UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Indigenous Performance in Oceania: Affect, Sociality, and Sovereignty

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Gender Studies

by

Angela Lynn Robinson

2019

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Indigenous Performance in Oceania: Affect, Sociality, and Sovereignty

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University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Mishuana Goeman, Chair

How are affective regimes of colonialism, such as the discourses and sites of memorialization, recognition, tourism, and climate change, challenged and negotiated within Oceania? What is at stake in these formations of colonialism and the ways they have been addressed by both Pacific nations and Pacific scholars? One powerful way to address these questions, I argue, is through the examination of contemporary Indigenous performance. This project examines politically informed Indigenous performance in Oceania that includes various elements of contemporary and traditional dance and ritual, installation, performance, and spoken word poetry. In my examination of these performances, I analyze performance archives, which include costuming, program notes, photographs, and other ephemera, as well as the affects, aesthetics, sound, movement, and embodiment of the performances. Through my readings of these archives and performances, I argue, Oceania performance politicizes the relationship between affects, bodies, and environments through innovative uses of movement, space, and corporeality. Affectively

overlapping and blurring boundaries between bodies, this Indigenous corporeality articulates alternative notions of sociality that require thinking through what it means to be of Oceania, and what a self-determining Oceania might look like. Many of these intentional modes of community and belonging, or, what some scholars call sociality, importantly question the ways in which colonial ideologies of gender and sexuality operate within Indigenous movements for self-determination and sovereignty. Thus, I argue, Indigenous performance intervenes into the affective regimes of colonialism by imagining and creating inter-Indigenous socialities in Oceania that at once move beyond colonial demarcations and practice sovereignty in ways that are expansive, inclusive, and grounded in Indigenous epistemologies.

The dissertation of Angela Lynn Robinson is approved.

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2019

Wito, Wito ese pulupol; pulupol chok ika lang epolu.

The Wito will not be defeated; defeat is only when the sky falls.

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Acknowledgments

This project would not have been possible without the immense support from an incredible community of activists, artists, curators, scholars, and peers. My thanks, first, to my committee chair, Mishuana Goeman, for all the early morning phone calls, check-in text messages, last-minute letters of recommendation, frantic e-mails, and, of course, laughter and encouragement. I could not have asked for a more dedicated and supportive mentor. My committee members, Purnima Mankekar, Anurima Banerji, and Juliann Anesi, provided invaluable guidance, advice, and feedback for the past seven years. I have also been blessed to work with Michelle Erai and Keith Camacho, both of whom offered vital support to the early inklings of this project. My gratitude to the UCLA Gender Studies Department faculty and staff, particularly Jenna Miller-Von Ah, Richard Medrano, and Samantha Hogan for their instrumental support throughout the years.

I have been lucky to be surrounded by an incredible intellectual community during my time at UCLA. Thanks to my peers in the UCLA Gender Studies Department, especially Savannah Kilner, Preeti Sharma, Dalal Alfares, Esha Momeni, Sa Whitley, and, of course, my dear cohort member Laura Terrance. My sincerest gratitude also to Joshua Mitchell, Gloria Negrete-Lopez, Rose Simons, and Michael Pascual for their comradeship and support. This project is also indebted to the various writing groups, workshops, and institutes I have been privileged to participate in over the years. My thanks in particular to Vince Diaz, Tina Taitano DeLisle, Chadwick Allen, Hokulani Aikau, Kehaulani Natsuko, Kiri Sailiata, Stacy Kamehiro, Rachel Lee, Joshua Javier Guzmán, Elizabeth DeLoughrey, the entire SIGI family, and the faculty and staff of the UCLA American Indian Studies Center. The queer & Indigenous

communities in Los Angeles, Oakland, Portland, Seattle, Albuquerque, Santa Cruz, Aotearoa, and Hawai'i have been a tremendous source of inspiration, strength, and sustenance throughout my journey; thank you, all.

This project received financial support from the UCLA Fowler Museum, the UCLA Center for the Study of Women, and the UCLA Institute for American Cultures. I am incredibly grateful to the staff of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, Tautai, and the University of Hawai'i at Manoa Pacific Collection for their support and guidance with my archival research, especially Victoria Boyack, Nina Tonga, Grace Hutton, Christina Jeffery, Tina Pihema, Caroline McBride, William Hamill, Stu Dawrs, Eleanor Kleiber, and Jodie Mattos. Last but not least, this project would not have been possible without the incredible artists with whom I have been privileged to work. My sincerest gratitude to Rosanna Raymond, Yuki Kihara, Cat Ruka, and Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner; your works are the heart and soul of this project. Thank you for envisioning and materializing another world in which Oceania in all its complexity can survive and thrive.

Finally, I cannot begin to express my immense heartfelt gratitude to my birth and chosen families. Thank you to my Mum, Dad, Dino, Neal, Graciana, Josie, Josh, Savannah, Laura, and Syd for all the times you helped me keep on living. I love you all, and I am eternally grateful.

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Introduction

On June 17, 2011, nine queer Indigenous Pacific artists gather in a small performance space in the SoMa district of San Francisco to an audience of fifteen. The night begins with the artists sitting in a semi-circle facing the audience as they engage in a kava ceremony. As the kava bowl passes around, each artist nods at the person handing them the bowl, nods at the audience, and lifts the halved coconut shell to their lips to drink. "This marks this night as a gathering, an important event for our communities, and you," one of the artists says speaking to the audience. One by one, each artist performs a piece they have created specifically for this event. A Kanaka Maoli artist stands and performs a traditional song of power and forgiveness for her estranged parents. Another artist faces the audience, and performs a monologue of an encounter she had with a co-worker, who could not believe she is a lesbian because she is also Tongan. The artist from Micronesia, Kathy, who was selling handmade seashell jewelry from Majuro before the performance began, steps forward and begins her performance by saying, "You know that jewelry I just sold you? You know where that's from? Let me tell you." She continues to deliver a powerful spoken word poem about the rising sea levels in the Marshall Islands, the devastating floods that have enveloped islands, and the displaced residents indigenous to those islands for centuries who made the tiger cowrie shell earrings I am carrying in my purse.

This performance I have chosen to open with, entitled "Queer Pacific Islanders Sustaining Community," sought to address the ways in which U.S. media coverage of the 2008 Prop 8 campaign vilified Pacific Islander communities as homophobic and partially responsible for the successful passage of the proposition to ban same-sex marriage. Dispelling these affective narratives through traditional and modern dance, music, poetry, dialogues, and

monologues, the artists intended to showcase the ways in which queer Pacific Islanders "proliferate and protect queer communities, fight for the betterment of Pacific Islanders, and tell of their battles for social justice."[1] While the event information highlighted Proposition 8, the performances did not make any pleas for U.S. state-recognition of queerness or Pacific Islander ethnicity. Rather, the performances addressed the context and history of Christian missionaries in the Pacific, climate change, unrequited love, friendship, racism, poverty, mental health, sexual violence and trauma, and immigration. In effect, the performance highlighted these issues as mutually constitutive forms of colonialism that affectively structure discourses around Indigenous Oceania, gender, and sexuality. It also illustrated the various ways in which Oceania performance is engaged in social justice solutions to these forms of colonialism that do not center the State as the arbiter of change. Choosing performance as their medium, the artists created an affective space in which an alternative form of sociality was made between Indigenous peoples from different parts of Oceania, as well as the audience and performers.

This project examines the ways in which Oceania performance challenges and negotiates the affective regimes of colonialism, while also imagining alternative practices of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination that do not replicate colonial legacies of exclusion based on sexuality, gender, and race. Drawing upon Purnima Mankekar's "affective regimes," I examine the ways in which colonialism continues to operate in Oceania through "the material and institutional aspects of affect,"[2] in which affect circulates as an ontological interconnectivity of the body, environment, and mind. In other words, I examine affects, such as belonging,

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[1] One Love Oceania, Event information for "Queer Pacific Islanders Sustaining Community," https://somekindofasian.wordpress.com/2011/06/12/queer-pacific-islanders-sustaining-community-sf-61711-61811/.

[2] Purnima Mankekar, *Unsettling India: Affect, Temporality, Transnationality,* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015: 14.

community, and sovereignty, as they travel through both Oceania performance and four specific discourses and sites of colonial regulation: tourism, recognition politics, climate change, and memorial culture. These discourses all illustrate the ways in which colonialism continues to operate in affective and material ways.

This project asks, how have affective regimes of colonialism been challenged and negotiated within Oceania? What is at stake in these forms of colonialism and the ways they have been addressed thus far? How does Oceania performance produce alternative imaginaries of sovereignty and self-determination, and how are these forms of sovereignty enacted materially and on the ground? To address these questions, I examine Oceania performances that interrogate affective regimes of colonialism. The performances I examine in this project include Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale* (2011), Rosanna Raymond's *SaVAge K'lub* (ongoing), Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's *Dear Matafele Peinam* (2014), and Cat Ruka's *Playing Savage* (2009). These works by Indigenous Pacific women artists not only highlight the continuity of colonialism, but also the colonial affect and logic at work in some of the solutions proposed to these issues. In doing so, these performances imagine and materialize Indigenous socialities capable of disrupting the regulatory power of affective colonial regimes. Producing alternative notions of affective belonging, embodiment, and sociality, Oceania performances are practices of sovereignty that challenge colonial regimes of affect and move beyond statist colonial frameworks of recognition and nationhood.

Colonialism in the Pacific

The study of colonialism within Pacific Studies is constituted through several divergent and overlapping discourses and sites. In Pacific history, for example, there have been several shifts in thinking through the impact of colonialism. Much of the earliest work on the history of

the Pacific focuses on accounts from eighteenth century European explorers, such as Captain James Cook and Louis Antoine de Bougainville, without a significant engagement with European empire or colonialism.[3] In their 2009 anthology *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence*, anthropologists Margaret Jolly, Serge Tcherkezoff, and Darrel Tryon intervene into such historical accounts by examining how these histories have often been narrated through the concept of "first contact."[4] Jolly and Tcherkezoff write, "The idea of 'first contact' privileges the meeting of Pacific peoples and Europeans, by perceiving these as unprecedented, as 'first.' This risks occluding all previous cross-cultural encounters between Pacific peoples such as those between Papuan- and Austronesian-speaking peoples or between Fijians and Tongans."[5] Much like the Eurocentrism of subsuming these encounters within European histories of Enlightenment era expansion and technology, the "first contact" narrative positions the meeting of Europeans and Pacific Islanders as the preeminent encounter of Pacific Islanders' history. The scholarly primacy of European explorers' contact with the Pacific Islands privileges a Eurocentric narrative that not only eclipses the inter-island encounters throughout Pacific history, but also the intertwined histories between Oceania, Asia, and the Americas. From this

[3] For example, see H. Morse Stephens and Herbert Bolton (Eds.), *The Pacific Ocean in History: Papers and Addresses Presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, Held at San Francisco, Berkeley and Palo Alto, California, July 19-23, 1915*.

[4] Margaret Jolly, Serge Tcherkezoff, and Darrel Tryon (Eds.), *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence*, Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009.

[5] Margaret Jolly and Serge Tcherkezoff, "Oceanic Encounters: A Prelude," Eds. Jolly, Tcherkezoff, and Tryon, *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence*, Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009: 1.

narrative, then, the colonization of the Pacific Islands can be rationalized as a project of enlightened liberation from "primitive isolation."[6]

In response to both the isolation narratives of early European colonialism and the post-WWII "Pacific Rim" construct,[7] Tongan writer and scholar Epeli Hau'ofa argued for a new imagining of the Pacific Islands rooted in Indigenous epistemologies. In his renowned 1994 article, "A Sea of Islands,"[8] Hau'ofa posits that the isolation of the Pacific Islands is not a geographical concept, but rather a historical one shaped by colonial assumptions intended to keep the Pacific Islands dependent upon colonial states. He writes, "According to this view, the small island states and territories of the Pacific … are too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres of economic growth for their inhabitants ever to be able to rise above their present condition of dependence on the largesse of wealthy nations."[9] Drawing upon Indigenous Pacific cosmologies and epistemologies of the ocean, Hau'ofa counters this narrative with a reimagined Oceania that emphasizes an expansive sea of islands, as opposed to the dominant narrative of tiny islands in an immense sea. He writes:

> Oceania is vast, Oceania is expanding, Oceania is hospitable and generous, Oceania is humanity rising from the depths of brine and regions of fire deeper still, Oceania is us. We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth and together use

[6] Both European explorers and early historians of the Pacific used the primitive isolation narrative, and while less common in academic scholarship today, it continues to be used in development discourse. For more on this historical narrative, see note 1 and note 10.

[7] Many Pacific Studies scholars have examined the ways in which Pacific Rim Studies eclipses the island nations of Oceania by focusing on the continents of Asia and the Americas bordering the Pacific Ocean. For more, see A. Dirlik's *What is in a Rim?: Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*.

[8] Epeli Hau'ofa, "A Sea of Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6.1 (1994): 147-161.

[9] Hau'ofa 150.

> it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically.[10]

Hau'ofa's reference to seafaring technologies, volcanic activity, and Indigenous cosmologies trenchantly calls for a new collectivity of Indigenous Oceania that challenges historical colonial narratives of isolation and dependence.

Hau'ofa's criticisms and insights have since inspired many scholars of the Pacific to shift to "island-outward," "ocean-based," "island world" models in which islands become the center rather than the periphery. Historian Gary Okihiro, for example, advocates an "island world" perspective in which "distinctions between islands and continents dissolve."[11] Historian Matt Matsuda, also, argues that an "island-outward" approach aids in answering the question of who is part of the Pacific, where "the histories of the Asias, the Americas, and Oceania interact—at times within narratives of a 'multicultural' society, at times within grim tales of racial violence, plantation labor, and class exploitation."[12] Significantly lacking within both Okihiro's and Matsuda's work, however, is the role of colonialism in these histories, which I would argue should be present in an "island-outward" analysis that attempts to address Indigenous Pacific Islanders' concerns. This strand of Pacific history indeed risks replicating the very concerns of Indigenous Pacific Islanders by abandoning our specificities and wavering on the edge of a flattening pluralism between Oceania and the Pacific Rim.

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[10] Hau'ofa 160.

[11] Gary Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the U.S.*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2008: 2.

[12] Matt Matsuda, "The Pacific," *The American Historical Review* 111.3 (2006): 775.

Historians K.R. Howe, Robert Kiste, and Brij Lal take up these concerns in the preface to their anthology, *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*,[13] by examining the periodization of Pacific History as broadly deriving from two strands: imperial history and postcolonial history. They argue that due to the new configurations of postcolonial, "culture-contact" histories in which Indigenous communities were finally deemed as having a history worth studying, much of the scholarship ironically focuses on the "pre-colonial" era. This romanticization of a "pre-colonial" island-world past has plagued postcolonial histories due to the marked absence of the contemporary Pacific present and the subsequent (a)political implications of this scholarship.[14] As Howe, Kiste, and Lal write, "Most of their studies were not really informed by the Pacific Island present. Or, rather, the nature of that present, as it was perceived, did not offer any obvious contemporary political agenda or conscious ideology that historians could impose on their studies of the Pacific past."[15] The apolitical or politically averse nature of Pacific history is continually challenged by Pacific Studies scholarship that examines the critical role of colonialism in both the history and present of Oceania. Each chapter within this project takes up an affective regime of colonialism with a historical legacy. For example, in the first chapter, I examine tourism in the Pacific through Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale*, linking it to the historical colonial phenomenon of "human zoos," in which Indigenous peoples were paraded around Europe and the U.S. as spectacles. In doing so, I contextualize and politicize both the history and current practices of tourism in Oceania to legacies of colonialism.

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[13] K.R. Howe, Brij Lal, and Robert Kiste (Eds.), *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.

[14] Howe also takes this up in his text, *Nature, Culture, and History: The "Knowing" of Oceania*.

[15] Howe, Lal, and Kiste xi.

Kanaka Maoli activist and scholar Haunani-Kay Trask is perhaps one of the best known and widely cited Indigenous Pacific scholars that examines the ongoing nature of colonialism in the Pacific. In her 1999 *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i,*[16] Trask brings together critical analyses of the U.S. nation-state, Hawaiian sovereignty, and colonialism to intervene against apolitical historical narratives of Oceania. Central to Trask's text is her argument that colonial relations of power continue to shape Pacific nations, in large part through tourism, nuclear testing, and territorialization. In a speech given at the 1990 Second International Indigenous Women's Conference, Trask elaborated on the ways in which colonialism continues to structure supposedly independent, post-colonial Indigenous nations. She argues, "The relationship between ourselves and those who want control of us *and* our resources is not a *formerly* colonial relationship but an *ongoing* colonial relationship. That is to say, we are not now autonomous yet dependent. Rather, we are dependent *and* subjugated. Part of our subjugation is the unequal relationship to our numerous colonizers."[17] Trask's argument importantly intervenes into romanticized pre-colonial histories of the Pacific that neglect contemporary Indigenous politics of sovereignty and self-determination.

Throughout *Indigenous Performance in Oceania*, I also draw from the insights of Native feminisms and queer Indigenous studies that argue for conceptions of Indigenous sovereignty that do not replicate colonial legacies of exclusion and move beyond colonial nation-state

[16] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i,* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.

[17] Trask 103, original emphasis.

frameworks.[18] This work critiques ideologies within Indigenous studies and Indigenous communities that maintain exclusionary structures and practices concerning race, gender, and sexuality. Indeed, much of this scholarship points to the ways in which Indigenous nations at times perpetuate colonial ideologies of gender and sexual normativity and subsequently reproduce colonial relations of power that work to exclude and marginalize members of the community. Furthermore, this scholarship situates these colonial reiterations as products of Indigenous nations' attempts for recognition, inclusion, and/or assimilation into the colonial nation-state. In response to these dynamics, Native feminists and queer Indigenous studies trenchantly call for alternative notions of sovereignty that are inclusive, imaginative, grounded in Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies, and reach beyond stagnant political conservatism. As Qwo-Li Driskill, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Morgensen argue in their 2011 anthology, *Queer Indigenous Studies*, "Queer Indigenous critiques do not look for recognition from the nation-state for our pain and suffering because of identities, but seek to imagine other queer possibilities for emancipation and freedom for all peoples."[19] Intimately engaged in the political aims of Native feminisms and queer Indigenous studies, this project employs an Indigenous femi-queer[20] reading practice that is critical of nation-state frameworks and exclusionary logics, while also seeking alternative notions of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination that do not replicate colonial legacies.

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[18] The following are just some of the works I draw upon: Joanne Barker's *Native Acts*, Qwo-Li Driskill's "Doubleweaving Two-Spirit Critiques," Mishuana Goeman's *Mark My Words*, and Lisa Kahaleole Hall's "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands.'"

[19] Qwo-Li Driskill, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Morgensen (Eds.), *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2011: 213.

[20] I borrow the useful term "femi-queer" from Asian American literary scholar Rachel Lee.

For the past few decades, ongoing colonial power relations within Pacific Studies have primarily been theorized through the economic and political dependence of Island nations upon colonial states. Recently, however, Indigenous Pacific scholars have begun intervening into the field of Pacific Studies, and this project follows behind the important work these scholars have created. While my project addresses the overt economic and political forms of colonialism in Oceania, it also examines the affective forms of colonial regulation that continue to structure Indigenous nations. My focus on the affective regimes of colonialism highlights the ways in which colonialism continues into the present, particularly in sovereign, post-colonial Pacific nations in which the ongoing nature of colonialism is at times either dismissed as irrelevant or unaddressed. In doing so, my project furthers the aims of Pacific Studies scholars, such as Epeli Hau'ofa and Haunani-Kay Trask, by considering the ways in which Oceania performance imagines and creates self-determination as inclusive and spanning across Oceania through alternative socialities, rather than bounded by colonial demarcations.

State Power and Regulating Regimes

While Haunani-Kay Trask, Epeli Hau'ofa, and other Indigenous Pacific scholars importantly examine the institutional and structural ways in which colonialism continues to materially and ideologically shape Oceania, they also importantly show how colonialism and state power is not only experienced as a disciplinary force, but also, and perhaps more accurately in recent decades, as regulatory, controlling regimes.[21] Similarly, scholars of affect have urged a shift from Foucauldian "societies of discipline" to the Deleuzian notion of biotechnological

[21] Some other Indigenous Pacific scholars whose work examines the ongoing institutions and practices of colonialism in the Pacific include Keith Camacho, Vicente Diaz, Lisa Kahaleole Hall, J. Kehaulani Kauanui, Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, Noenoe Silva, Caroline Sinavaiana, Katerina Teaiwa, Teresia Teaiwa, Ty Kawika Tengan, Lisaclaire Fa'anofo Uperesa, Albert Wendt, and many others.

"societies of control."[22] Indeed, my use of regulation throughout this project draws upon social theorist Gilles Deleuze's theory of societies of control, in which he argued that theorist Michel Foucault's notion of disciplinary societies, where orderly, organized enclosure is the primary mode of operation, has been replaced by societies of control, where modulation and regulation through open networks of frantic circulation and surveillance are the new, current forms of confinement.[23] This shift attempts to capture the multifarious ways in which societies are managed, regulated, and controlled through state technologies of surveillance, biopolitics, and affective regulation. *Indigenous Performance in Oceania*, then, examines the ways in which colonialism in Oceania has been achieved not simply through discipline and imperial capitalism, but also through affective regimes that attempt to modulate Indigenous bodies and epistemologies into "proper" colonial ideologies of subjecthood. I argue that this shift from discipline to control, while at times overly differentiated, provides a compelling analytic for Indigenous politics that may better illustrate the complex dimensions of colonial power relations, particularly, as shown in this project, through the regulatory power of affect.

Recent Indigenous feminist scholarship takes up the affective regulation of Indigenous bodies, nations, and peoples to expound upon regulatory forms of colonial power. In Athabascan scholar Dian Million's 2013, *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*,[24] for example, she examines the ways in which affects are mobilized in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings to both recognize and reconcile the collective trauma of First Nations peoples due to Canada's historical colonial violence. Million illustrates how

[22] For example, see P. Clough and B. Massumi.

[23] For more, see G. Deleuze, "Postscript on Societies of Control."

[24] Dian Million, *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013.

Native peoples are ingrained to feel ashamed of their Indigeneity, while Canadian society comes to see the dehumanization of Native peoples as a systemic knowledge that "feels right."[25] Thus, Million argues that colonialism is a felt, affective relationship that not only polices and regulates bodies, but also affects. Additionally, Million examines the early literary works of Native women to illustrate the ways in which Indigenous women changed the conditions of speaking one's truth by using their narratives of colonial violence to illuminate the "domestic secrets" of colonialism.[26] In doing so, these women's narratives transformed this old shame into a site of powerful political experience to speak from, while insisting upon the inclusion of affective, felt experience as real knowledge. While Million argues that these women's narratives have often been dismissed within academia because of their affective charge, she shows how the inclusion of affective, intuited knowledge within some Indigenous women's narratives is essential to the ways in which alternative truths and historical views are produced to challenge systemic colonial truths. Drawing upon Million's insights, this project examines the ways in which colonialism in Oceania has also become an affective relationship, and how Oceania performance utilizes affective knowledge to challenge these narratives produced by affective regimes of colonialism.

While Million focuses on the role of affects in both regulating and creating Indigenous sovereignty, Kahnawa:ke Mohawk anthropologist Audra Simpson examines affective forms of belonging, citizenship, and membership in her 2014 *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States.*[27] In her examination of tribal membership, Simpson traces an

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[25] Million 47.

[26] For example, she examines the works of Maria Campbell, Lee Maracle, Ruby Slipperjack, Jeanette Armstrong, and Beatrice Culleton.

[27] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014.

alternative form of belonging and citizenship that works through affective ties with one's community. Illustrating the role of affect and the settler state, Simpson draws upon social theorist Lauren Berlant's notion of affectively structured citizenships to argue, "The primary way in which the state's power is made real and personal, affective in its capacity, is through the granting of citizenship and, in this, the structural and legal preconditions for intimacy, forms of sociability, belongings, and affections."[28] Here, Simpson points to the forms of affective citizenship that enshrine the settler state and articulate U.S. belonging. Due to the "nested sovereignties" of Indigenous nations within settler states, this state power subsequently informs and shapes the contested terrain of membership in Kahnawa:ke.[29] Simpson, however, goes beyond Berlant's analyses of U.S. affective citizenship through her concept of "feeling citizenship" in Kahnawa:ke. In an interview with a lifelong resident of Kahnawa:ke, Simpson identifies a difference between membership and citizenship through his articulation of not feeling like a Canadian citizen, but rather as a Mohawk citizen of Kahnawa:ke despite not being a recognized member. She writes, "This is that 'feeling citizenship' or 'primary citizenship,' the affective sense of being a Mohawk of Kahnawa:ke, in spite of the lack of recognition that some might unjustly experience."[30] This feeling citizenship, then, expands upon Berlant's analyses of affective citizenship by articulating a different sense of belonging untied to settler-state nationalisms. While this sense of belonging may not be institutionally recognized, Simpson highlights the ways in which it is socially and politically recognized in the everyday life of the community. Thus, my project draws upon Simpson's "feeling citizenship" to identify the

[28] Simpson 18.

[29] Simpson 11.

[30] Simpson 173.

various ways in which Oceania performance creates alternative modes of belonging and sociality.

Both Million and Simpson highlight the ways in which utilizing theories of affect can offer new insights on colonial power relations and provide alternative practices of Indigenous self-determination. This project draws upon their work to expand upon theories of colonialism in the Pacific by considering the ways in which affective regimes that control and regulate Indigenous sovereignty are embedded within structural and institutional forms of colonialism. As geographer Nigel Thrift argues, "In at least one guise the discovery of new means of practicing affect is also the discovery of a whole new means of manipulation by the powerful."[31] Thus, this project examines affective regimes of colonialism in the Pacific, and, in doing so, contributes to Pacific Studies scholarship by attending to ongoing, unaddressed forms of colonial power that continue to shape Oceania. Additionally, this project expands upon the concept of affective belonging by considering the role of corporeality, embodiment, and ontology within Indigenous articulations of sovereignty and self-determination through the analysis of Oceania performance.

The politics of recognition is another form of regulatory state power that has become a highly scrutinized site and is important to consider in Oceania. In his 2014, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition,*[32] Dene political theorist Glen Coulthard tracks the intellectual genealogy of the politics of recognition through Hegel, Fanon, and political scientist Charles Taylor while examining how it has become the primary framework for

[31] Nigel Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*, London and New York: Routledge Press, 2008: 173.

[32] Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Indigenous politics. Coulthard takes issue with Taylor's formulation of the politics of recognition, due to the ways in which "the logic informing this dimension—where 'recognition' is conceived as something that is ultimately granted or accorded a subaltern group by a dominant group—prefigures its failure to significantly modify, let alone transcend, the breadth of power at play in colonial relationships."[33] Coulthard points out that granting recognition does not fundamentally alter colonial relations of power, but rather reifies these very relations.

The relations of power inherent to colonialism shape the politics of recognition as a unilateral process. As Coulthard argues, "In relations of domination that exist between nation-states and the sub-state national groups that they 'incorporate' into their territorial and jurisdictional boundaries, there is no mutual dependency in terms of a need or desire for recognition."[34] Thus, Coulthard illustrates that the Hegelian reciprocity of mutual dependency between the master and slave is not required for the colonial state's existence. Rather, in our current moment, Coulthard argues, "Colonial powers will only recognize the collective rights and identities of Indigenous peoples insofar as this recognition does not throw into question the background legal, political, and economic framework of the colonial relationship itself."[35] Coulthard's examination of the politics of recognition, therefore, highlights the precarious ways in which the politics of recognition not only limits alternatives to the colonial power structure, but also limits the very terms of recognition available to Indigenous peoples.

While Coulthard's analysis of the politics of recognition focuses on the ways in which incorporation into the settler state becomes the political horizon for Indigenous peoples,

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[33] Coulthard 30-31.

[34] Coulthard 40.

[35] Coulthard 41.

anthropologist Elizabeth Povinelli situates the politics of recognition as one step in the settler state's ultimate political horizon of multiculturalism. Examining the restricted terms of recognition for Indigenous peoples through an examination of liberal multiculturalism in Australia, Povinelli's 2002 *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism,*[36] argues that Australia's attempts to reconcile its violent frontier history through the recognition of Indigenous Australians is actually an attempt to purify the nation of its past in order to move on with proper liberal multiculturalism. In doing so, she illustrates how the hope and optimism invested in liberal multiculturalism diverts energy away from other political imaginaries and masks state violence as accidental mistakes of the past. Povinelli argues that multicultural recognition works by inspiring non-White subjects to identify with "the impossible object of an authentic self-identity."[37] For Indigenous peoples, this means performing domesticated, authentic, and pure "traditional" selves in order to be recognized as political subjects with claims worthy of consideration. Thus, in order for recognition to be given, Indigenous Australians must embody and perform authentic tradition in its purest sense; otherwise, both their Indigeneity and claims to retribution remain suspect. Indeed, this performance of authenticity has particularly high stakes for Indigenous peoples because of the ways in which it is tied to land title and political rights claims.

Thus, this project expands upon the scholarship on recognition to highlight the ways in which the processes of recognition that require Indigenous subjects to perform authentic, traditional Indigeneity are constituted through regimes of affect that regulate the limits of difference and authenticity. For example, in Chapter 2, I examine the ways in which the politics

[36] Elizabeth Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism,* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002.

[37] Povinelli 6.

of recognition function in Hawai'i to exacerbate tensions between Micronesian and Hawaiian communities, ultimately pitting two Indigenous Oceanian groups against each other, rather than united in their shared colonialisms. Each chapter in this project takes up a particular regime of affective colonialism that has a historical legacy within Oceania as a disciplinary colonial force. However, my aims in each chapter are to explicate the ways in which these regimes continue today not as much through discipline, but rather regulation and control. Thus, this project importantly expands upon theorizations of colonial state power.

Affects, Bodies, and Performance

While the study of affect has become increasingly popular in a range of fields within the humanities, it is particularly important to the study of performance, due to the ways in which affect shapes the complex interplay between bodies and environments. The Spinozist-Deleuzian strain of affect theory takes up Spinoza's postulation of an interdependent and simultaneous looping between the body and mind, which stands in direct contrast to René Descartes's dualism of the body and mind. In Deleuze's writing on the porous body, this looping highlights the ways in which affect is the potentiality of relation, encounter, and emergence, thus emphasizing affect as the ontological interconnectivity of the body, environment, and mind. This ontological interconnectivity is particularly apparent in performance, and thus my project draws upon these insights, while also highlighting the ways in which Oceania performance intervenes into these theories to highlight alternative Indigenous ontologies. Thus, this project expands upon theories of affect to consider the ways in which Oceania performance articulates bodies as not only affected by and affecting environments, but also capable of corporeally generating socialities of collectivity, sovereignty, and self-determination.

In his 2002, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation,*[38] Brian Massumi, whose work is perhaps best known for this line of thinking, critiques the tendency to collapse emotion and affect. He explicitly states the difference between the two by defining emotion as "qualified intensity, the conventional, consensual point of insertion of intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progressions, into narrativizable action-reaction circuits, into function and meaning."[39] According to Massumi, affect, which he also refers to as intensity, temporally comes before the construction of emotion, figuring through bodies as sensation, force, and autonomic response. He argues, "Formed, qualified, situated perceptions and cognitions fulfilling functions of actual connection or blockage are the capture and closure of affect."[40] Thus, for Massumi, affects are autonomous in the sense that they are always unactualized and in excess of their qualification or capture through emotion.

Massumi's approach draws a much stricter delineation between affect and emotion than the approaches from Million and Simpson explored above. While this can be useful for parsing out the particularities between affect and emotion, I would argue that it risks omitting important ways in which the interconnectivity between body, mind, and environment occurs. Indeed, interdisciplinary theories of affect, such as those from the Public Feelings project,[41] importantly highlight the ways in which this looping between affects, bodies, and environments is politically charged. These works emphasize the importance of affect in examining national politics, public

[38] Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002.

[39] Massumi 28.

[40] Massumi 35.

[41] The Public Feelings project is an informal working group of affect scholars who formed in the aftermath of 9/11 to discuss the ways in which a political depression shaped the national U.S. public. For more, see A. Cvetkovich's "Public Feelings."

space, and temporality. In doing so, they expand upon Massumi's work to consider embodiment, feeling, and sensation as equally important to the ways in which affects are materially and institutionally circulated.

Public Feelings Project co-founder, Ann Cvetkovich, examines the ways in which national public affects circulate through the intimate and personal realms of subjects in her scholarship. Importantly, she suggests that these affective resonances can then inspire and create forms of sociality that are better equipped for the ways in which we live affectively. In her 2003 *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*[42], Cvetkovich examines how lesbian public cultures conceptualize trauma outside of pathologizing medical discourses by creating alternative responses of healing and negotiation. She focuses in particular on the ways in which sexual trauma is addressed in lesbian public cultures through the modes of art, film, literature, and performance, and argues that these cultural productions highlight how "affective experience can provide the basis for new cultures."[43] Grounding her use of affect within the space of political potentiality, Cvetkovich not only pushes definitions of trauma within the national sphere to consider sexual trauma, but also importantly locates trauma as foundational to the U.S.'s affective language. In contrast to individualized frameworks of clinical psychology, Cvetkovich is concerned with trauma as a historical, collective experience that "describ[es] how we live, and especially how we live affectively."[44]

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[42] Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003.

[43] Cvetkovich, *Archive* 7.

[44] Cvetkovich, *Archive* 19.

Similarly, in her 2012 *Depression: A Public Feeling*[45], Cvetkovitch focuses on negative affect, particularly depression, and theorizes it as potentially productive, creative, and capable of providing alternatives. She explains:

> The goal is to depathologize negative feelings so that they can be seen as a possible resource for political action rather than as its antithesis. This is not, however, to suggest that depression is thereby converted into a positive experience; it retains its associations with inertia and despair, if not apathy and indifference, but these feelings, moods, and sensibilities become sites of publicity and community formation.[46]

Cvetkovitch contextualizes depression as a feeling inherent to late capitalism, and thus a dynamic that subtly shapes the everyday life of capitalist societies. Focusing on the ways in which depression may shape the public, Cvetkovtich urges readers to consider the alternative forms of sociality that can emerge from recognizing this condition within each other as a product of neoliberalism and global capitalism. Opening the text with a memoir of the depressive and manic episodes she has experienced throughout periods of her own life, Cvetkovitch draws readers, especially humanities scholars, into both the extremely mundane and unusual realities of depression in the era of late capitalism, effectively illustrating the publicity of this phenomenon through readers' potential identification with the text.

Public Feelings Project scholar Kathleen Stewart also examines the ways in which affects shape subjects in her 2007 *Ordinary Affects,*[47] but through the ordinary, quotidian, habitual, and micro-scale dimensions of affect. Stewart's text is a venture into the everyday curiosities and events that evoke affective responses in subtle or more overt ways. Like Cvetkovitch, Stewart utilizes *feeling* as an intentionally imprecise way to highlight the complex interplay between both

[45] Ann Cvetkovich, *Depression: A Public Feeling*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012.

[46] Cvetkovitch, *Depression* 3.

[47] Kathleen Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007.

embodied sense and psychic experience. She asserts, "Ordinary affects are public feelings that begin and end in broad circulation, but they're also the stuff that seemingly intimate lives are made of. They give circuits and flows the forms of a life."[48] Thus, Stewart calls attention to the ways in which affects shape and produce the processes of response and emergence, operating as movement and "potential modes of knowing, relating, and attending to things that are already somehow present in them in a state of potentiality and resonance."[49]

Feminist anthropologist Purnima Mankekar additionally illustrates the ways in which regimes of affect and temporality structure notions of subject and culture formation in her 2015 *Unsettling India: Affect, Temporality, Transnationality*.[50] Mankekar examines how affect and temporality constitute notions of "India" and "Indian culture" through the commodities, media, and texts of transnational public cultures, focusing specifically on New Delhi and the San Francisco Bay Area. Particularly significant to my project, Mankekar conceptualizes affect as not exclusively of the body or the psyche, but rather "engendered through the encounter of bodies with each other and with particular objects."[51] She argues, "Affect is about the capacity to navigate the world, about world making, and about worlding."[52] Importantly, Mankekar adds that both affect and temporality operate as regimes in that they are already "imbricated in institutions of power such as family and kinship, class formation, caste, state policies, [and]

[48] Stewart 2.

[49] Stewart 3.

[50] Purnima Mankekar, *Unsettling India: Affect, Temporality, Transnationality*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015.

[51] Mankekar 13.

[52] Mankekar 17.

media."[53] I draw upon Mankekar's theorizations of affect and affective regimes within my project to examine the complex and various ways in which the affects circulated within and around Oceania performance may produce alternative notions of Indigenous belonging, self-determination, and sociality, while still being in fraught and entangled relation with the colonial regimes of affect that Million's work astutely illustrates.

Cvetkovich, Mankekar, and Stewart all point to the ways in which the circulation of affects, embodied experience, and public cultures are inherently political. These works are foundational to my project's focus on both the ways in which colonial affects and logics shape the possibilities for Indigenous self-determination, as well as the political potentiality of Oceania performance to renegotiate those terms through affective embodiment and corporeality. Thus, I argue that Indigenous performance articulates bodies as not only affected by and affecting environments, but also capable of generating intercorporeal socialities of collectivity, sovereignty, and self-determination. Oceania performance articulates an affective otherwise that requires thinking through forms of sovereignty and self-determination that do not replicate colonial relations of power.

Oceania performance also reformulates colonial regimes of affect by imagining alternative forms of affective embodiment and sociality. My analysis of affective embodiment and corporeality in Oceania performance is informed by queer performance studies scholarship, such as the works of Lisa Blackman, Eng-Beng Lim, and José Esteban Muñoz.[54] The approach within queer performance studies looks at performance as a site in which affects produce forms of sociality, necessitating a move from the individual, biological body to an intercorporeal state

[53] Mankekar 17-18.

[54] Specifically, I draw upon Blackman's "Affect, Performance and Queer Subjectivities," Eng-Beng Lim's *Brown Boys and Rice Queens*, and Munoz's "Feeling Brown, Feeling Down."

of affective symbiosis. In other words, queer performance studies theorizes performance as a space in which queer communities are affectively healed, brought together, or recognized by each other in its emphasis on the queer body and affectivity. As performance studies scholar Lisa Blackman argues, "Bodies are never separate clearly defined entities, but rather plural processes disclosing the relational and enactive qualities of corporeality."[55]

While this project examines some queer performance, it is not bound to explicitly queer performers. However, I draw upon the approach from queer performance studies because of its utility in examining corporeality and the ways in which affectivity shapes performance. For example, in his 2006 article, "Feeling Brown, Feeling Down: Latina Affect, the Performativity of Race, and the Depressive Position," Muñoz writes, "Affect is not meant to be a simple placeholder for identity … it is, instead, supposed to be descriptive of the receptors we use to hear each other and the frequencies on which certain subalterns speak and are heard or, more importantly, felt."[56] Here, Muñoz points to the ways in which emitting and receiving affects within performance produces a different sense of embodiment by generating collectivity and sociality. This approach is particularly useful for examining the ways in which Indigenous performance challenges and negotiates the affective regimes of colonialism, while also imagining alternative practices of sovereignty and self-determination.

Drawing upon interdisciplinary theories of affect and performance, I examine the ways in which Oceania performance politicizes the relationship between affects, bodies, and environments through an emphasis on corporeality. This corporeality highlights the ways in

[55] Lisa Blackman, "Affect, Performance and Queer Subjectivities," *Cultural Studies* 25.2 (2011): 187.

[56] José Esteban Muñoz, "Feeling Brown, Feeling Down: Latina Affect, the Performativity of Race, and the Depressive Position," *Signs* 31.3 (2006): 677.

which bodies affectively overlap and blur boundaries, and, in doing so, articulates alternative notions of sociality that require thinking through forms of sovereignty and self-determination that do not replicate colonial relations of power. For example, in my third chapter, I argue that Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's use of anthropomorphism in *Dear Matafele Peinam* importantly recalls Indigenous Pacific ontologies of intercorporeality, or a shared corporeality between humans and non-humans. Through this intercorporeality, an alternative form of sociality between humans and non-humans is created, and I argue that this sociality is precisely the kind of onto-epistemological shift necessary for combatting climate change. Thus, this project draws from and expands upon theories of affect and performance by examining corporeality within Oceania performance, which also necessitates a reexamination of current notions and practices of Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty within Oceania.

Sites and Methods

This project examines Indigenous Oceania performance to address the ways in which affective regimes of colonialism have been challenged and negotiated within four specific sites and discourses: tourism, recognition politics, climate change, and memorial culture. The performances I analyze include various elements of contemporary and traditional dance and ritual, installation art, performance art, theater, and spoken word poetry. I examine Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale* (2011), Rosanna Raymond's *SaVAge K'lub* (ongoing), Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's *Dear Matafele Peinam* (2014), and Cat Ruka's *Playing Savage* (2009). I have chosen these performances because of the various ways in which they imagine alternative notions of Indigenous Oceania sovereignty and self-determination that rupture the affective regimes of colonialism through their emphasis on Indigenous corporeality and sociality. I argue that these

performances are critical to examining the ways in which Indigenous sovereignty in Oceania can move beyond colonial nation-state frameworks.

This project draws upon four primary methodologies in order to examine Indigenous Oceania performances that address the affective regimes of colonialism in Oceania: 1) archival analysis, 2) textual analysis (including both discourse analysis and close reading), 3) performance analysis, and 4) ethnography.

The first methodology I employ in this project is the analysis of performance archives. These archives contain the material culture of the performances, such as costuming, props, promotional material, program notes, seating charts, and photographs. Going through these archives, I examined materials that better contextualized my performance analyses, as well as materials that pointed to alternative readings of the performance and its reception. Alongside my analysis of the archive's materials and texts, I also examine the contexts in which these materials and their archives are produced, in order to make sense of the affective dimension of these materials and archives. As Cvetkovich writes, "An exploration of cultural texts as repositories of feelings and emotions … are encoded not only in the content of the text themselves but in the practices that surround their production and reception."[57] Thus, in order to examine these performance archives as "archives of feeling," to use Cvetkovich's term, my archival analysis methodology examines both the materials in the archives and the archive itself.

The textual analysis methodologies I use in this project consist of both close readings and discourse analysis. These methodologies are particularly useful in examining the policy, legal cases, and state materials the performances address, as well as the material culture of the performances I examine. My close reading methodology entails the criticism and interpretation

[57] Cvetkovich, *Archive* 7.

of a single text's aesthetics, affects, and knowledge production. For example, in my close reading of a text from a performance's archive, such as the venue's promotional material, I examine the rhetoric and imagery used to describe the artist and performance, as well as the textual placement of the performance in relation to the venue's other exhibits and programs. My use of discourse analysis consists of identifying significant textual features found in a representative selection of materials that point to specific theoretical themes. For example, in my discursive analysis of tourism materials, I look specifically at themes of embodied Indigeneity as radical alterity, in order to connect this to the colonial history of Indigenous bodies as extra-human spectacle that Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale* addresses. Additionally, in my examination of these various archives, I use both forms of textual analysis.

The third methodology I employ in this project is performance analysis. This methodology comes from performance studies, and is similar to close reading in that it interprets the aesthetics of the performance, but pays particular attention to corporeality and embodiment. This method also consists of various other methodologies, as well, such as participant observation, ethnomusicology, and movement analysis. For the sake of clarity, I describe my ethnographic methodologies separately below, and use performance analysis to describe my method of analyzing the movement, choreography, and embodied affects and sensations (such as sound and haptic) of the performance. My performance analyses entail a close study of the differential affects produced in various aesthetics. For example, in my analysis of Cat Ruka's *Playing Savage,* I pay particular attention to her choreography as she embodies different stereotypical tropes of Māori women. In her performance of the "savage," she twists and writhes on the ground aggressively lunging towards the audience in tribal skull face paint. Her choreography, costuming, movement, and embodiment are all central to my analysis of her

performance, the colonial context she evokes, and the affects both the context and performance produce.

The final methodology employed in this project is ethnography, specifically participant observation and interviews. I conducted structured and unstructured interviews with the artists about the specific pieces listed above, which included questions about the conception, performance, and reception of the piece. We also discussed each artists' own history with performance, how and why they came to the art form, and their thoughts about the political potentiality of performance. All artists had the options of aliases and editing, retracting, and/or ending their participation at any time. My site visits and interviews have followed all appropriate IRB protocols and procedures.

Interventions

By examining Oceania performance as acts of self-determination that challenge and negotiate affective regimes of colonialism through an emphasis on embodiment and sociality, this project expands upon the fields of Pacific Studies, colonial power, and affect and performance studies.

The first chapter, "Selling Happiness: The Affective Commodities of Colonial Tourism and Indigenous Authenticities," examines the ways in which tourism in Oceania operates as an affective regime of colonialism through the affect of happiness via leisure and authenticity. I link leisure to authenticity and analyze the moral underpinnings of the concept. Through a critical examination of Samoan artist Yuki Kihara's 2011 performance piece, *Culture for Sale*, I trace the affective commodity of authenticity within tourism to the late 19th century "human zoos," or world fairs. Kihara is a multi-media Samoan-Japanese *fa'afa'fine* artist whose work has appeared internationally in Auckland, Berlin, London, Melbourne, and New York, among other cities.

While she is most well known for her photo series "Fa'afa'fine: In the Manner of a Woman," I focus specifically on her performance and installation piece *Culture for Sale* (2011). Kihara's piece powerfully highlights the ways in which tourism in the Pacific is intimately connected to colonial conquest and occupation by exploiting the touristic desire for authenticity. In doing so, I argue, *Culture for Sale* disrupts the affective colonial regime of tourism and complicates notions of authenticity as a means for building Indigenous sovereignty in Oceania. Like much of Kihara's corpus, the piece illustrates the ways in which colonialism continues to affectively structure current institutions in the Pacific, particularly tourism. Kihara's powerful critiques point to the everyday affects of colonialism in Oceania, while also gesturing towards alternative forms of sociality that do not replicate colonial exclusions on the basis of gender and sexuality.

Building upon Indigenous Studies scholarship concerning the politics of recognition, the second chapter, "Feeling (In)Dependence: Moving Beyond the Politics of Recognition to Relational Self-Determination," examines the current migration of Micronesians to Hawai'i within its historical context of the Compact of Free Association (COFA). Through this history, I illustrate the ways in which COFA granted formal U.S. recognition upon Micronesians, and in doing so, affectively and materially situated Micronesians as dependent upon the U.S. Then, I examine the current affective and material conditions of neoliberal multiculturalism in Hawai'i. From the seeming impasse of diverse and complex forms of recognition at work in Hawai'i, I introduce Samoan artist Rosanna Raymond's *SaVAge K'lub* (2010-ongoing). Rosanna Raymond is a New Zealand-born Samoan multi-media artist and member of the Pacific Sisters art collective. Raymond's work has gained international recognition due to her aggressive, bold, and challenging performances that critique ongoing colonial affects and logics within Oceania. I focus on her ongoing installation and performance art space, *SaVAge K'lub*, housed in the

Queensland Gallery of Modern Art, due to the ways in which it poignantly creates an affective space of intercorporeal Oceania sociality that reimagines colonial histories of Indigenous bodies as spectacle. Using the same name as a late 19th Century gentleman's club that collected Indigenous Oceania artifacts, Raymond reclaims the "club" by hosting performers from all over Oceania to engage in the Samoan spatial concept of *VA*, in which a space is created to form relationships and reciprocal obligations. Thus, Raymond's piece is an exemplary work of inter-Indigenous Pacific solidarity that enacts a relational form of Indigenous self-determination that may help us begin to think through forms of recognition beyond the colonial state.

The third chapter, "Of Monsters and Mothers: Affective Climates and Human-Nonhuman Sociality," examines the production of doubt and apathy within climate change debates, and argues that the material outcomes of this affective regime perpetuate colonialism in Oceania. I also examine how this affective regime is dismantled through the use of experiential and embodied knowledges in Marshallese poet and activist Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's performance of *Dear Matafele Peinam* at the 2014 UN Summit on Climate Change, in which she received the second standing ovation in UN history, with the first belonging to Nelson Mandela. The poem speaks to Jetñil-Kijiner's daughter, promising her that her mother will do everything possible to prevent the lagoon from swallowing her home. Jetñil-Kijiner's evocation of Indigenous epistemes and ontologies on non-human entities point to forms of sociality that I argue can provide alternative frameworks of thinking through not only climate change and its effects, but also what an inter-Indigenous Oceania sociality and politics might look like within contested colonial territories. Since the performance, Jetñil-Kijiner has been featured in numerous publications, such as Vogue Magazine, and has appeared on CNN, making her one of the most visible Pacific Islander advocates for climate change and Oceania self-determination today. The

growing awareness Jetñil-Kijiner's piece has brought to issues of climate change in Oceania is particularly significant to my project's focus on Oceania self-determination through performance.

The final chapter, "Remembering Our Bones: Oceania Futurity and the Limits of Settler Affect and Memory," examines the ways in which memorial culture within settler states, functions as a colonial affective regime by drawing upon settler memory in order to create and maintain a national settler affect that not only situates Indigenous peoples and affect as wrong, but also temporally out of place. First, I examine former New Zealand Prime Minister John Key's 2014 Waitangi Day speech to illustrate how settler memory creates a national settler affect that makes colonial relations of power feel right. I, then, examine the temporal dynamics of memorial culture, which affectively reinforce colonial relations of power by excluding Indigenous peoples from the nation's future through colonial tropes. Through this analysis, I consider the role of temporal sovereignty, and look to M performance artist and choreographer Cat Ruka's 2009 *Playing Savage*. Ruka's work focuses primarily on affective colonial narratives of M women. I examine her 2009 piece *Playing Savage*, due to the innovative and dynamic ways in which Ruka addresses these particular narratives. In the performance, Ruka dons eight different stereotypical representations of M women that draw upon settler colonial imaginaries, from the "savage" to pregnant teenager. Ruka's piece progresses towards an alternative vision of M sovereignty that, at once, incorporates affective embodiment while critiquing colonial logics of heteropatriarchy. In doing so, Ruka's piece provides an alternative Indigenous form of remembering through the body, and fosters an Indigenous Oceania futurity that interrupts the temporal affects of memorial culture.

Much like the performance, "Queer Pacific Islanders Sustaining Community," *Indigenous Performance in Oceania* expands and interweaves the scholarship in Indigenous and Pacific Studies, affect studies, and performance studies to seek alternative frameworks of belonging, community, and sovereignty that do not replicate colonial legacies of exclusion based on gender, race, and sexuality. I argue, Oceania performance negotiates the affective regimes of colonialism through Indigenous ontologies of embodiment and corporeality, which then leads to new forms of sociality that imagine notions of self-determination that are expansive, inclusive, and grounded in Oceania.

Chapter 1: Indigenous Authenticity and the Affective Commodities of Colonial Tourism

I gather my notepad, plastic bag full of purple and white orchid leis, and secure my ID badge safely to the collar of my crisp polyester aloha shirt. Cutting through the lines for security, I flash my badge to the TSA officer and hurry through the metal detector, apologetically bowing my head and waving at the disgruntled tourists heading home. Walking briskly towards the far end of the Honolulu International Airport mainland terminal, I glance down again at the paperwork to check the arriving gate: Gate 6. "Ah, United Airlines," I think to myself. It will probably be a flight from Houston or New York. I pray not New York. The New Yorkers always insist on lighting up in the breezeway connecting the gates to the baggage claim. "It's outside," they would huff. Yes, welcome to Hawai'i, where the architecture often incorporates fluidity between indoors and outdoors. But you still cannot smoke here. I bust in through the sliding glass doors into the air-conditioned waiting area outside of the gate just in time. Mahea from the Roberts Hawai'i greeters is already there. "How many you get on this one, Ang?" she asks. My paperwork says two parties of two. Most likely two couples on honeymoon. We roll our eyes together, before quickly fixing our posture and plastering on big smiles as the first-class passengers de-board the plane. They looked tired, but excited; bloodshot eyes scanning the room to land on the WikiWiki shuttle and palm trees waiting for them outside. Finally, a wide-eyed haole couple walks up to me in response to the names I have written on the dry-erase sign I'm holding. "Hi, we're the Johnsons," the man says. "Aloha! Welcome to Hawai'i!," I exclaim as I place two of the orchid leis I have since moved from the unsightly plastic bag to my forearm over their heads. "Wow, I got lei-d in Hawai'i!" he jokes. Everyone thinks that's the first time I've heard that joke. I do my best sincere laugh, before asking them for their vouchers and if they've

checked any bags. I've learned you need to get right down to business after sexual innuendos. Once we get to the baggage claim, I wait with them as they impatiently look for their bags on the carousel. "Of course! I'd be happy to help you with your bag," I chime, hoping to cheer them up. We head towards the shuttle to get them on the way to their Waikiki hotel. They hop in without looking back, without a care and without a tip.

During the summer of 2005, between graduating high school and heading to college, I found work as a lei greeter at the Honolulu International Airport. I decided to open this chapter with a vignette from that experience in order to exemplify the ways in which tourism in Hawai'i and much of the Pacific is often a meticulous choreography of affect from the very moment tourists step off the plane. Additionally, this vignette illustrates how the affects that circulate around tourists' experiences are commodified. In this specific context, "aloha" is being commodified, purchased, and performed. As Kanaka Maoli scholar Stephanie Nohelani Teves argues, "Aloha as an expression of goodwill, love, and inclusion for all became coterminous with the promotion of Hawai'i as a tourist destination."[1] Indeed, the leisure affects of warmth, friendliness, convenience, and hospitability that aloha signifies are paid for in advance, and the quintessential "lei-ing" at the airport that has appeared in numerous forms of media, from Elvis's *Blue Hawai'i* to the 2010 remake of *Hawai'i Five-O,* is often viewed as an authentic cultural experience of Hawai'i. As I show throughout this chapter, the two affective phenomena of leisure and authenticity are vital to understanding the ways in which tourism operates as a colonial affective regime in Oceania. While tourism studies has broadened to examine the

[1] Stephanie Nohelani Teves, *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018: 32.

popularity of dark tourism or thanatourism,[2] tourism marketing for Pacific Island nations still employs the tried and true strategies of leisure and wellness. Thus, it is safe to assume that most tourists heading to Oceania are expecting to, in some manner, feel happy.

This chapter examines the ways in which tourism in Oceania operates as an affective regime of colonialism through the affects of happiness via leisure and authenticity. First, I connect colonial tourism presently to the pro-tourism arguments of 1890s annexationists in Hawai'i. Through an analysis of annexationist Lorrin A. Thurston's writing on Hawai'i, I examine the ways in which leisure was used to bolster tourism, creating a form of "leisure imperialism," due to the ways in which it materially facilitated the colonial project of annexing Hawai'i. From here, I link leisure to the tourism industry's promise of authenticity in order to expand on the affects of eudaimonia and hedonia within tourism. Through a critical examination of Samoan *fa'afafine* artist Yuki Kihara's 2011 performance piece, *Culture for Sale*, I trace the affective commodity of authenticity within tourism to the late 19th century "human zoos," or world fairs, such as the German colonial phenomenon of the Völkerschau, in which colonized subjects, including Pacific Islander men, women, and children, were toured around the West and exhibited in "anthropological-zoological exhibitions." Drawing inspiration from the Völkerschau, Kihara's piece powerfully highlights the ways in which tourism in the Pacific is intimately connected to the histories, legacies, and narratives of colonial conquest and occupation by exploiting the touristic desire for eudaimonic authenticity. In doing so, I argue, *Culture for Sale* disrupts the affective colonial regime of tourism and complicates notions of authenticity as a means for building Indigenous sovereignty in Oceania. Thus, the affective

[2] For example, see A.V. Seaton's "Guided by the Dark."

interventions of *Culture for Sale* is a critical introduction to the expansive notions of Indigenous sovereignty put forth throughout this project.

Colonial Tourism

In historian Christine Skwiot's *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i*,[3] the links between the tourism industry in Hawai'i and U.S. imperialism are explicitly laid out through her historical analysis of the colonization, annexation, and U.S. statehood of Hawai'i. Throughout, she tracks the ways in which tourism was used to bolster the arguments for each of these causes, foregrounding imperial capitalism as an imperative to each project. She writes, "Travel and tourism helped legitimate a variety of different political, racial and social regimes in Hawai'i … and stabilize relations between capital and labor."[4] Through a reading of annexationist Lorrin A. Thurston's writings on Hawai'i, it becomes clear that tourism indeed facilitated new regimes of U.S. colonialism.

In 1891, seven years before the U.S. annexation of Hawai'i, Lorrin A. Thurston, a White Honolulu attorney, newspaper owner, and descendant of missionaries, published *Vistas of Hawai'i: The Paradise of the Pacific and Inferno of the World.*[5] At first glance, the text seems to be a collection of essays, poems, and photogravures paying tribute to the beauty of Hawai'i edited by Thurston. However, interspersed among the poems about Nanakuli and the photos of Kilauea are detailed figures and statistics, such as in the section titled "Revenue, Commerce, and

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[3] Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i*, Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

[4] Skwiot 4.

[5] Lorrin A. Thurston, *Vistas of Hawai'i: The Paradise of the Pacific and Inferno of the World* St. Joseph: William F. Sesser, 1891.

Finances," where government expenditures, foreign imports, and sugar cane industry revenues are laid out.[6] On the next page, a thorough guide of steamship fares from San Francisco to Honolulu, Honolulu hotel rates, and Oahu railroad tickets are given.[7] The final page with detailed figures includes a meticulous table of the average temperature in Honolulu at 6am, 1pm, and 9pm for every week of the year in 1890.[8]

The stark difference between stories about Pele, poems, and photos of lush Hawaiian landscape and the very pragmatic tables of financial and statistical figures is striking. However, this awkward juxtaposition is plausible once we consider Thurston's role as a key figure in the U.S. annexation of Hawai'i. In the Prefatory, Thurston writes, "While this is not intended either as a history or a guide book, the geography, history and characteristics of the Islands are so little known to the outside world, that a brief summary of historical and practical information is incorporated herewith."[9] Indeed, the practical information of the text reveals much of Thurston's political and financial goals at the time. Beyond the practical information, however, Thurston at times explicitly states his political aims. For example, in a section titled, "The Value of Private Property is Estimated at $40,000,000," in which Thurston details how Kanaka Maoli own less than $3 million while Americans own $25 million in sugar alone, he writes:

> It is vital to the United States, in view of this great development, to establish the closest relations with Hawai'i, and to improve the magnificent harbor of Pearl River, which the government has secured by treaty. In no other way, *short of actual annexation*, can United States influence be better established, while Hawai'i's continued prosperity

[6] Thurston 39.

[7] Thurston 40.

[8] Thurston 33-34.

[9] Thurston 3, my emphasis.

> depends directly upon the most intimate commercial union with the United States of America.[10]

Thurston's bizarre amalgamation of a tourist guidebook, financial ledger, and plea for U.S. involvement exemplifies the ways in which tourism was used to not only facilitate the colonization of Pacific Island nations, but, in the case of Hawai'i, to also further the project of White settler colonialism. As Skwiot argues, "Travel writers and tourism promoters wrote … Hawai'i into narratives of American civilization to establish [its] worthiness to join an imperial republic governed by and for free whites."[11]

Arguing that tourism is a form of imperialism, Dennison Nash writes, "The tourist and his supporting infrastructure engage in transactions with a native people. Such transactions … are marked by a disparity of power."[12] The power relations in tourism are evident through the appropriation and commodification of Indigenous culture and identity, as well as through the economic exploitation of Indigenous peoples' labor and lands. Kanaka Maoli activist and scholar Haunani-Kay Trask, for example, highlights the precise manner in which tourism contributes to the colonization of the Pacific in her searing critique of the multibillion-dollar tourism industry in Hawai'i. Trask links tourism to the colonial legacies of economic exploitation, cultural appropriation, and land dispossession. Remarking on the industry's commodification of Hawaiian culture, as seen in hotel luaus, hula performances, and "tiki-

[10] Thurston 26.

[11] Skwiot 15-16.

[12] Dennison Nash, "Tourism as a Form of Imperialism," Ed. Smith, *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989: 40.

kitsch"[13] souvenirs, Trask writes, "The point, of course, is that everything in Hawai'i can be yours, that is, you, the tourists', the non-Natives', the visitors'. The place, the people, the culture, even our identity as a 'Native' people is for sale."[14] Indeed, tourism in the Pacific Islands often uses Indigenous culture as a distinctive marketing strategy, which Trask aptly connects to the appropriation of not only sacred, culturally significant objects and rituals, but also Indigeneity in and of itself.

In addition to the appropriation and commodification of Indigenous culture, the tourism industry in the Pacific often relies upon the exploitation of Indigenous labor and land. As Kathy Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull argue of tourism in Hawai'i, "Where dark-skinned workers were formerly recruited for plantation labor, they are now hailed into place as the service providers in the international political economies of tourism."[15] The average yearly salary for a Hawai'i resident employed by the tourism industry is $10,000-$25,000[16], which is particularly meager when considering Hawai'i is consistently ranked as the state with the highest cost of living in the U.S.[17] Additionally, the infrastructure needed to maintain the tourism industry commodifies

[13] Dan Taulapapa McMullin, "Tiki Kitsch, American Appropriation, and the Disappearance of the Pacific Islander Body," *Lux: A Journal of Transdiciplinary Writing and Research from Claremont Graduate University* 2.1 (2013): Article 21.

[14] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999:144.

[15] Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i,* Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

[16] Trask 144.

[17] For example, see CNBC's "America's Top State For Business 2013," July 2013, http://www.cnbc.com/id/100613938.

Indigenous lands and natural resources, which are then sold and consequently damaged and destroyed by the influx of traveling bodies and construction.

Thurston's text is a powerful example of the ways in which the promotion of tourism also enabled the promotion of U.S. imperialism through the emphasis on financial gains, exploitable resources, and a Native people in need of civilization. Much of Thurston and other annexationists' pro-tourism arguments relied on a precarious framework of leisure imperialism, a term that anthropologist Malcolm Crick coined in 1989 to describe the ways in which tourism is "the hedonistic face of neo-colonialism."[18] While Crick uses the term "neo-colonialism" to describe the ways in which colonial power relations continue today, the case of Hawai'i shows that leisure imperialism may actually facilitate colonial projects, not simply mimic colonial relations of power.

Indeed, early on in Thurston's text, a photogravure of heir to the Hawaiian Kingdom Princess Ka'iulani's private coconut grove is framed with illustrated text that reads, "Sunshine, Birds, and Flowers All the Year," on the left and "A Land of Perpetual Spa-ing," on the right.[19] Significantly, this is the only photogravure in the entire collection with illustrated text, which makes the photo read more as a postcard. Even a photogravure of a lush "private yard," (presumably Thurston's) does not include any touristic slogans. Analyzing the processes of commodification and objectification inherent to tourism, literary scholar Frederic Jameson argues, "The American tourist no longer lets the landscape 'be in its being' … but takes a snapshot of it, thereby graphically transforming space into its own material image. The concrete

[18] Malcolm Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18 (1989): 322.

[19] Thurston 33.

activity of looking at a landscape … is thus comfortably replaced by the act of taking possession of it and converting it into a form of personal property."[20] Thus, the tourist gaze, which might consist of taking photos and consuming "culture," in addition to the literal practice of looking, could be described as an attempt to control, possess, and reshape the Indigenous element for one's own purposes. When this gaze is employed in Indigenous space, it "recall[s] sedimented histories and cultural practices of colonialism,"[21] creating the colonial-tourist gaze. Thurston's decision to use a photo of Princess Ka'iulani's private home and yard to brand Hawai'i as a leisure destination is a discerningly accurate representation of the ways in which tourism in Hawai'i facilitated the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and government through the touristic desires to possess Hawai'i.

The use of leisure to promote travel and tourism to Hawai'i in the late 19th century was a difficult task due to some longstanding Puritan Christian values still ingrained in the U.S. at the time, which viewed leisure as morally devious, a point I will return to in detail later. As Skwiot notes, "Travel writers and tourism promoters exploited U.S. citizens' ambivalent views of leisure, notions rooted in values bequeathed by Puritan colonials and republican nationals who saw the demands of destiny and duty as inextricably linked."[22] Thus, in order to sell U.S. citizens on leisure, pro-tourism annexationists in Hawai'i framed tourism in Hawai'i as an activity for wealthy White elite men like themselves, who were capable and republican enough

[20] Frederic Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," *Social Text* 1.1: 131.

[21] Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, "Touring Military Masculinities: U.S.—Phillippines Circuits of Sacrifice and Gratitude in Corregidor and Bataan," Eds. Camacho and Shigematsu, *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010: 71.

[22] Skwiot 8.

to balance their duties and hedonistic desires. As Thurston writes, "The society of Honolulu is cosmopolitan, refined and educated, alike devoted to good works and having a good time."[23] In doing so, pro-tourism annexationists secured an elite aristocracy of White tourists and settlers that bolstered their eventual success in the annexation of Hawai'i to the U.S. in 1898. Significantly, Thurston's son, Lorrin P. Thurston, went on to found the two leading tourism organizations in Hawai'i and the Pacific: the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau and the Pacific Area Travel Association, both of which continue to market Hawai'i and the Pacific as a cosmopolitan leisure destination.

Trading Leisure for Authenticity

While the pleasurable affects of leisure have long been examined within tourism studies scholarship, scholars have recently cited authenticity as a more relevant framework for tourist consumption and desire.[24] Indeed, authenticity has become somewhat ubiquitous within tourism campaigns in Oceania. For example, anthropologist Jocelyn Linnekin examines how Hawai'i tourism marketing has shifted from tacky, cheapened representations of Indigenous culture, such as hula girl dolls and hotel luaus, to "respectful" depictions of traditional culture and history. She writes, "In keeping with recent trends in Western tourism, Hawai'i's marketing has increasingly sought to portray the vacation as an opportunity for personal growth and learning rather than a purely hedonistic experience."[25] Thus, while the search for authenticity may often

[23] Thurston 28.

[24] For example, see Knudsen and Waade, *Re-Investing Authenticity*.

[25] Jocelyn Linnekin, "Consuming Cultures: Tourism and the Commoditization of Cultural Identity in the Island Pacific," Eds. Picard and Wood, *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997: 226.

be externally posed, it is often mean to satisfy an internal desire to achieve specific feelings and to satisfy specific values. The concept of authenticity and the specific feelings it is meant to achieve bolsters the various ways in which tourism functions as a colonial affective regime.

Authenticity can be defined in several ways, but three meanings often prevail: truth, materiality, and originality.[26] As Linnekin points to in the quote above, the desire for authenticity has often been posed in opposition to the desire for leisure, in which authenticity represents a more cultured, educated, and honorable experience and leisure is framed as unsophisticated, indulgent, and depraved. These moralistic meanings associated with authenticity and leisure are historically rooted in the philosophical concepts of eudainomia and hedonia, or hedonism.[27] As scholar Richard Kraut argues, "*Eudaimonia* involves recognition that one's desire for the good is being fulfilled, and therefore one who attains eudainomia is necessarily happy with his life."[28] While eudaimonia is referred to as a semi-permanent state of contentment or happiness with one's life, hedonism, on the other hand, is theorized as a temporary, fleeting experience of happiness. As scholar Daniel M. Haybron argues, "[Hedonism] reduces happiness to little more than the experiential aspect of a series of mental

[26] Britta Timm Knudsen and Anne Marit Waade, *Re-Investing Authenticity: Tourism, Place, and Emotions*, Bristol, Buffalo, and Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2010: 9.

[27] Aristotle first developed the term eudaimonia in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, and Aristotelians have labored over its exact meaning since. However, several common themes emerge from the literature that point to eudaimonia as a sense of wellness, happiness, and flourishing, most commonly achieved through a life lived according to one's values and authentic selfhood.

[28] Richard Kraut, "Two Conceptions of Happiness," *The Philosophical Review* 88.2 (1979): 174.

episodes. Being happy … should not be confused with the acute emotion of *feeling* happy."[29] And later, "For the hedonist, happiness is merely a state of one's consciousness."[30] Thus, eudaimonia is perceived to be a more true, authentic, state of happiness, while hedonism is just a fleeting feeling and "psychologically superficial."[31] These accounts of eudaimonia and hedonism make up the affective dimensions of tourism in Oceania. Indeed, the tourist's desire for authenticity can be framed as a eudaimonic desire, whereas the desire for leisure is a hedonistic desire.

If tourism is the "marketplace of experiences,"[32] then any attempt for eudaimonia within one's tourist travels would necessarily be fleeting. However, the difference between a purely hedonistic desire and eudaimonic desire might be the ability to possess the feeling in the latter scenario. In other words, tourist attempts for eudaimonic experiences are attempts at a White liberal cosmopolitan experience, in which the experience is able to transform the tourist's life with a better, more authentic sense of self when, if ever, they return home. As tourism marketing scholars Knobloch et. al. argue:

> In contrast to pleasure in the moment, eudaimonia is linked to the broader concept of well-being, a higher level of functioning and can lead to personal growth and development, which seems to be more impactful than hedonic enjoyment and has the potential to influence people's well-being beyond the actual consumption experience. In

[29] Daniel M. Haybron, "Happiness, the Self and Human Flourishing," *Utilitas* 20.1 (2008): 29.

[30] Haybron 31.

[31] Haybron 29.

[32] Serena Volo, "Conceptualizing Experience: A Tourist Based Approach," *Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management* 18.2-3 (2009): 119.

> this view, a consumption experience is considered beyond the fun tourist activity and appreciated for the potential influence it can have on a person's life.[33]

Thus, the eudaimonic tourist experience is seen as a more valuable endeavor, due to the ways in which the affective transformations it evokes are able to be possessed long after the tourist leaves.

Importantly, authenticity has played a role in the promotion of tourism to Oceania since the late 19th century. As Skwiot argues, "Travel writing peddled 'truth,' unlike novels and other kinds of fiction, which were widely viewed as morally corrupting, if not outright sinful."[34] Thus, we see here that the claim to authenticity actually allowed for the engagement in affects of leisure. The presumed authenticity of travelogues and tourist guidebooks, such as Thurston's, created an excuse for engaging in the leisure activities of imagining, feeling, and thinking about leisure in "paradise." Thus, while the use of authenticity within Oceania tourism may seem like a contemporary phenomenon, it has played as much of a role in the tourism industry as leisure, and primarily plays out through the profoundly colonial power dynamic of consuming Indigenous Pacific culture. Samoan fa'afafine artist Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale* critiques the colonial power dynamic of consuming Indigenous culture within the tourism industry, while also addressing its affective dimensions, such as eudaimonic authenticity and hedonistic leisure. In doing so, I argue, Kihara points toward alternative notions of Indigenous Oceania sociality that do not rely on colonial conceptions, such as authenticity.

Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale*

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[33] Knobloch, et. al. "Experience, Emotion, and Eudaimonia: A Consideration of Tourist Experiences and Well-being," *Journal of Travel Research* 56.5 (2017): 658.

[34] Skwiot 9.

First exhibited in 2011 at the Campbelltown Arts Center in Sydney, Australia, Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale* consists of two components: a video installation and live performances. Emulating late 19th century penny arcade peep boxes and raree shows, the video installation component of Kihara's piece comprises four large coin-operated screens that each project a different dancer clad in traditional Samoan performance attire. Below each dancer, the screen reads "INSERT 20c TO WATCH ME DANCE." When a coin is dropped into the slot, the dancer performs their traditional dance for a few seconds until the show is over and the original screen reappears. Alongside the video installation, the same performers are posed throughout the exhibit on raised platforms with white bowls in front of them. Some remain sitting, while others stand, but they are all suspended in a particular pose. Once a spectator drops money into the bowl, the dancers perform their various brief traditional dances, and then freeze back into their original pose, which they hold until the process repeats.

The conceptual inspiration behind *Culture for Sale* is the late 19th century and early 20th century German colonial phenomenon of the Völkerschau, in which colonized subjects, including Samoan men, women, and children, were toured around Germany and exhibited in zoos under the German colonial administration of Samoa from 1900-1914.[35] The Völkerschau, a form of exotic entertainment and theater, allowed German citizens to view the Native inhabitants of the State's various colonial occupations. These exhibits were not unique to Samoan peoples. Indeed, many Indigenous peoples were exhibited in similar colonial displays at the time.[36] The popularity of such exhibits relied upon White citizens' curiosity of the far reaches of the world

[35] Yuki Kihara, "Culture for Sale/Shigeyuki Kihara," http://vimeo.com/40031800.

[36] For more, see S. Shahriari, "Human Zoo."

they would never be able to visit in person. With the invention of mass commercial travel, however, these White subjects are now able to satiate such curiosity through tourism. Critiquing the tourism industry's commodification of culture and identity in the Pacific Islands, Linnekin argues, "Modern ethnic tourism derives its appeal from the Western fascination with the exotic and the primitive—a preoccupation traceable at least to eighteenth-century Europe … The underlying model of ethnic tourism, in other words, could be likened to a human zoo."[37]

The colonial practices of looking engendered through the Völkerschau were not benign, but rather facilitated the German colonial project in Samoa. As historian Andrew Apter argues, imperial spectacles, such as the Völkerschau, enabled the development of indirect rule, in part from the looking back of the Indigenous peoples.[38] He argues, "Imperial spectacle established a kind of metropolitan a priori that structured colonial experience, rendered it reproducible, and afforded opportunities for recognition and enlightenment."[39] While enabling Germans to take part in a grotesque colonial voyeurism, the Völkerschau was also encouraging its displayed to look back and "'see the light' of imperial reason."[40] Thus, the Völkerschau was, in part, an attempt to communicate rational, enlightened civilization to the Indigenous peoples on display, while also establishing indirect imperial rule where the "world-as-exhibition" spectacle allowed for the abstraction and regimentation of Samoa. Much like the ways in which the promotion of tourism facilitated the annexation of Hawai'i, Völkerschauen secured German colonial rule in

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[37] Linnekin 217.

[38] Andrew Apter, "On Imperial Spectacle: The Dialectics of Seeing in Colonial Nigeria," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44.3 (2002): 564-596.

[39] Apter 586.

[40] Apter 587.

Samoa. Thus, Kihara's *Culture for Sale* illustrates how current practices of tourism are intimately connected to historical colonial spectacles, such as the Völkerschau, and, as such, are deeply ingrained with imperial projects and colonial relations of power.

Utilizing the genres of parody and irony, one could argue that *Culture for Sale* simply reifies the very power dynamics of colonialism that the piece attempts to critique. Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd examines this unforeseen dynamic in Coco Fusco's and Guillermo Gómez-Peña's *Two Undiscovered Amerindians Visit the West*, which, like Kihara's *Culture for Sale,* attempts to reflect the colonial power relations of voyeurism and exhibitionism back upon itself. What the artists had not intended, though, was the literalism with which the audience would receive the piece. One of the limitations of the piece that created this reaction, Byrd argues, is how it "allied the authority effect of the institution with the voice of the parody to sanction and then frustrate the desire for the uncontaminated, newly discovered and captured indigenous specimen."[41] Relying on the authority of the institution to enforce a critique of the same institution, then, Fusco and Gómez-Peña unintentionally reified the museum's power to authorize and appropriate Indigeneity. Perhaps, had the artists made their goals more explicit, or less ironic, audience interaction could have intervened and carried through the critique of institutionalized power.

Culture for Sale, on the other hand, makes clear the dynamic it attempts to critique through the title of the exhibition itself. The video installation component of Kihara's piece also adds an overt element of voyeurism that many audiences are familiar with. Additionally, the literal cost of viewing the very brief performances, which end with the performers frozen in

[41] Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011: 50.

place like objects or puppets, indicates that *Culture for Sale* is a direct critique of institutionalized colonial tourism practices. Kihara's closed-form piece points to the disparities of power within tourism, where the tourist consumes and possesses the Indigenous. Spectators are aware that they are in an art exhibition, not a Völkerschau or a hotel luau, and thus while some may instinctively participate in the colonial-tourist gaze without reflexivity, Kihara's piece interrupts this desire by forcing these relations of power through audience participation with the piece in the seemingly inappropriate context of the art gallery.

An important dynamic of Kihara's piece, which Byrd highlights as missing from *Two Undiscovered Amerindians Visit…*, is that it illuminates the ways in which colonial-tourist relations of power are engendered within the specific sites of the museum and the art gallery. Indeed, the site of the art museum is instrumental when examining colonial tourism. A 2004 study of tourism patterns found that museums, art galleries, and monuments are the most popular tourist destinations.[42] Providing tourists with aesthetic pleasure, historical information, and presumed cultural authenticity, the museum and art gallery are often an all-in-one experience of the tourist's locale. Thus, Kihara's piece identifies the art gallery and art museum as spaces that encourage colonial tourism, whether or not one is actually a visiting tourist. *Culture for Sale* illustrates that one need not leave home to engage in tourism, but may fulfill tourist fantasies through everyday practices of looking. Rather than remaining complicit in this colonial project, however, Kihara indigenizes the space of the gallery by aurally and visually filling the site with traditional Samoan dance, chant, and song that foregrounds Indigenous cultural memory and

[42] Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert, "Gazing from Home: Cultural Tourism and Art Museums," *Annals of Tourism Research* 38.2 (2011): 403-421.

creates community with Indigenous members of the audience, a point I return to later in this chapter.

While Fusco and Gomez-Peña presented made-up, satirical Indigenous specimens to an audience grotesquely eager for authenticity, Kihara presents a fairly authentic experience to her audience. So much so, that it's important to question whether Kihara's *Culture for Sale* is in fact a parody at all. The dances performed in the exhibit are traditional Samoan dances still practiced and performed during cultural celebrations, and the audience must pay to view the exhibit, much like hotel luaus or zoos requiring an entry fee. German entrepreneur Carl Hagenbeck first organized Völkerschauen in 1874 under the title of "anthropological-zoological exhibitions."[43] While the Völkerschau originally began as exhibitions in which colonized subjects were literally in cages, Hagenback continuously expanded upon the spectacle in attempts to perfect the experience of the viewer. As theatrologist Christopher Balme writes, "To *experience* alterity, the viewing position had to change from the voyeuristic gaze necessitated by the old-fashioned bars, cages, and viewing windows, to an open panoramic contemplation whereby the spectator had the illusion at least of being in the wild."[44] This interactive component of the Völkerschau is replicated in Kihara's *Culture for Sale*, where spectators are required to interact and pay in order to fully experience and witness the exhibit. Rather than parody, then, Kihara's piece might be described as an Indigenous re-enactment of a Völkerschau that radically resignifies the political intent and effect from one of colonial exploitation to Indigenous self-determination. Requiring the audience to be complicit in the selling of Indigenous culture, Kihara makes the oft-invisible

[43] Christopher Balme, "New Compatriots: Samoans on Display in Wilhelminian Germany," *The Journal of Pacific History* 42.3: 332.

[44] Balme 333.

nature of contemporary colonial relations of commodified power within tourism a conscious, deliberate act in an attempt to highlight the material stakes of colonial tourism practices.

Unsettling Authenticity

Requiring the audience to participate in her Völkerschau, Kihara frustrates the desire for a morally pure experience of authenticity. Indeed, *Culture for Sale* effectively intervenes into the colonial affective regime of tourism through the uncomfortable affects that circulate around the performance. Throughout the recording of *Culture for Sale* it is clear that many of the spectators are uneasy with Kihara's requirement to participate. Some hand their children money to put in the bowls, others watch on seriously and intently, and all stand as far away from the spectacle as possible. Requiring the audience to interact and participate in her Völkerschau, Kihara's piece evokes feelings of awkwardness, discomfort, complicity, and impurity. *Culture for Sale* traces the colonial origins of authenticity as a tourist commodity to exploitative colonial spectacles, such as the Völkerschau, effectively disallowing the sense of pure, moralistic eudaimonia expected in the consumption of authenticity. In doing so, Kihara blurs the boundaries between hedonistic leisure and eudaimonic authenticity by illustrating the ways in which one's desire for authenticity can be just as hedonistic and "morally impure" as the tourist commodity of leisure.

Kihara's interventions into the affective colonial regime of tourism have broader implications for Indigenous Oceania. As many Native scholars across Oceania and the Americas have shown, authenticity as a hermeneutic for self-determination has often been incredibly exclusionary and divisive; sometimes replicating the very demarcations brought upon through colonialism.[45] In her 2018 *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance*, Teves

[45] For example, see J. Kauanui's *Hawaiian Blood* or S. Teves's *Defiant Indigeneity*.

complicates notions of Indigenous authenticity by arguing for a specifically Indigenous performativity. She asserts, "As the process by which indigenous bodies generate social meaning, Indigenous performativity centers Indigenous articulations of culture, outsider perceptions of such, and the constant interplay between them."[46] Thus, in her reappropriation of hypercommodified notions of the Pacific, Kihara at once draws from Samoan epistemes while critiquing notions of a pure, authentic Indigeneity.

By tainting authenticity with its colonial origins, I argue, *Culture for Sale* points to alternative notions of Oceania sociality and self-determination that do not rely on colonial conceptions, such as authenticity. Indeed, at the same time most of the audience pensively watches the performances, something else is happening. We hear the *fa'amu* (shouts) and cheers from Native Pacific audience members. A different sense of Oceania sociality is cultivated —one that does not rely on colonial purity, but celebrates a messy inter-Indigenous mingling. Kihara forces us to think about these awkward yet important forms of sociality within and amongst each other in Oceania. Thus, in our moves for sovereignty, I suggest we take after Kihara. Let's be impure together, let's be immoral together, and together, let's be self-determining.

[46] Teves 52.

Chapter 2: Feeling In-Dependence: Moving Beyond the Politics of Recognition to Relational Self-Determination

In 2014, a popular Hawai'i radio station disc jockey landed into some controversy after making the following joke on air: "Why aren't there many beautiful Micronesians? Because babies with birth defects are usually terminated before birth."[1] A week later, on May 31, 2014, after some public backlash, the disc jockey apologized on air, and continued to mockingly warn listeners that the show could make "no ethnic jokes."[2] The listeners that called in primarily defended the disc jockey, arguing that it was "just a joke" and that "Micronesians should go home if they can't take a joke."[3] The Hawai'i radio station, Island 98.5, is a popular station that primarily plays contemporary Hawaiian music and is listened to by local Hawai'i residents all over the islands. The nonchalant nature with which an explicitly distasteful racist joke was made on a popular radio station points to the larger culture of ignorance and racism against Micronesians in Hawai'i. Micronesian migrants currently represent about half of the total number of people moving to Hawai'i; a growth that exacerbates the local Hawai'i sentiment of overcrowding and scarce resources.[4] This type of intolerance is not new in the U.S. or Hawai'i. Indeed, Filipinos, Mexicans, Samoans, and other migrant communities are well aware of this

[1] Kat Lobendahn, "Stop the Derogatory Racist Jokes and Comments Against the People of Micronesia,"*Change.Org*, 23 May 2014.

[2] Will Caron, "Racism in Hawai'i is Alive and Well," *Hawai'i Independent*, 2 June 2014.

[3] Ibid.

[4] For example, in 2012, 7,948 Micronesians migrated to Hawai'i, while the population in Hawai'i increased by 14,449 individuals that same year. For more, see International Organization for Migration, "Migration in the Federated States of Micronesia," and Hawai'i State Data Center, "County Population Facts for the State of Hawai'i."

public intolerance. Important to my project, however, are the ways in which Indigenous communities within the U.S., and particularly Hawai'i, are pit against one another through politics of recognition in ways that disavow shared colonial histories, effectively blocking potential coalitions and relational forms of sovereignty.

In her examination of the connections and disconnections between Māori and Pasifika peoples, Maori scholar Alice Te Punga Somerville importantly argues that the prejudices and tensions between Indigenous and Indigenous settler communities are fostered "as long as they insist their primary relationship is with the … nation-state."[5] Therefore, this chapters asks: What would Hawai'i look like with interdependence between and amongst Micronesians, Kanaka Maoli, and other Indigenous Pacific communities? How could recognition between Indigenous Pacific peoples foster the kind of self-determination that moves beyond the colonial state and feels truly independent? Haunani-Kay Trask, one of the most renowned Kanaka Maoli scholars and Hawaiian sovereignty activists, argues, "Because of their familial attachments to both land and sea, Pacific Islanders know a solidarity of geography and culture. Despite their diversity, they are all Island peoples in struggle with larger predatory powers. Pacific Island solidarity, then, has been formed in the teeth of First World aggression."[6] The tensions between Indigenous Pacific groups in Hawai'i, thus, must be contextualized within the broader colonial projects of U.S. recognition via the settlement in and annexation of Hawai'i, U.S. militarization in the Pacific, and the U.S.'s colonial rule in Micronesia. The solidarity Trask speaks of may have

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[5] Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Maori Connections to Oceania*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2012: xxiii.

[6] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i,* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999*:* 45.

been lost in recent decades, however, as I argue throughout this chapter, this solidarity need not be lost forever, and this solidarity is vital to all Indigenous Pacific peoples' independence from the U.S.

First, I situate the current migration of Micronesians to Hawai'i within its historical context of the *Compact of Free Association* (COFA), which is an international agreement of "free association" between the U.S. and the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Palau. Through this history, I illustrate the ways in which COFA granted formal U.S. recognition upon Micronesians, and in doing so, affectively and materially situated Micronesians as dependent upon the U.S. While the Compact attempted to grant Micronesia independence, the politics of recognition actually furthered the affects and material conditions of dependency. Then, I examine the current affective and material conditions of neoliberal multiculturalism in Hawai'i, and how Micronesians and Kanaka Maoli are both affected by the specific forms of recognition espoused within multicultural states. From the seeming impasse of diverse and complex forms of recognition at work in Hawai'i, I introduce Samoan artist Rosanna Raymond's *SaVAge K'lub* (2010-ongoing) as an exemplary work of inter-Indigenous Pacific solidarity that enacts a relational form of Indigenous self-determination that may help us begin to think through forms of recognition beyond the colonial state. I argue Raymond's piece fosters the recognition of Indigenous Pacific peoples between and amongst each other. In doing so, *SaVAge K'lub* cultivates affects of relationality and interdependence that are vital to thinking self-determination and independence in an inclusive and expansive way.

Recognition through COFA

After seventeen years of negotiations, the *Compact of Free Association* was implemented in the Federated States of Micronesia on November 3, 1986. Marking the independence of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands, the Compact was framed as a stepping-stone for the newly independent nations to develop their economies while having the security and protection of the United States. Indeed, COFA grants Micronesian and Marshallese citizens with some benefits of U.S. citizenship, such as travel to and from the U.S., in exchange for the security and "protection" of our Islands. For several decades before the Compact, Micronesia was under a U.N. Trusteeship Agreement administered by the United States under Chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations for territories detached from enemy states as a result of WWII. Because Micronesia was under the Japanese government's control up until the end of WWII, the U.N. identified Micronesia as a territory needing trusteeship. Thus, the Compact was meant to act as a transition stage from U.S. trusteeship to national independence.

In the COFA Preamble, it states:

> Recognizing that the peoples of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands have and retain their sovereignty and their sovereign right to self-determination and the inherent right to adopt and amend their own Constitutions and forms of government and that the approval of the entry of their respective Governments into this Compact of Free Association by the peoples of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands constitutes an exercise of their sovereign right to self-determination;
>
> NOW, THEREFORE, AGREE to enter into relationships of free association which provide a full measure of self-government for the peoples of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia.[7]

While COFA consistently highlights the former territories' new independence and self-determination, the three relations the Compact presides over—government, economy, and security and defense—are foundational components of any independent nation. In fact, federal

[7] Compact of Free Association Act of 1985, Pub. L. 99-239, 14 Jan 1986.

documents show that drafts of the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia were subject to negotiation with the U.S. in order to be more compatible with the Compact. In Michael A. White's 1975 cross-analysis of the FSM Constitution and COFA for the U.S. Joint Committee on Future Status, he points out that Article II Section 1 of the FSM Constitution states that the Constitution is "'the supreme law of the Federated States of Micronesia,' and that no act of Government may be inconsistent with it," while Section 101 of the COFA states, "the constitution and laws of Micronesia shall not be inconsistent with the provisions of this Compact."[8] White continues by arguing, "If such conflict were to occur, the provisions of the Constitution would govern, but if there is no conflict between Micronesia's Constitution and laws, no problems would arise. The Federate States, however, must endeavor to assure that no such conflict arises in the future, at the risk of breaching the Compact."[9] Thus, while the Joint Committee on Future Status maintained that were any conflict between FSM's Constitution and the COFA to arise, "the latter would be renegotiated," the document of COFA itself requires the FSM Constitution to be in compliance with COFA provisions.[10] Thus, despite the overwhelming use of Indigenous sovereignty rhetoric, it is clear that the COFA does not assure independence and self-determination, but rather hinders it.

The Compact of Free Association was meant to mollify concerns over the ways in which the U.S. administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands failed to significantly develop

[8] Michael A. White, "A Comparison and Cross-Analysis of the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia as Approved by the Micronesians Constitutional Convention, and the Draft Compact of Free Association," *U.S. Joint Committee on Future Status,*18 Nov 1975: 3.

[9] Ibid.

[10] White 1.

the islands, and actually worsened conditions due to their nuclear test program and strict foreign policy. As anthropologist Catherine A. Lutz argues, "Although the charter for the administration was to 'develop' the islands and to prepare them for self-determination, successive U.S. administrations and military leaders have apparently never wavered from the goal of permanently maintaining effective control of the islands."[11] The COFA recognized Micronesia as a sovereign nation in order to redress the colonial exploits under the Trusteeship Agreement, yet within this same document are explicit conditions by which Micronesia remains dependent upon the U.S.[12] Indeed, Lutz argues that the COFA is a weak front for continued U.S. colonial domination, and even terms the implementation of the Compact as an annexation. Referencing the vote on the COFA, she writes:

> For Micronesians, their choice in the plebiscites was as 'free' as those of boat passengers who have been taken far from their shore by a pilot whose interests and itinerary are not their own and who are then given the choice of remaining on the boat or swimming the 200 miles back to shore. Micronesia was *not* given the choice of complete political independence combined with an assured foreign aid package that would be directed towards the repair of the damage done to their economies and social systems by the strategic colonization of that area by the United States over the last forty years.[13]

The Compact of Free Association therefore secures continued U.S. colonial domination over Micronesia, while relieving the U.S. of the affective burden by purporting Micronesian sovereignty and independence.

Many of the politicians supporting the Compact remarked upon this affective burden of continuing colonialism well into the 20th century. In a 1981 letter to Under Secretary of State

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[11] Catherine Lutz, "The Compact of Free Association, Micronesian Non-Independence, and U.S. Policy," *The Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 18.2 (1986): 21.

[12] For more, see Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia.*

[13] Lutz 26-27, original emphasis.

for Security Assistance, Science and Technology James L. Buckley, U.S. Representative and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Economic Policy and Trade Jonathan B. Bingham wrote, "The Trusteeship should come to an end soon. It is an international embarrassment for us that we should be the only administering authority of a trusteeship set up under the U.N. Charter that has not given independence to its charges."[14] In fact, twenty years prior, this issue was precisely what Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Anthony M. Solomon expressed concern over in his 1963, *The Report by the United States Survey Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, commonly called the Solomon Report. Here, Solomon warns that the state of affairs in Micronesia under the Trusteeship Agreement will eventually become an embarrassment to the U.S. He writes, "Time is running out for the United States in the sense that we may soon be the only nation left administering a trust territory. The time could come, and shortly, when the pressures in the United Nations for a settlement of the status of Micronesia could become more than embarrassing."[15] To address the overwhelming lack of development under the U.S.'s administration, Solomon recommends formally making Micronesia a United States territory in order to rapidly achieve "minimum but satisfactory social standards in education, public health, etc."[16] However, Solomon cautions that the attainment of this objective will not come easily because "the United States will be moving counter to the anti-colonial movement that has just about completed sweeping the world and will be breaching its

[14] Jonathan B. Bingham, "To the Honorable James L. Buckley, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology," 11 May1981, Approved for Release by U.S. Government 9 March 2007.

[15] Anthony M. Solomon, *The Report by the United States Survey Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands,*1963: S-2.

[16] Solomon S-6.

own policy since World War I of not acquiring new territorial possessions."[17] Addressing this, Solomon ends the objectives section of the report by advocating for "a modern and more efficient concept of overseas territorial administration," and, thus, the concept of "free association" was born.

The Compact of Free Association not only allowed the U.S. to obtain Micronesia as a territory under the guise of recognizing Micronesia's "innate sovereignty" and independence, but it also enabled the affective burden of international shame and embarrassment associated with colonialism to be traded for a colonial paternalism. As Lenni-Lenape scholar Joanne Barker argues, U.S. recognition works as "evidence that the United States has realized itself as a fully democratic, humanist, and civil society, rendering historical violence and fraud against Native peoples as an unfortunate aberration that the U.S. has evolved progressively past and that Natives just need to 'get over.'" [18] Indeed, Micronesians were framed as "coming of age" under the "'guidance and tutelage' of the United States."[19] Thus, the recognition granted through COFA is less about the political autonomy and sovereignty of Micronesia, and more about the U.S. recovering from its colonial shame by effectively securing Micronesians as legal and political subjects dependent upon the U.S.

In a letter to Buckley supporting the Compact of Free Association, U.S. Senator Daniel K. Akaka, who is perhaps best known for his controversial bill to grant federal recognition to Kanaka Maoli, writes, "The United States assumed a moral obligation when it accepted the

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Joanne Barker, *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011: 28.

[19] David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998: 228.

administering authority of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands [and] the termination of the trusteeship will not mean the termination of the moral obligations we assumed as an administering authority."[20] The affect of paternalism evoked throughout U.S. politicians' support of Micronesian "independence," as seen above in Akaka's statement, continues the colonial affects of dependence upon the U.S. for Micronesians. Marshallese activist and community leader Dwight Heine argued, "Who are we kidding? The fact of the matter is that for forty years, U.S. administrations have conditioned us to be dependent on the U.S. mentally, socially, and economically."[21] Thus, while the U.S. was able to trade in their embarrassment and shame for a proud, morally authoritative paternalism, the affective dimensions of the Compact for Micronesians remained the same—dependence on and submission to the United States.

Multicultural Hawai'i

Since the Compact was implemented, Micronesians have taken advantage of the health care, education, and job opportunities in the U.S. The least expensive and most direct way to the U.S. from Micronesia is through Honolulu, and, as of the 2010 Census, nearly 10,000 Micronesians live in Hawai'i.[22] While Micronesians in the U.S. pay federal taxes, they lack the opportunity to vote, and once the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 was signed into law, Micronesians lost Medicaid and other federal benefits, as well. Thus, the disadvantages faced by Micronesians have led to many issues in the U.S., such as

[20] Daniel K. Akaka, "To Mr. James L. Buckley, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology." 18 May 1981. Approved for Release by U.S. Government 9 March 2007: 4-5.

[21] Hanlon 226.

[22] U.S. Census Bureau, "Demographic Trends." Census.gov. 11 Oct 2010.

poverty, homelessness, and discrimination. Indeed, as is evident in the Hawai'i radio disc jockey's statements earlier, with the growth of Micronesian migration has come a growth in intolerance and ignorance.

The discrimination and racialization of Micronesians via anti-Black and anti-immigrant tropes, such as "welfare queens" and calls for deportation,[23] must be contextualized within the politics of recognition that first claimed Micronesians as sovereign and independent. As anthropologist Elizabeth Povinelli argues, intertwined with the politics of recognition are ideologies of liberal multiculturalism that attempt to incorporate Indigenous peoples into the nation-state through processes of racialization.[24] While Povinelli examines this through the ways in which Australia attempts to reconcile its violent frontier history through the recognition of Indigenous Australians, her analyses are particularly appropriate to Hawai'i—a state that has become infamous for its claimed multiculturalism, which I examine further below. Indeed, as Povinelli argues, recognition is really an attempt to purify the nation of its past in order to move on with proper liberal multiculturalism. In the case of Hawai'i, we can see the politics of recognition occurring on both planes of the Indigenous and Indigenous settler. On the one hand, Kanaka Maoli are offered recognition to disavow the colonial history of annexation and statehood, while, on the other, Micronesians are offered recognition through independence to reconcile the colonial violences of the U.S.'s trusteeship agreement. In actuality, this recognition of "independence" for Micronesians means immigrating to Hawai'i and the U.S. for basic

[23] These tropes are prevalent in the discourse of Micronesians in Hawai'i, whether on the radio, social media, or interpersonal interactions. For more, see Caron, "Racism in Hawai'i."

[24] Elizabeth Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism,* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002.

healthcare, jobs, and education, because the U.S. will not fund the infrastructure to make these opportunities available on Micronesian lands, despite originally destroying and defunding this infrastructure during the Trusteeship Agreement.

Povinelli sets up the framework of multiculturalism by examining the twin processes of moral sensibility and rationality that undergird liberal discourses of recognition. She argues that the contradictory nature of public reason and moral sense figures as a challenge to citizens of a multicultural state, where they must value diversity but reject immorality; tolerate difference, but not seemingly repugnant immoral difference. She explains, "They discover that their reasoning and their affect are out of joint: I should be tolerant but you make me sick; I understand your reasoning, but I am deeply offended by your presence."[25] Within liberal multiculturalism, subjects are often confronted with moments of obstinate social difference that they might find abhorrent and abject, or they face assimilated difference that is seemingly too similar to justify social entitlements. For example, in a 2015 interview on the issues COFA migrants face, Hawai'i Governor David Ige stated, "The people of Hawai'i are compassionate and they do believe that everyone should have access to health care and education, and so, yes, we are providing the services. As we get closer to the deadline and the end of the Compact … then we can begin to see how we can work together to help the migrant population really assimilate better and become more successful."[26] Importantly, these moments are actually not moments at all, but people's lives. They mark the site where Indigenous peoples struggle to "inhabit the tensions

[25] Povinelli 5.

[26] Chad Blair, "An Untold Story of American Immigration," *Civil Beat*, 14 Oct 2015.

and torsions of competing incitements to *be* and to *identify* differentially."[27] Indeed, multicultural recognition works by inspiring non-White subjects to identify with the impossible object of an authentic Indigeneity. For Indigenous peoples, this means performing domesticated, authentic, and pure "traditional" selves in order to be recognized as political subjects with claims worthy of consideration.

The celebratory rhetoric of liberal multiculturalism rests upon the fact that it, as Povinelli argues, "makes thinking otherwise safe for liberal democracies."[28] However, even in liberal multiculturalism subjects experience some truths as self-evident, moral intuitions. The regulatory power of liberal multiculturalism comes from not only the performative difficulties of the recognition offered, but also moral sensibility. Liberal multiculturalism, then, is not only an ideology and practice of governance, but also a form of quotidian affects and incitements that regulate colonial polities. Micronesians must perform the impossible "traditional" difference of Indigeneity without fundamental alterity that might provoke affective relations to an alternative social order outside of the colonial state, all while being removed from our Indigenous lands.[29] At the same time, the colonial state is precisely how and why Micronesians began migrating to Hawai'i. This contradiction, then, is evident of multiculturalism's limits of tolerance and political recognition, and the seemingly inescapable affects of dependence and submission to the colonial state. Indeed, liberal multiculturalism and recognition politics both further the affects of dependence and submission by diverting energy away from other political imaginaries, such as

[27] Povinelli 13, original emphasis.

[28] Povinelli 11.

[29] Povinelli 12.

those discussed later in this chapter, and by masking state violence as accidental mistakes of the past.

In his chapter, "The Kepaniwai (Damming of the Water) Heritage Gardens: Alternative Futures beyond the Settler State,"[30] cultural studies scholar Dean Itsuji Saranillio connects the ways in which multiculturalism not only furthers and upholds colonial relations of power, but also produces settler states, such as the U.S. Saranillio examines the multicultural Kepaniwai Heritage Gardens located on sacred Kanaka Maoli burial grounds in Maui, Hawai'i. The gardens include replicas of traditional Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, New England Calvinist missionary, and Kanaka Maoli dwellings, aesthetically and architecturally celebrating the diverse customs, histories, and peoples of Hawai'i. This cultural production of liberal multiculturalism, Saranillio argues, indicates "a transition from a form of settler colonialism organized around whiteness to one organized around multiculturalism."[31]

Indeed, the diverse history of Hawai'i is often lauded as an exemplar of the U.S.'s commitments to multiculturalism, and Saranillio explicates how this cultural diversity contributed to Hawai'i's statehood in the 1950s. Citing statehood advocate Edward Bernays, Saranillio writes, "Bernays argued for Hawai'i statehood, stating that Hawai'i's citizenry—theorized as racially diverse but culturally American—should be showcased above all other American achievements for the world to see what only American democracy could

[30] Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "The Kepaniwai (Damming of the Water) Heritage Gardens: Alternative Futures beyond the Settler State," Ed. Alyosha Goldstein, *Formations of United States Colonialism,* Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014: 233-261.

[31] Saranillio 237.

accomplish."[32] Thus, while Povinelli articulates how liberal multiculturalism impinges upon contemporary Indigenous politics by acting as the political horizon of the settler state, Saranillio points to the ways in which multiculturalism in and of itself produces a form of colonialism. In the case of Micronesians in Hawai'i, this is a particularly profound intervention as the growing numbers of Micronesians in Hawai'i adds to the continued displacement of Kanaka Maoli on their lands. Thus, the affective regime of the politics of recognition through both the COFA's recognition of Micronesian "independence" and the discourse of liberal multiculturalism in Hawai'i furthers colonial relations of power for all Indigenous peoples affected.

In his 2007 article, "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada."[33] Dine political science scholar Glen Coulthard argues that the politics of recognition, whether invoked through the recognition of treaties, land claims, or cultural specificity, have remained central to the past few decades of Indigenous organizing in Canada. Coulthard borrows from Frantz Fanon's work, which argues for self-recognition as opposed to recognition by the master/colonizer, to argue that a politics of recognition, by asking for affirmation from the colonizer/nation-state, "reproduce[s] the very configurations of colonial power that Indigenous peoples' demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend."[34] The challenge for Indigenous peoples, then, is to reconsider the great number of resources funneled into Indigenous attempts for recognition from the colonial state, and to reevaluate how these resources might be better used in the self-recognizing, self-valuing practices of building

[32] Saranillio 244.

[33] Glen S. Coulthard, "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada," *Contemporary Political Theory* 6 (2007): 437-460.

[34] Coulthard 439.

and supporting our Indigenous communities on our own. Thus, for Indigenous Pacific peoples in Hawai'i, rather than seeking recognition from the very colonial powers whose existence rely upon the continuing erasure of Native peoples, we must begin the process of creating new regimes, affectively and materially, that recognize each other within our collective struggles to imagine a self-determination that does not perpetuate exclusionary regimes of power, but emphasizes expansive notions of belonging and inter-dependence.

Rosanna Raymond's SaVAge K'lub

How might we begin to think through and move beyond the complex and diverse forms of recognition at work in Hawai'i that pit Indigenous communities against one another in order to survive the same colonial power? One way of doing this is to look to the work Indigenous Pacific peoples have been doing to foster an alternative politics of recognition that does not rely on the colonial state. Samoan artist Rosanna Raymond's SaVAge K'lub is one piece that does just this. First begun in 2010, Raymond's multi-disciplinary installation and performance space explores concepts of space, reciprocity, and relation through the "actiVAtion," as Raymond calls it, of poetry, performance, objects, and bodies. Describing the piece in a press release, Raymond writes, "*The SaVAge K'lub* presents 21st Century South Seas SaVAgery, influencing art and culture through the interfacing of time and space, deploying weavers of words, rare anecdotalists, myth makers, hip shakers, navigators, red faces, fabricators, activators, installators to institute the non-cannibalistic cognitive consumption of the other."[35] Club activations have taken place all over the world, and can include any number of the twenty-five other Indigenous Pacific, or as Raymond has quipped "'nesian," artists that take part in the club. While there are official

[35] Rosanna Raymond, "The SaVAge K'lub Inaugural High Tea," *Tautai: Guiding Pacific Arts*, October 2015.

members of the club, such as artists Ani O'Neill, Reina Sutton, and Suzanne Tamaki, there are no official limitations on membership, and the club is open to all.

SaVAge K'lub takes its name and inspiration from the late 1800s gentleman's clubs, particularly one founded in London in 1857 named after English poet Richard Savage—the Savage Club. Still running today, the Savage Club is a social club for professional bohemian men in the arts, sciences, and law to gather and discuss current events over formal dinners. While the club claims Richard Savage as its godfather, the name of the club came about as a quip from one of the founding members. As founding member Andrew Halliday recounts,

> "A modest member in the corner suggested the 'Shakespeare.' This was too much for the gravity of one of the company (the late Robert Brough), whose keen sense of humor enabled him, in the midst of our enthusiasm, to perceive that we were bent on making ourselves ridiculous. 'Who are we,' he said, 'that we should take these great names in vain? Don't let us be pretentious. If we must have a name, let it be a modest one—one that signifies as little as possible.' Hereupon a member called out, in a pure spirit of wantonness, 'The Savage!' And so, in a frolicsome humour, our little society was christened the 'Savage Club.'[36]

In an account by another founding member, Dr. Strauss, the ways in which this "alternative" meaning of the club's name guided the décor and ethos is illustrated. He recalls Brough suggesting Richard Savage as the club's godfather, and that it was John Deffett Francis who suggested the alternative meaning of the name and who "presented the new 'reunion' incontinently with a choice of tomahawks, boomerangs, assegais, and other weapons of savage warfare."[37] Indeed, in Raymond's research for her SaVAge K'lub, she was granted a tour of the

[36] Aaron Watson, *The Savage Club: A Medley of History, Anecdote and Reminiscence*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907: 17-18.

[37] Watson 18.

Melbourne Savage Club and observed that it was "wall-to-wall ooga-booga,"[38] where Indigenous objects had been displayed in ways that lost its cultural significance and specificity, and was only identified by the name of the non-Native man that had somehow acquired the item. She argues, "Even if they don't realize it, they are perpetuating that colonial history without truly engaging with some of the bigger and deeper conversations that need to be happening with the indigenous people."[39] Raymond's response to these colonial clubs was to begin her own club, the SaVAge K'lub, and, in doing so, to affectively intervene into the politics of recognition by fostering a space of belonging, inter-dependence, and relationality for all of Indigenous Oceania.

ActiVAting Oceania

Always having had an interest in curating and collecting practices, Raymond's work focuses on activating museum and gallery collections of Indigenous Pacific *taonga tuku iho*, or "highly prized possessions handed down from the ancestors to which specific stories and histories are attached."[40] She says, " Items that were once full of vitality, become moribund when they enter a museum and go out of circulation, into storage or behind glass. By reactivating, we keep the circulation of the knowledge of the life of these beautiful cultural treasures."[41] This work is vital to Indigenous Pacific communities, because these taonga are, as Raymond writes,

[38] Andrew Stephens, "Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art 2015 Steps on 'Savage' Ground," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 Nov 2015.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Karen Jacobs and Rosanna Raymond, "Rosanna Raymond's *SaVAge K'lub* at the Eighth Asian Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art," *World Art* 6.2 (2016): 235.

[41] See note 38.

"other peoples or indeed perhaps one of your own ancestors."[42] In 2015, at the Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art held in Brisbane, Australia, Raymond, representing New Zealand, was given a physical space to transform into a SaVAge K'lub room. Raymond and other K'lub members filled the space with over 300 taonga from their own private collections, museum collections, and even from the Auckland Savage Club. Throughout the weekend, the SaVAge K'lub activated these objects by adorning them, wearing them, bringing them out from behind glass cabinets to use, performing ceremony with them, and/or dancing with them. By reactivating these living ancestors from Indigenous peoples across the Pacific, Raymond and the other Indigenous Pacific K'lub members enact a form of recognition between and amongst each other that intervenes into state-sponsored forms of recognition by enabling an expansive, relational form of Indigenous Oceania self-determination.

The *SaVAge K'lub* room itself affectively intervenes into colonial state affects of recognition that foster paternalistic consumption and require impossible performances of "traditional" authenticity or assimilation. Every inch of white space is covered in the K'lub's room. Graffiti, tapa cloth, Indigenous Pacific motifs, portraits, video projection, tiki, jewelry, costuming, a canoe, and Victorian vitrines filled with historical and contemporary taonga line the walls, while the floors are covered in woven lauhala mats, floral-print mattresses, and re-upholstered Victorian furniture. The room is loud, bold, colorful, and dynamic. It is anachronistic, fluid, relational, and familiar to Pacific Islanders. As Raymond says, "As a club room it is a living thing, to which each time another memento is added. I wanted to get that scale

[42] Rosanna Raymond, *Dead Pigs Don't Grow on Trees*, Mangere Arts Centre Ngā tohu o Uenuku, 2014, Exhibition Catalogue.

of memories and stories all assembled in one room."[43] The room itself is a living, breathing visceral performance of Oceania self-determination in the blindingly White space of the Queensland Museum. The room invites a recognition of Indigenous Oceania on our own terms by forcing audience members to reckon with the unsettling and chaotic beauty that comes from collaboration and relationality in Oceania. Moving beyond the stale affects of state-sponsored recognition that keep Indigenous Oceania dependent upon colonial authorities, the *SaVAge K'lub* enacts an independence that can only come through relationality with each other as Indigenous Pacific peoples.

The "VA" present throughout Raymond's work references the Samoan concept of *Va*, which represents the Samoan philosophy of a non-linear, cyclical time-space of connection and relationality with the past, present, and future. As Samoan philosopher and poet Albert Wendt explains, "Va is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things."[44] Thus, Raymond's explicit use of Va within the *SaVAge K'lub* and its "actiVAtions" marks a space that is not passive and empty, but rather active and full through people, things, relations, and reciprocity. As such, the SaVAge K'lub enacts a relational and reciprocal Indigenous Oceania self-determination that does not rely upon colonial processes of recognition, but rather finds recognition between and amongst each other as Indigenous Pacific peoples.

Feeling (In)Dependence

[43] Jacobs and Raymond 235.

[44] Albert Wendt, "Tatauing the Post-colonial Body," *Span* 42-43 (1996): 18-19.

Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter: What would Hawai'i look like with interdependence between and amongst Micronesians, Kanaka Maoli, and other Indigenous Pacific communities? How could recognition between Indigenous Pacific peoples foster the kind of self-determination that moves beyond the colonial state and feels truly independent? In Mohawk anthropologist Audra Simpson's 2014, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States,*[45] Simpson draws upon social theorist Lauren Berlant's notion of affectively structured citizenships to argue, "The primary way in which the state's power is made real and personal, affective in its capacity, is through the granting of citizenship and, in this, the structural and legal preconditions for intimacy, forms of sociability, belongings, and affections."[46] Here, Simpson points to the forms of affective citizenship that enshrine the colonial state and articulate U.S. belonging. Simpson, however, goes beyond Berlant's analyses of U.S. affective citizenship through her concept of "feeling citizenship" for Mohawk peoples of Kahnawa:ke.

In an interview with a lifelong resident of Kahnawa:ke, Simpson identifies a difference between membership and citizenship through his articulation of not feeling like a Canadian citizen, but rather as a Mohawk citizen of Kahnawa:ke, despite not being recognized as a member. She writes, "This is that 'feeling citizenship' or 'primary citizenship,' the affective sense of being a Mohawk of Kahnawa:ke, in spite of the lack of recognition that some might

[45] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014.

[46] Simpson 18.

unjustly experience."[47] This feeling citizenship, then, expands upon Berlant's analyses of affective citizenship by articulating a different sense of belonging untied to colonial state nationalisms. While this sense of belonging may not be institutionally recognized, Simpson highlights the ways in which it is socially and politically recognized in the everyday life of the community.

This non-state sanctioned form of affective relationality and belonging is precisely what Raymond's *SaVAge K'lub* enables. By fostering the recognition of Indigenous Pacific peoples between and amongst each other through the affects of relationality and interdependence, Raymond enacts an Indigenous Pacific self-determination that intervenes into colonial state forms of recognition and its affects of paternalism and dependency. My analyses throughout this chapter have attempted to contextualize the tensions between Indigenous Pacific communities in Hawai'i in order to highlight the ways in which recognition between and amongst each other can not only unite communities in solidarity against shared colonialisms, but also enact the kind of expansive and inclusive forms of self-determination for our survivance. As Barker argues:

> "I believe that the political and social efficacy of decolonization projects— from land reacquisition to storytelling— rests *principally* and *principledly* on the radical reformation of Native social and interpersonal relations. Healthy, vibrant Native nations and communities— and meaningfully rich traditional teachings and practices— cannot result from social and interpersonal relations based on disrespect, indifference, discrimination, hate, and violence."[48]

Indeed, the ways in which Indigenous communities within the U.S., and particularly Hawai'i, are pit against one another through the politics of recognition continues the exclusionary logic of

[47] Simpson 173.

[48] Barker 227, original emphasis.

colonialism by disavowing shared colonial histories and blocking potential coalitions and relational forms of sovereignty.

While jokes and humor certainly have a place in the camp and kitsch styles of the *SaVAge K'lub,* it never comes at the expense of the interdependence and relationality of recognition between and amongst Indigenous Pacific peoples, such as the radio DJ's attempt at a joke. Rather, the humor used in the *SaVAge K'lub* is meant to highlight shared colonial relationships within Oceania, and to imagine alternatives to the staid notions of self-determination that attempt to exclude, isolate, and separate Indigenous Pacific peoples. In doing so, Raymond's k'lub evokes affects of relationality that are vital to feeling truly independent.

Chapter 3: Of Monsters and Mothers: Affective Climates and Human-Nonhuman Sociality

In 1971, U.S. National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger responded to the plight of Marshall Islanders suffering effects from the deadly U.S. nuclear test program with, "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?"[1] This framework of disposability is not new for Indigenous peoples. Indeed, within the U.S., settler colonialism relies upon the disposability of Indigenous bodies in order to inherit Indigenous lands and resources. In Oceania, however, not only are Indigenous bodies disposable, but Indigenous lands and waters, as well. Inhabited islands are framed as appropriate grounds for detonating nuclear bombs, oceans on which Indigenous peoples rely are seen as perfect dumping grounds for radioactive waste, and with the recent effects of climate change, entire islands risk being submerged under rising sea levels while wealthy corporations and governments stand by. The framework of disposability has been inherent to colonial projects in Indigenous Oceania over the past few centuries, and climate change is one of the most pressing sites in which this colonial disposability occurs today.

This chapter begins, then, by exploring the colonial conditions of climate change and its subsequent material effects in Oceania. I challenge recent theorizations of the "Anthropocene" by highlighting the ways in which Indigenous Oceania is disproportionately affected by climate change effects, which mirrors unequal colonial relations of power. The maintenance of these unequal relations of power within the discourse of climate change importantly relies upon the manipulation of public feeling and affect; thus, I segue into the affective states that circulate around climate change and its effects. In particular, I examine the production of doubt and apathy within climate change debates, and argue that the material outcomes of these affects

[1] Don Oberdorfer, "Former Nixon Aide Describes His Firing," *The Tuscaloosa News* 19 Sept. 1971: 7D.

perpetuate colonialism in Oceania by furthering land dispossession, resource depletion, cultural loss, and impoverishment. However, affects are never static or singular. Thus, while I analyze the ways in which climate change functions as an affective regime of colonialism, I primarily examine how this affective regime is dismantled through Indigenous Oceania affects, epistemes, and ontologies. I do this through a reading of Marshallese poet and activist Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's performance of *Dear Matafele Peinam* at the 2014 UN Summit on Climate Change. I argue that through her use of experiential and embodied knowledges, which inform the affects that circulate in the performance, Jetñil-Kijiner intervenes into the colonial affective regime of climate change. Furthermore, Jetñil-Kijiner's evocation of Indigenous epistemes and ontologies on non-human entities point to forms of Indigenous intercorporeal sociality that I argue can provide alternative frameworks of thinking through climate change and its effects. Thus, this chapter ends by returning to the figure of the Anthropocene—the human—to track how it has moved through colonial anthropocentrism, or, the privileging of the "human," and been productively recast in Jetñil-Kijiner's poem and performance.

The Colonialism of Climate Change

Collectively, Oceania produces the lowest carbon and greenhouse gas emissions in the world; yet, it is the most critically affected region of climate change impacts.[2] The 2014 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report found that the effects of climate change are

[2] Jon Barnett and John Campbell, *Climate Change and Small Island States: Power, Knowledge, and the South Pacific,* London and Washington, D.C.: Earthscan, 2010: 10.

particularly affecting small island nations, and will continue to do so as these effects increase.[3] Since the Industrial Revolution, the development of Pacific Rim countries in Asia and the Americas has contributed to a vast increase in carbon and greenhouse gas emissions. These countries produce a staggering 53.3% of the carbon and greenhouse gas emissions in the world,[4] and are consistently identified as the largest polluters of global emissions, with the U.S. alone producing 24% of all global emissions.[5] Meanwhile, Oceania produces less than 1% of the world's gas emissions, yet islands face rising sea levels, coastal erosion, and drought. Ocean temperatures and acid levels are rising, freshwater resources are being contaminated with saltwater, and coral reefs are bleaching.[6] Indeed, Oceania is at the forefront of the devastating effects of climate change.[7]

This dramatic change in our environment has led to the development of the term "Anthropocene," which describes "a new recognition that humans have changed not only the earth's climate, but the earth itself."[8] In feminist literary scholar Dana Luciano's "The Inhuman

[3] IPCC, *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, Web.

[4] This figure is the sum of each Pacific Rim country's emissions, calculated through the CAIT Climate Data Explorer Historical Emissions Tool, available here: http://cait2.wri.org.

[5] Barnett and Campbell 10.

[6] "Climate Change in the Pacific Islands," *U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service,* 2 Nov. 2011, Web, 1 July 2016.

[7] I use the terms climate change and global warming interchangeably throughout this chapter, although, some scholars have importantly argued for the sole use of global warming, due to the term's more urgent tone. For more, see Morton, *Hyper Objects*.

[8] Dana Luciano, "The Inhuman Anthropocene," *Avidly*, 22 Mar. 2015, Web, 6 July 2016.

Anthropocene," however, she importantly intervenes into the widespread use of the term by arguing that "the 'Anthropocene' was not brought about by all members of the species it names."[9] Luciano stresses how the causes and subsequent effects of climate change are not distributed equally among the human population. Indeed, as Environmental Science scholars Jon Barnett and John Campbell point out in their 2010 *Climate Change and Small Island States*, "The societies that are most responsible for the emissions of greenhouse gases are those that are least vulnerable because of the adaptive capacity conferred by the wealth they have generated largely through polluting forms of development."[10] The capacity to adapt to large-scale effects of greenhouse gas emissions is also lacking in the most affected regions, such as Oceania, due to legacies of colonial dispossession that have exacerbated the impoverishment in these regions, as well as the environmental changes of colonialism that affected these regions' resources. As Potawatomi scholar Kyle Powys Whyte argues, "Colonialism … can be understood as a system of domination that concerns how one society inflicts burdensome anthropogenic environmental change on another society."[11] Thus, Indigenous peoples in Oceania are disproportionately affected by climate change, which, as feminist philosophy scholar Chris Cuomo argues,

[9] See Note 6.

[10] Barnett and Campbell 10.

[11] Kyle Powys Whyte, "Is It Colonial Déjà Vu? Indigenous Peoples and Climate Injustice," Ed. Adamson et. al., *Humanities for the Environment: Integrating Knowledges, Forging New Constellations of Practice*, London and New York: Earthscan for Routledge, 2017: 91.

intensifies economic and social vulnerabilities "precisely because they uphold ecological values that have not been engulfed by global capitalism and technological modernization."[12]

The wealthy Pacific Rim nations responsible for the effects and impacts of climate change in Oceania due to their global emissions are the same countries that have historically exerted, and continue to exert, colonial and imperial power in the Pacific Islands. Philosophy scholar Michael D. Doan importantly argues that the origins and impacts of climate change "cannot be understood without taking into account complex histories of the transformation and domination of lands and of peoples under settler colonialism and other imperialist systems of rule."[13] This connection between historical and ongoing forms of colonialism and climate change can be materially linked in several ways. For example, Barnett and Campbell write, "Whereas many traditional Pacific Island communities lived in small hamlets and were often located on high land for defence (sic) purposes, the colonial authorities, in cooperation with missionaries, successfully encouraged amalgamation and the establishment of coastal villages."[14] Shaping the spatial landscape of islands, colonial authority's development of coastal villages resulted in increased risk to tropical cyclone events. Today, these coastal villages are now coastal towns and cities that experience the climate change effects of rising sea level erosion.[15] Additionally, adaptation finance loans to combat the effects of climate change tends to follow

[12] Chris Cuomo, "Climate Change, Vulnerability, and Responsibility," *Hypatia* 26.4 (2011): 695.

[13] Michael D. Doan, "Climate Change and Complacency," *Hypatia* 29.3 (2014): 634.

[14] Barnett and Campbell 35.

[15] Gordon McGranahan, et. al., "The Rising Tide: Assessing the Risks of Climate Change and Human Settlements in Low Elevation Coastal Zones," *Environment and Urbanization* 19.1: 2007, 19.

colonial histories due to the exorbitantly high interest rates that cause island nations to remain economically dependent upon and indebted to colonial states.[16] Finally, the displacement of Indigenous peoples due to the climate change effects of drought and rising sea levels results in the loss of land, which translates into a loss of culture, history, identity, political power, and resources, all of which continue the legacies of colonialism and imperialism.

In the early 1980s, the White House Office of Science and Technology asked the National Academy of Sciences for more research studies on climate change and carbon gas accumulation.[17] Among the reports generated at that time, the 1983 report from the Carbon Dioxide Assessment Committee, *Changing Climate,* had the most significant outcome in that it was used to counter reports from the Environmental Protection Agency arguing for a reduction in coal use and the regulation of CO_2 emitting industries.[18] Furthermore, as science historians Naomi Oreskes and Erik M. Conway contend, "[The] report pioneered all the major themes behind later efforts to block greenhouse gas regulation."[19] In response to natural scientists' concerns of rising sea levels and the potential displacement of low-lying coastal area residents, the committee chair, physicist Bill Nierenberg, stated, "Not only have people moved, but they have taken with them their horses, dogs, children, technology, crops, livestock, and hobbies. It is

[16] JoAnn Carmin, et. al., "Adaptation to Climate Change," Eds. Riley E. Dunlap and Robert J. Brulle, *Climate Change and Society: Sociological Perspectives*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015: 171.

[17] Naomi Oreskes and Erik M. Conway, *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming,* New York, Berlin, and London: Bloomsbury Press, 2010: 174.

[18] Oreskes and Conway 182.

[19] Oreskes and Conway 182.

extraordinary how adaptable people can be." Nierenberg's cavalier settler colonial logic not only discounts the violence under which migration often occurs, but also affectively regulates the processes of dispossession, displacement, and migration as ones that should be commended, easily executed, and normalized. The affective charge of this report, which went on to significantly influence U.S. policy on greenhouse gas emissions, importantly points to one of the ways in which climate change and its effects operate as a site of public feeling and affective regulation. This, subsequently, produces material outcomes, whether they be the lack of government policies, a devestating increase in gas emissions, or the eventual displacement of Indigenous peoples in Oceania.

Producing a Climate of Doubt

A leaked 2002 memo from political consultant Frank Luntz to the Cabinet of the George W. Bush administration, entitled "The Environment: A Cleaner, Safer, Healthier America," exemplifies the ways in which climate change is affectively constituted. The memo provides detailed talking points for addressing the issue of climate change in ways that neither confirm nor deny its existence, but effectively delay action through meaningless rhetoric. For example, some of the talking points in the memo advise telling a personal story that conveys sincerity and concern, emphasizing rationality, common sense, and "sound science," and repeatedly using the words "cleaner," "safer," and "healthier," as opposed to "environmentalism" or "preservation." Most significantly, though, the memo states, "Voters believe there is *no consensus* about global warming within the scientific community. Should the public come to believe that the scientific issues are settled, their views about global warming will change accordingly. Therefore, *you*

need to continue to make the lack of scientific certainty a primary issue in the debate."[20] And, later in the memo, "You must explain how it is possible to pursue a *common sense* or *sensible* environmental policy. … Give citizens the idea that *progress is being frustrated by over-reaching government*, and you will hit a very strong strain in the American psyche."[21] These two quotes illustrate the attempts to manipulate and regulate public feeling to postpone action and regulation within climate change politics through the production of doubt. As environmental literary scholar Rob Nixon argues, "Well-funded, well-organized interests … invest heavily in manufacturing and sustaining a culture of doubt."[22] Indeed, the Luntz memo exemplifies one of the ways in which the production of doubt within climate change discourse occurs.

Industries, such as Oil and Coal, have also manufactured doubt around climate change in attempts for deregulation. In his 2008 *Doubt is Their Product,*[23] public health scholar and former U.S. Department of Energy Assistant Secretary for Environment, Safety and Health under the Clinton administration, David Michaels[24] tracks how these industries have funneled millions of dollars into manufacturing doubt around climate change. For example, Michaels includes an internal ExxonMobil memo, titled "Global Climate Science Communications Action Plan,"

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[20] Frank Luntz, "The Environment: A Cleaner, Safer, Healthier America," *The Luntz Research Companies—Straight Talk,* 137. Original emphasis.

[21] Luntz 136.

[22] Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2011: 39.

[23] David Michaels, *Doubt is Their Product: How Industry's Assault on Science Threatens Your Health*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

[24] Michaels also served as Assistant Secretary of Labor for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration under the Obama Administration, which he was nominated and confirmed for in 2009.

which states, "Victory will be achieved when … average citizens 'understand' (recognize) uncertainties in climate science; recognition of uncertainties becomes part of the conventional wisdom."[25] This memo from ExxonMobil, "the hands-down largest funder of the [global] warming deniers,"[26] thus points to the larger organized effort to produce doubt around climate change within the U.S. public.

In her 2011, *Living in Denial*,[27] sociologist Kari Norgaard asserts that the U.S. public is particularly prone to the production of doubt due to specific cultural, national ideologies, such as anti-intellectualism. She argues, "Anti-intellectualism … has deep roots in American political culture and has gained a pronounced momentum in recent years."[28] Pointing to the U.S. public's widely held perception that climate science is contested, as well as the general ignorance surrounding the origin of climate gases, Norgaard asserts that "challeng[ing] the place of science as … legitimate epistemology in the public sphere is part of the unique and changing political and cultural landscape of the United States."[29] Thus, Norgaard argues that the broader cultural context of U.S. anti-intellectualism, which the GOP has frequently exacerbated, is another influencing factor in successful doubt manufacturing. [30]

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[25] Michaels 198.

[26] Michaels 198.

[27] Kari Marie Norgaard, *Living in Denial: Climate Change, Emotions, and Everyday Life*, Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2011.

[28] Norgaard 203.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Indeed, skepticism around science is an issue in the U.S., although it is important to remember that some communities have legitimate and valid reasons to distrust scientific

Another factor in the successful production of doubt is the means by which doubt is disseminated. Journalist and media scholar Alex Lockwood puts forth new media, such as the blogosphere, mainstream media, and the comments and links all hosted on the Internet, as an important aspect in maintaining doubt around climate change. He argues, "New media is providing the spatial and temporal freedoms that, when combined with the ability to publish free from peer-review and from journalistic codes, provides the 'room for doubt.'"[31] Considering that nearly a quarter of the world's population now use the Internet on a regular basis, and that conservative think tanks now use blog formats to "advance science-related positions outside the peer-reviewed scientific community,"[32] the new media influence on doubt manufacturing is particularly relevant. In order for doubt to successfully manifest there may be a lack of evidence or contestation of evidence as Lockwood and Norgaard highlight, but there can also be a contestation or lack of witness. As Nixon argues, "Contests over what counts as violence are intimately entangled with conflicts over who bears the social authority of witness, which entails much more than simply seeing or not seeing."[33] Indeed, the fact that the continental U.S. has not faced the extreme effects of climate change as its colonies in the Pacific is significant to the manufacturing and maintenance of global warming doubt. Indigenous Pacific peoples are rarely

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research, due to historical abuse and exploitation. For example, the Tuskegee Syphilis Study and the colonial co-optation of Indigenous knowledges and bodies in the name of science are both examples of devastating scientific abuse.

[31] Alex Lockwood, "Seeding Doubt: How Skeptics Use New Media to Delay Action on Climate Change," *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations*, 2 (2011): 136.

[32] Lockwood 138.

[33] Nixon 16.

permitted the privilege of witnessing, which I explore further in my reading of Jetñil-Kijiner's performance.

The production of doubt has an enormous role on the ways in which climate change and its effects are addressed. While the manipulation of affect to evoke doubt and uncertainty around global warming by U.S. industries and the Republican Party within their internal organizations may seem inconsequential on a national scale, these affective campaigns have actually proven very effective in the U.S. The percentage of U.S. citizens who question climate science is among the highest in the world.[34] 26% of the U.S. population does not believe there is scientific consensus that climate change is occurring,[35] and general literacy regarding climate change in the U.S. is significantly lower than in most industrialized nations.[36] More importantly, however, are the ways in which these figures materialize into a lack of political action. Skepticism's influence in politics and culture presents a dramatic threat to human ability and political will to protect the critical life support systems found in ecological goods and services," political science scholar Peter Jacques emphasizes, "because they dismiss these systems as important."[37] The lack of action from the affective manipulation to evoke doubt and uncertainty around global warming has significant effects on Indigenous peoples in Oceania and the rest of the world. As argued above, the impacts of global warming effectively continue colonial projects in Oceania by

[34] GlobeScan. "Environics International Environmental Monitor Survey Dataset." 1999.

[35] Jon Krosnick. "The Associated Press-Stanford University Environmental Poll." 2009.

[36] Frank Newport and Lydia Saad, "Americans Consider Global Warming Real, But Not Alarming." *Gallup News*. 9 April 2001.

[37] Peter Jacques, "The Rearguard of Modernity: Environmental Skepticism as a Struggle of Citizenship," *Global Environment Politics* 6.1 (2006): 96.

furthering land dispossession, lack of resources, impoverishment, and, subsequently, economic dependence upon colonial states.

Many environmentalist writers have now moved beyond the production of doubt as an urgent concern, arguing that this is no longer an issue and choosing instead to focus on denial and apathy. Norgaard, for example, argues that the production of doubt is a flashy headline, but has overshadowed the more important issue of apathy.[38] However, in an American Geophysical Study that Norgaard also references, it was found that what the U.S. public is most skeptical about currently is not that climate change exists per se, but rather that we can actually address and solve the issue.[39] Thus, doubt is still relevant within climate change, and is deeply intertwined with the affect of apathy.

Apathy and Apocalypse

The U.S. public's doubt that anything can be done to address climate change arises in part from the fact that, on an individual scale at least, it is correct. As Doan argues, "Should the vast majority of individuals and households the world over manage to drastically reduce their privately controlled emissions (changing light-bulbs, recycling more, and so on), their collective efforts would still be inadequate."[40] Chris Cuomo calls this the "insufficiency problem," where, "even if personal sphere reductions that can be directly controlled by individuals and households are ethically imperative, they are insufficient for adequate mitigation."[41] Thus, at the level of the

[38] Norgaard 179.

[39] Norgaard 191.

[40] Doan 637.

[41] Cuomo 701.

individual, the U.S. public's doubt that climate change can be addressed and their related feelings of apathy are valid.

The "insufficiency problem" again raises the important aspect of how affective public feelings are shaped by national cultural ideologies. While Norgaard argues that U.S. anti-intellectualism shapes the successful production of doubt, she argues that apathy is, in large part, shaped by U.S. individualism. Indeed, many scholars have highlighted the ways in which U.S. individualism, among other issues, creates a "crisis of civic membership," loss of political power, and consumer-citizen identification.[42] Within the discourse of climate change, authors argue that these tenets of U.S. individualism exacerbate feelings of apathy, helplessness, and powerlessness. Environmental studies scholar Jennifer Kent argues that discourses of individual responsibility merely "[alert] individuals to their essential ineffectiveness in tackling complex global environmental issues."[43] Indeed, because climate change requires so much more than individual action, individualism as an ideology is key to understanding the sense of apathy and helplessness many have regarding issues of climate change. "Americans are so immersed in the ideology of individualism that they lack the imagination or knowledge of alternative political means of response," remarks Norgaard.[44] Importantly, however, the kind of individualism Norgaard and Kent describe here does not apply equally to all communities within the U.S. In fact, the kind of collective, community responses to issues of environmental injustice that these

[42] Norgaard 192.

[43] Jennifer Kent, "Individualized Responsibility and Climate Change: 'If Climate Protection Becomes Everyone's Responsibility, Does it End Up Being No-One's?,'" *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 1.3 (2009): 145.

[44] Norgaard 192.

authors suggest are precisely the political means of response by which Indigenous communities and communities of color have historically organized and continue to practice, as demonstrated throughout this chapter.

Many environmentalists have turned to apathy as the current public feeling that must be addressed in order to successfully advocate for climate change solutions. Indeed, many writers have highlighted that there is presently enough information about climate change to move beyond the production of doubt to the issue of apathy.[45] However, studies have found that more information on climate change has actually led to increased apathy towards climate change.[46] As a 2008 study illustrates, "In sharp contrast with the knowledge-deficit hypothesis, respondents with higher levels of information about global warming show *less* concern about global warming."[47] Thus, respondents who are better informed about climate change feel less, rather than more, personal responsibility in addressing it. This phenomenon, which we might term "information overload," has both confounded and furthered authors' arguments around apathy as one of the most critical issues facing climate change advocacy in our present moment. Environmental studies scholar Renee Aron Lertzman provides some clarity, however, by arguing that rather than feeling too little, apathy is actually a result of feeling too much.[48] It is the

[45] For more, see Norgaard.

[46] Norgaard 2.

[47] Paul M. Kellstedt, et.al., "Personal Efficacy, the Information Environment, and Attitudes Toward Global Warming and Climate Change in the United States," *Risk Analysis*, 28.1 (2008): 120.

[48] Renee Aron Lertzman, "The Myth of Apathy: Psychoanalytic Explorations of Environmental Subjectivity," Ed. Sally Weintrobe, *Engaging with Climate Change: Psychoanalytic and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

product of a sense of overwhelm and an attempt to allay anxieties. "The world's current state of ecological deterioration is such as to evoke in us largely unconscious anxieties of different varieties," psychoanalyst Harold F. Searles writes. "Thus the general apathy … is based upon largely unconscious ego defenses against these anxieties."[49]

Thus, another way in which apathy is evoked that is related to information overload is through the use of apocalyptic narratives. Former U.S. Vice-President Al Gore's documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth*, is perhaps one of the best-known examples in which an apocalyptic narrative is utilized in attempts to motivate action around climate change. While apocalyptic narratives have the benefits of garnering attention to climate change and educating the public on the potential devastating effects of climate change, they also have the unintended consequence of furthering apathy. In a study by psychologist Matthew Feinberg and sociologist Robb Willer, they found that dire apocalyptic messages about climate change increase doubt and apathy, because they challenge deeply ingrained "just-world" beliefs, in which one "perceive[s] the world as just, believing that rewards will be bestowed on individuals who judiciously strive for them and punishments will be meted out to those who deserve them."[50] This neoliberal ethos, then, is profoundly challenged when faced with apocalyptic messages. Indeed, Feinberg and Willer argue that just-world beliefs cause audiences to react defensively to apocalyptic messages,

[49] Harold F. Searles, "Unconscious Processes in Relation to the Environmental Crisis," *Psychoanalytic Review* 59.3 (1972): 363.

[50] Matthew Feinberg and Rob Willer, "Apocalypse Soon? Dire Messages Reduce Belief in Global Warming by Contradicting Just-World Beliefs," *Psychological Science* (2010): 1.

which in turn increases their skepticism towards climate change and decreases their desire to engage in behaviors combatting climate change.[51]

Furthermore, scholars have argued that apocalyptic narratives serve to depoliticize climate change through the use of populism. In critical geography scholar Erik Swngedouw's 2010, "Apocalypse Forever?," he takes up recent theorizations from Slavoj Zizek and Jacques Ranciere that posit our current political condition as post-democratic or post-political, in which "[There is] perceived inevitability of capitalism and a market economy as the basic organizational structure of the social and economic order, for which there is no alternative [and] the corresponding mode of governmentality is structured around dialogical forms of consensus formation, technocratic management and problem-focused governance."[52] Swngedouw examines the post-political frame alongside apocalyptic narratives of climate change to argue that the politics of climate change not only express the post-political framework, but also "have been among the key arenas through which the post-political frame is forged, configured, and entrenched."[53] Through his articulations around CO_2 as a commodity fetish and how climate change arguments are sustained through populism, Swngedouw importantly highlights the ways in which apocalyptic narratives of climate change depoliticize by externalizing the "threat"—CO_2 or the climate, here—and universalizing the victims as all of humanity. He writes, "We are all potential victims. 'THE' Envirionment and 'THE' People, Humanity as a whole in a material

[51] Feinberg and Willer 3.

[52] Erik Swyngedouw, "Apocalypse Forever? Post-political Populism and the Spectre of Climate Change," *Theory, Culture & Society* 27.2-3 (2010): 215.

[53] Swyngedouw 216.

and philosophical manner, are invoked and called into being."[54] Thus, in universalizing the victims, the impacts and effects of climate change are also universalized, when, as is clear in Oceania that is most certainly not the case. Ultimately, the apocalyptic narrative, then, serves to displace responsibility by fetishizing CO_2 or "The Climate," effectively stalling any productive political action, and furthering public apathy.

The apathy evoked from U.S. individualism and apocalyptic narratives has significant effects on Oceania. While populist gestures frame climate change as equally affecting all of humanity, these ideologies and narratives ultimately frame climate change as a problem that will first reach "over there," effectively recycling colonial ideologies of disposability. As environmental studies scholar Anthony Leiserowitz argues, the U.S. " [perceives] climate change [as] a moderate risk that will predominantly impact geographically and temporally distant people and places."[55] As shown throughout this discussion, however, the U.S. in particular cannot afford to see the impacts of climate change in Oceania as discrete events untethered to histories of colonialism. Indeed, the U.S. has been the primary contributor to climate change and its effects, thus the U.S. is largely implicated and responsible for the environmental devastation occurring in Oceania. Attempting to delay solutions that effectively address climate change can thus be framed within the larger regime of U.S. colonialism and imperialism.

Interestingly, conservatives in the U.S. have also argued against apocalyptic narratives of climate change, calling environmentalists "doomsayers," and arguing for more "common sense"

[54] Swngedouw 221.

[55] Anthony Leiserowtiz, "American Risk Perceptions: Is Climate Change Dangerous?," *Risk Analysis* 25.6 (2005): 1433.

practicality.[56] Clearly, the critiques of apocalyptic narratives from scholars, such as Swngedouw, have very different intents and stakes from those of GOP advisors, such as Luntz. However, this brings up an important issue regarding the representation of climate change. Rob Nixon argues, "Climate change, the thawing cryosphere, toxic drift, biomagnification, deforestation, the radioactive aftermath of wars, acidifying oceans, and a host of other slowly unfolding environmental catastrophes present formidable representational obstacles that can hinder our efforts to mobilize and act decisively."[57] Clearly, the production of doubt in climate change discourse exacerbates the impacts of climate change by stalling public consensus, and information overload and apocalyptic narratives either reinforce doubt or depoliticize climate change, both of which lead to increased apathy. While the production of doubt and apathy together work to delay any effective means in addressing climate change, Indigenous peoples in Oceania continue to face the effects of climate change brought upon by wealthy corporations and nations.

The challenge for Indigenous Oceania, then, is to not only intervene into the colonial affective regime of climate change to raise awareness and garner support, but to also do this while both not replicating apocalyptic narratives of our demise nor ensuring that these apocalyptic scenarios actually come to fruition. Indeed, "A major challenge is representational."[58] While Nixon finds non-fiction by environmental writer-activists as a way to

[56] Norgaard 202.

[57] Nixon 2.

[58] Nixon 3.

"devise arresting stories, images, and symbols adequate to the pervasive but elusive violence of delayed effects,"[59] I turn to performance.

Jetñil-Kijiner's Affective Interventions

On September 23, 2014, the UN Secretary-General's Climate Summit commenced at the UN Headquarters in New York, in which Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner, selected out of more than 500 candidates to represent "the voice of civil society," delivered a spoken word poem, entitled "Dear Matafele Peinam," addressed to her daughter. Jetñil-Kijiner, a Marshallese spoken word poet, writer, and activist from Majuro, began with a tale from the Marshall Islands, urging the UN leaders to take seriously the concerns of Oceania, and delivered her poem. The poem speaks to Jetñil-Kijiner's daughter, promising her that her mother will do everything possible to prevent the lagoon from swallowing her home. Jetñil-Kijiner's performance was widely acclaimed, and received one of the few standing ovations in reported UN history. Since the performance, Jetñil-Kijiner has appeared and been featured in numerous mainstream media outlets and publications, such as Vogue Magazine and CNN, making her one of the most visible Pacific Islander advocates for climate change and Oceania self-determination today.

While Jetñil-Kijiner's performance brings much needed attention to the devastating effects of climate change in Oceania, it also importantly intervenes into the colonial affective regime of climate change. Through her use of experiential and embodied knowledges, I argue, Jetñil-Kijiner's performance intervenes into both the production of doubt and apathy within climate change.

Experiential Eco-Knowledge and Unfelt Doubt

[59] Ibid.

When Jetñil-Kijiner walks in to the massive UN hall and takes her place at the podium, she greets the audience in Marshallese. Dressed in traditional Marshallese clothing and jewelry, with her hair pulled tight into a bun at the nape of her neck adorned with a woven flower, she says, "Those of us in Oceania are already experiencing [climate change] first hand. We've seen waves crashing into our homes and our breadfruit trees wither from the salt and drought. We look at our children and wonder how they will know themselves or their culture should we lose our islands." On a day filled with various speeches on the intricacies of climate science and the economic benefits of alternative energy,[60] Jetñil-Kijiner immediately brings the impacts of climate change into the realm of firsthand experience, effectively disavowing any notion of doubt one may hold in regards to the impacts of climate change. Indeed, her refusal to enter any debate on the realities of climate change stems from her own personal experience and knowledge. I argue that Jetñil-Kijiner's performance importantly intervenes into the production of doubt through her use of experiential knowledge and the affects it enables.

Native and women of color feminists have argued extensively for the recognition of personal, experiential knowledges as real knowledges. In Tanana Athabascan Native feminist Dian Million's *Therapeutic Nations,* Million argues that Indigenous women's narratives not only illuminate the dirty secrets of colonialism, but change this old shame into a site of powerful political experience to speak from.[61] These narratives insist upon the inclusion of affective, felt experience as real knowledge. At the same time, Million examines how, within academia,

[60] For more, see UN Summit on Climate Change 2014 Thematic Sessions, available at: http://www.un.org/climatechange/summit/thematic-sessions/

[61] Dian Million, *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013.

Indigenous women's personal narratives are often discounted as legitimate knowledge due to their polemic nature. She writes, "Our felt scholarship continues to be segregated as a 'feminine' experience or as polemic, or, at worst, not knowledge at all."[62] Indeed, experiential knowledge, especially from Indigenous women and women of color, is rarely, if ever, taken seriously by those in power. For Indigenous peoples in Oceania, the discounting of experiential knowledge around climate change impacts is not only a political issue, but an issue of life and death.

Considering the ways in which Indigenous women's narratives have historically been dismissed as illegitimate knowledge allows us to examine knowledge production in and of itself. Within academia, proper knowledge production often privileges objectivity, but this overly pragmatic determination of epistemology reinforces strict boundaries that exclude the very subjects of that knowledge. These women's narratives may not have been "objective," but as Million shows, they importantly intervene into the dominant framework of what colonialism looks like, feels like, and enables, effectively illustrating the ways in which the objectivity litmus test often keeps dominant narratives intact and how affects enable a whole range of knowledges about bodies and environments. Thus, while Jetñil-Kijiner's performance may not sway the U.S. to eliminate carbon pollution in the next decade, we can view the performance as an important intervention into the affects of climate change that, then, has the ability to recreate knowledge about climate change, which, as discussed earlier, is critical to eliminating its deadly effects.

[62] Million 57.

The ways in which Jetñil-Kijiner's performance intervene specifically into the regime of doubt can be parsed out through a philosophical reading of doubt.[63] In philosophy scholar Christopher Hookway's, "Doubt: Affective States and the Regulation of Inquiry," he argues, "Contemporary epistemology has suffered through its failure to take seriously the role of affective factors."[64] Attempting to remedy this lack through an examination of doubt, Hookway undertakes a thorough examination of C.S. Pierce's theories on epistemic feelings, such as doubt and belief. Hookway argues that doubt is "a distinctive cognitive state, with a fundamental role in regulating inquiries,"[65] and identifies two forms of doubt: "real" and "unreal, unfelt" doubts. Key to distinguishing between real and unfelt doubts are cognitive habits. Hookway writes, "As well as habits that contribute to posture and gait, and as well as those which comprise practical skills such as the ability to ride a bicycle or dance a waltz, we possess cognitive habits."[66] These cognitive habits, Hookway argues, may or may not be readily accessible to us, in the same way as the habits that inform our bodily natures. However, our cognitive habits of inquiry and

[63] One could argue this issue of being counted as legitimate knowledge stems from Jetñil-Kijiner's place of privilege within the Marshall Islands. Being the daughter of the President of the Marshall Islands, Jetñil-Kijiner is already well suited for a public role in politics and has the access, resources, and social capital to be taken seriously and heard. Or, perhaps, one could also argue that this is the power of performance. Indeed, the UN's standing ovation and overwhelming response for Jetñil-Kijiner's performance, only the second recorded in UN history, points to the possibility that the UN sorely lacks the affective and imaginative possibilities of cultural production. While these factors are important to consider in how Jetñil-Kijiner's piece may be received as "real knowledge," I'm more interested, here, in the affective knowledge her performance enables and produces.

[64] Christopher Hookway, "Doubt: Affective States and the Regulation of Inquiry," *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 28:sup1 (1998): 204.

[65] Hookway 224.

[66] Hookway 213.

evaluation are central to doubt as an epistemic feeling, where "inquiries that are focused on 'unreal doubts' will be guided by evaluations which do not engage with our habits of evaluation in the right way."[67] Furthermore, as Hookway argues, "If habitual assessments are going to provide evaluations of our cognitive position which spread through our beliefs and inferences, then it is important that evaluative states such as doubt have a strong affective flavour."[68] Thus, our cognitive habits inform and are deeply informed by our affective knowledge.

Using Hookway's insights via C.S. Pierce, I would like to suggest that Jetñil-Kijiner's performance intervenes into the affective regime of climate change by revealing manufactured doubt for what it is—unreal, unfelt doubt. Jetñil-Kijiner's use of experiential knowledge is more trustworthy than the "reflective, considered" knowledge, or as Frank Luntz wrote, "common sense" knowledge, that manufactured doubt attempts to put forth. As Hookway writes, "This is because [affective responses] can reveal a habitual sensitivity to subtle features of the situation which are not formally acknowledge by calm reflection."[69] Jetñil-Kijiner's habitual sensitivity arises from her experiential knowledge of everyday living with the forefront of climate change effects. For example, when she announces, "We've seen waves crashing into our homes and our breadfruit trees wither from the salt and drought," this is the intimate experiential knowledge that informs her habitual evaluative practices, indeed, "reflect[ing] extensive experience and an acute

[67] Hookway 217.

[68] Hookway 218.

[69] Hookway 221.

sensitivity to the fine details of our environment."[70] This knowledge, then, bolsters the affects that circulate around the performance.

Jetñil-Kijiner's performance evokes resilience, power, strength, and moved some of the UN members to tears.[71] In a post from the UN's official twitter account, a video recording of the performance was prefaced with "Poet & activist Kethy Jetñil-Kijiner moved world leaders at the #Climate2014 summit to tears."[72] This overwhelming affective response to Jetñil-Kijiner's performance indicates the possibility of an affective, experiential intervention into both the regime of doubt and knowledge about climate change. As Hookway writes, "Affective presentations may be as essential to the successful pursuit of truth as a well-attuned sense of danger is to survival."[73] Thus, through her use of experiential knowledge, Jetñil-Kijiner effectively intervenes into the colonial affect of doubt in climate change discourse by exposing manufactured doubt as unreal and unfelt to the degree that it successfully reveals trustworthy logic. The "common sense" knowledge emphasized by conservatives encapsulates, as literary scholar Mark Rifkin writes, "an ordinary felt sense of *nonrelation*."[74] The audience's material reaction of tears in response to an affective, ephemeral, and immaterial performance makes doubt of manufactured doubt, opening a space for possibility through relation.

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[70] Ibid.

[71] For example, in the video recording of the performance from the UN, one is able to see representatives from Sweden moved in this way.

[72] Avaliable here: https://twitter.com/un/status/514603357076738050

[73] Hookway 222.

[74] Mark Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance,* Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014: 37, original emphasis.

Embodied Stories as Witness

At the beginning of Jetñil-Kijiner's performance, she begins by telling a legend from the Marshall Islands. In the legend, ten brothers are canoe racing when their mother, carrying a large bundle, asks if she can come with them. Nine of the brothers refuse, knowing her additional weight to the canoe will slow them down, but the youngest brother obliges and brings her with him. Once she is in the canoe, she unwraps her bundle, which ends up being a sail, and together they win the canoe race and he becomes chief. Jetñil-Kijiner goes on to say, "The moral of the story is to honor your mother, and the challenges life brings." Jetñil-Kijiner's use of storytelling at the UN Summit posits Indigenous stories as powerful forms of knowledge production. As Tonawanda Seneca Native feminist and literary scholar Mishuana Goeman poignantly argues in her 2013 *Mark My Words*, "It is our stories that will lead the way as they have for generations. Native stories extend beyond a beautiful aesthetic and simple moral or fable."[75] Stories, Goeman argues, provide the tending and nurturing of Indigenous peoples' relationships to territory, each other, and Native and settler nations—"connections [that] are powerful in the struggle against colonialism and empire building."[76] Indeed, Jetñil-Kijiner's storytelling bridges these connections, when she says, "The people who support this movement are Indigenous mothers, like me… I ask world leaders to take us all along on your ride. We won't slow you down. We'll help you win the most important race of all—the race to save our planet." In doing so, Jetñil-Kijiner challenges an important aspect of producing doubt—who "counts" as a witness. Jetñil-Kijiner not only positions Indigenous mothers, whose knowledges

[75] Mishuana Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013: 39.

[76] Goeman 38-39.

have historically been coopted and/or devalued, with the social authority to bear witness, but she argues that the movement to combat climate change will not be effective without the knowledge, stories, and insights of Indigenous mothers.

In her examination of Native women's narratives of colonial violence, Dian Million writes, "Stories form bridges that other people might cross, to feel their way into another experience. That is the promise of witness."[77] Indeed, Jetñil-Kijiner's poem continues to foreground the importance of Indigenous mothers' affective and material experiences to the climate change movement. In doing so, she intervenes into the affective regime of apathy within climate change discourse. She writes:

> dear matafele peinam,
>
> you are a seven month old sunrise of gummy smiles
> you are bald as an egg and bald as the buddha
> you are thighs that are thunder and shrieks that are lightning
> so excited for bananas, hugs and
> our morning walks past the lagoon
>
> dear matafele peinam,
>
> i want to tell you about that lagoon
> that lucid, sleepy lagoon lounging against the sunrise
>
> men say that one day
> that lagoon will devour you

Highlighting the embodied knowledge of Indigenous mothers, Jetñil-Kijiner writes of her and her daughter's walks past the lagoon, which stands in contrast to the "men" who passively "say" their apocalyptic tales of the lagoon. Jetñil-Kijiner's only personal reference to the lagoon in this excerpt is her walks with her daughter, yet these embodied experiences provide the foundation

[77] Million 76.

from which she is able to tell her daughter of the lagoon and promise that she will not be devoured:

> they say you, your daughter
> and your granddaughter, too
> will wander rootless
> with only a passport to call home
>
> dear matafele peinam,
>
> don't cry
>
> mommy promises you
>
> no one
> will come and devour you

Here, Jetñil-Kijiner addresses the apathy produced through apocalyptic narratives when writing about the "men" who claim the lagoon will devour her daughter and leave her wandering rootless. Through her use of the term "rootless," Jetñil-Kijiner again highlights the connection between Indigenous land and identity, showcasing the ways in which the loss of land is not simply an inconvenience, but an affective uprooting of one's sense of self. Countering apocalyptic narratives and the subsequent apathy produced through these narratives with her insistence that it will not happen in the third person use of "mommy," Jetñil-Kijiner imbues Indigenous mothers with the strength and willpower to effect change and provides a bridge with which others may cross into feeling the experience of having your child told she will be devoured. Jetñil-Kijiner's powerful call for world leaders to take Indigenous mothers on their ride, thus, stems from her embodied knowledge and storytelling, which disrupts narratives of apathy by showcasing how the struggle for land is intimately tied up in a struggle for personhood.

Jetñil-Kijiner's connections and solidarity with Indigenous mothers across the world stands in stark contrast to the ideology of individualism within the U.S., which, as argued above, crucially shapes the affective regime of climate change through public apathy. As many environmentalist authors and climate scientists have argued, this collectivity is crucial to the movement in addressing climate change; large-scale action is the only effective solution.[78] Indigenous peoples in Oceania have not only practiced and continue to practice these forms of sociality through our epistemes of collectivity, but we have also learned to evoke the "power in numbers" strategy in political discourse through colonial encounters. Thus, while our colonial experiences have shaped how we practice expansive forms of solidarity and sociality, our Indigenous epistemes of the ocean as our mother, the land as our ancestors, and the importance of non-human entities to our ontologies have also shaped our practices of sociality.

Human-Nonhuman Intercorporeal Socialities

Thus far, I have explicated the ways in which climate change is a site of affective regulation through the production of doubt and apathy, which operates as an affective regime of colonialism. By exacerbating the material effects of climate change in Oceania, the production of doubt and apathy further colonial and imperial projects of economic dependence, land dispossession, and resource depletion. I, then, argue that Jetñil-Kijiner's performance at the UN Summit intervenes into the colonial affective regime of climate change by dispelling doubt and apathy through experiential and embodied knowledges. I turn now to exploring the ways in which Jetñil-Kijiner's performance and poem importantly calls forth Indigenous forms of sociality that both enact Indigenous self-determination and point to necessary forms of political

[78] For example, see Cuomo and Doan.

mobilization necessary to combat climate change. Through a reading of the poem's non-human entities, Jetñil-Kijiner's performance intervenes into colonial constructions of the human that work to further the narrative of Indigenous Oceania as disposable. Furthermore, the performance stems from Indigenous epistemes and calls upon important forms of sociality, or that can, as Jetñil-Kijiner puts it, "win the race." Before examining the attribution of human characteristics to non-humans, or what some scholars call anthropomorphic, qualities of Jetñil-Kijiner's poem, however, it is important to return to the relationship between climate change, colonialism, and anthropocentrism that began this chapter.

Colonial Anthropocentrism

Climate change profoundly impacts understandings of the human's place in the world. Resolving climate change entails massive upheavals in the way power and capital accumulates, as well as the very onto-epistemological underpinnings of what the human is and what the human's relationship to the world looks like. Appropriately, literary scholar Timothy Morton describes climate change as a hyper object, which "refer[s] to things that are massively distributed in time and space relative to humans [and] are 'hyper' in relation to some other entity, whether they are directly manufactured by humans or not."[79] Hyper objects, such as climate change, Morton argues, "cause us to reflect on our very place on Earth and in the cosmos … [they] force something on us, something that affects some core ideas of what it means to exist, what Earth is, what society is."[80] Indeed, one of the challenges posed by climate change is an onto-epistemological upheaval in what it means to be in this world. Postcolonial literary

[79] Timothy Morton, *Hyper Objects: Philosophy and Ecology After the End of the World*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013: 1.

[80] Morton 15.

scholars Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin, in their "Green Postcolonialism," argue that this entails reimagining and reconfiguring the place of the human in nature.[81] Doing so, they argue, "necessitates an investigation of the category of the 'human' itself, and of the multiple ways in which this anthropocentrist construction has been, and is, complicit in racism, imperialism and colonialism, from the moment of conquest to the present day."[82]

It has been well documented that a particular notion of the "human" influenced by Enlightenment thought was and remains central to the project of colonialism. In Aleut education scholar Eve Tuck's and K. Wayne Yang's "Decolonization is Not A Metaphor," the authors illustrate the ways in which anthropocentrism facilitates the displacement of Indigenous peoples, continuing the project of settler colonialism.[83] They write, "The settler, if known by his actions and how he justifies them, sees himself as holding dominion over the earth and its flora and fauna, as the anthropocentric normal, and as more developed, more human, more deserving than other groups or species."[84] This, then, positions the settler as "both superior and normal; the settler is natural, whereas the Indigenous inhabitant and the chattel slave are unnatural, even supernatural."[85] Anthropocentrism is often defined as the privileging of the human over all else, yet, Tuck and Yang illustrate that this human is a particular construction of colonial encounter and imperial imaginaries. Huggan and Tiffin further contextualize this human when they argue,

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[81] Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin, "Green Postcolonialism," *Interventions* 9.1 (2008): 1-11.

[82] Huggan and Tiffin 6-7.

[83] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1.1 (2012): 1-40.

[84] Tuck and Yang 6.

[85] Ibid.

"Enlightenment concepts as 'reason' and 'civilization' depended, in both theory and practice, on the assumption of an apparently obdurate species boundary line. The very definition of 'humanity,' indeed, depended—and still depends—on the presence of the *non*-human, the uncivilized, the savage, the animal."[86] Thus, the anthropocentrism of colonialism not only privileges a particular construction of the human, but constructs this human through and against Indigenous peoples, in large part due to Indigenism's non-anthropocentric epistemes and ontologies.

The colonial construction of the human is directly informed by the man-nature dualism of Enlightenment thought, which also informs the profoundly devastating ideological and material impacts on nature and the environment. As sociologists Riley E. Dunlap and Aaron M. McCright argue, "Enlightenment thinking empasiz[ed] the use of science and technology to master nature and transform the environment into resources for human use."[87] Indeed, because the human is the master of nature, and Indigenous peoples were framed within the realm of nature, this colonial anthropocentrism at once provides the rationale for the displacement and destruction of both Indigenous bodies and ecologies. The environmental destruction of colonialism entailed, to name just a few, the privatization of land, water, and other ecological resources, the introduction of non-Native plants and animals that dramatically changed Native ecosystems, and deforestation and industrialization leading to plant and animal endangerment and extinction, all of which have profoundly altered the wider global climate and environment.

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[86] Huggan and Tiffin 6.

[87] Riley E. Dunlap and Aaron M. McCright, "Challenging Climate Change: The Denial Countermovement," Eds. Riley E. Dunlap and Robert J. Brulle, *Climate Change and Society: Sociological Perspectives*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015: 302.

We can then connect the environmental devastation of colonialism's anthropocentric ideologies, which have continued to this day, to the current state of global warming as an affective regime of colonialism. Political science scholar Peter Jacques, in his "The Rearguard of Modernity," argues that "deep anthropocentrism" is at the core of climate skepticism, and its counterpart apathy. He writes, "Deep anthropocentrism believes humanity is utterly independent of non-human nature … [and] sees humans fully exempt from ecological principles, influences and constraints."[88] This ideological perspective is also informed by the colonial man-nature dualism explored above: "The dominant social paradigm between nature and civilization, 'savage' and civilized, wild and rational, developed and undeveloped, are fully embodied and strongly held in deep anthropocentrism."[89] Throughout his review of literature from global warming skeptics, Jacques finds deep anthropocentrism as a guiding ideology, which not only participates in the production of doubt, but also leads to public apathy. Due to the ways in which deep anthropocentrism fosters a belief that humans are not interdependent with nature and the environment, "humanity has no obligation to nature itself, then human society is released from any expectation or obligation to consequences that may result from changing nature,"[90] despite the well-documented fact that climate change is by and large anthropogenic.

As Jacques shows, the anthropocentrism originated through colonial projects not only contributes to our present day issue of climate change materially, but also affectively. Anthropocentric worldviews have furthered the impacts of climate change and colonial projects,

[88] Jacques 85.

[89] Jacques 85.

[90] Jacques 88.

and, as many writers argue, must be upturned in order to successfully combat the effects of climate change. I argue, Indigenous ontologies and epistemes of non-human entities are, therefore, an important and necessary addition to the discourse of climate change and environmental literature and criticism.

Ocean as Mother

Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's use of anthropomorphism throughout her poem points to the importance of non-human entities within Indigenous Oceania cosmologies and onto-epistemologies. The de-privileging of the human evinced in Jetñil-Kijiner's poem conveniently aligns with recent work on the posthuman and new materialisms. However, in her important critique of posthumanisms, Black Atlantic literary scholar Zakiyyah Iman Jackson observes, "It has largely gone unnoticed by posthumanists that their queries into ontology often find their homologous (even anticipatory) appearance in decolonial philosophies that confront slavery and colonialism's inextricability from the Enlightenment humanism they are trying to displace."[91] Thus, while I turn to some posthumanist literature in this section on non-human entities, Jetñil-Kijiner's poem and the Indigenous epistemes it calls forth already provide much of the theoretical insights found in these texts. Similarly, much of the environmental literature I have engaged throughout this chapter posit theories and solutions that have already been theorized and implemented by Indigenous peoples and people of color facing the effects of climate change on an intimate, daily level. Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies of non-human entities, thus, are another important site from which the struggle against climate change is fought.

[91] Zakkiyah Iman Jackson, "Animal: New Directions in the Theorization of Race and Posthumanism," *Feminist Studies* 39.3 (2013): 681.

Recall how Jetñil-Kijiner's lagoon lounged in the sunlight as mother and child, a passing of generations, walked along the shores:

> dear matafele peinam,
>
> i want to tell you about that lagoon
> that lucid, sleepy lagoon lounging against the sunrise

Jetñil-Kijiner describes her daughter as "a seven month old sunrise of gummy smiles," and animates the lagoon as a sleepy, languid creature. Jetñil-Kijiner, thus, represents her daughter and the lagoon as benign playmates, with the lagoon turning on her only once the men enter the scene:

> men say that one day
> that lagoon will devour you
>
> they say it will gnaw at the shoreline
> chew at the roots of your breadfruit trees
> gulp down rows of your seawalls
> and crunch your island's shattered bones

Importantly, the lagoon remains lucid and sleepy, until the men of the apocalypse enter the poem. It is the men with their apocalyptic tale who animate the lagoon in monstrous ways with teeth capable of gnawing, chewing, gulping, and crushing. The island's shattered bones call upon the importance of land and its living, agential capacity as a corporeal ancestor necessary to her survival. We can read this section of the poem, then, as situating apocalyptic narratives as overdetermined by the very humans, "men," that have contributed to its possibility. However, through the interconnected relations with the lagoon and the island, Jetñil-Kijiner also points to the fact that she and her daughter are entwined with the bodies of these entities. Thus, the effects of climate change that impact the lagoon and island inherently impacts them, as well.

While non-human entities figure as the agentive, corporeal beings of Indigenous Oceania ontologies, humans, too, are transformed into non-humans. Jetñil-Kijiner's daughter is a sunrise with thighs of thunder and shrieks of lightning—all elements of the natural world. Corporations are sharks in political backwaters and Jetñil-Kijiner is the ocean:

> no greedy whale of a company sharking through political seas
> no backwater bullying of businesses with broken morals
> no blindfolded bureaucracies gonna push
> this mother ocean over
> the edge
>
> still
> there are those
> who see us

This witnessing through those who "see us," enables the political organizing actions that follow in her poem below. To this end, Jetñil-Kijiner disrupts the affective regime of doubt by showing the ways in which witnessing is the precursor to action:

> hands reaching out
> fists raising up
> banners unfurling
> megaphones booming
> and we are
> canoes blocking coal ships
> we are
> the radiance of solar villages
> we are
> the rich clean soil of the farmer's past
> we are
> petitions blooming from teenage fingertips
> we are
> families biking, recycling, reusing,
> engineers dreaming, designing, building,
> artists painting, dancing, writing
> and we are spreading the word

Not only does Jetñil-Kijiner's poem give life to non-human entities in accordance with Indigenous ontologies, she de-privileges the colonial "human," by making humans more vibrant and powerful through the non-human entities of animals, places, and things. Using active action verbs, such as raising, booming, blocking, and blooming, Jetñil-Kijiner highlights the vibrancy of non-human entities, while fusing the corporeality of humans with that of seemingly inanimate, passive "objects." The poem's emphasis on the non-humanness of who and what "we are" through the differentiated spacing, as opposed to the singular "we are" when referencing humans, emphasizes and privileges the non-human entities that produce our bodily assemblage. Importantly, Jetñil-Kijiner creates a bodily assemblage made up affectively and intercorporeally by inanimate objects. In doing so, Jetñil-Kijiner illustrates the ways in which Indigenous Oceania's ontologies of intercorporeality with non-human entities already enact the Spinozist philosophy that "bodies enhance their power *in* or *as a heterogeneous assemblage*."[92] Indeed, Jetñil-Kijiner illustrates the ways in which agentive qualities are "distributed across an ontologically heterogeneous field, rather than … localized in a human body."[93]

Perhaps, one of the most significant non-human entities in Jetñil-Kijiner's poem is the ocean. It is no coincidence that she calls the ocean our mother, and also refers to herself as a "mother ocean." In Indigenous Oceania, we all have this mother. Our Mother Ocean. Through her intercorporeal connection with her daughter, Jetñil-Kijiner calls forth the intercorporeality we

[92] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010: 23. Original emphasis.

[93] Bennett 23.

have with our common mother—the Ocean.[94] While "men" should have us fear the Ocean and the different parts of her body, such as her lagoons, we do not. We praise her. We honor her. We protect her. And we know her rising levels are not of her doing, but of human's—that same human of colonial anthropocentrism. As Jetñil-Kijiner argues in her poem, none of them can push "this mother ocean over / the edge." The North American Indigenous-run grassroots media project, Reclaim Turtle Island, states in their piece, "Terra Nullius is Rape Culture #LandBodyDefense," "To acknowledge [Terra Nullius] as rape culture is to acknowledge the connectivity between our bodies and our lands, that what happens to our Mother will happen to us."[95] Using Indigenous ontologies and epistemes of the land as mother, the authors importantly contextualize the colonial concept and practice of terra nullius, or "nobody's land" in Latin, as a foundational tenet of violence against Indigenous women. In doing so, they critically connect gendered violence to ecological violence. Similarly, Jetñil-Kijiner's emphasis on an intercorporeality with our mother ocean, signals that violence against her is violence against all of us, and vice versa.

In political theory scholar Jane Bennett's, *Vibrant Matter*, she argues, "My hunch is that the image of dead or thoroughly instrumentalized matter feeds human hubris and our earth-destroying fantasies of conquest and consumption. It does so by preventing us from detecting …

[94] Some scholars, such as Stacy Alaimo, call this phenomenon "transcorporeality." For more, see Alaimo. However, I choose to use intercorporeality here, because of the ways in which it levels the ontological plane of human and non-human entities, much like Jane Bennet's "onto-tale" of vital materiality (Bennet 116-117).

[95] "Terra Nullius is Rape Culture #LandBodyDefense," *Reclaim Turtle Island*, 14 July 2016, Web, 18 July 2016.

a fuller range of the nonhuman powers circulating around and within human bodies."[96] Indeed, the anthropocentrism of colonialism has continued to affectively and materially influence the discourse and materiality of climate change. The intercorporeality with non-human entities highlighted in Jetñil-Kijiner's performance and poem, and the Indigenous ontologies and epistemes it represents, is precisely the kind of sociality needed to change the current trend of climate change. As Whyte argues, "Renewing Indigenous knowledges can bring together Indigenous communities to strengthen their self-determined planning for climate change. [R]enewing knowledges involve[s] renewing relationships with humans and nonhumans and restoring reciprocity among the relatives."[97] The forms of intercorporeal sociality proposed by Jetñil-Kijiner, and evoked throughout Indigenous ontologies globally, are, thus, a critical site in which the ontological reimagining of the human and its place in the cosmos has already occurred, and continues to be imagined.

Conclusion: Returning Our Mother

Through the production of doubt and apathy within climate change discourses, and the material effects this affective regulation procures, I have argued that climate change operates as an affective regime of colonialism. Jetñil-Kijiner's *Dear Matafele Peinam* performance at the UN Summit on Climate Change importantly intervenes into the affective regime of colonialism by unveiling manufactured doubt as an unreal, unfelt doubt through her affective, experiential knowledge, and foreclosing apathy through her use of embodied storytelling and witnessing. Finally, I examined the ways in which a colonial, Enlightenment humanness continues to inform

[96] Bennett ix.

[97] Kyle Powys Whyte, "Indigenous Climate Change Studies: Indigenizing Futures, Decolonizing the Anthropocene," *English Language Notes* 55.1-2 (2017): 158.

the affective regime of climate change, and how Jetñil-Kijiner's use of Indigenous epistemes of non-human entities points to the forms of intercorporeal sociality we in Oceania practice, which can lend some insight into the ideological upheaval necessary to combat climate change.

In a recent Intercontinental Cry Magazine article, titled "To Combat Climate Change, Restore Land Ownership to Indigenous Peoples," science education scholar Elizabeth Walsh writes, "Indigenous peoples are the most effective managers and protectors of their territories which they view as a partner, a provider, and a living being. [A] perspective [that] carries tangible results."[98] The article importantly illustrates how climate change is exacerbated when Indigenous peoples do not have control of their lands and, I would add, oceans. Furthermore, as Jetñil-Kijiner and Reclaim Turtle Island show, the return of territories to Indigenous peoples is ultimately a return of the very fabric of our being. Throughout this chapter, I have labored to argue that in order to begin effectively *and affectively* addressing climate change, Indigenous peoples and our knowledges must be front and center. After all, if we are at the forefront of climate change effects, we should be at the forefront of climate change solutions.

[98] Elizabeth Walsh, "To Combat Climate Change, Restore Land Ownership to Indigenous Peoples," *International Cry Magazine,* 15 June 2016, Web, 1 July 2016.

Chapter 4: Remembering Our Bones: Oceania Futurity and the Limits of National Settler Affect and Memory

February 6th, the national New Zealand holiday, Waitangi Day, commemorates the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. On Waitangi Day, the Prime Minister of New Zealand visits Te Tii Marae in Waitangi to pay respects, and much of the country celebrates with outdoor barbeques and fireworks. Since 1974, Waitangi Day has been celebrated across New Zealand as the date of the country's founding; a commemoration contingent upon an interpretation of the Treaty as Māori cession of sovereignty to the British Crown. Due to this national understanding of the Treaty, Waitangi Day is often one of protest for many Māori peoples, who maintain that the Treaty's severe mistranslation issues contributed to its signing, implementation, and neglect. Indeed, since 1840, the Treaty was violated numerable times, and thus in 1984, the Treaty of Waitangi Act was amended to allow claims against treaty violations, founding the present Waitangi settlement process. Alongside the settlement process, the Crown issued apologies citing various grievances made against different Māori *iwi* (tribes) and stated, "Accordingly, with this apology, the Crown seeks to atone for these wrongs and to begin the process of healing. The Crown looks forward to building a relationship of mutual trust and co-operation."[1]

While the Waitangi settlement process works under the assumption that financial compensation alleviates colonial legacies, Indigenous feminists have long argued that colonial violence continually reproduces itself through settler economies, and, subsequently, the settler state should not be considered a benevolent and trusted ally to Indigenous healing and self-determination. For example, in her 2013 *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous*

[1] For an example of this wording, see Ngāti Tuwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act 2005, Part 1, Section 10.5.

Human Rights,[2] Athabascan scholar Dian Million tracks how the advocacy revolution of therapeutic humanitarianism works through naming and shaming human rights abuses, thus operationalizing shame through an international economy to invoke political pressure. Million insightfully argues that this framework suggests a shift from empowering political agency to victimology, posing a dangerous predicament for Indigenous peoples who must define the terms of self-determination within the same space of witnessing and identifying as trauma victims of state violence. The healing projects that have come out of Indigenous peoples' narratives of trauma emphasize self-management over self-determination, which Million argues is indicative of a neoliberal ethopolitics that capitalizes life while locating responsibility at the most local level of the polity. She argues, "The state cannot also be a safe agent in the reconciliation, because it is still constituted through the same nexus of racialization, heteronormativity, and gender violence that it was formed in. Thus, its structural violence is the present and the future state."[3]

This chapter, then, examines the ways in which colonial relations of power within settler states are furthered through settler state reconciliation attempts, specifically through memorial culture, such as Waitangi Day.[4] I argue that memorialization, particularly within settler states, functions as a colonial affective regime by drawing upon settler memory in order to create and maintain a national settler affect that not only situates Indigenous peoples and affect as wrong,

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[2] Dian Million, *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013.

[3] Million 162.

[4] Other worthwhile examples are the recent Indigenous Peoples Day commemorations in the U.S. and Australia.

but also temporally out of place. First, I examine the phenomenon of memorialization within settler states, looking specifically at former New Zealand Prime Minister John Key's 2014 Waitangi Day speech. I argue that memorialization within settler states is a form of settler memory, which creates and maintains a national settler affect that makes colonial relations of power feel right. I, then, examine the temporal dynamics of memorialization and settler memory, which affectively reinforce colonial relations of power by temporally excluding Indigenous peoples from the nation's future drawing from tropes of Indigenous peoples as backwards, savage, and uncivilized. Through this analysis, I consider the role of temporal sovereignty in memory, and look to Māori performance artist Cat Ruka's 2011 *Playing Savage*. Ruka's piece provides an alternative Indigenous form of remembering through the body, and, in doing so, interrupts the temporal affects of memorialization that further colonialism by fostering an Indigenous Oceania futurity.

Memorializing Colonialism

In his 2011, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, History, and Memory in the Mariana Islands,* Chamorro historian Keith Camacho argues, "The power and reach of local and national identity, collective and individual memory, and colonial and indigenous history is revealed in the study of commemorations."[5] Indeed, the ways in which traumatic national events are narrated by varying groups at stake can be a significant guide to mappings of power. As Camacho writes, "These studies [on commemorative activites] reveal that the nation-state, as much as the individual or group, controls and shapes the means by which peoples and institutions

[5] Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, History, and Memory in the Mariana Islands*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011: 11.

remember."[6] While Camacho examines the ways in which World War II memorial culture is contested and grappled with by both Indigenous peoples and settlers in the Marianas, the powerful hold of memorial culture does not necessitate war. As I show throughout this chapter, the power of memorial culture is also achieved through commemorations of national political holidays, such as Waitangi Day in New Zealand.

Cultural studies scholar, Susan L.T. Ashley argues, "Memorializing operates as an organizational process that constitutes and validates cultural significance."[7] In the case of memorial culture within settler states the significance assigned often reinforces specific narratives of colonial conquest, settlement, and neoliberal multiculturalism. As historian Ann McGrath argues, "For settler colonizer states, key dates would later serve to reinforce ideas of sovereignty … citizenship and belonging."[8] Thus, memorializing in settler states, especially key dates of "founding" or "landing," draw specifically from the archives of colonial memory. Colonial memory rests upon the erasure of colonial violences, effectively willing what anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler has termed "colonial aphasia." Moving beyond the use of colonial amnesia, Stoler explains, "[colonial aphasia] emphasize[s] both loss of access and active dissociation. It is not a matter of ignorance or absence. Aphasia is a dismembering, a difficulty speaking, a difficulty generating a vocabulary that associates appropriate words and concepts

[6] Camacho 13.

[7] Susan L.T. Ashley, "Re-colonizing Spaces of Memorializing: The Case of the Chattri Indian Memorial, UK," *Organization* 23.1 (2016): 30.

[8] Ann McGrath, "On the Sacred Clay of Botany Bay: Landings, National Memorialization, and Multiple Sovereignties," *New Diversities* 19.2 (2017): 89.

with appropriate things."[9] In other words, this erasure asks Indigenous peoples and settlers to not simply forget colonial histories, but rather to actively dissociate from them.

This active process of colonial memory, or what political theorist Kevin Bruyneel has called settler memory, "refers to the capacity both to know and disavow the history and contemporary implications of genocidal violence toward Indigenous people and the accompanying land dispossession that serve as the fundamental bases for creating settler colonial nations-states."[10] Indeed, settler memory is the foundation of Waitangi Day, in which the state regurgitates its commitment to the "observance, and confirmation, of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi,"[11] while Māori iwi remain embroiled in longstanding settlement negotiations with the state over treaty breaches and injustices that have primarily taken form through the government's non-negotiated acquisition and selling of Māori lands. As Bruyneel argues, "Settler memory is the capacity to see and not see Indigenous people as contemporary subjects, and as such to see and not see Indigenous people in the writing of key historical moments that continue to haunt the present-day."[12] Indeed, while the memorialization of the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi appears to institutionally uphold New Zealand's biculturalism, at the same time Māori are continuing legal battles for colonial injustices, such as land and water rights, and institutional recognition of their histories.

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[9] Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France," *Public Culture* 23.1 (2011): 125.

[10] Kevin Bruyneel, "Creolizing Collective Memory: Refusing the Settler Memory of the Reconstruction Era," *Journal of French and Francophone Philosophy* 25.2 (2017): 37.

[11] Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

[12] Bruyneel, "Creolizing," 38.

In addition to structuring what is known about a settler state's history, settler memory also anticipates what is felt about the state and its history. For example, on Waitangi Day on February 6, 2014, New Zealand Prime Minister John Key addressed the Ngapuhi, a Māori iwi that has consistently argued against the Treaty's common interpretation as cessation of Māori sovereignty. In his address to the Ngapuhi, Prime Minister Key states, "We should never forget the thread of generosity of spirit that runs through Māori history, from the arrival of Europeans through to the present day. Māori welcomed settlers [and] signed the Treaty of Waitangi in good faith. That led to the nation we now live in, and that's what we remember every year on February 6. That generosity of spirit persists."[13] Key's quote evinces the ways in which colonial aphasia continues to affectively structure not just settler memory, but also the governance of settler states. Urging the Ngapuhi and other Māori iwi to feel the same way about Waitangi Day as the settler state, specifically this kind of "welcoming generosity," exemplifies how affect becomes a powerful tool for settler states in the regulation and control of Indigenous nations' self-determination.

Performance studies scholar José Esteban Muñoz identifies national affect as "a mode of being in the world primarily associated with white middle-class subjectivity, [which] reads most ethnic affect as inappropriate."[14] He goes on to argue, "Whiteness is a cultural logic which can be understood as an affective code that positions itself as the law."[15] While Muñoz focuses specifically on U.S. national affect in his article, this same cultural logic of Whiteness is

[13] See note 1.

[14] José Esteban Muñoz, "Feeling Brown: Ethnicity and Affect in Ricardo Bracho's *The Sweetest Hangover (and Other STDs)*," *Theatre Journal* 52 (2000): 69.

[15] Ibid.

implemented in New Zealand—another settler state that constructs racial hierarchies. Indeed, Prime Minister Key's Waitangi Day speech can be read as an assertion of national settler affect attempting to correct and modulate the affective charge of Waitangi Day for Māori iwi. Thus, the affective residue of colonialism not only impacts Indigenous bodies and nations, but also settler state governance through the production of a national settler affect. Recalling Million, this national settler affect makes colonial relations of power "feel right," and in the case of Waitangi Day in New Zealand, allows settlers to feel as though they are "on the right track" with proper neoliberal multiculturalism that temporally situates colonial grievances in the past, while pushing Māori into the settler state's future.

Post-Settlement Environments

Memorial culture within settler states shapes national settler affect and memory through a temporal disjuncture in which Native peoples are not necessarily out of place, but misplaced in time. Within this settler colonial temporality, Indigenous peoples are perpetually of the past, and can only take part in the state's future once they effectively cease to exist as political subjects. Thus, the future in which Indigenous peoples are permitted to exist is a paradox. For example, in Key's speech, he states, "The Treaty is more than a document which created a new nation. The settlement process which springs from the treaty gives iwi the ability to move beyond seeking redress for past wrongs and instead look forward to seizing future opportunities."[16] Key's optimism for the future of settled treaty disputes, a future he calls the "post-settlement environment," relies upon the aphasiac settler memory examined earlier, and perpetuates colonial relations of power by temporally framing Indigenous peoples as backwards, primitive,

[16] Prime Minister John Key, "Prime Minister's Waitangi Day Speech 2014." http://johnkey.co.nz/archives/1793-Prime-Ministers-Waitangi-Day-Speech-2014.html.

and uncivilized. Indeed, the temporal dimensions to Key's statement are exemplary of the ways in which memorialization and commemoration figure as an affective regime that furthers colonialism by temporally situating Indigenous peoples seeking redress as anachronistic. In this temporality, Indigenous peoples only have a future once they no longer exist as political subjects. Key's choice of words for this future—post-settlement environment—is perhaps a more apt term than he realizes. In a future New Zealand where Māori iwi have been paid large settlements to address past wrongs, both the history of colonial violences and the presence of settler colonialism can finally be laid to rest. If we follow historian Patrick Wolfe's articulation of settler colonialism as a structure, not an event, then post-settlement, when examined through this framework, could be understood as an aphasiac environment in which both the event of invasion and structure of settler colonialism are effectively nullified. [17]

This post-settlement future reinforces what Bruyneel calls "colonial time," in which Indigenous peoples are disallowed access to modernity. He writes, "The colonizing society defines itself as temporally unbound and therefore capable of individual agency and collective independence in modern political time, while the colonized are seen as temporally constrained—whether referred to as primitive or traditional—and therefore incapable of modern agency and independence."[18] These temporal boundaries between colonizer and colonized essentially rehash the tropes of, on the one hand, a progressive, advancing society, and, on the other, a primitive, declining society. Thus, the Waitangi Day commemoration is less about the recognition of

[17] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8.4 (2006): 387-409.

[18] Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations,* Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2007: 2.

Māori sovereignty, and more about the advancing, "progressivism" of the settler state. As Bruyneel argues, "the 'advance' of 'civilization' is the most historically consistent temporal order impressed on indigenous people [and] places the colonizer and the colonized at perpetually irreconcilable ends of political time."[19] In doing so, this temporal order, which is foundational to settler memory and memorialization under settler colonialism, not only materially furthers colonial relations of power by structuring settler governance, but also affectively by constructing Indigenous peoples' affect as backwards and "out of time" by not simply "moving on." The national settler affect created and maintained through settler memory and memorialization is therefore also a temporal regime. Waitangi Day not only communicates how one should feel about colonial history and present-day settler colonialism, but also affectively situates the state's temporality as progressive, where Māori feel backwards and "out of time" to settlers and the state.

The goal for Indigenous peoples, though, should not necessarily be an inclusion into the state's temporal order. Literary scholar Mark Rifkin's *Beyond Settler Time* argues against a temporal recognition that would include Indigenous peoples within the settler state's history and present, and instead calls for a temporal sovereignty, or "the need to address the role of time (as narrative, as experience, as immanent materiality of continuity and change) in struggles over Indigenous landedness, governance, and everyday socialities."[20] He argues, "Asserting the shared modernity or presentness of Natives and non-Natives implicitly casts Indigenous peoples as inhabiting the current moment and moving toward the future in ways that treat dominant non-

[19] Bruyneel, *Third Space*, 68-69.

[20] Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2017: x.

native geographies, intellectual and political categories, periodizations, and conceptions of causality as given—as the background against which to register and assess Native being-in-time."[21] Thus, temporal sovereignty necessarily ruptures settler conceptions of history, present, and future, and in doing so challenges settler memory and affect as complicit in ongoing colonial relations of power. Furthermore, a temporal sovereignty has the capacity to highlight alternative epistemes and ontologies of time, memory, and futurity that can effectively interrupt the affective colonial regime of memorialization within settler states.

Remembering Savage Times

Auckland-based performance artist Cat Ruka's (Ngapuhi, Waitaha, Pakeha) 2009 *Playing Savage* can be read as an intervention into the colonial affective regime of memorial culture's settler memory and temporal order. Indeed, I argue *Playing Savage* enacts a temporal sovereignty that recalls Māori epistemes and ontologies of corporeal memory and futurity. Through Ruka's use of body memory, *Playing Savage* intervenes into the national settler affect cultivated through settler memory and temporality, effectively opening up an affective timespace for an alternative Indigenous futurity.

Upon graduating with her M.A. in Dance, Ruka has toured the globe, showcasing many of her award-winning performances in cities like New York, Sydney, London, Jakarta, and Berlin. Hailed as New Zealand's top performing artist, Ruka has been nominated for eight Tempo Dance Awards, and has won several, including "Best Production" for *Playing Savage.*[22] Ruka is currently a writer for Auckland's *Metro* Magazine where she reviews dance and

[21] Rifkin viii.

[22] Cat Ruka Gwynne, *Cat Ruka: Bio,* 12/2/2012, http://catruka.com/about.

performance art, and she is a lecturer in Dance at the Manukau Institute of Technology in Otara, South Auckland. When asked to describe her work, Ruka says, "My work has been political in the sense that I try to reveal a connection between very personal experience and a wider contemporary political climate."[23] Indeed, throughout all of Ruka's performance pieces, issues of Māori identity, sexuality, womanhood, and self-determination are explored. One can get a sense of this political influence just by reading the titles of her pieces. For example, some of the titles include, *Playing Savage, New Treaty Militia, Stealing Land, Hine 2012,*[24] and *Wolf: Where Wolves Fear to Prey Presented by the Savage Sisterwolves.* A common theme among the titles and the performances themselves is the subverting and reappropriation of the word "savage," which has historically been used to dehumanize and disenfranchise Indigenous peoples. As Melanie Wall argues, "Racial stereotype of the Māori provided the moral justification for armed conquest in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and obfuscated the actual economic rationale for war— the shortage of land for settlement."[25] Thus, not only was the discourse of "savagery" used to dehumanize Māori, but it also provided an impetus for White settlement in New Zealand. Ruka's reappropriation of the discourse of savagery, ultimately calls forth alternative Indigenous socialities based upon shared histories of colonialism and settlement.

Body Memory

[23] Remix Magazine, "Cat: The Performer," *Remix Magazine,* 9/1/2012: 150.

[24] This title references the Māori goddess of night and death and ruler of the underworld, Hine-nui-te-po.

[25] Melanie Wall, "Stereotypical Constructions of the Māori 'Race' in the Media," *New Zealand Geographer*, 53.2 (1997): 41.

In Ruka's 2009 performance, *Playing Savage*, first performed on May 29, 2009 at the Kenneth Myers Center in Auckland, the colonized body emblematizes a Fanonian dual-consciousness informed by narratives of colonial dispossession. Indeed, throughout *Playing* Savage, Ruka takes up the colonial disciplining of Māori women's bodies. As the lights come up, Ruka coolly sits on a large chair, bare-breasted, wearing a traditional Māori piupiu, or flax skirt. Her body, positioned in the trite Pacific Islander woman stance of the mythical Pania of the Reef and aggrandized in the artwork of French post-impressionist Paul Gauguin, is out of place in the elaborate décor and furnishings of a British colonial drawing room. [26] In the program notes to the performance, Ruka writes, "*Playing Savage* is a performative ritual that attempts to re-organize, hyper-extend, and subvert some of the ideas, symbols, and images that wahine Māori (Māori women) are perceived in relation to."[27] Māori scholar Michelle Erai provides historical context for the exoticization and manipulation of Māori women when she writes, "From the early beginnings in Kororareka there emerged two influential ways of thinking about Māori women; one was as promiscuous, the source of 'The New Zealand Fever,' and the second was as protection through marriage for European men wanting to move safely through, and negotiate the acquisition of, Māori tribal territory."[28] Erai illustrates how the dominant sexualized depictions of Māori women that Ruka confronts, not only perpetuated the hyper-

[26] Pania is a character of Māori mythology whose statue in Napier is a major tourist attraction.

[27] Kristian Larsen, "Playing Savage A Dance / Solo Protest by Cat Gwynne Friday 29th May Kenneth Myers Centre Review," *Yelling Mouth,* 4/17/2010, http://yellingmouth.blogspot.com/2009/09/improvisational-performance-that-uses.html.

[28] Michelle Erai, "A Queer Caste: Mixing Race and Sexuality in Colonial New Zealand," *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature,* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011: 70.

sexualization and exoticization of Pacific Island women, but also furthered the project of colonization and White settlement through their manipulation as tools of conquest.

The submissive nature with which Indigenous Pacific women are portrayed is replicated in the welcoming, hospitable affects demanded by settler memorial culture. Indeed, these affects are highly gendered; most associated and expected with feminized labor. Ruka's take on the pose thus calls attention to the gendered nature of settler affect while also interrupting it. She sits slightly more upright, simulating a more active stance. Donning her leather jacket, Ruka's face is painted to emulate a generic "tribal" skull, meant to satirize colonial tropes of savagery, underscoring the title of the piece. She confrontationally looks directly at the audience whose attention, while not pictured here, is pulled to the smoking cigarette dangling from her fingertips. In opposition to the submissive, open-for-the-taking, depictions of Indigenous pacific women throughout colonial history, Ruka's pose is materially and affectively commanding, suggesting an ownership and reappropriation of sexual prowess. Adding to her dominating presence, Ruka's right foot rests atop a framed portrait of former Prime Minister John Key. Using her body to hold Key in place, particularly her foot, Ruka communicates a defiant resistance to the settler state while also gesturing towards the ways in which settler governance is contingent upon the suppression of *tino rangatiratanga* (Māori sovereignty). Ruka reverses this suppression by placing her foot upon Key, challenging the settler affects of memorial culture that demand a "welcoming generosity" from Indigenous peoples, and particularly, Indigenous Pacific women.

Playing Savage, however, also illustrates the ways in which these gendered affects can be replicated within the Māori sovereignty movement. Midway through the performance, for example, Ruka takes a sodden tino rangatiratanga flag to wipe the painted skull off her face,

symbolically lifting up Māori self-determination to counter colonial narratives of savagery and primitivism. In doing so, Ruka challenges both the aphasia of settler memory and the at times masculinist, exclusionary practices of the Māori sovereignty movement by recalling sedimented histories and memories of Māori women.

When discussing, *Playing Savage*, Ruka writes:

> As the process developed, I realized that my body could be seen as a colonized object; a site of strain where the external inscriptions of hegemony attempt to etch themselves into bones and flesh and over the embodied teachings of my ancestors. With each movement of the spine was a wash of uncomfortable memory, realization that I lacked agency over the way my body struck itself into being, realization that resonating within this practice was a paradoxical view through the colonizing gaze and myself as tangata whenua, as indigenous to this land.[29]

Indeed, the colonized body in *Playing Savage*, emblematizes a Fanonian dual-consciousness informed by narratives of colonial dispossession. From her seated position, Ruka leaps onto the floor, gaping her body into predatory and defiant postures, arching her spine as though in extreme distress, while the lights fade out on the background, leaving the audience with just Ruka's body and several props strewn about the stage.[30] Ruka's calculated appearance and improvised movements effectively highlight the ways in which her body and its drives are impacted by the affective residue of colonialism. Pushing against the colonial affective regime of memorial culture that asks Indigenous peoples to be welcoming, generous, and forgiving, Ruka reappropriates the discourse of savagery to evoke the uncomfortable, the distressing, and the improvised. In her article, "Artistic Practices, Representations of Māori Women and the Paradox

[29] Cat Ruka Gwynne, "Artistic Practices, Representations of Māori Women, and the Paradox of Kaupapa Māori," *MAI Review,* 2009: 2.

[30] Jack Gray, "From Pop-Culture Dance/Theatre to Potent Dance of Unease, Dissatisfaction and Transformation," *Theatre Review,* 10/10/2009.

of Kaupapa Māori,"[31] Ruka reflects on the process that brought her to the piece: "I was interested in how dance improvisation might be used to bring to the surface body memories, and how those memories could inform a subjective, experiential and body-centered inquiry into research. I was also interested in how a Māori understanding of memory and its being stored in the bones might find relevance in this particular approach to knowledge."[32] As an Indigenous woman, Ruka references the intimate connection held between her body, her land, and her identity. The emphasis Ruka places on exploring one's body and its movements holds particular significance to her as an Indigenous woman. Indeed, as Māori scholar Wikitoria August argues, "Despite feminist geographers revolutionizing how we think about bodies, only limited research has been conducted on colonized bodies and the impact of colonization on bodies and bodily functions."[33] Furthermore, Ruka's use of dance improvisation to explore the impacts of colonialism on Indigenous bodies brings forth alternative histories and memories untied to settler memory. As Susan Leigh Foster argues in her 2003 essay "Taken By Surprise," "The improvised is that which eludes history, for it is the unknown, and history prefers to keep track almost exclusively of the known."[34] Ruka's use of dance improvisation to bring forth corporeal memory highlights

[31] Cat Ruka Gwynne, "Artistic Practices, representations of Māori women, and the paradox of Kaupapa Māori," *MAI Review,* 2009: 1.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Wikitoria August, "Māori Women: Bodies, Spaces, Sacredness and Mana," *New Zealand Geographer,* 61 (2005):118.

[34] Susan Leigh Foster, "Taken By Surprise: Improvisation in Fance and Mind," Eds. Ann Cooper Albright and David Gere, *Taken By Surprise: A Dance Improvisation Reader*, Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 2003: 3.

the possibilities of this unknown by shoring up an alternative Māori history that creates a futurity beyond the limited ethos of treaty settlements and trauma frameworks.

Drawing from the Māori ontology of memory being stored in one's bones, Ruka manifests her ancestral knowledge and experience through her dance improvisations. In doing so, Ruka enacts an alternative corporeality that temporally intervenes into settler memory and memorial culture. Ruka's corporeality remains within her body while traversing temporal structures to commune with the past. This form might be best described as an inter-temporal corporeality, in which the body is at once present and past, in the service of an alternative future. "Whatever we bring back when we are inside that moment of dancing," Ruka writes, "time collapses the past into now and ritualizes our present, so that we can catch up, reconcile, grieve over, delight in and express the sensorial knowledge of our bodies."[35] Thus, the sensorial, affective knowledge produced through Ruka's bold and erratic improvised dance movements challenges settler affect and memory by invoking an Indigenous past and present untied to the affective temporal order of settler colonialism.

A Vast Present

Utilizing corporeal memory, Ruka's piece effectively interrupts settler memory and the temporal order of settler colonialism. Exploring the affective residue of colonialism within Indigenous bodies can, however, reproduce the colonial pathologization of Indigenous peoples as inherently colonized, defective, and limited subjects. I would like to suggest that Ruka's exploration of affective colonial residue also opens up other ontological possibilities that move beyond the limited ethos of treaty settlements and trauma frameworks. Rather, *Playing Savage*

[35] Gwynne, "Artistic Practices," 1.

interrupts settler memory and confronts the national settler affect on display during Waitangi Day.

As the stage fades to black, a highly processed version of John Key's 2008 election victory speech plays overhead.[36] The warped version of the speech utilizes both time stretching and pitch scaling that not only makes Key's words barely intelligible at times, but also fluctuates between significantly aging the speech to sound like a dated, scratched recording from the early 20th century to hyperextending the speech with robotic futuristic vocoder elements. Aurally casting Key's victory to the past and future, *Playing Savage* trenchantly remains in the present. Ruka's use of dance improvisation necessitates a presentness, as well, it is the movement of a specific moment. Thus, Ruka lingers in the present, lavishes in it, refusing to simply "move on." This present is not the succession of the past, but rather coexists with the past through corporeal memory. In doing so, Ruka animates the present and the past with Indigenous potentiality to activate an alternative future.

While the present has been theorized as an impasse or non-existent, Deleuze theorized three syntheses of time in *Difference and Repetition*, two of which I examine here, that articulate memory and the present in more capacious ways. The first form of time Deleuze examines is habitual time or the living present, which passively synthesizes the past and the future. Through the synthesis of instants, such as the tick-tock of a clock, each individual instant becomes contracted into one another, constituting the living present. Deleuze explains, "To [the living present] belong both the past and the future: the past in so far as the preceding instants are retained in the contraction; the future because its expectation is anticipated in this same

[36] See note 12.

contraction."[37] Thus, in this synthesis, the present becomes the realm in which time is deployed, yet does not truly exist on its own in any useful way.

The second synthesis of time Deleuze theorized concerns memory and the past. Here, Deleuze draws upon Henri Bergson's theory of a "pure" past, and argues that this past has never actually been lived, and thus poses a problem to the present. This past does not exist because of the ways in which the present is manifested as consuming the past in the first synthesis. Four paradoxes concerning memory arise from this tension between the living present and unlived past. Deleuze describes the first paradox as "the contemporaneity of the past with the present that it *was.*"[38] In other words, this paradox concerns the impossibility of forming the past from the present, because the only way the present ever passes is while it is present. Thus, the past is internally implicated in the present, and "gives us the reason for the passing of the present."[39] The second paradox is of coexistence. It arises from the first paradox due to the ways in which the contemporaneity of the past and present mean that the entire past coexists with each new present. Thus, the past and the present act as two elements that coexist, where "one is the present, which does not cease to pass, and the other is the past, which does not cease to be but through which all presents pass."[40] Deleuze's third paradox, then, concerns the pre-existence of the past. If the past is contemporaneous with the present that it was, then "we necessarily speak

[37] Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1994: 70-71.

[38] Ibid, 81. Original emphasis.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism*, Brooklyn: Urzone, 1988.

of a past which never *was* present, since it was not formed 'after.'"[41] In other words, there is some form of the past that pre-exists the passing present, because without it the present would cease to pass. Bergson called this the "past in general," which we might think of as the non-datable, pure, a priori element of the past. The final paradox Deleuze explores concerns the preservation of the past. This paradox is formed through the first three, in that if the past co-exists with every present, but also pre-exists the present, then the past is not dependent upon the present to exist. Deleuze explains, "The present can be the most contracted degree of the past which coexists with it only if the past first coexists with itself in an infinity of diverse degrees of relaxation and contraction at an infinity of levels."[42] The past then is preserved within itself, but more importantly coexists with the present.

Thus, drawing from Deleuze, we can argue that settler memory and memorial culture under settler colonialism temporally assumes the present as the succession of the past, rather than a coterminous existing at the same time. Indeed, Tongan scholar and poet Epeli Hau'ofa describes the colonial temporal order as a linear progression in which the past is behind, receding ever further, while the future is ahead, in the direction of progression.[43] In this conception of time, the present is both the temporal and affective succession of the past, while the future lies ahead, waiting to be grasped. With the emphasis on moving beyond colonial history and grievances, settler memory and memorial culture is upheld by this normative conception of time, which Ruka highlights at the end of *Playing Savage*. Ruka's integration of Prime Minister Key

[41] Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition,* 82.

[42] Ibid. Original Emphasis.

[43] Epeli Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008: 65-66.

into her performance powerfully confronts national settler affect, critiquing the present through body memory in the service of an alternative Indigenous future. This future is created and maintained through Ruka's body memory, which draws upon the past and present as coexisting. While affect can be registered in the body, it is never entirely personal. Thus, through her confrontation of national settler affect, Ruka creates what Derek McCormack terms an "affective spacetime," in that she spatiotemporally opens up a different kind of affective charge. As McCormack argues, "Affective spacetimes do not just have extension: they also have duration and intensity. They have reach and resonance."[44] Thus, *Playing Savage* operationalizes Indigenous affect with the potential to transform the settler state.

Savage Futures

Foster asks, "How could the attempt to include the improvised alter the course of historical inquiry?"[45] While memorial culture within settler states would have us move on from the past, Ruka's *Playing Savage* illustrates how an inclusion of improvisation, whether material or affective, into the historical record could allow for an Indigenous presence that keeps the past alive in the service of an alternative future. This futurity cultivated by Ruka is decidedly not in line with Prime Minister Key's post-settlement environment. Rather, utilizing corporeal memory, *Playing Savage* effectively highlights the gendered nature of settler affect, interrupts the temporality of settler memory, and moves beyond treaty settlements and exclusionary notions of Māori tino rangatiratanga.

[44] Derek McCormack, *Refrains for Moving Bodies: Experience and Experiment in Affective Spaces*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014: 5.

[45] Foster 6.

Playing Savage illustrates how memorial culture is a felt experience where embodied and intangible practices can modify and disrupt authorized significations.[46] Creating a temporal sovereignty grounded in expansive and relational notions of Oceania futurity, *Playing Savage* asks us, what would embracing the savage open up, and how might this aid in remembering another future?

[46] Ashley 43.

Epilogue: Affective Regimes of Colonialism and Oceania Sovereignty

In September of 2017, in the middle of writing *Indigenous Performance in Oceania*, I saw my maternal grandparents for the first time. My mother had told me there were photographs of our family in a retired Peace Corps officer's memoir. She had not yet purchased the book, but had heard through our clan grapevine that these pictures existed. The news of these photos traveled quickly because our clan's island, Piserach, is what other Chuukese like to call "country." It is located north west of the main island and state capital of Chuuk, Weno, about a day's trip by boat, on the isolated Namonuito atoll. Due to our relative distance from the main infrastructure of Weno, technological advancements, such as cameras and photographic equipment, are extremely uncommon, especially when my mother was a young child, and photos from that time are only available from the Japanese and American officers that made it out to our atoll. The text, *Don't Get Too Comfortable*, by an older White American man, Robert Emmett Buckley, Jr., was available online for $19. I purchased it immediately.

Once the book arrived, I hastily opened the packaging and flipped through the text, first landing on a photo of my Uncle Samuel as a young man in his twenties. Skimming the text, I learned this Buckley man had visited Piserach with his host family, a distant cousin of my mother's. A few more page-flips in, and I saw it. It is a photograph of my grandmother and grandfather sitting in front of their hut on Piserach with my mother around the age of 10. My mother had not even recognized herself, since photos of her as a child were essentially non-existent. It was finally after eliminating various family members that we realized she was the young girl in the photo. The caption under the photo reads, "Brave handicapped chief with wife

and grandchildren was the patriarch of my host family who saved young teenagers from being forced into Japanese slavery."[1]

The feelings of pride, longing, and anger that overcame me upon consuming this photograph in its entirety were overwhelming. I felt proud that my grandfather had stood up to blackbirding practices, a part of his past I had not known before that moment, and proud to be apart of his legacy. I longed for my island, my mother, and my clan, thousands of miles away from me. And I was angry. Angry that the first time I was ever able to see my maternal grandparents or a photo of my mother as a young child had to be purchased. I am angry that these precious photographs belong to a White American man. I am angry that the caption does not accurately identify our kin structure in the photograph or even my grandfather's name. Angry that my grandfather is named "patriarch," when our entire clan system, including the chief clan, is matriarchal. Angry that his gout, a treatable disease, left him unable to walk for the second half of his life and eventually killed him. I am angry that my grandmother's role as the island's midwife was not given the same acknowledgment in the photo's caption. And I am angry that this man does not know about me, does not know our family, and does not know our history.

This photograph and the circumstances by which I was finally able to see my grandfather, Ponofacio, my grandmother, Dolores, and my young mother, Marina, are indicative of the affective and material conditions of colonialism that have guided my work. Throughout these chapters I have labored to show the ways in which the material conditions of colonialism, such as climate change, memorial culture, tourism, recognition politics, and, in this case, humanitarian projects, all have an affective afterlife that continues to shape and inform the conditions of colonialism in Oceania.

[1] Robert Emmet Buckley, Jr., *Don't Get Too Comfortable*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016.

As a way to counter these various affective regimes of colonialism, I have turned to Indigenous Pacific performance as a medium that both contends with these regimes and illuminates affective responses through Indigenous Oceania epistemes and ontologies. In Chapter 1, I examined Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale* as a performance that both historicizes and politicizes the tourism industry in Oceania. Analyzing the affects of tourism, specifically authenticity via the moralist desires of hedonia and eudaimonia, I trace current practices of tourism to the early 19th Century colonial phenomena of "human zoos." Importantly, I argue, Kihara's piece interrupts the touristic desire for authenticity by staging her own human zoo, while, at the same time, manifesting a sociality among Indigenous Pacific peoples both "on display" and in the audience.

Throughout *Indigenous Performance in Oceania,* the performances highlight alternative notions of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination that do not rely on exclusionary colonial state logics. In Chapter 2, I examined the tensions between Indigenous Pacific communities in Hawai'i as a result of recognition politics that harness the affects of paternalistic dependence, and turned to Rosanna Raymond's *SaVAge K'lub* as a way to reimagine an inter-dependence between and amongst Pacific communities. My readings of select performances and their archives, contend that Indigenous Oceania performance intervenes into colonial affective regimes by utilizing Indigenous ontologies of corporeality. Throughout this project, I have considered the affective blurring of boundaries between and amongst Indigenous peoples, non-human entities, the audience, and the state. In Chapter 3, I introduced the concept of intercorporeality in Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner's *Dear Matafele Peinam* as an exigent way to think through the climate change affects of doubt and apathy. Through this intercorporeal sociality

created between humans and non-humans, I argue, we can begin the onto-epistemological shifts necessary for combatting climate change and its effects.

Ultimately, these various practices of corporeality necessitate thinking through the forms of sociality possible in light of these different connections. In doing so, this project has taken up the political and theoretical aims of Pacific scholars who argue for a new imagining of the Pacific Islands in response to both the isolation narratives of early European colonialism and the post-WWII "Pacific Rim" construct.[2] Drawing from this work, I argue that the intentional modes of community and belonging, or sociality, found within Oceania performance importantly question the ways in which colonial ideologies of gender and sexuality operate within Indigenous movements for self-determination and sovereignty. In Chapter 4, I examine Cat Ruka's *Playing Savage* as an important intervention into the masculinist and exclusionary notions of Indigenous self-determination that uphold memorial culture's affects of temporal backwardness and primitivism. By utilizing corporeal memory, Ruka not only creates an alternative, inclusive, and expansive form of Indigenous sovereignty, but also Indigenous futurity.

Whether through eudaimonia, paternalism, doubt, apathy, or primitivism, *Indigenous Performance in Oceania,* illustrates how colonial power continues into the present by operating as regimes of regulatory affect. At the same time, this project highlights how Indigenous Pacific performance interrupts these regimes with alternate affects through Indigenous ontologies of corporeality. In doing so, Indigenous performance in Oceania imagines and creates socialities that at once move beyond colonial demarcations and practice sovereignty in ways that are expansive, inclusive, and grounded in Indigenous epistemologies. My hope is that this project

[2] For example, see Hau'ofa, "A Sea of Islands."

inspires the excluded, invisible, and peripheral of us within Oceania to demand alternatives to the current political status quo. We not only deserve the kind of expansive thinking and practices that can include us, but we need it. Throughout *Indigenous Performance in Oceania*, I have stressed that forms of sociality and sovereignty based upon exclusionary colonial demarcations of supposed intolerable difference do not serve us, or our communities. In order to feel truly sovereign, we need to imagine, create, and practice expansive and inclusive forms of sociality that inform our notions of sovereignty. Indigenous performance in Oceania is an instrumental site for us to begin.

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