural practices transmitted over generations within a particular Indigenous context.

Related Glossary Terms

Indigenous epistemologies

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Find Term

Interdisciplinary

Research is interdisciplinary if it not centered in any one discipline but, drawing upon multiple disciplines, engages with scholarship in the knowledge space between them.

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Island-Centered, Islander-Oriented

This key phrase emerged in Pacific History as a way of re-orienting scholarship to approach Pacific Worlds in their own terms as opposed to perceiving, studying, and writing about Pacific History as if it were the branch of European history touching on the region.

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Kanak

In the era of the Pacific labor trade, the term "Canaque" or "Kanak" was appropriated from the Hawaiian "kanaka," meaning "person," and used to refer to all Pacific Islanders. The era is known for the practice of blackbirding, which saw Pacific Islanders "plucked" from islands and forced into agricultural labor elsewhere. While the term has historically had a derogatory connotation, political activists in New Caledonia in the 1970s created the new spelling "Kanak" that related to the world's Indigenous Oceanian origins and thereby reclaimed it as a marker of Indigenous identity and political pride. Today, "Kanak" is the term used to refer to Indigenous people in New Caledonia and Kanaky or Kanaky/New Caledonia has become a common name for this territory, indicating the special historical and contemporary place of the Kanak people in their home islands.

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Find Term

Land tenure

A system of cultural rules that guide the use, control, access, and transfer of land.

Related Glossary Terms

Treaty of Waitangi

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Find Term

Language diversity

The degree to which a particular area is multi- or pluri-lingual. In Oceania, some islands such as Vanuatu, or Papua New Guinea have dozens or many hundreds of distinct languages spoken on the same island and are among the most linguistically diverse places on earth.

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Language shift

Refers to the process by which a language changes over time. While all languages change, colonization, missionization, and globalization have been drivers of intense language shift in Oceania since the 19th century threatening the future vitality of many of Oceania's Indigenous languages.

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Language vitality

The status of a given language with respect to the likelihood that it will be passed on to the next generation or that it will continue to be used in a wide variety of contexts in everyday life.

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Liberation theology

Liberation theology is a Christian theological approach emphasizing the liberation of the oppressed.

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Mana

A word meaning divine or supernatural power, authority, or power to lead, in many Pacific languages, including Hawaiian, Tahitian, and Māori.

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Marine Protected Areas (MPAs)

Oceans, lakes, and other waterways protected from human activity for conservation purposes.

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Methodology

A methodology is the larger framework which a particular research project establishes to coordinate and act as a foundation for the particular method or methods which will be used by that project.

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Methods

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Methods

Methods are the particular means used by scholars within a particular discipline to seek answers to the research questions which guide their work. Typically researchers acquire knowledge and expertise about how to deploy various methods as part of their training. Methods common in the social sciences include structured interviews, survey instruments, focus groups, mental maps or other sorts of cognitive tests. Most disciplines are associated with specific methods but it is not uncommon to borrow methods across disciplines. In Oceania, where much work occurs within Indigenous and local communities previously or still entangled in colonialism and its legacies, a great deal of work has been done to embrace decolonizing methods including those which are culturally grounded or place-based.

Related Glossary Terms

Culturally grounded, Methodology, Place-based

Index

Find Term

Militarism

Refers to an ideology that perceives value in establishing or maintaining an active military presence and active militarized practices in a particular place or in general. Across Oceania, numerous islands have been used as military bases including ports, airfields, missile testing ranges, nuclear testing sites, chemical weapons dumps, training grounds, or barracks by various world powers whose geopolitics rarely take into account the communities and homelands of Oceania's peoples themselves. At the same time, many Pacific Islander persons have served in the militaries of former colonial powers or extra-regional nation-states, since the 1950s, as part of the United Nations' global service.

Related Glossary Terms

Nuclear testing

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Find Term

Neocolonialism

Even though 19th and early 20th century explicit colonial and especially settler colonial projects have become very difficult to enact under international law and global norms, new systems of external control or agency over local communities and lives all over the world have been argued to be examples of neocolonialism, or colonization by other means than direct military or political control.

Related Glossary Terms

Settler colonial

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Nuclear testing

Major component of the Cold War arms race in which countries with nuclear capabilities tested nuclear weapons to determine their functionality and to display their power on a world stage. From 1947 to 1996, the United States, France, and Great Britain all tested nuclear weapons in parts of Oceania—including the Marshall Islands, French Polynesia, Kiribati, Kalamata (Johnston Atoll), and Australia—with devastating outcomes for Indigenous peoples and environments. See also Volume 1 of the Teaching Oceania Series, *Militarism and Nuclear Testing in the Pacific*.

Related Glossary Terms

Militarism

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Find Term

Oceania

A critical term for perceiving and experiencing the Pacific Islands region as a dense network of profound connections and relationships, not islands in a far sea but a “sea of islands” as Tongan anthropologist and novelist Epeli Hau’ofa observed.

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Pacific Islands Forum

Founded as the South Pacific Forum in 1971, the Forum is a regional organization made up of the independent, self-governing Pacific Island nations. Forum goals include stimulating economic growth, enhancing political governance and security for the region, and strengthening regional cooperation and integration.

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Pacific Worlds

Important work in world history, suggested to some scholars that the histories of Africa, the Americas, Europe were fundamentally inseparable and that interactions of peoples, states, and nations bordering the Atlantic Ocean were so dense and interdependent that they required an Atlantic World approach. The term Pacific Worlds borrows this sense of interconnection and interdependence between Pacific Islands communities and their neighbors to similarly urge attention to Pacific places, peoples, and their histories in their own terms.

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Pan-Africanist movement

Pan-Africanism is a worldwide movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all indigenous and diaspora ethnic groups of African descent.

Related Glossary Terms

Regionalism

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Pedagogies

Refers to the methods and practices of teaching, the particular tools and approaches taken by professors and other educators to transmit knowledge.

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Place-based

Research is place-based if it emphasizes the centrality of place in identifying critical questions to be asked, appropriate means for asking those questions, and takes into account the significance and potential value and impacts of the work to the local communities in which it is located.

Related Glossary Terms

Methods

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Find Term

Positionality

Positionality is the social, cultural, and political context that the student or researcher brings with them including, but not limited to, their identity in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, or sexuality, discipline, research motivations and goals, or personal experience.

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Power imbalance

Power imbalances are common and exist in any context in which parties do not have access to the same degree of agency to make decisions, promote particular outcomes, or enact their goals in that context, as when a state with a large, active military threatens a smaller, less militarized state, or when one state owes a national debt to the banks of another state.

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Praxis

Practical action that is always intertwined with a theory of society and aimed at revolutionary change.

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Protocols

Most simply, protocols are culturally recognized and approved procedures for engaging in a specific action or practice. Researchers anywhere in Oceania must learn to navigate appropriate protocols for working with and in communities.

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Find Term

Regionalism

Refers to a political stance that takes the needs and good of the larger region—as opposed to the needs or perceived good of one state or community—as the goal of political action.

Related Glossary Terms

Diaspora, Pan-Africanist movement

Index

Find Term

Representations

Among critical theorists and literary scholars, representation refers to the historical accumulation of traditions of depiction in literature, scholarship, and the visual and performing arts which shapes how outsiders and insiders perceive, understand, experience, feel, and act towards that which has been depicted. In Oceania, the last centuries have been dominated by representations of the region often crafted by European and American visitors which profoundly distorted the dignity and lived experience of the region's Indigenous peoples and local communities and even the islands themselves.

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Resilience

Refers to the capacity of communities to adapt and respond to changes in the world.

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Survivance

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Find Term

Settler colonial

A particularly insidious form of colonization in which external populations were encouraged to move to and occupy, "settle", in Indigenous lands and territories, frequently displacing and dispossessing Indigenous peoples. Some colonial projects in Oceania were strongly organized around Settler Colonial visions while others were differently organized around resource extraction, military outposts or other rationales.

Related Glossary Terms

Neocolonialism

Index

Find Term

Silenced

Related to the concept of voice, these terms point to the histories of literary, artistic, or scholarly production of knowledge or representations of Pacific Islands worlds or communities and cultures and the ways in which local understandings, perceptions, or conceptions were systematically ignored or excluded.

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Social justice movements

These movements are working toward the realization of a world where all members of a society, regardless of background or procedural justice, have basic human rights and equal access to the benefits of their society.

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Sociopolitical

Refers to the observation that political acts and states are intimately connected to the manners and forms in which society is organized, and that every form of social organization implies a particular ordering of power and agency in the world.

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Survivance

Refers to the often subtle means by which Indigenous communities have resisted colonial or other forces seeking to displace or diminish everyday agency, cultural practice, or social norms.

Related Glossary Terms

Resilience

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Find Term

Systemic racism

Many forms of racism emerge from the thoughts, words, and deed of individuals and groups in everyday life. Systematic racism refers to inequalities based on perceptions of racial difference which are built into numerous institutions producing a systematic structural inequality and inequity between groups in society.

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Talanoa

A speech practice common across Oceania, though differing in various cultural and local contexts, in which participants take turns coming into agreement or, at least, working to understand one another, around a particular issue.

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Third World

The term "Third World" arose during the Cold War to define countries that remained non-aligned with either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. The Third World was normally seen to include many countries with colonial pasts in Africa, Latin America, Oceania and Asia.

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Trade negotiations

Bilateral or multi-party negotiations of the rules and regulations which will organize the movement of goods between the parties.

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Find Term

Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi is an agreement was signed on February 6, 1840 in the Bay of Islands between the British Crown and about 540 Māori rangatira (chiefs). The treaty was written in both Māori and English.

Related Glossary Terms

Land tenure

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Find Term

Pacific Studies: A Transformational Movement - “On Our Own Terms”: Toward A New

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI)

United Nations trust territory administered by the United States in parts of Micronesia after World War II. Areas administered as part of the TTPI included the modern-day Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Palau, and Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

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Voice

In the sense used here, voice is critically used to indicate the agency of scholars or writers to assert their insights, perspectives, arguments, or expertise within a particular discourse.

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