

ABSTRACT

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IDENTITY AT THE 2012 FESTIVAL OF
PACIFIC ARTS.

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Since 1972, the countries of the Pacific have come together every four years to express their culture at the Festival of Pacific Arts. In 2012, I traveled to Honiara, Solomon Islands, for the eleventh iteration of this two-week festival. This thesis focuses on the traditional performances by twenty countries at the festival, and explores the presentational choices made by the Polynesian, Melanesian, Micronesian, and Australian cultures represented at the festival. The analysis of performances, recordings, and interviews, utilizing Appadurai's -scapes, reveals the economics, politics, and ideas of these Pacific Islanders in their negotiation of the balance between tradition and modernity. The Festival presents a Bakhtinian carnival allowing participants to demonstrate or resist clichés and conform to or break with conventions, values and established truths. The festival becomes a unique spectacle of resistance, experimentation, and discovery, a place for Pacific Islanders to negotiate their identity in the twenty-first century.

REPRESENTATIONS OF PACIFIC IDENTITY AT THE
2012 FESTIVAL OF PACIFIC ARTS

By

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Every four years since 1972, nations in the Pacific Ocean have assembled to share their cultures.¹ First brought forward as an idea to the Fiji Arts Council in 1965, what is now known as the Festival of Pacific Arts was created in order to “preserve and develop various local arts forms, as well as [provide] the occasion for Pacific Islanders to meet, share and celebrate their cultural heritage” (Leahy 2010, 23). Fearing the erosion of the traditional arts in the Pacific region, the South Pacific Commission formed a festival organizing committee that resulted in the first festival, known at the time as the “South Pacific Arts Festival,” in Suva, Fiji, in 1972. I attended the eleventh instantiation of that festival held from July 1-14, 2012, in Honiara, Solomon Islands. The theme for the 2012 Festival of Pacific Arts was “Culture in Harmony with Nature.” This paper endeavors to provide the background and context for that festival, offer a description of the performing arts presented there, and suggest a framework for considering the relevance and importance of the festival in the twenty-first century.

During the past forty-two years, the festival has undergone a number of transitions. It has been held in eleven different locations in that time, as shown in Figure 1. In 1979 the festival’s name was changed slightly from “South Pacific Arts Festival” to “Festival of South Pacific Arts.” More significantly, 1980 was the “first time peoples from the northern Pacific had participated in the Festival,” leading to the

¹ One exception was the 1984 festival, which was delayed until 1985 due to political tensions in New Caledonia.

YEAR	LOCATION	THEME
1972	Suva, Fiji	“Preserving Culture”
1976	Rotorua, New Zealand	“Sharing Culture” ²
1980	Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea	“A Celebration of Pacific Awareness”
1985	Tahiti, French Polynesia	“My Pacific Home”
1988	Townsville, Australia	“To promote the maintenance of indigenous cultures of the Pacific region”
1992	Rarotonga, Cook Islands	“Seafaring Pacific Islanders”
1996	Apia, Western Samoa ³	“Tala Measina” (Unveiling Treasures)
2000	Nouméa, New Caledonia	“Words of Yesterday (Paroles d’hier), Words of Today (Paroles d’aujourd’hui), Words of Tomorrow (Paroles de demain)”
2004	Koror, Palau	“Oltobed a Malt - Nurture, Regenerate, Celebrate”
2008	Pago Pago, American Samoa	“ <i>Su’iga’ula a le Atuvasa</i> : Threading the Oceania ‘Ula”
2012	Honiara, Solomon Islands	“Culture in Harmony with Nature”
2016 (planned)	Guam	“What we own, what we have, what we share – United Voice of the Pacific”
2020 (planned)	Hawai‘i	TBA

Figure 1. Festivals of Pacific Arts (Stevenson 2012).

change of the festival’s name to “Festival of Pacific Arts” in 1981 (Stevenson 2012, 11).⁴ For simplicity, in this paper I use the name Festival of Pacific Arts to refer to all of these festivals.⁵

² Leahy gives “Visual Arts” as the theme for the 1976 festival (Leahy 2010, 125).

³ The name “Western Samoa” was changed to “Samoa” in the Western Samoa 1997 Constitution Amendment Act (No. 2).

⁴ Konishi asserts that Guam and Hawai‘i participated in the 1976 festival as well (Konishi 2002, 119).

⁵ The festival is also unofficially referred to as the “Pacific Festival of Arts” and, in French, “*le Festival des Arts du Pacifique*,” as well as with the acronyms “PFA,” “PFOA,” “FOPA,” “FPA,” and “FAP.” I use the official title “Festival of Pacific Arts” and acronym “FOPA” as clarified in the “Twenty-Fifth Meeting of the Council of Pacific Arts and Culture” Report of Meeting (Secretariat 2013, 16).

The South Pacific Commission, which initiated the first festival, was formed in 1948 based on an agreement between the governments of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States in an attempt to “restore stability to a region that had experienced the turbulence of the Second World War, to assist in administering their dependent territories and to benefit the people of the Pacific” (SPC History, <http://www.spc.int/en/about-spc/history.html>, accessed Mar. 19, 2014). In 1975, the South Pacific Commission formed the South Pacific Arts Festival Council, renamed the Council of Pacific Arts (CPA) in 1981, as the governing body of the festival to “ensure that the FOPA became a permanent event as well as to oversee and disseminate information regarding cultural affairs in the region” (Leahy 2010, 24). While the CPA had the responsibility to initiate the festival, its financial and technical “contributions have tended to be marginal relative to the total costs the host faces” (ibid., 25).

In 1997, the South Pacific Commission was officially renamed the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) and now includes 26 members: the 22 Pacific Island countries and territories served by the SPC (American Samoa, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Pitcairn Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis & Futuna), as well as four of the founding countries (Australia, France, New Zealand, and the United States of America). Konishi details which subsets of these countries participated in the first eight festivals (Konishi 2006, 114). Although participation at these festivals is based on the SPC membership list, there have been

exceptions made throughout its history. Contingents from Alaska and Canada have requested to participate in the past, but their requests have been rejected. Taiwan requested to participate in 1988 in Australia, but was denied before being allowed to participate in 2000 in New Caledonia. Taiwan and West Papua sent delegations to the festival in Palau in 2004, after which “a policy was created enabling the host country to invite non-council member countries that fit within the purview of the Council for Pacific Arts and Culture since 2010” (Leahy 2010, 25).

Several challenges arise in attempting to answer the simple question of what countries participated at any given Festival of Pacific Arts. For example, we have to consider what we mean when we refer to the countries represented at the festival. First, what exactly is meant by “countries?” If we restate our question to consider “nations” rather than “countries,” we are including actual states such as Hawai‘i and recognized countries such as Tuvalu and the Solomon Islands, as well as territories such as French Polynesia.

Second, we must consider what is meant by nations being “represented.” For example, would we consider a state as represented if it had sent at least one person to the festival even if the representative is not a performer? Such was the case in the 2012 FOPA where the Cook Islands sent only the *vaka* (sailing canoe) *Marumaru Atua* and its crew. Do the representatives actually have to be sanctioned by their parent nation, or might the representatives merely be present or even perform at the festival without their nation’s official support? Must the representatives have travelled from their nation for the festival or might they be local residents of the host nation? Diasporic populations living in the host country offer a less expensive way

for countries to represent their cultural arts rather than paying the high cost of transportation for performers from their home nation, but their presence leads to questions of authenticity and currency of the representations presented. It is difficult to tell when watching performers whether they are residents of the country they represent or whether they have moved away from their country of origin and maintain the traditions of their home country. It became apparent at the 11th FOPA that a number of the Solomon Islands performing groups, although representing some of the distant provinces, resided much closer to Honiara. For example, the Mapungamanu group was described as being from the remote Solomon Islands province of Tikopia (Temotu Province) but residing in much closer Nukukaisi village of Makira Island. Cornell cited a concern expressed of the third FOPA that the Tongan contingent was comprised of Tongan residents living in Australia who “did not fully reveal the richness of Tongan folklore” (Cornell 1980, 17). This issue raises a question in the observer’s mind of what exactly is being observed, whether it is the current cultural expression of a region, a reminiscence of the culture from some previous time, or an invented tradition.

At the 11th FOPA, it seemed that eighteen of the eligible twenty-six nations sent performing groups, while Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Northern Mariana Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, the Territory of Wallis and Futuna, and France were not represented by a performing group and the Norfolk Island delegation stood in for the Pitcairn Islands.⁶ Having said that, it should be

⁶ The Pitcairn Islands (now a British Overseas Territory) became the home of the Bounty mutineers and the Tahitians that accompanied them in 1789. In 1856 many of the settlers moved to Norfolk Island (now a territory of the Australian Commonwealth) where their descendants still live.

noted that even though the Cook Islands were not listed as a participant in the 11th FOPA souvenir program, the Cook Islands did indeed have a delegation present at the 11th FOPA. They carried the Cook Islands banner and marched in the opening ceremony, although they did not perform during the festival. Tuvalu, on the other hand, was listed in the souvenir program as a participant, and they too carried their nation's banner at the opening ceremonies but did not send a performing group, either. In addition, Taiwan and Rapa Nui (Easter Island) were invited guests to the 11th FOPA, bringing the total number of performing nations to twenty: American Samoa, Australia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Guam, Hawai'i, Kiribati, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Niue, Norfolk Island, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Rapa Nui, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Taiwan, Tokelau, and Vanuatu.⁷

It should be noted that Japanese artists also performed at the 11th festival. Apparently, while visiting Japan in May 2012, Solomon Islands Prime Minister, Gordon Darcy Lilo invited Japan to send performers to the festival, as is the prerogative of the hosting nation (Ednal 2012). Although I did not witness this performance, it seems that the result of Lilo's invitation was that keyboardist Junichi Matsumoto and contemporary dancer Mao Arata performed contemporary music and dance during one performance at the Pasifika Stage on July 9, 2012 (Lalase 2012). Since the Japanese delegation did not participate in the opening or closing ceremonies, I do not include Japan in the list of "participating countries."

Figure 2 summarizes the participation in the festival over its forty-year history with numerous caveats. It is tempting to examine this data in an attempt to discern

⁷ This includes Hawai'i as representing SPC founding member, the United States.

trends in the festival such as the growing number of participating countries. Factors that might account for the lack of consistent growth in the number of participating countries in Figure 2 would include the state of the international economy, political or economic situations within each particular country, and the proximity or ease of access to the host country. For example, in 2012 Tonga did not attend the 11th FOPA in Honiara because the country remained in mourning for their deceased king and because of the lack of Tongan government funding (Kaeppler forthcoming).

One could also imagine probing more deeply than the number of participating countries by considering the number of individual performers or the sizes of the audiences for their performances, but these data are extremely difficult to obtain. For example, the 11th FOPA in the Solomon Islands, as with most of the previous ten festivals, did not sell admission tickets. All events were free and therefore no accurate measure of audience size is available. This paper will attempt to show that even though the highest level numeric data do not show a particular pattern of growth, the festival remains a vibrant display and an important venue for the articulation of Pacific identities in the twenty-first century.

It is interesting to consider the history of the festival in terms of the evolution of nation-states in the Pacific. For example, Fiji hosted the first festival in 1972, shortly after its own independence from Great Britain was achieved in 1970. Papua New Guinea hosted the festival in 1980, five years after its 1975 independence from Australia. On more than one occasion, the hosting of the festival serves in the support

	Festival Number:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Festival Year:	1972	1976	1980	1985 ^b	1988	1992	1996	2000 ^b	2004 ^h	2008 ^g	2012
	Hosting Country:	Fiji	NZ	PNG	French Polynesia	Aus.	Cook Islands	Western Samoa	New Caledonia	Palau	American Samoa	Solomon Islands
1	American Samoa	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
2	Australia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
3	Cook Islands	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
4	Federated States of Micronesia			x	x				x	x	x	
5	Fiji	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
6	Guam		x		x				x	x	x	x
7	Hawai'i		x ⁱ	x ⁱ	x				x	x	x	x
8	Kiribati	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x
9	Marshall Islands			x	? ^c						x	
10	Nauru	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
11	New Caledonia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
12	New Zealand	x ^a	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
13	Niue	x ^d	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x
14	Norfolk Island	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
15	Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI)				x				x	x	x	
16	Palau			x					x	x	x	x
17	Papua New Guinea	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
18	Pitcairn Island	x ^d	x	x		x	x		x ^e		x	
19	Rapa Nui (Easter Island)		x ^f		x				x		x	x
20	Samoa	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
21	Solomon Islands	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x ^e	x	x	x
22	Tahiti, French Polynesia	x ^d			x				x	x	x	x
23	Taiwan									x ⁱ	x	x
24	Tokelau Islands	x ^a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
25	Tonga	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
26	Tuvalu				x				x	x	x	
27	Vanuatu	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x
28	Wallis and Futuna	x ^a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	Countries performing:	16	20	21	20	15	17	17	26	20	28	20

Figure 2. Countries participating in first eleven Festivals of Pacific Arts

Notes for Figure 2

^a Did not send a delegation but sent handicrafts, stamps and films (Stevenson 2012, 10).

^b Kuwahara lists participants for the 1985 FOPA (2006, 100) and for the 2000 FOPA (ibid., 101).

^c Kuwahara lists “Mariana Islands” and “Northern Mariana Islands” but not Marshall Islands (ibid., 100).

^d Konishi identifies Pitcairn as attending but does not specify in what capacity (Konishi 2006, 114).

^e Cochrane (2002, 90) indicates Solomon Islands and Pitcairn Islands were not present whereas Konishi indicates they were (2006, 114).

^f Adrienne Kaeppler personal communication.

^g Based on Souvenir Program 2008.

^h Yasui and Konishi, 2012, 1.

ⁱ Stevenson 2002, 31.

^j Leahy 2010, 167

Note also that Kiribati was called Gilbert Islands until 1976, Samoa was called Western Samoa until 1997, Tuvalu was Ellice Islands until 1976, and Vanuatu was New Hebrides until 1980.

of a proposed or recently achieved nation-state. Appendix A summarizes the countries of the Pacific and their political status including their status as host of the festival. This appendix also illustrates an important factor to keep in mind when considering this festival and issues within the Pacific in general: the populations of these nations tend to be quite small. The Pitcairn Islands, for example, has a population of less than 100; Niue has around 1400 people; Tokelau has approximately 1600 people and so on. The largest Pacific nations are Hawai‘i with 1.4 million, New Zealand with 4.5 million, Papua New Guinea with 7 million, and Australia with over 23 million. The point is that for the people of many of these nations, an opportunity to showcase their culture and to observe and connect with other Pacific Island cultures is a rare and highly valued event.

The audience for the Festival seemed to be primarily composed of individuals from the host country, Solomon Islands. In fact, many Solomon Islanders seemed as interested in observing performances from their own country, even their own island, as in observing performances from distant countries. In both cases, it seemed that Solomon Islanders were witnessing performances they had never seen before. While I was not the only non-Pacific Island visitor to the Festival, the group of visitors was quite small. At both of the major venues, VIP stands were set up for visitors. In both cases, these stands were set far away from the performing stages, but they were raised up a few feet to provide a less obscured view of the stage, and in one case the VIP stand provided welcomed shade as well. As a measure of the number of outsiders present at the festival, these stands provided chairs for thirty people or so. Although the number of outsiders was quite small, the Solomon Islanders at the festival and throughout the town were warm and welcoming. In fact, on a couple of occasions, Solomon Islands spectators sacrificed their own front row seats to allow me a better look at particular performances.

Terminology

One difficulty in describing the environment of this festival has already been touched on above: that is, the nomenclature for referring to the participants of this festival. In this paper, I use the term “country” to refer to recognized nation-states—whether completely independent, such as Solomon Islands and Tonga, or existing in “free association” with other countries, such as Niue with New Zealand—as well as actual states of a country (i.e., Hawai‘i within the United States) and territories of

various kinds, such as the unincorporated territories of the US (e.g., Guam and American Samoa), the overseas territories of France (officially *Collectivité d’Outre Mer*), such as French Polynesia, or the special territories of France (*collectivé sui generis*), such as New Caledonia. For the ease of reference, these are all referred to as countries.

There are several challenges in describing the festival performances themselves as well. Not the least of these is the many languages represented and used by the performers and hosts of the festival. Each language has terms for its instrumentation, attire, and behavior, and the languages also are present in the lyrics being sung. I have attempted to use indigenous terms to describe attributes where those terms were available to me. In some cases I have used terms generically, such as with the term “lavalava,” the Samoan term for a cloth wrap worn around the waist by men and women. Since the term is gender neutral, unlike the Western “skirt,” and since it is used broadly in the Pacific, I use it as a descriptor for many of the cultures in this paper.

One problematic distinction raised by this festival is that between contemporary and traditional performances. The 2012 FOPA Souvenir Program uses the terms “Traditional Dance/Music” and “Contemporary Dance/Music” to distinguish the two major categories of performance (Souvenir 2012, 17). Further, the contemporary dance/music venue distinguished Reggae, Contemporary, Island/Strings, Heavy Metal, and Rock/Blues (ibid., 12). The term “traditional” suggests that behaviors from some previous, unspecified time were static and had occurred for some length of time without change. The term “contemporary” may

suggest a different view within the minds of people today: that these behaviors are somehow real, current, and universally embraced, since some unspecified but recent time. Neither of these ideas is necessarily accurate. However, venues were assigned based on the organizers' notion of the general intent of the performance:

Contemporary performances in Lawson Tama Stadium and Traditional performances in the Festival Village and National Auditorium. It must be realized that some music and dance that seems old and therefore traditional may not be, and that some music and dance that seems completely modern may have traditional components in it. I have adopted the terminology used in the festival in this paper as well, realizing some of the problems with it. So, for example, "traditional" performances may actually present songs and dances created recently just for this festival but perhaps performed without electric guitars. I also use the term "pop" in a broad sense to refer to the aesthetic of "popular" music rather than using it to make an argument about the popularity of a particular music.

Other problematic terms of reference are the designators of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. Although these terms were created by Westerners to characterize physical as well as cultural differences between the inhabitants of these areas, they are imprecise at best. Polynesia, literally the "many islands," refers to an approximate triangle extending from Hawai'i in the north to New Zealand in the southwest and Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in the southeast. Micronesia, meaning "small islands," refers to Kiribati, Guam, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, Northern Mariana Islands, and Palau. Melanesia, meaning "black islands" in reference to the predominant skin color observed by the early explorers, includes

Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia. Some distinguish Australasia, including the aborigines of Australia and the indigenous peoples of New Zealand and the islands of New Guinea including the country of Papua New Guinea. But these distinctions are all overlapping and incomplete. Solomon Islands, for example, includes many Melanesian cultural aspects as well as some islands whose inhabitants are more closely related to Polynesian peoples, both culturally and genetically. Secondly, many characteristics are overlapping among these three broad categories, such as the wealth sharing that seems to pervade many of these island communities. Thirdly, there has been inter-island interaction throughout millennia, so no culture within the Pacific is completely distinct from its neighbors. Despite these flaws in terminology, these terms have not been replaced by better ones and so they are used within this paper to provide broad characterizations.

Methodology

I first encountered the Festival of Pacific Arts on paper in surveying the traditional music of Polynesia. The pictures and descriptions of earlier festivals conveyed the impression that these quadrennial festivals brought together a rare collection of cultures and traditions from across the Pacific, and the 2012 Festival, although scheduled earlier than would have been optimal in terms of my own preparedness, represented a unique opportunity for me.

I arrived in Honiara, Solomon Islands, one week before the start of the festival in order to learn my way around to the various festival venues, survey the festival area, determine the status of festival preparations, and get a sense of the expectations

of the festival's hosts. This allowed me to meet several individuals, both local and visiting, who proved to be valuable assets in my endeavor to interpret the festival. This included the men doing the carving and construction for the festival site, several visitors who had attended many of the earlier festivals, and local Honiarans with whom I was able to communicate repeatedly throughout the festival. It also led me to meeting several fellow researchers also focused on the festival.

One of the benefits of that early arrival was being able to glimpse a bit of village life on a neighboring tiny island of Savo. This included strolling through several coastal villages, passing a coconut (copra) drying kiln, observing the lucrative daily chicken-like megapode buried egg harvest, and experiencing a meal from a traditional *motu* oven, a feast of meat and vegetables wrapped in banana leaves cooked in an open fire pit. All of this painted a picture which seemed to be embraced by many Solomon Islanders: that one did not really need money as long as one had a garden and natural resources such as the sea to fish in—except, of course, to buy tunes for one's cell phone.

The other benefit obtained by arriving at the festival early was the discovery of all of the events that were ancillary to the festival itself. Before the festival's opening ceremonies on Monday afternoon, July 2, there was a day of welcoming *vakas* (canoes) from eight Pacific nations at the Point Cruz Yacht Club in Honiara as well as a traditional dawn welcoming ceremony that morning followed by an ecumenical religious service featuring several local church choirs.

During the festival itself, I made heavy use of a camera for both still and video recordings. Incidentally, my videos included both tape and digital recordings, which

proved useful for accommodating the varying lighting conditions found throughout the festival. I also made use of an audio recorder for the more structured interviews that I was able to hold. I was able to talk with local residents, first-time attendees, language experts, and a government delegation head. I have quoted anonymously those interviewees from whom I did not obtain written permission.

My overall strategy, for better or worse, was to observe each of the countries represented at the festival at least once. Not knowing in advance which would be the most interesting of the performances, or, in fact, when exactly performances or performance introductions might begin, my coverage of the performances was inevitably incomplete. I missed some announcements and filmed parts of performances, sometimes from the beginning while other times from the middle. I was able to record some of the performance of each of the countries officially represented at the festival, although these recordings are rarely of complete performances or even complete pieces. Also, since some countries brought multiple performing groups, it was not possible to cover all of the performing groups from all of the countries. In the end, I was able to observe at least one performance by each country and multiple performances and multiple groups for some countries. I was also able to observe performances by each of the provinces of the Solomon Islands.

For each of the events that I attended, I jotted field notes and made video and still recordings. Sometimes, these performances were introduced by a Master of Ceremonies or a representative from the performing group. But often, there was no significant introduction or the introduction was not readily intelligible. Most presenters spoke in Melanesian pidgin, which has some similarities to English but

significant differences as well. As a result, the process of determining which country was performing, what part of the country was being represented, or the significance of the particular performance was not usually very clear and led to a process of synthesizing various sources of information after the fact. Since music, attire, and dance are so integrally connected in Pacific island cultures, I have included extensive visual as well as sonic descriptions. My research was supplemented by the use of commercial DVDs produced by the SPC. The SPC sells a six-DVD set representing the 2012 Festival, in addition to the single DVDs that they offer for the 1972, 1992, 2000, 2004, and 2008 Festivals.

I also stayed in Honiara for several days after the closing ceremonies on Friday, July 13. This provided an opportunity for some interviews, for which the constant activity during the festival had not allowed. In addition, it resulted in my attending a picnic held by the local i-Kiribati living in Honiara for the visiting delegation from Kiribati. This picnic, more of a feast really, was an afternoon and evening filled with food, gift exchange between the local and visiting i-Kiribati, dancing, and singing, all in a manner similar to those performances witnessed throughout the preceding two weeks but, this time, with no audience. This seemed to represent a typical Pacific island experience of the hosts graciously sharing whatever they have with their visitors and forming bonds with their extended family in the process.

Venues

The layout of the venues for the festival had a significant impact on what parts of the festival an attendee could experience. Most of the activities of the 11th Festival of Pacific Arts occurred at the Festival Village (see Figure 3) situated approximately three kilometers east of the city of Honiara on the Solomon Islands' largest island of Guadalcanal. The Festival Village itself offered two stages, the Pasifika Stage and the Lakeside Stage, each with sufficient space and lighting as well as sound amplification suitable for crowds of several thousands. Audience members sat on the grass or stood near the periphery of the viewing area as no chairs were provided except in the very limited VIP seating areas positioned farthest from the stage. Surrounding the Pasifika Stage audience area (see Figures 4 and 5) were huts specially built for each of the countries represented at the festival. These huts served to allow the countries'

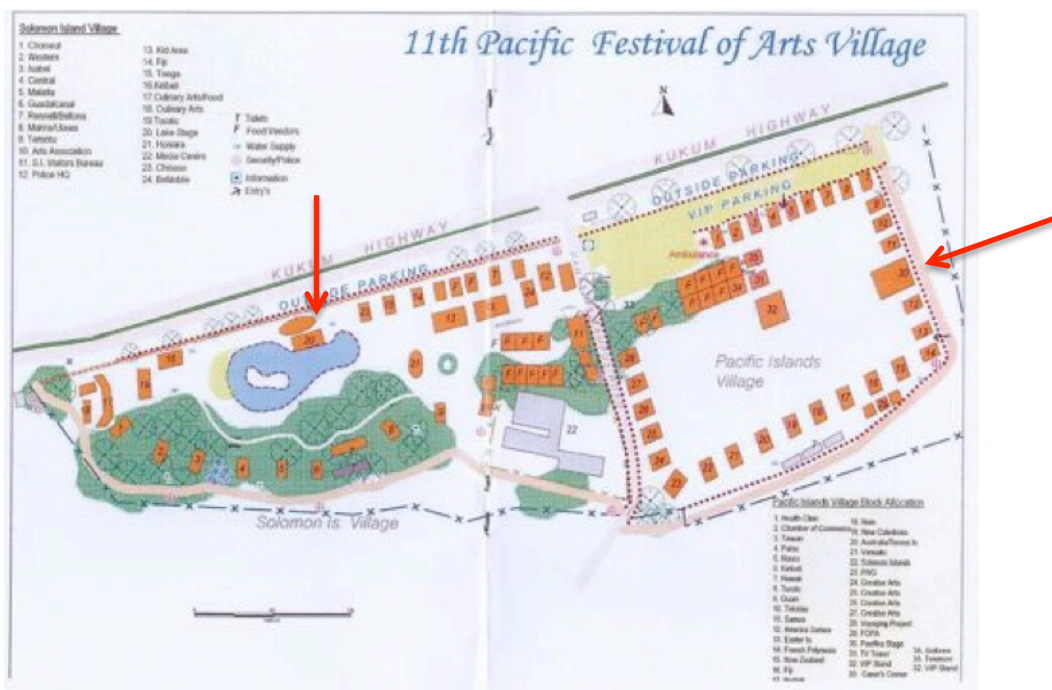


Figure 3. Diagram of Festival Village with arrows pointing to the Lakeside Stage on the left and the Pasifika State on the right (adapted from 11th Festival of Pacific Arts Official Programme (2012 Souvenir Program)).



Figure 4. Pasifika Stage (indicated by arrow) and viewing area including VIP stands to the viewer's left of the stage and a few of the country huts to the right.



Figure 5. Pasifika Stage.

delegations to demonstrate craft making and to house cultural items for sale to the public.

The Lakeside Stage was constructed on the edge of a small man-made lake built in the shape of Guadalcanal Island (see Figure 6), and the stage itself stood in front of a man-made volcano representing the volcanoes of Isabel Province (see Figure 7). The result of this stage placement was that the audience was separated from the stage by the lake and therefore could get no closer than 20 to 50 meters from the performers. On the edge of the Lakeside Stage audience area were huts, similar to those surrounding the Pasifika Stage area, for each of the nine provinces of the Solomon Islands: Central, Choiseul, Guadalcanal, Isabel, Malaita, Makira-Ulawa,



Figure 6. Lakeside Stage (indicated by arrow) and viewing area including VIP huts on the right and manmade volcano behind the stage on the left; the manmade lake separating the audience from performers made in the shape of Guadalcanal Island.



Figure 7. Construction of the manmade volcano on Lakeside Stage.



Figure 8. Western Province Hut.

Renbel, Temotu, and Western Provinces. These huts were specially designed to show off features of their respective provinces such as the tall slender openings for the war canoes in the Western Province hut (see Figure 8). The huts were used to demonstrate

craft-making of each province, as well as for the performance of occasional dances and ceremonies of each respective province.

Other venues in or near Honiara included: the Lawson Tama soccer stadium, planned to be used for contemporary music performances as well as the opening and closing ceremonies of the festival; the National Auditorium in Honiara Town Centre and neighboring Auditorium Outdoor Space, which offered the film festival and smaller performance venues; the Mokolo USP (University of South Pacific) building in Honiara's Chinatown, housing the Photographic Exhibition for the duration of the festival; the Mokolo USP building's Media Room, hosting one day of the film festival; the Point Cruz Yacht Club in Honiara, where the *vakas* (canoes) from seven nations were welcomed; the beachside AE (Abraham Eke) Oval soccer ground in Ranadi, seven kilometers east of the center of Honiara used for the dawn Traditional Welcome service that preceded the opening of the festival; and the nearby open-sided Maranata Hall, used for the pre-festival ecumenical church service. In addition to these events affiliated with the festival, the Solomon Islands also opened an Archaeological Exhibit and reopened the National Museum in Honiara at the same time as the festival. These additional venues presented other valuable learning opportunities about the history and culture of the Solomon Islands. Several conferences were also held during the course of the festival, including the three-day Pacific Cultural Rights Symposium.

Transportation between each venue within or around Honiara could be easily obtained from regularly running minibuses for a few Solomon dollars, or taxis for a few dollars more, but these both took some time due to the intense festival traffic

along the main road connecting these venues. As a result, one could easily spend a half hour going between venues, so one would have to plan one's performance attendance accordingly. Unfortunately, even careful planning did not solve the problem of effective performance attendance in many instances. A draft performance schedule was printed in the souvenir program for each day of the thirteen-day festival, and daily newspapers in Honiara printed a more up-to-date schedule on a daily basis. However, the final authorities for performance schedules were the chalkboards standing near each venue. On more than one occasion, I invested the half-hour transportation time to change venues in order to see a particular performance, only to find that it had been rescheduled or cancelled.

Figure 9 shows the four remote venues that were also built by the Solomon Islands government: one at Doma (or Ndoma) on the west side of Guadalcanal, approximately twenty four kilometers northwest of Honiara, though still on the island of Guadalcanal; one on the small island of Tulaghi (Central Province), the former capital of the Solomon Islands Protectorate, a ninety-minute ferry ride from Honiara; one in Auki on the island of Malaita (Malaita Province), a four-hour ferry ride from Honiara; and one on the island of Ghizo (or Gizo) in Western Province, 300 kilometers northwest of Honiara and only practically accessible via an hour plane ride. Because of the additional time and cost demands of travelling to these venues outside of Honiara, I limited my attendance to the performances in and around Honiara.

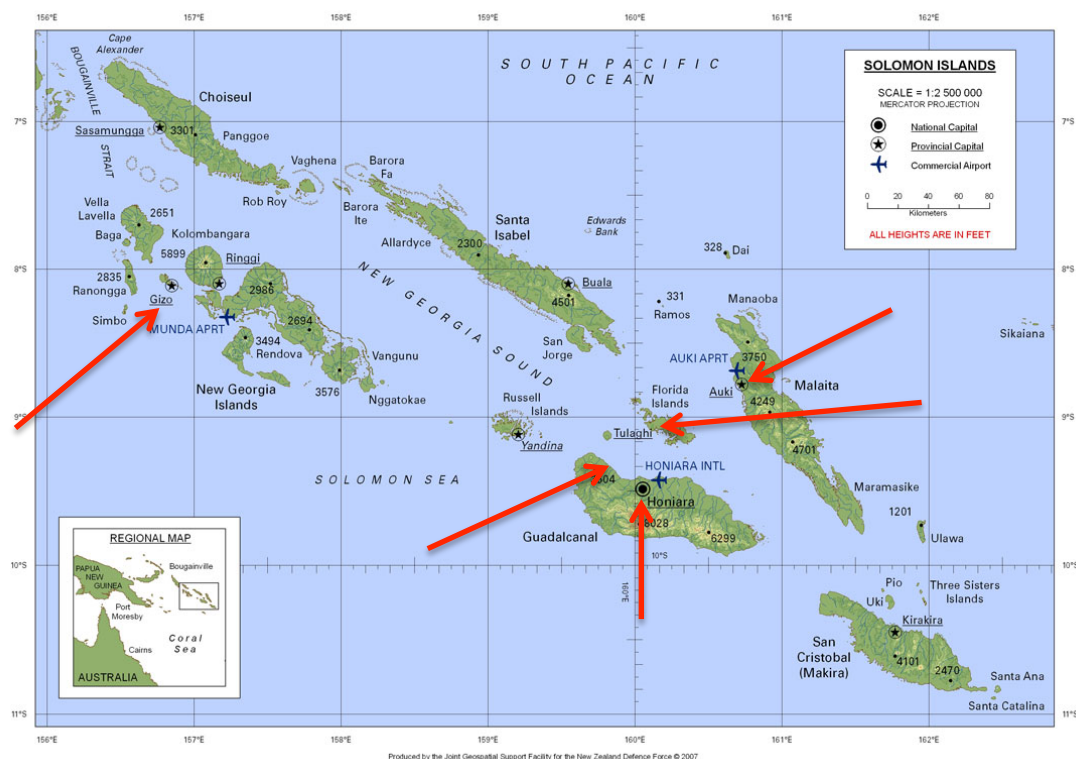


Figure 9. Honiara and the Remote Venues for the 11th Festival of Pacific Arts, indicated by arrows (Produced by the Joint Geospatial Support Facility for the New Zealand Defence Force © 2007).

If we were to count venues used throughout the festival for music and dance we would include the two main stages of the Festival Village, Lawson Tama stadium, the National Auditorium and corresponding outdoor space—that is, nominally five within Honiara itself—and another four satellite venues (Doma, Auki, Tulagi, and Gizo), giving nine total. Those nine were, of course, supplemented by the nine provincial huts in the Festival Village, which were occasionally used for performances as well. This number of performance venues seems comparable to the venues provided in earlier Festivals of Pacific Arts. (Konishi 2006, 116).

Scope, Goals, Limitations

Throughout this festival, there were many activities in addition to music and dance performances. Presented very much like the Olympics, the 2012 Festival of Pacific Arts included Opening and Closing Ceremonies. Artisans were carving, weaving, tattooing, making crafts, and making shell money at country and provincial huts throughout the festival. There was a film festival, a photography exhibit, and a stamp exhibit, and there were also culinary demonstrations and several symposia. Although I witnessed some of these other events, my main focus was on the performing arts and, within those, the so-called traditional performances rather than contemporary ones, as designated in the festival program. In addition, this paper focuses only on those traditional performances held within the confines of the festival itself. So, this excludes the performances at the ecumenical service before the festival, the *vaka* arrivals, the dawn welcoming celebration, and the post-festival Kiribati delegation picnic.

The festival generally ran from 9:00 AM until 9:00 PM each day. My daily routine was to focus on the two main stages at the Festival Village, unless there was nothing new being shown there or there was something notable occurring at another venue, particularly the National Auditorium on the other side of town or the Solomon Islands Province huts. The latter performance schedules were generally not published at all, so catching those events was a matter of chance.

Literature Review

Festival of Pacific Arts

Over the forty-year history of this festival, quite a few articles have focused on the festival itself, although most of those have focused on particular aspects of a particular instance of the festival. The two most comprehensive works on the festival are the 2002 volume of *Pacific Arts* edited by Karen Stevenson and a 2006 publication of the Japan Center for Asian Studies' Research Report, edited by Masui Yamamoto, both focusing on the 2000 FOPA in New Caledonia.

In Stevenson (2002), Kaepler describes these festivals as “rituals of identity” and provides an overview of the festivals through 2000, with the 1972 through 1985 festivals focusing on displaying each nation's true cultural ways, whereas those festivals after 1985 became more political, raising the issues of concern throughout the Pacific (Kaepler 2002, 8). The 1992 festival tied Pacific nations together by focusing on traditional navigating, and the 1996 festival emphasized traditional forms of appearance including tattoos and minimal clothing. The 2000 festival focused on youth culture including popular music groups. In the process of this summary, Kaepler identifies some of the practices that are applied through these representations, including revivals such as the Marshall Islands stick dance and inventions such as Guam's dances borrowed from other places in the Pacific.

Hazama (2002) and Moulin (2002) focus on the French Polynesian contributions to the 2000 festival, including their striking theatrical spectacle, countering organizers' guidance to earlier festival participants, and including, for the

first time, French Polynesians other than Tahitians, from the Tuamotus and Marquesas (Moulin 2002, 23). Stevenson discusses a key result of these festivals being the “creation of national and cultural identities through the arts” and the importance of that given the transition of so many Pacific island colonial governments to new nation-states over the past fifty years (2002, 31). She also describes the negotiations that have arisen through these festivals on subjects such as cultural borrowing, authenticity, and traditional versus contemporary approaches.

Mel raises the issue of the commercial orientation of these new nations and the inevitable effect this has had on the festival, where “organizers have been drawn only towards the exotic elements in our traditional forms . . . for their novelty and consequent commercial success” (2002, 42). He also raises the issues of the festival serving as a place of colonial resistance and indigenous nostalgia, which appeals to the Pacific Islanders’ “common bedrock of experiences of oppression and cultural annihilation” and the concern of the “colonization of the mind” that festival organizers must overcome in putting on a festival like FOPA (ibid., 43-44).

Flores describes Guam’s struggles in representing itself through the forty years of FOPAs after 350 years of Spanish influence and another century of Japanese and American influence (Flores 2002). The Guam delegation initially presented Western twentieth-century dance (cha cha and jitterbug), but evolved after searching for indigenous forms and borrowing from Hawaiian forms. She also describes the various negative responses Guam performances received along the way. Rehuher describes Palau’s participation in the festival beginning in 1980 and resuming in 2000, and some of the internal politicking and funding challenges that result from the

delegation selection process. Yacoe presents the differences between Melanesians from New Caledonia, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea articulated in the FOPA performances: “not entertainment but a basic part of our culture... rituals [as opposed to] the Polynesian and Micronesian performances depicting social interactions and reenactments” (2002, 75). Cochrane raises questions about the continuing appropriateness of the festival in its current form given so many logistical problems at the 2000 festival and the growing range of interests apparent as the 2000 FOPA coincided with New Caledonia’s national contemporary arts festival.

The other significant collection of writings on the festival is the 2006 publication, *Art and Identity in the Pacific: Festival of Pacific Arts*, edited by Matori Yamamoto. Yamamoto focuses on the ethnic issues related to festival representations from multi-ethnic countries such as Fiji, Australia, and New Zealand, and the roles of diasporic populations and political situations in host and visiting countries in influencing each particular festival (2006, 5). Toyoda illustrates Papua New Guinea’s use of the festival to create a unified national identity and the impact of audience reaction in the selection of iconic performances such as the Asaro Mudmen (2006). Yasui describes the differing delegation selection processes and resulting performances in the Micronesian countries of Palau, Guam, Federated States of Micronesia, and Northern Mariana Islands (2006, 51). Kuwahara distinguishes the unifying identity of the five archipelagos of French Polynesia presented at FOPA versus the annual French Polynesian national Heiva festival, where each archipelago seeks to differentiate itself (2006). Konishi provides an excellent history of the festival through the year 2000 (2006, 111).

Numerous other articles focusing on the festival have appeared by various authors since the festival's inception in 1972, most notably those of Kaeppler (1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2014), Moulin (1993, 2002, 2005), and Stevenson (1993, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2012). In particular, Kaeppler distinguishes ritual, theater, and spectacle (2001) and emphasizes these festivals as rituals of identity (2002). A number of other authors have addressed this particular festival as well: Babadzan (1988), relative to nation building; Cochrane (2001, 2002); Cushman (2010); Fernandez-Akamine (1988); Flores (2002); Gaskell (2009); Glowczewski (2011); Hartwell (1988); Hazama (2002); Hellmers (1988); Kempf (2011); Koide (2002); Kruger (1995); Maclellan (2011); Orkent (2001); Rehuher (2002); Simons (1989); Yacoe (2002); Yasui and Junko (2012); Zeppel (1992); and Zhang (2012).

Festivals

Several ethnomusicologists have described the various purposes played by other music festivals. Rönstrom (2001), Elschek (2001), and Orosa Paleo (2006) offer festival typologies. In an effort to situate all music festivals within a framework, Rönstrom distinguishes three types of festival based on the venue of the event: one type typical of rock and pop festivals presents “many acts on a few large stages over a rather short period of time;” a second type “more common in the world of classical music, consists of a large number of separate concerts, distributed over a week or even a month;” and a third type “‘the carnival’ ... [is] characterized by a large number of non-staged, sometimes even improvised ad hoc performances in streets and

squares” (Rönstrom 2001, 57). The Festival of Pacific Arts seems to cross these three categories by offering many acts on a few large stages, but then repeating that process over two weeks, and while FOPA achieves a certain carnivalesque nature through its great diversity, it is not characterized by improvised ad hoc performances. The spontaneity of FOPA was accentuated, however, by the unscheduled performances, such as the Choiseul peacemaking ceremony described in Chapter Two, which were held in and around the country- and provincial-huts.

Orosa Paleo extends the consideration of format as a key criteria for distinguishing festivals by offering a taxonomy of popular music festivals based on seven criteria: character, purpose, range, format, degree of institutionalization, innovativeness, and scope (Orosa Paleo 2006, 26). Created in order to help preserve cultures, the Festival of Pacific Arts tends to fall near the one end of Orosa Paleo’s spectrum. Thus it tends toward being non-competitive, non-profit, focused on a single audience, multiveneue, multidisciplinary, not innovative, and international, while at the same time being at the other end of his spectrum by being non-ranking of performing acts and venues, as well as by being highly institutionalized. While neither of these typologies perfectly situate the Festival of Pacific Arts relative to the many other forms of festivals in the world, they help us begin to see the characteristics which distinguish the Festival of Pacific Arts.

Rockefeller (1998) points out the folklorization process that occurs when cultural practices, such as Bolivian fiestas, are taken from their original settings, and modified for consumption by a broader audience. While festivals such as Rockefeller’s San Lucas festival have a motivating discourse of preserving tradition,

they often end up modifying the very traditions they seek to preserve. Although such a folklorization process may be occurring in many of the performances of the Festival of Pacific Arts, more research would be required to compare each performance with its indigenous historical use. One change in the performances at FOPA is certain: these performances were being given in the context of a Pacific-wide festival. That is, they were being presented in a new context at FOPA, one outside of, and broader than, each group's village, region, or country. By presenting each of these performances in the context of a pan-Pacific festival, there was an implicit assertion and strengthening of connectedness between Pacific Islanders. To understand how this pan-Pacific context changed the nature of the performances further research would be needed.

Rockefeller also characterizes a distinction within the literature on folklore festivals: romantic nationalist festivals versus touristic festivals. While FOPA could be argued to make some effort to teach “a unifying cultural tradition to a putative national ‘people’”—that is, the people of the Pacific—as in romantic nationalist folklore festivals, and while FOPA does tend to emphasize difference over commonality as in the touristic model of folklore festivals, as in Rockefeller's San Lucas festival, neither model fits perfectly (*ibid.*, 124). FOPA has not had a strong pan-Pacific nationalist agenda nor does it particularly cater to nor seek to attract tourists.

As Guss argues, festivals serve as sites of “cultural performance” (Guss 2000, 7). Such cultural performances have four key elements: being framed events set off from every day reality, serving as points of reflection for the community, providing

discursive sites for performers to “argue and debate, to challenge and negotiate,” and allowing the creation of new meanings and relations to arise (ibid., 10). These elements seem to represent FOPA fairly accurately. The festival as a whole and each individual performance within it are clearly separated from the daily lives of the participants and observers, and they have historically generated reflection and discourse on each country’s styles and choices in their performances, thus leading to modifications to performances in subsequent festival iterations. One difference between FOPA and some of the festivals discussed by Guss is the regularly changing location of FOPA, which leads to a largely different audience and to some extent a different set of performers each time, and therefore a different set of observers and observations. Still, the discourse goes on nonetheless, the most regular and consistent discourse coming from the observing academics and ethnographers.

I find another distinction between festivals useful to focus on in considering FOPA, namely whether the festival’s primary focus is religious, cultural, or commercial. Dawut (2002), Harnish (2006), and Harrison (2002) focus on primarily religious festivals; Titon (1999), Hall (2011), and Goertzen (2001) focus on primarily cultural festivals, and Cooley (1999) focuses on a primarily commercial festival. Most festivals seem to be stimulated by some mixture of commerce, culture, and religion as does the Festival of Pacific Arts, though one would look primarily to cultural festivals for the best comparison to FOPA. In addition, the study of FOPA is enhanced by consideration of the diasporic uses of festivals addressed by Lau (2004) and Johnson (2007), and by the useful questions Cohen (1999) raises about the consideration of authenticity at cultural festivals.

Related Issues

Identity representation in the Pacific is described in many of the FOPA writings referenced above. Other writings on the subject include Keesing (1989) and Flores (2002b). The impact of tourism on the way Pacific countries represent themselves is discussed in Buck (1993), d’Hauteserre (2004), and Kaeppler (1988). Important issues of intellectual property rights at festivals are discussed by Harrison (2002), and a full report on the various issues and dangers represented for festivals is captured in the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) report prepared for the organizers of the 2012 Festival of Pacific Arts (Janke 2012). Finally, my analysis utilizes Appadurai’s framework of -scapes for describing the dynamics associated with the many modern influences on music production and circulation (1996). This framework articulates five -scapes in which to organize and consider these influences: finanscape, ethnoscape, ideoscape, technoscape, and mediascape.

Organization of the Thesis

In this opening chapter, I provide the background of the festival, terminology used in this paper, my methodology, the festival venues, and a literature review. Chapter Two of this document presents a detailed ethnography of the festival performances I observed, organized alphabetically by country. Chapter Three presents an analysis of these performances, followed by the conclusion in Chapter Four. Appendix A provides details of each of the Pacific countries, their political status and population. Appendix B presents the flags of the Pacific including the flags seen at the festival. Appendix C provides an index to the SPC’s DVDs of five of the

Festivals of Pacific Arts. These indices list the times of appearances of the countries represented on those DVDs in order to assist in future research work on the festival and the participating countries.

Chapter 2: Ethnographies of Participating Countries

American Samoa

A group of about five musicians from American Samoa played guitar, ukulele, and percussion while singing to accompany the group of twenty-two dancers, twelve women and ten men from American Samoa Community College. The men wore floral print shirts and black *lavalava* for performing, as they did in the opening and closing ceremonies. The women dancers wore a bright green dress-like *puletasi* blouse over an ankle-length black skirt, *puletaha*, and they wore a frangiapani flower in their hair. The bare-chested men dancers wore knee-length *lavalava* with decorative floral waist-bands and what appeared to be whale-tooth, *ula nifo*, necklaces. Dancers were sometimes seated and at other times standing but energetic in both cases with hand gestures and body percussion.

Musicians sang in Samoan, sometimes apparently accompanied by a synthesizer track. The percussion they played included the traditional *pake*, wood-log percussion, and membranophones like Western bass and tenor drums, both played with padded drum mallets. Their multipart singing and instrumental accompaniment followed Western functional harmonic patterns.

Interestingly, in both the opening and closing ceremonies, American Samoan flag bearers carried both the American Samoa flag and the US flag, unlike the delegation from the US state of Hawai'i and the delegation from the other participating US territory, Guam.

Aotearoa/New Zealand

The New Zealand delegation of around 120 performers and visual artists attending the Eleventh Festival of Pacific Arts consisted of several performing groups. A traditional dancing group called “Te Mātārae I Orehu,” winners of the 2011 “Te Matatini” *kapa haka* (meaning “to dance in a row”) competition in New Zealand, performed traditional chant and dances (see Figures 10 and 11). Their performance included many of the components of the *kapa haka* such as the *whakaeke*, a choreographed entrance dance; the *waiata-a-ringa* action dance with arm movements including the *wiri* (trembling hands); *waiata tira* group-singing with guitar accompaniment; *haka* war dances performed by men and women holding short *patu* clubs or long spear-like *taiaha*; and the women’s *poi* (ball) dance where the *poi* are used as body percussion to accompany chant.



Figure 10. Men’s *haka* performed by “Te Mātārae I Orehu.”

Makers and players of *taonga puoro* (traditional Maori musical instruments), Jerome Kavanaugh and James Webster, provided accompaniment to several drama

performances during the festival. They also demonstrated Webster's *karetao* puppets in a dramatic and musical performance of their own (Figures 12 and 13). *Karetao* is a traditional Maori puppet theater, which is being revived by Webster and others. He



Figure 11. *Haka* performed by women of “Te Mātārae I Orehu.”

has reconstructed these puppets based on fragmentary literature and the few examples held in museums. His reconstructions combined musical instruments with puppets that include movable arms able to produce the characteristic *wiri*, hand trembling. The instruments that these men played included traditional mouth flutes, nose flutes, shell trumpets, carved trumpets, and percussion. The instruments also included several forms of free aerophones, one a bull roarer producing sound by whirling a paddle on a string overhead (*purerehua*), and another sounding by blowing against a spinning disk held on a string between the hands (*porotiti*).



Figure 12. Maori *Karetao* puppet instruments.



Figure 13. Webster and Kavanaugh using *karetao* puppets in dramatic performance.

Contemporary dance drama was also merged with traditional dance by the pair of dancers from “Hawaiiiki Tu” accompanied by traditional instruments, and by the Atamira Dance Company accompanied by electronic instruments. Finally, the singer, author, and spoken word poet Daren Kamali performed with two contemporary New Zealand acoustic music groups, Pacific Underground and ‘KOILE. Kamali was born in Wallis and Futuna and raised in Fiji but has lived in New Zealand for twenty years and has represented New Zealand in the 10th Festival of Pacific Arts in 2008 as well as at the 11th Festival in 2012. Kamali improvised English-language poetry and sang to the accompaniment of acoustic guitars and traditional instruments (see Figure 14).



Figure 14. Maori rapper with traditional nose flute and acoustic band.

As a whole, the New Zealand delegation demonstrated a strong commitment to the traditional performing arts through the dance and song of “Te Mātārae I Orehu” and the instruments and puppets of Webster and Kavanaugh. However, like Australia, New Zealand’s delegation also represented the modernity of their nation in these traditional performances with their dramatic presentations, modern dance, and spoken poetry. Having reportedly invested \$500,000 (approx. \$433,000USD) on sending this delegation to the Festival, New Zealand’s government would seem to consider their diverse representation at such festivals quite important (Creative 2012).

Australia

The Australian delegation consisted of numerous and diverse aboriginal performers including country singer and guitar player Adam James from Moreton Bay near Brisbane; reggae band Tjupi (meaning Honey Ant) from Papunya, Northern Territory, singing in English and Luritja, a dialect of the Western Desert language or Wati (see Figure 15); Dhinawan, a didgeridoo player; and the Torres Straits Arpaka Dance Company, performing traditional song and dance in the Kala Lagau Ya and Miriam Mir languages (see Figure 16). Dhinawan humorously demonstrated the capabilities of the didgeridoo by using the instrument to tell a story of a hitchhiker with sound effects including passing cars, dripping sweat, changing gears, and truck horns (see Figure 17).

Perhaps the most striking of all of the performances over the two-week festival was that by the Australian Aborigine group known as the Chooky Dancers (see Figures 18 and 19). The Chooky Dancers are from Elcho Island, in the Northern

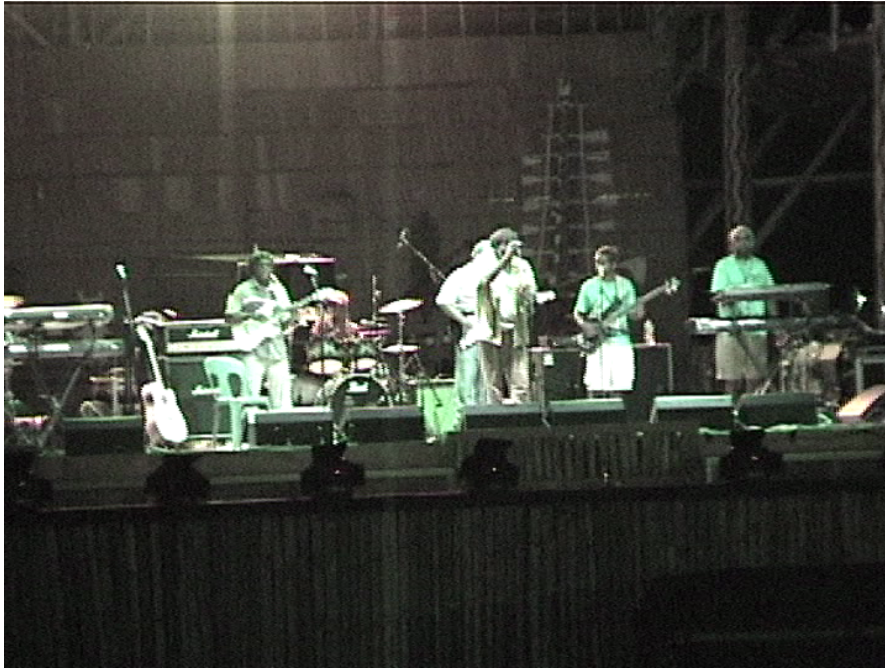


Figure 15. Aborigine Tjupi reggae band.



Figure 16. Torres Strait Islanders accompanied by singing, guitar and drum. The white *dhari* is the traditional dancers' headdress, which also appears on the Torres Strait Islander flag (see Appendix B).



Figure 17. Australian aborigine didgeridoo player telling/playing hitchhiker story.

Territory of Australia. With ochre-painted chests, faces, and legs, and wearing colorful floral wraps, these six dark-skinned young men first performed a traditional dance with spears to a didgeridoo (or *yidaki* as it is known by the *Yolngu* people of Elcho Island) accompaniment to what seemed to be an aboriginal hunting dance.

After satisfying the expectation of performing traditional dance, the dancers went offstage, only to return with umbrellas and strut to a recording of Gene Kelly singing “Singin’ in the Rain.” This was shortly followed by a mix of Gene Kelly’s version with a superimposed hip hop percussion beat. The Chooky Dancers seemed to be striving for shock value as well as humor, first setting the audience expectation that this would be yet another traditional performance, only to shatter that expectation with a playful then contemporary version of a classic American song. Later in their set they danced to music suggesting Bollywood influences, and later still they

performed their dance “Zorba the Greek” accompanied by the theme music for the film of the same name.



Figure 18. Australian Chooky Dancers traditional dance.



Figure 19. Chooky Dancers “Singin’ in the Rain.”

Each of the Chooky Dancers' interpretations seemed to try to make the point that despite being aboriginal and being able to satisfy the outsiders' expectations for what that should look and sound like, they were well aware of the outside world. In fact, they embrace it and even have some fun with it, if not make fun of it. Or perhaps it is the audience's expectations for what is aboriginal that they make fun of.

Australia's delegation of over fifty performers and visual artists demonstrated the country's wealth with such a large delegation, and the country's presence in the modern world through their performing groups' representations of modern genres such as reggae and twentieth-century film music. They also showed their inclination to inject a bit of humor into traditional performance perhaps as a way of positioning Australian's Aborigines as preserving tradition while embracing modernity in their own unique way.

Fiji

The Fijian Government spent \$250,000 FJD (approximately \$125,000 USD) on a 121-member delegation consisting of eight groups to demonstrate firewalking, painting, singing, carving, and dancing. Fiji's groups came from the main islands as well as the remote island of Rotuma.

Rotuma, lying nearly 300 miles north of the main islands of Fiji, is the only Polynesian island within the largely Melanesian country of Fiji. The twelve men and women of the Itu'muta Dance Group of Rotuma wore light green *lavalava* decorated with green and yellow leaf waistbands, white short sleeved shirts, and green and white flower garlands around their necks. The women each had a white hibiscus

flower in their hair. Their dancing and powerful multipart singing were accompanied only by beaten-log percussion. Although their dancing was mostly done in place, their action was in their hand and arm gestures.

Fiji also sent fifteen students from Rabi High School in Tabiang, Rabi Island, Fiji, to perform song and dance of the Banaban islanders, originally from Kiribati, whence they emigrated in the last half of the twentieth century. The young men wore tan grass *lavalava* while the young women wore what appeared to be woven pandanus tops and black raffia-like skirts. All wore crowns of woven pandanus. They sang and danced to a pre-recorded soundtrack.

Fijian club dance (*meke i wau*) was performed by five bare-chested Fijian men wearing grass *lavalava*, dried grass leglets and boar-tusk necklaces. In this dance, the men wielded *kaikavo* dance clubs. These clubs have a spur, making them appear to be an axe but without a sharp cutting edge and “lighter than war clubs” (Derrick 1957, 395). These dancers were accompanied by a handful of men playing *lali* slit-log percussion and singing. Throughout the traditional Fijian dance, I found a distinctive sound in the repeated singing of what seemed like a V^7 chord, some resolving to a tonic, others not.

Fiji also brought a more contemporary band that included trombone, electric guitar, and saxophone. These men were dressed in blue short-sleeved shirts and black *lavalava*. Finally, the VOU (meaning “new” in Fijian) Music and Dance School performed modern dance. In each of these diverse performances, the Fijian flag was prominently displayed, as it was during the opening and closing ceremonies and the dawn *vaka* welcoming ceremony.

French Polynesia

The delegation from French Polynesia of forty performers and artisans consisted of about a dozen male and female dancers with ten musicians. This delegation showed up with a variety of colorful costumes including bright yellow raffia skirts and *lavalava*, bra tops for the women, and dramatic two-foot-tall headdresses of bright gold feathers for the men and women. Some of the men were in gold capes and *lavalava* with tall bright orange and silver headdresses. The non-dancing choral women wore red floral “Mother Hubbard” dresses and straw hats. On some performance occasions, the men wore bright red floral shirts, white *lavalava* and vertical red-fiber headdresses.

Seven men played percussion instruments including hand drums (*fa’atete*), a bass drum (*tariparau* or *pahu*) played with a mallet, and log percussion (*to’ere*) played with sticks, as accompaniment to dramatic narration. In addition, the traditionally Hawaiian *pu’ili* fringed bamboo rattle was also employed (see Figure 20). These percussion instruments were sometimes played alone while at other times used to accompany dancers. During the opening ceremony, the delegation was led by a male elder with a red cape and brown *lavalava* blowing a conch trumpet.

In one performance where the male instrumentalists performed without dancers, a movie of Tahitian women dancing with vocal and instrumental accompaniment was shown in place of live performers. Whether this was due to a scheduling conflict for the dancers was not made clear. But it was clear that the

Tahitian delegation considered dancing to be an integral part of the performance they must present to their audiences.

The dancing of the Tahitian women varied from slow and sensual to fast and vigorous. The '*aparima himene* or sung, danced story-telling used extensive hand and arm movements. These dances were accompanied by guitar and ukuleles as well as



Figure 20. Red arrow shows fringed bamboo rattle beaten with two sticks.

the vocal ensemble. The faster, more energetic *ote'a* dances highlighted the rapid hip movements to fast-paced percussion. Both male and female dancers joined in the final lively dance with hand-clapping to rev up the crowd. Although there was no sign of political affiliation apparent in their performances, both the French Polynesian flag and the French flag were carried in the opening and closing ceremonies.

Guam

The Guam delegation consisted of 133 literary, performing, and visual artists. Performing groups included Leonard Iriate's I Fanlalai'an and several cultural houses from Pa'a Taotao Tano' ("Way of Life of the People of the Land"), an organization whose mission is to "preserve, perpetuate, and promote the cultural traditions of the indigenous people of Guam and the Marianas" (Pa'a Taotao Tano' 2014). Each cultural house, or *Guma*, is led by a recognized *Fafa'na'gue* (certified leader), and all members are led by the Master of Chamorro Dance and Creative Director, Frank Rabon. Iriate and Rabon are two of the individuals spearheading the dance "regeneration" occurring in Guam today (Cruz-Banks 2013, 25).

The performing groups in Honiara included sixteen male and twenty-four female dancers as well as a dozen or so musicians including guitarists and drummers. Their performances included chants, such as the "pre-Christian song for the good catch" accompanied only by body percussion, and a war-like dance to hand-drum percussion where men and women enacted combat using two-meter sticks decorated with fibers at the top. In a separate performance, the performers danced and sang to guitar and drum accompaniment.

Reflecting their pre-contact heritage, women dancers wore brown grass skirts and colorful tops and the men wore loincloths. The accompanying male and female musicians wore red *lavalava* and white shirts. This point about attire is only particularly significant in comparison to the attire worn by the Guam delegation at the closing ceremonies, which reflected their Spanish heritage, with the women wearing colonial dresses and the men wearing white shirts, black slacks and a red waist sash.

Hawai‘i

The dance troupe from Hawai‘i consisted of approximately ten women and six men dancers and one primary singer/instrumentalist. These dancers wore what might be considered traditional, or perhaps late nineteenth-century, Hawaiian attire. The women wore mute yellow strapless dresses and men wore tan *lavalava*, with what appeared to be *kukui*-nut necklaces, anklets, and wrist bands, and woven headbands. These traditional costumes added to the impression of traditional Hawai‘i conveyed by the music and dance they performed. At the same time, their costumes from 100 years after Western contact reveal some of the limitations in how the term traditional is interpreted.

The instrumentation used to accompany these dances included several kinds of percussion instruments: *pahu* skin drum and *ipu* gourd played by the accompanying singer and ‘*ulī‘ulī*’ feather-gourd shakers, body percussion, and ‘*ili‘ili*’ clicking river stones played by the dancers. A conch trumpet was sounded at the end of the performance.

The performance consisted of several *mele* or songs in the Hawaiian language including chants for Kane, the god of water, and Pele, the goddess of volcanoes. One such chant was a *mele ma‘i*, or genital (procreative), *mele*, “*Pu‘ānana Ka Manu*,” “the bird nests in hiding,” which praises Albert Kūnuiakea, son of Kamehameha I. This *mele*, introduced as a children’s song, is thought to represent “a humorous poke at the very westerners who tried to shame the genre out of existence” by using a children’s song with the simple recitation of vowels to disguise the “passionate recitation of sighs, beginning with a very interested ‘ah’ and ending with a thoroughly satisfied

‘oooh’” (Cord 2010). Another pre-contact *mele* performed was entitled “‘Au‘a ‘ia e Kama e kona moku” (“Oh Kama, look, and observe thy lands”). This *mele hula pahu* urges its audience to hold fast to their lands and heritage” (Tatar 1989).

During the opening and closing ceremonies, the Hawaiian delegation carried a *kāhili* feather standard rather than a Hawaiian state or US flag. Perhaps too much should not be read into this display of traditionalism including an emphasis on, or nostalgia for, pre-contact chants. Nor, perhaps, should one over-emphasize the Hawaiian delegation showing no signs of their affiliation with the United States, particularly during the opening and closing ceremonies when most countries carried flags. Still, the proposal by the Hawaiian delegation leader, Mrs. Mapuana de Silva, (*kumu hula* of [Halau Mohala `Ilima](#)) to the SPC’s Council of Pacific Arts and Culture to host the 2020 Festival of Pacific Arts in Hawai‘i, which occurred contemporaneous to the 2012 FOPA, did echo what might be considered a Hawaiian nationalist sentiment. She argued that “the country [of Hawai‘i] was taken from their people in 1893 through US annexation” and hosting this festival “will help them to rebuild their Hawaiian nation” (Secretariat 2013, 6).

Also of note, there was a New York City-based jazz trio, called the Magic Number, which represented the United States as a US Department of State Arts Envoy at the festival. Although I did not see the group perform, they apparently have no particular stylistic or cultural connection to music of the Pacific. Since there was no explicit US delegation to this festival, I include the Magic Number trio here, within the description of the Hawaiian performing groups. Their presence just adds to the questions about countries’ representations at the festival.

approximately 1% of the nation's 10,000 people, to the Festival in Honiara. The Iti (Frigate Bird) Group, from the Baiti district, consisted of nearly a dozen women who performed a traditional frigate bird dance. Dressed in black raffia skirts, white blouses, black necklaces made of bird feathers, black and white woven armlets, and woven green leaves made into star-like head wreaths, these women performed a slow dance depicting the movements of the frigate bird. This dance was performed to multipart male and female choral singing as well as to the slow steady beat of the log drum. The song was a hymn-like *iriang* song sung with western harmonies (see Figure 22). To each of a half dozen verses sung in the Nauruan language, a member of the Micronesian language family, the dancers would tilt their heads downward and

The image displays a musical score for the Nauru Frigate Bird Song. The first system consists of three staves: Percussion, Alto, and Bass. The Percussion staff is marked with a tempo of ♩ = 66 and a 4/4 time signature, featuring a steady beat of quarter notes. The Alto and Bass staves are in 4/4 time with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The Alto part begins with a melodic line, while the Bass part provides a harmonic foundation. The second system shows three staves: Perc., A, and B. The Perc. staff continues the steady beat. Staves A and B are marked with a '5' above the staff, indicating a fifth measure rest, suggesting a choral or instrumental entry point.

Figure 22. Transcription of one verse from the Nauru Frigate Bird Song.

side to side in a bird-like manner, at times extending their arm movements as if they had wings. Each verse ended with a characteristic four-pulse rhythm as shown in the last measure of Figure 22.

Twenty men and women dancers from the Dogoropwa Group of the Yaren district of Nauru portrayed a dramatic story of three sisters who had a great love for the universe, complete with prerecorded sound effects for wind and thunder. Each dancer held a 1.5-meter stick, each decorated with a different design. Men wore shorts under a short grass-like *lavalava*, a shell necklace, and woven headband. Women were similarly dressed but also wore grass-covered bra tops. This dramatic production was narrated in English and accompanied by the Nauruan-language *iruwo* chant.

A dozen performers from the Ekawada Performing Group of Meneng district demonstrated *Ekawada*, Nauruan string games, known to be played by the children of Nauru. These clever string constructions, analogous to the Western game of cat's cradle, were built by individuals and small groups while the narrator described features of Nauru such as representation of the twelve tribes of Nauru on the Nauruan flag.

New Caledonia

New Caledonia is a special non-governing territory of France lying southwest of Vanuatu, south of Solomon Islands, and consisting of about nine inhabited islands with a population of about a quarter million people. New Caledonia hosted FOPA in 2000, after political tensions regarding independence from France resulted in the

postponement and rescheduling of the 1984 Festival of Pacific Arts to French Polynesia in 1985. As New Caledonia is still in the process of negotiating its independence from France, the delegation seemed to resonate with other Pacific neighbors fighting for independence, as its members not only flew the New Caledonian and French flags but also the Maluku and West Papua flags (see Figures 23 and 24) as well as an unidentified flag that is very similar to the New Caledonian flag (see Figure 25).

The New Caledonian delegation of 150 people included forty from each of the three provinces of New Caledonia: Loyalty Islands Province, North Province, and South Province. The performing artists within the delegation were categorized in terms of: music, traditional songs, traditional dance, and contemporary dance. This collection of artists presented a diverse set of performances from New Caledonia. Eight children from the Terre Brulée group, girls in white dresses and boys in white raffia-like *lavalava*, both wearing white headbands and having white stripes painted on their faces and bodies, danced in a circle to the accompaniment of a simple, repeated harmonica pattern, apparently prerecorded, while three musicians played stamping tubes, and a narrator told the story of the *pilou* owl dance.

In another performance, about twenty men from the Kwitiwa traditional dance group, dressed in dried grass *lavalava*, danced and chanted, presumably in one of the thirty or so Southern Oceanic indigenous languages of New Caledonia, to drum and rattle percussion while circling around the flag of New Caledonia and holding three-meter sticks in the form of a dome around the flag. Yet another group from the Fayahoue Chorale from Ouvéa sang Temperance songs from the early twentieth

century. They presented a more modern look, with dresses made of multicolor fabric. They held booklets with the French words to the songs, and were led by a conductor. More modern still, the Naimoon reggae band entertained the crowds of the Pasifika



Figure 23. Flags of New Caledonia, France, unknown, New Caledonia and West Papua (L to R).



Figure 24. New Caledonian delegation with Republic of South Maluku (RMS) flag, *Republik Maluku Selatan* in Indonesian.



Figure 25. Unidentified flag contains seven horizontal stripes; from the top: red, blue, green, red, blue, green and red; with four black *flèches faïtières* totems set within four yellow circles.

stage one evening. These half dozen musicians were dressed in blue jeans and black shirts bearing the *flèche faïtière* symbol and colors of the New Caledonian flag (see Appendix B). As a final performance of the Festival for New Caledonia, a half dozen women performed lullabies sung in French to a small group of New Caledonian children. Coming at the end of the evening as it did and in the largest venue at the Festival, the lullabies, sung by one or two adults and sometimes by the gentle voices of the children, apparently did not satisfy the crowd's desires for volume and excitement. The performance was one of the few I saw at the Festival where the crowd actually became disrespectful, shouting and whistling throughout the performance.

Niue

Niue is a small Polynesian country (in “free association” with New Zealand) located in the western part of the Polynesian triangle, neighboring Samoa to its north and Tonga to its west. The nation of approximately 1600 people sent a delegation of around twenty that included eight dancers, five young women and three young men.

This group of dancers performed at least two different shows during the festival, one more contemporary and one more traditional.

For the contemporary performance, the women wore bluish-purple knee length floral-patterned dresses and multi-strand yellow shell necklaces. The young men wore purple floral *lavalava*, yellow shell necklaces, purple streamers hanging from their necks, and dried leaf wreaths on their heads. They danced to prerecorded pop music of ukulele, drum set, and voice. The songs, such as “Niue Niue Ala Mai La” (translation unavailable) composed by Sale Tusine and sung by Jolly Talima, were usually sung in the Niuean language. However, at least one prerecorded song was in English, with lyrics such as “I’m going crazy, I love you madly, my baby.” The popular dances included a *koli ngesi niu* dance where halves of coconut shells held by the dancers were used as accompanying percussion.

For the more traditional performance the same group of dancers wore similar costumes, though in red, and performed dance to chanting performed by the dancers as well as the elders of the delegation, who were sitting on the edge of the stage at microphones. These dances included a *takalo* warrior greeting performed by the young men wielding two-meter long wooden paddle-like weapons, sharpened to a point at the end. A second traditional dance performed by the young men and women, described by the delegation head, Robin Heikawa as having been passed down from generation to generation, portrayed the *unga* land crab, its lifestyle, and the human activities surrounding it, such as hunting and eating (11th Festival 2012, DVD 4). This was accompanied by stick idiophones as well as a hand-struck membranophone. Finally, this so-called traditional performance also utilized prerecorded pop sounding

ukulele and singing with drums for a *tuhituhi* song typically used to bless visitors and friends.

Norfolk Island

Norfolk Island, the home of the descendants of the Tahitian and British settlers of the Pitcairn Islands since the mid-1850s, sent a small contingent to the 11th FOPA. The Norfolk Island Yuuk Band performance consisted of two women dancers accompanied by two men and two women singing and playing guitars. The women wore green floral dresses and the men wore green floral shirts with black shorts. The dancers also wore headdresses woven from leaves and feathers and a Tahitian-like *hei* hip-belt of green leaves. The musicians played and sang English language songs, supposedly passed down from their British sailor ancestors, such as the gently swaying “I Feel Good” which was suitable for the hula-like swaying of the dancers. This group was one of the few that made use of printed sheet music and music stands.

Palau

The Palau delegation included ten dancers, two instructors, three visual artists, two members of the Palauan Ministry of Community and Cultural Affairs, and two faculty members from Japanese Universities. The ten young women of the Ngerchemai Dancers from the main island of Koror performed several times during the festival, each time in different attire. On one occasion, they wore bright green raffia-like skirts with shorter red raffia-like aprons, woven *pandanus* bra-tops, and vertical sticks woven into crowns decorating their hair. Their skin was covered in turmeric, giving it a yellowish brown color in a manner known in Polynesian and

Micronesian societies. In this traditional dress, they performed unaccompanied traditional songs with seated and standing dances.

On another occasion, wearing white raffia-like skirts and colorful green blouses, they performed synchronized dance, all in a straight line, to prerecorded music of electric guitars and keyboards accompanying pop-sounding Palauan songs. Although apparently sung in the Palauan language, one of these tunes closely resembled the melody of Hank Williams's "Jambalaya." Even with this small delegation, they were obviously intent on demonstrating their traditions as well as their commitment to modernity.

Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea (PNG) brought representatives from four of its twenty-two districts (twenty provinces, one autonomous region of Bougainville, and the National Capital District of Port Moresby) to the Festival. These were the Tanir Cultural Group from New Ireland Province, the Sinsari Cultural Group from East Sepik Province, a combined group from the Eastern Highlands Province, and the Toare Cultural Group from Gulf Province. With over seven million inhabitants, second only to Australia in terms of Pacific nation populations, and over 800 spoken languages, the Papua New (PNG) delegation of 138 people presented some of the most striking images at the festival.⁸ Interestingly, it is reported that such a large contingent cost the PNG government 900,000 PNG kina (over \$350,000 USD) to take part in the Festival ("138 to Represent PNG" 2012).

⁸ For a map of the distribution of languages across PNG, see <http://www.muturzikin.com/cartesoceanie/oceanie2.htm>.

The Sinsari Cultural Group from East Sepik Province, in the north of the main island of PNG, presented six women dancers accompanied by another six musicians who played hourglass hand-drums (except in the main stage performance where they actually used commercially produced congas) and sang chants. Both men and women were dressed in *lavalava* of raffia in the colors of the PNG flag: red, yellow, and black. The women wore woven bra-tops and both men and women had shell necklaces draped around their torsos, as well as shell headbands supporting vertical black and yellow feathers. This group prominently displayed the PNG flag; some danced with small replicas of the flag in hand and others had flags stuck in their headbands.

The Tanir Cultural Group from the island of New Ireland Province presented dance and chanting to the accompaniment of hourglass drums and log drums. The dancers' costumes were very similar to those of the *Dukduk* secret society of neighboring East New Britain Province located on the PNG mainland. These dancers wore head coverings that completely obscured their heads with radial broad green leaves, as shown in Figure 26. On the top of these masks was a horizontal red circle out of which protruded a one-meter vertical spire crowned with a plume of white feathers, and at the base of which were two large white disks that looked like eyes. In *Dukduk* society, the masks with the large eyes are known as the female, *tubuan*, masked characters, though worn by males. While the *Dukduk* society is part of the culture of the Tolai people of East New Britain and the neighboring Duke of York Islands, the Tanir group represents New Ireland Province, whence the Tolai claim to originate. Further complicating matters is that the Tanir Rural Local-Level

Government (LLG) area is on the opposite side of New Ireland from East New Britain island and that the Tanir group is actually based hundreds of miles from there in the nation's capital, Port Moresby. So, whether this Tanir group's representation was that of something similar to but different from the Tolai *Dukduk* society, or whether the Tanir group was implicitly either borrowing or claiming the *Dukduk* society as their own, was not clear.



Figure 26. Broad leaf masks of *tubuan* characters from New Ireland Province.

The group from the Eastern Highlands Province performed a war dance from the village of Asaro with dancers again wearing remarkable masks, some with two-

meter tall spires and wildly painted faces. The boys in this group were described as dancing and singing to attract girls. They wore headdresses of black, red, and white Bird-of-paradise feathers, loin-cloth flaps, and painted white spots on their torsos. Accompanying these dancers were what appeared to be guards dressed in loincloths over which were draped meter-long strands of fiber. These guards wore masks resembling terra cotta pots with ears, eyes, nose, and mouth over their heads. They carried protective bows and arrows, which they pointed threateningly at the crowd. Occasionally, they lifted the fibrous strands hanging from their waists to expose their bottoms to the crowd for a laugh. The crowd responded to these gestures enthusiastically. The PNG delegation, then, seemed well aware of the audience expectations for their dramatic and diverse costumes while at the same time making a conscious effort to present their diversity under the common symbol of the Bird-of-paradise seen on their nation's flag.

Rapa Nui/Easter Island

The Chilean island territory of Easter Island (Rapa Nui) was represented in performance by the professional group Kari Kari, led by Linn Rapu and consisting of about ten dancers and ten musicians.⁹ The musicians sang and played guitars and ukuleles as well as the *kauaha*, a jawbone rattle hit with palm, an *upa-upu* (accordion), two stones held in the player's hands and hit together for percussive effect (*maea*), bass drum, bongo-like drum, and a drum set.

⁹ Officially, Rapa Nui is "Isla de Pascua" meaning "Easter Island" after its 1722 discovery date by Dutch explorer, Jacob Roggeveen, but now known as "Rapa Nui" in the native Polynesian language of Rapa Nui.

The women dancers and musicians wore white, black, or brown feather or woven bikini tops; hanging black and white feather garland skirts; white feather headdresses; and white or black feather armlets. The bare-chested men wore a woven loincloth or codpiece; black feather leglets attached below the knee; and headdresses of white, brown or black feathers. Some of the men also sported tattoos on their legs and torsos as well as white-paint stripes or designs on their legs and faces. The announcer for this group explained that these costumes were “made of feathers, shells, banana bark fiber, and *mahute* (barkcloth)” (Kaepler forthcoming). The women performed ‘*aparima* movements; that is, side-to-side hip movements primarily stepping in place. The men often performed with legs spread apart and occasionally used front to back hip movements emphasizing their swinging loincloths.

The music was often played with quick tempos and catchy repeated rhythms, such as shown in Figure 27, to simple chord changes, while the chords played on ukulele often served to accentuate the rhythmic patterns within the music. Between the scant attire for both men and women, the slender women’s graceful swaying movements, and the men’s provocative use of their loin coverings, as well as the simple but engaging music, the group from Rapa Nui seemed to be the favorite of the audiences throughout the festival.

Interestingly, the performers from Rapa Nui displayed their unofficial Rapanui flag, a red crescent-shaped *reimiro* representing a Polynesian canoe on a

white background, as well as the Chilean flag during the opening and closing ceremonies. Thus, the performers celebrated their Polynesian heritage as well as acknowledged their territorial relationship to Chile.



Figure 27. Two examples of rhythms played with Rapa Nui songs.

Samoa

The country of Samoa, the oldest independent country in the Pacific, sent a delegation of seventy-six people to the Festival in 2012 (Esera 2012). At the time of the festival, Samoa had just celebrated its 50th anniversary of independence from New Zealand, which had ruled Samoa from 1914 to 1962. Perhaps this period of English-speaking colonization accounts in part for the Samoan performers singing in the Samoan language, a Polynesian language, as well as in English. Now officially known as “The Independent State of Samoa,” Samoa was renamed from “Western Samoa” in 1997 and is still sometimes referred to as Western Samoa in some contexts, including the official Secretariat of the Pacific Community’s DVD of the 11th Festival of Pacific Arts (11th Festival 2012, DVD 3).

The thirty-member Malofie Dance Group presented sixteen dancers and another fourteen musicians in a variety of traditional songs and dance. The women dancers wore Samoan *puleitasi*, long floral blouses over ankle length white cloth skirts, while the men simply wore a cloth wrap around their waist and green leaf-like streamers tied below the knee. In addition, both men and women wore whale-tooth necklaces.

The dancers were accompanied at times by log drumming and at other times by guitars and singing. In the *maulu'ulu* dance, men and women dancers performed an animated seated dance to the Western harmonies of guitar, singing, drumming, and log percussion accompaniment, as an introduction to the show. Women performed a slower-paced standing love song dance which, according to group spokesman Peter Suluape, was intended to show off their femininity (ibid.). The men also performed their aggressive Samoan slap dance with instrumental and sung accompaniment. Perhaps the high point of the performance came toward the end with the *ailao* war dance, in one case with eight men wielding *anava*, jagged wooden war clubs, and in another case with two men performing the popular fire knife dance in which they rapidly twirled, threw, and caught sticks lit with fire on both ends. The combined group finished their performance holding hands, swaying, and singing to the English-language song "We are Samoa." Clearly, the sounds of Western harmonies and instruments are part of what is now considered traditional in Samoa.

Solomon Islands

The nine provinces of the Solomon Islands presented over thirty traditional performing groups at the Honiara venues alone. While many of these groups shared common themes visually and aurally, overall they presented a great diversity of sights and sounds.

One of the most distinctive aspects of these groups was their attire. Many of the men in these groups wore white or tan loincloths. While most of the male Solomon Islands performers were bare-chested, a very few groups, such as the Honiara City Council panpipe group, wore colorful floral print shirts. In contrast, about half of the female performing groups were bare-chested. Both men and women wore tan or green grass-like skirts or *lavalava*. Performers were often decorated with green or tan grass or leaf leglets. Many wore headbands, often made of laced shells, cowry shells, or leaves. A number of groups, such as the Kobara Dance Group from the island of Ranongga in Western Province, had painted white stripes or designs on their arms, legs, and torsos. Many wore shell necklaces, in some cases similar to the bands of shells used for shell money, such as in the groups T. F. Tanite from North Malaita and Awangarah of Makira-Ulawa Province. Depictions of birds were quite prevalent in these groups: a frigate bird painted on the backs of the Makiran group Ahi'a; hand-carried outlined images of hornbills such as Baefua from North Malaita; hornbill beaks and feathers decorating the hats worn by the performers from Choiseul (see Figure 28); or frigate birds painted on *kap-kap* medallions in groups such as Adeomea from the Honiara City Council. Feathers and leaves were often used to adorn implements such as spears and paddles. Guards carrying spears or bows and

arrows were common with many performing groups as well, keeping the performers safe from danger. In the case of Tarawasiwasi from Malaita, the guards wore horned gray masks over the entirety of their heads. The men in a few of the performing groups such as Siakole from Central Province wore long black wigs, and long blond wigs were worn by Hatakau Maniaha from East ‘Are‘Are, Malaita. Many, from Makira Province in particular, such as Awangarah, were adorned with pinkish-red streamers in their headbands or spears.



Figure 28. Choiseul Peacemaking Ceremony; men wearing hornbill beaks and feathers.

The group that may have stood out the most in terms of attire were the Tamate dancers from the island of Vanikoro, Temotu Province (see Figure 29). The bodies, limbs, and faces of these dancers were completely indiscernible, as they were entirely covered with long dried fibers. They wore tall, sometimes cone-shaped,

woven hats or hats with what appeared to be a red shield and horns, giving the impression that these dancers stood about ten feet tall.

While most of the cultures in the Solomon Islands are considered Melanesian, a few are more closely related to Polynesian cultures; these include the regions of Renbel Province; Ontong Java (Lord Howe Atoll), Malaita Province; and the island of Tikopia, Temotu Province. The Solomon Islands' Polynesian groups were visually



Figure 29. Tamate dancer from the island of Vanikoro, Temotu Province.

distinctive but many seemed to have the common feature of rubbing yellow or red turmeric on their skin, either in a small patch, as with the Amotukunga from Tikopia, or all over their bodies, as with the performers from Ontong Java.

The range of instrumentation among the traditional Solomon Islands performing groups was fairly narrow. The most commonly observed instrument among them may have been the *chala* nut ankle rattles (see Figure 30). Nearly every Solomon Islands group utilized rattles of this type. Many groups performed by



Figure 30. *Chala* nut ankle rattle.

striking slit drums with sticks, and several groups used stamping tubes creating different pitches by striking different-length bamboo tubes on rocks. These stamping tubes ranged from eight inches to three feet in length. Nearly half of the performing groups played panpipes made of bamboo. These were either blown or struck on the ends with a paddle. The lore is that players would simply use their flip-flops to slap the ends of the tubes but this was apparently not the case for the Festival performances (see Figure 31). Some of these panpipes were tuned to pentatonic scales while others were tuned closer to a major scale, though detailed analysis of the tuning was not possible at the Festival.

Guitars were rarely used in these traditional performance groups. The Baruku Bamboo Band from Western Province did, however, play acoustic guitars in addition to struck bamboo tubes to accompany their multipart tonal songs. In addition, a group from Suava Bay, Malaita, was particularly notable in their distinct difference from the other Solomon Island groups. This group of eight men dressed in American cowboy



Figure 31. Paddle for striking bamboo tubes.

attire including cowboy hats, shirts, and blue jeans, played acoustic guitars as they sang American country songs from the 1940s (see Figure 32). Supposedly, the performers, or their ancestors, had learned these songs from the American soldiers stationed in the Solomon Islands during World War II.

It seemed almost universally true that the traditional Solomon Island performing groups generated music and danced at the same time. The dances could consist of the group walking slowly in a circle, or standing in place but alternately bending and straightening at the knees or waist, or performing elaborate coordinated



Figure 32. Country music performers from Suava Bay, Malaita.

dance steps. All forms of these dances occurred while generating music, either by simply singing or chanting, by generating percussive sounds with ankle or handheld rattles, by playing panpipes, or through a combination of these. A few members of many groups remained stationary to play either the larger struck bamboo instruments, the slit drums, or the stamping tubes. Two groups provided notable exceptions to this practice: the country music band from Suava Bay, Malaita mentioned above and the Dahui Cultural Group from Makira Province, which performed Western homophonic music on panpipes while standing in place in a fashion that more closely resembled a Western concert band.

I found the Awangarah example interesting both for the almost Western pop music sound of the their struck bamboo band, as well as for the fact that they and many Makiran performers made the Makira-Ulawa Province flag very prominent throughout their performances. Whether this flag waving was a response to inter-province rivalries or some other issue is not clear to me. One of the most striking

juxtapositions of traditional and contemporary performance was the combining of a school choir with a traditional panpipe group (see Figure 33). The thirty or so high school boys and girls, dressed in what might be considered Western casual clothes including jeans, shorts, and T-shirts stood in striking contrast next to the equal-sized group of adult male panpipe players dressed in nothing but loin cloths. Together, these groups danced, played and sang to a recording of the contemporary sound of this festival's theme song, "United Pacific," written by Kadiba Alu ("Theme Song" 2011).



Figure 33. Solomon Islands school choir with traditional panpipes singing and playing Festival theme song, "United Pacific."

On a few occasions, a description of the performances was offered by the Master of Ceremonies or by a representative of the performing group. In one such instance, a description was offered of an elaborate peace-making ceremony enacted by a group from Choiseul Province (Figure 28). This performance represented the interactions between two villages coming together to make peace. The event consisted of a sequence of several steps: first the women from the hosting village went to retrieve the women from the second village; then two men representing the hosting village went to retrieve the men from the second village. Finally, people from both villages chopped down a pole supporting a basket full of food for the ensuing feast. All of these phases of the peacemaking were accompanied by men playing blown panpipes and men and women performing slow pulsating dance steps (see Figure 34). The largely Solomon Islands audience intensely crowded around this enactment supported the idea that such opportunities to see their own countrymen and women in performance was perhaps as rare to Solomon Islanders as to outsiders.



Figure 34. Transcription of Choiseul peacemaking ceremony.

One interesting exception to the many Solomon Islands' panpipe groups was a musical put on by the school-aged Sugarcane Boys from St. Nicholas High School, Honiara. This drama depicted the destruction of families and lives from the "blackbirding" process, which occurred in the Solomon Islands in the late nineteenth century. Blackbirding was the process whereby slavers would deceive or forcefully kidnap Melanesian people such as Solomon Islanders to serve as laborers particularly in the sugar cane plantations of Australia and Fiji.

Taiwan

Since Taiwan, officially the Republic of China, is not a member of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community, the delegation from Taiwan was apparently at the festival as a guest, invited by the host country, Solomon Islands. ABC Radio Australia reports that the indigenous Taiwanese "are part of the Festival of Pacific Arts because it is in their country that all Oceanians originated before migrating to the Pacific, thousands of years ago" ("The Art, Culture, and Faces" 2013).

Taiwan's dancing group of about a dozen young men and women provided some of the most colorful costumes of any delegation at the festival. Not only did they perform in different costumes for different shows but the group of six women and five men danced in three or four different costumes in one twenty-minute performance. Figure 35 shows a selection of those costumes at the closing ceremonies. Taiwan's flag was apparent throughout the Festival whenever the Taiwan delegation was performing (see Figure 36). Given the precarious political position Taiwan is in internationally, being recognized as a sovereign nation by only twenty-

one of the world's countries, six of which are in the Pacific, it may not come as a complete surprise that the appearance of the Taiwan flag was so prevalent in this festival of Taiwan's Pacific neighbors.¹⁰

Taiwan's dancing, too, was unique among the great diversity presented at this festival. The men and women formed a straight line and danced arm-in-arm at one point. At another point, the men performed an athletic dance where they hopped repeatedly on one leg, to a repeating percussion accompaniment with prerecorded



Figure 35. Some of the colorful costumes of the Taiwanese delegation with the Taiwanese flag.

¹⁰ The six Pacific countries that recognize Taiwan are Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Solomon Islands, and Tuvalu.



Figure 36. Taiwanese dancers with flag.

bird and wind sounds, perhaps in the imitation of a bird dance. Although they marched in the opening parade with an hourglass-shaped hand drum, the accompaniment for most of their singing and dancing was prerecorded. An excerpt of a verse of a multi-verse song is shown in Figure 37. This transcription shows a simple melody and repeated rhythm played on percussion and piano (or synthesizer) accompanying sung vocables. This song seemed to attempt to epitomize the “happy Ami people,” as the announcer described the delegation from Taiwan. Despite claims of their historical connection to the Oceanian people, the Taiwan delegation with their colorful head-to-toe costumes, frolicking dance, and simple tonal melodies did not seem closely related to the other performances at the festival.

♩. = 120

The musical score is written for three parts: Voice, Piano, and Percussion. The time signature is 6/8, and the tempo is marked as 120 beats per minute. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The Voice part has the lyrics: "ha i ya ho i ya ha i yo ha i yo ha ya". The Piano part has a melody in the right hand and chords in the left hand. The Percussion part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Figure 37. Transcription of an excerpt from a Taiwanese dance and song.

Tokelau

The tiny island nation of Tokelau is a territory of New Zealand consisting of three coral atolls, Fakaofu, Atafu and Nukunono, lying north of Samoa and south of Kiribati, and having a population of less than 1400 as of 2014 (“Tokelau” 2014). The Tokelau delegation to Honiara consisted of one dance troupe of twenty men and women from Fakaofu: the three atolls rotate responsibility for sending performers to

each Festival of Pacific Arts (Shennan 2012). The Fakaofu troupe performed traditional chant, song, and dance of Tokelau.

The Tokelauan women wore red blouses and long red skirts similar to the Samoan *puletasi* and *puletaha*, while the men wore long fibrous *lavalava* over red cloth *lavalava* (see Figure 38). Both were decorated with garlands around their necks



Figure 38. Dancers, singers, drummers from Tokelau.

made of fibers, rather like fibrous leis, and headbands and waistbands of similar fibers made into flower shapes. The women wore mother-of-pearl pendants while the men wore a mother-of-pearl or wood fishhook hanging from their necks.

The traditional dances included chants accompanied by percussion and dance, song accompanied by guitar, and several of the characteristically Tokelauan *fātele*, dances. Although *fātele* are creations of the early twentieth century and they resemble neighboring Tuvaluan dances of the same name, they are strongly associated with Tokelau, particularly for those Tokelauans living overseas (Kaeppeler

and Love 1998, 825). A *fātele* begins very slowly with little motion but with singing to the accompaniment of the seated men slapping the *pokihi* box drum. Gradually, dance movements and singing volume increase, and the tempo picks up. When the song/dance has reached its point of greatest exuberance, it stops abruptly.

Although the songs were sung in the Tokelauan language, the songs were introduced in English, revealing that different dances represented various aspects of Tokelauan life: the process of fishing, the distribution of the catch so that everyone gets something, the following of the moon's cycles for guiding daily life, and, finally, the most pressing concern at the moment, the rising sea levels that threaten Tokelauan communities. In introducing their last song, the spokesperson for the troupe made a point of emphasizing that Tokelau would become the first nation in the world to rely solely on renewable energy by December 2012. In this way, the people of Tokelau use their traditional song and dance to address modern issues, in this case raising awareness of the impacts of climate change among the larger nations of the world.

Vanuatu

The Melanesian island nation of Vanuatu is situated to the southeast of Solomon Islands and west of Fiji.¹¹ The delegation from the island nation of Vanuatu consisted of fifty-nine people from five different groups ("59 Depart" 2012). The traditional drumming and dancing group consisting of four drummers, four other instrumentalists, and about a dozen male dancers was from Pentecost Island (*Pentikos*

¹¹ Officially the "Republic of Vanuatu" or in Bislama, "*Ripablik blong Vanuatu*," it was referred to as New Hebrides until its independence from Great Britain and France in 1980.

in Bislama).¹² In their traditional performance, dancers wore loincloths with elaborately woven red and tan designs with a foot or more of fringe, and nut rattles around their ankles. They danced in a manner resembling jogging, at times carrying spears and clubs, while chanting to the accompaniment of the log percussion performed on several sizes of slit logs (see Figure 39).



Figure 39. Pentacost Island drummers and dancers.

In the more contemporary performance, dancers and musicians wore similar attire, with a woven shirt with the red, green, yellow, and black stripes of the Vanuatu flag (see Appendix B). Figure 40 shows this contemporary attire as worn in the closing ceremony procession. While still dancing and singing to the accompaniment of the slit-log drummers, in the contemporary performance they also played electric guitars, keyboard and a drum set, and sang in English and Bislama. In fact, this more contemporary, though still group with the traditional, performance was initiated by the two-part hymn-like singing in English: “Singing with a song, so nice melody, Marching we are marching, marching along.”

¹² Bislama is a creole language with a grammar common to Melanesian languages and vocabulary largely from English. 113 Melanesian languages are spoken in Vanuatu.



Figure 40. Vanuatu performers at the closing ceremony wearing colors of Vanuatu's flag.

Chapter 3: Analysis

In attempting to understand a festival as complex as FOPA 2012 or position its many diverse aspects within a useful framework, the five “-scapes” of Appadurai (1996) provide a beneficial place to start. Appadurai suggests that landscapes of finance, media, technology, ethnicity, and ideology offer a framework for thinking about the factors affecting music cultures within today’s interconnected world. The performances I observed at the 2012 festival are analyzed in terms of each of these -scapes, including the tensions within and between the –scapes.

Finanscape

While Appadurai does not provide a concise definition of his notion of a finanscape he does stress its importance and difficulty given “the complex fiscal and investment flows that link” economies of the world (ibid., 34). The finanscape played an enormous role in the 11th Festival of Pacific Arts. The government of the host country always bears the largest burden for paying for this festival. The 2012 FOPA cost the Solomon Islands government over 100 million Solomon Islands dollars (over 13.5 million USD) to construct the many festival venues on four different islands, provide sound and lighting for events with tens of thousands of people, and improve the local infrastructure in order to support the event (Tuhonuku 2012, 8). In return, the government hoped to draw attention to the great potential of their diverse nation: potential for tourism to its World Heritage sites, potential for valuable use of its

natural resources, and even international potential for its talented musicians and other artists.

The magnitude of those hopes was reflected in the extent of investment made in the festival. Many newspaper articles that circulated during the course of the festival described the tremendous financial impact that hosting the festival was having on the government of the host country. Some of those impacts included a collection of unpaid bills. For example, one newspaper article described the Malaita provincial government's refusal to open its already built festival venue in Auki until it received the payments promised by the Solomon Islands federal government (Marau 2012a, 1). Unfortunately, for the same reason the Malaitan delegation also chose to leave the Malaita Province hut in the main Festival Village empty for most of the festival. Finally, in the last couple of days of the festival the Malaita hut was filled with crafts-people and their products. Other articles reported government employees being paid in sacks of rice rather than the usual cash because of the government's shortage of cash (Inifiri 2012, 3). One retired Solomon Islands teacher commented to me that his wife had not received her government pension for several weeks, apparently a result of the strain on the country's budget. Mr. Timothy Johnston, Premier of Solomon Islands' Renbel Province, assured me that the investment and tourism that will follow this festival will make the sacrifices and shortfalls his country endured worthwhile. His particular province has hopes of cashing in on their World Heritage site, Lake Tegano, through tourism (Johnston 2012).

Another aspect of the finanscape is revealed by the list of event sponsors. Several local firms such as the Sol Brew beer company (Solomon Breweries

Limited), Solomon Airlines, and Soltai tuna company (Soltai Fishing and Processing Limited) provided support and presumably stood to benefit from the festival, as did several telecommunications companies and banks (Souvenir Program 2012).

Regional neighbors such as Australia, New Zealand, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and Fiji also provided support, though in some, if not all, cases countries providing support may have had self-serving interests in mind as well. Australia's interests in Solomon Islands gold mining, for example, may be representative of the kinds of interests other nations might have thus prompting their support. Taiwan, for example, provided over 10 million Solomon Islands dollars (over 1.3 million USD) funding for the festival, perhaps in hopes of obtaining continuing support from the Solomon Islands government in its bid for UN recognition ("Preparations" 2011).

Every four years, the finanscape inevitably factors into various nations' decisions about whether to attend the festival and, if so, which and how many groups to send to it. In some countries such as New Zealand, competition winners or performers with recognized achievement are chosen to represent their countries at the quadrennial festival. In Easter Island, it is the premier hotel performing group that attends, but in Hawai'i, the task of selecting performers has devolved to the dance school that is willing to raise their own money, Hālau Mōhala 'Ilima.

In 2012, the costs of attending the festival had even greater impacts on countries like Tonga, Wallis and Futuna, Federated States of Micronesia, Northern Mariana Islands, Marshall Islands, Cook Islands and Tuvalu, none of which sent performers to the 2012 festival. When the tiny French territory of Wallis and Futuna do attend FOPA, they will alternate their attendance between the two main islands to

minimize cost (Kaeppler 2012). The struggling economy of Norfolk Island did not prohibit the sending of a delegation to this festival, but the small size of the delegation may reflect those particular financial struggles (Colvin 2013).

Another aspect related to the finanscape that was very visible at the 2012 FOPA was the attendance of thousands of people. Unlike some earlier Festivals of Pacific Arts, FOPA 2012 charged no admission to any performances (Leahy 2010, 81). That certainly facilitated attendance of the vast majority of festival-goers who were from the Solomon Islands. The festival was put on by Solomon Islanders and, largely, for Solomon Islanders. Many in attendance had never seen performers from neighboring islands nor from remote parts of their own islands, let alone far away places like Tahiti or Hawai'i. As Adrienne Kaeppler puts it, "we have to remember, it [FOPA] is not for us. It's for Pacific Islanders to see what other Pacific Islanders are like" (Kaeppler 2012).

Mediascape

Appadurai uses the term mediascape to refer to "the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film-production studios... and to the images of the world created by these media" (Appadurai 1996, 35). The most obvious aspect of the mediascape was in daily local newspaper coverage, but it was also present in local radio and television coverage. TV New Zealand produced a television program, *Tagata Pasifika*, covering the festival (Tagata 2012), and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community produced a six-DVD set covering every aspect of the festival (Festival of

Pacific Arts 11 2012). In addition, it is interesting to note that despite a recommendation by the World Intellectual Property Organization, the festival organizers decided to allow all forms of recording throughout the festival. They apparently decided that the risk of losing royalties was small in comparison to the other potential benefits, perhaps including additional exposure (Janke 2009).

One aspect of the intense local media coverage was the constant presence of photographers and videographers on stage obscuring the audience's already limited view. Admittedly, the photographs obtained by those sitting on the stage with the performers can be quite stunning. Although this impact may have been less than in previous festivals due to the revised recording policy, one still wonders, if the festival is not presented for outsiders and if it is visually obscured from those in attendance, who it is that the festival is for.

A more subtle aspect of the mediascape may be found in considering audience expectations based on media coverage. Blogs from the Hawaiian delegation reveal the struggle they had in dealing with the Solomon Islanders' apparent expectations for a more commercial hula experience (Sterling 2012). Conversely, the Solomon Islands are known for their panpipe ensembles, and their performances throughout the festival did not disappoint, though they may have surprised in some cases. The panpipe groups varied from the more traditional sounding, such as the Choiseul peacemaking ceremony, to the Western sounds of the Dahui Cultural Group and the more pop sounds of groups like Awangarah. In addition, perhaps it is in the mediascape that one should consider the borrowing of traditions between countries made known through media channels including interactions at festivals such as this.

These borrowings might include Guam's incorporation of Hawaiian drums and Rapa Nui's incorporation of Tahitian dancing.

Technoscape

By the technoscape, Appadurai refers to “the global configuration... of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries” (Appadurai 1996, 34). The technoscape did not play a large role at this festival. One exception was an illustration that even technology is subject to the needs and controls of the local culture. According to local newspaper reporting, a substantial contract for lighting and sound engineering at the large stadium venue could not be fulfilled because the stage upon which the expensive and heavy equipment was to be placed was not built properly. There were claims that the stage was built not by a reputable contractor but by a relative of the responsible government official (Carter 2012, 1).

The technoscape does, to some extent, manifest views of modernity, and as a result the use or non-use of technology provides an interesting lens through which these performances can be viewed. Some performing groups such as Palau and Taiwan, for example, chose to rely heavily on the technology of prerecorded music to accompany their dance. This was in stark contrast to the majority of performances, such as those of the Solomon Islanders, who all seemed to perform their music live. Although the traditional performances, such as one from Vanuatu, occasionally used electric guitars and keyboards, those instances were very rare.

Ethnoscape

The fourth scape that Appadurai suggests is the ethnoscape, “the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals” (Appadurai 1996, 33). Although Appadurai focuses on the dynamic and chaotic aspects of the –scapes, he does refer to the “stabilities” as well, presumably those non-moving individuals with whom the moving individuals interact and create tension (ibid.).

The three main ethnic distinctions within the Pacific of Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian were indeed represented at the festival, although the distinctions between these broad cultural categories are not entirely clear given a long history of cultural interaction among Pacific Islanders. Moreover, a great variety of each of these broad categories was represented at the festival. In some cases, countries identify themselves with just one of these cultural categories: for example, Samoans as Polynesians, and Vanuatuans as Melanesians. In other cases, however, individual countries identify with multiple cultural categories. Indeed, the Solomon Islanders themselves included performances by traditionally Melanesian cultures, such as the ‘Are‘Are from the island of Malaita (Malaita Province), as well as Polynesian cultures, such as those from Ontong Java, which incidentally is also from Malaita Province.¹³

¹³ There are over a dozen so-called “Polynesian outlier” islands; that is, Polynesian islands outside of the Polynesian Triangle, including those in Solomon Islands (Anuta, Tikopia, Reef Islands, Duff Islands in Temotu Province; Rennell, Bellona in Renbel Province; Ontong Java, Sikaiana in Malaita Province), Federated States of Micronesia (Kapingamarangi, Nukuoro), Papua New Guinea (Nuguria, Nukumanu, Takuu), Vanuatu (Emae, Makata, Mele), and New Caledonia (Ouvéa).

Even though there was a significant representation of indigenous cultures at the festival, with the Pacific region encompassing nearly 1000 indigenous languages and Papua New Guinea alone being home to over 800 languages, it would be enormously difficult to represent all of those cultures and languages at one festival. Having said that, it was notable at the festival that the cultures of non-indigenous cultures of Pacific Island nations, such as the Indians in Fiji, Chinese in Solomon Islands, and Japanese in Hawaii, were not put on the performing stage at all, at least not that I observed. Thus, whereas it was apparent on the streets of Honiara that many stores were run by those of Chinese ancestry, no such cultural representation was apparent at the festival itself. Further confusing the issue of representation was the presence of the US jazz trio the Magic Number, which apparently had no cultural relationship to the Pacific at all. Such an inclusion may simply point to the distributed nature of responsibility for this festival: each country makes its own decisions about who represents it and how it is to be represented.

Ideoscape

Finally, in terms of Appadurai's ideoscape, "often directly political... ideologies of states and the counterideologies," the Festival seems to be a fertile ground for negotiating many such ideas at least indirectly related to the state if not directly linked to it (ibid., 36). One idea in particular—the theme of the festival, "Culture in Harmony with Nature"—comes to mind. This theme conjures up the many travesties by colonial states that the Pacific island nations have seen over the last 200 years. Cultures and natural resources have been damaged over that time to

serve financial interests, such as the destruction of the islands of Nauru and Banaba, Kiribati from phosphate mining and the resulting relocation of their inhabitants. Other examples of such destruction include the “blackbirding” process of abducting Melanesians by slavers; the ongoing exploitation of timber; and, of course, the damage occurring to low lying coral atolls brought about by rising sea levels. Of the many such pressing issues facing Pacific Islanders, however, only a few seemed to be raised at the festival. A Solomon Islander studying in Australia, Amie Batalibasi, produced a short film about the rising tides in her native Malaita Province (Marau 2012b, 8). The school-aged Sugarcane Boys from Honiara performed a musical, depicting the destruction of families and lives from the black-birding process. And the Tokelau dancers announced that Tokelau is the first country ever to achieve total reliance on renewable energy.

Perhaps better representative of the ideologies being actively wrestled with at the festival were the choices between traditional and contemporary presentation styles. The Maori of New Zealand, for example, brought an assortment of traditional performances including the *haka*, traditional instruments, and the reconstructed *karetao* puppets, as well as the contemporary rapper and jazz guitarists. The Hawaiians presented *hula kahiko*, the ancient form of hula, whereas the Australian Chooky Dancers presented traditional dance as well as music from *Zorba the Greek*.

An interesting aspect of the tension between traditional and contemporary was whether women would perform in so-called *kastom* dress; that is, bare-breasted. This decision seems to be a significant issue for quite a few people in the Pacific. In Samoa at the 2008 FOPA, a Samoan man actually started to beat the female dancers

from Papua New Guinea with a palm frond while they were dancing bare-breasted on stage (Kaepler 2002, 8). On the Sunday following this incident, local ministers picked up the theme by berating those dancers who performed without tops. Much of the Christianized Pacific may take umbrage at such displays. A Solomon Islander, a retired secondary school teacher visiting Honiara from Western Province, told me that the Solomon Islands women were only allowed to perform without tops for special ceremonies (personal communication). And interestingly, the few groups performing without tops at FOPA 2012, all from the Solomon Islands, included all ages from prepubescent girls to older women. The point seemed to be that although this attire was not particularly normal daily wear, it was being used to make a declaration of what is important, despite the teachings and admonishments from the church and Western cultural values. Furthermore, it seemed to suggest that the festival was being used as a training ground to reiterate these values to the next generation.

Another ideoscape example of the delicate balance between church and tradition arose in the context of trying to interpret the songs of the Awangarah bamboo band from Makira-Ulawa Province, Solomon Islands. A language translator in the Solomon Islands suggested to me that many of the Christian missionaries are reluctant even to translate the words of traditional songs since the songs are often prayers to the spirits. According to my translator contact, missionaries' concerns persist despite assurances from the locals that the words are just tradition and that when they do the dances "nobody is actually thinking about the words or actually calling the spirits to come. They are just re-enacting the old dances as a tribute to their culture" (personal communication). In another related example, a Malaitan

acquaintance explained to me that the ‘Are‘Are *kana* songs are “songs to the devil” (personal communication). When I inquired as to the nature of this devil, he told me that these were the ancestor spirits, not intending evil or harm but offering guidance and advice. Zemp refers to these *kana* as “divination songs” (Zemp 1978, 39). This example of the relationship between traditional culture and Christianity seems to be comparable to the recategorization of Fijian *kalou*, ancestral ghosts, as “tevoru (Tongan ‘devil’—cf. Solomon Island Pijin *devoldevol* ‘ancestral ghost’)” (Keesing 1989, 27).

It would seem that the traditional representations seen at the festival are in some ways declarations of resistance. Perhaps this resistance is not against the church, nor particularly against the former or current colonizers, but is instead directed against some of the ways of modernization, or at least some of the obligations that seem to come with the modern world. For example, there was apparently a debate going on, at least in the minds of the Solomon Islanders, as to the relative benefits of “eating for free,” a phrase I heard on numerous occasions, which means fishing and tending one’s garden for one’s food rather than paying for it with money. We might even see in this tradition/modernity tension a continuum of representations of resistance, from nostalgia for tradition, to active teaching of resistance using tradition, to the parody of expectations of tradition as in the case of the Australian Chooky Dancers.

This Awangarah performance also illustrates something unique about this part of the world: the vast number of languages. The Solomon Islanders alone speak over seventy languages. The Awangarah traditional dances are thought to be performed in

the Sa'a language. Unfortunately, of the six languages spoken in the 40,000-person Makira-Ulawa province, my Makiran friend only speaks Kahua, so the meaning of this song text remains unknown to me and probably to many other festival listeners as well. Furthermore, most of the groups that came to the festival sang in their own languages, and many of those groups could have had no expectation of being understood by more than a few people in the audience of thousands.

The language barrier was bridged to some extent by frequent use of Melanesian pidgin, a creole used by the people of the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, and Vanuatu as a second language. So, *Pijin*, as it is called, was most commonly used for announcements and brief group introductions, although performances were usually in performers' indigenous tongues. Occasionally, though, performers would break away from their native language singing and begin singing in English. This occurred with two groups from Malaita Province, Solomon Islands. One example was an 'Are'Are group of young men playing panpipes and singing in the 'Are'Are language before switching to English to sing about their "'Are'Are culture." The other example was a popular panpipe group performing with the local school Gospel choir, which sang in their native 'Are'Are as well as in English for the lyrics "we are one" and "united Pacific." These two groups performing side by side provided a striking contrast of traditional and contemporary.

The choice of performing in English reiterates another theme that was present in Honiara, one that may exist as a tension to the opposition to modernity: a strong interest in, respect for, and emulation of the so-called Western world, and the United States in particular. As Mr. Johnston from Renbel says, the United States is "a model

country to many democracies” (Johnston 2012). It was clear that much about the United States and the West in general, including the arts, is emulated in the Solomon Islands. In providing an example of the many fine singers his island nation produces, Mr. Johnston pointed me to Brian Maesulia, who Mr. Johnston boasted, sings “like an American black singer” (Johnston 2012). This valuing of the African American aesthetic was corroborated by the prevalence of gospel music sung in many of the Solomon Islands church services and by the reggae-sounding music heard on many of the radio stations. The United States and the English language seem to be associated with modernity, success, material advantage, and wealth.

Nationalism was also present in the ideoscape of this festival though not very prominently. The most obvious symbols of nationalism, flags, were used more extensively by some groups than others. Groups from Fiji, Taiwan, Papua New Guinea, and Kiribati seemed never to be without their countries’ flags. Other groups like Niue seemed to use their flag only in the opening and closing ceremonies, and Tokelau’s flag did not seem to appear anywhere during the festival. Even the Solomon Islands flag was not as present as some of their own provincial flags, such as the one seen in the Awangarah example. No less nationalistic perhaps was the absence of any flag, either the state or country flag, within the Hawaiian delegation.

More subtle perhaps was the nationalistic gain that may have been behind the apparent competitiveness among some of the groups vying for audience approval. This competitive desire may have led the Rapa Nui group to adopt Tahitian dancing into their show in an apparent effort to win over their audience, which they did (“They Are a Beauty” 2012).

Appadurai has presented these five landscapes or “flows along which cultural material may be seen to be moving” while emphasizing the tensions or “disjunctures” between them (Appadurai 1996, 46). Such tensions are also seen in FOPA. The financial desire for tourism dollars, for example, conflicts with the ideological stance of FOPA being primarily for Pacific Islanders. That same financial desire also creates a tension with the media-created stereotypes. In the case of Hawaii’s hula presentation, resistance to the stereotype was more compelling than the potential financial gain. In the case of Solomon Islands’ panpipes or the exotic Papua New Guinea costumes, the media-created stereotype was fulfilled. This tension is similar to the relationship between those media-created images and performing groups’ desire for audience approval and the low level of competitiveness that follows. As another example, the ability or willingness to represent all ethnicities at the festival is certainly limited by the costs of sending delegations to the festival. At the same time, the lack of these indigenous minorities at the festival flies in the face of the festival’s theme song, “United Pacific.”

In summary, Appadurai provides useful axes upon which to consider many aspects of a festival such as FOPA 2012 as well as the tensions or disjunctures between these axes. Appadurai does acknowledge that this “framework will be radically context dependent” but emphasizes that to analyze global cultural interactions such as those seen at this festival, it is important to ask our questions “in a way that relies on images of flow and uncertainty, hence chaos, rather than on older images of order, stability, and systematicness” (ibid., 47). It is this disorder, this sense of chaos, that is illuminated by examining the tensions within and between

Appadurai's five –scapes. Within this particular festival, it is Appadurai's ideoscape which seems to be most densely populated and which may deserve a more refined framework for analysis.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

There is a tremendous diversity of activities at the Festival of Pacific Arts as well as a great diversity of approaches in the performances, even the so-called traditional performances. Within and between each of Appadurai's scapes—the finanscape, the mediascape, the technoscape, the ethnoscape, and, most significantly, the ideoscape—one can observe a diversity of these approaches and corresponding tensions. These tensions are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Countries may be completely absent from the festival as was Tonga, in full force such as Guam, or present but in small numbers such as Norfolk Island, based on each country's particular standing in the finanscape at the time of the festival. The festival is expensive to attend and even more expensive to host. The host country may take on such an expense with a variety of hopes for the future, some economic, such as with the promise of future tourism, others political in terms of strengthening cultures, such as in the case of the Hawaiians.

A delegation may meet expectations created by myriad media influences, such as may have occurred with Solomon Islands' panpipers, or may cause audience members to reset their expectations, such as occurred with Hawai'i's performers or Australia's Chooky Dancers. The financial forces around the festival may coincide with or create tensions with media-created expectations. Through media, individuals from one country witness other countries' traditions and practices, and may even incorporate them as their own, as illustrated by the Rapanui dancers' borrowing from

the Tahitians. Other performers such as the Fijian fire walkers and Samoa fire dancers may readily meet audience expectations created by media exposure for these dramatic forms. Music made popular through the media also shows up at this festival, as demonstrated by the Solomon Islands performance of the festival theme song, “United Pacific.”

Performers may choose to use live music or opt for the security and fidelity of prerecorded music, sometimes using even well-known music, such as was the case with the Niue performers. Some may actually exploit the technology for sound effects, such as in some of New Zealand’s performances, for schedule balancing as French Polynesia did with their film, or for a desired aesthetic effect as with Palau. The use or absence of technology in performance may support or conflict with a country’s or a performing group’s ideological stances or financial needs by conveying a sense of the traditional or modern.

In terms of the ethnoscape, the festival demonstrates the highest level of ethnic distinctions in the Pacific; that is, the cultural practices of Melanesians, Polynesians, and Micronesians. It goes well beyond that coarse taxonomy to examine some of the many differences within each of those large categorizations, including distinctions within each individual country. A country’s numerous ethnic groups may be fully represented, as in countries with a single ethnic group like Nauru, or it may be difficult or impossible to do, as in cases such as Papua New Guinea. While the Solomon Islands presented many performing groups representing many Melanesian and Polynesian cultures, absent were performances of the immigrant Chinese, for example. Similarly, with Fiji, where Indo-Fijians play such a significant role, no

Indian cultures were represented as they had been in some previous festivals (Gaskell 2009, 141). This absence obviously creates a tension with the ideoscape and media-supported notion of a united Pacific.

Finally, in the vast and diverse ideoscape of this festival, a large number of views and concerns may be expressed. This festival's theme brought out some expressions of concern about the challenges associated with nature such as Tokelau's sustainable energy achievement and their raising the awareness of rising ocean levels. Concerns about nationalism also arose, as in nations like Hawai'i and New Caledonia where aligning culture and state may be of particular interest; or Taiwan, where strengthening the bond between nation and state may appear necessary; or Kiribati, American Samoa, and Fiji, where reiterating the existing nation-state seems to be of importance. Ideas about the balance between tradition and modernity abound in this festival, whether in terms of exploring the balance as demonstrated by the Solomon Islands' groups; rekindling or even reinventing one's sense of heritage as in Guam's ongoing quest for indigenous dances; or the Australian Aborigines honoring tradition while still having fun with it.

So, the ideoscape is very active at this festival where the influences of colonial life are considered in opposition to life of independent nations, ideas of the church versus traditional beliefs continue to be sorted out, and traditional lifestyles vie with aspects of modernity. This festival then gives participants and observers the opportunity to display and consider these tensions. It serves to remind Pacific Islanders of their inter-relatedness, and it fosters or even creates those connections. In some cases it brings back together groups such as the diasporic Kiribati community

living in the Solomon Islands and reiterates bonds that already existed. In other cases, new acquaintances are made, and as a result, the ephemeral idea of a unified Pacific identity may take a step closer to becoming a reality.

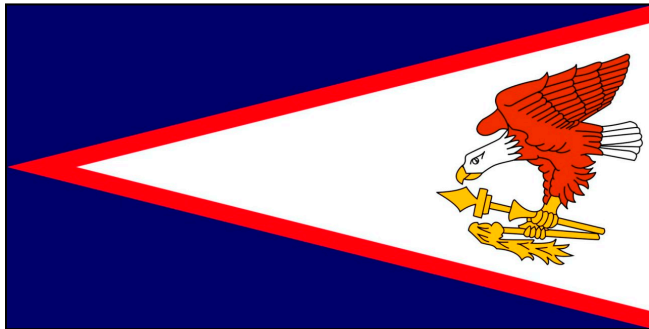
The great variety of tensions observed on and between these five landscapes forms something of a carnivalesque environment reminiscent of Bakhtin's "carnival spirit" (Knauft 1996, 197). This festival gives participants the chance to "liberate from the prevailing point of view of the world, from conventions and established truths, from clichés, from all that is humdrum and universally accepted" (ibid.). The festival becomes a place of resistance, of experimentation, and of discovery, a place to choose and demonstrate identity. After forty years, the Festival of Pacific Arts remains a spectacular and important venue for negotiating identity for Pacific Islanders in the twenty-first century.

Appendices

Appendix A. Populations and Dates of Independence of Pacific Countries, Territories and States

Country	Date of Independence	UN Recognition	Status	FOPA Host Year	Population
Samoa (Western Samoa until 1997)	1962	1976	Independent State of Samoa	1996	187,820
Cook Islands	1965	1992	Self-governing in free association with New Zealand	1992	14,974
Nauru (formerly known as Pleasant Island)	1968	1999	Republic of Nauru		9945
Tonga	1970	1999	Kingdom of Tonga		103,036
Fiji	1970	1970	Republic of Fiji	1972	858,038
Niue	1974		Self-governing state in free association with New Zealand		1,613
Papua New Guinea	1975	1975	Independent State of Papua New Guinea; a Commonwealth country	1980	7,059,653
Tuvalu (Ellice Islands until 1976)	1978	2000	A Commonwealth country		11,323
Solomon Islands	1978	1978	Independent State of Solomon Islands a Commonwealth country	2012	581,344
Kiribati (Gilbert Islands until 1976)	1979	1999	Republic of Kiribati		106,461
Vanuatu (New Hebrides until 1980)	1980	1981	The Republic of Vanuatu, a Commonwealth country		264,652
Marshall Islands	1986	1991	Republic of the Marshall Islands in free association with the US		56,086
Federated States of Micronesia	1986	1991	Sovereign state under a Compact of Free Association with the US		101,351
Palau	1994	1994	Republic of Palau in free association with the US	2004	20,901
New Zealand		1945	A Commonwealth country	1976	4,512,340
Australia		1945	The Commonwealth of Australia, a British Commonwealth country	1988	23,379,555
Pitcairn Island			British Overseas Territory		56
Tokelau Islands			Territory of New Zealand		1,411
Norfolk Island			Self-governing Territory of Australia		2,302
Easter Island (Rapa Nui)			Special Territory of Chile		5,761
Wallis and Futuna			Collectivité d'Outre-Mer (COM) of France		13,135
Northern Mariana Islands			Unincorporated territory of the US		53,883
American Samoa			Unincorporated territory of the US	2008	55,519
Guam			Unincorporated territory of the US	(2016)	159,358
New Caledonia			Sui generis collectivity of France	2000	258,958
French Polynesia (Tahiti)			Collectivité d'Outre-Mer or COM of France	1985	268,270
Hawaii			State of the United States	(2020)	1,404,054

Appendix B. Flags of the Pacific



American Samoa¹⁴



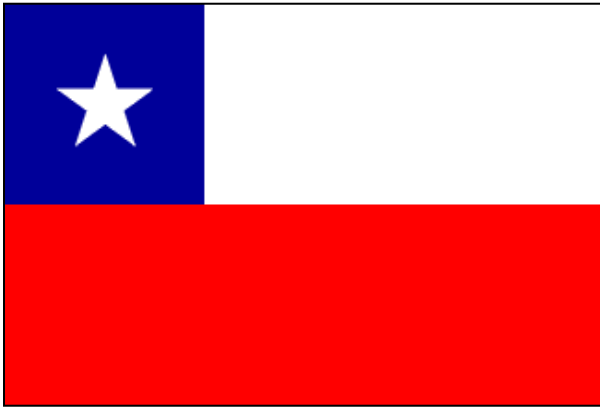
Australia



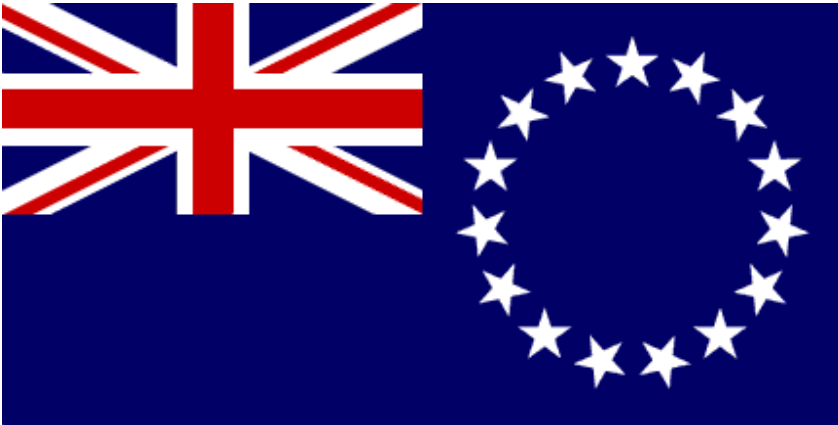
Australian Aborigine¹⁵

¹⁴ Flag images are from the following except as otherwise noted:
<http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/country.html> (accessed 3/31/2014).

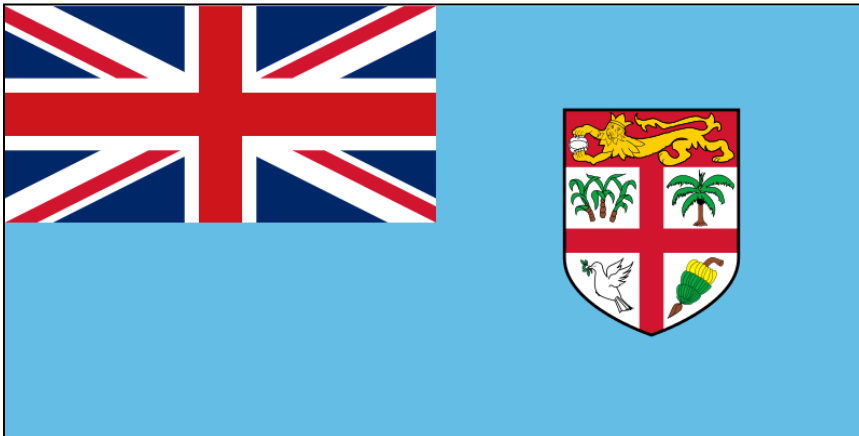
¹⁵ http://www.naidoc.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Australian_aboriginal_flag.jpg (accessed 3/31/2014).



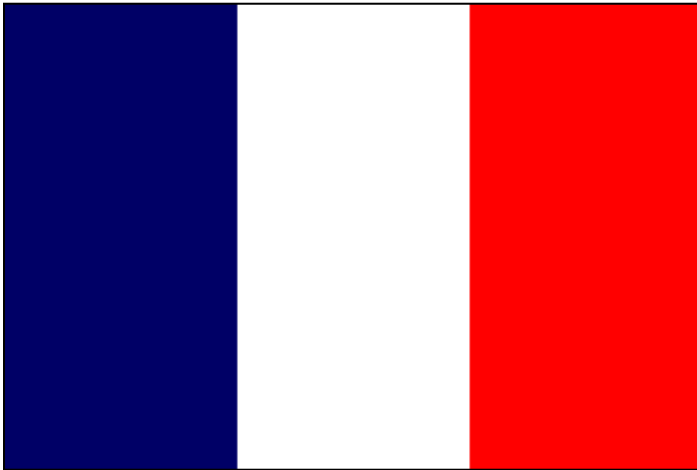
Chile



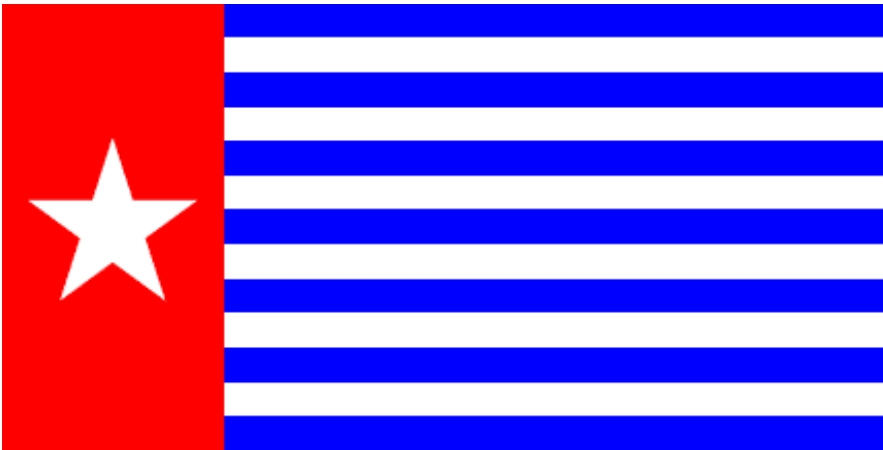
Cook Islands



Fiji



France



Free West Papua¹⁶

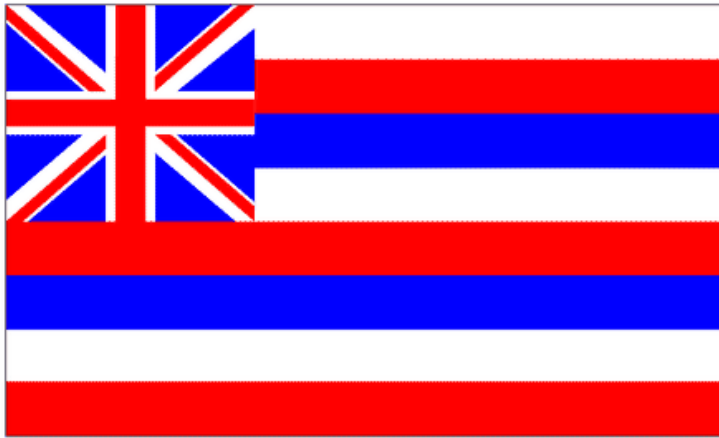


French Polynesia

¹⁶ <https://flagspot.net/images/i/id-ijind.gif> (accessed 3/31/2014).



Guam



Hawaii¹⁷



Kiribati

¹⁷ http://www.educationamerica.net/facts/flags/hi_flag_1.gif (accessed 3/31/2014).



Marshall Islands



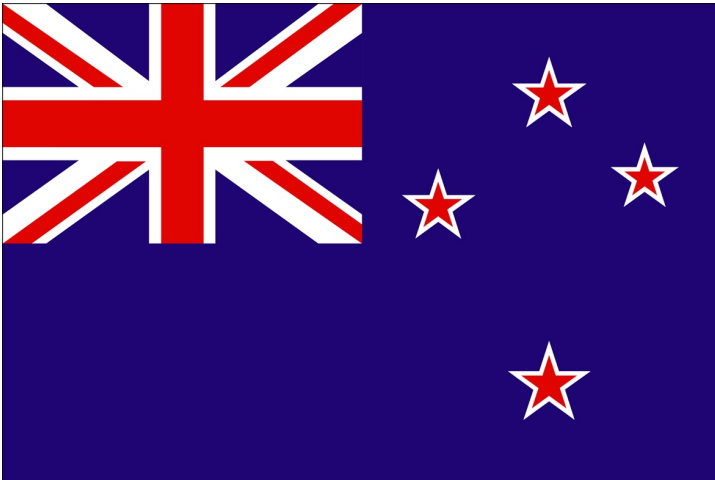
Micronesia (Federated States of Micronesia)



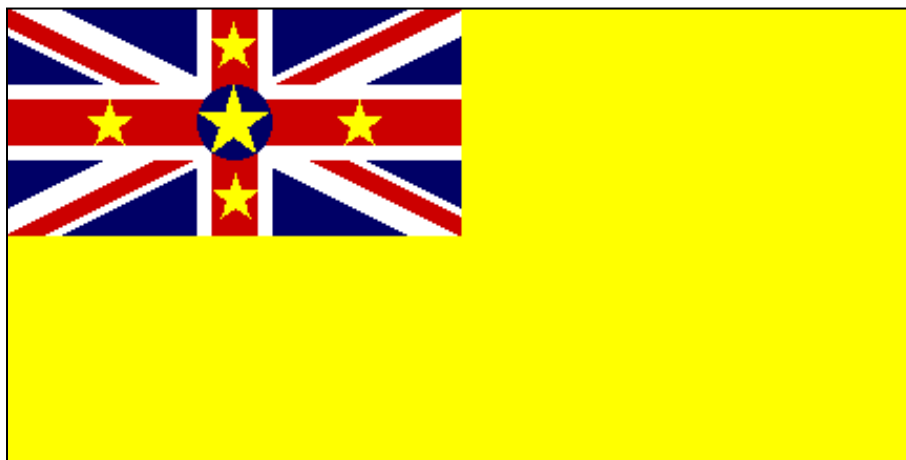
Nauru



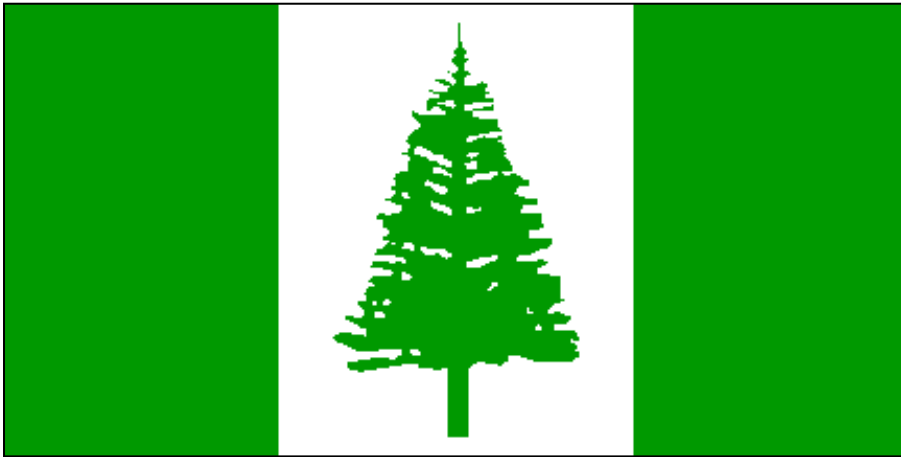
New Caledonia



New Zealand



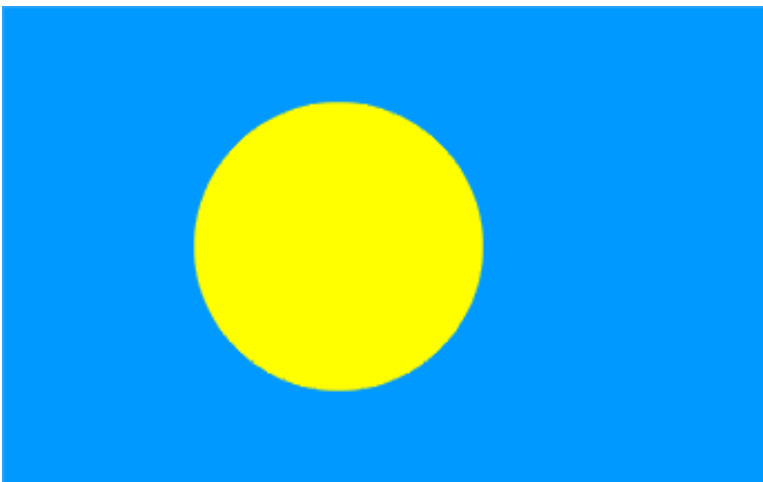
Niue



Norfolk Island



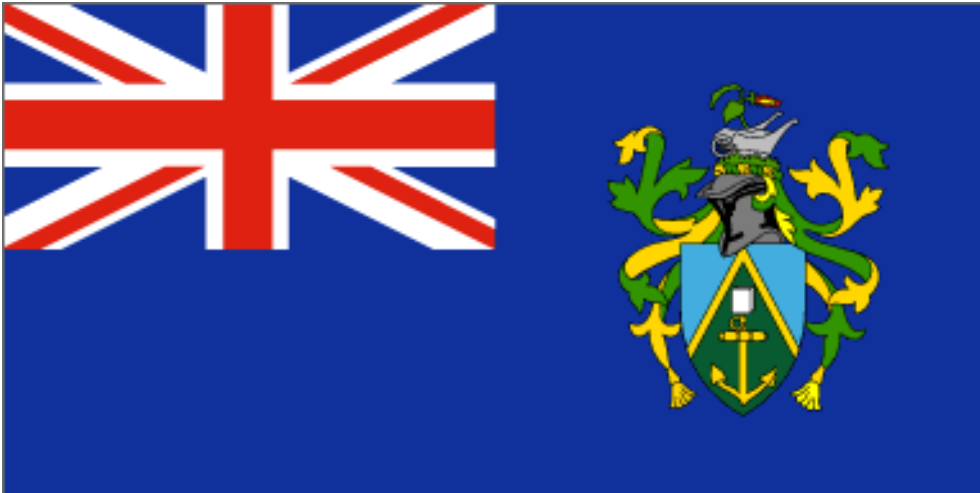
Northern Mariana (Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands)



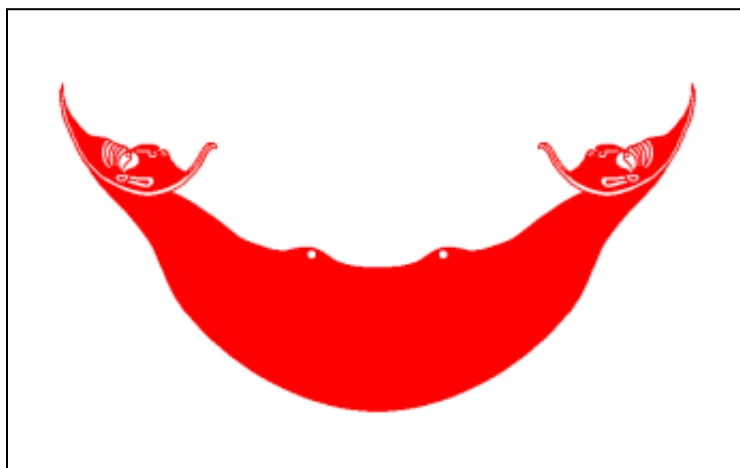
Palau



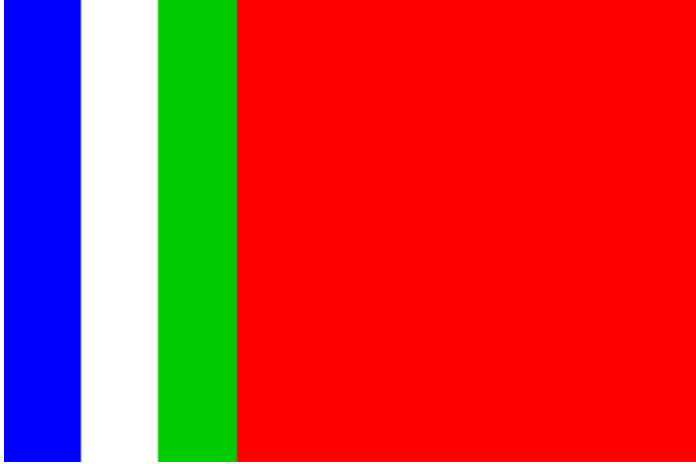
Papua New Guinea



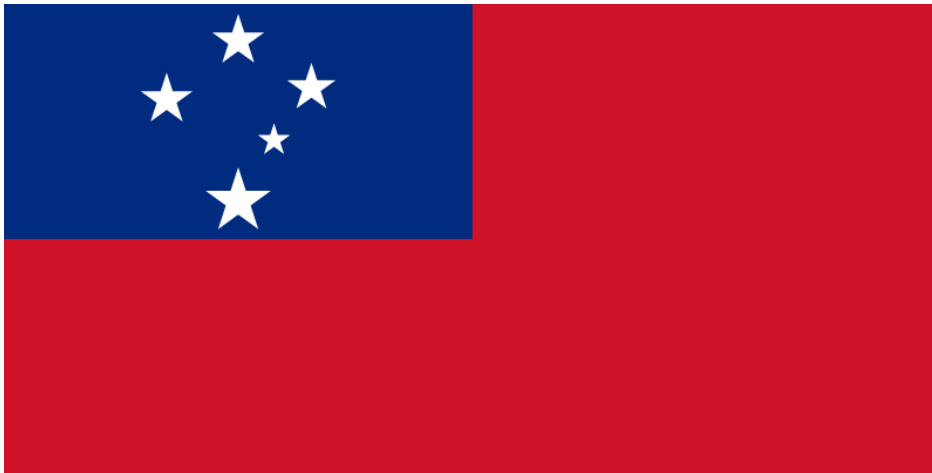
Pitcairn



Rapa Nui



Republik Maluku Selatan (Maluku Republic)



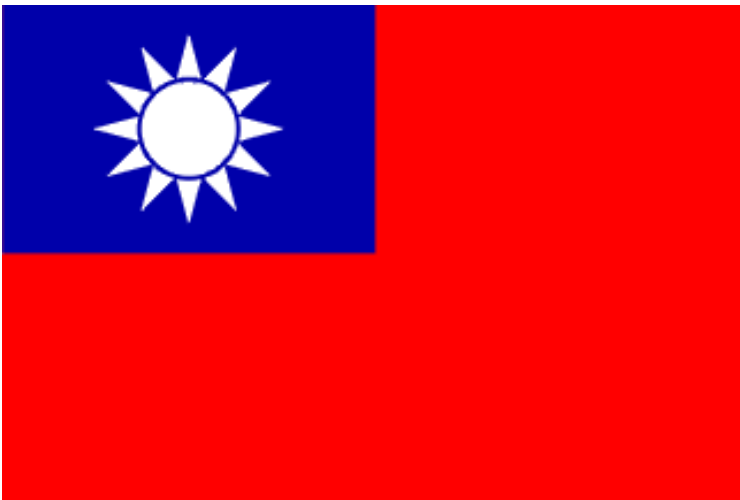
Samoa



Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC)



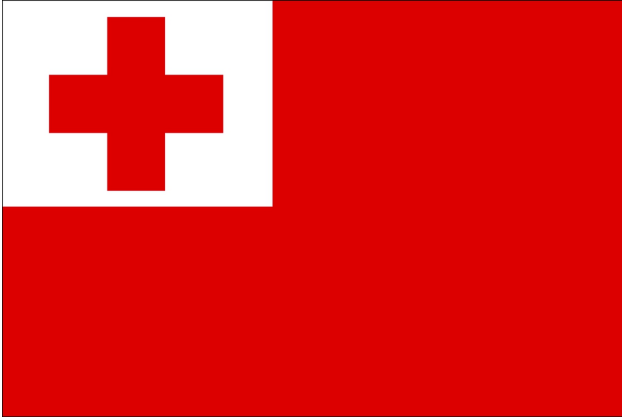
Solomon Islands



Taiwan



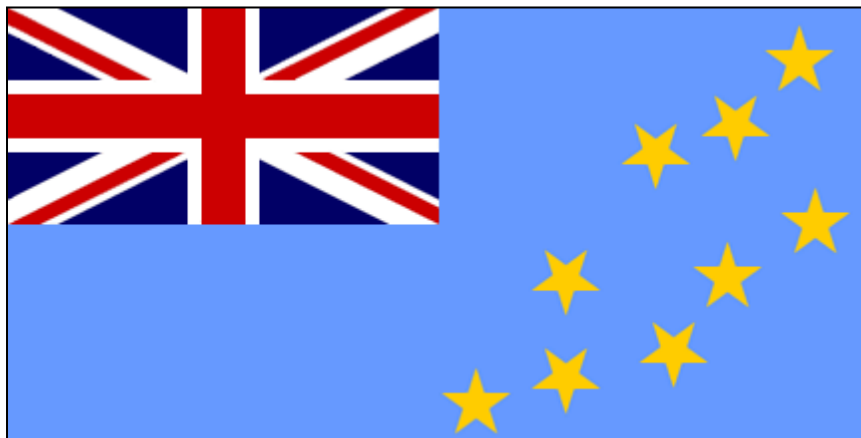
Tokelau



Tonga



Torres Strait Islander¹⁸



Tuvalu

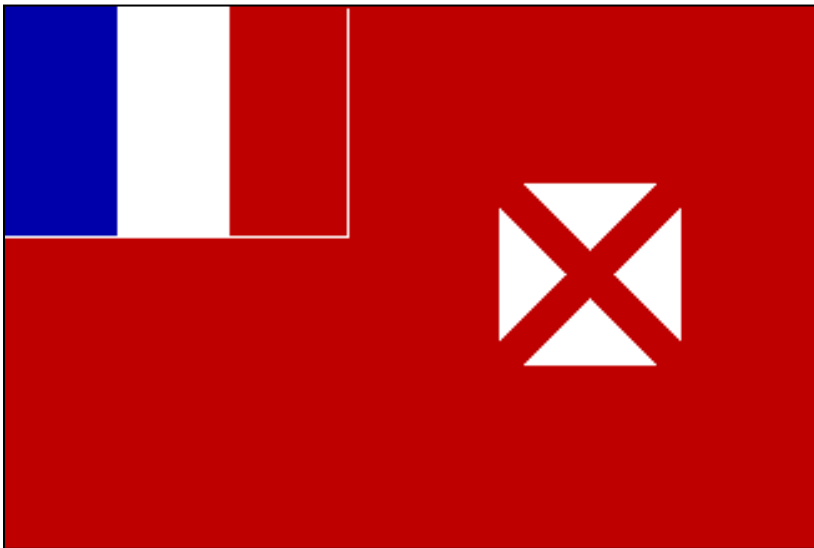
¹⁸ http://www.naidoc.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/torres_strait_islanders_flag.jpg (accessed 3/31/2014).



United States



Vanuatu



Wallis and Futuna

Appendix C. Tables of Contents of SPC DVDs of Festivals of Pacific Arts

FOPA 1 1972 South Pacific Festival – Suva, Fiji; narrated by Raymond Burr

0:00	Welcome Ceremony: Marching Band
1:30	Kava Welcome Ceremony
2:20	Fijian Spear Dance, (<i>meke wesi</i>)
3:22	Chinese Ribbon Dancers
4:45	Fijian Women's <i>Meke</i>
5:51	Cook Islands Traditional Dancers
6:44	Street Scenes of Suva
9:13	Papua New Guinea Dancers and Drummers
10:34	Cook Islands Dancers
12:42	Australian Aborigines Kangaroo Hunt Dance
14:31	Fiji, Tonga, Gilbert & Ellice, Samoa, Niue Games
17:09	Banaban/Rabi Stick Dance
18:48	Village of Traditional Houses: Fijian dancing outside <i>bure</i> , bark cloth
22:24	Gilbert & Ellice Handcrafts and Dance
25:07	Fijian Flower Decorations; Street Scenes
26:39	Seated dance – Cook Islands??
27:03	New Caledonia Theater/Mime
28:06	Dance performance – Tahiti??
28:30	Seated drumming - Fiji??
28:44	American Samoa Opera
30:47	Chinese Fijian Opera
32:04	New Caledonian Dancers
32:32	Indian Fijian Dances
33:09	Kite Flying/Children's Day
34:24	Waihirere Maori Club Poi Dance; Haka
36:42	Colonel Bogey March; Parade
37:58	Ecumenical Pageant: "He's Got the Whole World"; "Were You There When They Crucified My Lord"
40:00	Stick Dance??; another dance
41:30	Tapa Cloth Making with chanting and singing
43:03	Traditional Indian Folk Dance: Raas Lila?
44:34	Small Nambas, Malekula, New Hebrides
45:17	Fijian Pottery Making
46:28	Solomon Islands Shell Money Making
47:35	Traditional Battle/Women's Lament (Solomon Islands?)
49:28	Closing Ceremony: bamboo band, dance, brass band, "Isole" Farewell Song
52:47	End

(after the festival – dangers of beetle importation 20 min.; USP graduation 2 min.)

FOPA 6 1992 “Visions of the Pacific,” Raratonga, Cook Islands

0:00	Opening Ceremony; Wakas
28:00	Feast
	Hawaii
	Niue
	New Caledonia “Maiden of the Mist” Legend
24:00	French Polynesia
22:30	Australia
18:30	American Samoa
17:20	Guam Nose Flute
16:30	Cook Islands Church Choirs
15:45	Papua New Guinea
14:45	Maori Poi Dance
13:30	French Polynesia Dance
11:50	Cook Islands Dance
09:30	Crafts
08:00	Mock Conflict: Maori v. Cook Islands
05:00	Cook Islands Tivaevae
04:30	Closing Ceremonies
01:00	Credits

FOPA 8 2000 “Voices of the Pacific” Nouméa, New Caledonia

0:00	Introduction
1:12	Opening Ceremonies: Australia, Fiji, PNG, American Samoa, Tonga, Wallis and Futuna, Vanuatu, Norfolk Island, Federated State of Micronesia, Niue, Guam, Nauru, Palau, Northern Mariana Islands, Aotearoa
4:01	New Caledonia greets the wakas
5:24	Cook Islands
6:28	Jacques Kare, New Caledonia
7:03	Children dance
7:31	Papua New Guinea
8:19	Jacques Kare, New Caledonia
8:40	Gift giving
9:30	Tuvalu
10:47	Rapa Nui
11:23	Peter Moea, Aotearoa
11:57	Rapa Nui ukulele/guitar band, dance
13:49	Aotearoa haka
14:58	Peter Moea, Aotearoa
15:20	Aotearoa song

17:47 Tokelau fatele
 19:51 Festival Village
 20:23 Samoa fire dance, dance with swords
 21:37 Vanuatu
 22:50 Kiribati
 24:30 French Polynesia
 28:58 Crafts and Marketing Workshop
 31:50 Theater: Vanuatu
 33:14 Hawaii Theater; Lee Kohu; chant
 36:02 Cook Islands
 37:21 Guam
 37:53 Tonga
 38:33 Vanuatu
 39:02 Credits
 39:53 END

FOPA 9 2004, "Oltobed a Malt," "Nurture, Regenerate, Celebrate" Koror, Palau

00:00 Introduction
 02:09 New Caledonia dancing/drumming
 02:47 Palau children chant/dance
 03:29 Opening Ceremony: Hawaii, New Northern Marianas, Federated States of Micronesia, Solomon Islands, Tonga*, New Zealand*, Australia, Solomon Islands*, French Polynesia, Cook Islands*, Tuvalu, Guam, Norfolk Island, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea*, Fiji Islands*, Samoa* (* seen performing in opening ceremonies)
 08:22 Traditional Canoes/Seafaring
 11:39 Cook Islands dancers, drummers
 12:05 Belau National Museum
 13:04 Film Festival: "The Land Has Eyes" Vilsoni Hereniko
 14:45 Fashion Show
 15:46 Papua New Guinea dancers, drummers
 16:07 Craft Scenes
 19:02 Kiribati dancers, song, body percussion
 20:16 Solomon Islands bamboo band, panpipes, dancers
 21:12 Literary Arts: Larry Thomas, Rosa Paloma
 23:07 Traditional Games: Baklai Temengill, Hoko Thapaszie
 25:06 Architectures: Lester Rekemesik, Rick Guerrero
 26:09 Palau song, dance, body percussion
 27:56 Pacific Culinary Arts
 28:58 Samoa seated dance, log drums, body percussion
 30:35 Symposium: Victoria Takamine, Mehana Blaich, Charlene Mersai
 31:36 Healing Arts: Rev. Emotama Sau Pene
 32:30 Jam House

33:09 Wallis and Futuna dance, song, guitars, ukulele, drums; Malia Tafili
 34:19 Pacific Peace Board and Mat: Ling Inabo, Tobias Kuchad
 36:45 Closing Ceremonies: Sandra Pierantozzi; New Caledonia, Nauru,
 Rapa Nui (37:35), Pitcairn
 37:52 Palau song and dance
 38:14 End of Closing Ceremonies: Lauti Sunia Seloti (American Samoa)
 40:29 Credits (partial audio) guests: Japan, Taiwan, West Papua
 43:30 Saying Thank you and goodbye (partial audio)
 44:15 END

FOPA 10 2008 “Threading the Oceania ‘Ula” Pago Pago, American Samoa

0:00 Introduction/Welcome/Overview
 3:57 Church Service
 5:14 Kava ceremony
 6:38 Festival Preparation
 8:24 Opening Ceremony Collage
 10:06 Cook Islands
 10:37 Western Samoa
 10:57 Papua New Guinea
 11:15 New Zealand poi dance/song
 12:05 Contemporary Visual Arts
 13:01 Tattooing
 13:53 Traditional Navigating, welcoming the vakas
 16:29 French Polynesia
 17:35 Australia
 17:51 Fiji
 18:38 Norfolk Island
 19:08 Kiribati
 19:51 Solomon Islands
 20:47 Rapa Nui
 22:00 Wallis and Futuna
 23:14 Guam
 24:30 Crafts: Quilt-making, bark cloth, weaving, carving,
 27:52 Fashion Show
 28:41 Theater: Fiji (Ian Gaskell), New Caledonia
 30:20 Closing Thoughts, Larry Sanitoa
 31:26 Tonga
 32:21 Hawaii
 33:32 Niue
 34:28 Tokelau
 35:35 Palau
 36:15 Youth activities: break dancing, forums
 36:57 Closing Ceremonies

39:30 Credits
40:11 END

FOPA 11 2012 “Culture in Harmony with Nature” Honiara, Solomon Islands

Disk 1:

Episode 1

0:00 History of Solomon Islands
7:59 Tour of Honiara venues
15:16 Festival Preparations
27:52 Traditional Early Morning Welcome Ceremony
34:25 Fijian Fire Walkers
40:50 Traditional and Modern Music of Solomon Islands
47:15 Local impressions
50:03 Credits

Disk 2:

Episode 2

0:00 Arrivals and Ecumenical Service
7:32 Preparation of Masi masi Food, Western Province, Solomon Islands
13:35 130-member Guam Delgation: Dance, Crafts, Literature
20:12 Festival Biosecurity
26:36 New Zealand Maori Modern Dance Group
39:10 Annual Wagasia Ceremony, Owariki, Makira Province, Solomon Islands
45:43 PNG Carving
48:57 Credits

Episode 3

0:00 Tikopian Nukukaisi Cultural Group from Makira Province, Solomon Islands
13:49 Guam cuisine
20:14 Honiara Market
26:40 Council of Pacific Arts and Culture Meeting
33:47 Western Province, Solomon Islands Tomoko war canoes
40:04 Goroka Province, Papua New Guinea Traditional Dance
46:17 Local impressions
49:13 Credits

Episode 4

0:00 Rapa Nui Dancers
13:33 Guam Fashion
20:05 Solomon Islands Futbol
26:22 Traditional Early Morning Welcome
32:54 Laulasi Money Makers Malaita Province, Solomon Islands
39:10 Naimoon (reggae) Band, New Caledonia

46:00 Frigate Bird Dance, Nauru
49:13 Credits

Disk 3:

Episode 5

0:00 Creative Arts
9:00 Hageulu Panpipe Group, Isabel Province, Solomon Islands
white shell lace headbands
14:13 Traditions Affirming our Seafaring Ancestry (TASA), Guam
20:35 Chupu conflict settling ceremony of Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands
24:04 Fox Bay, Guadalcanal women dancers
25:04 Male panpipe/dance: saffron loincloths; lace shell headdress
with red feather
27:05 Hawaiian Hula
33:21 Kiribati Eel Trap Making
39:50 Baefua Cultural Group, Malaita Province, Solomon Islands
44:35 Explanation of Baefua performance
46:27 Fashion Show Montage
49:34 Credits

Episode 6

0:00 Chooky Dancers, Australia
14:04 I Fanlaian Chant Group, Guam
20:18 Ministers of Culture Meeting
26:59 USP Oceania Dance Theater, Pacifica Waters; “Wave of Fire”
33:37 Isabel Province, Solomon Islands Tapa Cloth Making
40:05 Malofie Traditional Dancing Group, Samoa
46:21 Meke Dance, Fiji
49:23 Credits

Episode 7

0:00 Culture, Tradition, Spear Fighting & Food Makira Province, SI
7:53 Pacific Islands Museum Association “Youth Speak” Workshop
14:46 Cultural Huts
21:02 Nauru Crafts
27:22 New Zealand Performance Stories
39:55 Temotu Province Feather Money
46:17 Australian Chooky Dancers
49:19 Credits

Disk 4:

Episode 8

0:00 Santo Performing Arts – Pentecost Island, Vanuatu; live in Santo
08:09 Film Festival and Forum
14:39 “Welcome to Guam” Tattooing and Weaving
21:04 Choiseul Province maki or kelo or sunge peace ceremony; pottery
27:52 Fashion Show

40:21 Tahitian performers
46:47 Guam performance
49:57 Credits

Episode 9

0:00 Thanks to organizers
1:45 Niue Performing Group
7:55 Photographic Exhibition
14:34 Guam: Learning for 2016
20:29 Central Province, Solomon Islands
Traditional Chiefly Siakole Dance in Ngella
26:57 Fijian Fire Walkers
33:21 Fijian Meke Dance
39:46 Traditional Solomon Islands Healing Massage from Western Province
46:08 American Samoa Dancers
49:20 Credits

Episode 10 (Final Day)

0:00 East Guadalcanal Group, Solomon Islands
Dance representing bird looking for food along the seacoast
7:43 Renbel Province, Solomon Islands History, Carving and Weaving
14:21 “Drua Wave of Fire,” USP, Suva, Fiji (Oceania Center for Arts and
Culture and Pacific Studies)
26:37 Review of the past two weeks of the festival
39:14 Guam: Overview and Invitation to FOPA 2016
45:48 Montage of 2012 performances: Tahiti, Chooky Dancers, SI panpipes
49:10 Credits

Disk 5:

0:00 Opening Ceremonies
7:00 SPC Director General Jimmie Rodgers Speech
21:00 SI Minister of Culture, Samuel Manetuali
26:30 SI PM Gordon Darcy Lilo Speech
1:04 Official Opening
1:06 Gift Presentations
Guam
1:09 American Samoa

Disk 6:

0:00 Closing Ceremonies Entrances
32:30 Prayer
34:20 Doreen Kuper, Festival of Pacific Arts Organizing Committee Speech
43:00 Linda Petersen, SPC Human Development Program Manager Speech
52:30 French translation of Petersen speech
1:01:00 Gifts
1:09 Rapa Nui
1:13 Papua New Guinea

1:15 Palau
1:15 Nauru
1:16:30 Hawaii
1:20 Kiribati
1:21 Fiji
1:25 Australia
1:26:00 American Samoa
1:27:48 Guam
1:28 Balloons
1:28:40 Samoa Performance
1:31:13 SI Gov. Gen. Frank Kabui speech
1:45 French translation of Kabui speech
1:54:50 Exit of Delegations
1:59:20 Children's Performance ("We Are One; United Pacific")

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