



# **Indigenous epistemology, wisdom and tradition; changing and challenging dominant paradigms in Oceania**

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## **Indigenous epistemology, wisdom and tradition; changing and challenging dominant paradigms in Oceania**

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On the small, raised coral island of Niue in the south Pacific, now with a population of less than 1200 due to the disastrous cyclone Heta in January 2004, there are thirty or so memorials, obelisks and plaques commemorating foreign missionaries, Niuean pastors, WWI and WWII veterans and Niue's relationship with New Zealand since 1901. These signify important events in Niue's history. But there are other histories of Niue. The distant and recent past on Niue is contained in gestures, honorifics, modes of gender and age respect, set-piece oratories for conflict resolution, and in words, songs, dance-drama and genealogical and mythological narratives. These essentially Niuean behaviours are shaped by indigenous epistemologies or Niuean ways of thinking, creating and conveying knowledge. They are an understanding of past and present anchored in culture or customary practice.<sup>1</sup>

Changes to the culture, society, politics and economy of Oceanic peoples and the idea of a "fatal impact", still popular in the 1960s when Alan Moorehead's book of the same name was published<sup>2</sup> were set in motion after the three day visit of Ferdinand Magellan to Guam in 1522. Historian Ian Campbell, however, argues that there have been more changes since 1945 than in the 400 years before when change was minimal during the long period of early contact and the following shorter period of colonial rule.<sup>3</sup> How to manage change became a more pressing concern for indigenous leaders after decolonization, beginning with Samoa's independence in 1962 and followed by thirteen other new nations including the latest, Palau in 1994. The next paradigm shift was a Euro-American acknowledgement of the separate, parallel world view and historical consciousness of Oceanic peoples. The anthropologist Marshall Sahlins noted "the heretofore obscure histories of remote islanders deserves a place alongside the self-contemplation of the European past ... suddenly there are all kinds of new things to consider".<sup>4</sup> The historian, Peter Nabokov, noted acknowledgement of indigenous histories was pioneered by non-indigenous scholars, first in Oceania, Africa, Philippines and Latin America before reaching Native American Studies in the United States of America.<sup>5</sup> Nabokov warned "the historical discourses of non-western societies are too important to be left to historians alone"<sup>6</sup> calling by inference for the inclusion of written and oral evidence and the interpretations of both non-indigenous and indigenous historians, anthropologists and storytellers. This was followed by another paradigm shift in Oceania in the 1990s with a call to acknowledge not just island-centered histories, but indigenous epistemologies and the application of traditional wisdom to solving the imported, imposed and globalizing problems that affect Oceania.

Research on locally valued ways of thinking, learning and organising knowledge in Oceania has emerged over the last two decades led by Pacific Island scholars keen to "affirm not only that indigenous epistemologies are

alive and well, but also that they are relevant and useful to the societies and peoples to whom they belong”.<sup>7</sup> This is an affirmation of the long tenure of Oceanic peoples and their continuing to flourish despite Oceania becoming an arena for superpower rivalry and posturing in the colonial and post-colonial era. A Pentacost Islander challenged the extent of foreign presence by claiming, “European custom is like a bird that settled, that has flown to our shores just now, but our custom has been here like a banyan tree since the world broke up. It was here at the start.”<sup>8</sup> In the promotion of indigenous epistemologies there is a strong emphasis on Oceanic agency and its potential application in development policy and practice.

Confronted with pervasive globalisation, the recent writing by David Gegeo, Vilisoni Hereniko, Epeli Hau’ofa, Teresia Teaiwa, Ropate Qalo, Teweiariki Tearero and non-indigenous researchers Karen Watson-Gegeo and Elise Huffer and others, applies indigenous epistemologies to social and economic development. I-Kitibati artist and education lecturer, Teweiariki Teaero argues that “the epic quest for development has been largely characterised by deliberate suppression and pigeon-holing of our own I-Kiribati indigenous philosophies and processes of education”.<sup>9</sup> Teaero and other writers want to combat that continuing Eurocentric hegemony, to assert indigenous wisdom and to acknowledge Oceanic ways of addressing problems, imagining solutions, resolving conflicts and of contemplating future directions. The Maori activist Aroha Mead argued the next wave of colonialism was the misappropriation of indigenous knowledge by non-indigenous researchers despite the existence of national and international agreements.<sup>10</sup> Tongan Professor, Epeli Hau’ofa, argues that “in order for us to gain greater autonomy than we have today and maintain it within the global system we must ... be able to define and construct our pasts and present in our own ways”.<sup>11</sup> The call to promote indigenous knowledge can be traced through a series of international conventions and declarations – the Mataatua Declaration (1992), Kari-Oca declaration (1992), Julayinbul Statement (1993) and the “Our knowledge, our rights; traditional knowledge and Pacific Peoples” conference declaration of 1995<sup>12</sup>. The call to rely on indigenous epistemologies and then apply them to problems is found in fields as diverse as biodiversity, coastal heritage and maritime sustainability, governance and post-colonial literature.

The international Convention of Biological Diversity (1996), for example, recognizes the knowledge of indigenous people is “important to the maintenance, conservation and sustainable use of the earth’s biological diversity” and as Indigenous Australian scholar Henrietta Fourmile notes, local people want and have a right to play an active role in the management of their own biodiversity.<sup>13</sup> Kiribati historian Alaima Talu notes “Pacific Island wisdom and knowledge came from having lived in the environment they found themselves in (60000 to 3000 years ago) so its part of their ... way of life”.<sup>14</sup> The application of useful local advice in biodiversity management also challenges the assumptions of the colonial world which are not so distant and indeed still prevail as neo-colonialism in much of Oceania. (See appendix 1)

Kwara’ae researcher David Gegeo speaks assertively by stating “we in the third world are demonstrating that we are on the threshold of decolonization”.

Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith's was more critical - "Our colonial experience traps us in the project of modernity. There can be no post-modern for us until we have settled some business of the modern. This does not mean that we do not understand or employ multiple discourses or act in incredibly contradictory ways, or exercise power ourselves in multiple ways. It means that there is unfinished business, that we are still being colonised".<sup>15</sup> The Hawaiian scholar Manulani Aluhi Meyer simply puts the case for acknowledgement of indigenous ways of thinking by stating "the truth is Hawaiians were never like the people who colonised us".<sup>16</sup>

I am speaking about Oceania, from the perimeter, as a Swiss-Italian-Australian outsider. The Rotuman scholar and playwright Vilisoni Hereniko asks 'Do outsiders have the right to speak for and about Pacific Islanders?'"<sup>17</sup> This paper does not speak for, but it is about Pacific Islanders and is presented according to western academic conventions that perpetuate unequal power relations between colonizers and the colonised. My outsider views are merged in the text below with the voices of indigenous thinkers – but their voices are mediated and marginalised as citations, quotes and footnotes. Although this demonstrates exactly the objectified posture, analysis and appropriation that Hereniko and others oppose, there is a space in academia for outsiders to contribute to public discussion, and at the same time, acknowledge the ownership and leadership of indigenous colleagues. What follows is a literature review merged with the observations of an outsider, and indigenous scholars from Oceania.

The Tongan poet and scholar Konai Thaman relates the need to embrace indigenous epistemologies to her own schooling and the process of decolonization. She calls for the decolonisation of education in order to combat "the global spread of Anglo-American knowledge, values, and practices, rather than indigenous knowledge and wisdom".<sup>18</sup> She admits being "attracted to postmodernism because I never liked the western-dominated, mono-cultural, assimilationist view of the world I learned at university".<sup>19</sup> Vilisoni Hereniko calls this the "western view of the evolution of civilisation, marked by development and progress"<sup>20</sup> and notes education in Oceania is still in the language of the colonisers.<sup>21</sup> He despairs that the "production of non-Eurocentric epistemologies remains a dream for intellectuals and writers"<sup>22</sup> and he also acknowledges "the most revolutionary site for Pacific Islander representation in the global arena is now the Internet".<sup>23</sup> Konai Thaman agrees the spread of local knowledge is benefiting from "universal electronic distribution",<sup>24</sup> but argues that this is separating Oceanic peoples into a centre with access to Internet and a periphery without access.

The extension of Konai Thaman's argument is that the knowledge of the centre group - which is urban, urbane and enjoys significant academic and political connections - is privileged while the knowledge of those on the geographic and intellectual periphery in rural and outer-island villages, who lack academic and political connections, is marginalised. A platform on which to demonstrate one's knowledge is needed. The Maori activist Leonie Pihama complained that "Maori people struggle to gain a voice, struggle to be heard

from the margins, to have our stories heard, to have our descriptions of ourselves validated, to have access to the domain within which we can control and define those images which are held up as reflections of our realities".<sup>25</sup> Teweiariki Teaero argued that a narrow functionalist view of education perpetuates an "unpleasant cycle of failure" and reinforces a "largely alien mode of learning amid a culture where indigenous forms of learning are still strong in the total environment".<sup>26</sup> The struggle for acknowledgement continues but as David Gegeo notes there are new opportunities occurring because "there is a groundswell of work by scholars and writers in the third world" who are raising the profile of indigenous epistemologies and knowledge systems.<sup>27</sup>

On Niue the concrete and brass inscriptions, monuments and plaques rely on a linear European epistemology. Niuean gestures, phrasing, tattoo, stories and dance-drama rely on an indigenous, non-linear, culturally-embedded, circular, spiritual way of thinking, theorizing and communicating. This dichotomy becomes blurred when indigenous epistemologies are acknowledged only because they are presented in European formats – the English language poem, stage play, monograph, thesis, journal article or novel. But Samoans, for example, move back and forward across formats. Some knowledge is stored on bodies as a tattoo, some stories and songs are stored inside heads and some family secrets and genealogies are written in Samoan language in tattered school books, and in recent times stored on computer hard drives. Samoan historian Malama Meleisia argued that "for Samoans knowledge is power and the most powerful knowledge is historical knowledge; treasured and guarded in people's heads, in notebooks locked in boxes and *matai*'s briefcases or with their precious mats under mattresses".<sup>28</sup>

In another example that suggests a vernacular-English dichotomy is misleading, four years before the anarchy in the Solomon Islands in 1998-2003, a creative writing workshop was held in Honiara and the results published as *Raetemaot* ("Write them out"). The efforts of forty-three poets and short story writers were printed in English but the visions, dreams, appeals and promises were underpinned by vernacular discourses. The message in some poems was western, but in others the processes of thinking, creating and recreating were anchored in indigenous knowledge.

A South Malaita student, Naomi Luke contributed a poem, "Reality". It starts;

"I am a big boy now  
I have left school  
But I am a fool still  
A poor fool  
With books and blackboards  
Casting dark shadows  
On me"<sup>29</sup>

This message was clearly aimed at Euro-American consultants, advisors, professors and bankers but it also speaks for and embraces the deeply felt concerns of Malaitans regarding uneven development in the Solomon Islands, inappropriate community development projects and inappropriate schooling. Malaitan students continue to interpret "modernization, globalisation and older

Anglo-European notions of community development”<sup>30</sup> in the context of their own world view, their own knowledge systems and their own creative adaptations of long-standing *kastom*. David Gegeo and Karen Watson-Gegeo point out indigenous epistemologies are not promoted in order to “romanticize village life”.<sup>31</sup> They argue that Malaitans engage in a form of “indigenous critical praxis” because Malaitans reflect on “culture, history knowledge, politics, economics and the socio-political context in which people are living their lives” and then act on the basis of this critical reflection.<sup>32</sup>

Two discourses have emerged as Oceania’s leaders seek solutions for problems, including problems not of their own making. Tradition, cultural renaissance, agency, tribal wisdom and grassroots solutions are the catchphrases of consultants and advisors and they certainly apply to regional events including the big regional Festival of Pacific Arts and smaller local events including the Festival of Marquesan Arts, the Loyalty Island’s *Wadrawa* or yam festival on Mare, Rapanui’s “Tapati Rapanui”, Yap’s annual three-day dance festival and hundreds of other local events. Increasingly a reference to indigenous wisdom is found in community programs invigorated, for example, by a spreading Museum and Cultural Centre network or by global campaigns for the listing of Oceanic sites on World Heritage lists. There also has been a decolonisation of the school curriculum. Euro-American histories are now being challenged and replaced by national histories and local culture studies. In nearly every case the announcement of a solution acknowledges local histories, traditions and knowledge, as well as utilising what is useful in western knowledge and ideas.

The literate revolution in Oceanic started in the 1970s, initially in English, but now also in the vernacular. The South Pacific Creative Arts Society (founded in 1972), the journal *Mana Review* (founded in 1976) and the South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies (SPACLALS, founded in 1977) promoted indigenous writers, particularly by showcasing authors from Fiji, Samoa, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. In *Some modern poetry from the Western Samoa*, a Samoan poet, Ruperake Petaia, published “Kidnapped” in 1974 with the familiar theme of traditional versus western knowledge.

“One day I was  
kidnapped by a band  
of western philosophers  
...  
Each time  
Mama and Papa grew  
poorer and poorer  
and my kidnappers grew  
richer and richer.  
I grew whiter and  
whiter”.<sup>33</sup>

Three decades later at the 8<sup>th</sup> SPACLAL’s conference the long time scholar of Pacific literature, Subramani, traced Pacific literature from the early English language poems to novels and plays such as Sia Figiel’s *Where we once belonged* (1995) and *The girl in the Moon circle* (1996) and Vilisoni Hereniko’s

stage play *Love 3 Times* (2001) and feature film *The land has eyes* (2004). Subramani called for a new approach that would develop “a body of knowledge encompassing the kaleidoscope of Oceanic cultures and tracing diverse and complex forms of knowledge – philosophies, cartographies, languages, genealogies, and repressed knowledges”.<sup>34</sup> This approach had found a home in the literary journal *Manoa*, founded in 1989 and subtitled “a Pacific journal of international writing” to acknowledge the universality of the themes and to position Oceania in the mainstream.

The poetry of the 1970s retains its power and was the precursor of the assertive shift of nomenclature from “Commonwealth Literature” to “Pacific Literature” and recently to what Subramani calls “Oceania’s library”. Albert Wendt, who edited *Lali; a Pacific anthology* in 1980 and the updated anthology, *Nuanua* in 1995, claimed Pacific literature in English and in the vernacular was post-colonial because Pacific Islanders had “indigenised and enriched the language of the colonisers and used it to declare our independence and uniqueness”<sup>35</sup> and thereby became free of the mythologies created about Oceania by the colonisers. Colonial, globalising and marginalising hegemonies are therefore being challenged widely, vernacular languages are gaining scholarly respect and indigeneity is being expressed in a variety of forums.

Schools in Oceania study statues, monuments and plaques like those on Niue as they are physical, visible and supported by English language libraries and documentary evidence - but schools and institutions are also seeking ways to enhance understanding and maintenance of another form of knowledge. “Cultural Studies” is now prescribed in many parts of Oceania, community programs link students with elders, story tellers and craft experts and low-level local fieldwork projects now link schools, museums and cultural centres. Traditional knowledge has entered the tertiary sector through research and teaching on long distance voyaging, traditional navigation, *hula*, tattoo and the public awareness programs of PIMA (Pacific Island Museums Association) and national museums and cultural centres. The contemporary diaspora of Oceanic peoples in which more Niueans, Samoans, Cook Islanders, Tokelauans and Tongans live overseas than at home has also led to a quest to proclaim and value identities, language, customary practices.

There is respect for indigenous epistemologies and the processes by which they can help shape Oceania’s destinies but participation in this liberating and assertive campaign rarely includes remote villages and outer islands. For 90% of Oceanic peoples a referral to traditional system of knowledge is not an academic exercise. Geua Dekure, a Papua New Guinean woman, notes “we just live our own lives here ... we recognise each others strengths and traditional knowledge. That is why we are still happy”.<sup>36</sup> In the 1930s, the Kwaio people of the interior of Malaita focussed their life around feasting, fighting and ancestor worship and the anthropologist Roger Keesing claimed Kwaio “defiantly held on to their religion and ways of their ancestors”. He suggested this was still true in the 1980s.<sup>37</sup> It is probably still true. For most people in Oceania the topic “indigenous epistemologies” remains a distant intellectualising of what, on a daily basis, is accepted as a normal procedure

underpinning local decisions about food, respect, genealogy, ceremony, schooling and development.

The term *indigenous epistemology* has the potential to be misleading. Five warnings may be noted. First, discussion about indigenous epistemologies is not only theoretical. The “Oceanic Library” – the knowledge Oceanic people possess – is being investigated for its usefulness and application to escalating and potentially disruptive problems.

Second, indigenous epistemology is situated in its own community. Each language group, each community – possibly a thousand entities – has its own way or organizing and applying knowledge.

Third, an Oceanic version, pan-Pacific way or regional epistemology might develop, and the independent nations in the region might gain some advantage from sharing, but regionalism is motivated by uncertain identity politics and alleged commonalities of culture rather than actual distinctive, shared knowledge, wisdom and learning processes. This does not prevent researchers from speaking in regional contexts. For example, Selina Tusitala Marsh, of Samoan, Tuvaluan and New Zealand descent, claims that language and words passed down from ancestors “reveal and transmit Pacific ways of knowing and being” and that the latest wave of writers are investigating “multicultural identities and pan-Pacific nationalities”.<sup>38</sup> This assumes there is an all-embracing Pacific way. Researchers, novelists and theorists are exploring these pan-Pacific possibilities, but at this stage indigenous epistemologies are best thought of as location-specific rather than regional or Oceanic.

Fourth, it is important to reject the western fantasy that indigenous knowledge is pure, timeless, archaic or untainted by the passage of time, reaching a nadir perhaps in the ponderous nine-part 1992 television documentary *Millennium; tribal wisdom in the modern world*.<sup>39</sup> Knowledge passing from one generation to the next is constantly changing and affected by acculturation through parents, uncles, aunts, peers and elders as well as by enculturation through schooling, churches, TV, the www and travel.

Fifth, indigenous epistemology overlaps and is often subsumed inappropriately by discourses on tradition, nationalism and ethnicity. Margaret Jolly and Nicholas Thomas noted a veritable flood of scholarship in the 1980s addressed links between tradition, nationalism and ethnicity.<sup>40</sup> A decade later, indigenous epistemology emerged as a term when an attempt was made to create an academic dichotomy between real, actual, unconsciously adopted “traditions” inherited from the pre-colonial past (and found among innocent, rural people in villages following a “living culture”, or simply living in the sense that Geua Dekure claimed “we just live our own lives here”) and on the other side a self-consciously expressed invented tradition imposed by the manipulated rhetoric of cunning, western-educated urban politicians located in un-natural communities such as cities, suburbs and nations. The authentic “custom” on the one side was therefore opposed by a reified, commodified, externalised, objectified “tradition” on the other.<sup>41</sup>



In this schema the unconscious inheritance from the pre-colonial past, defined by anthropologists as CULTURE (a design for living) was re-defined as CUSTOM/KASTOM and assigned to specific groups. It was then re-defined as independence approached and became an IDENTITY assigned to the new nation after which it was manipulated and reappeared as TRADITION, the self-conscious proclamation and invention of the past in the present to support the powerful in the present. This schema is a useful academic tool for historical and comparative analysis, but another warning is apt. Hybridity and multiple adaptations are more instructive than simplistic dichotomies. The nation, and particularly a moment of crisis such as a monarch's death, the gaining of independence, a sudden change of government, a civil war or a coup is the stage on which indigenous and non-indigenous epistemologies challenge each other for legitimacy and authority. The struggle between imposed/imported and internal/local authority occurs at three levels;

<b>Power over kin, clan, totem</b>	<b>determined by</b>	<b>genealogy/land/place</b>
<b>Power over village/community</b>	<b>determined by</b>	<b>appointed officials, chiefs &amp; church</b>
<b>Power over the nation</b>	<b>determined by</b>	<b>elected representatives/politicians</b>

In the first and second levels of kin/clan and village/community relationships, people apply solutions at a practical, local level by relying on indigenous wisdom and local systems of organising knowledge. This is summed up by the move to valorise “grassroots” development. At this level there is potential for conflict when centralising influences (including officialdom, bureaucracy, ethnic rivalry and plain wrong-headedness) take power away from local people and deny local ways of thinking through problems. Dissent occurs as local opportunities and adaptations are overlooked or marginalised.

At the national level, notwithstanding leaders who have nominally rejected colonial orthodoxy and asserted power as the guardians of the new nation, the legacies of colonialism tend to prevent the promotion of indigenous knowledge and processes. However, there is a growing list of successful applications – PNG decreed teaching at junior primary would be in *tok-ples* (local language); Kiribati introduced “Kiribati Studies” in a positive decolonising step; North Pacific leaders meet annually to discuss non-American, “Micronesian” forms of leadership; Bougainvillean women brokered a peace so that “Mekamoi be allowed to be a man”<sup>42</sup> and the women leaders of Solomon Islands civil society relied on local solutions to overturn the anarchy of recent years.<sup>43</sup>

Are the historical factors affecting the way Oceanic people think about Oceania the same as the historical factors affecting the way Euro-Americans think about Oceania?

The successful application of indigenous epistemology must overcome the pervasive legacy of Euro-American education, learning, philosophy and particularly the Euro-American construction of an imagined “South Seas”. This construction has evolved through several not necessarily chronological stages;

- **As a literary fantasy in fictional lands and speculative mapping - 1572-1779**
- **As noble & ignoble savages – in journals of exploration and philosophy and science texts**
- **As loyal subjects and indentured labourers – the Colonial era post-1842**
- **As cannibals, primitive villagers and belles – the photographic image**
- **As Hollywood’s South Seas – the filmic Pacific 1930-40s**
- **As Tourist stereotypes**
- **As victims of doomsday scenarios – in an economic discourse in the 1990s**
- **As Oceanic people managing their own cultural renaissance**

A Euro-American historical narrative is useful here because it provides a frame of reference for the development and acceptance of indigenous epistemologies. The promotion of indigenous epistemologies must confront these constructions of Oceania, deny and perhaps ridicule them in order to establish the validity of indigenous epistemologies as a new means to construct and guide Oceania to its destiny.<sup>44</sup>

Finally I would like to emphasise that Oceanic people speak through many modern voices; film, documentary, installation, performance art, rap, fiction and experimental theatre, national and local museums, cultural centres, art galleries and archives, local, national and regional cultural and commemorative festivals and through a Diaspora that remains connected to “home”. These voices are not naïve, mysterious, unfathomable or inexplicably complex, although they have been described mistakenly in these ways by non-indigenous observers for several centuries.

Discussion about indigenous epistemologies might seem theoretical and limited to urban and Diaspora elites – but it does reflect the actual critical praxis of the village. Honouring, reciprocating, respecting, seeking out and applying indigenous knowledge is both unconscious and pre-colonial custom as well as self-consciously modern and invented. It is a deep, culturally-embedded secret business but is increasingly proclaimed through a dress-up, politicised stage show. In Roger Keesing’s opinion by “periodically performing or exhibiting these fetishized representations of their cultures, the elites of the new Pacific ritually affirm (to themselves, the tourists, and the village voters) that the ancestral cultural heritage lives on”.<sup>45</sup> This cultural heritage now includes reference to and reliance on indigenous epistemologies. It was a cliché, overused during the 20<sup>th</sup> century to declare at the start of each decade that a “new Pacific” was emerging. For the first time perhaps it may now be applied appropriately because there is a new paradigm – but one firmly embedded in continuing indigenous tradition.

## APPENDIX 1

**The end of colonial rule - Getting Independence**

1962	Western Samoa (now <i>Samoa</i> ) (ex-NZ)
1968	Nauru (ex- UK, Australian, NZ Trusteeship)
1970	Tonga (ex-UK)
1970	Fiji (ex-UK)
1975	Papua New Guinea (ex-Australian Trusteeship)
1978	Solomon Islands (ex-UK)
1978	Tuvalu (ex-UK)
1979	Kiribati (ex-UK)
1980	Vanuatu (ex UK-France <i>condominium</i> )
1886	Marshall Islands (ex-USA trusteeship)
1986	Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae) (ex-USA Trusteeship)
1994	Palau (ex-USA Trusteeship)

**Islands and territories not independent**

American Samoa	(USA, Territory since 1899)
Hawaii	(USA, became 50 <sup>th</sup> state in 1959)
Kermadec & Chatham Is	(New Zealand since 1895)
Tokelau	(New Zealand since 1926)
New Caledonia	(France, since 1853, now a <i>Pays Outre Mer</i> )
Loyalty Islands	(France, included in New Caledonia since 1853)
French Polynesia	(France, since 1842)
Wallis and Futuna	(France, since 1887, became TOM in 1959)
Norfolk Island	(Australia, since 1788)
Torres Strait	(Australia since 1872)
Pitcairn Island	(UK, since 1838, now NZ)
Rapanui ( <i>Easter Island</i> )	(Chile, since 1888)
Galapagos Islands	(Ecuador, Province of Ecuador 1832)
Rotuma	(Fiji, annexed by Britain and made part of Fiji in 1881)
West Papua	(Indonesia, since 1963/referendum in 1969)
Banaba	(Kiribati, included in Kiribati since 1900)
Christmas Island	(Kiribati, annexed by Britain in 1882, included in Kiribati)

**Independent countries with special agreements with former colonial power**

Guam	(with USA, Commonwealth since 1898)
CNMI	(with USA, since 1975)
Cook Islands	(in free association with New Zealand since 1965)
Niue	(in free association with New Zealand since 1974)
Palau	(in free association with USA since 1994)
FSM	(in free association with USA since 1986)

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- <sup>1</sup> Gegeo, David, 1998, "Indigenous knowledge and empowerment; rural development examined from within", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 10, 2, 290.
- <sup>2</sup> Alan Moorehead, 1966/rev 1987, *The fatal impact; the invasion of the South Pacific 1767-1840*, London, Hamish Hamilton
- <sup>3</sup> Ian Campbell, 1989, *A history of the Pacific Islands*, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 228.
- <sup>4</sup> Marshall Sahlins, 1985, *Islands of history*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 72.
- <sup>5</sup> Peter Naborov, 2002, *A forest of time; American Indian ways of history*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 21-23. Naborov cites the work of Marshall Sahlins and Robert Borofsky (in Oceania), Jan Vansina (in Africa), Renato Rosaldo (in the Philippines) and Richard Price (in Latin America).
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, iv
- <sup>7</sup> Huffer Elise and Qalo Ropate, 2004, "Have we been thinking upside-down? The contemporary emergence of Pacific theoretical thought", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 16, 1, 88.
- <sup>8</sup> Cited in Deryck Scarr, 1990, *The history of the Pacific Islands*, Melbourne, Macmillan, 334.
- <sup>9</sup> Teaero, Teweiariki, 2001, "Eutia mai nanoaa; Looking inwards for solutions to contemporary educational challenges", unpublished public lecture at USP Centre, Tarawa, June 2001, 1
- <sup>10</sup> Aroha Te Ao Maohi Pareake Mead, "Misappropriation of indigenous knowledge; the next wave of colonisation", *Tok Blong Pasifik*, 52, 4, 8-10
- <sup>11</sup> Hau'ofa, Epeli, 2000, "Epilogue; pasts to remember", in Robert Borofsky, ed, *Remembering Pacific pasts; an invitation to remake history*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 454.
- <sup>12</sup> The newsletter of the South Pacific Peoples Foundation devoted a special issue in 1999 to "The traditional knowledge of Pacific peoples", and several authors reviewed the progress made in the 1990s. *Tok Blong Pasifik*, 52, 4, 1999.
- <sup>13</sup> Fourmile, Henrietta, 2000, "Respecting our knowledge", *Humanities Research*, 1, 41.
- <sup>14</sup> Sr Alaima Talu, Director of Catholic Education, Kiribati, June 2004, pers.com.
- <sup>15</sup> Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 1999, *Decolonising methodologies; research and indigenous peoples*, Auckland, Zed Books, 34.
- <sup>16</sup> Meyer, Manulani Aluhi, 2001, "Our own liberation; reflections on Hawaiian epistemology", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13, 1, 125.
- <sup>17</sup> Hereniko, Vilisoni, 2000, "Indigenous knowledge and academic imperialism" in Robert Borofsky, ed, *Remembering Pacific pasts; an invitation to remake history*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 86.
- <sup>18</sup> Thaman, Konai, 2003, "Decolonizing Pacific Studies; indigenous perspectives, knowledge and wisdom in higher education", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 15, 1, 7.
- <sup>19</sup> *loc.cit.*, 11.
- <sup>20</sup> Hereniko, Vilisoni, 1994, "Representations of cultural identities", in KR Howe, RC Kiste and BV Lal, eds, *Tides of history; the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth century*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 408.
- <sup>21</sup> *loc.cit.*, 418.
- <sup>22</sup> Hereniko, Vilisoni, 2001, "David and Goliath; a response to The Oceanic Imaginary", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13, 1, 164.
- <sup>23</sup> *loc.cit.*, 166.
- <sup>24</sup> Thaman, Konai, *op.cit.*, 2003, 13
- <sup>25</sup> cited in Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, *Decolonising methodologies; research and indigenous peoples*, 35.
- <sup>26</sup> Teaero, Teweiariki, 2001, *Eutia mai nanoaa*, 8
- <sup>27</sup> Gegeo, David, 2003, "(Re)visioning knowledge transformation in the Pacific; a response to Subramani's The Oceanic Imaginary", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13, 1, 181.
- <sup>28</sup> Meleisea, Malama and Penelope Meleisea, eds, 1987, *Lagaga; a short history of Western Samoa*, Suva, Institute of Pacific Studies
- <sup>29</sup> Luke, Naomi, 1996, "Reality" in Julian Maka'a, Hilda Kii and Linda Crawl, eds, *Raetemaot; creative writing from Solomon Islands*, Suva, Institute of Pacific Studies, 150.
- <sup>30</sup> Gegeo, David and Karen Watson-Gegeo, 2002, "Whose knowledge? Epistemological collisions in Solomon Islands community development", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 14, 2, 379.
- <sup>31</sup> *loc.cit.*, 403.
- <sup>32</sup> *loc.cit.*, 399.

- <sup>33</sup> Petaia, Ruperake, 1974, "Kidnapped", in Albert Wendt, ed, *Some modern poetry from Western Samoa*, Suva, Mana Publications, 8-9.
- <sup>34</sup> Subramani, 2001, "The Oceanic imaginary", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13, 1, 151.
- <sup>35</sup> Wendt, Albert, ed, 1995, *Nuanua; Pacific writing in English since 1980*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 3; Wendt, Albert, ed, 1980, *Lali; a Pacific anthology*, Auckland, Longman Paul.
- <sup>36</sup> cited in Anne Turner, 1993, *Views from interviews; the changing role of women in Papua New Guinea*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 8-9.
- <sup>37</sup> Keesing, Roger, 1989, "Sins of a mission; Christian life as Kwaio traditionalist ideology" in Margaret Jolly and Martha McIntyre, eds, *Family and gender in the Pacific; domestic contradictions and the colonial impact*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 193.
- <sup>38</sup> Marsh, Selina Tustala, 1999, "Here our words", in Moshe Rapaport, ed, *The Pacific Islands; environment and society*, Honolulu, Bess Press, 167 and 175.
- <sup>39</sup> The companion book was by the series presenter, see; David Maybury-Lewis, 1992, *Millennium; tribal wisdom in the modern world*, New York, Viking.
- <sup>40</sup> Jolly, Margaret and Nicholas Thomas, 1992, "The politics of tradition in the Pacific", *Oceania*, 62, 4, 241.
- <sup>41</sup> This dichotomy is argued by Margaret Jolly and Nicholas Thomas in three articles in 1992; Jolly, Margaret, 1992, "Specters of inauthenticity", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 4, 1, 49-72; Jolly Margaret and Nicholas Thomas, 1992, "The inversion of tradition", *American Ethnologist*, 19, 2, 213-32; Jolly, Margaret and Nicholas Thomas, 1992, "The politics of tradition in the Pacific", *Oceania*, 62, 4, 241-48. See also; Linnekin, Jocelyn, 1992, "On the theory and politics of cultural construction in the Pacific", *Oceania*, 62, 4, 249-63.
- <sup>42</sup> *Mekamoi* is a vernacular term for Bougainvillean. This is the final line in "Spoiled children", a poem by Doni Keli; see, Julian Maka'a, Hilda Kii and Linda Crowl, eds, 1996, *Raetemaot; creative writing from Solomon Islands*, Suva, Institute of Pacific Studies, 9.
- <sup>43</sup> Scholarly works are also being produced in vernacular and English or French. See, Thornley, Andrew, 2000, *Nai Votavota Ni I Nuinui; Ko Joni Oniti: No Apositolo ki na Kawa i Taukei*, Suva, Institute of Pacific Studies; Thornley, Andrew, 2002, *Na Lako Yani ni Kawa I Taukei; Na Lotu Wesele e Viti 1848-74*, Suva, Institute of Pacific Studies.
- <sup>44</sup> It was suggested in Australia in the 1990s that Oceania had "fallen off the map". This was said to have occurred because Australia was uninterested or disinterested in the destiny of the region or its constituent national entities and saw no shared destiny with its Pacific neighbours. In the light of scholarship in the last decade, Australian attitudes may now be seen as the continuation of an old-fashioned colonial denial of the rights of indigenous people to speak out, to "*Raetemaot*" or to devise a local solution to a problem without using, in this example, Australian knowledge or expertise. The "off the map" concept was developed by Greg Fry in a series of papers; Fry, Greg, 1994, "Climbing back on the map? The South Pacific Forum and the new development orthodoxy", *Journal of Pacific History*, 29,3, 64-72; 1996, *Framing the Islands; knowledge and power in changing Australian images of the South Pacific*, Canberra, Working Paper, Dept of International Relations ANU; 1997, "Framing the Islands; knowledge and power in changing Australian images of the South Pacific", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 9, 2, 305-344.
- <sup>45</sup> Keesing, Roger, 1989, "Creating the past; custom and identity in the contemporary Pacific", *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1-2, 23.