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Pounamu Jade Aikman is a Māori scholar in the History Department at Harvard University. His research is broadly focused on the clash between Indigenous sovereignty and settler state violence, and explores the discursive and physical weapons deployed by settler states to undermine Indigenous sovereignties and quarantine Indigenous peoples. He is currently exploring this theme in a postdoctoral project across the Aotearoa, US and Hawaiian contexts.

Jean M. Uasike Allen is a Lecturer in the School of Curriculum and Pedagogy and a Research Fellow in the Centre for Arts and Social Transformation within Te Kura Akoranga me Te Tauwhiro Tangata | Faculty of Education and Social Work at Waipapa Taumata Rau | University of Auckland. Jean's previous career was as a primary school teacher, where she taught across all levels, predominantly in the Catholic school sector. Prior to her role at the University of Auckland, she was a Lecture and Programme Coordinator for the BHSc in Public and Environmental Health in the School of Public Health and Interdisciplinary Studies at Te Wānanga Aronui o Tāmaki Makau Rau | Auckland University of Technology. Jean is passionate about her community, and her research centres youth experiences of health, health education and schooling at the intersections of cultural knowledge, family expectations, gender and ethnicity.

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Marama Muru-Lanning is an Associate Professor of Anthropology and Co-director of the James Henare Māori Research Centre at Waipapa Taumata Rau | University of Auckland. Her research is dedicated to transdisciplinary research with Māori communities that prioritises equity and social justice. What distinguishes Marama internationally as a social scientist is her specialisation in four interrelated areas of research: water, human–environment relationships, mātauranga 'Māori knowledge' and transdisciplinary research methods. Over the past five years she has also developed a passion and advanced new approaches and methods for conducting research with kaumātua 'Māori elders' with colleagues from the James Henare Māori Research Centre. In 2021, Marama was awarded the University of Auckland Research Excellence Medal for Team Leadership. Marama is from Tūrangawaewae Marae in Ngāruawahia, a place that is a potent living memorial to the many Waikato people taken by the Spanish flu pandemic of 1918. She has whakapapa that connects her to Waikato, Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Whātua. Marama is also President of the Council of the Polynesian Society.

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Robert Marunui Iki Pouwhare (Ngāti Haka–Tūhoe) is a television director/producer and app developer with 40 years of production experience in broadcasting. He has produced, researched and written documentaries, children's programmes and 2D/3D

animation series. As an artist he has exhibited paintings and a sculptural installation at Te Papa Tongarewa | The National Museum of New Zealand and the Wellington Art Gallery. He has also composed music and is the lyricist for over 50 original songs aimed at kōhanga reo 'Māori language immersion preschool' children in a concerted effort at language revitalisation. Robert is a fluent Māori speaker from the Tūhoe tribe. This environment has driven his commitment to the revivifying and extending of the Māori language and culture, spanning his entire adult life. It informs his teaching in the academy at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. His pedagogical concerns centre on the creation of learning environments that value cultural knowledge and beliefs. He believes that artistic practice–led research opens up new and exciting possibilities for his research, writing and Indigenous scholarship. Robert is a Co-director of the James Henare Māori Research Centre at the Waipapa Taumata Rau | University of Auckland and is a member of the Council of the Polynesian Society.

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El-Shadan Tautolo's primary area of research expertise is the health and well-being of Pacific families and communities in New Zealand. As current Director of the Pacific Islands Families (PIF) study, an ongoing birth cohort study of 1,398 Pacific families, El-Shadan has investigated a diverse range of health and development–related topics encompassing child and maternal health, tobacco control, men's health and mental wellbeing. He has led and collaborated on research projects funded through the Health Research Council of New Zealand, the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment and the National Science Challenges totalling in excess of NZ$20 million. In addition to his leadership within the university, El-Shadan holds significant leadership roles nationally and internationally within the Pacific health sector and the broader Pacific community. Through his role as Chair of the

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THE CALL OF THE WAKA KUAKA: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE *JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY*

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ABSTRACT: The *Journal of the Polynesian Society* has been renamed as *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, heralding a new direction for the journal metaphorically reimagined as the waka kuaka 'godwit on the wing' traversing the Pacific. These new directions are explored here within this vision of the waka kuaka as a bird that symbolises collective vision and purpose. The authors, as members of the Council of the Polynesian Society including the editor of the journal, reflect on the history of the journal and discuss what this change means going forward, finally calling on scholars in and of the Pacific to fly with us as part of this new journey.

Keywords: anthropology, ancestors, Polynesian Society, leadership, kuaka

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Te kuaka mārangaranga, kotahi manu i tau ki te tāhuna: tau atu, tau rā.

The godwit flock has arisen; one bird has come to rest on the beach:
others will follow.

Our new journal name, *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, is inspired by the flight of the kuaka 'godwit'. Waka kuaka refers to the kuaka on the wing or in flight. This bird circumnavigates the entire Pacific in an annual migration observed by our tīpuna 'ancestors' when they lived in our homelands in Hawaiki, the Pacific. The intrepid explorer Kupe is believed by iwi 'tribes' in the Far North of Aotearoa New Zealand to have followed

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Pouwhare, Robert, Marcia Leenen-Young, Lisa Uperesa and Marama Muru-Lanning, 2022. The call of the waka kuaka: New directions for the Journal of the Polynesian Society. *Waka Kuaka: Journal of the Polynesian Society* 131 (4): 347–354. | https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.131.4.347-354

the kuaka on its journey to these islands. The oral histories and collective memories of Ngāti Awa and Ngāi Tāhuhu maintain that when they lived in ancient Hawaiki, they observed that every year, the kuaka migrated in a southerly direction and returned to the same point. In time they calculated land was to be found in the south, and canoes were furnished to follow the flight of the kuaka. During daylight hours the ancestors followed the course of their flight. At night they were guided by the kuaka's loud cries as they flew south high above the canoes.

Our early Polynesian ancestors were highly skilled voyagers using technology and science, star navigation and intimate knowledge of waves and winds. They had long deduced that predominating easterlies would always guarantee a safe return to their islands in the Pacific. The preeminent Māori anthropologist Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck) proudly stated the early ancestors of the Polynesians surpassed the voyaging achievements of the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean and the Vikings of the North Atlantic.

The extraordinary kuaka departs the tundra of Siberia and Alaska on an epic nonstop flight across the Pacific Ocean following the breeding season to reach Aotearoa in early September. It is a journey of 11,000 to 12,000 km and takes eight or nine days to travel with an average flight speed of 56 kilometres per hour. They come to feed on Aotearoa's rich fertile tidal flats, estuaries and coastal marshes teeming with marine worms, bivalves, crustaceans and terrestrial invertebrates. They begin departing on their northern migration from early March, heading for refuelling sites around the Yellow Sea before heading back to Siberia and Alaska to breed.

There are many implicit metaphors and lessons we can take from the kuaka. When about to take flight, one kuaka, the kahukura or tute, takes the initiative by flying up into the air first to assess conditions. If all is well the kahukura calls the rest of the whānau 'family' to join it in a vortex-like spiral called poringi and embark in a considered, orderly and organised fashion. As they rise to the thermal air currents, they form a V or crescent shape in order to fly in a solid group formation. The kahukura takes the lead role and responsibility for the safety of the whole flock and for flight direction and destination. The lead can change during flight according to some traditions. The kahukura remains an example of selfless leadership for the benefit of whānau and hapori 'community'. In flight formation the kahukura, as lead, pierces the air ahead but also gets uplifting support from the rest of the formation with the combined wing effort of the group.

The flock of kuaka remind us of the importance of the collective. Working cooperatively with a plan ensures the destination will be achieved. The power of the group combined with effective leadership ensures that many obstacles can be surmounted. The kuaka speaks of determination, strength and collective intelligence.

> Ka ngau ki te turikākoa te paringa o te tai, e tika te rere o te kuaka.
>
> The spinifex (seaside grass tuft) wanders along the beach like the incoming tide, the kuaka flies direct.

This whakataukī 'proverb' speaks to the purposefulness of the kuaka. It is the call of *Waka Kuaka* as it traverses the Pacific Ocean to bring tangata moana 'people of the sea' and tangata whenua 'people of the land' together, our whānau of Te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa 'The Great Ocean of Kiwa' (Pacific Ocean). It is a call to be purposeful and resolute in presenting our narratives, our histories, our collective memories and connections together in future publications not as the researched but as the researcher. Ranginui Walker once lamented that we have for far too long been "research fodder" (pers. comm., 1998). This sentiment has been expressed by a number of scholars (Bishop 2011; Kaa cited in King 1999: 184; Wolfgramm *et al*. 2022). Now is the hour for us, the people of the Pacific, to become "supreme navigators of history", as Te Rangihiroa iterated (Buck 1938).

REFOCUSING THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

The adoption of the new name for the journal signals a moment of renewal for both the journal and the Polynesian Society. The Society has had a long and storied history as a repository of knowledge of Te Moana-nui-ā-Kiwa, having been led and patronised by important scholars and leaders of the Pacific, both of Pacific ancestry and not. The first patron of the Society was Queen Lili'uokalani, the last Indigenous sovereign of Hawai'i and one of three women amongst the original membership of the Society. From 1981 to her passing in 2006 the patron of the society was Dame Te Atairangikaahu, who led the Kīngitanga for over 40 years. Since 2006 the patrons of the society have been Sir Tumu Te Heuheu (Te Heuheu Tūkino VIII) and former Head of State Afioga Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi in acknowledgement of the society's place in Aotearoa and its reach into the Pacific. While this shows important leadership from influential Māori and other Pacific thinkers, this leadership has been somewhat inconsistent in terms of governance of the society. In line with this broader whakapapa 'genealogy' and kaupapa 'foundational principles' committed to holding Indigenous knowledge, the Society has moved to ensure that these aims are better reflected in the kaitiakitanga 'stewardship' aspect of governance and leadership structures. We are pleased to have welcomed our first editor of Pacific ancestry in the history of the journal—who is also a scholar of the Pacific—to help guide our vision for the future. Pacific membership in the Society council is the highest it has ever been; *Waka Kuaka* honours ideas theorised by Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa (1993) who envisioned the Pacific as a network of islands connecting Pacific people through shared whakapapa and histories.

In line with revitalising the journal, the Society aims to expand by engaging wider communities and emerging scholars, as well as established scholars, of the Pacific. The Council of the Polynesian Society and the family of the late Dr Bruce Biggs (Ngāti Maniapoto), who made significant contributions to the Society by serving previously as president (1979–1992) and journal editor (1962–1963; 1965–1967), continue to offer a fund in his name that supports emerging scholars in their postgraduate and doctoral research in the Pacific. Other awards include the Elsdon Best Memorial Medal for scholars with outstanding contributions to Māori knowledge and the Nayacakalou Medal recognising significant contributions to scholarship relevant to the interests of the Polynesian Society and the late Dr Rusiate Nayacakalou. The 2022 winners of these medals are featured in this issue of *Waka Kuaka*. Recent medal events have provided an opportunity to engage wider communities and recognise important contributions in these areas. In addition to awards and public events, the Society intends to grow networks and collaborations aligned with its core mission.

REVISIONING THE *JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY*

The inaugural meeting of the Polynesian Society was held at the Colonial Museum on 8 January 1892, motivated by the desire of Pākehā 'New Zealand European' scholars, led by S. Percy Smith, to capture and memorialise the Indigenous people of the Pacific before their traditions, cultures and people were inevitably lost. The aim to preserve the "records of the Polynesian race" so that "many obscure points in connection with the history of the race would be cleared up and valuable matter placed on record" (Smith 1898: 137) motivated Smith and his fellow amateur scholars to pursue their "manifest duty"[1]:

> Time was pressing—the old men of the Polynesian race from whom their history could be obtained were fast passing away—civilisation was fast extinguishing what little remained of ancient lore—the people themselves were dying out before the incoming white man—and, to all appearances, there would soon be nothing left but regrets over lost opportunities. (p. 138)

As was widely espoused at the time, the Polynesian Society was founded on colonial convictions of racial superiority and a mission to save and preserve those fated to disappear from history due to their contact with Pākehā. The *Journal of the Polynesian Society* was the vehicle for this preservation of knowledge by, and more often *about*, Māori and Pacific peoples. This legacy has faced some criticism over the last 50 years with the wave of Indigenous Māori and wider Polynesian peoples and scholars reclaiming and reasserting our Indigenous knowledges in academic spaces.

There has been and remains a tension between the colonial foundations of the journal and its scholarly focus. This is inescapable in a space that has long expressed the priorities of non-Indigenous peoples and their presumed academic "rights" to pursue knowledge of "the other". This is a tension evident today in many academic disciplines developed to study and understand Indigenous cultures and peoples, and the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* is no exception. In 1992 at the centenary celebration of the journal's founding, there was both praise for the journal and critique. In a letter, an esteemed non-Indigenous academic of the Pacific asked the Society to consider broader membership on the executive and generally throughout Polynesia, alongside a suggestion that they need to make the journal "of interest to Polynesia":

> This might include adopting processes to ensure more Polynesian authorship. One hundred years ago, the first issue of *JPS* contained more material by Polynesian writers than the latest issue I received. Could we, during the next 100 years, make an effort to catch up with the world, and advance at least as far as we got 100 years ago? Perhaps we need to consider the possibility of two *Journals*—the esoteric one by and for a handful of overwhelmingly non-Polynesian academics around the globe, and a Polynesian Journal. (Crocombe 1992)

With these words 30 years ago, Crocombe demonstrates the shifts evident in academia in that period led by Indigenous academics to claim space within the academy for Indigenous knowledges and peoples not just as the researched, as was common by mid-century, but as authors and scholars engaging across disciplines and with accountability to Pacific communities. As Judith Huntsman indicates in her account of the last 25 years of the society, this was not taken well by the Council in 1992, which defended itself against such critique, claiming three of eight council members at that point were of Polynesian ancestry (Huntsman 2017). Bruce Biggs, a significant Māori scholar and linguist, proclaimed as president of the Council that ethnicity should not be a consideration and the Society should belong to all who have a scholarly interest (Biggs as cited by Benton 1993). While their defence of the Society is to be expected, it denies at a fundamental level the impact of academic imperialism and knowledge trauma that non-Pākehā academics still feel deeply in Aotearoa and throughout the Pacific (Hereniko 2000). Today we are still reckoning with this impact and the power relations embedded in knowledge production, even as we weigh the totality of contributions made to scholarly knowledge in the past.

Over the past 125 years the journal has been a place for the preservation of Indigenous Māori and Polynesian knowledges and has done well to serve this purpose. It is a significant journal in discussions of peoples,

places, histories and cultures, but while it has always been *on* the Pacific, it has not always been a place that is comfortable or attractive for scholars who are *of* the Pacific. This must change, not by undermining the stellar achievements of the Society and journal but by moving forward to a more inclusive future, embracing this tension and working through it in the aim of excellent scholarship. The renaming of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* to *Waka Kuaka: The Journal of the Polynesian Society* signals renewal and reclamation. This reimagining will develop *Waka Kuaka* into a more inclusive space that continues to include excellent scholarship on the Pacific far and wide, as it has traditionally done, but also shifts the focus beyond this to showcase the exciting ways that Māori and Pacific scholarship continues to be rewritten and reimagined.

This is not the only way *Waka Kuaka* is being renewed and reimagined. From March 2023, the journal will be exclusively online with a vision to showcase knowledges, and knowledge development and presentation, in more dynamic ways. This will engage a wider audience by allowing contributors to envision and present their research in multiple formats. While we aim to continue our strong representation from archaeology, anthropology, linguistics and history, among other traditional disciplines, we anticipate including more submissions that address Indigenous Māori and other Pacific thought in different disciplinary and transdisciplinary areas.

Te Rangihiroa "likened the Polynesian Society to a canoe venturing uncharted seas" (Hughes 1992). We find ourselves once again in uncharted waters, but know it will be a journey that, like that of the kuaka, will reflect collective effort and purpose. This is a call for scholars of the Pacific, from the Pacific, and in the Pacific to see *Waka Kuaka* as a place that values their scholarly contributions, where their research can traverse the Pacific like the kuaka but also have impact on its return home.

NOTES

1. S. Percy Smith, in a circular dated 19 June 1891, proposed that the Polynesian Society and corresponding journal be founded as a "manifest duty" (Sorrenson 1992: 3, 24–25).

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AWARD OF THE 2022 ELSDON BEST MEDAL

JACK GOLSON'S FOUNDATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND AND THE WIDER PACIFIC

PETER J. SHEPPARD
Waipapa Taumata Rau | University of Auckland

As one of the key architects of the discipline of archaeology in Aotearoa New Zealand and the Western Pacific, the Polynesian Society is very pleased to have awarded Prof. Jack Golson, at its AGM held 8 August 2022, the Society's Elsdon Best Medal for 2022 for services to archaeology.

Keywords: archaeology history, Aotearoa New Zealand, Pacific archaeology

Jack Golson was born in the UK and is a graduate of the University of Cambridge. He was appointed in 1954 as lecturer, then senior lecturer, in prehistory at Auckland University College (later University of Auckland) within the newly created Anthropology Department. This established the first academic position in archaeology in Aotearoa New Zealand outside of museums. While at Auckland he began a programme of fieldwork in the Western Pacific (Sāmoa, Tonga, Fiji, New Caledonia) and in Aotearoa New Zealand focusing on the archaeology of Auckland and the Hauraki Gulf, the Coromandel Peninsula and western Bay of Plenty. He was responsible for developing scientific field methods, and in aid of that he established the University of Auckland Archaeological Society, which continues to function to this day. In the following year, 1955, he was instrumental, as its first secretary/treasurer, in establishing the New Zealand Archaeological Association (Golson 1955). His development of the site recording scheme with Roger Green (Golson 1957) resulted in the database the country uses today and was instrumental in the systematic protection of heritage. Much of the publication of this early research was in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. In 1957–1958 Golson was co-editor of the journal with J.B. Palmer, and in 1958–1960, editor (Sorrenson 1992).

While undertaking extensive fieldwork and research capacity building in Aotearoa New Zealand (Allen 2019), Golson also began a programme of research in the Western Pacific to investigate the chronology and

Sheppard, Peter J., 2022. Jack Golson's foundational contributions to the archaeology of Aotearoa New Zealand and the wider Pacific: Award of the 2022 Elsdon Best Medal. *Waka Kuaka: Journal of the Polynesian Society* 131 (4): 355–362. | https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.131.4.355-362

Jack Golson (right) examines a fish hook during a dig at Sarah's Gully, Coromandel, Aotearoa New Zealand, around 1956. Photograph by Wal Ambrose, ca. 1956. University of Auckland Anthropology Photo Archive.

relationships among the peoples of West Polynesia and their neighbours to the west in Island Melanesia. This resulted in a series of programmes of fieldwork focused on dating and systematic comparison of archaeological material culture across the region as well as, through Golson's ongoing interest in Pacific navigation, consideration of how people settled the region. The latter resulted in his editing Memoir 34 of the Polynesian Society, *Polynesian Navigation: A Symposium on Andrew Sharp's Theory of Accidental Voyages* (Golson 1963).

Martinsson-Wallin reports the first serious archaeological research in Sāmoa was carried out by Golson in 1957 when he and Wal Ambrose surveyed and excavated sites on 'Upolu. As she describes it, "The most

extensive excavations were carried out in a large, partly bulldozed mound on the coast at Vailele (SUVa-1). Here several occupation layers were uncovered, the earliest of which featured plainware pottery [dating to the 1st century AD] (Golson 1969b: 108–13)" (Martinsson-Wallin 2007). Golson's finding and dating of this ceramic along with his fieldwork elsewhere in West Polynesia and on Lapita sites in New Caledonia (Golson 1959) allowed archaeologists to create a systematic framework on which to hang their theories of Pacific prehistory. Golson's work in Sāmoa, Tonga and New Caledonia with early ceramics led him to consider that an early "community of culture" linked those areas with distinctive Lapita pottery (Golson 1961; Spriggs *et al*. 1993), and that it was out of this that Polynesian culture was ultimately derived (Groube 1971).

Beginning in the 1970s, shortly after his appointment to ANU, Golson turned his attention to New Guinea and began a long-running multidisciplinary project at Kuk Swamp in the New Guinea Highlands which lasted many decades, finishing with a major site report in 2017 (Golson *et al*. 2017). This work was an outstanding contribution to world prehistory

Les Groube, Jack Golson, Andrew Pawley. Motutapu, 1956? University of Auckland Anthropology Photo Archive.

as, through the work of Golson and many students and collaborators, it established New Guinea as an independent centre for the development of food production in the mid-Holocene (Golson and Hughes 1980). Golson's supervision and mentoring of doctoral students, often pioneers in their research districts, has been outstanding.

Outside of his pioneering fieldwork Jack Golson has throughout his career been instrumental in the development of archaeological research communities. In his later career he took a very strong interest in the development of the World Archaeological Congress, serving as its first president, also supporting the push for the development of indigenous archaeology capability and especially fostering development in New Guinea, work that was recognised with the awarding of an honorary doctorate from the University of New Guinea in 1992.

General view includes Jack Golson and Rude Sunde. Pig Bay (?), Motutapu, 1958. University of Auckland Anthropology Photo Archive.

Jack Golson excavating in Vailele, north coast of ʻUpolu island in Sāmoa, 1957. Visiting the site are members of the Iʻiga Pisa family. University of Auckland Anthropology Photo Archive.

Appointments

President of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association, 1980–1985

President of the World Archaeological Congress, 1990–1994

Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, from 1975

Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, 1987–2002

Service on a Working Party on Archaeology of the Pacific Science Association, 1968–1987

Awards

Honorary Doctorate, University of Papua New Guinea, 1992

Officer of the Order of Australia (AO) for "service to education, particularly in the fields of pre-history and archaeology research in Asia and the Pacific Region", 1997

Australian Centenary Medal, 2003

Inaugural Lifetime Achievement Award, World Archaeological Congress, 2009, with his partner, Clare Joe

PhD Supervisions: 39

Papers Published: Over 115

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THE ELSDON BEST MEMORIAL MEDAL

The Council of the Polynesian Society considers possible recipients of this award at the end of each year but does not make an award annually. The Medal is for outstanding scholarly work on Aotearoa New Zealand Māori and may be in the fields of Māori ethnology, social anthropology, archaeology, prehistory or linguistics. The Medal is normally presented at the Society's mid-year Annual General Meeting, and the recipient is asked to present a paper on that occasion.

Previous winners of the Elsdon Best Memorial Medal:

1970 • Don Stafford
1973 • Roger C. Green
1976 • Anne Salmond
1977 • Mervyn E. McLean
1978 • Dave. R. Simmons
1981 • J.M. McEwen
1983 • Hirini Moko Mead
1985 • Bruce G. Biggs
1986 • Janet M. Davidson
1987 • Joan Metge
1989 • Helen Leach
1990 • Douglas Yen
1992 • Sir Hugh Kawharu
1994 • Atholl Anderson
1997 • Ranginui Walker
1999 • Mason Durie
2003 • Roger Neich
2009 • Judith Binney
2013 • Geoff Irwin
2015 • M.P.K. [Keith] Sorrenson
2021 • Ngāpare Hopa

AWARD OF THE 2022 NAYACAKALOU MEDAL

CAN THERE BE TRUST AFTER A HISTORY OF COLONIALISM AND EXPLOITATION?

PANDORA FULIMALO PEREIRA
Tāmaki Paenga Hira | Auckland War Memorial Museum

Fuli Pereira accepting the Nayacakalou Medal, 4 August 2022.

ABSTRACT: Pandora Fulimalo Pereira is the esteemed recipient of the 2022 Nayacakalou Medal, given for outstanding contribution to Pacific research and named after the late Dr Rusiate Nayacakalou (1927–1972). Dr Andrea Low, in her introduction of Fuli at the medal ceremony, referred to Fuli as "an innovator, advocate and champion for Pacific peoples and their treasures at Auckland Museum". Andrea highlighted Fuli's "singularity and leadership in developing and supporting radical Pacific methodologies", emphasising Fuli's national and international esteem as well as her impact as a role model and mentor in developing emerging Pacific museologists. This is a version of the talk that Fuli gave at the medal ceremony on her career and experiences as a Pacific curator in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Keywords: museum, Pacific curator, Indigenising museum practice, Nayacakalou

Pereira, Pandora Fulimalo, 2022. Can there be trust after a history of colonialism and exploitation? *Waka Kuaka: Journal of the Polynesian Society* 131 (4): 363–388. | https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.131.4.363-388

My good friend Sean Mallon commented recently how well our respective children are doing at university, so much better than we had done. Though I agreed they were both doing well, I added that they are achieving as well as we expected. We had raised our respective children with our personal knowledge of New Zealand's social, political and educational systems, calibrated by our informed experiences—unlike our parents' generation, who were often at sea as to how to help and very often had untempered expectations.

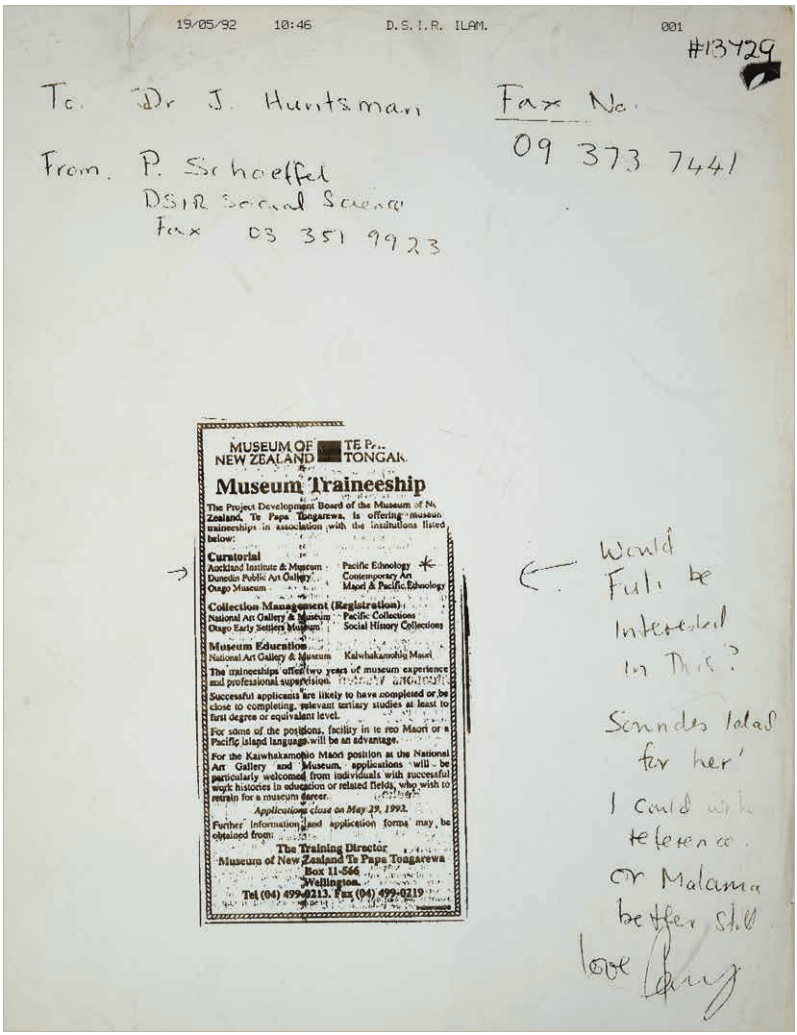
Sean Mallon is currently Senior Pacific Curator at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Sean and I grew up in Porirua, Wellington, which was often referred to as "the Ōtara of Wellington". I hadn't been to Ōtara when I first heard this phrase in the early 1980s, but I knew how both spaces were portrayed by the media and therefore I understood the reference: high Pacific and Māori populations working in low-skilled manufacturing jobs, lots of gang activity, easy access to alcohol and drugs, and poor. The typical deficit profile.

My response to Sean's comment above regarding our children's performances at university was not meant as a boast nor intended to minimise their achievements. Behind it is the knowledge that in the comparatively enriched environment that we provided them, our children's achievements are unsurprising. However, what might be surprising for many is that both of us, as children of new Pacific migrants raised in a low socioeconomic environment like Porirua, have achieved what we have today and hold curatorial positions at New Zealand's premier museums: Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

THE BEGINNING

In May 1992 Dr Judith Huntsman, then Associate Professor of social anthropology at the University of Auckland, received a fax from her friend and colleague Dr Penelope Schoeffel (Fig. 1). It was a newspaper advertisement announcing and promoting the museum traineeship programme at the Museum of New Zealand (MONZ) (now Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa). Five traineeships were offered, and of these two were curatorial positions in Pacific ethnology, one based at Auckland War Memorial Museum and the other at Otago Museum, alongside a collection management position with the Pacific collection at the National Art Gallery and Museum (Te Papa).

Following my graduation with an MA in anthropology in 1990 I accompanied Dr Huntsman to Tokelau as coresearcher on the research project Tokelau Women's Perceptions and Evaluations of Social Change. It was an opportunity for me to visit my homeland of Tokelau for the first (and only)


19/05/92 10:46 D.S.I.R. ILAM. 001

#13429

To. Dr J. Huntsman Fax No. 09 373 7441

From. P. Schoeffel
DSIR Social Science
Fax 03 351 9923

MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE P... TONGAR...

Museum Traineeship

The Project Development Board of the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, is offering museum traineeships in association with the institutions listed below:

Curatorial
Auckland Institute & Museum · Pacific Ethnology *
Dunedin Public Art Gallery · Contemporary Art
Otago Museum · Maori & Pacific Ethnology

Collection Management (Registration)
National Art Gallery & Museum · Pacific Collections
Otago Early Settlers Museum · Social History Collections

Museum Education
National Art Gallery & Museum · Kaiwhakamohio Maori

The traineeships offer two years of museum experience and professional supervision.

Successful applicants are likely to have completed or be close to completing relevant tertiary studies at least to first degree or equivalent level.

For some of the positions, facility in te reo Maori or a Pacific island language will be an advantage.

For the Kaiwhakamohio Maori position at the National Art Gallery and Museum, applications will be particularly welcomed from individuals with successful work histories in education or related fields, who wish to return to a museum career.

Applications close on May 29, 1992.

Further information and application forms may be obtained from:

The Training Director
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
Box 11-566
Wellington.
Tel (04) 499-0213. Fax (04) 499-0219

Would Fuli be interested in this?

Sounds ideal for her!

I could write reference.

Or Malama better still

love Penny

Figure 1. Dr Penelope Schoeffel's fax sheet to Dr Judith Huntsman suggesting I apply for a MONZ traineeship. Her note suggests that she or her husband, Dr Malama Meleisea, then founding director of the Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies at Canterbury University, would offer supporting references. This set me on my career path at the Museum.

time and to put into practice my academic training. In Tokelau my university degrees and high-functioning capabilities in the outside world meant little when I didn't have the basic skills or knowledge that any five-year-old has within the community. Tokelau was a poignant experience awash with contradictions because, despite the lack of skills and knowledge for life on an atoll, I had never felt so at home. I honed my language ability, discovered faces in my genealogy and practised the critical aspects of the maintenance of community in Tokelau terms.

I remained in Auckland on my return and applied for the Auckland Museum–based curatorial position. Unbeknownst to me, Sean, who had completed his BA in history and archaeology, applied for the collection management traineeship based at Te Papa, since he wanted to remain in Wellington. We never discovered whether the Pacific curatorial traineeship at Otago Museum was ever filled. As far as I know, Sean and I were the first and last Pacific graduates of this traineeship programme.

The purpose of the traineeship programme was "to increase the numbers of trained museum workers in New Zealand. Essentially, they offer an opportunity to gain supervised professional experience; and develop knowledge and skills in museum disciplines" (information package from training director Mike Capper, 1992). I'm unsure as to why Pacific traineeships were never again offered: perhaps "they" decided the country only required one Pacific curator and one Pacific collection manager.

My two-year traineeship at Auckland War Memorial Museum began in August 1992 and could not have been at a better time. The Ethnology Department had just started a programme of storage improvements for the entire World and Pacific collections, and parts of the Māori collections. This work included transferring collection items from old cardboard boxes with their newspaper wrappings, sorting them, and checking and updating the catalogue descriptions, measurements and provenance information. The items were then packed into new polypropylene corflute boxes and other neutral or acid-free boxes with tissue and ties if required (Fig. 2).

As well as this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to sort, view and handle the breadth of the collections, the rehousing projects gave me opportunities to learn museum practices: sorting, categorising, packing and storage of collections; assessing conservation priorities across the range of artefacts and materials; checking and updating documentation; and the basics of fumigation processes and photographic techniques.

Simultaneously, the Museum was planning two temporary exhibitions to which the Ethnology Department was contributing: *Treasures and Visions* (1992) and the women's suffrage centennial exhibition, *Reflections: New Zealand Women's Lives* (1993), presented through the collections of

Figure 2. The Pacific store holds a small reference collection of fibre, painted items, adornments and weapons from the Pacific and World collections. The white corflute boxes we initially used for storage are increasingly being replaced by grey acid-free boxes (right side of image). This is in line with the ongoing development of conservation care of collections.

Auckland Museum. Furthermore, the Ethnology Department was planning two new Pacific display galleries. The suffrage show put me in touch with the late Mrs Mereia Johnston (Fig. 3), a Pacific heritage artist who held demonstrations of tapa 'barkcloth' making and decorating as part of the public programme during the exhibition. Mrs Johnston provided us with an opportunity to acquire for the Pacific collection in 1992 a barkcloth wedding gown that she had made for her daughter Juliana Sucu (later Couper) (Fig. 4). This was the first item I was involved with acquiring into a museum collection.

Being at Auckland Museum at that time was extremely fortuitous. It gave me good grounding in the Pacific and World material culture, and I experienced the range of curatorial activities. More particularly, I gained insights as to how Pacific people might participate and be engaged with the Museum. And I worked with two wonderful people, Dr Roger Neich (Fig. 5) and Mick Pendergrast (Fig. 6).

Figure 3. Renowned masi ‘barkcloth’ maker Mrs Mereia Johnston was born at Mualevu Village, Vanuabalavu, Lau Group, Fiji. Mrs Johnston’s parents were Ratu Bale and Adi Fulori Yara. Ratu Bale made Mereia her first ike ‘beater’ with which she made her first piece of cloth at about six years of age.

Figure 4. The beautiful i sulu ni vakamau ‘barkcloth wedding gown’ made by Mrs Mereia Johnston in 1992 for her daughter Juliana Sucu. The barkcloth for the shawl was obtained from Somosomo, Taveuni, and for the gown from Vatulele Island. Auckland War Memorial Museum collections, 1993.34.

Figure 5. Dr Roger Neich (1944–2010) made a contribution second to none to the study of Māori and Pacific art, ethnology and material culture. In 1965 Roger gained a BSc in zoology and geology, and after some time in Papua New Guinea he returned to Aotearoa New Zealand to enrol for a BA in anthropology. In 1969–1986 Roger was an Assistant Ethnologist at the Dominion Museum, then moving to Auckland Museum, where he was Curator of Ethnology until his retirement in 2009.

Figure 6. Michael John "Mick" Pendergrast (1932–2010) was the Assistant Ethnologist at Auckland Museum (1981–1997) with expertise in textiles and weaving. Mick first became interested in Māori fibre arts while teaching in small Māori communities in the East Cape area—Tōrere, Hicks Bay, Cape Runaway, Whakaangiangi. Mick also taught in the Solomon Islands as a Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA) teacher, including on the remote island Tikopia, and spent more than 50 years learning about Māori fibre arts.

Near the end of my traineeship in 1994, I was seconded to Wellington during the planning phase of Te Papa's first Pacific gallery at the new Cable St waterfront building. Working alongside Sean and Dr Janet Davidson, the exhibition would come to be titled *Mana Pasifika: Celebrating Pacific Cultures in New Zealand* (1998–2006). I was astonished at the trust given to Sean and me by Dr Davidson—we were made responsible for the conceptual framework, much of the content and storylines, and object selection. We were young, and this was our first experience in "permanent" gallery planning, so the result was a fairly didactic display of Pacific cultures as reflected in the collections of Te Papa. We were of course conscious of the Pacific diaspora that we had grown up in and strove to reflect those experiences. The new Te Papa Tongarewa building and galleries opened to great fanfare (and some vociferous critique) in February 1998.

RETURN TO AUCKLAND WAR MEMORIAL MUSEUM

In early 1996 Roger Neich informed me that a position within his team had been vacated and wondered if I might be interested in applying for it. Initially I thought this the perfect situation and the next logical step in my museum career. I would continue to be mentored by Roger, I had a great relationship with Mick Pendergrast, and the Ethnology collections hadn't been separated yet so I would continue to work across their breadth.[1] I learned much and had many rewarding experiences during my traineeship at Auckland Museum, but I was disturbed by the lack of diversity on staff. The only persons of colour working with collections across the museum were the Associate Ethnologist Te Warena Taua (Te Kawerau a Maki) and two young Māori men contracted to remove paint from the whare tupuna 'ancestral house', Hotunui. I was hesitant to apply for the position at Auckland Museum, recognising that the absence of Māori representation reflected a significant lack of understanding and commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi 'the Treaty of Waitangi'. I contemplated what, in this void, would be the place of a Tokelau curator?

From earlier experiences I knew that as a Pacific person, my cultural worldview would be ignored, if not openly assaulted. There would be no place for Pacific languages and I would struggle in my advocacy for Pacific culture and communities and even more so for Māori representation. I would be alone and alienated; there was no Pacific support system or community within the institution for me, and this sense of isolation stayed with me throughout the duration of my traineeship and awaited me on my return to Auckland Museum. This was in stark contrast to what I had found at Te Papa. Though Te Papa felt uncomfortably close to central government, there at least I had a community of Pacific and Māori staff.[2] I felt a sense of

community because there were people like me; I felt safe. On returning to Auckland, I would be the only person of colour "back of house".[3] But a full-time permanent position at a prestigious institution was hard to turn down.

I applied for and secured the role of Associate Ethnologist at the Museum and returned to Auckland in 1996. Tellingly, I replaced the only person of colour in a curatorial role, Te Warena Taua. As far as persons of colour on staff it was one in and one out, as if it would exceed an unwritten quota to have us both on staff at the same time. I became the only Pacific or Māori permanent back-of-house staff member for several years. I continued to learn the job and become more familiar with the collections, and fulfilled the brief of a curator. At the time this meant my workload was divided into 30 percent on research and writing, 30 percent on collection care, acquisitions and antiquities registration, 30 percent on exhibitions and research and 10 percent on enquiries, collection visits, office duties, etc. From the beginning Roger Neich was very supportive of my cross-departmental activities: in public programmes, I helped host Pasifika Festival stallholders, makers, musicians and performers, and with the Auckland Multicultural Society's exhibition and public programme I assisted the Museum's Education Department with Ethnology collections–based programmes and the National Treasures and Celebrate Pasifika projects' presentations, workshops and demonstrations. The goal was always to increase Pacific staff levels and capabilities, by improving and expanding Pacific outreach, hosting capability and education and public programming.

In my first several years at Auckland Museum we completed rehousing the World and Pacific collections and assisted with Pacific, Māori and World exhibitions, and I also co-edited a couple of books and wrote journal and magazine articles and exhibition catalogues. The Ethnology Department mounted an exhibition every year or so, e.g., *Fanguna 'e he Manatu Ki Tonga: Awoken By Memories of Tonga* (1994), *ReDress* (1996), *Puti Rare* (1996), *Biddy Konui* (1997) and *When A Gift is Given* (1998), to name a few. The Museum was undertaking seismic strengthening of the building, affecting the foundations and requiring major structural work. Simultaneously the Ethnology Department was undertaking the renovation of the two Pacific galleries (Masterpieces and Lifeways, Figs 7 and 8). The impact of this was dismantling the existing galleries, decanting cases, removing display furniture and completely upgrading the electricals, floor and wall treatments, and installing a modern air-conditioning unit. We had also selected, packed and moved most of the Ethnology collection to the offsite storage facility. It was an intensely busy and exciting time and a great learning environment, but it did feel as if I had spent the first nine years of my museum career working on a construction site.

Figure 7. Pacific Masterpieces opened in January 1999 with large numbers from the Pacific communities in attendance. There are 560 collection items arranged by type, from the utilitarian to the ceremonial. The gallery highlights the inseparable nature of art and life in the Pacific and emphasises the cultural intent and aesthetic hand of the maker artist.

Figure 8. The Pacific Lifeways gallery opened in October 1999. Representation is key from West Papua to Rapa Nui, Hawai‘i to Aotearoa, from time of creation to contemporary Auckland, pre-contact to moment of contact, atolls to continental islands. There are 1,384 collection items displayed here. The Pacific had never been so well represented in the Museum prior to the new galleries.

PROVIDING PATHWAYS FOR PACIFIC COMMUNITIES

After the dust literally settled, after all that Pacific productivity, the Pacific collections–based exhibitions and public programming, the publications on Pacific artists and collections, there were still only half a dozen (at most) Pacific and Māori back-of-house staff. It had been a constant struggle that often felt futile. I remember an exchange I had with a senior manager during this time, when having reiterated yet again to him the need to increase Pacific staff numbers on his public programming team, he replied: "Fuli, if I give you a new Pacific staff member … [name of an Indian colleague] will want one too." "So what? Give her one too", I demanded as he turned and retreated. In these moments of defeat, it would be easy to give up as I felt change was too incremental and slow and that it was not the museum failing my communities but that I wasn't doing enough and was failing them, and I felt that failure at the deepest level. On reflection, however, the number of people of colour must have reached a critical mass, the results of which were better support and resources that increased outreach to communities and expanded opportunities to effect change more broadly across the institution.

This is the lot of the colonised, of Indigenous people: to provide the pathways and processes to equity. A Eurocentric institution cannot change itself as it doesn't see a problem requiring a solution. From Pākehā 'New Zealand European' perspectives there is nothing wrong with the museum institution. The structure and practices centre Pākehā, their language, their histories and their culture. All who are in museums are conditioned and trained to abide by that structure and world view. Change, therefore, must necessarily come from the colonised, from people of colour, from Pacific and Māori staff. We essentially must do the heavy lifting ourselves of educating Pākehā and revolutionising the systems to make museum institutions safe for each other and for our communities. We have to not only advocate for equity but also signpost the pathways to it, and devise the processes and practices for equity and representation in the vacuum of white privilege. Being responsible for revolutionising a system that disadvantages Indigenous people is exhausting. But only those who see the problem can provide the answers. We cannot shy away from the challenge, otherwise why are we here? What is our future? We must actively engage with the system to enable progress and change.

At this point I take this opportunity to acknowledge my partners in the early heavy lifting and four of the most amazing and hard-working women I know, without whom I may not have survived or at least not achieved as much—Venissa Freesir, Chanel Clarke, Nicola Railton and Vasiti Palavi (Fig. 9). The impact of their work in the Museum is immeasurable. Their work is woven into the fabric of the organisation.

Figure 9. Top: Chanel Clarke (Ngā Puhi, Te Rarawa, Waikato, Ngāti Porou), formerly Curator, Taonga Māori, Auckland Museum, now Curator, Te Rau Aroha at the Waitangi Treaty Grounds. Middle: Nicola Railton (Ngāti Kurī, Ngā Puhi), Māori Partnership and Development Coordinator. Above: Vasiti Palavi (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kuia, Tonga), Collection Manager. Venissa Freesir (Sāmoa, School Programmes Coordinator) is not pictured.

Western museums have had two primary objectives—the collection and the display of history. Museums were a way for colonial powers to show off where they'd been and what they'd done when they got there. Auckland Museum, the oldest museum institution in Aotearoa New Zealand (established in 1852), is not free of this history of colonialism and exploitation. The colonisers' profoundly troubled encounters with the people they colonised or otherwise encountered are reflected in the museum collections.

In the later twentieth century, museums asserted a desire to change, be more inclusive, engage with source communities and realise meaningful representation for them. But museums do not have the means or competence to do this without us. Therefore, because colonial "invasion is a structure not an event" (Wolfe 2006: 388) and because "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 1984: 111), it is on us to create new systems and structures that decentre the coloniser and create safe spaces for us, while building toward equity and improved representation.

Museums are powerful spaces; hence, for the institution change is something to fear, and transformation a power struggle. Improved representation is not recognised as innovative or transformative but alleges concession and relinquishment. Though stating new goals of antiracism, inclusion and agency on the one hand, museums on the other hand cling to the colonial structures and apparatuses of violence that sustain generational trauma, convey false views of Indigenous people and their histories, and nurture enduring loss of dignity and identity among them. Auckland Museum still largely assumes a Pākehā audience; labels continue to speak the traditional language of detached authority, and lighting and case design continue largely to reflect the designer's ego without sympathy for the cultural material to be displayed or the classic surrounding architecture.

Over the last several years, the Pacific team has experienced many of these barriers, too long accepted as museum practice, with the current Tāmaki Herenga Waka galleries. On occasion the rich personal or significant Pacific histories were mediated by the language of detached neutrality. Our requests for active and not passive language to reflect Pacific peoples' agency were denied: we were informed this wasn't possible as "that is not the voice of the exhibition".[4] The "voice" being promoted here is that of the colonial authority which cannot risk Indigenous agency or perspectives. On another occasion the Pacific project curator commissioned a tīvaevae 'Cook Islands quilt' from a renowned tīvaevae maker and submitted a measurement befitting a rectangular double-bed-sized quilt. The return design was the disappointing 1.5 by 1.5 metre square display case in the gallery. I felt diminished by their making diminutive a work of great significance and potential presence. The designers didn't care enough to educate themselves about Pacific cultures, and in their dismissive arrogance the seeds of coloniality continue to germinate in our galleries. Another example is of a Pākehā interpretation

developer (i.e., audience advocate) who appropriated the role of curator and made a photographic selection intended to reflect Auckland's social and ethnic diversity. Their selection reflected instead, except in two instances when obviously non-European faces appeared, largely Pākehā people's diverse interests, vocations and middle-class status, individually and in groups. Alarmingly men were depicted as active—running, swimming, playing sport—whereas the selection showed women reading, watching children eat ice cream or sitting and drinking coffee. Furthermore, men were depicted as professional—doctors, firemen, suited corporate beings—while women sat and smiled banally at each other, pushed strollers in "active wear" or meandered around parks with friends. The appropriation of the curatorial role, stereotypical selection of images and dismissive response when the selection was critiqued comes from a place of privilege that reflects the museum institution and those who have traditionally worked in it who have never having had to consider "others".

Claims of not meaning anything by it or "Oh, I hadn't actually thought about that" rub the poison of colonialism deeper into the wounds. These are unconscious biases, microinequities and undermining attitudes and actions that people of colour experience daily. The writer moved to another institution to perhaps perpetuate colonial authority and "voice" elsewhere, the designers were not penalised for their lack of effort to educate themselves on cultural frameworks, and the audience advocate was never reprimanded for appropriating the Pacific curatorial role or creating an image of Auckland's diversity devoid of diversity. However, despite these examples, progress is incremental and change is occurring, and it comes from within Pacific and Māori cultures: cultures that value the collective over the individual.

INDIGENISING MUSEUM PRACTICE

My time in New Zealand museums has straddled some interesting times. The 1980s were a time of social unrest, political strife and financial instability. Coming into the late 1990s and early 2000s there was increased cognisance of Treaty of Waitangi obligations and a determined focus on the potential of biculturalism. This new era afforded us opportunities to create the tools if not to "dismantle the master's house" (Lorde 1984) then to remodel it to better accommodate and include us.

"Indigenisation" holds for me more possibilities than "decolonisation" (see Cairns 2018, 2020); it has better outcomes for Pacific peoples. Indigenising practices are already in Pacific people's cultural toolkits. While we were conditioned to Pākehā culture at school, we were being counter-conditioned at home to centre our kaiga 'extended families', value unity and respect principled relationships over the Pākehā ideals of individual endeavour and personal autonomy. Pacific people in Aotearoa live between

Māori and Pākehā: we have familial ties to Māori and have been inculcated with Pākehā culture. Many Pacific peoples live in two or three, sometimes more, cultures today. And my Pacific team reflects this in every way. I could not have assembled the team I have today without the support of senior allies within the organisation. I'm blessed to work with an amazing group of Pacific women, all of them with links to three or four, and sometimes more, Pacific cultures (Fig. 10).

When I returned to the Museum in 1996 the only other non-Pākehā person was librarian Eddie Sun. I remember once discussing his Chinese heritage with him, and he said to me in his dry, deadpan manner, "Well, it's good you're here, Fuli, we just need more of us now". I found it interesting that a middle-aged Chinese man should find community with a 26-year-old Tokelauan woman. But in an overwhelmingly Pākehā institution unity can be found between non-Pākehā regardless of ethnicity, particularly in the colonial context that would pit us against one another, just as it has in the past.

Figure 10. Left–right: I have familial links to Tokelau, Sāmoa and Cape Verde Island (Curator, Pacific and World collections). Talei Si'ilata-Tu'inukuafe has familial links to Sāmoa, Aotearoa New Zealand Māori, Fiji and the Cook Islands (Collection Manager, Pacific). Juliana Satchell-Deo has familial links to the Solomon Islands, Daru Island, mainland Papua New Guinea and the Torres Strait Islands (Associate Curator, Pacific). Dr Andrea Low has familial links to Hawai'i, Fiji, Sāmoa and Fanning Island (Associate Curator, Contemporary World Collection).

WORKING WITH ALLIES

Auckland Museum has had 11 directors in its history, and I've worked with over half of them. Accepting this award has made me think about allies and allyship within the museum space. Of the directors I have worked with over the past several years a few stand out as allies in our Pacific endeavours at the Museum.

Dr Rodney Wilson (Director, 1994–2007) was as tenacious as he was opinionated. He had vision, energy and an incredible capacity for work. The Auckland War Memorial Museum Act of 1996, which established a new Trust Board governance structure as well as the Taumata-ā-Iwi Māori advisory board, became an Act of Parliament during his time.[5] Soon after, the Tumuaki Māori Director and Māori Support Manager positions were established. Pacific and Māori staff numbers rose exponentially during the later years of Dr Wilson's tenure. And for the first time a Pacific person held a non-Pacific-specific role when Cecilia Gullery (Fijian/British) was appointed as the Head of Exhibitions and Public Programmes. With Roger Neich's support, Dr Wilson allowed me a lot of leeway in the promotion of Pacific programming and engagement across the institution. He supported initiatives that put the Museum into Pacific spaces: the Museum became a fixture at the annual Pasifika Festival and Polyfest, as well as the Auckland International Cultural Festival (held at Potters Park, Balmoral, for many years); the Museum sponsored Coach of the Year for the Samoan Sports Awards (two consecutive years); and we ran the most extensive Pacific education and public programmes during the *Vaka Moana: Voyage of the Ancestors* exhibition in 2006–2007. During the *Vaka Moana* exhibition 12 extra Pacific educators were contracted to teach, and the Museum sponsored a kilikiti 'Pacific cricket' tournament, organised a lecture series and public presentations and borrowed wonderful Pacific treasures from England and Hawai'i. Ron Brownson, from the Auckland Art Gallery, and I co-curated the contemporary art component of the *Vaka Moana* exhibition, called *Le Folauga: The Past Coming Forward* (2006–2007); we also held many public programmes alongside this show.

Roy Clare (Director, 2011–2016), who someone recently described as a class act, was always supportive of our Pacific endeavours. A major undertaking during Roy's tenure was the Pacific Collections Access Project. Roy, and Sally Manuireva (Head of Exhibitions and Public Programmes), through their support and advocacy, showed that where there really is a will there is a way, and I am forever grateful to them for their allyship.

Auckland Museum's *Future Museum* plan was published in 2012, in response to Auckland Council's landmark *Auckland Plan* of 2012. The Museum's Pacific staff took this opportunity to create another platform for change. Our contention was the Museum should acknowledge and celebrate

its Pacific location and local communities and promote its internationally significant Pacific collections. Significantly, the following statement was included in the *Future Museum* plan submitted to Auckland City Council:

> Pacific Context: We will develop a Pacific dimension for understanding the context of historic and contemporary Auckland through its relationship with the Pacific and Pacific people: seas, journeys, settlement, contemporary diversity. (Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum 2012: 12)

Consequently, the Pacific staff set forth a Pacific framework in the *Teu Le Vā: The Pacific Dimension* document (2013), which outlines the intent to focus attention on and embed Pacific cultural approaches and practices within Auckland Museum, and between the Museum and source communities. The Pacific dimension is encapsulated in the phrase teu le vā 'nurture the relationship', which is to nurture the relational space between teu 'to cherish, to nurture' and vā 'relationship, the space between' (p. 5). The document outlines Pacific aspirations; it articulates methods for achieving representation and expressing cultural principles of inclusivity, equity and meaningful engagement.

In 2013, the establishment of a Pacific advisory committee was proposed by Pacific staff. This would be crucial for keeping Pacific staff safe and supported. Pacific staff personally held community relationships on behalf of the Museum; in the absence of familiarity with the Museum structure we become the face of the Museum for Pacific peoples. We were looked to for advice regarding the "Pacific perspective" within the organisation, with Pacific staff called upon as translators and for cultural expertise that was not part of our job descriptions. But because we all keenly feel the obligation to represent our communities in any way the institution demands, we relented. These are burdens not carried by Pākehā staff members, nor skills expected of them just by being Pākehā. Pacific staff across the organisation have been doing double and triple duty in this respect, which of course continues through the advocacy for change.

Culturally appropriate ways to spread the load and responsibility for advising on Pacific education and public programming had to be established. Once again Roy Clare and the director of public experience gave their full support, and in 2014 the Pacific Advisory Group (PAG) was established. I had been involved with setting up two previous Pacific Advisory Committees for Auckland Museum, in 1996 and again in 2005.

In 1996, the development of the current Pacific galleries led to the establishment of the Museum's first Pacific Advisory Committee. Invitations were widely distributed through the Pacific communities to island, sector and church leaders, artists, educators and lecturers. After the welcoming pōwhiri 'welcome ceremony', presentations regarding the renewal of the Pacific

galleries were made and followed by lively discussions. Of the almost 100 Pacific attendees, the resulting committee was largely self-selected. After several consultative meetings the committee felt a more effective process would be for the Museum to have a smaller committee work closely with the Museum curators. Following that advice, the Museum contracted two of their number, Jim Vivieaere (Fig. 11) and Albert Refiti. This enabled weekly rather than monthly meetings, which resulted in more effectual discussions regarding content and display, and more efficient object selections and single points of contact with the broader Pacific communities when necessary. This collaboration ended with the opening of the Pacific galleries in 1999.

In 2005, the second advisory committee was established around the broad educational and extensive public programmes for the *Vaka Moana* exhibition. Membership of this committee was focused on representation from media, performing arts and education as well as the community. The committee was highly motivated and very involved during the planning phases and for the duration of the exhibition. This advisory committee was brutally disestablished by a new director who simply refused to meet them or even to acknowledge they existed.

Figure 11. Jim Vivieaere (1947–2011) in the mezzanine of the Pacific store. Jim assisted with case layouts, packing and moving of collections, object selection and community liaison during the Pacific gallery renovations. With an exhibition career beginning in the 1970s, Jim was passionate about contemporary art and worked tirelessly as curator, gallerist and art commentator.

In contemplating a new Pacific advisory group, the earlier offensive dismissal made me anxious. I recognised the potential for backlash from our communities for the Museum's past conduct. In such situations an advisory committee would be crucial for the safety of staff as well as to maintain an effective link to our communities. I worried how many times our communities would answer the call if this was the reception they received. What level of tolerance could I reasonably expect from them after the Museum's high-handed behaviour? In those moments of exposure and abandonment I was ashamed to represent the Museum. Yet our communities proved themselves incredibly supportive of the Museum and particularly for its Pacific staff when we created PAG in 2014. Members of PAG were knowledgeable about the Museum and understood the lack of status and support for Pacific staff while we simultaneously carry heavy workloads. These were the primary areas of advocacy for PAG in 2014 and 2015—increased capacity, improved resources and rigorous development of programmes. I acknowledge here Marilyn Kohlhase, the inaugural chair of the 2014 PAG.[6] We are forever grateful to Marilyn, who continues to work tirelessly within the museum sector and the Auckland Museum Institute (AMI) to support the Pacific staff of the Museum and our endeavours on behalf of our communities.

Representation on PAG continues to emphasise sector experience. Our experience is that community leaders are spokespeople and advocates called on by many government representatives to be advocates in health, welfare, education and justice. Not to overburden those leaders, our focus turned to those with sector experience—business, education, arts and culture. I am happy to report that PAG is still going strong eight years on and continues to have strong and mutually respectful relationships with the Museum Trust Board and Taumata-ā-Iwi (the Māori advisory board), as well as the executive officer, executive team and museum staff. The chair of PAG is now an ex-officio member of the Trust Board, and PAG meets regularly with the Taumata-ā-Iwi.[7]

THE PACIFIC COLLECTIONS ACCESS PROJECT (PCAP) AND INVOLVING OUR COMMUNITIES

In preparing for the overdue gallery renovation of the current Pacific Lifeways and Masterpieces galleries, curatorial staff initiated Collections Readiness Projects; a flagship project was the Pacific Collections Access Project (PCAP). The Museum's Pacific collection of over 30,000 artefactual items is the most diverse and significant collection of its type in the country and is recognised internationally. PCAP was launched on 27 May 2016 and completed in August 2019. We were to work collaboratively with Pacific communities through the Museum's collections from 13 Pacific nations. The collaboration would help us inform Pacific communities of the Museum's

holdings, enrich the information regarding the treasures and strengthen connections between the communities and the Museum. It was decided the project would concentrate on the largest Pacific populations in Auckland, which are Polynesian. The collection items comprised a range of significant and everyday items including musical instruments, weapons, textiles, carvings, tools and ornaments. Treasures were attributed Indigenous names and described according to Indigenous knowledge and languages. This was a first step in establishing new practices of indigenising Museum practices and to enact principles articulated in the *Teu Le Vā* document and develop new ways of engaging with the Museum's Pacific source communities. We would finally be able to centre our communities and knowledge holders. The exchange of information and discussions could be held in Pacific languages and the communities could engage in meaningful ways with the Museum's staff and collections.

It was important for me that the project provide training and development opportunities for Pacific peoples. The two collection cataloguers, the senior cataloguing manager and the community engagement facilitator were all of Pacific descent. However, there were no trained applicants of Pacific descent for the technical positions of packing and storage technician and conservator. Ways to close these gaps in the technical aspects of collection care among Pacific Museum workers are currently being devised.

The community engagement facilitator was appointed to work within the communities to identify community liaisons. Being from the community the liaisons know their knowledge holders, are fluent in the language and would introduce the knowledge holders to the PCAP team. Community liaisons often participated in the knowledge-holder sessions (Fig. 12), assembled word lists, assisted the team with orthographies and helped clarify information shared between the Museum and the knowledge holders.

We were able to negotiate cross-department opportunities for secondments of other Museum Pacific staff to the PCAP to upskill current staff, especially staff from the front-of-house departments. They were trained in data entry and operating the collection management system (Vernon). They were given object handling, packing and storage solutions training, and opportunities to learn about our record-keeping and registration systems. These other staff also participated in community visits, gallery tours and other hosting activities.

Museum staff were aware that "Pacific Collections Access Project" would be an externally meaningless title and only served internal Museum reporting purposes. Therefore, this title was replaced with a more meaningful title from within each community (see Table 1). These Pacific titles were included in all the marketing and communications collateral the Museum produced around the project during the appropriate times. It enhanced a

Figure 12. Auckland Tokelau elders after a successful knowledge-holder session. Left–right: standing, Reverend Iutana Pue (community liaison), Leone Samu-Tui (collection cataloguer); seated, author (staff, of Tokelau descent), Mrs Matafele Pereira, Mrs Malau Poasa (weaving), Mr Fofo Poasa (canoe and house construction, fishing), Mr Foai Foai (then president of the Tokelau Association), Mrs Feagai Foai (weaving).

sense of ownership and would raise excitement as they all resonated with the spirit of treasures from the ancestors.

Talanoa 'discussions' revealed detailed Indigenous knowledge previously absent from the Museum collection archives. Other information about collection items, origins, use and significance may also be embedded in chants, songs and prayer. We found ways to accommodate the communities' needs. Discussions with community members about the collections were recorded by note-taking and by audio and audiovisual recordings now lodged in the Museum library archives, with the written notes remaining with the cataloguers for record enhancement purposes. The recordings can only be accessed through the Cultural Permissions process, developed by then Head of Library Services Michaela O'Donovan, and the wonderful Zoe Richardson, then Imaging and Permissions Manager, and in collaboration with the Pacific curatorial team. The Cultural Permissions process provides a cultural lens to the assessment and suitability of access and reproduction of archival images and recordings of ancestors. The copyright of the PCAP recordings is vested with the knowledge holders, requiring their permission to be gained prior to Museum access approval.

Table 1. List of participant island nations, the number of their collection items examined, conserved and stored during the project, the Indigenous name gifted by the community and the translation offered.

Country	Number of Collection items worked on during PCAP	Community name	Approximate translation
Cook Islands	946	Akairo a te Taunga	The Signature of the Creator
Fiji	1,328	Nai Yau Vakaviti—Na Ka Mareqeti	Fiji Treasures—They Are Treasured
French Polynesia	376	Tupuna Māʻohi ka Ora	Māʻohi Ancestors You Will Live On
Hawaiʻi	215	No Indigenous name provided	
Kiribati	1,147	Rikian Tungaru	Kiribati Culture
Niue	304	Lavahi Mau e tau Taoga Tokiofa ma e Atuhau	Treasure and Honour Our Sacred Taoga
Pitcairn Island	13	No Indigenous name provided	
Rapa Nui	24	No Indigenous name provided	
Sāmoa	528	E Taua au Measina, Lau Gagana ma Lau Aganuʻu	Treasure Your Taoga, Your Language and Your Culture
Tokelau	251	Poupouaki a Tatou Koa	Hold Fast to Our Treasures
Tonga	531	Ngaahi Koloa Tukufakaholo ʻa e Puleaeanga Faka-Tuʻi Tonga	Traditional Treasures of the Kingdom of Tonga
Tuvalu	114	Fakaakoigina te Olaga o Tou Tuaa mo Fakatautai Toe Olaga Fano ki Mua	Embracing the Past to Navigate the Future
Wallis and Futuna	22	Maʻu meʻa Faka Fanau—ʻUvea mo Futuna	Family Treasures from ʻUvea and Futuna
Total	5,799		

Note: Numbers of items given are not the entirety of an island's collection as textiles and some weapons were not included.

The Pacific Collection Access Project was just that, a project. In practice what was achieved was immeasurable. Pacific staff wanted to alter the extractive nature of the museum's engagement with Indigenous communities. We vested agency as much as possible with the communities; the enriched record was community-led, the language of engagement was Indigenous and access to the recordings must be granted ultimately by the knowledge holder. For source communities PCAP was an opportunity to see material often only ever heard about before, to study and revive their arts and to educate their young people about their cultural inheritance, engendering pride and strengthening self-identity. The communities were able to investigate the origins and provenance information of collection items held in the museum. We safeguard the recordings with additional filters and improved available images for web access. PCAP was a showcase of a decentred museum, increased representation and improved community relationships.

During PCAP we engaged with 13 Pacific Island groups: the Cook Islands, Fiji (including Rotuma), French Polynesia, Hawai'i, Kiribati, Niue, Pitcairn, Rapa Nui, Sāmoa, Tonga, Tokelau, Tuvalu and Wallis and Futuna. We worked with 58 cultural knowledge holders with whom we held 62 knowledge-holder sessions. Approximately 7,000 people visited the project and at least two community days per island group were held during the weekends to enable as many community members as possible to attend. The project was also visited by tertiary classes, groups of artists, visiting dignitaries, local and central government representatives and even on occasion as part of team-building excursions by interested parties. Almost 6,000 treasures have been catalogued, conserved, rehoused and photographed in this project. Our practices continue to evolve and be refined. Our aims are simply to normalise practices of inclusivity and representation, make the decentred museum a reality and collaborate in meaningful ways with source communities.

Active participation in Pacific Language Week programming since its inception in 2010 afforded the Museum increased presence within our communities. The numbers reached increased exponentially from 2020 due to the COVID-19 lockdowns, when much of the Museum's programming and outreach went digital. PCAP added to the initial digital collateral with its additional rich content, new webpage stories and short films. All this was promoted across the Museum's Facebook and Instagram profiles and through online shares and likes from our communities, which in the end reached 553,916 viewers and participants across nine Pacific Language Weeks.

After the *Teu Le Vā* document had circulated for a while, we worried about its efficacy without the ability to socialise Pacific values and principles articulated in the document through staff training programmes. Yet again we advocated, this time for a Pacific development manager who would run the training programmes, review the Museum's processes and policies through the lens of the Pacific dimension, and further assist with managing

the Museum's relationships with external Pacific bodies, government departments and Pacific Island–based leaders, who visit frequently. The outcome is the establishment of the Teu Le Vā Manager position in 2016. It has been a key appointment and is the only one in the country. Olivia Taouma, the incumbent, has worked tirelessly in this role to extend Pacific connections nationally and internationally. Relationships established with government ministries has enabled staff from museums in Kiribati and Sāmoa, and soon Tuvalu, to travel to the Museum for training across all areas of collection care and management and exhibitions. The Teu Le Vā Manager plays a critical role in the embedding of Pacific principles throughout the institution. Olivia will author new policies: an important one she is currently leading is the Inclusive Writing Guidelines, which frames a language use that respects individuality, Indigenous communities, culture and diversity, is free from stereotypes, and avoids phrases and words that may make people feel excluded, offended or undervalued. The Teu Le Vā Manager role was initially within the Māori and Pacific Development Team under the leadership of the Tumuaki Māori; however, a new realignment will see it shift to the chief executive's team with the support of a full-time Teu Le Vā Coordinator, support that has been long overdue.

WHAKAWHANAUNGATANGA

Te Aho Mutunga Kore: The Eternal Thread is the current project I am involved with, alongside Dr Kahutoi Te Kanawa, Pou Arahi Māori Curator, and Chantal Knowles, Head of Human History. This project builds on the two landmark projects carried out between 2016 and 2019 by the Māori and Pacific teams, Te Awe Phase II and the PCAP. Te Awe Phase II enriched the information on the extensive collections of Māori kākahu 'cloaks', kete 'bags' and other Māori textiles.

Te Aho Mutunga Kore is a textile and fibre research centre, with an initial focus on Pacific and Māori textile research that will again decentre the Museum. It will give agency to our communities and nurture creativity, knowledge sharing and knowledge creation. To a large extent non-Pākehā women's arts were not a priority in the past, and if the 1980s international exhibition *Te Maori*, which overlooked women's arts in its selection of artefacts, is anything to go by, one could be forgiven for thinking Māori women made nothing of "value". In Aotearoa and the Pacific, women in fact made the most prestigious garments and textiles that adorned our chiefs, clothed our dead and covered our god figures. Te Aho Mutunga Kore will improve knowledge and bring focused attention to the fibre arts of the Pacific.

To return to the question in the title of this speech, can there be trust after a history of colonialism and exploitation? I've described, from my own experiences, monumental shifts for Pacific staff and communities in relation to the Museum. Microaggressions and casual racism (which will take a lot longer to overcome) aside, Pacific representation, programming

and resources have substantially increased. Though there is still a long way to go for equity in representation, institutional structures and policies, there are hopeful signals for continual change through the encouragement and acknowledgement of Pacific languages demonstrated through our programming for the national Pacific Language Weeks celebrations, the creation of the Teu Le Vā Manager role and the establishment of projects that decentre the Museum, like PCAP, Te Awe and now Te Aho Mutunga Kore, amongst a number of others currently underway. Additionally, research scholarships are offered specifically for Pacific and Māori to carry out independent research and as avenues for training opportunities. Pacific staff at the Museum are working to grow internship programmes and establish residencies and institutional exchange programmes, because one Pacific curator and one Pacific collection manager has never been good enough. It is gruelling work, often heartbreaking and always confronting to challenge the structures that violate Indigenous people and Indigenous worldviews, but our communities require our service, and they deserve so much more from museums. Trust from my perspective is so far beyond reach to be almost meaningless at this moment because racism, classism and sexism are too deeply embedded and people too frighteningly ignorant of this fact. But our progress to date keeps me optimistic, and our plans for the future are exciting.

The young Pacific scholars, artists and researchers that have come through our museum's programmes have been artistically gifted, intellectually savvy and incredibly inspiring. Museums are powerful spaces, and the stories these young Indigenous people will tell, the perspectives they will amplify and the ways in which their stories will be manifested will be just as powerful. Their histories and their telling will reflect the changed cultural and social contexts that they, as well as Sean's son and my daughter also, inhabit and will continue to change for themselves and their communities.

NOTES

1. In 2000 the Māori collection was separated from the Ethnology Department, and two years later in 2002 the Pacific collection became a separate entity and the Foreign Ethnology collections were renamed the World collection.
2. Pacific staff at the time were Sean Mallon, Grace Hutton, Maile Drake and Shane Pasene. Māori staff were Awhina Tamarapa, Megan Tamati-Quennell and Arapata Hakiwai.
3. "Back of house" refers to curatorial, collections or display staff whose work and office spaces were largely in non-public spaces, as opposed to "front of house", which refers to the security, maintenance and cleaning staff that generally worked in the public spaces of the museum.
4. This is a direct quote from a previous staff exhibition writer.
5. The Auckland Institute was established in 1867. The following year it took over the management of Auckland Museum and changed its name to Auckland Institute and Museum. The Auckland War Memorial Museum Act 1996 separated the Institute from the governance of the War Memorial Museum. Today this learned society is the Auckland Museum Institute.

6. An explanation for the name of the Pacific Advisory Group is that a "committee" denotes board-appointed membership. The Pacific Advisory Group is not board-appointed and advises and reports to the Executive Officer.
7. The PAG's current chair is Pakilau Manase Lua and deputy chair is Fesaitu Solomone.

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OBSIDIAN POINT DISCOVERED ON KAPINGAMARANGI ATOLL, MICRONESIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR POST-SETTLEMENT REGIONAL INTERACTIONS

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ABSTRACT: An obsidian point was discovered by chance by local people on Kapingamarangi Atoll, a Polynesian Outlier in Micronesia. In addition to use-wear and residue analysis to identify its use, pXRF analysis conducted on it demonstrated that it was brought from the Admiralty Islands in Papua New Guinea over about 900 km. The information on other Admiralty obsidian artefacts found in western Oceania and other associated phenomena suggest that those artefacts were brought from the source through an interaction network between Micronesia and Melanesia during the first half of the second millennium AD. They had significant social value as prestige goods in the peripheral areas of the Admiralty obsidian circulation, serving as chiefly heirlooms and grave goods. In addition to skilful Caroline Islands seafarers, Polynesian Outlier populations had an important role in the interregional interactions during this dynamic period in the western Pacific, which was possibly activated by Polynesian intrusion into the region related to a larger Polynesian expansion into eastern Polynesia circa AD 1000. Further, we argue that the Saudeleur dynasty of Pohnpei, which achieved the development of a famous megalithic politico-religious centre, Nan Madol, was influential in the interaction sphere during its height in AD 1000–1500. Thus, by using archaeological, linguistic, historical, ethnological, oral traditional and DNA data, the interdisciplinary analysis of this rare obsidian artefact has deepened our understanding of post-settlement interaction in the region.

Keywords: obsidian point, interdisciplinary analysis, Kapingamarangi Atoll, Admiralty Islands, prestige goods, Polynesian Outliers, Saudeleur dynasty, post-settlement interaction

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Recent advances in archaeological sourcing studies have enabled us to identify prehistoric long-distance interactions in the Pacific, by demonstrating movements of artefacts and materials (Kirch and Weisler 1994: 297–301; McAlister 2019; Reepmeyer 2021; Weisler 1993, 1997). However, archaeologically recoverable evidence of past contacts is limited to non-perishable items, despite an array of ethnographically documented exchange commodities (e.g., foodstuffs, feather products, barkcloth, mats, cordage, wooden items (Green and Kirch 1997: 26; Sheppard 2020; Thomas 1991; Weisler 1997: 10)). In addition, other information contextualising the movements of archaeological artefacts is often limited. Thus, it is difficult to draw a complete picture of past interactions and identify motivations behind them, especially for long-distance movements, except for cases associated with such phenomena as climate change (Anderson *et al.* 2006) and the Tongan expansion (Clark *et al*. 2014, 2020).

In this study, we present the results of pXRF analysis and use-wear and residue analysis on a rare obsidian point discovered by chance on Kapingamarangi Atoll, a Polynesian Outlier in Micronesia (Fig. 1A). This is a significant finding to help us understand past interaction patterns in the region, as only coral limestone and beachrock (cemented sand) exist on the atoll. Due to the nature of the discovery, this artefact lacks contextual information. However, by combining the information on this artefact with archaeological, linguistic, historical and ethnological data on other obsidian artefacts and other relevant phenomena in western Oceania, we can delineate intriguing characteristics of obsidian exchange and significantly enhance our understanding of an aspect of post-settlement interregional interactions between Micronesia and Melanesia, which have been often described as "influence" or "connection" in such aspects as material culture (e.g., Bayliss-Smith 1978: 43) and biological characteristics (e.g., Hogbin 1940: 216–18) in the past.

THE KAPINGAMARANGI OBSIDIAN POINT

Discovery

The obsidian point[1] (Figs 2 and 6A) was discovered by local people during an expansion of a taro patch at the Haime section on Welua Islet, the bigger of the two currently inhabited islets, in 1986 (Figs 1B and 1C). It was found with many human bones, shell adzes and possible ornaments (i.e., perforated "fish teeth", perforated cone shells) 1.5–2.5 metres deep in a large excavation, although all items except for the obsidian point were subsequently broken and lost. Since the bones probably included those of a number of bodies, according to locals, the area was most probably an ancient cemetery. The location at the northern end of a large islet may have had a pre-Christian

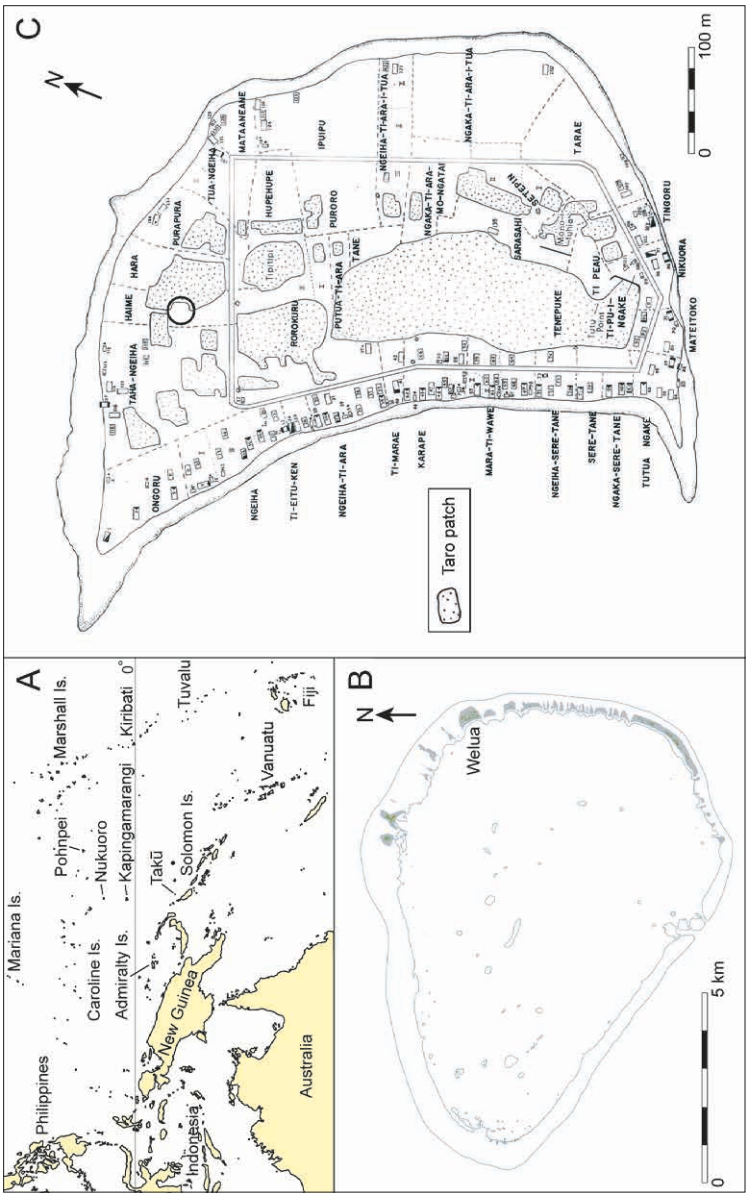

Figure 1. (A) The western Pacific; (B) Kapingamarangi Atoll; (C) the find spot of the obsidian point on Welua Islet (in circle) (after Emory 1965: 84, fig. 7).

Figure 2. The obsidian point from Kapingamarangi.

ideological significance. There is no tradition of a burial at the location nor knowledge of the age of the taro patch, which may suggest that the obsidian point could have some antiquity.

More recently, this obsidian point, which has been kept at a souvenir shop in a Kapingamarangi settlement on Pohnpei, came to the senior author's attention and was loaned to him for pXRF analysis at the University of Auckland and use-wear and residue analyses at the Australian Museum in 2012 (Kononenko 2012).

Description

The obsidian point has a very long lozenge shape in plan view with a relatively flat ventral surface. The distal half is used to form a blade which is minimally retouched on the right edge, while the proximal half is bifacially flaked to create a tang. One-third of the dorsal surface of the tang is extensively retouched toward the dorsal ridge, while only the distal end is retouched on the ventral surface. The cross-section is roughly triangular at the blade and forms a semi-cylindrical shape at the retouched tang. It measures 234.8 mm long, 57.4 mm wide and 14.3 mm thick and weighs 180.5 g.

pXRF Analysis

In order to identify the geochemical source of the blade it was submitted to pXRF (portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometry) analysis at the University of Auckland's Anthropology Laboratory. The instrument used was an Innov-X Delta Series analyser (Rh anode, Si drift detector, 8–40 keV, 5–200 μA). The blade was analysed using the instrument's soil mode, which has the capability of detecting 29 elements. Analysis time was set at 180 seconds and the analysis was performed on the flattest surface available to minimise surface effects. The sample was also analysed three times in three separate loci and the results averaged to account for possible heterogeneity. Twelve elements were detected and measured, and these are reported in Table 1. The elemental composition was compared with the results of analyses (using the same instrument and settings) of archived samples from source locations in Near and Remote Oceania (Sheppard *et al*. 2010). Accuracy and precision were assessed using periodic analysis of the international standards ANU 2000 Wekwok and NIST SRM 278 (powdered obsidian from Clear Lake, Newbury Crater, Oregon) as well as the internal standard Mayor Island 9.3. The results of the NIST SRM 278 analyses are reported in Table 2. All elemental concentrations were subsequently calibrated by linear regression using these three standards. The results for the external standard are reported in Table 2. These show reasonable accuracy and good precision for all elements reported, with the exception of Pb in the ANU 2000 Wekwok sample. This is likely due to the concentration of Pb in this source being close to the detection level of the instrument.

While often multivariate methods are required in geochemical analysis, in this case bivariate plots are sufficient to identify the source location of the blade. A bivariate plot of Rb Log10 and Y Log10 for the blade and all previously measured source-region samples shows a clear relationship between the blade and the Admiralty Islands source region (Figs 3 and 4). A bivariate plot of Zr Log10 and Sr Log10 with the samples restricted to individual sources of the Bismarck Archipelago shows a clear grouping within the Admiralties and tentatively, given the single reference sample, to the Wekwok locality (and this relationship is consistent with the concentration of Rb or Sr substituted for that of Fe, Ti or Y). Although not described here, discriminant analysis and principal component analysis using K, Zn, Ca, Ti, Mn, Fe, Rb, Sr, Zr, Pb, Y and Nb confirm this relationship. Thus, this analysis identifies its source as most probably Wekwok on the northwestern side of Lou Island in the Admiralties, which was a major obsidian source in the Bismarcks in the past two millennia (Fredericksen 1997: 380–83; Torrence *et al*. 2014), and shows that it was transported from the source over about 900 km.

Table 1. Elemental concentration results (ppm) for sample.

Element	Analysis 1	Analysis 2	Analysis 3
K	29,816	31,446	30,189
Zn	32.3	36.9	34.7
Ca	6,122	6,608	6,217
Ti	1,549	1,681	1,581
Mn	426	438	430
Fe	11,137	12,189	11,521
Rb	146.2	152.3	148.1
Sr	66.4	69.2	67.5
Zr	219	225	220
Pb	6.4	6.1	5.9
Th	18	15	15
Y	37.6	38.5	37.5
Nb	28.4	31	29.1

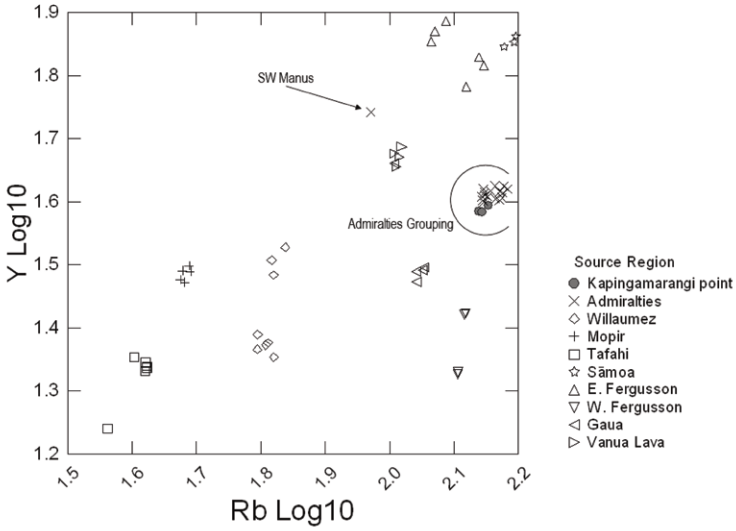

Figure 3. Source region.

Table 2. Elemental concentration results (ppm) for standard reference material. NIST 278 N = 15.

	pXRF			NIST	
Element	Mean	SD	CV	Mean	Error
K	33,337.3	1,069.9	0.032	34,534.3	166.0
Zn	50.6	1.3	0.025	55.0	Recommended
Ca	6,623.0	558.8	0.084	7,025.5	14.3
Ti	1,332.2	98.3	0.074	1,468.7	42.0
Mn	405.5	5.1	0.012	402.0	15.5
Fe	14,119.5	316.2	0.022	14,278.7	140.0
Rb	125.3	2.2	0.017	127.5	0.3
Sr	62.3	1.9	0.031	63.5	0.0
Zr	272.3	4.9	0.018	*290.0	30.0
Pb	17.4	0.7	0.041	16.4	0.2
Y	40.9	0.7	0.018	*39.0	5.0
Nb	16.5	0.7	0.041	*18.0	5.0

*Consensus values from Hollocher *et al*. (1995).

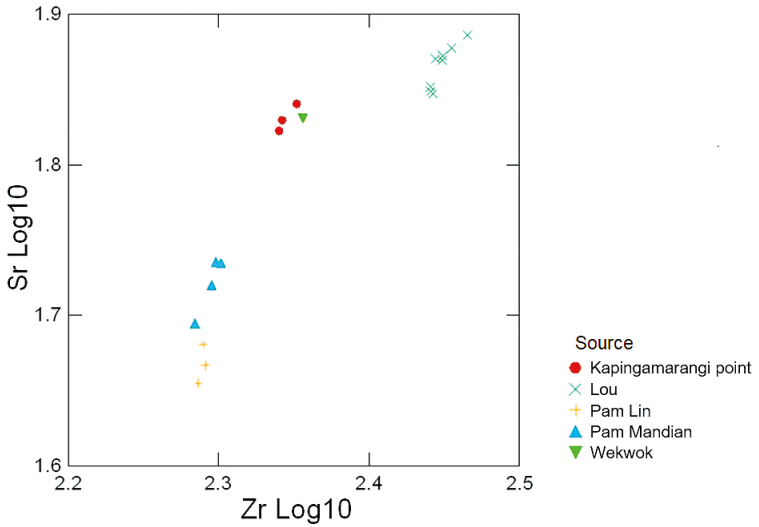

Figure 4. Source.

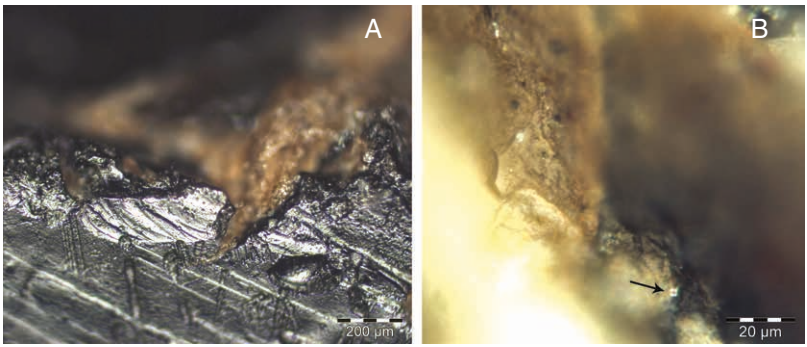

Figure 5. Use-wear and residue: (A) hafting wear and residues on dorsal side of the stem (×100); (B) residues and starch grain on ventral side of the stem (×1000). From Kononenko (2012: 4–5).

Use-wear and Residue Analysis

Microscopic use-wear and residue analysis identifies some spots on the dorsal and ventral sides of the stem that preserved rough abrasion, striations and plant residues (Fig. 5A). The residues are embedded into scratches and striations and include starch grains (Fig. 5B). Patterned wear attributes on the stem in association with plant residue and starch suggest that the tool was probably wrapped or hafted using organic plant materials (Kononenko 2012). This is in keeping with the specimen having had a haft made up of a loose bundle of sago fibres, covered by a kind of paste or putty made from the *Atuna* nut (Torrence 2002: 74), as ethnographically known for this island group. This would have enabled it to be used as a spear for hunting wild pigs or as a dagger or knife (Nevermann [1934] 2013: 296–310; Parkinson [1907] 2010: 274). Use-wear analysis shows no signs of edge rounding or polish on the edge of the point, suggesting that the point did not have a utilitarian function (Kononenko 2012).

The Kapingamarangi Point's Position in the Admiralty Obsidian Sequence

In this section, we will examine the Kapingamarangi point's position in the Admiralty obsidian sequence to determine its age based on its morphological traits, although that chronological sequence is rather coarse-grained (Ambrose 2002; Fredericksen 2000). Obsidian sources in the Admiralties began to be used possibly around 12,000 years ago, but more certainly around 7,000–8,000 years ago. During the Lapita horizon, the Admiralty obsidians, mainly in form of flakes, appear outside the island group for the first time not only in the Bismarck Archipelago but also in the northern Solomons, the Santa Cruz Islands and Vanuatu in the east as well as northern New Guinea and Borneo in

the west. But their distribution contracted to the Bismarcks by around 2,500 years ago at the end of the Lapita period (Ambrose 2002; Summerhayes 2009).

A new formal point type appeared by 2,100 years ago on Lou, and around 2,500–2,100 years ago it was found in association with Lapita ceramics on Buka in the northern Solomons (Wickler 1990: 147). The new point form is highly retouched, having a triangular or trapezoidal cross-section. This complex technology was lost at some poorly resolved point between 1,600 and 700 years ago, and stemmed blades, which are only minimally retouched for functional reasons to produce a haft or a pointed tip (Fredericksen 2000: 104), appear. This minimally retouched form continued to be used as spear and dagger points into the early historic period.

The Kapingamarangi point shows characteristics of those with minimal retouch during the last period of the Admiralty obsidian point sequence. However, it is somewhat unique as similar points do not have such careful retouch around the haft. Although the shape and size are very similar to those that were hafted as ethnographic spears and daggers from the Admiralty Islands, the systematic, rather flat retouch on the proximal (bulbar) end of the dorsal side of this point is unusual (Robin Torrence, pers. comm., 21 November 2012). Substantial flaking skill was required to make this point. Since there is no stone-working tradition on Kapingamarangi, a coral atoll, it was almost certainly transported there as a finished product.

ADMIRALTY OBSIDIAN ARTEFACTS IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC

Distribution of the Admiralty Obsidian Blades Outside the Bismarck Archipelago During the Second Millennium AD

Past studies indicate that Admiralty obsidian blades were rather narrowly traded in the Bismarck Archipelago, as far as Buka in the east, and the New Guinea mainland during the second millennium AD before European contact (Ambrose 1978: 330; Key 1969: 49; Summerhayes 2009: 118–19; Torrence 2000: 133). The regional distribution of the large obsidian blades may be partially obscured by limitations in museum documentation, which often lists Admiralty Island obsidian spears and daggers in the collection as derived from the Admiralty Islands, rather than noting the specific place where they were collected, which may be unknown (Robin Torrence, pers. comm., 15 October 2012). The only examples documented outside the region during that period are intriguingly from Polynesian Outliers (Nukuoro, Kapingamarangi and Takū) and Pohnpei in Micronesia (Fig. 1A).

On the Polynesian Outlier atoll of Nukuoro, a close neighbour of Kapingamarangi, a long obsidian blade (Fig. 6B) was reported to be in the possession of Chief Leka in 1910 (Eilers 1934: 179). According to a local legend recorded by a German visitor, Carl Jeschke (2013: 229), a large outrigger canoe crewed by people from "Hiti" stood off Nukuoro and was

seized by Nukuoroan men after brief fighting. The strangers were spared, and their weapon, the obsidian blade, giva,[2] and the fossilised *Tridacna* shell object called papa[3] were seized along with coloured stones. *Hiti* is a reflex of Proto-Polynesian **Fiti* 'traditional place name', which generally refers to 'Fiji' in many Polynesian languages, while in Outlier languages, its reflexes refer to neighbouring Melanesians (e.g., Nukuria, Takū, Tikopia) or legendary indigenous (pre-Polynesian) populations (e.g., Rennell) (Greenhill and Clark 2011). Hiti people appear in a few Nukuoroan legends, in which they visited Nukuoro and had a hostile relationship with Nukuoroan people (Jeschke 2013: 228–29). It seems that this Nukuoroan word currently means 'mythical foreign land', but originally it referred to Melanesians in the south, as it still does in some North Central Outlier[4] languages. The reference to Hiti as the source of the obsidian point suggests its Melanesian origin. According to Jeschke's drawing (Fig. 6B), the obsidian artefact was a prismatic blade, which has no retouch. It measures 16.5 cm long, 3.1–4.3 cm wide and 1.3 cm thick. Both ends are broken, and it was said to have been originally an arm's length long, although this is likely an exaggeration.

On Takū Atoll, a German ethnologist, Richard Parkinson (1986: 10), observed several obsidian spear tips in the late nineteenth century, which he assumed, probably based on their morphology, had their origin in the Admiralty Islands. Although present islanders do not have any memory of them (Moyle 1997), a local legend provides further information. According to this story, the magical "diamond" called *kiva*, a cognate of *giva*, the Nukuoroan word for an obsidian point, was transported from somewhere by a founding canoe, *Taoa*, which is said to have migrated to Takū and subsequently travelled to "Samoa" as well as visiting several islands, including "Rotuma", "Tikopia", "Sikeiana" (Sikaiana) and "Liuaniua" (Ontong Java), to bring back dances for the entertainment of the sacred chief, Ariki. This stone was used by an ancestral spirit, Rapi, one of *Taoa*'s crew, to create a well (Moyle 2007: 259–60; 2018). Although the legend does not specify the origin and rock type of kiva, a local informant's description of it as a shiny stone and Parkinson's report suggest that it is most likely an obsidian object transported from the Bismarck Archipelago, most probably the Admiralties, according to the late prehistoric obsidian circulation pattern (Summerhayes 2009: 118–19).

In Pohnpei, four obsidian artefacts were discovered in the famous megalithic ruin of Nan Madol. In the early colonial period, two obsidian points were recovered from the (probably single) stone tomb on the most sacred and architecturally elaborate islet, Nandouwas (Ayres and Mauricio 1987: 29), which served as the resting place of Saudeleur rulers and subsequently early paramount chiefs (Nahnmwarki) of the Madolenihmw chiefdom according to oral tradition (Hadley 2014). One was excavated with human bones and a large number of shell valuables, such as shell ornaments

(e.g., beads, bracelets, pendants), pearl-shell lure shanks and large shell adzes (probably of *Tridacna* shells), at the central tomb by an English scholar, Fredrick W. Christian (1897: 103; 1899: 89–91), in 1896. The other was excavated in the (probably same) "royal grave" with a reddish potsherd and stone blades by the missionary Weise during the German colonial period (Schurig 1930: 7). Although it was subsequently lost, a drawing (Fig. 6C) shows that it was a retouched flake broken in the middle (Ayres and Mauricio 1987: 29–30). Some archaeologists (Ambrose 1978: 330; Spriggs 1997: 128) believe that this blade was from the Admiralties. Two very small obsidian flakes were excavated from two layers in a test pit on Usendau Islet, next to Nandouwas, in a modern archaeological excavation (Ayres *et al*. 1983: 165–66). One was subsequently lost. Instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) was conducted on the other piece. Although the data is not directly comparable to that used in current Bismarcks sourcing, the authors suggest a Solomon Island source (Ayres *et al*. 1997).

Ages of the Obsidian Blades Found Outside the Admiralties

Among the obsidian artefacts discussed above, the most archaeologically well-dated ones are those found at Nan Madol in Pohnpei. They date from the height of the Saudeleur dynasty in the first half of the second millennium AD. The two obsidian flakes found on Usendau, for example, are younger than 1190 BP in a dated level (Ayres *et al*. 1983: 128, 165–66). The dates of the two obsidian points found on Nandouwas are unknown due to the nature of the discovery. Although some European artefacts are known to have been found on that islet (Athens 1981), we are not aware of any historical accounts that record Europeans using Admiralty Island obsidian artefacts to exchange with other islanders (Torrence 2000; Robin Torrence, pers. comm., 20 August 2022). Thus, those two obsidian points also likely fall in a similar time range, as the artificial islet was constructed around AD 1180–1200, according to recent high-precision Th/U coral dating (McCoy *et al*. 2016). Therefore, those obsidian artefacts found at Nan Madol are presumably dated between AD 1000 and AD 1500 before the fall of the Saudeleur dynasty (Ayres 1990: 202), when Nan Madol lost its position as the religious-political centre of Pohnpei and its influence supposedly diminished in the region. This accords with the morphological features of the point (Fig. 6C), which are like those known from the last period of the Admiralty point chronological sequence (Fredericksen 2000).

The other obsidian artefacts found on the Polynesian Outliers lack archaeological contextual data, although their morphological traits and traditional information indicate their antiquity, probably placing them in a similar time range to the Nan Madol artefacts. First, the Nukuoro point (Fig. 6B) shows characteristics of the final period in the Admiralty sequence, as do those from Nan Madol and Kapingamarangi.

Second, both Nukuoroan and Takū legends discussed above place their relative chronological position in the early settlement phase or immediately after in individual islands' oral histories. Among Jeschke's (2013) chronologically ordered 15 Nukuoroan legendary accounts and 103 recorded high priests from colonisation to the late nineteenth century, the myth of the obsidian artefact is in the fifth story, immediately after a series of stories related to the founder (the first high priest) of the island Vave and before the

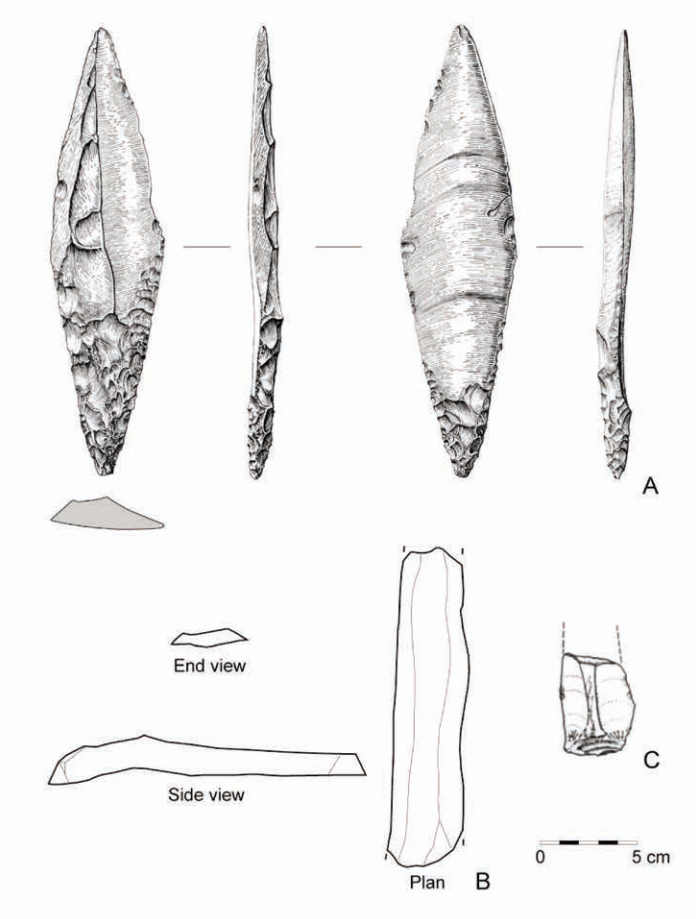

Figure 6. (A) The obsidian point from Kapingamarangi; (B) the obsidian flake from Nukuoro (drafted based on Jeschke 2013: 231, fig. 94); (C) the obsidian flake from Nan Madol, Pohnpei (after Ayres and Mauricio 1987: 30, fig. 4, left).

seventh story during the eighteenth high priest's reign (p. 229). Although the Nukuoroan oral history is rather sketchy, this seems to indicate a deep time depth for the event, placing it immediately after the initial Polynesian settlement. The Takū legend is about one of the founding canoes, which also places it at a very early stage of the island's history (Moyle 2007: 259–60).

Third, those obsidian artefacts found on Polynesian Outliers are dated during or after the Polynesian settlement in the first half of the second millennium AD, according to the archaeological data on the Northern Outliers (Nukuoro (Davidson 1971, 1992) and Kapingamarangi (Leach and Ward 1981)) and the documentation of Northern and North Central Outliers' names (Kapingamarangi, Nukuria, Takū, Nukumanu, Sikaiana and Nukuoro) in 1664 (Lévesque 1993: 251–52), as discussed below. Thus, these lines of archaeological and oral historical information can be interpreted to suggest that obsidian artefacts from Pohnpei and the Polynesian Outliers date to within the same period.

Linguistic Evidence of Obsidian Blades

Two sets of linguistic data related to obsidian in western Oceania offer important information to enhance understanding of prehistoric interaction in the region. First, Nukuoroan *giva*[5] and Takū *kiva* are reflexes of Proto-Central Pacific **qiwa* 'fire-lighting stone' (Paul Geraghty, pers. comm., 8 November 2022; cf. Greenhill and Clark 2011).

Proto-Central Pacific *qiwa 'fire-lighting stone'

Fij†: Fiji *qiwa* 'a flint stone: properly a thunderbolt, or stone that falls in a tempest well known by the natives' (Hazlewood 1850)

Pn: East Futunan *kiva* 'flake/splinter of glass, stone' (Moyse-Faurie 1993)

Pn: East Uvean *kiva* 'sharp piece, sharp fragment' (Rensch 1984)

Pn: Marquesas *kévá* 'a stone for slinging, likewise shot or ball' (Crook *et al*. 1998)

Pn: Marquesas (Nukuhiva) *kiwa* 'stone' (Hale 1848)

Pn: Marquesas (Nukuhiva) *kiva* 'plomb, balle de fusil' (lead, bullet) (Zewen 1987)

Pn: Nukuoro *giva* 'legendary obsidian weapon, which is said to be brought by foreigners from Hiti' (Jeschke 2013: 229)

Pn: Rennellese *kiba* 'knife, sharp stick' (Elbert 1975)

Pn: Takū *kiva* 'mythical "diamond" with which the spirit ancestor Rapi created the well on Takū island named after him' (Moyle 2011)

Pn: Tuvalu *kiva* 'superincise, circumcise' (Ranby 1980)

Pn: Vaeakau-Taumako *kiva*, *kive* 'former old word for adze' (Green n.d.)

Pn: West Uvean *giwa* 'hache pour couper le bois' (axe for cutting wood) (Hollyman 1987)

†Fij: Fijian; Pn: Polynesian.

It seems reasonable to assume that imported obsidian objects (most likely from the Admiralties) were commonly referred to using these cognate words in the Northern and North Central Outliers, which probably circulated them among them and beyond. This indicates that the Polynesian communities of those Outliers had close interactions among them, as shown by oral traditions (Moyle 2007: 22–28; Parkinson [1907] 2010: 394–400) and other lines of evidence discussed below.

Second, another set of linguistic borrowings related to obsidian in the region indicates the importance of Caroline islanders/Northern Outlier populations in Admiralty obsidian transfer in the region. The words for 'obsidian' in the Admiralties (the eastern Admiralty languages) are reflexes of Proto-Admiralty **patu i Lou* 'stone of Lou (Island)' (e.g., Loniu *piciluw*, Bipi *patilow*, Titan *pataniw*, Nauna *periliw*) (Blust 2021: 17), named after the major obsidian source in this island group, while it is called *palanga* in the Mussau-Emira languages of the neighbouring Mussau Islands.[6] The Mussau-Emira word appears to be a borrowing from one of the Nuclear Micronesian or Northern Outlier words for 'iron, foreign disease, foreign', most of which were in turn borrowed from Malay *paraŋ* or Malay-derived loanwords for 'machete, bush knife' (Blust and Trussel 2020) spread among Western Malayo-Polynesian/Central Malayo-Polynesian languages in the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia, possibly from plural sources at different times (cf. Tent and Geraghty 2001[7]), as iron tools were in use at least by the beginning of the first millennium AD in Island Southeast Asia (Bellwood 2007: chap. 9) and western Caroline islanders visited there to obtain iron tools even before western contact (e.g., Fitzpatrick 2008).

WMP†: Palauan *balang* 'Yapese stone money' (McManus and Josephs 1977: 74)

Mic: Tobian *pahang* 'iron' (Black 2017: 162)

Mic: Ulithian *paarang* 'metal, bell' (Mellen and Hancock 2010)

Mic: Woleaian *paarang* 'iron, wire, bell, metal' (Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976: 267)

Mic: Satawalese *paarang* 'metal, iron; bell' (Sauchomal *et al*. 2018: 177)

Mic: Satawalese *kinipaarang* 'smallpox, chicken pox' (*kiin* 'skin; the bark of a tree; skin disease') (Sauchomal *et al*. 2018: 116, 117)

Mic: Puluwat *paarang* 'small pox' (Elbert 1972)

Mic: Chuukese *paarang* 'rust; small pox, measles' (Goodenough and Sugita 1980: 273)

Mic: Pohnpeian *pahrang* 'a type of pox (of before European-originated small pox)' (Hambruch 1932: 172; Lawrence *et al*. 1973: 63–64, 162–63)

Mic: Mwoakilloa *pahrang* 'metal' (Harrison and Albert 1977: 66)

Mic: Pingelap *pahraeng* 'metal' (Hattori 2012: 256)

Mic: Kosrae *paclahng* 'tumor, abscess; foreign, non-native, alien, strange' (Lee 1976: 241)

Pn: Nukuoro *baalanga* 'metal' (Carroll and Soulik 1973: 16)

Pn: Kapingamarangi *baalanga* 'metal' (Lieber and Dikepa 1974: 21)

Pn: Kapingamarangi *baalangi* 'European, American' (Lieber and Dikepa 1974: 22)

Adm: Mussau-Emira *palanga* 'obsidian'

†WMP: Western Malayo-Polynesian; Mic: Nuclear Micronesian; Pn: Polynesian; Adm: Admiralties.

Although it is difficult to identify the precise source of the Mussau-Emira word phonologically (Ken Rehg, pers. comm., 13 February 2022), we suggest a possibility that it was borrowed from a Northern Outlier source due to the Northern Outliers' involvement in Admiralty obsidian transfer based on other lines of archaeological and linguistic evidence discussed in this study.[8] This linguistic borrowing indicates that Northern Outliers participated in transporting Admiralty obsidian to the Mussau Islands at one time during the second millennium AD.

Overall, these two sets of linguistic evidence suggest that those Polynesian Outliers had a role in the transportation and exchange of Admiralty obsidian in western Oceania for some period in prehistory. This model is strengthened by other lines of evidence discussed below.

Significance of Obsidian Blades

We can suggest some characteristics of the role of obsidian artefacts in those Outliers. In the Admiralties, a chief's obsidian-tipped spears were property, along with land and canoes, that was passed down as patrilineal heirlooms (Parkinson [1907] 2010: 307; cf. Fullagar and Torrence 1991: 140). In the areas of peripheral circulation of the obsidian discussed here, the rareness, visual aspect and transportation costs of obsidian artefacts seem to have significantly increased their social value as prestige goods.

In the case of the Kapingamarangi obsidian point, as the use-wear analysis (Kononenko 2012) suggests, it did not have a practical function but more likely a social and symbolic one. The Nukuoroan and Takū legends discussed above relate to their mythical origins. Related to this, the latter legend attributes magical power to the obsidian object. The chiefly possession of the Nukuoroan blade and its associated legend suggest that it worked as the chiefly family's valuable and heirloom. The ones excavated from the most important stone tomb in Nan Madol and the Kapingamarangi example served

as burial goods. The former ones' association with other shell valuables, which are exclusively found in status and ritual contexts, suggests their social significance. They were probably treated as an exotic tribute to Saudeleur rulers, who used them to promote their chiefly authority in a similar way to the associated shell valuables.

POST-SETTLEMENT INTERREGIONAL INTERACTIONS

Polynesian Outliers as Mediators

As we have seen above, Polynesian Outliers, especially the Northern Outliers, may have had a role in transporting Admiralty obsidian in western Oceania during the first half of the second millennium AD. Intoh (1999) discusses archaeological (*Terebra*/*Mitra* shell adzes and pearl-shell trolling lure shanks) and ethnographic (backstrap looms and kite fishing) evidence of post-settlement contact between Micronesia and Melanesia. There had been a voyaging corridor between the two regions through the Northern Outliers for a long period. As soon as those atolls became inhabitable after 2000 BP (Dickinson 2009: 7), this route came into use and possibly facilitated eastern and central Micronesian colonisation. From then, this corridor was used for a long term throughout prehistory, which created the distribution of shared cultural traits mentioned above. Except for kite fishing and lesser-known pearl-shell trolling lure shanks, other traits (e.g., backstrap looms (Nagaoka 2004), *Terebra*/*Mitra* shell adzes, beaked *Tridacna* shell adzes (Craib n.d.), pulaka-like forms for *Cyrtosperma* taro (Kikusawa 2010: 84–88)) have characteristic widespread distributions in Micronesia and narrow distributions in Melanesia, suggesting the prevailing direction of diffusion from the former to the latter, in which skilful central Carolinian seafarers had an important role in the transmission.

To understand the Caroline islanders' interaction sphere during the first half of the second millennium AD, a valuable source is an historical account by four Ifalik islanders who drifted from their home island in the central Carolines to the Moluccas in 1664 (Lévesque 1993: 249–53). They could list island names for nearly the entire Carolines between Tobi and Kosrae, including Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi and some islands in the Marshalls and Kiribati (Fig. 7). Further, their geographical knowledge of the south extends from northeastern Indonesia to the Bismarck Archipelago along the northern New Guinea coast, enumerating unidentifiable islands, Pigiluil, Liselei, Luol, Gugotal, Tagaiofisir, Lurra, Faluerser and Namolosit. Intriguingly these island names recorded in Spanish show some correspondences with those in Woleaian (Krämer 1937: 274) and Mortlockese (Namoluk-Lukunor) (Krämer 1935: 106) lists of the southern islands documented in 1910, suggesting that this is shared knowledge among the central Caroline islanders (Table 3), although it is difficult to

identify them—except for two possibilities, Pigiluil as Pelleluhu in the Ninigo Group (Jacobs 1980: 406) and Faluelnudja/Nudja as Nusa on the northern tip of New Ireland (Krämer 1937: 274)—due to the use of old island names and language barriers between the Carolinians and Melanesians/foreign transcribers. This corresponds with contemporary central Carolinian navigators' knowledge, which includes sea-lanes of Sonsorol–Manus, Philippines–New Guinea and Kosrae–Solomons (Ali Haleyalur, pers. comm., 6 April 2022).

Table 3. Lists of the southern islands from the west to the east by Ifalikese, Woleaian and Mortlockese. Names in bold show sound correspondences among them and underlined ones indicate possible correspondences.

Ifalikese	Woleaian*	Mortlockese
Pigiluil		
Liselei	**Faluelidjel**	
	Faluelnugaraurau	Fanuane
	Faluelnumau	**Numul**
		Fanuan
	Faluelnudja	**Nudja**
	Faluelnuteten	Fanua Nuram
Luol	**Faluelluiol**	**Nuol**
Gugotal	Faluelnauporoi	Urur
Tagaiofisir	Faluelikelau	Leu
Lurra		Fituwai
Faluerser	Falueliep	Mokinpeito
	Jevesi	
Namolosit	**Namofizi**	
Tapeipei		
Moiao		

**Faliuwe-* (*falu* in this German orthography) in Woleaian names is the possessive classifier for islands (Sohn and Tawerilmang 1976: 64).

It is remarkable that the older Ifalikese list includes Polynesian Outliers in Melanesia, which are not found in the two other more recent lists nor in contemporary Carolinians' knowledge, suggesting the contraction of the Caroline islanders' interaction sphere in the latter half of the second millennium AD:

> East of them, 4 or 5 days away is Tapeipei and further east is Moiao, circular; Laguria [Nukuria] Tangun [Takū], and north of it Lugumanes [Nukumanu], Peilau[9] [Ontong Java], a big island, and 4 leagues away Segeial [Sikaiana].
>
> The latter six islands are often visited by Piguilapese [Ifalik people]. All six use the same language. They know about deep-sea fishing with a line. They make boats with very large trees and cover them with deck as the white people do. …
>
> East of Segecial [*sic*] [Sikaiana] at 16 or 20 days of sailing is Tugupia [Tikopia], whose king is named Fatia.[10] It is like Pigilap [Ifalik], big, somewhat elongated; it is a volcano, a lagoon and its own language. Three days further east is Lupali [Nupani], with an active volcano. Its natives are cannibals. Northwest of it is Pigirran[11] [Kapingamarangi]. In sight of the latter lies Tolufuri, big, with a volcano: they are cannibals. Within sight is Ytarao [Tarawa], bigger; they eat human flesh as on the two previous islands. (Lévesque 1993: 251–52)

Those six islands, whose people used the same language, are North Central Outliers, including five identifiable islands (Nukuria, Takū, Nukumanu, Ontong Java and Sikaiana), and one unidentifiable island, possibly the Carterets (Kilinailau), an atoll known to have been previously inhabited by Polynesians in this area according to oral traditions (Spriggs 1997: 198). Their account that they frequented those islands corresponds with a recent DNA study's interpretation of distinctive mitochondrial sequences from Ontong Java as a Micronesian introduction (Gentz 2005: 462). Further, their geographical knowledge extended to two Polynesian islands, Tikopia and Nupani, in the Santa Cruz group. This account clearly illustrates the communication network among the Caroline Islands, Northern Outliers and North Central Outliers, which contributed to the transmission of cultural traits between Micronesia and Melanesia discussed above.

In Micronesia, such prehistoric interactions are probably supported by the existence of masks called *tapuanu* on Satawan Atoll in the Mortlocks, which are common in Melanesia but not in Micronesia, and are thought to be derived from Melanesia (Feldman 1986: 29). Possible direct archaeological evidence is one quartz crystal found at a level tentatively dated between AD 500 and AD 1100 on an islet at Nan Madol (Athens 1990: 30), whose closest possible source is New Guinea. An exotic sherd collected on the

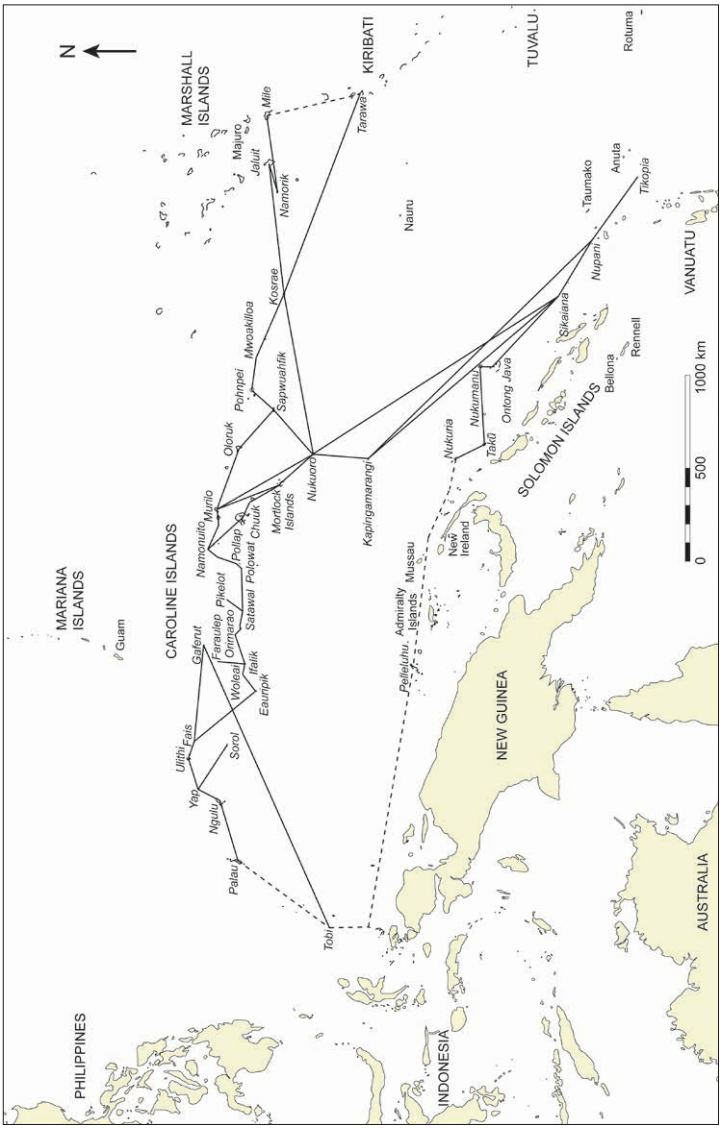

Figure 7. Islands known by Ifalik islanders in 1664. Names in italics indicate those that are identifiable or possibly identifiable. The lines and dotted lines indicate routes between identifiable islands and routes including unidentifiable islands in between, respectively.

surface on Kapingamarangi is also thought to be of Melanesian origin (Leach and Ward 1981: 75, 134–37). In Melanesia, as one can anticipate from geographical proximity, there are many pieces of evidence for post-settlement cultural contacts with the Carolines found predominantly in the Bismarck Archipelago and its vicinity. The use of grog-temper (adding crushed sherds or fired clay to unfired clay as a temper) in Type X pottery of the northwestern New Guinea coast is proposed to be the product of contacts with Palau about 1,000 years ago (Specht *et al*. 2006). The late appearance (ca. 500 BC–AD 1500) of *Trochus* shell arm rings and dorsal margin *Tridacna* shell adzes in the Mussau sequence is thought to be an indication of contacts with Micronesia (Kirch *et al*. 1991: 154, 160). The isolated distribution of kava (*Piper methysticum*) in Lou and Buluan in the Admiralty Islands is also thought to be a result of this line of interaction with Pohnpei based on linguistic comparison (Crowley 1994: 95; see also Ambrose 1991: 468 for a similar conclusion based on the use of a slab mortar for pounding kava; cf. Lebot 1991: 197; Lebot *et al*. 1992: 55–56; Lynch 2002: 511). Linguistic studies argue that pulaka-like forms for *Cyrtosperma* taro spread from the Carolines to the Bismarcks (Geraghty 2004: 88; Kikusawa 2003: 43–46). Similarly, the Pacific rat (*Rattus exulans*) was possibly introduced to Tench in the northern Bismarcks from Micronesia (Matisoo-Smith *et al*. 2009: 471). Loom weaving was brought to Mussau Islands (Mussau, Emira and Tench) directly by the central Carolinians, rather than through the Northern Outliers, based on the distribution of Carolinian traits (Nagaoka 2004). Similarity of hourglass drum names between eastern Micronesia and Wuvulu and Kaniet in the western part of the Bismarcks as well as the nearby New Guinea coast (Fischer 1983: 57) is notable. Contact with the Carolines is shown in the distribution of the shark noose around New Ireland (Anell 1955: 52, map 5, facing p. 56). Long-term Micronesian influence is manifested in material culture (e.g., shark-tooth inlaid clubs, turtle-bone cleavers), subsistence patterns and physical appearance of the people of Wuvulu and Aua (so-called "Micronesian Outliers") in the west of the Admiralties (Chowning 1977: 102n5; Hambruch 1908; von Luschan 1895).

Among impetuses from the Micronesian side, we propose here that the interregional interactions were activated by Polynesian Outliers in the first half of the second millennium AD when settlements are archaeologically known to have existed on some Outliers, such as Nukuoro (Davidson 1971, 1992), Kapingamarangi (Leach and Ward 1981), Taumako (Leach and Davidson 2008), Tikopia (Kirch and Yen 1982) and Anuta (Kirch 1982). The Polynesian Outliers' names recorded in 1664 (see above) suggest those islands had been inhabited by Polynesians by that time. This movement was probably related to a larger Polynesian expansion into eastern Polynesia after AD 1000 (Mulrooney *et al*. 2011; Sear *et al*. 2020; Wilmshurst *et al*. 2011),

which is archaeologically manifested by long-distance movements of lithic artefacts in Polynesia and beyond (e.g., Allen and Johnson 1997: 129–30; Best *et al*. 1992: 69; Clark *et al.* 2014; Cochrane and Rieth 2016: 4–6; Sheppard *et al*. 1997: 105; Weisler 2002; Weisler *et al*. 2016). The Polynesian Outliers' role is supported by several archaeological (*Terebra*/*Mitra* shell adzes and beaked *Tridacna* shell adzes (Craib n.d.)) and ethnographic traits (backstrap looms (Nagaoka 2004)), which are narrowly distributed in Micronesia, the Northern and North Central Outliers and the northeastern fringe of Melanesia. Although not all of them are dated, two archaeological phenomena in the two regions, the almost simultaneous appearance of *Terebra*/*Mitra* shell adzes (ca. AD 1000–1200 (Intoh 1999: 413–14)) and the prevalence of beaked *Tridacna* shell adzes (ca. AD 1200–1400 (Craib n.d.)), are dated within this time range.

A phenomenon that may relate to the Polynesian Outliers' role as mediators is the transportation of obsidian artefacts and kava in western Oceania. The distribution of kava in this region, particularly Pohnpei and Kosrae in eastern Micronesia and Lou and Baluan in the Admiralty Islands, intriguingly overlaps to some extent with that of Admiralty obsidian artefacts. Two linguistic models of kava's diffusion routes have been proposed. Crowley (1994: 95) argues that kava was taken from Sāmoa to Kosrae/Pohnpei and then to the Admiralties from there. In contrast, Lynch (2002: 510–11) discusses a possibility that kava-bearing Polynesian settlers of Micronesian and Melanesian Outliers took kava (presumably from their homeland) to Pohnpei and Kosrae as well as the Admiralties. We do not fully agree with his proposal that those settlers took kava from their homeland due to their probable homeland being on atolls in Tuvalu (Kirch 2017: 161; Marck 2000; cf. Hudjashov *et al*. 2018; Wilson 2021), where kava does not grow well. However, his suggestion of the Polynesian Outliers' involvement in the transmission of kava seems to be plausible.

By combining archaeological data on the Admiralty obsidian network discussed above with the linguistic models on kava transfer, we can speculate that kava was taken from Pohnpei to the Admiralties as the Saudeleur elite's requital for exotic tributes (obsidian artefacts), as kava was associated with status and rituals in Pohnpei. This seems to explain the reason that kava is narrowly distributed within the Admiralties, only on two small islands, Lou, the prevailing obsidian source in the region in the last two millennia (Fredericksen 1997: 382–83) and the source of the Kapingamarangi point, and its neighbouring island, Baluan (cf. Lynch 2002: 511). In addition, as Lynch (2002: 510–11) proposes for the transmission of kava, Polynesian Outlier people probably transported both obsidian artefacts and kava between the two regions rather than through down-the-line exchange. It is reasonable to assume the direct transportation of kava, as only atolls exist between the two.

Northern and North Central Outliers could have acquired Admiralty obsidian in the following ways: (i) directly from the sources, (ii) through the Admiralty obsidian exchange network, extending to the Mussau Islands, northern New Ireland and its offshore islands as far as Buka (Summerhayes 2009: 118–19), whose inhabitants had contacts with neighbouring North Central Outliers (e.g., Cath-Garling 2017: 48–50), or (iii) through the Polynesian Outlier network. We need to wait for future investigations in the region, especially on the North Central Outliers, but the relative abundance of obsidian artefacts on Takū documented in the late nineteenth century (Parkinson 1986: 10) and ease of voyaging to the source through the island chain suggests Takū (and possibly neighbouring Polynesian Outlier Nukuria) mediated obsidian exchange from the Admiralties through the above exchange network along the northeastern fringe of the Bismarcks up to Buka for some period during the second millennium AD. However, partly due to the limited number of archaeological investigations on the islands relevant to this study, the known amount of Admiralty obsidian transported to Micronesia beyond its original circulation sphere around the Bismarcks is very small. This may indicate that this channel was a minor one operated through sporadic contacts for a relatively short period, probably a few hundred years.

The Saudeleur Dynasty's Influence

We also propose here that the Saudeleur dynasty of Pohnpei (ca. AD 1000–1500 (Ayres 1990: 202)), which was based at its politico-religious centre, Nan Madol, may have been influential in the interactions in the western Pacific during its height in the first half of the second millennium AD, although we need further evidence on the degree of the Saudeleur's control over long-distance interactions. In addition to Melanesia, several lines of archaeological, linguistic and ethnological evidence also show Pohnpei's prehistoric interaction with western Polynesians, although there is also evidence of Micronesian influence in Polynesia (e.g., breadfruit and *Cyrtosperma* taro names (Geraghty 2004: 87–89), canoe technology (Anderson 2000), commensal animals' DNA (Addison and Matisoo-Smith 2010)). For example, the development of monumental stone structures and hierarchical societies in the early second millennium AD, which occurred only on Pohnpei and Kosrae in Micronesia, may have been influenced by western Polynesia (Kirch 2017: 178). A large basalt adze of Samoan Type I/III adze form discovered in Nan Madol was possibly imported from western Polynesia (Ayres and Mauricio 1987: 28–29). Rehg (n.d.; see also Geraghty 1994: 244–45) also identifies more than 30 possible loans in the Pohnpeian language from western Polynesia, especially Sāmoa, which is parallel with Hage *et al.*'s (1996: 339) observation on striking similarities between

Pohnpei and Sāmoa in terms of a kava ritual, a chief's language and a chiefly diarchy. Linguistic studies (Crowley 1994: 95; Rehg n.d.) argue for kava's introduction from Sāmoa to Kosrae/Pohnpei. The Pohnpeian word *merei* 'place where people or spirits gather to sing, dance, wrestle, play and carry out reed throwing game' (Nagaoka n.d.) was also borrowed from western Polynesian *mala'e* 'public meeting place, with strong religious connotations' (Green 1993: 9). Those phenomena are the product of a long-term history in the past two millennia. However, since a few datable ones (i.e., the Samoan type stone adze found at Nan Madol, possible appearance of kava stones) are of the Saudeleur period, many others are probably also of this period, presumably Pohnpei's most influential time in western Pacific prehistory. As Geraghty (1994: 244–55) argues, based on linguistic evidence, for possible Polynesian expeditions to Pohnpei for procuring red feathers, we need to consider Polynesian impetuses, possibly Samoan early and Tongan (maritime chiefdom) later (after AD 1200 (Clark *et al*. 2014)), in this interregional interaction during the first half of the second millennium AD.

The Saudeleur elites may have been influential in the interactions with other islands. Obsidian artefacts found at Nan Madol, especially in the most important royal tomb, possibly suggest their involvement in the transportation. A similar example is some pearl-shell trolling lure shanks found at Nan Madol (Hambruch 1936: 51, fig. 34), which were valuables found in high-status tombs (pp. 51–52) and were evidently brought from the Marshall Islands due to their morphological similarities (see below). Polynesian borrowings, such as terms related to kava, a chiefly title, a god, stone structures, public space and high language (Geraghty 1994: 243–45; Rehg n.d.), also suggest their status and ritual contexts, which are parallel with the transportation of kava and obsidian artefacts on the Melanesian side. The significance of rare stone artefacts in Pohnpei, including stone adzes and obsidian artefacts, as argued by Ayres and Mauricio (1987: 30), is that "[t]he rarity of stone adzes and other shaped stone tools on Pohnpei, their occurrence in special areas (tomb crypts and at Nan Madol), and their large size suggests that they were curated and used in special status contexts". Pohnpeian legends of the Saudeleur period describe foreign tributes, such as a *derepeiso* feather and a *mahlipwur* shell of a legendary sea creature, which were procured overseas during punishment trips ordered by the Saudeleur rulers; the latter has been kept by a particular matrilineal clan as their heirloom (Bernart 1977: 38–41, 41–43). Hunt and Graves (1990: 111) discuss how "exchange may play an integral part in the differential access of some individuals to critical resources, thus promoting hierarchical sociopolitical relations". The obsidian artefacts were possibly transported via the Polynesian Outliers directly to the Saudeleur rulers as exotic tributes or religious offerings to their deities (see below) based on a reciprocal

relationship between Pohnpei and the Admiralties. The Pohnpeians needed such agents, as their canoes probably became ineffectual in oceangoing voyages earlier. The Polynesians' motivation may have been associated with the Saudeleur's prowess in the region, although they rather worked independently based on their different interests due to cultural differences and a language barrier with Pohnpeians. The political influence of the Saudeleur polity beyond the island is shown by the spread of Pohnpeian chiefly titles in neighbouring Pohnpeic-speaking islands—Pingelap (Damas 1983), Mwoakilloa (Weckler 1949: 44) and Sapwuahfik (Poyer 1993: 42)—which possibly legitimated local chiefs' authority.[12]

Related to political power, the ideological factor had an important role in the *sawei* exchange of the Yapese "empire" over small atolls, in which atoll dwellers brought not only tributes to Yapese chiefs but also religious offerings to powerful Yapese spirits every two to three years to avoid the spirits' threat of epidemics, storms and famines over the low atolls (Lessa 1950). Similarly, the so-called "Kachaw ('sky world') cult", which spread from Pohnpei over eastern Micronesia between Chuuk and the Marshalls (Goodenough 1986), seems to be deeply related to the rise of the Saudeleur polity. Petersen (2006: 89) proposes that hybrid breadfruit varieties, developed during the so-called "breadfruit revolution" on Pohnpei and Kosrae during the first millennium AD, diffused into the region in association with matriclans widely named 'Under the Breadfruit Tree' (Marck 2009), who contributed to the transmission of the Kachaw ideology. Regarding the spread of this ideology, Goodenough (1986: 562) notes that "instead of thinking of high islands as having empires, we can think of them as centers of influence, their influence being spread by the atoll dwellers who came to them to trade and to seek refuge". Its religious influence is manifested in basalt stones transported to coral atolls, which were used as the material symbol of supernatural power. Such examples probably transported from Pohnpei are basalt stones at a religious site on neighbouring And (also known as Ahnd and Ant) Atoll (Ayres and Haun 1980: 116–22) and the "stone god" of a basalt block on Sapwuahfik Atoll (Goodenough 1986: 561).[13] This seems to be related to a semantic addition, 'basaltic rock, basalt peak' of the Chuukic reflexes, to Proto-Micronesian **kacawa* 'open space between' (Bender *et al*. 2003: 31), from which Kachaw-related words were derived, as this ideology diffused to the Chuukic-speaking area in the west. In return, from neighbouring atolls to Pohnpei, prestigious shell valuables or their material shells, such as lure shanks made of pearl-shell and extremely large shell adzes made of giant clams (*Tridacna gigas*), which were exclusively found on royal tombs at Nan Madol, could have been brought as tribute due to their lack or scarcity on Pohnpei (Anell 1955: 154; Heslinga *et al*. 1984: 197–98). We need further

investigations of the possibility of tribute exchange between Pohnpei and its neighbouring islands, but the Marshallese-type lure shanks (e.g., Krämer and Nevermann 1938: 117, fig. 14) found at Nan Madol (Hambruch 1936: 51, fig. 34) and Lelu, the megalithic politico-religious centre on Kosrae,[14] which are said to be traded from the Marshalls (Sarfert 1919: 102, 215–16), are examples of prehistoric interaction between volcanic islands and their neighbouring atolls.

CONCLUSION

Our study of the Kapingamarangi point and other Admiralty obsidian artefacts provides us with a deeper understanding of the prehistoric island interactions in the western Pacific during the first half of the second millennium AD, which has not been fully taken into consideration in relevant studies in the past. This interregional interaction contributed to the transmission of cultural traits between the two regions and potentially had a significant role in regional cultural history. Further, we argue that this was deeply related to two phenomena in the region, Northern and North Central Polynesian Outlier colonisation and the rise of the Saudeleur dynasty. It is possible to hypothesise that the Polynesian intrusion into the southwestern Pacific, which was related to the major Polynesian migration into eastern Polynesia, activated island interaction in Micronesia and Melanesia. We propose that Pohnpei also had political and ideological influence over eastern Micronesia and functioned as a focal point for island interactions in the wider region, expanding both into northern Melanesia and western Polynesia. Prehistoric interactions manifested in the transferred Admiralty obsidian artefacts were potentially politically motivated at a high level on the individual islands, as those obsidian artefacts worked as prestige goods in a peripheral area outside the Admiralty obsidian exchange sphere. We need further studies not only to examine the possible influence of climate change (e.g., Allen 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Kumar *et al*. 2006; Masse *et al*. 2006) in this wider regional movement but also to fully understand how those two phenomena were interrelated, as a possibility of a Polynesian impact on sociopolitical development in Pohnpei is suggested (Kirch 2017: 178).[15]

Archaeological (e.g., Intoh 1999), linguistic (e.g., Kikusawa 2010: 84–88; Smythe 1970: 1221–28) and genetic evidence (e.g., Friedlaender *et al*. 2005: 711; Matisoo-Smith *et al*. 2009: 471) for post-settlement interregional interactions between Micronesia and Melanesia has been discussed. Although we need further research to understand the impact of this dynamic period in the regional culture history, this study provides a useful interpretive framework for such studies concerning past human movements in the region.

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NOTES

1. We use the term *point* to refer to this artefact solely based on its morphology, following previous studies (Ambrose 1991; Fredericksen 1994; Kennedy 1997), although it does not imply its function as a spear/dagger point.
2. Its local name was recorded as *giwa* by Jeschke (2013: 231, fig. 11, 238n11) but is *giva* according to the current orthography (Carroll and Soulik 1973) based on the cognate set discussed below.
3. In the Nukuoro language *baba* means "level (not bumpy); (any sort of) flat base (esp. the board on which mats are plaited); the consolidated reef under water or sand; the back of a human; the shell of a turtle, crab, etc.; to be ready" (Carroll and Soulik 1973).
4. In this article, I adopt Moir's (1989) terminology for the Polynesian Outliers subgrouping based on their geographical locations, the Northern Outliers (Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi) and the North Central Outliers (Nukuria, Takū, Nukumanu, Luangiua (Ontong Java) and Sikaiana), which correspond with proposed linguistic subgroupings (Pawley 1967; Wilson 2021), showing some degrees of historical relationship.
5. A Polynesian linguist, Ross Clark (pers. comm., 3 December 2008), failed to find anything like this word in either the Nukuoro/Kapingamarangi dictionaries (Carroll and Soulik 1973; Lieber and Dikepa 1974) from the 1970s or Elbert's (1946, 1948) 1940s materials.
6. This is based on *păláṅĕ*/*păláṅă* according to Nevermann ([1934] 2013: 96) (the dot above "n" symbol is consistently used for the velar nasal in the German South

Sea Expedition volumes) and *atu palapalanga* (*atu* means 'stone') according to contemporary informants (Jillian Kapty and Nedley Laban, pers. comm., 7 March 2022).

7. Tent and Geraghty (2001) claim that Mwoakilloa *pahrang* was derived from Malay *barang* 'goods', which was borrowed in Tonga during Dutch explorer Abel Tasman's visit in 1643. However, it seems more plausible that some of the loanwords in Micronesia were directly borrowed from Malay *parang* 'cleaver, machete; to chop' or its loanwords in Island Southeast Asia (Blust and Trussel 2020) through their occasional visits there and spread in the region, as Tent and Geraghty (2001: 198) also consider possible. For example, Palauans may have obtained glass money beads from Island Southeast Asia in the first millennium AD (Napolitano *et al*. 2022: 2). The only possible exception is Kapingamarangi *baalangi*, which was likely borrowed from Polynesian *palagi*, given the meaning and final vowel, possibly through Polynesian sailors in European vessels (Paul Geraghty, pers. comm., 8 November 2022).
8. Northern Outliers' close relationship with the Mussau Islands is also evidently shown by the borrowings of loom part terms from the former languages to the latter (Nagaoka 2004).
9. Peilau is added here based on the Spanish text (Lévesque 1993: 241).
10. He is possibly Fakaarofatia, the first chief of the Fangarere clan, as he was the only survivor from the massacre of the Nga Ravenga clan, which took place around the seventeenth century based on genealogical evidence (Firth 1961: 132–34; Kirch and Yen 1982: 367).
11. This name is phonologically similar to the central Carolinian names for Kapingamarangi (e.g., Pikiram in Satawalese (Sauchomal *et al*. 2018: 183)).
12. However, we should note that the titles documented ethnohistorically in these atolls are of a relatively new group of titles with the prefix *nahn-*, which were hypothetically developed after the fall of the Saudeleur polity (Riesenberg 1968: 43). It is possible to assume that Pohnpei continued to have had influence over the neighbouring atolls during the following Nahnmwarki period (ca. AD 1500– (Ayres 1990: 189)) in some degree, although active interactions were not documented in the late prehistoric/early historic period.
13. A similar case is two stone pillars, the personification of two female founders, at the origin places of chiefly clans on Namu and Aur Atolls in the Marshall Islands (Pollack 1977: 93–96; Tobin 2002: 54–55), which are said to have originated from the west, possibly neighbouring high volcanic islands (such as Pohnpei or Kosrae).
14. The current data suggests that the influence of Kosrae, which also developed a highly stratified society, seems to have been limited in the region, as concluded by Goodenough (1986: 561–62), although we need further research to validate this.
15. Intriguingly, in addition to other Polynesian loans in the Pohnpeian language, the Pohnpeian ruler's title, Saudeleur, which literally means 'ruler of Deleur' (a region surrounding Nan Madol), includes a Polynesian loanword, Proto-Polynesian **sau* 'ruler, rule' (Rehg n.d.). A recently discovered irrigation system near Nan Madol (Comer *et al*. 2019), which seems to have been the main agricultural base for the Saudeleur dynasty, was possibly developed by Polynesian influence, as its kind is known to be old there (e.g., the middle of the first millennium AD on Futuna (Kirch and Lepofsky 1993: 187)).

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PROMOTING PACIFIC INDIGENOUS RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES AND PEDAGOGY WITHIN POSTGRADUATE HEALTH RESEARCH COURSE DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT: Models of health currently provide physical and biological understandings of how human beings behave in terms of, and succumb to, illness or disease. Well-documented Pacific health models have extended such definitions to include holistic considerations such as spirituality, culture and social wellbeing. Within health research, similar shifts have occurred that signal a move away from traditional approaches, e.g., positivist or interpretivist descriptive designs, to approaches that are centred in Pacific worldviews and paradigms. This paper presents the experiences and perspectives of Pacific researchers in the health sector and the impact of these experiences on the delivery of a Pacific health research and design course in a tertiary institution in Aotearoa New Zealand. The paper provides a Pacific-centred health research lens through the discussion of research practices and methods undertaken in health research and the challenges and opportunities for growth. The experiences also highlight opportunities for curriculum development within health faculties in tertiary institutions that move away from traditional Eurocentric models of health to Indigenous Pacific-centric paradigms. The paper provides insight into the challenging spaces that such a move entails and its impact on the delivery of health research education and posits the researcher's positionality as the catalyst for a shift in approach. The paper focuses on the pedagogical approaches used by Pacific health lecturers and researchers within course development and delivery.

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These include Talanoa ‘Pacific oral communication’, veiwekani ‘relationship’ and faikava ‘kava circles’ cultural practices within the vā ‘learning space’.

Keywords: Pacific research, Pacific health, Pacific paradigm, Pacific teaching pedagogy

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Reframing Pacific health research is critical in addressing health inequities amongst Pacific populations (Ministry of Health and Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2017). Such shifts require an understanding of Pacific epistemologies, ontologies and worldviews and their application to health research. Within the health sector various health models have been developed that provide broader understandings of Pacific wellbeing. Fuimaono Pulotu-Endemann’s (2001) Fonofale model captures broader holistic definitions of health that align with Pacific notions of wellbeing and move away from biomedical definitions. Akin to Mason Durie’s Te Whare Tapa Whā model of health (Durie 1994), Pulotu-Endemann posits cultural and spiritual dimensions of wellbeing as integral to overall health. Additionally models of health have emerged that describe cultural traditions, values and belief systems significant in health service delivery and responding to the needs of Pacific peoples. These include the Fonua (Tu‘itahi 2007), Te Vaka Atafaga (Kupa 2009), Uloa (Vaka 2016) and Kakala (Thaman 1993) models.

Within health research, a focus on evidence-based approaches has stemmed from positivist reductionist methods that quantify and measure causes and outcomes (Comte 1856; Fadhel 2002). Questions regarding how these approaches address or respond to the challenges within Pacific health research highlight gaps in our understanding of how Pacific research methods and methodologies are applied in health (Mila-Schaaf 2009). The flourishing body of literature advocating for the decolonisation of research methodologies has led to developments in health research whereby Pacific worldviews and paradigms are prioritised. For example, Talanoa ‘oral communication’ has been increasingly used as a foundational method and methodology in much of the emerging Pacific health research (Cammock *et al.* 2021; Schleser and Firestone 2018; Vaioleti 2006; Vaka *et al.* 2016).

Within the tertiary education sector, the training of future health researchers to understand, apply and competently undertake Pacific health research using Pacific paradigms and frameworks is growing (Finau *et al.* 2000; Tualaulelei and McFall-McCaffery 2019). Given this, the reality for many health students who wish to gain Pacific research skills within higher education is that courses have limited content, depth and scope around Pacific health and Pacific health research framings and methods. The development of courses focussed on Pacific research methods and design is therefore

crucial in ensuring that Pacific research is conducted appropriately and that necessary skills are nurtured among those interested in working with Pacific communities (Sanga 2012).

This paper discusses the development of PUBH810 Pacific Health Research and Design, a postgraduate research methods course at Auckland University of Technology | Te Wānanga Aronui o Tāmaki Makau Rau (AUT) in Aotearoa New Zealand. The paper begins with a discussion on the Pacific learner and the opportunities available to them for success in higher education. The paper sets out the AUT experience and strategic goals that guided the development of PUBH810, outlining key areas where future curriculum developments can be made within Pacific health research courses.

RATIONALE FOR COURSE DEVELOPMENT

According to the 2018 census, the proportion of Pacific peoples with post-secondary qualifications in Aotearoa New Zealand was 18 percent compared with 34 percent for the total population (Statistics New Zealand 2020), highlighting the inequities and challenges that exist for Pacific learners (Fa'aea and Fonua 2022; Teevale and Teu 2018). Key factors such as high attrition and low retention are critical to address given that the proportion of Pacific learners is projected to increase significantly over the next 20 years (Ministry of Education 2022a). Attaining higher education qualifications improves social mobility including through better job opportunities, increased incomes and higher living standards (Attewell *et al.* 2007). To address the Pacific disparity in higher education, the Action Plan for Pacific Education 2020–2030 (Ministry of Education 2022a) provides a holistic and culturally responsive approach to improving educational outcomes and opportunities for the diverse Pacific communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. In line with this action plan, AUT has been on a journey to develop "great graduates" by taking a holistic approach to student success that is "relational, mutually sustaining and mana ['identity']-enhancing" (AUT 2022). Increasing the visibility of Pacific staff, knowledge and pedagogy is a significant factor in AUT's response to Pacific disparities in education. Alongside these efforts, strategies to ensure that students and families (including prospective students) feel safe and welcomed are being driven at all levels (AUT 2022). This strategic and collective approach supports the development of a Pacific-centred research design university course for a number of reasons, such as to increase the visibility of Pacific scholars at AUT, elevate Indigenous knowledge and methodologies, increase Pacific capability and grow Pacific research capacity.

In recent times, there has been an increased drive from the New Zealand government to grow Pacific research capacities (Marsters and Hopwood 2022; Ministry of Health and Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment

2017). In collaboration with external experts to AUT in the education and health sectors, the PUBH810 course was considered AUT's opportunity to respond to the call and contribute to this growth. As mentioned above, the course aimed to build research capability and grow capacity for Pacific research within the community and within the university. A key outcome of the course was to provide students with a sense of belonging within the AUT community. Further, we wanted to ensure students enter the workforce appropriately equipped to engage with Pacific communities in a culturally safe way, thereby informing better outcomes for the people they serve.

At the time of developing the PUBH810 course, the Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences was not offering any postgraduate Pacific health or Pacific research course that students could undertake. The introduction of PUBH810 offered postgraduate students a foundational understanding of Pacific research methods and their underpinning worldviews to better inform their research designs and improve their practice when working with Pacific communities.

STRATEGY FOR COURSE DEVELOPMENT

The PUBH810 Pacific Health Research and Design course was developed with key strategic goals in mind. These included the need to i) forefront the positionality of the teaching team, providing a basis for understanding and connectivity around key Pacific values and research practices; ii) integrate theoretical understandings of Pacific health research framing; iii) focus on the impact of Pacific research on Pacific health outcomes and equity; and iv) implement Pacific teaching practices to facilitate understanding and the delivery of content (see Fig. 1). These strategic goals provided the basis

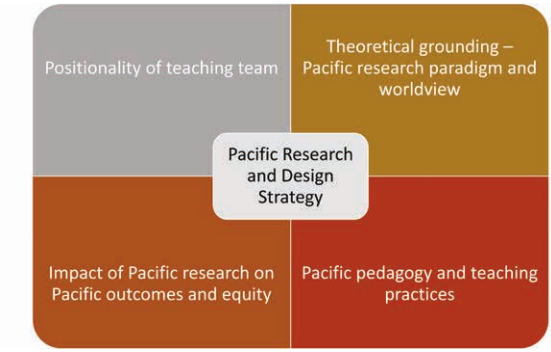

Figure 1. Strategy for development of the PUBH810 Pacific Health Research and Design course.

upon which key content deliverables were designed and offered within the course. It is important to note that the current strategic goals reflected areas within the health sector that as a team we felt were integral to addressing research gaps. These align with current health research priorities in the sector which address Pacific health and inequity (Ministry of Health and Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2017). According to the New Zealand Health Strategy (2017–2027) (Ministry of Health and Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2017), investments in research that focusses on equity among Pacific groups, training of a strong research workforce and strengthening relationships and networks between researchers and the community are needed. These efforts work to ensure that effective research impact is attained, clear capacity-building activities are supported and overall health is improved.

Positionality of the Teaching Team

The development of PUBH810 centred the expertise and experiences of Pacific researchers within the Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences at AUT. As people of the Pacific, with history and genealogical ties to the Moana 'ocean', it would be remiss of us not to acknowledge our ancestry, as it is via our ancestral ties that our knowledge systems, beliefs and worldviews are passed on. Underhill-Sem (2020) and Ka'ili (2017) argue that the process of positioning oneself in relation to ancestors and extended families across a range of generations is part of forming a collective positioning. In addition, Hau'ofa (2008) articulates the importance of connecting throughout Oceania by drawing on what we have in common, but also drawing inspiration from our differences. It is through this process of positioning, he argues, that we are able to expand our thinking, our being, and build something new for all. Therefore, here we attempt to connect with you, the reader, in a manner that reflects who we are and what we bring collectively to this space of Pacific health, Pacific education and Pacific research. These Pacific academics formed the teaching team and through their positionality contributed to the pedagogical praxis and development of the course.

Radilaite Cammock

I am from the village of Vutia in the Rewa Province, Fiji. My village sits at the mouth of the Rewa Delta and is known for its boat rides and seafood. My mother is from the village of Nasolo in Ba Province on the western side of Viti Levu. As an iTaukei (Indigenous Fijian) woman I grew up with a real sense of family, responsibility, respect and being true to who I am. Throughout my academic and research journey, most of my choices have been influenced by my family, my community and the realities of many people in my position—an iTuakei woman born and raised in Fiji but

now living in Aotearoa New Zealand. The shifting sociocultural contexts have added to the complexity of how I have approached or experienced academia and in particular research. As an Indigenous person and a migrant to Aotearoa, both realities have influenced my research approaches and teaching practices. Given my upbringing I have found grounding my practice in iTaukei values of vakarokoroko 'respect', veitokoni 'reciprocity' and veiqaravi 'service' to be beneficial. These principles have created a value system that has provided much benefit when interacting with students and research participants. These values have influenced the way in which I have conceptualised research framings and paradigms within health, enabling a more Pacific-centred focus in philosophical discussions. This is reflected in our focus on Pacific research framings within the PUBH810 course.

Juliet Boon-Nanai

Being Samoan and a faletua 'wife of a matai ['chief']' and trying to balance the role of mother of six children and grandmother of three poses conflicting cultural struggles—especially after uprooting my family from the islands and migrating to Aotearoa New Zealand. I have found it challenging to navigate two worlds through my childhood and adult years. My children have also been challenged. For them, succeeding in their learning has meant that they have had to lose some of their Samoan language competencies so that they can speak, write, read and comprehend in the fa'apālagi 'English way'.

As a young graduate of the New Zealand tertiary system, I became aware of the challenges of leaving my Samoan culture and being confronted at university to:

think like a pālagi 'white person',
critique like a pālagi,
analyse like a pālagi, and most importantly
write like a pālagi.

That is what I thought I had to do to succeed and obtain a degree in New Zealand. In fact, during my first year at university, I quickly learned that to succeed I had to write from a western perspective, getting an A for a geography assignment, the second I had ever written. My world of study was very Eurocentric and reflected someone trained to use a western notion of scientific inquiry. I used this template for writing and seldom used my cultural lens: I was westernised.

Now, being a Pacific equity academic leader at AUT I am fortunate to be guided by other Pasifika and Māori scholars who have paved the way for me and my children to feel comfortable to think like Samoans, speak like Samoans, write like Samoans and integrate blended learning that meets our needs and knowledge bases. Scholars like Thaman (1993), Smith (1999),

Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2002), Vaioleti (2006) and Manu‘atu and Kēpa (2006) have published methodologies to decolonise western research framings and co-create knowledge that has epistemological groundings in either the anga fakatonga ‘Tongan way’, fa‘a Sāmoa ‘Samoan way’, Solomon Island way or iTaukei way of knowing. Therefore, in contributing to this course, I feel as those Pasifika academics before me, driven by a duty of care to instil our measina ‘cultural treasures’ and traditions for generations to come and contribute to the perseverance of our knowledge within western institutions. Therefore, providing courses like PUBH810 is our responsibility as kaitiaki ‘custodians’ and knowledge holders in ensuring that our ways of knowing and being, along with our values, practices and beliefs, are equally validated epistemological truths, ontological positionings and axiological paradigms that have a rightful place in universities and tertiary institutions. These perspectives feed into our delivery of the research framings and philosophical discussions within the PUBH810 course and help us centre our positionality when supporting students to understand theirs.

Jean M. Uasike Allen

> Ko hoku kāinga tukufakaholo ‘i he tafa‘aki ‘eku tamaí mei Kolovai mo Makaunga ‘o Tongatapú. Ko e kāinga ‘eku fa‘eé mei Pilitānia na‘a nau hiki mai ‘o nofo ‘i Taranaki, ‘i Nu‘usilá. Ko hoku husepānití ko e to‘utangata ‘uluaki ia ‘o e fāmili mei Pilitānia na‘a nau hiki mai ki Nu‘usilá ni ‘i he 1970. Koe‘uhí ko aú mei he kāinga na‘a nau fetukutuku mai ko e nofo fonua ‘i Aotearoa ‘o Nu‘usilá, ‘oku ou laukau‘aki ai hoku tupu‘angá mo tu‘u fakataha mo e faka‘apa‘apa‘i ‘a e tangata whenua ‘i he fonuá ni.
>
> I descend from the villages of Kolovai and Makaunga, on the island of Tongatapu, Tonga, on my father’s side of the family. On my mother’s side I descend from a family of English settlers who made their home in the Taranaki region of Aotearoa New Zealand. My husband is a first-generation New Zealand–born Englishman whose family arrived in Aotearoa in the 1970s. As a descendant of settlers and immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand, I acknowledge my visitor status and stand in respectful solidarity with tangata whenua ‘people of the land’.

Through this introduction I am positioning myself within my kāinga ‘family’ and my ancestors. However, within Indigenous worldviews people are in relationship with and to not just each other but also places, objects and moments in time (Māhina 2010; Smith 1999). Therefore, the places and contexts of space become important in positioning myself as a Tongan/Pālangi within Aotearoa New Zealand, a land to which I am not Indigenous. Therefore, my connection to Pacific research is always within the context of the whenua ‘land’ of Aotearoa and Māori, the Indigenous custodians of the land.

I have always had heart and passion for my predominantly Pacific and migrant community of South Auckland. This passion has led to me working with members of my community to carry out research in the field of education. My work primarily focuses on challenging and disrupting colonial norms, stereotypes and representation within the fields of health education and education more broadly. While my work resides within education, it provides a contribution to Pacific health research through embracing Pacific ontologies, epistemologies and axiologies as a means of working with Pacific people to strengthen our communities and wellbeing.

Sierra Keung

Ko Maungaroa te maunga — Ko Te Kuri te maunga
Ko Marokopa te awa — Ko Waipaoa te awa
Ko Ngāti Maniapoto te iwi — Ko Rongowhakaata te iwi
Ko Ngāti Te Kanawa te hapū — Ko Ngāti Maru te hapū

Ko Sierra Keung tōku ingoa

The above pepehā 'introduction' acknowledges those sacred connections to the tribal lands and the surrounding environment within those tribal boundaries that inform my identity as Māori. I began with my father's side where my whakapapa 'genealogy' connects me to the land, maunga 'mountain', awa 'river' and surrounding environment, and iwi 'tribal group' (hapū meaning 'subtribe') located on the western border of the Waikato region of Aotearoa. On my mother's side I whakapapa 'trace ancestral connections' to the land, surrounding environment and tribal group located in the Gisborne region of Aotearoa. I would be considered an urban Māori, having been raised away from the tribal lands, surrounding environment and whānau 'kin' (both the living and those who have passed on). I was born in the United States of America and raised in Tāmaki Makaurau, Auckland, the largest city in Aotearoa and known as the largest Pasifika city in the world (Ioane and Tudor 2017) because of the city's high concentration of Pasifika people (Auckland Council Research and Evaluation Unit 2020).

My higher education journey took me to the USA before returning home to Aotearoa to complete my doctor of philosophy. Had it not been for my doctoral journey, I would not have been confronted by the necessity to decolonise my thinking and learn to privilege and reclaim my whakapapa and mātauranga 'Māori knowledge'. Since completing my doctoral studies, I have come to learn that I also whakapapa back to Sāmoa, a connection that I am still exploring. This gives context to why I had been (and continue to be) intentional about locating my voice within research using a collective Kaupapa Māori and Pasifika approach because of the greater Oceania kinship connection that binds Pasifika to Māori through Te Moana-nui-a-

Kiwa (Health Research Council of New Zealand 2014). Hence, I am in the game of building capability and growing capacity within our Māori and Pacific community through and within sport. My research was born out of the desire to create space for Indigenous thought leadership to better shape the support Māori and Pacific athletes, their whānau and their community need to thrive, regardless of the "field" they play on. My ability to teach and provide quality learning experiences is dependent on the strength of the relationships I build with my students. The strength of these relationships is incumbent on the learning environment that I cultivate. Hence, by bringing my whole self to the classroom (i.e., my culture, values, knowledge and imperfections), I invite my students to do the same. Knowing who I am, where I come from and who I represent shapes my relational approach to teaching and empowering our students.

Dion Enari

I descend from Samoan bloodlines through Vaiala, Nofoali'i, Malaela, Lepā and Safune. I am an Aotearoa New Zealand–born Samoan who then migrated to Australia. Having been born in Aotearoa New Zealand, raised in Australia and knowing I had Samoan blood in my veins, I knew very well who I was, a son of the Pacific. All the collective help I have received from my fellow Pacific brothers and sisters has helped me in my research journey. Alofa atu. I acknowledge my insider status in Pacific research (Nakata 2015), and my position as a Samoan where I balance roles including son, uncle, matai, mentor and researcher.

As a Pacific researcher, I know the enormity of my responsibility to ensure that my research is appropriate and representative of my people (Enari, 2021; Enari & Fa'aea, 2020). During my PhD studies, there was added pressure to ensure I did not talk around, about or over my community. I had to be careful in choosing my research methodology to ensure it encouraged the authentic voice of my community to be at the centre of my work. I always have to do research that harnesses the ways of being and knowing of my people.

A lot of my research was birthed from a concern my community had, particularly in terms of research that was done by non-Pacific people which painted our people negatively and often operated within deficit models (Enari & Taula, 2022; Enari & Viliamu Jameson 2021). The more Pacific researchers and teachers we have in the field, the better able we will be to formulate health initiatives done by our people and for our people. These notions are echoed in the PUBH810 course through Pacific research theorising, relationship building and mentorship.

Sione Vaka

My father, Malakai, is from Neiafu, Vava'u, and Lofanga, Ha'apai, and my mother, 'Asilika Tu'ifua, is from Lapaha, Tongatapu. I am the eldest of three children and we grew up in the village of Longolongo in Tongatapu.

I attended primary school and high school in Tonga and started my male nursing profession in Tonga in 1993 with two other men. My first time leaving Tonga was in 1994, to continue my nursing training in New Zealand. I have been working in different areas of mental health including cultural services, early interventions, crisis, liaison psychiatry, acute inpatients and the community. I am involved in education and research to ensure that we include Pacific worldviews when working with Pacific people in health. My work is largely focused on Pacific constructions of health and how health providers should integrate Pacific worldviews and practices into their models of care.

I am currently working at Auckland University of Technology and researching Pacific worldviews and practices in mental health. My grandparents have always inspired me on how to live life with whatever resources we have available. They always said to me to always remember who I am and where I come from, and that has always influenced my work. I now live in Tāmaki Makaurau with my wife, Olakaʻaina, and my son, Maʻafu Tuʻi Lau, who always remind me that it is our responsibility to learn our culture and pass it onto the next generation.

THEORETICAL GROUNDING: A PACIFIC RESEARCH PARADIGM AND WORLDVIEW

A research paradigm is defined as a "set of common beliefs and agreements shared between scientists about how problems should be understood and addressed" (Kuhn 1970: 43). A worldview is defined as "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba 1990: 17). Creswell further adds: "I see worldviews as a general orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher holds. These worldviews are shaped by the discipline area of the student, the beliefs of advisers and faculty in a student's area, and past research experiences" (Creswell 2008: 6).

Such definitions value the use of beliefs and shared understanding between individuals, researchers and communities, which resonate with Pacific notions of communality, elevating the significance of Pacific beliefs and values for research processes. These discussions are supported by the work of Pacific scholars who argue for the decolonisation of research processes (Coxon and Samu 2010; Gegeo 2001; Smith 1999; Thaman 2003). Regardless of the ethnic viewpoint in the Pacific, e.g., whether issues are discussed within a Samoan or Fijian lens, shared values of holism, community, reciprocity and relationships remain constant.

The impact of such an inclusion ensures that the methodologies, methods, tools and procedures used in Pacific research are aligned, which ensures that Pacific worldviews, values and belief systems are at the forefront when making decisions about research methodologies, methods and procedures.

Kivunja and Kuyini (2017) explain that paradigms are useful as they are the "conceptual lens through which the researcher examines the methodological aspects of their research project to determine the research methods that will be used and how the data will be analysed" (p. 26).

Figure 2 illustrates the alignment of research paradigms and the decision-making processes needed for methodologies and methods and provides an example using a Fijian worldview as the starting research paradigm (see discussion below).

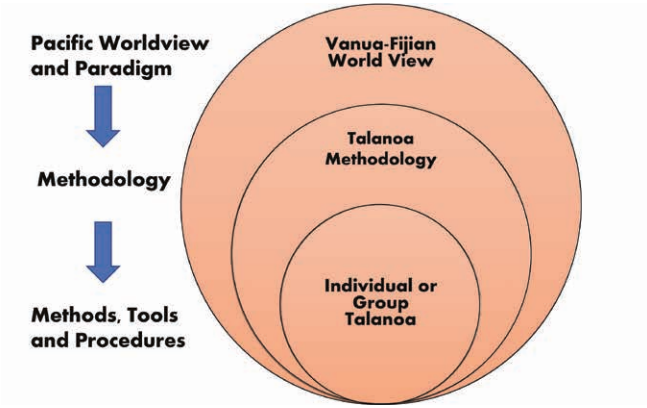

Figure 2. Alignment of Pacific worldview and paradigm with research methodologies and methods.

The nature and the construction of knowledge (epistemology), the reality and context for which that knowledge exists (ontology) (Goertz and Mahoney 2012) and the ethics and values involved with issues and phenomena (axiology) inform the types of methodologies and methods chosen to address research questions and objectives (Kivunja and Kuyini 2017). Therefore, the Indigenous and Pacific knowledges that dictate reality and the role of Pacific values and ethics are key in determining research methodologies and methods within Pacific health research (Tualaulelei and McFall-McCaffery 2019). The rising number of studies using Pacific research approaches advocate for the need to address cultural associations and contexts when carrying out and interpreting research in Pacific communities (Cammock *et al.* 2021; Mila-Schaaf 2009; Siefken *et al.* 2015; Vaka *et al.* 2016).

In Figure 2 we provide an ethnic-specific example of how Talanoa methodologies might be used within a Fijian context. We posit the need to ground Talanoa within an Indigenous Fijian or iTaukei worldview by

outlining values of the vanua (Nabobo-Baba 2006; Ravuvu 1983; Tuwere 2002). Nabobo-Baba (2006) defines vanua as "a people, their chief, their defined territory, their waterways or fishing grounds, their environment, their spirituality, their history, their epistemology and culture" (p. 155). Values such as veiwekani 'relationship' extend to practices of relationship building between researchers and participants during recruitment and data collection and through interpretations of the research findings. Other values like vakarokoroko and veitokoni or vedolei 'reciprocity' also apply to research processes and procedures (Cammock *et al*. 2021).

Similarly, within Tongan contexts, the use of Sione Tu'itahi's Fonua model is a result of the need to ground research methodologies within constructs of Tongan worldviews (Tu'itahi 2007). Based on Tongan perceptions of mental distress, Vaka's Uloa model proposes Tongan cultural practices around a metaphor of communal fishing to guide practitioners in their treatment of mental health amongst Tongan people (Vaka 2016; Vaka *et al.* 2016).

For pan-Pacific research, values and beliefs systems that might be shared amongst Pacific groups, e.g., alofa or loloma 'love' [Samoan/Fijian], are posited as the basis for theoretical discussion within Pacific paradigms and worldviews. For example, the Fonofale model, developed through consultation with various Pacific groups, provides a multiethnic exploration of health (Pulotu-Endemann 2001). The model was presented using the Samoan fāle 'house' as a metaphor for Pacific wellbeing, demonstrating how values shared across various Pacific groups could be represented through single Pacific ethnicities.

Grounding Pacific research designs in Pacific paradigms and worldviews in this way does poses some challenges within the health sector. Tualaulelei and McFall-McCaffery (2019) surmised that Pacific research approaches "need firm theoretical foundations to align with their stated purposes and goals" (p. 196), which makes efforts to move away from biomedical Eurocentric research positions within health research difficult. This is evident in the challenges and debates around the types of methods or methodologies that are best suited within research designs, e.g., whether Talanoa is a method or a methodology (Tunufa'i 2016). We argue that given the appropriate Pacific grounding whereupon discussions of worldviews, values and ethics are considered, such decisions will be based on the contextual realities and the feasibility of research methods and methodologies within those contexts. Other challenges include debates between pan-Pacific and ethnicity-specific impacts and the generalisability of research findings, and the validation of Pacific-born or NZ-born realities (Tunufa'i 2016). Reconciling these differences is an integral part of ensuring research projects are targeted effectively and are culturally responsive. Within the PUBH810 course these discussions formed the basis upon which research topics and subsequent research designs were developed.

IMPACT OF PACIFIC RESEARCH ON PACIFIC OUTCOMES AND EQUITY

A focus on equity within the health sector signalled the need to address research priorities and consequently the use of Pacific research designs (Ministry of Health and Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2017). The inequitable health outcomes that indicate unfavourable access and availability of health services lead to inequitable outcomes across many indicators of health (Ministry of Health 2011). Therefore, it is not good enough to carry out research projects without clear pathways indicating how they will positively affect Pacific communities and address outcomes. Outcome-, process- or goal-orientated evaluation models (Milgrom and Tut 2009; Siefken *et al.* 2015) provide some insight into how research impact is considered within research projects. A broader perspective on impact takes into consideration the many layers and complexities around individuals, communities and populations that are affected by research. The Health Research Council of New Zealand (2020) defines research impact as

> [t]he direct and indirect influence of excellent research on individuals, communities or society as a whole, including improvements to health and equity, and other social, economic, cultural or environmental benefits … Research impact is generated or enhanced by communication, relationships and actions that connect academic research to fields, people or organisations beyond academia. (p. 3)

The exploration of how such definitions apply to Pacific research became a key focus in the delivery of PUBH810. Key areas to consider within Pacific research included the individuals and communities that the research encompasses and having a deep understanding of the cultural realities faced by Pacific individuals and communities (Health Research Council of New Zealand 2014). Having this understanding establishes the basis from veiwekani can be fostered for planning, recruitment, data collection and dissemination discussions.

Stakeholder Representation

Freeman defines stakeholders as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the firm's objectives" (Freeman 1984: 16). Ní Chróinín *et al.* (2020) view stakeholders as "an individual, group or organisation with a specific interest or stake with the potential to influence aims, decisions, and actions within a given context" (p. 323, citing Bryson 2004). Within Pacific research, groups or individuals predominantly refer to Pacific peoples, their communities and the organisations that work to support their progress and wellbeing. Research shows that involving community stakeholders in health teaching and training at tertiary institutions provides

greater opportunities for applied learning as well as ensures universities are accountable and operate within corporate social responsibility models (Jongbloed *et al.* 2008; Koch *et al.* 2022). Ní Chróinín *et al*. (2020) argue that the incorporation of stakeholders within tertiary teaching provides a "richer set of perspectives" (p. 334) where new ideas can be cultivated and needs and interests represented. Other research in the health and medical sector indicates that improvements in students' ability to identify health problems and approach community groups were due to working with community stakeholders (Hoat and Wright 2008).

Designing the PUBH810 course included an exploration of the various layers for which research was needed within health and the breadth and depth of research topics. The course provided lectures and resources around local and individual impact as well as national and regional relevance. A key strategy we undertook involved providing real-life authentic perspectives from various layers of society on which the research might have an impact. A specific example was the incorporation of key stakeholders in the sector that occupied key spaces for health service delivery and community understanding. This became a focus in the course where we invited various providers from diverse backgrounds to share their work and the impact that research has had on their practice with Pacific communities. These included representatives from government agencies, national health bodies and local community providers.

Their input in the course provided students with first-hand accounts of how research informs their practice and the gaps that exist where further research is needed. Students were able to interact and ask questions about certain aspects of the industry and how practitioners responded to challenges experienced by Pacific communities. They were also able to seek advice from practitioners who were familiar with the research journey and were also able to share their expertise around working with Pacific communities through research.

PACIFIC PEDAGOGY AND TEACHING PRACTICES

According to the Ministry of Education's *Tapasā: Cultural Competencies Framework for Teachers of Pacific Learners* (2018), delivering success for Pacific learners encompasses the need to treat Pacific young people as lifelong learners who are diverse with varying cultures, languages and experiences. At the tertiary level, raising the achievement levels of Pacific learners has been identified as a key priority in New Zealand's Tertiary Education Strategy (Ministry of Education 2022b). Success for Pacific learners also means that they are confident in their culture's languages and experiences, foster collaborative and respectful relationships and professional behaviours and have available to them effective pedagogies (Chu *et al.* 2013; Ministry of Education 2018). Within the PUBH810 course,

Pacific students made up about 70 percent of the student body. We aimed to create a space where Pacific students and those interested in being involved with Pacific communities feel empowered, connected and supported on their academic journey, as well as to increase their competency and capabilities around undertaking research among Pacific communities.

Our pedagogical journey through the development of the course became heavily reliant on both established and emerging Pacific teaching practices we experienced or encountered as researchers and teachers within tertiary institutions. The Ministry of Education's (2018) best-practice strategies for Pacific learners sets out a culturally responsive pedagogy, which we discuss in the sections below. Within our course, this was delivered through the practice of Talanoa within the vā 'learning space', through building relationship (veiwekani) and through cultural practices like faikava 'kava circles' (see Fig. 3). The following sections will discuss these areas.

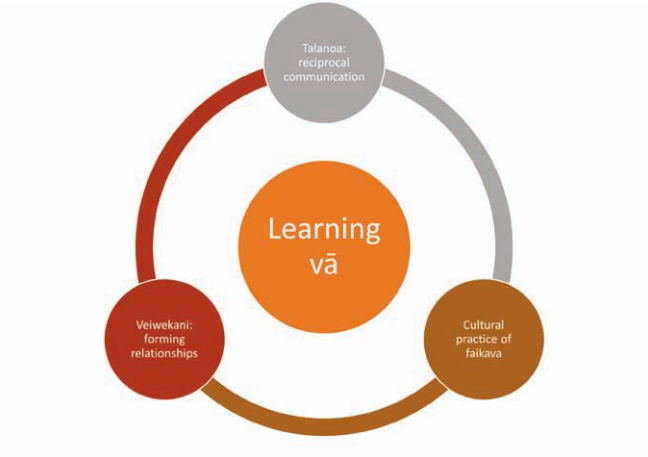

Figure 3. Pacific teaching pedagogy within PUBH810.

Talanoa Within the Vā Learning Space

Within Pacific literature, vā (Samoan) or wā (Hawaiian) is considered the relational space where knowledge and understanding are shared and negotiated. Matapo (2020) explains:

> The vā, as a relational sphere when applied to the teaching and learning environment, becomes a conduit for story creation, storytelling and story reimagining. In education, the power of story connects teaching and learning, content to context, being to knowing, genealogy to history, politics to power and the human to non-human life.

Both Matapo (2020) and Anae (2016) posit the vā within the classroom to be conducive to Pacific experiences of knowledge creation and connection to Pacific cultural systems and practice. Within this space, opportunities for Talanoa are integral in raising different viewpoints and asking questions. Talanoa as a culturally appropriate form of communication has been used widely in the Pacific (Cammock *et al.* 2021; Schleser and Firestone 2018). In Tongan tala means 'to talk/story/tell/inform' while noa refers to 'nothing'. Tongan academic Vaioleti (2006) posits noa as meaning "nothing in particular or ordinary", denoting casual conversation. Although noa can mean a space or channel that might be "empty", a deeper meaning of noa denotes an absence of expectation or rigidity in conversation. Halapua (2002) refers to noa as a process where individuals are being free and open. When applied to the vā, noa takes on significance because of the individuals involved in the Talanoa practice. Fa'avae and colleagues argued:

> When considering vā as a living spirit or entity, the 'noa' space is therefore not empty. Instead, if vā already exists in the noa space and takes form as people occupy the shared space, the kinds of talking/storying/telling/informing are dependent on who people are, their kin connections, religious ideals, and race, including gender constructions. Talanoa, therefore, is framed based on the relational constructions of connections and the 'noa' space is one of real potential. (Fa'avae *et al*. 2022: 1079)

Opportunities for Talanoa occurred within the learning vā during the PUBH810 course which involved sharing personal or work experiences, raising questions and gaining insight from individuals. Our positionality as researchers and teachers was discussed in the Talanoa, encouraging students to also share and express their struggles, triumphs and conclusions about how they feel they contribute to their own academic and professional journeys. The value of recognising our positionality as teachers, explained in the earlier sections of this article, was critical in ensuring connection within the learning vā and provided links to concepts and experiences. These efforts led to the opening up of spaces within teaching days to have Talanoa with students about various Pacific worldviews, health issues, topics and research designs. Within PUBH810 each student was encouraged to pursue a research topic that they were passionate about, initiating student discussions of their passions and any potential areas where they could make contributions through research. The Talanoa occurring in these learning spaces were free and open with students responding to one another's experiences. As teachers, our role was both as participants and facilitators.

Building Relationship or Veiwekani Within the Vā Learning Space

Regardless of the pedagogical viewpoint presented, in the classroom the teacher–student dynamic is important to consider (Chu *et al.* 2013). For Pacific pedagogies, a key value associated with Pacific cultural systems and practice is veiwekani 'relationship' in the Fijian language (Nabobo-Baba 2006). Among Pacific students and staff, establishing a relationship within the learning vā is essential for constructive Talanoa and success (Boon-Nanai, Manuel, *et al.* 2022; Boon-Nanai, Ponton, *et al.* 2017). According to the Ministry of Education guidelines on Pasifika academic achievement:

> [T]here is the dimension of a strong emotional relationship which, together with the instructional attributes, has elements of being both rigorous and challenging as well as being respectful and empathetic. The former includes high expectations and the latter a Pasifika sense for the students of education being service-oriented and, from the teacher, positive affect expressed with devices such as Pasifika-oriented humour. (Amituanai-Toloa *et al.* 2010: viii–ix)

Pasifika-orientated humour is connected to positive relationship outcomes within the classroom (Manu'atu 2000). Humour "is a Pacific norm" (Boon-Nanai, Manuel, *et al*. 2022) and it brings a sense of ease and warmth—an atmosphere described by Manu'atu (2000) as "mālie" and "māfana", one where students are relaxed and able to join in with others as they laugh and joke with one another. In this way, humour is used as a tool to connect with students on a level of comfort where both the students and the teacher agree about the topics being discussed. For teachers and students, laughing together cuts through any power imbalances that might be present (Nesi 2012). Within Pacific notions of veiwekani, humour is often the way a teacher might open the discussion, removing barriers in the learning vā, starting the process of making connections in the classroom.

Operating with an attitude of veiwekani acknowledges students' wider support network and the need to establish a system of connection where students feel supported and safe. This is reflected in research that places aiga 'family' as a key factor in student success (Wilson *et al*. 2011). The establishment of veiwekani among students and staff extends the vā to experiences and contexts that are shared among individuals within the learning vā. These connections are cumulative and add to a sense of belonging for students. They extend to the recentring of Pacific epistemologies as a dominant approach in tertiary institutions.

Veiwekani, within the learning vā, leads to both informal and formal activity in learning institutions. Informal activity applies to study or social groups within tertiary institutions. These groups support students' wellbeing and academic success. Within our course, because of the veiwekani

encouraged in the classroom, students were able to establish connections with one another outside the classroom. Formal activity such as mentoring could also be established because of veiwekani carried out during the course. Because of the relationships built, students and staff establish supervision arrangements for those interested in furthering their studies by doing a master's or PhD.

Faikava Within the Learning Vā

Faikava is an emerging methodology used for research within Pacific communities (Fehoko 2015; Fehoko *et al*. 2021). Kava or yaqona is a cultural drink made from the root of the *Piper methysticum* plant (Aporosa and Forde 2019). It is important to note that although kava is considered a relaxant, it is not necessarily taken for its cognitive properties but rather its social and cultural benefits (Aporosa *et al.* 2022). Drinking kava traditionally involves adherence to cultural protocols around the tanoa or kumete 'traditional wooden kava bowl'. Various Pacific scholars document the use of yaqona or kava as embodying Pacific value systems (Aporosa and Fa'avae 2021; Nabobo-Baba 2010). Processes of vakarokoroko, veiqaravi and vaka turaga 'Fijian customs and practices' are integral in carrying out ceremonial practices around the kava bowl (Nabobo-Baba 2010). Traditionally, the use of kava established the space or vā for ceremonial processes. Outside traditional settings the vā created by kava circles and kava drinking have encouraged Talanoa among those involved (Aporosa and Fa'avae 2021).

Within the faikava circle, individuals are presented with kava from the same tanoa, instigating a feeling of communality and shared spaces. The configuration of kava circles further symbolises continuous connectivity and unity; that is, no one is different, and everyone has a place. Within the learning vā, this is an integral tool in ensuring that relationships are formed and that students feel comfortable and are encouraged to ask questions, raise issues and debate ideas. Using faikava circles in this way is a practical exercise that students can participate in. This drives home the values of vakarokoroko, communality and veiwekani. The process of Talanoa begins to flow as such values facilitate notions of sharing and reciprocity. Using faikava in tertiary spaces has been carried out at other universities in New Zealand. Fehoko *et al.* (2021) share:

> The adaptation to use faikava as a forum for exchanging ideas and debates has … been taking place in several tertiary institutions in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland). Moana students of Māori, Sāmoan, Tongan, Papuan and Fijian descent gather to share their stories and even vent frustrations based on their experiences at university. The practice of faikava in tertiary institutions signifies the importance of epistemological particularity and Indigenous

> divergence, despite being in western colonial institutions. … The use of kava on university campuses and among university students demonstrates an intersection of dominant educational institutions in Aotearoa. (p. 4)

Fehoko (2015) further characterises faikava circles in tertiary institutions as "cultural classrooms" where Pacific identity is reinforced and Pacific wellbeing and issues are discussed with cultural contexts in mind. Within the PUBH810 course, faikava Talanoa sessions were held as opportunities to discuss student experiences throughout the course and raise questions about assessments or other academic concerns. During each session several members of the teaching team were present to contribute to discussions. Members of the community were also welcomed to join in the sessions and provide other points of view about certain issues or topics raised. As a consequence, within our faikava sessions, students were exposed to a range of Pacific academics, community members and students. Such input encouraged students to think about various perspectives and encouraged collective understandings around issues. It was also a chance for staff and students to interact informally, aiding in the practice of veiwekani.

Although challenges such as lack of understanding or familiarity with the kava practice has the potential to discourage students from joining in on the exercise, forming a relationship with students and ensuring that collective understanding was fostered was beneficial. We had students who had never seen or drunk kava before and who felt very positive about the experience after taking part. These students went on to encourage other peers to join in. We had students relishing the opportunity to get to know their peers and staff better. Our Pacific students were particularly enthusiastic about learning about cultural and village connections between their colleagues and staff. These opportunities further presented both students and staff the opportunity to not only gain more understanding of each other but also establish their positionality within the course.

CONCLUSION

The development of the PUBH810 course outlined in this paper sets forth a strategy that supports the growth of Pacific health research and design curriculum development in higher education. The strategy advocates for the privileging of Pacific knowledge systems and worldviews and the need for a more Pacific-centric focus when making decisions about Pacific health research. Although there are efforts currently to integrate Pacific paradigms and approaches within tertiary teaching, these often run the risk of being superficial and misleading of Pacific cultural systems and realities. Furthermore, academic institutions need to take the lead in challenging

tertiary institutions into changing processes and systems to meet the needs of Pacific students and staff. Within the PUBH810 Pacific Health Research and Design course, 70 per cent of the student body identified as Pacific. The high number of Pacific students within the course signalled the attractiveness and recognition Pacific research courses enjoy within tertiary institutions and especially amongst Pacific learners. Outside of these opportunities, Pacific learners are constrained by learning environments that are not Pacific friendly and do not provide Indigenous Pacific perspectives around research framing and teaching. Therefore, there is a need to continue investing in Pacific staff who create and maintain relationships and mentorship for Pacific students, strengthening the vā between students and staff and the vā between academic institutions and Pacific communities.

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REVIEWS

TAPSELL, Paul: *Kāinga: People, Land, Belonging*. Wellington: BWB Texts, 2021. 160 pp., afterword, bio, notes. NZ$14.99/4.99 (softcover/e-book).

POUNAMU JADE WILLIAM EMERY AIKMAN
Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Wairere, Ngāti Apakura, Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Tarāwhai, Te Arawa, Ngāti Uenukukōpako
Harvard University

With elegant prose, and inflected with ancestrally ordained urgency, Paul Tapsell's *Kāinga: People, Land, Belonging* (2021) is a tour de force of reckoning: how, as Indigenous peoples, do we reconcile an epoch of colonially fuelled ecological collapse? Told through his own experiences as an uri (descendant)[1] of the dynasties of Te Arawa and Tainui, Tapsell confronts this deeply troubling, existentially pressing concern throughout the pages of *Kāinga*. As global environmental destruction consistently lays bare the fractured foundations of a world built on consumption in excess, Tapsell recounts a compelling narrative of loss, injustice and resource (mis)management, in New Zealand's settler colonial context. As a microcosm of the world's unrepentant acceleration toward climate disaster, he asks the critical question, "[W]ill humanity still be part of Earth's future after her inevitable reset?" (p. 9). What unfolds in *Kāinga* is not so much a response to this query as an impassioned plea to change course before transgressing the event horizon, the proverbial point of no return.

At its heart, *Kāinga* explores the integral relationship between tangata (people) and whenua (place, land, placenta) within the Māori cosmos, and how this fusion remains interrupted by colonisation and extractive, exploitative capitalism. Drawing from the experiences of his upbringing, and indeed the world of his tūpuna (ancestors), Tapsell details how the ancestors of Māori existed in a "genealogically interconnected world of environmental accountability" (p. 7). Here, tangata were nurtured by their local environments, and, in turn, acted as kaitiaki (guardians) over their whenua. The dual meaning encoded in whenua, both as land and placenta—a phenomenon shared across Oceania (Jolly 2007: 515; see Kahn 2000: 10)—amplifies this primordial, necessarily symbiotic relationship between tangata and whenua (Walker 1990: 70; see also Aikman 2015: 76). The common Māori term tangata whenua (people of the land) is thus far more than a demonym for Māori, denoting the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, but an ontologically profound eponym grounded in place and

invoked through obligation and responsibility. In times past, this matrix, this interface between people and place, was materialised through the institution of kāinga (known also as marae, papa-kāinga, or pā): village communities bound together through whakapapa (a universe genealogically ordered through kinship and descent), exercising mana (ancestral authority) over their whenua in maintaining balance—ecologically, socially and politically (Tapsell 2021: 7). Tapsell opens in the introduction (pp. 7–10) by exploring kāinga in this way, before comparing it to the cumulative climate disasters of humankind's creation, which continue to threaten our planetary existence. Across the opening section, "He Tohu" (pp. 11–24), he reflects on his own upbringing, a life framed by kāinga relationships, both to whenua and tangata. Whether on adventures exploring the breadth of his ancestral landscapes of home or listening to stories and epics of aeons past by his elders, we see through Tapsell's eyes a life defined by kāinga, in place as in people.

Central to kāinga was the ritual passage of taonga (ancestral treasures imbued with generational responsibility) at crisis points such as death, of the human or ecological kind. As vessels of ancestral knowledge, reciprocity and obligation, taonga may be ritually performed as brokers of peace or bequeathed to the next generation of kin, as enduring symbols of accountability over the sustainable management of whenua and her resources (pp. 49–50). Thus, so Tapsell distils in formulaic expression, "kāinga = tangata + whenua + taonga" (pp. 51, 49–51). Today, 780 kāinga remain across Aotearoa, the "genealogical embodiment" of this matrix (p. 8). It is this elemental formula of life, shaped by a storehouse of knowledge accumulated over millennia of voyaging across Oceania's expanse (p. 48), that was destructively ruptured through the epoch of colonisation, in Aotearoa and beyond. The usurpation of the principal economic and spiritual base—whenua—in the latter nineteenth century was central to this, and defines Māori existence today inasmuch as it does for Tapsell's Te Arawa kin and recent tūpuna. Once-prosperous kāinga, who had flourished in the early contact period with British and Europeans from the 1830s, were eventually overcome by a colonial tsunami. Through the rapidly increasing settler population and related demands for land (pp. 78–79; see also Petrie 2006); British military aggression in the 1860s, and subsequent indiscriminate confiscation of land; imposition of foreign land tenure systems (Tapsell 2021: 58–86); and sacrifice upon foreign battlefields through two world wars (pp. 16–17), the tripartite ancestral blueprint of kāinga was thrown askew. More on this shortly.

In "Māori: Being Normal" (chapter 2), Tapsell then turns to his departure from kāinga, and from Aotearoa more broadly, to explore the opportunities beckoning across the world's continents (p. 26). Upon his return in the 1980s, he is confronted by tectonic shifts in ecological and political environments.

With biculturalism emerging as a political ideology espousing ostensible racial equality between Māori and Pākehā (New Zealanders of British European descent) (an oxymoron in name and conceptualisation) and his kāinga and whenua facing environmental disasters through pollution and damage to resource bases, home had become an unfamiliar landscape. And so, in "Takarangi: Out of Balance" (chapter 3), Tapsell emphasises the need to maintain balance in local ecological settings, lest kin communities suffer the fallout of environmental catastrophe (pp. 42–57). In this, he explores in depth the concept of mauri (p. 44), an energy system of the universe that must be kept in balance "between Ranginui (space or cosmos) and Papa (mass or Earth)[,] [the outcome of which] is our biosphere, the thin blue-green envelope … called whenua" (p. 44). Maintaining this delicate balance at ecological, social and political levels was the central, hallowed responsibility of kāinga and their associated rangatira (ennobled chieftains) in preserving whenua for generational perpetuity.

In chapters 4, 5 and 6, Tapsell unpacks the impacts of colonisation, assimilation and land alienation for his kin communities (pp. 58–117). With the majority of whenua dispossessed by the twentieth century, kāinga unravelled as spaces of mana and authority, with kin later leaving the comparative poverty of the homelands towards prospects of better living in distant cities (see p. 89), or further afield to Australia. Individualised title to land, a concept incompatible with traditional communal modes of land tenure, wrought singular havoc in fragmenting the already shattered remains of Māori landholdings (pp. 109–17). Although wages brought a measure of wealth to urban kin, as well as intermittent remittances to kāinga communities, the typical reliance on industry-based wage labour meant that when times were good, they were great, but when they were bad, "Māori were first to lose their jobs" (p. 92). Here, again, kāinga receded into the margins of social, political and economic life.

Telling the story of colonial history through the lens of kāinga is a core strength of Tapsell's work, exemplifying how histories can be told from an uncompromising Indigenous perspective. But it is his engaging, reflexive tone that will engross both Māori and Pākehā readership alike, for *Kāinga* is not a polemic diatribe intent on ruinous blame. Rather, it traces the journey of encounter between Māori—which, of course, includes Tapsell's Te Arawa ancestors—and the settler state, characterised initially by mutual prosperity, negotiation and innovation, before the settler voice came to dominate the political and economic conversations in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this colonial context, however, he emphasises the inventive and determined responses by kin in rising to the challenges facing kāinga and whenua, and so both tūpuna and uri alike take flight across *Kāinga*'s pages as resolute, agentive beings, fully cognisant of their colonially ensconced realities.

Yet the present-day suffering of Māori—framed as "Māori are failures because of inherent deficiency", and repeated in the closed echo chamber of national airwaves—is unequivocally tied to the original displacement, erasure and destruction of kāinga, both as places to live and as modalities of existence (p. 98). But for the Crown, the severing of tangata from whenua in this manner remains the paragon of colonial success, transplanting an ideology of aggressive, profit-driven exploitation, with no cause for obligation, reciprocity or sustainability (see p. 100). By first detailing the equilibrium Māori (or rather, kāinga) achieved through tangata + whenua + taonga in early chapters of the book, the aggregate loss objectively experienced by Māori from the 1860s, as kāinga vanished into twilight, becomes painfully apparent. This feeling is amplified as Tapsell continues describing the fallout, both physical and epistemic, endured by Māori, where loss of knowledge and memories of place, responsibility and kaitiakitanga (guardianship) were swept aside by the bricks and mortar of colonisation's outward expanse (see p. 86).

Of particular interest for many younger, urban Māori will be how Tapsell unpacks the history and politics of "Iwification" (chapter 7), or the rise of Iwi-with-a-capital-I (large natural grouping of multiple hapū; Indigenous Māori nation), in place of hapū (clans, collections of related kāinga) and kāinga. Historically, iwi were large, temporary groupings of related hapū that only came together to avert crises (p. 122), but their numerical consolidation was a convenient frame for the Crown to both know and engage with "Māori" as a people (p. 123). Iwi, as a frame of reference, only gained prominence in the 1990s, with corporate Iwi entities becoming the "go to" for negotiation and dealing with the Crown, particularly in redressing breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Te Tiriti). This is confounding for Tapsell, because he, like his senior kin, grew up in a hapū- and kāinga-framed world, where "terms like Iwi and Indigenous were still unknown to my elders [in the 1990s]" (p. 123). His is an increasingly unique experience, given the number of Māori with little connection to "home", but is needed to help bridge the widening chasm between disconnected kin and their whenua. Thus, for the myriad of disenfranchised and dislocated urban Māori, Iwi identification is, more and more, a stirring source of pride and an emblem of ancestral belonging.

The rise of Iwi is not in name alone: in the Crown's attempt to remedy its inherent wrongs under Te Tiriti, Post-Settlement Governance Entities (PSGEs) have arisen as legal bodies representing Iwi, under whom settlement benefits are administered and distributed to subscribed Iwi descendant bases. In this, the mana of kāinga has evaporated, "effectively [stripping] tino rangatiratanga—sovereign authority of the rangatira and hapū over their whenua, kāinga, and taonga" (p. 126). Kāinga leadership has become

buried beneath boardroom tables (p. 131), and while this has allowed kin to prosper through opportunities such as education scholarships, it has erased the original ancestral obligation and responsibility tethered within the kāinga equation of tangata + whenua + taonga.

And so we arrive at our crisis point, a state of profound ecological disequilibrium, produced by and through the exaltation of profit and exploitation of land-as-land, not land-as-whenua. The solution, Tapsell insists, lies in reconnecting tangata to whenua, through the resurgence and reempowerment of kāinga, as brokers of sustainable resource management and kin accountability to place. Here, the mana, or local kin responsibility for ecological and social equilibrium, would return from boardroom chambers to local kāinga communities (p. 139). In this, Tapsell echoes the calls for constitutional transformation in Aotearoa, as detailed in the landmark reports *He Whakaaro Here Whakaumu mō Aotearoa: The Report of Matike Mai Aotearoa* (Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation 2018) and *He Puapua: Report of the Working Group on a Plan to Realise the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Charters *et al*. 2019). Such a tectonic shift in New Zealand's constitutional arrangements would embody the original vision rangatira assented to in Te Tiriti, in 1840. This would see Māori governance of things Māori (rangatiratanga), Crown governance of its own affairs (kāwanatanga) and a joint sphere to deliberate upon matters of mutual concern (Charters *et al.* 2019: vi). *Matike Mai*'s observation, resonant with Tapsell's, is here fitting:

> [A] full and final "settling" of colonisation should mean more than a cash payment and even an apology. It requires a transformative shift in thinking to properly establish the constitutional relationship that Te Tiriti intended by restoring the authority that was once exercised through mana and rangatiratanga. (Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation 2018: 29)

This would enshrine the right of hapū to exercise their unqualified, absolute autonomy, sovereignty and self-determination (Tapsell 2021: 140–41), especially in matters of resource management and sustainability. Here, Tapsell explains, the ritual funerary farewell of tangihanga would be "re-elevated", as the transcendent transference of responsibility and accountability, from the deceased to the living, through the instrument of taonga (p. 142). In so doing, "the dead [are released] for their journey to the next world" (p. 142), their earthly obligations now passed on to the next generation of kin. And so, the ancestral architecture of tangata + whenua + taonga would endure, and at last, we would be on equal footing, as our rangatira had envisioned over 180 years ago.

But as compelling as Tapsell's meditations are, are kāinga really ready for such transformation, for such responsibility, given their present impoverished state, and the mass dislocation of tangata from whenua? Does the requisite economic, political and generational will exist, given how restrictive the shackles of colonialism are? Although history inevitably invokes responses of pessimism, the languishing of Māori below the poverty line (see p. 141), the human-induced damage to local and global environments, and the terrifying prospect of nuclear war amidst the uneasy triangle of Russia, NATO and Ukraine (Bokat-Lindell 2022; Falk 2022) beseech us to respond as our tūpuna before us: in radical, innovative and outside-the-box ways. "Perhaps I am dreaming", Tapsell writes, "[b]ut if we don't step outside our current reality and view things from a new perspective, then we will never find solutions" (p. 147). *Kāinga* is outstanding in its substance, prose and invocation. As a text, it will be a welcome read for Māori, young and old, Indigenous students worldwide wanting to learn of Aotearoa's colonial history from a tribal perspective, and Pākehā still coming to terms with their roles and responsibilities upon unceded whenua. Well after putting the book down, Tapsell's entreating plea resonates with ancestral urgency: "Dare we elevate kāinga as a way of achieving regionalised ecological accountability, and in the process can we bring humanity back into balance with the universe?" (p. 10).

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NOTE

1. An exception has been made in this book review for the author to alter the journal regulations on the glossing of non-English words in order to honour the content and spirit of the words. Style guidelines are currently under review at *Waka Kuaka*.

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LEE, Georgia and Paul Horley: *The Rock Art of Rapa Nui*. Rapa Nui: Rapanui Press, 2018. 313 pp., illus., US$25.00 (hardcover).

RAFAŁ WIECZOREK
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Rock art is an important archaeological research area all over the world. No different is the Pacific region, and Polynesia in particular, where rock art is studied in many areas. Of all the Polynesian islands Rapa Nui (Easter Island) possesses the richest and most diverse set of rock art. With *The Rock Art of Rapa Nui*, Georgia Lee and Paul Horley aim to comprehensively document all the rock art present on Rapa Nui.

This book, although published in 2018, has only been generally available since late 2020. Amid covid pandemic restrictions its availability outside Chile, where it was printed, was very limited, but it is now finally reaching more and more researchers. It is the third monograph on the rock art of Rapa Nui, after the pioneering work of Henri Lavachery (1939) and the seminal study of Georgia Lee (1992), the latter having been, until now, the benchmark reference work for anyone interested in Rapanui iconography. From now, however, all publications should be referring to this new work by Lee and Horley.

In its preface, the book states that it is merely a second edition of Georgia Lee's 1992 book *Rock Art of Easter Island: Symbols of Power, Prayers to the Gods*. The actual product, however, delivers much more than this. Although the general outline of the 1992 book has been preserved, with the same

chapters and much of the text remaining untouched, there are substantial differences. First, direct research on Rapa Nui's rock art has continued in the intervening years and new rock art panels have been discovered, and secondary petroglyphs applied to moai 'monolithic human statues' and pukao 'topknot of red scoria on moai' have received much closer attention. Continuing archival research has also revealed previously unknown historical photographs and drawings of Rapanui rock art examples which have since surrendered to the elements. In addition, cheaper and more readily available printing options since the first edition meant that much more of the original material from fieldwork in the 1980s, such as photographs of sites and revised field tracings, were able to be included in the new publication. Also, some text was revised and expanded, especially in discussions of such rich rock art sites as ʻŌrongo and Tongariki, as well as in the very interesting iconographic comparison between rock art motifs and their analogues in the forms of the glyphs in the rongorongo writing system, important in the discussion on the native or non-native origin of the unique phenomenon that is rongorongo.

Multiple figures in the rock art designs have been redrawn, adding previously omitted details. Sometimes isolated designs are put into the wider context of the rock panel to see how different designs from the same site interact. Some designs have been redrawn with the use of photogrammetrically obtained models of the rock panels. The famous large panel of petroglyphs in the ʻAna o Keke cave has been redrawn and expanded to include all the new documentary work published by Steiner (2008).

The book includes 11 chapters, one more than in the 1992 edition, with the addition of a completely new chapter dealing with secondary petroglyphs and rongorongo. The second author, Paul Horley, is a renowned specialist in rongorongo script and is well positioned to delve into the iconographic similarities between Rapanui rock art and rongorongo. Secondary petroglyphs are those applied to already finished monumental architecture like moai, pukao and ahu 'stone ceremonial platform' slabs. Although these were discussed to some extent in previous works, here they are the subject of dedicated study. Other chapters are sometimes greatly expanded. Thus, the original chapter "Rano Kau and Orongo" has been renamed to "Rano Kau, ʻŌrongo and Motu Nui",[1] with Motu Nui sites put in the spotlight and the treatment of the ʻŌrongo boulders greatly expanded. The 1992 edition included 23 drawings of the designs from ʻŌrongo village; this new edition offers 43 drawings, and these are often larger, owing to the new edition's larger format, in its aim of rendering as complete a documentation as possible of all the designs.

The main drawback of this book is that material that is now outdated has largely been left unchanged. The decision to run the project as a second edition of an already published work instead of starting anew no doubt gave

the authors a significant head start, pushing publication forward perhaps even by few years. This might have been the only option possible, as Georgia Lee passed away during final stages of book preparation in 2016. However, this means that large chunks of the text remain exactly as they were written in the 1980s. As such, narratives and assumptions that were popular then, for example, the ecodisaster narrative, but which have since fallen out of favour with subsequent research, continue to feature prominently in the book. The reader should be aware that they will be reading text that is largely outdated in terms of scientific development. This primarily affects the Introduction and other parts of the book focusing on general descriptions of Rapa Nui's history; it does not affect the presentation and interpretation of the rock art. All in all, the publication represents an obvious and tremendous improvement in the state of documentation of the petroglyphs and other rock art encountered on Rapa Nui.

This book is recommended to all Rapa Nui scholars as well as to anyone interested in iconographic representations and motifs of Pacific peoples. Finally, rock art scholars from any geographical region can benefit from studying the work of Lee and Horley. The way rock art is discussed, motifs catalogued and different carving techniques graphically outlined can be used by any researcher preparing to embark on a rock art project.

NOTE

1. The spelling of place names has been updated to conform to the latest work on Rapanui grammar, Kieviet's from 2017.

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

March to December 2022

KLOPESI, Lana: *Bloody Woman: Essays*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021. 200 pp., gloss., notes. NZ$39.99 (softcover).

MACKINTOSH, Lucy: *Shifting Grounds: Deep Histories of Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021. 300 pp., gloss., illus., index, notes. NZ$59.99 (hardcover).

O'MALLEY, Vincent: *Voices from the New Zealand Wars | He Reo Nō Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2021. 420 pp., biblio., illus., index, maps, notes. NZ$49.99 (softcover).

TECUN, Arcia, Lana Lopesi and Anisha Shankar (eds): *Towards a Grammar of Race in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2022. 300 pp., author bios, foreword, notes. NZ$39.99 (softcover).

* The inclusion of a publication in this list neither assumes nor precludes its subsequent review.