Supporting the Identity, Community and Culture of Climate Vulnerable Peoples: A Critical Interdisciplinary Approach

A thesis submitted by

Vicki Erin Flack

(BA (Combined Hons) Art History and Theory; Political Studies)

Of the Institute for Social Justice, Faculty of Education and Arts,

Australian Catholic University

On the 26th of February, 2016

Towards the degree PhD in Social and Political Thought

To the Graduate Research Office of the Australian Catholic University
PO Box 968
North Sydney, NSW 2059, Australia.

Declaration of Authorship and Sources:

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma. No parts of this thesis have been submitted towards the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis. All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics/Safety Committees (where required).

I can confirm that this thesis was researched, written and edited without any collaboration or assistance of another person or persons. Professor Allison Weir and Dr Nell Musgrove, my supervisors, provided oral and written feedback with respect to the preparation of my final text. In addition, editorial advice was received from Mona-Lynn Courteau.

Candidate's Signature: 

Date: 26/02/16

Acknowledgements:

Although this thesis is sole-authored, others have contributed to it in countless ways. My thanks are given chronologically, rather than in order of importance. In light of this, I start several years prior to the thesis, before there was even an inkling that a PhD was on the horizon. It begins in Samoa where I first experienced in a deeply embodied way what it was to be immersed in a unique, vibrant, and exciting community that was so different from anything I'd ever known. To those who shared their world with me, thank you – it meant so much to me and I will never forget it.

I also want to thank those who have not only fostered a love for interdisciplinary work but also provided some of the tools for undertaking it. I begin here with my honours supervisor, Associate Professor Erika Wolf, who first encouraged me to do an interdisciplinary thesis and then later steered me towards an interdisciplinary program that strove towards social justice. This was the Doctoral Program in Social and Political Thought, beginning at Western Sydney University, and then later finding a home at the Australian Catholic University. To the former staff and students of this program, thank you for providing me with such valuable insights into the complex task of carrying out interdisciplinary work. To my fellow students, I am so grateful that I got to go on this journey with such an inspiring and supportive group of people. In particular, thank you to Simon Dougherty, Anne O'Brien, Jack Isherwood, Kelly Dombroski, Mahmoud Pargoo, Mirjam van der Heide, and Riikka Prattes. To the various administrative staff who have provided valuable support along the way, thank you so much for all your efforts. Thanks also to my former supervisors, Professor Allison Weir and Professor Katherine Gibson, for the practical and intellectual help with the early stages of this project.

My deep-felt thanks also goes out to those involved in the field research. Thank you for allowing me to learn not only about weaving but also about life in Nukunonu and Wellington. To those that hosted Meli and I in one capacity or another, thanks so much for making us feel at home. I hope to one day be able to return your hospitability. Thanks also to Aleki Silao, Paul Wolffram, Judith Huntsman, Sean Mallon, Zak Patelesio, Filipo Perez, Keli Kalolo, the Lino Isaia family, and Malia Nive Ahelemo for their help with the project. Thank you also to Meli – the

research on weaving would not have been possible or worthwhile without you. Thank you for collaborating with me, and for sharing your homes and meaningful places.

Thank you also to my friends and family who have had key roles in supporting me during this journey. To Martin, my husband, for being by my side throughout this journey and for always supporting me no matter what. In particular, thank you Martin for the trees, the random outings, and for taking such good care of our little family while I worked on the thesis. To my kids, Ollie and Ivy, thank you for making my thesis breaks such a hilarious and wonderful time, for accepting when 'mama' has to go to work, and for loving without restraint when I return. To our dog, Indi, thank you for being my constant companion as I worked on the thesis. To my extended family, thank you so much for the invaluable – and quite frankly countless – forms of emotional and practical support that you have unquestioningly provided over these years. And to my friends, thank you for filling my life with an abundance of laughter, joy, and unconditional love.

Finally, special mention needs to be made to those in my academic home that enabled me to see this project through to the very end, specifically the Faculty of Education and Arts, as well as my supervisor, Dr Nell Musgrove. To the Faculty of Education and Arts, thank you for providing the flexibility and time needed to finish this project in less than straightforward circumstances. To Nell, you joined my panel late in the game and from the very beginning were determined to see me through. Without your constructive feedback, commitment, and unwavering encouragement and support, this thesis would never have been completed. I honestly cannot thank you enough for helping me weave the various threads of this thesis together in ways that truly honoured the goals and ethics of this project. I will be forever grateful for having had you as a supervisor.

Illustrations

Abstract

This thesis is an exploration into some ways in which outsiders might provide useful forms of support to a people faced with having to adapt their cultures and communities, following the loss of a place due to climate change. This exploration is particularly directed at outsiders – people external to the impacted communities – who have the potential to provide highly useful and varied forms of support, but who are unable to develop relationships with and learn about the people and cultures they seek to support through the frequently-advocated approach of long term immersion in communities.

This thesis views social responsibility for climate change in the era of the Anthropocene (a term that recognizes that accelerated climate change is at least partly human induced) as a shared and global responsibility, and therefore argues that a diverse range of outsiders should provide such support – when the affected community desires it. It recognizes the diverse range of 'outsiders' who can provide various forms of support to a climate vulnerable people, but who may have little framework for providing valuable and specialized knowledge, skills and services in culturally affirming ways.

There is little scholarship available to guide outsiders seeking to provide useful forms of support to a climate vulnerable people, but who are unable to spend long periods of time in that community. To gain valuable insights into how such outsiders might provide useful forms of support, a multicomponent research journey was undertaken, beginning with a theoretical and conceptual enquiry into the key challenges present in providing such support. Through this, it became clear that the complexity of responding to climate change issues, and the broad range of expertise that might be required, means that impacted communities are often forced to look beyond their local resources to tackle the problems, and that people who offer support can easily reinforce negative modes of engagement with vulnerable peoples. From this enquiry emerged an understanding of critical interdisciplinary approaches as essential for finding a way forward.

The thesis itself, therefore, applies three overarching questions — What is a meaningful identity? What capacity does such an identity have to adapt and still remain meaningful to its members? And what broad conditions are required in order for that adaptation to occur? — to a case study: Tokelau, a place often identified as at risk of becoming uninhabitable due to climate change but which, as of yet, has received little scholarly attention. Recognizing the profound importance of treating climate vulnerable peoples as valuable conversation partners, and crucial knowledge holders.

The research included a multi-sited and collaborative field research project in Nukunonu (Tokelau) and Wellington (New Zealand). This field work engaged with a traditional Tokelauan cultural practice — weaving — as a communication tool and conversation anchor. Thus, through a combination of research methods, including participant observation and semi-structured interviews, the field work provided valuable insights about approaches that could provide support in a constructive and culturally appropriate manner.

The thesis is committed to the principle that treating indigenous communities, or other marginalized groups, as equal conversation partners and crucial knowledge holders should be embedded across all stages of the research, not only in approaches to field work. This shaped the selection of theoretical tools applied to develop the final stage of analysis in this research, which were most significantly: Pacific studies, indigenous studies, cosmopolitanism, feminism, human geography, transnationalism and migration studies. In addition to a conceptual framework that examines a range of possible theories for establishing genuinely reciprocal and meaningful relationships, the thesis understands embracing research subjectivity as a site of possibility, because self-awareness of one's own position is a key step in enabling people to use their skill sets, experiences, knowledge bases, and resources to the best of their abilities and in respectful and reciprocal ways.

The overall conclusion of the thesis is that a self-reflexive critical interdisciplinary approach that brings marginalized voices into conversation with diverse bodies of literature in equal and mutually enriching ways has the potential to equip outsiders to support communities. In applying such an approach, the thesis demonstrates the value of reconsidering basic

assumptions – such as who should even be considered a climate vulnerable person – and also makes visible alternative possibilities for proceeding in meaningful ways, through engaging with, amongst other things, the concepts of home and place.

Contents

Chapter One: An Introduction

Accelerated climate change is threatening the ongoing inhabitation of a diverse range of places worldwide, resulting in some people facing an immensely difficult challenge – that of adapting their cultures and communities following the loss of a place. While some of these adaptation measures will be undertaken purely by those most directly affected, others need to – and should – receive the support of outsiders. This thesis asks how an outsider might provide useful and culturally appropriate support for a people to adapt following the loss of a place due to climate change, and what conceptual tools might help cultivate and sustain meaningful working relationships for those who cannot immerse themselves in communities long term, but who nonetheless have the potential to become valuable allies.

The research was undertaken in response to the numerous and diverse scholars who have argued for the need for outsiders to provide such support, but who are continuing to grapple with the challenges associated with how to actually provide it (Arbon & Rigney, 2014; Crate, 2011; Mercer, Dominey-Howes, Kelman, & Lloyd, 2007; Steiner, 2015). Some of the main challenges they have identified include the complexity of climate change related issues as well as difficulties present in carrying out cross-cultural research (Arbon & Rigney, 2014; Crate, 2011; Lefale, 2010; Mercer et al., 2007)**.** While there is scholarship on how outsiders can provide useful support to a climate vulnerable people, much of it is focussed on long term immersion in a particular community in order to build relationships and to obtain a thorough understanding of the culture and community (for instance Arbon & Rigney, 2014; Datta, 2017). While long term immersion projects in particular communities can produce highly valuable work, relying on them alone places too much of a burden on them, especially as some of the climate change related issues that are arising are of immense scale, highly complex, and require urgent responses. As a result, there is a need for more scholarship directly aimed at those who are unable to immerse themselves long term in a community, but who nonetheless have the potential to become highly useful allies to a climate vulnerable people.

In order to fulfil the research aim, this project involved three main steps. The first step involved engaging deeply with the literature on the need for, and challenges in providing, support for such adaptation to occur. This provided important conceptual and theoretical

insights into the layers of challenges and possible ways forward. From this emerged three broad research questions. These were: What is a meaningful identity? What capacity does such an identity have to adapt and remain meaningful to its members? And finally, what broad conditions are required in order for that adaptation to occur (with a particular focus on outsiders' contributions to that adaptation)?

The second step involved identifying a case study that would allow exploration of these questions while also moving what has often been kept on the margins, to the centre. In this case, Tokelau and its people. Tokelau consists of three low-lying atolls in the Pacific and it is on the very frontline of climate change (Adger, Barnett, Chapin III, & Ellemor, 2011; Kempf & Hermann, 2014). Despite the imminent threat that climate change poses to its inhabitability, Tokelau and its people have thus far been marginalized in climate change discourses. Through selecting Tokelau as a case study, I sought not only to raise awareness of their dire situation, but also to gain insights relevant to my project through being (as a subjective and embodied researcher) in Tokelau – and through seeking to learn about cultural adaptation *from* Tokelauans. In order to seek these insights in a culturally appropriate manner, I undertook a small scale, multi-sited and collaborative project on Tokelauan weaving. The field sites were Nukunonu, Tokelau and Wellington, New Zealand. Field research methods included semi-structured individual and group interviews as well as participant observation. Methodologies used included autoethnography, multi-sited ethnography, global ethnography, and indigenous Pacific methodologies.

The third and final step in my research process was to find ways to bring what I had learnt from the field research into conversation with diverse theory in order to produce useful and culturally sensitive theory that responded to my three research questions. I achieved this primarily through deeply engaging with key ideas and arguments drawn from indigenous Pacific methodologies (such as L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). Through doing so, I gained not only a deeper understanding of the harm caused in the past by outsiders' failure to treat indigenous peoples as equal conversation partners, but also an ethical and theoretical framework to help begin addressing this issue. From there, I was able to use the remaining questions and insights from my field research to narrow down what bodies of literature were

most relevant – and appropriate – for me to engage with to address my research questions. The major bodies of literature I engaged with included transnationalism and migration studies, cosmopolitanism, feminism, Pacific studies, human geography and indigenous studies.

This thesis argues that the development and implementation of a critical interdisciplinary approach is useful for those wanting to provide support for climate vulnerable communities, particularly those who cannot immerse themselves long term in a community, but who nonetheless have valuable skills and resources that can – and should – be utilized to support those needing to adapt. My critical interdisciplinary approach is not only discussed in this thesis as a methodology, it is also demonstrated through the theories on cultural adaptation that I put forward.

Why Should Outsiders Provide Support to a Climate Vulnerable People?

There are two essential – and related – questions that need to be addressed from the very start of this thesis. These questions are: what is climate change? And why should outsiders provide material or other forms of support to a climate vulnerable people? To begin with the first question, 'climate change' refers to global warming and the impact this is having on the biosphere including rising sea levels, coastal erosion, soil salinization, and increased weather variability. Its effects on the world are wide-ranging and potentially devastating, and it is certainly one of the most significant issues of our times. In some instances, climate change impacts are so severe that entire countries are at risk of becoming uninhabitable, forcing their inhabitants to have to undertake the immensely difficult task of seeking homes elsewhere. What makes some peoples and places particularly vulnerable to the negative impacts of climate change is a complex topic, and one that is returned to in greater depth further on in this chapter. For now, I simply seek to highlight that some are much more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change than others.

One of the major reasons why outsiders should provide support to a climate vulnerable people can be revealed through discussing what actually causes accelerated climate change. For the most part, scientists agree that while climate change is a natural process, the speed at which

it is occurring is undeniably a result of human activities such as greenhouse gas emissions, animal agriculture, and deforestation (Cook et al., 2013; Oreskes, 2004; Steffen, Grinevald, Crutzen, & McNeill, 2011). Climate change is a highly complex phenomenon and thus it is immensely difficult, if not impossible, to prove that one or more nations are responsible for the major challenges that others are facing (Caney, 2005; Hulme, 2009). Nonetheless, there does appear to be an increasing acceptance that people and states worldwide bear responsibility for accelerated climate change and thus must take action to address it, including responding to issues that fall outside of their immediate national interests and concerns. Some scholars have in fact gone so far as to begin to refer to our current geological era as the Anthropocene, doing so in recognition of the profound influence that human activities are having on the earth and to indicate that humans have some responsibility to address it (Chakrabarty, 2009; Gibson-Graham, 2011; Steffen et al., 2011). The term 'Anthropocene' was proposed in 2002 by the Nobel Peace Prize winner Paul J. Crutzen. He won the prize for his research on atmospheric chemistry and stratospheric ozone depletion (Zalasiewicz, Williams, Haywood, & Ellis, 2011). Crutzen argued that human activities were having such a major impact on the earth that it was actually propelling the world into a new geological era (Steffen et al., 2011). Although the Anthropocene has not yet been deemed an official epoch, the term is being increasingly used to signal the fact that accelerated climate change is not an entirely natural process, and thus there are possibilities for us to influence it – and arguably a responsibility towards others to do so.

Additionally, the causes and impacts of climate change are global, rather than site-specific, and thus it is unreasonable, and unjust, to expect climate vulnerable people to rely on their resources alone to address the complex challenges they are facing. Outsiders should, when appropriate, provide diverse forms of support. Various climate vulnerable people have in fact sought diverse forms of support from outsiders in order to strengthen their responses to climate change. In some instances, they have made quite specific requests – such as Tokelau's government requesting funding from New Zealand, Tokelau's administrator, to help them make the transition to renewable sources of energy ("Tokelau Islands Shift," 2012). Their requests for support have come in less direct forms as well – such as encouraging people in other countries to change the ways in which they are living in this world in order to slow down climate change (McNamara & Farbotko, 2017; Steiner, 2015). Various and diverse outsiders

have also recognized the need to provide that support, and are actively seeking ways to utilize their diverse skill sets and resources to the best of their abilities (for instance Crate, 2011; Mercer et al., 2007; Steiner, 2015).

There is one last major reason why outsiders should provide support to a climate vulnerable people, and this is that through engaging with climate vulnerable people in mutually enriching and beneficial ways, outsiders could learn a great deal from them about how to respond to climate change – a point that a variety of scholars have already made (Kelman, Mercer, & Gaillard, 2012; Lazrus, 2012; Lefale, 2010; McNamara, 2013; Mercer et al., 2007). Scholars have, for instance, noticed that Pacific peoples have a long history of dealing with short-term environmental disasters which has led them to develop coping strategies, such as ways to more sustainably manage their resources (Adger et al., 2011; McNamara & Farbotko, 2017). Mercer et al. (2007) notes that during the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami – a disaster that scientists were not able to provide adequate warning for – an indigenous people managed to largely escape harm by referring to their oral history. As Mercer et al. (2007) explain, their oral history told them to head to higher ground if the ground shook for an unusually long period of time. In light of such benefits, many are now arguing for the need to refer to both indigenous and Western scientific knowledge to address climate change related issues (Arbon & Rigney, 2014; Datta, 2017; Lazrus, 2012; Mercer et al., 2007).

Why an Interdisciplinary Approach Is Useful for This Topic

Various scholars have compellingly argued that an Interdisciplinary approach is essential for the task of supporting adaptation due to climate change. What, though, is meant by interdisciplinarity? And what type of an interdisciplinary approach might be particularly useful for the task of supporting cultural adaptation following the loss of a place due to climate change?

It is often argued that to understand interdisciplinarity (within the Western intellectual tradition), it is first necessary to know the history of modern disciplines (Repko, Szostak, & Buchberger, 2017). This is because interdisciplinarity emerged in response to the limitations

of the disciplinary approach (Repko et al., 2017; Whimp, 2008). The emergence of modern-day disciplines is commonly linked to the enlightenment period, as this was a time of "massive expansion and specialization of knowledge" (Whimp, 2008, p. 401). This led to the development of separate academic fields, recognizing the impossibility of any one person knowing everything (Repko et al., 2017, pp. 27-28). Over time, new disciplines arose such as Anthropology and Political Science, and disciplinary boundaries became more solidified as they competed for resources (Repko et al., 2017; Whimp, 2008).

While disciplines have produced, and continue to produce, important research, they have also encountered significant criticisms. One such criticism is that overspecialization can result in overly narrow understandings of complex issues and topics (Crate, 2011; Hviding, 2003). As Repko et al. (2017) argue the "nature of a complex problem is that, like a diamond, it has many facets. Interdisciplinarity faults disciplinary specialization for its tendency to focus on a particular facet or component of a complex problem rather than addressing the problem comprehensively" (p. 54). This criticism is linked with overall concerns about disciplines capacities to cope with complex real-world problems such as climate change or immigration (Bhaskar, Frank, Høyer, Naess, & Parker, 2010; Hviding, 2003; Repko et al., 2017).

The emergence of Interdisciplinarity has been traced as far back as Plato (Whimp, 2008, p. 400) but is most commonly identified as gaining significant ground in the late twentieth century (Klein, 2010; Repko et al., 2017; Whimp, 2008). In the late twentieth century, conferences focussing specifically on the topic of interdisciplinarity were held and guide books were created that sought to define the term (Klein, 2010; Whimp, 2008). Journals such as *Interdisciplinary Studies* were established, and university programs with more interdisciplinary orientations were formed such as Cultural Studies and Environmental Studies (Repko et al., 2017, pp. 35-37).

Integration is often put forward as an essential component of any interdisciplinary approach; but how to integrate diverse sources of information, and to what extent that is even possible, is a major source of debate amongst interdisciplinarians (Gunn, 1992; Hviding, 2003; Klein, 2010; Repko et al., 2017). This debate relates to the distinction between what Klein (2010) has

referred to as instrumental and critical interdisciplinarity. In its most basic form, instrumental interdisciplinarity gathers information from a variety of relevant disciplines to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of an issue or topic, without significantly questioning the discipline-specific processes which led to the particular construction of that knowledge. Critical interdisciplinarity, on the other hand, is aware and critical of the very production of knowledge as well as its outcomes. As Klein (2010) states, critical interdisciplinarity "interrogates the dominant structures of knowledge and education with the aim of transforming them, raising questions of value and purpose silent in *Instrumental ID*" (italics in original, p. 23). This approach can involve changing how we frame an issue – such as what and who we prioritize (Gunn, 1992; Klein, 2010). Those who have been previously marginalized can be brought to the fore. It should be noted, however, that scholars have argued that instrumental and critical interdisciplinarity are best understood as existing on a spectrum (Klein, 2010; Repko et al., 2017). As Repko et al. (2017) argue, on "one end is instrumental interdisciplinarity, which sees interdisciplinarity as a way to solve complex practical problems; on the other end is critical interdisciplinarity, which sees interdisciplinarity as a theoretical problem" (p. 76).

Overall, an interdisciplinary approach is highly useful for the task of supporting another culture's adaptation necessitated by climate change. One of the major reasons why this is the case is that issues related to climate change are immensely complex, and refuse to stay within the particular research domains of any one discipline or body of knowledge (Crate, 2011; Hulme, 2009; Mercer et al., 2007; Roy & Connell, 1991). It is thus essential to integrate findings from a variety of sources in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of climate change related issues and how best to respond to them (Lefale, 2010; Mercer et al., 2007).

I argue that a *critical* interdisciplinary approach is particularly useful for three main reasons. The first is that we are now in the Anthropocene and our research practices need to be responsive to, and reflective of, that change. As various scholars have argued, this new era is one typified by extreme weather events and increased demand on resources (Gillings & Hagan-Lawson, 2014; Steffen et al., 2011). In addition, scholars have noted that climate change is an extremely complex issue and people cannot hope to entirely comprehend the causes of climate change or to identify the best possible responses to it (Barnett, 2001; Hulme,

2009; Steffen et al., 2011). As a result, they can, as Barnett (2001) argues, feel paralysed – hindering them from taking much-needed action to address climate change. Scholars have nonetheless urged people to take action, and to do so in creative ways (Crate, 2011; Steiner, 2015). As we are facing conditions that are less than ideal, we need to respond creatively in order to perceive opportunities for going forward, even in dire circumstances. Critical interdisciplinarity is the best hope for going forward in the Anthropocene. It is a type of approach that generally encourages following leads where they take us, rather than being bound to a stringent framework or roadmap (Klein, 2010; Repko et al., 2017).

The second major reason a critical interdisciplinary approach is useful for this particular topic is the dynamic of being a non-indigenous scholar seeking to support the adaptation of (what are often) indigenous communities – and thus the need for researchers to be highly reflexive and careful about their research practices. In such a dynamic, there is a very real risk of absorbing indigenous knowledge into the more powerful Western intellectual traditions. This point has repeatedly been made by scholars who have indicated a wide range of damaging outcomes that can occur due to this dynamic, including: devaluing, marginalizing, and even at times entirely dismissing, indigenous knowledge and perspectives; the appropriation of indigenous knowledge; and the proposing (and application) of poorly thought out solutions to highly important and complex issues (Bravo, 2009; Datta, 2017; Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012; Kelman et al., 2012; L. T. Smith, 1999; Wesley-Smith, 2016). Indigenous peoples can also be quite distrustful of non-indigenous researchers due to both the negative experiences of colonisation and also on the basis of prior research experiences (Kaomea, 2001; Kelman et al., 2012; Lefale, 2010). Western educated researchers, in general, need to improve the ways in which they work in order to become better conversation partners, thus enabling them to provide more useful support to climate vulnerable people.

The third major reason why a critical interdisciplinary approach is useful relates to the important roles that culture can have in how people understand and respond to climate change. Scholars are increasingly recognizing that culture is deeply important when it comes to understanding and responding to climate change related issues – both the cultures of those who seek to provide support, and those who require it (Crate, 2011; Hulme, 2009; Lazrus, 2012; Mercer et al., 2007). Hulme (2009) has argued that the way we experience, interpret,

and respond to climate change is not straight forward, but rather deeply cultural. He argues that there can be considerable diversity amongst individuals – and even within communities – about what they think is happening, what they consider at stake, and subsequently, what solutions they put forward. And as Mercer et al. (2007) have argued, a major "limitation of the Westernized approach to the management of environmental hazards has been to treat human and natural systems as independent entities" (p. 248). Thus, in order to provide useful support to a climate vulnerable people, outsiders need to find ways to engage with diverse – and sometimes seemingly highly incompatible – sources of information – in productive and respectful ways.

A Point on Terminology: Pacific peoples

A key term used throughout this thesis is 'Pacific peoples', arising in relation to discussions on Pacific methodologies, Pacific transnationalism, and more. It is thus essential that before proceeding any further with this introduction, that I first briefly clarify what is meant by 'Pacific peoples', and why this term has been selected over an alternative, such as the more commonly used term 'Pacific Islanders'. This discussion is returned to in greater depth in Chapter Two.

To begin, it is first necessary to acknowledge the limitations of the term 'Pacific peoples' – including, as Teaiwa & Mallon (2005) point out, that it struggles to capture the immense diversity that can exist both between Pacific groups, and also within them. It is nonetheless a useful term for the purposes of this thesis. For one, as Spoonley (2001) argues, while the term recognizes the diversity within the group through using the plural of 'people', it also recognizes that there *are* important points of connection between these groups. For another, the term refers to the commonality that now derives from culture as opposed to place of birth. Many Pacific peoples are now born outside of the islands, yet still have deep attachments to them (Mackley-Crump, 2013; Spoonley, 2001). A major problem with the ways in which outsiders have discussed the fate of these climate vulnerable places is that they have focussed primarily – if not exclusively – on the inhabitants. In doing so, they have failed to recognize that the loss of one of these islands could have profound impacts on even those living elsewhere and this needs to change – thus the deliberate use of Pacific *Peoples* as opposed to Pacific *Islanders*.

Occasionally, the term Pacific Islanders is used in this thesis, but it is done so purely to indicate that I am only discussing those who normally reside on one of the Pacific islands.

Indigenous Pacific Methodologies and My Critical Interdisciplinary Approach

For the purposes of this thesis, I identify as a critical interdisciplinarian. In order to briefly outline my critical interdisciplinary approach, it is first necessary to discuss a body of literature that has strongly influenced its development – this is indigenous Pacific methodologies. In this section, I discuss the context from which these methodologies emerged. What were these methodologists responding to, and what did they in turn argue needed to change in the ways in which research about Pacific peoples was conducted? From there, I briefly outline my critical interdisciplinary approach and in doing so, indicate the major ways in which indigenous Pacific methodologies have influenced it.

I have chosen to refer to these methodologies as 'indigenous Pacific methodologies' for two core reasons. The first is to acknowledge the commonality they have with the broader field of indigenous methodologies. Susan A. Miller (2008), a Native American scholar, argues that all indigenous peoples share a set of worldviews which, when combined with the experiences of colonization, lead them to critique Western knowledge claims from similar perspectives. This commonality is reflected in the practice of some of the indigenous researchers working within the Pacific context choosing to leave 'Pacific' out of the titles of their scholarship. It is clear that indigenous methodologies acts as a unifying concept for work produced by an incredibly diverse range of people with their own particular histories, cultures, and aspirations (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009; L. T. Smith, 1999). Focussing on work produced by scholars from the Pacific is a strategy for engaging with methodologies which are generally more applicable to Tokelauans.

These methodologies began to emerge with the decolonization of the Pacific and the broader indigenous movements of the 1970s. With decolonization, indigenous people began to argue that colonization was also present in the ways that research about the Pacific had been conducted by outsiders. There is an extensive history of outsiders researching the Pacific,

starting with the very first European explorers, such as James Cook who was active in the region in the 1760s-70s (McFall-McCaffery, 2010). These outsiders wrote a vast amount about Pacific peoples and did so in quite damaging ways. One of the main problems was that these outsiders assumed that they could understand Pacific peoples' worlds without actually engaging in genuine dialogue with them (McFall-McCaffery, 2010; Whimp, 2008). These outsiders also often assumed that they were culturally superior to Pacific peoples (McFall-McCaffery, 2010; Nordström, 1991). In some of the worst cases, Pacific peoples, as well as indigenous people in general, have been represented by outsiders as both genetically and culturally inferior. They have been understood as a problem that needed to be fixed in order to live up to 'Western' standards (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). As Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) once famously stated: "'Research' is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (p. 1).

Indigenous Pacific methodologists have called for the decolonization of academia and knowledge institutions in general (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Teaiwa, 2004; Thaman, 2003). The most cited and notable of these is Linda Tuhiwai Smith and her well-known work *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999). This book is made up of two sections. In the first she delves into the history of Western research, with a particular focus on imperialism and colonialism. She argues that some of the dominant Western approaches to research have caused immense cultural damage to indigenous peoples. In light of this, she argues that it is of fundamental importance that more indigenous people engage in research and do so in ways that are culturally appropriate for them. She argues that there is a significant lack of indigenous researchers and that this needs to change in order to not only respond to the West, but also rediscover, enrich, and protect their own way of life. In the second part of her book, Smith puts forward suggestions as to what indigenous research might actually require.

Many of the scholars that have called for a decolonization of the academy have provided a nuanced understanding of what that might involve, one that goes well beyond the goal of attempting to reproduce a pre-colonial past. In one regard, these scholars have worked to show that Pacific peoples were not a blank slate prior to the arrival of Europeans. They have

demonstrated that Pacific peoples had their own research methods which had existed for thousands of years (L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). They have also acknowledged that our lives are now intermingled, as reflected in the fact that many Pacific scholars were educated in Western institutions and thus cannot entirely step outside of that frame (K. M. Teaiwa, 2004; Thaman, 2003). As Louis (2007) argues, for "Indigenous peoples, decolonizing research isn't about the total rejection of Western theory, research, or knowledge": instead it is about paying greater attention to indigenous people's concerns, thus fostering a more inclusive and respectful research environment (pp. 131-132). Therefore, they are not seeking to entirely return to the methodologies of the past; instead they are trying to figure out how to proceed in such a way that they can prevent the cultural devastation from continuing (L. T. Smith, 1999; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004; Vaioleti, 2006).

A key concern in indigenous Pacific methodologies is power and its use in research in ways that can either be harmful to the subjects, or contribute to positive change. Scholars commonly argue that researchers are not neutral or objective, as there is a tendency in some Western research to suggest, but instead are narrators of sorts (L. T. Smith, 1999; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004). For one, the researcher chooses how to thread the various bits of data together, and as such, chooses what to include or exclude, and thus what to prioritize. As Vaioleti (2006) argues, researchers gather data and then apply their own "sense-making stances" to it (p. 22). As some are more powerfully positioned to exert their opinions and agendas, this can detrimentally impact others' lives. Indigenous Pacific methodologists acknowledge that power is always present in research, but seek to have it used in ways that enhance the lives, and are geared towards the interests, of those whom the research is about (Kahakalau, 2004; Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006).

Over the past couple of decades, indigenous Pacific methodologies have been incorporated into research guidelines for a range of health, education, and government bodies (McFall-McCaffery, 2010). In New Zealand alone, there are numerous Pacific research guidelines that have been established. For one, in 2011 the University of Otago established research protocols for those wanting to learn from, and about, Pacific peoples (University of Otago, 2011). A further example is the Health Research Council of New Zealand, which has developed its own

set of protocols for conducting health-related research about Pacific peoples (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2014). The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs has also developed consultation guidelines to try to facilitate better communication between government bodies and the Pacific communities (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2006).

Indigenous Pacific methodologies are often also associated with the field of Pacific studies. In discussing Pacific studies, it is necessary to acknowledge its beginnings, as well as an important ideological shift that has occurred since then. According to Wesley-Smith (1995), the first to study the Pacific using an interdisciplinary and area-based approach were outsiders, such as Americans seeking to manage their interests in the region, who were not particularly interested in Pacific peoples' perspectives and goals. He argues that since then there has been a shift towards prioritizing Pacific peoples and their interests. Those working in this field today argue two key points. One is that the only way to remotely grasp the complexity of the life-worlds of Pacific peoples is through interdisciplinary research (Hviding, 2003; Wesley-Smith, 2016; Whimp, 2008). The other is that Pacific approaches to research, and perspectives/goals, have been marginalized in academia and other knowledge institutions, and this needs to change (Hviding, 2003; Suaalii-Sauni, 2008; Whimp, 2008). Pacific studies is still quite a young field, but it has gained ground worldwide: there are now courses in a range of nations, including New Zealand, Australia, Hawai'i, the United States and Japan.

In terms of content, indigenous Pacific methodologies have only been articulated into mainstream scholarship within the last fifty years. They are thus still very much in the process of being established, and there are significant debates about them, including questions surrounding whether or not non-indigenous researchers should ever actually be involved in this type of research (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). There is also a wide range of methodologies that fall under the umbrella of indigenous Pacific methodologies, such as *kaupapa Māori* and *talanoa*, and this reflects the diversity that exists amongst Pacific peoples. *Kaupapa Māori* is essentially research about Māori, carried out by Māori, and in ways that are culturally appropriate to Māori (George, 2010; L. T. Smith, 1999). *Talanoa*, which is linked with Tonga, involves a personal encounter during which people explore their different interpretations of the world and also their aspirations (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Suaalii-

Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Tecun, Hafoka, 'Ulu'ave, & 'Ulu'ave-Hafoka, 2018). It takes place, whenever possible, face to face, and requires attention not only to the words used, but also to gestures and silences (Vaioleti, 2006). Unlike *kaupapa Māori*, it can be, and has been, used in a variety of cultural contexts, including Tongan and Fijian (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006).

While there are diverse methodologies, they share some significant common ground, and this is acknowledged by the methodologists themselves. For instance, Nabobo-Baba (2008) has written about the Fijian *vanua* research framework and in doing so has acknowledged that it shares commonalities with *kaupapa Māori* research as well as other Pacific equivalents, such as the Tongan *kakala* framing. One of the commonalities he identifies is that they are all working towards decolonizing the academy. Furthermore, a major feature of these methodologies is an emphasis on a flexible process rather than on a quite structured and rigid approach to conducting research. This is apparent, for example, in the way they generally place considerable emphasis on respectful research practices. Indigenous Pacific methodologies involve quite a different approach to research than some of the more dominant Western methodologies. For one thing, they generally think of knowledge as partial – that it was obtained in particular circumstances, by subjective individuals, and thus cannot reveal an objective truth (George, 2010; L. T. Smith, 1999; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004). In connection with this, they are generally comfortable with plural – and at times conflicting – knowledges (L. T. Smith, 1999; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004). They also place significant emphasis on the cultivation and sustainment of culturally appropriate relationships when undertaking research. These relationships are expected to be present not only in the field but also during the writing process (Denzin et al., 2008; Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009). This differs significantly from some of the more dominant Western approaches, which often seek objectivity by placing their subjects at arm's length.

Indigenous Pacific methodologists commonly argue that the identity of the researcher contributes significantly not only to the conclusions drawn from the research, but also to the way in which the research is actually conducted. Individual characteristics of the researcher, such as age, gender and ethnicity, can have a profound impact on the research (Denzin et al.,

2008; George, 2010; Kahakalau, 2004; Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). This is a point that has also been raised by scholars working in other disciplines, such as ethnography, human geography, and more (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012; Haraway, 1988; Pink, 2001; Wolffram, 2013).

Indigenous Pacific methodologies are also concerned with how the researcher navigates and sustains their relationships with the communities they are seeking to learn from. Overall, it is essential that the research is implemented in a manner that is considered respectful from an indigenous point of view (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). This can involve a variety of components, but one of the common ones is that the community should be involved in formulating the research plan and contributing to the way it is implemented (Arbon & Rigney, 2014; L. T. Smith, 1999). In connection with this, the researcher should be accountable to the community (Arbon & Rigney, 2014; L. T. Smith, 1999). Reciprocity is also a key feature in these methodologies: as people have given their time and knowledge to participate, they should also benefit from the research. It should never be a case in which the researcher, or researchers, simply takes from the community without giving anything of value in return. They commonly argue that research should enhance the lives of those that it is about (Kahakalau, 2004; Vaioleti, 2006).

The core issues that indigenous Pacific methodologists were responding to, and the methodologies they subsequently put forward, have significantly shaped the development, and subsequent implementation, of my critical interdisciplinary approach. For the remainder of this section, I discuss the key ways that indigenous Pacific methodologies have shaped my critical interdisciplinary approach. I return to this topic in much greater depth in the following chapter where I use my research journey to further expand upon what this approach involves, as well as the reasoning behind it.

Overall, a key way in which indigenous Pacific methodologists have shaped my work is through helping me come to understand the importance of moving what is on the margins to the centre, as well as providing some of the key tools needed to do so. Various Indigenous Pacific methodologists have compellingly argued that Western-educated researchers have often not

treated indigenous peoples' knowledge as equal in value as their own, which is to the detriment not only of indigenous peoples, but also of outsiders who could learn a great deal from them (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). It is essential that Western-educated researchers work towards mutually enriching conversation partnerships, and at least part of that work needs to occur through concentrated efforts at addressing power imbalances in the way knowledge is made and engaged with, and by whom. There are various steps that could be used to start addressing these power imbalances, with two of the key ones that I have used involving seeking to learn as much as possible about the indigenous people/s that are a part of the research and also actively striving to learn *from* them.

This learning both about, and from, an indigenous people has been emphasized and enacted throughout my research journey. In terms of learning about, I have striven to be well informed about Pacific peoples, their ways of conducting research, and their responses to climate change. More specifically, I have consulted diverse resources to be as informed about Tokelau and Tokelauans as possible. This has included engaging with more traditional sources such as journal articles and books, but also with more alternative sources, such as documentaries, songs, and meeting with key knowledge holders. I have also striven to stay constantly aware of the danger of my Western educated framework for missing, or misinterpreting, indigenous perspectives and voices, and have striven throughout to retain an awareness of the limits to which I can understand the worldviews of others.

It has not only been a case of learning more about Tokelauans, or Pacific peoples in general, though – it has also been a case of learning *from*. There are two main ways that I have incorporated this second point into my work, one of which is my approach to the field research. Throughout the field research, I strove to always occupy the role of receptive listener. In other words, I strove to be as open and receptive to learning about Tokelauan ways of knowing and being as possible, within the constraints of my project. A second major way that I incorporated this into my work was through using the questions and insights that had arisen during the field research not only to help narrow down the fields of literature required in order to create theories that responded to my three questions on cultural adaptation, but also to enrich and elaborate those theories.

A further and related way that indigenous Pacific methodologists have shaped my critical interdisciplinary approach is through impressing upon me the importance of creating – and sustaining – mutually enriching and beneficial research relationships throughout the entire research process, as well as providing me with some of the key tools needed for achieving that. Various methodologists have demonstrated that research is not a culture free act, and that considerable care and attention needs to be paid not only to how the research is carried out, but also to how the final products impact people (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). In order to fulfil this goal, I have found two principles often referred to in indigenous Pacific methodologies key to my work – these are respect and reciprocity (Kahakalau, 2004; L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). Respect is essentially about striving to ensure that all stages of the research are carried out in ways that are respectful from an indigenous point of view. Reciprocity is about ensuring that everyone that participated in the project gains from it. How exactly I applied these two principles in my own project is discussed in considerable depth in the following chapter.

There is one last major – and related – way that indigenous Pacific methodologists have shaped my critical interdisciplinary approach; this is through the arguments that many have made about the importance of recognizing the profound impacts that researcher subjectivity can have on research. Indigenous Pacific methodologies commonly argue that the way we carry out research is always impacted by our particular circumstances, as well as who we are (or are interpreted as) and who we are importantly connected to (Denzin et al., 2008; L. T. Smith, 1999; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004). Through engaging with these methodologies, I have come to understand my subjectivity as the site from which I can put forward theories that have the potential to help people adapt following the loss of a place due to climate change. I cannot, nor can any person, provide complete and objective solutions to the immensely complex issues that we are facing. What I can do, though, is utilize my particular skill sets, relationships, access to resources, and experiences, to the best of my abilities to support climate vulnerable people in addressing the incredibly complex challenges they are facing. It should be noted though, that while embracing subjectivity can be a useful tool for taking action, it needs to be undertaken in conjunction with the various practices that help support the development and sustainment of mutually enriching research relationships. In other words, the forms of support

that outsiders put forward for climate vulnerable people need to be informed by mutually enriching research relationships, otherwise it is likely that they will be inappropriate, and potentially quite harmful for the very people we are trying to support.

Autoethnography as a Key Tool for Researching and Writing

Before moving on to provide some essential background information on the Tokelau part of my research process, it is first necessary to discuss an additional body of methodologies that has informed my approach to both researching and writing. This is autoethnography, a research approach that involves using personal experience in a scholarly and systematic manner to gain valuable insights into a wider cultural or social phenomenon (Boyd, 2008; Denshire, 2014; Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011).

Autoethnography can take a variety of forms, depending on the specific needs of the project, as well as the preferences of the researcher (Anderson, 2006; Boyd, 2008; Denshire, 2014; Ellis et al., 2011), thus what is discussed here are purely some of the common features of autoethnographic approaches that have been useful for my project. Through discussing these features, I demonstrate that autoethnography bears some significant points of broad commonality with indigenous Pacific methodologies. As a result, autoethnographic methods can be utilized to fulfil some of the indigenous Pacific methodologists' recommendations on how to research and write about other people and places with the respect and care needed.

Autoethnographers commonly argue that research should be undertaken with the aim of improving the world we are living in (Denshire, 2014; Ellis et al., 2011; Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Like indigenous Pacific methodologies (such as L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006), they can be quite critical of master narratives and research that is presented as objective and culture free (Boyd, 2008; Denshire, 2014; Ellis et al., 2011). Instead, they understand research as produced by people with their own agendas, opinions, and specific circumstances, that can – to varying extents – influence the research (Boyd, 2008; Denshire, 2014; Ellis et al., 2011). In connection with this point, and again like many indigenous Pacific methodologists, they commonly argue that some people are more powerfully positioned to express their worldviews and agendas

than others (Denshire, 2014; Ellis et al., 2011). In light of this, autoethnographers often pay significant attention to how they gather data, as well as the ethics of sharing their research (Denshire, 2014; Ellis, 2007; Ellis et al., 2011).

Autoethnographic accounts are used throughout this thesis for several purposes, one of which is to provide the tools for embracing and acknowledging my subjectivity at all stages of the work. As various indigenous Pacific methodologists have pointed out, Western frameworks can be dangerously prone to losing sight of the fact that research is always produced by specific people working in particular circumstances (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). Autoethnographic accounts can remind the author, as well as the reader, of the limits of research, and the potential ways in which researcher subjectivity can impact upon the results. Some of the key ways in which my subjectivity is actively acknowledged in this thesis include discussions on my personal and professional background, my own concept of a meaningful life, and some of the ways that field research participants interpreted me, and how that in turn influenced the research (as discussed particularly over the course of Chapters Two and Three).

Autoethnographic accounts are also used in this thesis as a tool for addressing power inequalities between myself and Tokelauans. In dominant Western approaches, the presence of the researcher is often removed from the research results. As autoethnographer Denshire (2014) argues, it is important to make researchers' presence visible in the research results as it disrupts power dynamics through implicating us in the research and blurring the line between self and other. Some of the stories I share in this thesis are quite personal and place me in a quite vulnerable position as I cannot control how I am interpreted by the reader, nor can I respond to any criticisms they may have. While this might be uncomfortable for me personally, it is a necessary move as I am one of the more powerfully positioned people in regards to this research project, and thus it is important to quite deliberately disrupt power dynamics through making myself vulnerable.

A third and final reason why autoethnography has proven a useful tool for the purposes of this thesis is that my particular experiences carrying out this project are a useful source of

insights for other researchers to learn from. While it is valuable to theorize the challenges associated with providing support to climate vulnerable people, and to broadly theorize how to overcome them, there is very little scholarship on what that might actually look like in practice. What are the more specific issues that can arise and how might we overcome them? Thus, my personal experiences, when used in conjunction with relevant literature, can provide valuable insights into this dimension of the work as well.

Before leaving autoethnography behind, there is one final valuable point to make and this is that autoethnographic accounts are not intended as perfect accounts of events, but rather as providing intellectually useful insights into a topic**.** As Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011) argue, autoethnographers often recognize that memory is not entirely reliable and that there can be multiple – and conflicting – versions of the same event**.** These authors argue that the accounts are not represented as objective truths but rather as interpretations of past events that can provide worthwhile insights into a topic. These authors suggest that stories should not be judged on whether they are 100 percent accurate or true representations of events, but rather on standards such as on the author's "credibility", and what the story actually *does* to the reader (p. 282). They state that the most significant questions for "autoethnographers are: who reads our work, how are they affected by it, and how does it keep a conversation going?" (p. 284). In regards to my own work, this has meant, amongst other things, writing ethnographic accounts that are not intended as perfect truths, but which help illuminate a particular component of my argument.

Climate Change Vulnerability

A key term used in determining who is most endangered due to accelerated climate change is 'vulnerability', a highly debated and contested term (Füssel & Klein, 2006; Kelly & Adger, 2000; O'Brien, Eriksen, Nygaard, & Schjolden, 2007). It is a debated term, in part, because people are coming from different disciplinary backgrounds, and thus can have different priorities and viewpoints. It is also debated due to the need to cover a wide range of scenarios – places experience climate change in different ways, and respond in their own unique ways (Barnett & Waters, 2016; Hulme, 2009). Vulnerability has also been shown to be a political term – not just who *is* vulnerable, but who has *contributed to* that vulnerability, such as through the

unequal distribution of wealth and historical injustices like colonisation, and what responsibility they might thus bear to help those adversely affected by it (Eriksen, Nightingale, & Eakin, 2015).

The definition of vulnerability most useful for the purposes of this thesis is derived from Barnett and Waters (2016). One of the reasons for choosing this definition is in recognition of the importance of context specificity – their definition relates specifically to SIDS (Small Island Developing States), of which Tokelau is one. These authors present vulnerability "as susceptibility to harm from shocks" and argue that it should also be understood as "about risks *to* development" (emphasis in original, p. 732). They note, for instance, that because some of these islands are very small, one cyclone alone can cause immense harm (p. 732).

What makes Barnett and Waters' (2016) argument particularly interesting is that they are quite critical of some of the dominant ways of framing vulnerability in relation to SIDS, noting that these definitions do not take into account the diversity amongst SIDS. Some, for instance, are much more economically stable than others and thus are better placed to respond to climate change related issues. These authors also argue that dominant definitions fail to account for the adaptive capacities of SIDS, such as a long history of dealing with adverse environmental events. These authors claim that vulnerability "is best understood from an island-centred perspective where historical, cultural, and social contexts (as well as physical and economic) are central to small island development models" (p. 732). Thus, it is not purely about how climate change impacts SIDS environments, but also their *particular* – and context specific – capacities to respond effectively to it.

Tokelauans as Valuable Conversation Partners

> So often the global media victimizes the Pacific Islands, and portrays us as helplessly succumbing to climate change and the rising seas. But the global media know nothing of who we really are, or how it feels to live on these paradise islands we call home…We are not drowning, we are fighting. (350 Pacific, n.d.-c, para. 1)
>
> *Mikaele Maiava, Tokelau's Spokesperson for 350 Pacific.*

One of the places frequently referred to as on the very frontline of climate change is Tokelau (Adger et al., 2011; Kempf & Hermann, 2014). Like some other climate vulnerable Pacific peoples, Tokelau's people are often represented as passive in the face of climate change (Barnett & Adger, 2003; Farbotko, 2010; Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012). While Tokelauans are undeniably a climate vulnerable people, they are not *passive* in the face of climate change. Instead, Tokelauans should be understood, and treated for what they are – valuable, albeit thus far underutilized – conversation partners. Tokelauans have their own ways of understanding and responding to climate change which not only have the potential to be highly valuable tools in enabling them to respond effectively to the complex challenges they are facing, but also have the potential to provide outsiders with considerable insights into how to powerfully and effectively respond to climate change.

In this section, I make a case for understanding – and treating – Tokelauans as both crucial knowledge holders, and valuable conversation partners. In order to make this argument, I undertake three main steps. Firstly, I very briefly introduce Tokelau and its people, returning to this topic in much greater depth throughout the thesis. This introduction to Tokelau is important for two main reasons, one of which is that, while Tokelau is frequently referred to as on the very frontline of climate change, the place, and its peoples, are not widely known. The second reason is that this discussion provides an opportunity for me to signal very early on in the thesis that Tokelauans are an adaptive and resilient people. Following this discussion, I use Barnett and Waters' (2016) conceptualisation of climate vulnerability to briefly discuss the major climate change related challenges that Tokelau and its people are facing. Through doing so, I demonstrate that Tokelauans are not only disproportionally affected by climate change, they are also disadvantaged in their capacities to respond to it. In light of this – and due to the fact that the causes and impacts of climate change are global, rather than site specific – outsiders should provide Tokelauans, when appropriate, with diverse forms of support to empower them to respond to climate change effectively and in ways that also align with their perspectives and values. Finally, I discuss some key examples of Tokelauans answering back to climate change in ways that not only harness their ways of knowing and being in this world, but also set powerful and inspirational examples to others about how to respond effectively to the causes and impacts of accelerated climate change.

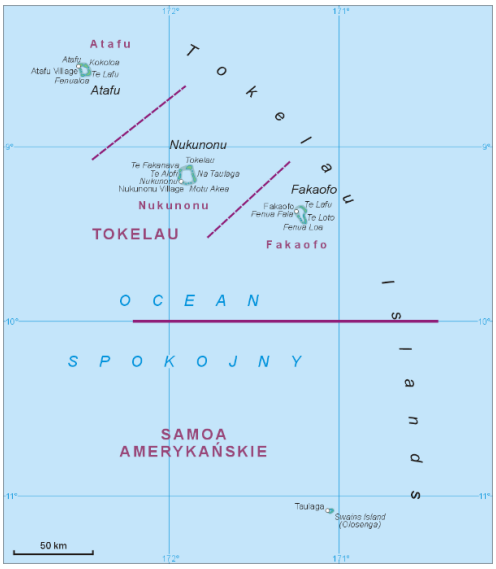

Figure 1: Map of Tokelau. File: Tokelau Islands.png *by Aotearoa, licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tokelau_Islands.png*

Tokelau is located roughly midway between New Zealand and Hawai'i and is made up of three tropical coral atolls: Nukunonu, Fakaofo and Atafu (Figure 1). There is also a fourth atoll, Olohega (Swains Island), which Tokelauans claim should be considered part of Tokelau but is currently American territory (Kupa, 2009). The total land area of Tokelau is about 12 km^2, admittedly a small land mass. However, those that live there often understand themselves as being connected to both the land and the sea and Tokelau's fisheries zone is a grand 290,000 km^2 (Hoëm, 2004).

According to the 2011 census, there are about 1,400 people living across the three atolls, 65.6 percent of whom identify as full Tokelauans, while another 19.3 percent identify as part-Tokelauan (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Tokelauans are Polynesian and mainly speak Tokelauan, followed by English (which is taught as a second language), and then Samoan (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Culturally, Tokelauans share significant commonalities with Tuvaluans, while linguistically they bear similarities to Samoans (Hoëm, 1993; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Ono & Addison, 2009). While Tokelauans do share commonalities with other Pacific peoples, they are also culturally distinct. Some of their cultural values include an emphasis on family and community, as well as adherence to various forms of Christianity (Huntsman, 2017; Wessen, Hooper, Huntsman, Prior, & Salmond, 1992).

While the number of Tokelauans living on the islands is fairly small, there are many more Tokelauans living overseas. Tokelauans have New Zealand citizenship and one of the major diasporas is in fact in New Zealand. At the time of the 2013 census there were 7,176 Tokelauans residing in New Zealand, many of whom were born there (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). The majority of these Tokelauans are living in the greater Wellington area (Huntsman, 2017; Mallon, Kupa, & Kirifi, 2003). New Zealand Tokelauans are known for exhibiting a strong cultural identity, and have their own festivals, sport clubs, early childhood centres, church branches, cultural associations and more (Boardman, 1979; Green, 1998; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Wessen et al., 1992). Some of these have been established with the help of outsiders, while others have primarily been formed by Tokelauans themselves (Boardman, 1979; Leckie & Kelti 1993/2018; Wessen et al., 1992)**.** Essentially, many Tokelauans have found ways to feel that they belong in New Zealand specifically as *Tokelauans*.

What kind of relationship, if any, do Tokelauans in New Zealand and on the islands have with each other? Could those in the diaspora also be significantly impacted by the loss of Tokelau? In order to address these two questions, it has been essential to engage with mobility literature in general, and literature on Pacific mobility more specifically. Overall, mobility literature can provide valuable insights into the ways in which ideas, people, and objects travel, as well as the various economic, cultural, political and social factors that can shape that mobility (such as Burawoy et al., 2000; Epstein, Fahey, & Kenway, 2013; Hau'ofa, 1994). Within scholarship on Pacific mobility more specifically, various terms have been used to frame the ways in which Pacific peoples both move, and retain relationships with specific places and communities, such as circular migration and transnationalism (Bonnemaison, 1985; Borovnik, 2009; Lee & Francis, 2009; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009).

What, then, is the most appropriate way to conceptualise Tokelauan mobility? I, along with others, have found transnationalism the most useful term for understanding Tokelauan ways of being and moving in this world (Hoëm, 2009; Mallon et al., 2003). The exact meaning of transnationalism, and a more in-depth discussion of why Tokelauans should be considered transnationalists, is undertaken over the course of Chapters Two and Three. For now, I seek

only to provide a basic overview of my argument. One key reason why Tokelauans should be considered transnationalists is because they often have strong attachments and allegiances to more than one country. Those in the diaspora, for instance, can often feel quite strong attachments both to New Zealand, and to the islands (Hoëm, 2009; Kalolo, 2007; Wessen et al., 1992). Thus, in order to continue to feel at home in the world they need to retain meaningful and on-going relationships with more than one place. As I will demonstrate in this thesis, on-going and reciprocal relationships also commonly take place between those based in New Zealand and those on the islands, and this is a feature often ascribed specifically to transnationalism (Lee & Francis, 2009; Wessen et al., 1992).

In turning now to examine Tokelau's climate vulnerability, a preliminary point must be made. While Tokelau is frequently reported as on the frontline of climate change, thus far there has been minimal academic exploration into how climate change is impacting Tokelau's environment, and what political, cultural, social, and economic factors might be exacerbating the issue. There has been a tendency to focus instead on other islands in this region, such as Kiribati and Tuvalu (Farbotko, 2005; Mortreux & Barnett, 2009; Stratford, Farbotko, and Lazrus, 2013). While more research needs to be conducted on how climate change is affecting Tokelau, there is considerable evidence available to suggest that climate change is already having a substantial impact on the inhabitability of Tokelau.

In terms of environmental concerns, one of the major challenges Tokelauans are facing is sea level rise, as Tokelau is only five metres above sea level at its highest (Figure 2), has a small total land mass, and is quite densely inhabited (Huntsman, 2017; Kupa, 2009). Due to these factors, there are very limited opportunities for Tokelauans to adapt to sea level rise through migrating internally. This problem is shared with other places such as Tuvalu and Kiribati, and is part of the reason why many scientists are now claiming that the atoll islands of the South Pacific are the places that are in the most immediate danger (Adger et al., 2011; Henry & Jeffery, 2008).

Figure 2: Nukunonu's height above sea level, Nukunonu, 2012.[1]

While sea level rise is undoubtedly a major issue for Tokelau, it is not the only way in which its natural environment is particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. For one, enhanced climatic variability is posing some major challenges to the ongoing inhabitation of these islands. Tokelau is situated in a region prone to extreme climatic variability and in the last decade there have been several major incidents, such as Cyclone Percy which struck on the 25th of February, 2005. This was a Category 3 to 4 cyclone that sustained winds of up to 249 kilometres per hour (Laurence & Hill, 2005). This cyclone substantially damaged Tokelau's water supply, crops, infrastructure and more (Laurence & Hill, 2005). The cyclone was followed in 2011 by such a severe drought that Tokelau declared a state of emergency and drinking water had to be shipped in from American Samoa (McCully, 2011). Tokelau, like many other Pacific atolls such as Kiribati and the Marshall Islands, has quite limited access to fresh water (Barnett, 2001). Mika Perez (n.d.), Tokelau's director of Economic Development, Natural Resources and Environment (EDNRE), notes that in general the country's water supply has been compromised due to increased periods of warm weather accompanied by a lack of rain. Tokelau's food supply is also threatened by climate change. Tokelau has quite limited species diversity, including, amongst other things, pandanus, fruit, fish, seafood, pigs and chickens (Hoëm, 2004; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). As Perez (n.d.), argues, climate change is posing some major challenges to these resources through impacts such as coastal erosion, soil salinization, storm surges, sea level rises, and coral bleaching.

[1] In line with the 6th edition of the APA style guide, I have excluded the name of the author from the caption in the instances where I am the photographer.

As Barnett and Waters (2016) have argued, climate vulnerability is not simply about how climate change impacts a particular natural environment. It is also about the capacity of those affected by it to mitigate or adapt to it. Tokelau's economic situation is one major factor that could significantly impact upon their ability to respond effectively to climate change. Adapting to climate change is often quite expensive and Tokelau does not have the financial resources required for it. Some of the main sources of revenue for Tokelau are postage stamps, domain names, and licensing fees for foreign vessels to fish in their exclusive economic zone (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Tokelau is not financially self-sufficient, though, and in fact is heavily reliant on both remittances supplied by Tokelauans living overseas, and also financial assistance provided by countries such as Australia and New Zealand (Hooper, 2008; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Wessen et al., 1992). This reliance on external funding could pose a major challenge for Tokelau in the future, as doubts have previously been raised about aid donors continuing to invest in the development of places that are expected to become uninhabitable soon (Barnett & Adger, 2003; Connell, 2003).

A further factor that has – at times – hindered Tokelau's ability to respond effectively to climate change is its political status as a non-self-governing territory of New Zealand. As various scholars have demonstrated, climate vulnerable Pacific peoples have encountered some major issues in having their perspectives and goals listened to – and acted upon – by outsiders (Bravo, 2009; Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012). Tokelau's political status has the potential to make it even harder for Tokelauans to have their viewpoints, and desired outcomes, heard – and responded to – by outsiders. Tokelauans have a fairly high degree of autonomy over life on the islands; however, as a non-self-governing territory their international influence is somewhat curtailed. For one, Tokelau is unable to join some quite important organizations. Tokelau has obtained the right to participate fully in regional organizations such as the Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) and the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environmental Programme (SPREP) (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-c). However, as Aliki Faipule Salesio Lui Ulu (2013), the former titular head of Tokelau, has argued, Tokelau's political status has also prevented it from becoming a member of the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) and the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS).

While Tokelau is undeniably vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, Tokelauans are not *passive* in the face of this threat. Instead Tokelauans should be understood as crucial knowledge holders and valuable conversation partners. They should be framed as crucial knowledge holders in the sense that any proposed solution specifically directed at Tokelauans needs to have their perspectives and priorities at the very heart of it. Tokelauans do not need outsiders to tell them what is best for them; rather, they need to be empowered and supported in order to be able to effectively respond to climate change, and to do so in ways that align with their priorities and perspectives. Thus, Tokelauans need to be understood and treated as crucial knowledge holders. There are also clear examples of Tokelauans setting powerful examples to the world about how to respond to climate change, which is why they should also be understood as valuable conversation partners.

For the remainder of this section, I discuss several key examples of Tokelauans responding to climate change powerfully, and, through doing so, further emphasize not only that Tokelauans need to be empowered to make the best decisions for their own futures, but also that there is a great deal that outsiders could learn from Tokelauans about responding effectively and powerfully to climate change. One powerful – and reasonably well known – example of Tokelauans responding strongly to climate change occurred in 2012 when Tokelau became the first entirely solar powered territory in the world ("Tokelau Islands Shift," 2012; Weissbach & Walker, 2015). The Ongoing Government for Tokelau utilised funding provided by New Zealand – its administrator – to help transition away from diesel power ("Tokelau Islands Shift," 2012). Switching to solar power improved the quality of daily life on the islands (such as through providing a more reliable power supply), and it also functioned as an important message to the rest of the world about what was possible in the battle against climate change (350 Pacific, n.d.-c; Weissbach & Walker, 2015). The late Foua Toloa, who is credited with being a major force behind Tokelau becoming solar powered (Weissbach & Walker, 2015), clearly understood the project's function as a message to the rest of the world about what could be achieved in the battle against climate change. Foua Toloa stated:

> If a small country like Tokelau can actually succeed in actively meeting its obligations in terms of greenhouse gas emissions per person, you know, it's very small, it's too

> small to make any significant contribution to the greenhouse gas emission of the world. But see, little by little, if everyone contributes, makes an effort to contribute to the decreasing terms of greenhouse gas emissions – what a world that would be. (Weissbach & Walker, 2015)

Tokelauans have also demonstrated a willingness to engage with both traditional ecological knowledge, and more modern Western scientific knowledge, in order to improve upon their responses to accelerated climate change. This point is clearly demonstrated in Tokelau's major strategy plan for responding to climate change – *Living with Change: Enhancing the Resilience of Tokelau to Climate Change and Related Hazards, 2017 – 2030* (P.F Lefale, Faiva, & Anderson, 2017). This plan focuses on both mitigating climate change and adapting to it. The authors state that overall "the vision of LivC is for Tokelau to become **a vibrant, innovative, climate-resilient and ready nation with healthy ecosystems, communities, and an economy that are all resilient in the face of change**" (bolded in original, p. 3). Within this document, considerable emphasis is placed on both recognizing the importance of what they have referred to as traditional ecological knowledge, *and* the value of more Western scientific knowledge (such as solar power), in the battle against climate change.

A further example of Tokelauans demonstrating how to powerfully respond to climate change can be seen in their involvement in the non-governmental organisation, 350 Pacific. This organisation identifies itself as a "youth led grassroots network working with communities to fight climate change from the Pacific Islands" (350 Pacific, n.d.-b, para. 1). Through 350 Pacific, Tokelauans have participated in events such as the Warrior Day of Action which took place on March 2nd 2013 (350 Pacific, n.d.-a) (Figure 3). On that day, people across fourteen Pacific Islands performed dances, songs, and warrior challenges, which were broadcast to the world via various media in order to send a message – that they were standing together, as warriors, to take on climate change (350 Pacific, n.d.-a; "Pacific Warriors Campaign," 2013). More specifically, they pushed their powerful motto of "we are not drowning, we are fighting" ("Pacific Warriors Campaign," 2013). Tokelauans have been involved in other events through 350 Pacific as well, such as a protest that occurred at a port in Newcastle, Australia, in 2014. As McNamara and Farbotko (2017) explain, those associated with 350 Pacific, along with hundreds of local Australian residents, used traditional canoes and kayaks to try and block the

passage of coal ships in and out of the world's largest coal port (p. 21). As McNamara & Farbotko (2017) argue, this protest was a way of speaking out against the fossil fuel industry and the negative environmental impact it was having on their homelands.

Figure 3: Warrior Day of Action 2013, Nukunonu. Tokelau Warriors: We are not drowning. We are fighting *by 350.org, and licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0. Retrieved from https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/d1c31b07-c2bc-4f41-b728-8ff9fc17dbf6*

Tokelauans have also striven to raise awareness of their vulnerability, and the value of their culture, through their involvement in the Water is Rising Project. This project was produced by Judy Mitoma, who at the time was the Director of the UCLA Center for Intercultural Performance (Steiner, 2015). As Steiner (2015) notes, 36 performers from Tuvalu, Kiribati and Tokelau, travelled around 14 US cities, carrying out performances with the intention of raising awareness of their cultures and the danger that climate change was posing to their homelands. Steiner argues that, dressed in examples of their islands' material culture, these islanders communicated their powerful messages via song and dance, and in doing so, brought a more human side to the topic – something that she argues was missing from the more scientific orientated discussions about climate change. She argues that in doing so, the performers also pushed for others to take action – in this case, those attending the shows.

Throughout this section, I have striven to show that while Tokelauans are undeniably a climate vulnerable people, they are far from passive and helpless victims of climate change that need to be saved by Westerners. In fact, Tokelauans should be understood both as crucial

knowledge holders and as valuable – albeit thus far underutilized – conversation partners. This particular conceptualisation of Tokelauans heavily informs this thesis, and more specifically, the ways in which I have developed, and subsequently implemented, my critical interdisciplinary approach. Tokelauans are conversation partners, rather than a people that need to be saved.

The Field Research Project

In this section, I provide some essential background information on the field research part of my project, returning to this topic in much greater depth in the next chapter. I begin here by discussing how my three broad questions on cultural adaptation were turned into a concrete and context specific line of enquiry, as well as the two main approaches that I used to carry out this part of my research. This line of enquiry was Tokelauan belonging and identity, which was selected not only because Tokelauans are a climate vulnerable people, but also because they are a people that have repeatedly demonstrated how a community can adapt to new social contexts without losing their sense of identity. There are, after all, many more Tokelauans living in New Zealand than on the islands, and there is considerable evidence that demonstrates that Tokelauan culture and identity is reasonably strong in New Zealand (such as Huntsman, 2017; Kele-Faiva, 2010; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Wessen et al., 1992).

One of the key approaches that I took to gathering insights relevant to my line of enquiry involved seeking to learn as much as possible about Tokelauan identity and belonging, both in New Zealand and on the islands, in quite a direct manner. This involved, for one, quite extensive engagement with a wide range of resources that provided insights useful to my topic. These resources included both academic scholarship, as well as more alternative sources like documentaries and songs. Tokelau, and its people, are not a heavily researched area and Tokelauan culture is also largely oral-based. Due to the quite limited available research on Tokelau, I also interviewed experts on Tokelauan identity and belonging that I had identified both on my own, as well as those recommended by Tokelauans and non-Tokelauans.

The other key approach that I took to gaining insights into Tokelauan identity and belonging involved a small-scale, collaborative, and multi-sited field research project based around Tokelauan weaving that took place in Wellington, New Zealand, and Nukunonu, Tokelau. There are two key reasons why I chose to use weaving to gain additional insights into Tokelauan identity and belonging, one of which is that it aligned well with the ethical and theoretical orientation of my overall project, a point that is discussed in considerable depth in the following chapter. The second reason why I chose to research weaving is because various scholars have demonstrated that researching material culture can provide important insights into the creation, sustainment, and expression of cultural identity (Horan, 2017; Huntsman, 2017; Mallon et al., 2003). Such scholarship reveals that exploring topics such as type and use of materials, the process behind making items such as a *toki* (hafted adze) (Mallon et al., 2003), or a *tivaivai* (quilted mat) (Futter-Puati & Maua-Hodges, 2019; Horan, 2017), and how and why these items are used, as well as how they have been adapted to new social contexts, can provide valuable insights into identity, as well as what is needed in order for a people to go on in ways that they consider meaningful. As I will show in this thesis, Tokelauan weaving – at its best – can involve an entire community, and at times *communities* (as seen particularly in Chapters Five and Six).

These were, broadly, the ways in which I converted my three research questions into something more context specific and tangible, but what did my small-scale, collaborative and multi-sited ethnographic project on Tokelauan weaving actually involve? Basically, it began by seeking to build upon a documentary called *Te To'kie i Nukunonu: An Introduction to Tokelau Weaving* (2011), hereinafter referred to simply as *Te To'kie i Nukunonu*. This documentary covered the basics of weaving, including processing weaving materials, and weaving a mat. It also included *fatele* (action songs) and prayer. The documentary was a collaborative project involving both Tokelauans and non-Tokelauans, and was partially funded by Creative New Zealand, the major state funding body for the arts (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Wolffram, 2011). The documentary was made by members of a Tokelauan community in Wellington (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Wolffram, 2011).

One of the key reasons for selecting this documentary as a starting point was that it came with the possibility of developing a research partnership with a Tokelauan woman called Kalameli

Teinawho Ihaia Alewhohio, or Meli for short. She had a major role in the documentary, including, amongst other things, undertaking research and presenting in it (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Wolffram, 2011). Meli agreed to work with me to build on the documentary. We began by undertaking further research on weaving in Wellington, and then travelled to Nukunonu together to learn more about this topic. Nukunonu was selected as the second field site because atoll affiliations can be of considerable importance to Tokelauans and weaving is the specific cultural treasure of Nukunonu – as opposed to Tokelau as a whole (Huntsman, 2017; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Together, Meli and I used our complementary skills to build on the project. Research methods included participant observation and semi-structured group and individual interviews. Snowballing was the primary technique used to identify research participants. For the field research, we spent four weeks in Nukunonu and five in Wellington and it was conducted during the second half of 2012. The information sought on weaving included the following: Tokelauan weaving and the differences and similarities in weaving between the two communities – including information on how, where, and why people weave; what materials are used, why, and how they are acquired; how, where, and why people use woven items; conditions required for weaving to occur – such as time, place, and space; and who helps provide those conditions and why.

The field research project was carried out in both English and Tokelauan, depending on the needs of the particular scenario. Many Tokelauans in New Zealand were born there and in fact many more there speak English than Tokelauan (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). In regards to Tokelau, English is one of its official languages and in the 2011 census 59.2 percent of those living on the islands identified as able to speak the language (Statistics New Zealand, 2012, p. 24). Thus, a reasonably high proportion of my participants were fluent in English and in these instances, engagements were conducted in English and consent forms and information sheets were provided in English as well. Participants who were not fluent in English, or who simply preferred to speak in Tokelauan, were provided with information sheets and consent forms in Tokelauan, and translators were used. Consent was also given orally when deemed more appropriate (such as in Nukunonu). Meetings with the *fatupaepae* (which are discussed in the next chapter) were conducted in both Tokelauan and English.

I chose to undertake semi-structured interviews for two key reasons. One was that a semi-structured approach allowed for sensitivity during the interviews. This was important to my approach as I wanted to be cautious about how I engaged with Tokelauans, and respect indications – those that were obvious, as well as those less clear – that particular topics might not be appropriate for me to pursue. This approach enabled me to, for instance, arrive at the conclusion that asking directly about climate change was not appropriate, a point that is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Three. The second reason why using semi-structured interviews was useful is because it provided some freedom to follow the conversation where it went, rather than being bound to a specific set of questions. If I wanted to learn more from Tokelauans, I had to be willing to engage with them properly, and this meant enabling them to shape the interview process.

I also used ethnography to gain further insights into Tokelauan belonging and identity. This was an important research tool as it enabled me to take into account both the pre-reflexive and reflexive actions of Tokelauans. This is important for several reasons, including that what people say they do, and why, does not always correspond with their actions. I met, for instance, people during the research who claimed to have nothing to do with weaving at all, but who I would discover later made important contributions to weaving in less direct ways, such as helping to transport the handicrafts. Furthermore, there is valuable information that can be gained through observing people's activities. By using ethnography, I was able to gain additional insights into my three research questions through paying attention to such things as how people use their bodies and why. How do people sit while weaving and for how long? How are weaving materials used? What are the physical conditions in which they are weaving, such as noise, temperature, and space? How are handicrafts used and by whom? Ethnography is also typically a less intrusive approach than some other methods, as it involves seeking opportunities to observe and participate in activities that would have taken place regardless of whether or not a researcher was present.

A fusion of multi-sited and global ethnography has also informed my approach to the research through providing me with the necessary tools for taking into account Tokelauan ways of being and moving in this world. Multi-sited ethnography was first conceived of by Marcus (1995),

who argued that a single-sited approach had significant limitations when it came to conducting research in a globalized world. He argued that to try and overcome these limitations, the ethnographer should follow their subject of inquiry wherever it takes them. He claimed that this was a research approach that could take "unexpected trajectories" (p. 96). Global ethnography is a methodology first introduced by Burawoy et al. (2000) and, as Epstein et al. (2013) argue, includes "three axes of globalisation: global forces, connections and imaginations" (p. 471). Gille and Ó Riain (2002) claim that 'global forces' refers to such developments as capitalism that affect people worldwide, albeit in different ways, and which many can only hope to adapt to, rather than eradicate completely. They suggest that 'global connections' refers to those that are able to take advantage of this globalized world, in ways such as engaging in transnational economic activities. Finally, they argue that 'global imaginations' is about people contesting what counts as local, national, and global, and what sorts of relationships exist between these different spheres.

My approach to the field research part of my project has involved striving to balance dwelling with travelling, perceiving both states of being as informative and important. Ethnographic research has tended to focus on being in place, with minimal attention paid to considerations such as how people actually get there. A variety of scholars have argued for the importance of travel as a site of intellectual inquiry. They have considered such topics as why some people are able to travel, and others are not; different modes of travel; and the social interactions that occur while travelling (Adler, 1989; Epstein et al., 2013; Williams, 2007). For my own project, travel has featured in a variety of ways, such as examining what is involved in transporting pandanus from Nukunonu to New Zealand, and what the implications are of this flow. Tokelauans are also a highly mobile people; thus, it has been useful to think about how they travel and why. I have also not only considered the physical transportation of people and objects, but also ideas that travel via the internet, and imaginations that stretch – such as someone imagining a faraway community. I argue that the focus on dwelling and travelling needs to be carefully balanced as there is a risk that in a globalized world, we can come to overlook the particularities of place. Visweswaran (1994) has argued that as the lines between "here" and "there" blur, we need to be careful not to jump straight from "the local to the translocal" (p. 111). It has thus been important to acknowledge the particularities of place by

seeking information on topics such as a place's particular history, politics, culture and environment.

In this section, I discussed how I converted my three research questions into a context specific and tangible line of enquiry that could provide the useful insights needed for me to be able to theorize cultural adaptation more broadly. This line of enquiry was Tokelauan identity and belonging and it was pursued via two main approaches. One of these approaches was quite direct and involved engaging with diverse sources to learn as much about this topic as possible. The other approach was less direct and more nuanced, using weaving to gain valuable insights into this topic in ways that aligned with the ethical and theoretical orientation of my overall project. A much more in-depth discussion of the field research is carried out in the following chapter.

Contributions to the *Fields*

In addressing this component of the thesis, an important preliminary point needs to be made and this is that my project contributes to the *fields*, rather than a single field. The challenges that people are encountering adapting their cultures and communities following the loss of a place due to climate change are highly complex and refuse to stay within the confines of any one particular discipline, thus an interdisciplinary approach is important (Crate, 2011; Hulme, 2009; Mercer et al., 2007; Roy & Connell, 1991). Furthermore, both the desire to provide support, as well as the need for more guidance in how to do so, have been expressed by scholars working in diverse disciplines (such as McNamara, 2017; Mercer et al., 2007; Steiner 2015). Thus, my project can valuably contribute to a range of academic settings and conversations.

The major contribution that this thesis makes to the fields is the development, and subsequent implementation, of a critical interdisciplinary approach that can help guide outsiders in providing appropriate forms of support to a people faced with the profoundly important, and immensely complex, challenge of adapting their cultures and communities following the loss of a place due to climate change. The approach put forward is particularly useful for outsiders

who are unable to immerse themselves long term in a community in order to gain strong relationships and deep understandings of the people they wish to support, but who nonetheless have the potential to be highly useful allies. The task of adapting following the loss of a place due to climate change is complex, immensely important, and, in some instances, in urgent need of response (Barnett, 2001; Henry & Jeffrey, 2008; McAdam, 2010; Tabucanon & Opeskin, 2011). As a result, there is a need for allies with diverse skill sets, knowledge bases, and circumstances in which to take action, to help support those most directly affected by climate change to go on in ways that they consider meaningful.

The critical interdisciplinary approach that I propose in this thesis adds to an emerging, but underdeveloped, area of enquiry into how outsiders might usefully support a people faced with having to find ways to go on meaningfully following the loss of a place due to climate change. It is emerging in the regard that there are some examples of projects involving indigenous and non-indigenous people working together to address climate change – or other environmental issues – in more productive and mutually enriching manners (for instance Arbon & Rigney, 2014; Datta, 2017). It is also emerging in the sense that there are methodologies being developed that recognize that we are now in the Anthropocene and thus must alter our research practices to account for these new conditions (such as Bhaskar et al., 2010; Gillings & Hagan-Lawson, 2014). It is still an underdeveloped area of research, and there is insufficient guidance available for outsiders who want to provide useful forms of support to those affected, but who are unable to immerse themselves long term in a particular community. My research helps address this gap in the literature.

The critical interdisciplinary approach that I argue for, and demonstrate, in this thesis, is one possible way of providing support to a climate vulnerable people. As various scholars have demonstrated, these issues are highly complex and there is no one perfect way to provide support to those affected by these issues (Crate, 2011; Mercer et al., 2007; Steiner, 2015). The approach that I put forward consists basically of guiding principles that other scholars can use somewhat flexibly in order to help them provide support in useful and appropriate ways, even when they are unable to immerse themselves long term in a community. Included in my approach is a strong focus on the creation and sustainment of mutually enriching research relationships at all stages of the work, as well as the importance of embracing researcher

subjectivity as the site from which researchers can use their specific skill sets, relationships, experiences, and resources, to provide – to the best of their abilities – useful forms of support to those faced with the challenge of going on meaningfully following the loss of a place due to climate change.

While the main contribution of this thesis is the critical interdisciplinary approach put forward, the journey to that approach has resulted in theories about home, place, and identity, that valuably contribute to discussions on how a people might continue to live in ways they consider meaningful following the loss of a place due to climate change, as well as what might be required in order for that to occur. While the theories put forward have the potential to be useful for supporting a wide range of climate vulnerable people's adaptation, they are particularly applicable to Pacific peoples. This is because my research was profoundly shaped by my engagement with indigenous Pacific methodologies, as well as my field research on Tokelau.

Thesis Chapters Overview

The main aim of this thesis is to explore how outsiders might provide useful and culturally appropriate support to an indigenous people faced with the prospect of having to adapt following the loss of a place due to climate change, with a particular focus on those who are unable to immerse themselves long-term in a community to provide that support, but who nonetheless have the potential to be valuable allies. This thesis responds to various and diverse scholars that have recognized the need to provide such support, but who are continuing to grapple with the challenges of actually providing it.

The main outcome of this research is the development, and subsequent demonstration, of a critical interdisciplinary approach that can assist in guiding outsiders who are seeking to provide support. While this is the main outcome, a key feature of the critical interdisciplinary approach that I put forward involves treating a climate vulnerable people – in my case Tokelauans – as crucial knowledge holders and valuable conversation partners at all stages of the research process, including in our final products. In my case, the final products are the theories that I have developed in response to my three research questions. Thus, this thesis

also usefully contributes to discussions about cultural adaptation in the Anthropocene, as Tokelauan voices have thus far been largely marginalized in this context.

In Chapter One, I introduced the key claims of the thesis and argued for the significance of its interdisciplinary approach. As I have shown, issues related to climate change are often highly complex, and can exacerbate pre-existing issues, such as difficulties in undertaking cross-cultural communication, and a history of treating indigenous peoples as culturally and intellectually inferior to Westerners. In this chapter, I highlighted the overall value of critical interdisciplinary approaches for finding ways forward, and provided a brief outline of what the development of my own has involved, including a discussion on indigenous Pacific methodologies, the importance of autoethnography for helping me transfer my approach into the written form, the selection of Tokelau as a case study, and a brief discussion on the Tokelau part of my research.

Chapter Two builds upon themes introduced in Chapter One by taking an autoethnographic approach to sharing key parts of my research journey that have shaped the development of my critical interdisciplinary approach. This allows me to discuss in greater depth what my approach actually entails. Through engaging deeply with my experiences selecting, constructing, and carrying out the field research, as well as subsequently seeking ways to bring it into conversation with diverse bodies of literature in order to respond to my three research questions in mutually respectful and enriching ways, I show how extensively both indigenous Pacific methodologies and the Tokelau part of my project have shaped the approach I have put forward. This chapter also provides an opportunity to discuss key parts of Tokelau's history that support the case I make for including the Tokelauan diaspora in discussions about Tokelau's future, and how they might adapt following the loss of Tokelau.

Chapter Three addresses the task of bridging the development and the demonstration of my critical interdisciplinary approach. Through seeking to address my research question about the nature of a meaningful identity, I gained further insights into what my critical interdisciplinary approach involved. In particular, I obtained valuable insights into the challenges that can arise when seeking to deeply listen to, and be guided by, a community.

There are two key challenges that I focus on. One is researcher subjectivity, which can easily lead us to lose sight of the limits to our understanding of other worldviews. The other is the way that community politics can make the task of occupying the role of a receptive listener highly challenging. As I demonstrate in this chapter, while these issues can be somewhat mitigated, they cannot be entirely eradicated, and thus it is important to consider what happens when we must take action in a less-than-ideal world.

In Chapter Four, I use my critical interdisciplinary approach to develop, interrogate and theorize the concept of 'home'. In this chapter, I argue that 'home' can provide a variety of important functions for a people seeking to sustain their identity. In light of this, everyone should have access to at least one home. In recognition of home's importance, I explore the diverse forms that it can take, with the goal of showing possibilities for home to exist even in less-than-ideal circumstances. I use my conceptualization of home to help articulate what I had only been able to intuit during the field research, which is that Tokelauans have a wide range of homes, both in Tokelau and in New Zealand, thus showing that what I am arguing for has some real-world applicability.

In Chapter Five I use my critical interdisciplinary approach to identify and address a gap in key scholarship concerning loss of place in the Pacific. More specifically, I show that a place becoming uninhabitable can have practical implications – such as the loss of the material resources that supported a community's way of life – but it can also potentially deeply threaten an individual's, or community's, sense of identity and belonging. Through examining how Tokelauans – and to a lesser extent Pacific peoples – have found ways to maintain a sense of connection to their homeland as a specific and deeply meaningful place while living overseas, I not only indicate possibilities for going on in meaningful ways, but also identify some of the key features of the place that they are in that will need to be taken into consideration in order for that to occur. In order to make this argument, I discuss both Tokelauan and Pacific weaving in New Zealand.

In Chapter Six, I use my critical interdisciplinary approach to become more aware of how special a resource *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* is, both in terms of its content and also the type of

collaboration involved in making it. In doing so, I show that there are real world examples of the type of collaboration I am arguing for in this thesis. In order to make this argument, I begin by identifying why Tokelau weaving is at risk, and thus the situation to which the documentary can be understood as a response. From there, I strive to show that this documentary not only preserved key information about weaving for current and future generations of Tokelauans, but also showed a people finding ways to maintain their culture and sense of identity while living away from Tokelau, and doing so with the material and practical support of outsiders.

Chapter Two: The Journey to My Critical Interdisciplinary Approach

Various and diverse scholars are seeking to provide useful support to climate vulnerable people, but are struggling with the question of how to provide it. They have identified various challenges, such as the complexity of climate change related issues, as well as difficulties in undertaking cross-cultural research (such as Arbon & Rigney, 2014; Crate, 2011; Lefale, 2010; Mercer et al., 2007). Ways to provide that support have yet to be found, and they need to be found urgently. Through a profoundly professionally – and in some regards personally – difficult research journey, I developed a critical interdisciplinary approach that has the potential to provide one useful way to provide that support. The approach that I developed is especially useful for those who cannot immerse themselves long term in a community but who nonetheless have the potential to provide useful forms of support to a climate vulnerable people. This approach is heavily informed both by indigenous Pacific methodologies and my experiences planning, and subsequently carrying out, the field research part of my project.

In this chapter, I tell the story of how that critical interdisciplinary approach emerged, arguing that understanding the process through which it developed in relation to the specific case of Tokelau is at least as important as what it actually entails in its application. The most appropriate conceptual and practical tools may vary from case to case, but the notion that researchers should be historically and culturally informed before they begin conversations with communities, and the notion that tools drawn from a range of disciplines should be considered in dealing with the highly complex issues facing climate vulnerable peoples, is broadly applicable. I begin by briefly engaging with some key parts of Tokelau's history that have shaped Tokelauan identity today, doing so primarily in order to provide valuable insights into why I constructed the field research in the way that I did. From there, I take an autoethnographic approach to sharing key parts of my research journey, including the construction and implementation of the field research, as well as my subsequent attempts at creating useful – and interdisciplinary – theories that responded to my three broad questions on cultural adaptation.

Tokelau: Tokelauans, Diaspora and Identity

In this section, I briefly engage with key parts of Tokelau's history that have significantly influenced the content and expression of Tokelauan identity today. This discussion is undertaken primarily to help make apparent why I constructed the field research project in the way that I did. Why did I, for instance, include members of the New Zealand diaspora as research participants? A more in-depth discussion of Tokelauan culture and identity is undertaken in the following chapter.

There are conflicting views as to when Tokelau was actually settled. There are often significant divergences between Western and Pacific versions of how and when Pacific islands were settled. According to Nunn (2003) Pacific peoples have a variety of origin myths, frequently involving a god or gods physically 'fishing up' or 'throwing down' the islands. Nunn also notes that some Pacific peoples have arrival stories, having migrated to that island from another one in the region. In contrast, Western accounts often rely on archaeological evidence to support their arguments about when these places were settled (Bedford, Spriggs, & Regenvanu, 2006; Burley, 1998).

Tokelau's situation is no less complex than other Pacific islands. There are various accounts of how Tokelauans originally came to inhabit these islands, such as a collection of stories that claim that Tokelau was settled either by people from Rarotonga, Nanumanga (part of Tuvalu), or Samoa (Huntsman & Hooper, 1973, 1996). However, Huntsman and Hooper (1996) argue that such accounts are not considered credible by Tokelauans. According to Tokelauans they were "'just there'" on the islands, rather than having migrated from somewhere else (p. 127). These authors also argue that while Tokelauans do have origin stories, each of these stories are based on an understanding of a distinct people on each atoll, rather than one people having populated all the atolls (pp. 127-128). According to archaeological evidence, Tokelau has had human inhabitants for at least 1,000 years (McQuarrie, 2007; Ono & Addison, 2009).

Historically, the people on each of the Tokelauan atolls understood themselves as distinct peoples, but over time a Tokelauan identity developed. How this began to occur is recorded

in the publication *Tokelau: A Historical Ethnography* by Judith Huntsman and Antony Hooper (1996). Because Tokelauan lore largely exists in oral traditions, this publication is highly important for providing scholars with access to these stories. Huntsman and Hooper have identified two stories that they consider key to the unification of these atolls. They refer to these stories as 'The Defeat of Nukunonu' and 'The Flight of Atafu' (p. 129). Collectively, these stories are referred to as "*tala o na taua a Tokelau* 'stories of Tokelau wars'" (p. 129). 'The Defeat of Nukunonu' is about a battle between Nukunonu and Fakaofo in which Fakaofo emerged as the victor. 'The Flight of Atafu' is about the people of Atafu fleeing upon seeing a massive group of fighters from Fakaofo come ashore. These people never returned and Atafu was later repopulated by Nukunonu and Fakaofo. Huntsman and Hooper note that both these stories reflect Fakaofo's desire at the time to dominate the other atolls, something which they managed to achieve. Huntsman and Hooper argue that these two stories are important for several reasons. One is that they show how the various atolls started to come together, and another is that they provide insights into the ongoing importance of atoll affiliations today.

Tokelau also had its own god, Tui Tokelau. There was an immense stone erected at Fakaofo for the purposes of worshipping this god (Huntsman, 2017; Kupa, 2009). During Fakaofo's rule, the other atolls had to provide annual offerings to this god, including handicrafts and food (Huntsman, 2017; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; MacGregor, 1937). There is little known about this god today but what is known is strongly associated with nature. As MacGregor (1937) argues, Tui Tokelau was believed to be responsible for Tokelau's food supply as well as its weather. He argues that Tokelauans provided such offerings in the hope that it would bring them good fortune. This argument is supported by Huntsman (2017) who states that Tui Tokelau "controlled the weather and the bounty of all natural things, especially the myriad fish of the sea, reef and lagoon, and was annually celebrated in Fakaofo with prayer and offerings" (p. 271). Tui Tokelau continues to feature (at least somewhat) in Tokelauan belief systems today (as reflected in 350.org, n.d.-a; Kupa, 2009).

Europeans came into contact with Tokelau during the 1800s, and this took place gradually and often unintentionally. Whalers and explorers stumbled across the atolls with Atafu the first to be 'discovered' and Fakaofo the last. It was not until 1835 that it was recognized by the

Western world that Tokelau was comprised of three atolls (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; McQuarrie, 2007). In the 1850s-60s various missionaries sought to convert the atolls. While these missionaries were successful in the sense that some form of Christianity has become the dominant religion on each of the atolls, their success was not entirely complete, nor were Tokelauans passive recipients of the religion. Like many other Pacific peoples, Tokelauans adapted Christianity to align with their beliefs and values (Bonnemaison, 1985; Hoëm, 2009; Steiner, 2015). This included a respect for elders, community unity, and obedience to parents (Countries and Their Cultures, n.d.). These days, ceremonies have both Christian and local components; for instance, weddings normally include prayer, food, games and entertainment (Countries and Their Cultures, n.d.; Huntsman, 2017). There have been other instances in which outsiders have significantly influenced Tokelauan culture and society as well, such as slavery. In 1863, Peruvians kidnapped almost half of Tokelau's population for slavery and it was mostly able-bodied men that were taken (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Maude, 1981). This profoundly impacted Tokelauan society, resulting in changes such as women taking on what were traditionally male jobs, and an influx of immigrants from a wide variety of backgrounds including Polynesian, European, Scottish and American (Huntsman & Hooper, 1973, 1996).

The final part of Tokelau's history that needs to be discussed concerns its governance by others. Tokelau, which at the time was known as the Union Islands, officially became a British protectorate in 1889 (Angelo, 1997). At the time, Britain was claiming islands that they had identified as possible sites for putting through a foreign telegram cable. However, this cable never ended up being put through Tokelau (McQuarrie, 2007). In 1910 Tokelau was included in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands protectorate in the hope of improving the chances for annual administrative visits to the group. However, transport remained an issue that hindered this (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; McQuarrie, 2007). In 1916, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands protectorate became a British colony (Angelo, 1997).

After World War One, New Zealand took over from Germany the administration of Samoa. The British decided that it made sense for New Zealand to also now administer Tokelau. New Zealand at first opposed this (Huntsman, 2017; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). In October 1923, New Zealand asked Britain to make Apia, Samoa, a port of entry to Tokelau in order to

facilitate New Zealand's trade with the islands, to which Britain agreed (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). In November 1924, New Zealand finally agreed to administer Tokelau, while Tokelau remained a British colony (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). In 1948, the name 'Union Islands' was replaced with Tokelau Islands/ Tokelau Island Dependency. Tokelau became a territory of New Zealand and Tokelauans gained New Zealand citizenship (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; McQuarrie, 2007). In 1964, Tokelau was also given the option of becoming associated with the Cook Islands or Western Samoa. They refused both options, preferring to stay in association with New Zealand (Hooper, 2008; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996).

Today, Tokelau is what the United Nations labels a 'non-self-governing territory'. Tokelau has an administrator, a New Zealand public servant who is selected by the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.-a). This administrator theoretically has a significant role to play in the governing of Tokelau's affairs. In practice, however, Tokelauans have a great deal of autonomy over the running of their country, in part due to steps that have been undertaken in collaboration with New Zealand to prepare Tokelau to one day become independent (Angelo, 1997; Hooper, 2008). Tokelau has faced international pressure to become independent, with two referendums on this issue held in 2006 and 2007, neither of which managed to obtain the two-thirds majority needed (Hoëm, 2009; Kalolo, 2007). Only those permanently based on the islands were allowed to vote in these referendums, a topic that is returned to in Chapter Three (Hoëm, 2009; Kalolo, 2007).

The head of Tokelau is referred to as Ulu-O-Tokelau and this position is rotated annually between the three *faipule* (the leaders of each atoll). Tokelau's Cabinet is referred to as the Council for the Ongoing Government of Tokelau. This organization consists of all the *faipule* and *pulenuku* (mayors) from the atolls and is based in Apia, Samoa (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-c). Tokelau's parliament is referred to as the General Fono and meets about three times a year (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-c). The General Fono consists of elected representatives from each of the three atolls and its responsibilities include overseeing Tokelau's budget ("Tokelau-Profile – Leaders," 2015).

On each atoll there is also a Council of Elders (also known as the *Tapulenga*) which is the main source of authority there. This Council is responsible for supervising the everyday management of the village and is also involved in international relations (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). In the past, the Council has typically consisted of male elders but more recently women have started to be included as well (Gasson, 2005; On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b). The *faipule* and *pulenuku* are also members of this council. Another major source of authority on the island is the *fatupaepae* or women's committee. Responsibilities of the *fatupaepae* include, amongst other things, ensuring that the village is kept tidy, filling weaving commissions, and encouraging economic development on the islands (Author's Field Research Notes, Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b).

But what about those that have left Tokelau? What about the diaspora? How is their sense of community and identity attached to Tokelau and the people who live there? In order to explore this, it is first necessary to return to the concept of Pacific peoples, beginning with a common way in which they have been represented by outsiders – as rooted in place in a really rigid and unchangeable manner. Malkki (1992) has explored, and compellingly challenged, this essentialized representation of Pacific peoples. She argues that there is a common concern amongst people about boundaries – that people, things, and cultural products need to remain where they belong. She claims that people often think of culture as existing in the "soil" of a place and that those labelled as "natives" are the ones assumed to have the strongest roots (p. 29). According to Malkki these "natives" are "heroized" for their assumed connection to place, while those in the "West" appear in a pathological state of rootlessness (p. 30). While many Pacific peoples do in fact have very deep relationships and attachments to specific places (Bennett, 2015; Bonnemaison, 1985; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009), this does not mean that they cannot explore the world, or even choose to permanently live elsewhere, without losing their identity and culture. Pacific peoples, as I will show throughout this thesis, have an immense capacity to adapt to new social contexts in order to carry on living lives that they consider meaningful.

To further develop the concept of Pacific peoples, and to tie into a much broader conversation, it is worth engaging with the frequently cited 'Our Sea of Islands' by Epeli Hau'ofa (1994). This

piece has been inspirational for many as it makes visible the long history of cooperative relationships between the various inhabitants of Pacific islands (for instance Jolly, 2007; Lee, 2009a; Steiner, 2015; Thaman, 2003). In this article, Hau'ofa argues that Pacific peoples historically moved between islands quite easily and frequently, doing so in pursuit of work, adventure, social occasions and more. He claims that Pacific people did not understand themselves as connected to *a* place, but rather to places. In addition, they saw themselves as connected not just to land, but also to the ocean – making the world they inhabited a large and diverse one.

Hau'ofa asserts that they perceived themselves as people in a "sea of islands" rather than the way that they are now commonly represented – as "islands in a far sea". This is an important distinction, as the former suggests a large and interconnected world, whereas the latter suggests a small, vulnerable, and quite isolated one. He also deliberately refers to this interconnected and expansive world as 'Oceania' rather than 'the Pacific Islands'. Hau'ofa argues that this mobility continues today, with Pacific people moving to acquire an education, assist family members, access work opportunities, and alleviate population pressures. He argues that Oceania has not dissolved; instead, it has expanded to include the major cities of the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

Like other Pacific peoples, Tokelauans have a significant history of out-migration, and thus it is important to consider what relationships they sever, and also which ones they retain – creating a rich web of peoples and places. As Kupa (2009) argues, prior to European contact, Tokelauans frequently travelled between different islands, using different types of *paopao* (outrigger canoes) to get there. Since then, Tokelauans have continued to migrate, and to places further afield such as Australia and the United States, enabled by advances in technology and transportation (Hoëm, 2004; Spoonley, 2001; Wessen et al., 1992). They have done so for reasons such as seeking further education, economic opportunities, and to reunite with family (Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, n.d.-b; Wessen et al., 1992).

In recent history, the most significant Tokelauan migration was to New Zealand. From about the 1960s onwards a substantial proportion of Tokelau's population migrated to New Zealand.

There are several reasons for this migration, including a major hurricane in 1966 that devastated the islands, a need for industrial workers in New Zealand, and the New Zealand government's concern that Tokelau was becoming overpopulated (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Kupa, 2009; Wessen et al., 1992). Tokelauans migrated through a variety of channels, including government programs and sponsorship by family already living in New Zealand (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Mallon et al., 2003; McQuarrie, 2007; Wessen et al., 1992).

The Tokelauan migration was in fact part of a larger Pacific migration to New Zealand. Beginning in the 1950s, and gaining momentum in the 1960s and 1970s, a substantial number of Pacific Islanders migrated to New Zealand, including Samoans, Tongans, Niueans, Cook Islanders, Tokelauans, Tuvaluans and Fijians (Buch, Milne, & Dickson, 2011; Mackley-Crump, 2013; Wessen et al., 1992). Pacific peoples who migrated to New Zealand did so through a variety of channels, came for similar reasons to one another, often ended up working alongside one another, and provided important social support networks for each other (Buch et al., 2011; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018).

Since the initial migration, the Pacific population in New Zealand has continued to grow. For some, including Cook Islanders, Niueans, and Tokelauans, the number residing in New Zealand now exceeds, often quite considerably, those still living in the origin societies. In the most recent census, the main groups in New Zealand were recorded as follows: European 74 percent, Maori 14.9 percent, Pacific peoples 7.4 percent, Asian 11.8 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). Statistics New Zealand's most recent population projection was undertaken in 2013 and it predicted that by 2038, New Zealand's Pacific population will have grown to constitute 10.2 percent of New Zealand's overall population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). Auckland is actually renowned for having the largest number of Polynesians living there out of any city in the world (Buch et al., 2011).

Pacific peoples did not, however, move to New Zealand and simply assimilate into the society; instead, they found ways to belong there while still retaining their culture and sense of identity. The formation of various groups, and the establishment of cultural events, have helped support Pacific peoples' wellbeing and culture in New Zealand since the very first

migration wave. Churches for one have played quite significant roles in supporting the development of Pacific communities in New Zealand. Some church branches, for instance, have specifically focussed on supporting particular ethnic groups, and have even held their services in the relevant native language (Boardman, 1979; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Walrond, 2005/2015). Church based groups have also provided diverse forms of support, such as financial schemes to enable Pacific peoples to purchase houses in New Zealand (Boardman, 1979; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Walrond, 2005/2015). There are numerous other formal and informal Pacific peoples' groups in New Zealand, such as weaving groups, sport clubs, and groups directed at the specific health needs and concerns of Pacific peoples (Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Walrond, 2005/2015).

The Pacific population has in fact become a major component of New Zealand's national identity. This is reflected in music, sport, art, fashion and more. Famous musicians include the likes of Che Fu and members of Fat Freddy's Drop and the Black Seeds. There are also events, such as the weekly market held in the Auckland suburb of Otara, which provides opportunities for Polynesian items to be sold (Buch et al., 2011). An additional example is Auckland's Pasifika Festival, which was first held in 1993 and is now an annual event (Buch et al., 2011; Mackley-Crump, 2013). This festival incorporates a diverse range of elements, including Pasifika arts and crafts, traditional foods, and ceremonies (Buch et al., 2011; Mackley-Crump, 2013).

Tokelauans in New Zealand now vastly outnumber those living on the islands, and they are well known for exhibiting a strong cultural identity there. At the time of the 2013 census, Tokelauans constituted the sixth largest Pacific group in the country, the vast majority of whom were born there (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). This identity can be somewhat different from on the islands, but nonetheless many feel that they belong in New Zealand *as* Tokelauans (Green, 1998; Kele-Faiva, 2010). A key value in Tokelauan culture is *māopoopo* (social unity) and this has been identified as an important contributing factor in their decisions to establish cultural associations, sports clubs, and festivals in New Zealand (Green, 1998; Walrond, 2005/2015). There are also early childhood centres in New Zealand where Tokelauan is spoken and connections with Tokelauan culture are fostered (Education Review Office,

2016; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018). Tokelauan is also spoken on some radio channels, such as Wellington Access Radio 106.1FM.

While it is clear that Tokelauans are a highly mobile population, what does that actually mean in regards to the loss of Tokelau? What sort of relationship, if any, exists between the Tokelauan diaspora and Tokelau itself? I, along with others (Hoëm, 2009; Mallon et al., 2003), argue that Tokelauans are transnationalists. This means, amongst other things, that Tokelauans have lives in more than one place, and attachments to more than one place. Scholars working on migration and transnationalism have noted that those who leave often continue to have strong connections with their homelands and frequently engage in reciprocal relationships with them (Lee & Francis, 2009; Macpherson, Spoonley, & Anae, 2001).

To start to obtain a deeper understanding of how these reciprocal relationships work, it is important to discuss the remitters, some of whom are temporary migrants, while others permanently live away from the islands. Like many others, Pacific peoples often move in pursuit of work opportunities (Spoonley, 2001; Wessen et al., 1992). They also often work with, or for, other family members. Spoonley (2001) argues that they do so for a variety of reasons, including skill levels and language problems. As Spoonley explains, these work networks are important in helping island economies, as remittance flows can represent up to half of the homeland's GDP (p. 87).

There is considerable literature that represents these home communities as having a significant drain upon the diaspora's material resources, and providing the diaspora with little of value in return (for instance Jayaraman, Choong & Kumar, 2011). As many scholars have noted, this is not an accurate portrayal of what is occurring as it misses the reciprocal component of these relationships (Alexeyeff, 2003; Borovnik, 2009). Hau'ofa (1994) has challenged such a representation, stating that economists:

> overlook the fact that for everything homelands relatives receive, they reciprocate with goods they themselves produce, by maintaining ancestral roots and lands for everyone, homes with warmed hearths for travellers to return to permanently or to

> strengthen their bonds, their souls, and their identities before they move on again. This is not dependence but interdependence – purportedly the essence of the global system. (p. 157)

As Hau'ofa indicates, those who stay behind can have important roles in maintaining ancestral roots and land possession, and in enabling those who return to the homeland to feel that they actually belong in the community. For Tokelauans, common cultural items that are sent to the diaspora include *tuluma* (fishing boxes), outriggers (model canoes), and handicrafts. Some of these items cannot be entirely made in New Zealand for reasons such as not being able to grow the material there (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Mallon et al., 2003). The Easter festival is perhaps the most striking example of the strength of the connections that exist between some of Tokelau's inhabitants and its diaspora. This festival is held every two years in New Zealand and involves sport, dance, cultural displays and much more (Hoëm, 2004; Walrond, 2005/2015). Thousands of Tokelauans from throughout the world come together for this festival, and in doing so, foster new relationships, and sustain pre-existing ones (Hoëm, 2004; Walrond, 2005/2015).

Such a reciprocal relationship is apparent in other Pacific groups as well. For example, there is a substantial number of merchant seafarers from Tuvalu and Kiribati working on international ships. As Borovnik (2009) explains, these seafarers send remittances to support their community back home and in return receive culturally meaningful material from them, such as newspapers. She notes that through their jobs, the seafarers play a key role in sustaining their homeland's economy, while those who have stayed behind help the seafarers retain their connections with their community.

The Tokelau part of my research necessarily engages with Tokelauans on the islands, as well as those overseas – and more specifically in New Zealand – doing so on the basis that these communities are inextricably linked. The loss of Tokelau has the potential to profoundly impact both those on the islands and those overseas; thus, any proposed solutions need to include the perspectives and goals of both communities. Furthermore, I take seriously the warning contained within Malkki's (1992) argument about the dangers of essentialising Pacific

peoples, and in doing so, failing to recognize that they are an adaptive people – that can, and do, make meaningful lives in other places than their homeland.

The Relationship to Self

A key part of preparing for, and carrying out, the field research involved deeply exploring whether or not I – as a particular subjective and embodied researcher – could undertake this research in a culturally appropriate and respectful manner. This was a multifaceted task as it was not simply about following Tokelauan behavioural norms in some sort of rigid and quite specific way, such as showing respect to elders as the key knowledge holders in Tokelauan society. It was also about listening deeply to what various indigenous Pacific methodologists' had argued about the ways in which who the researcher is – and/or is interpreted as – can influence the research process, as well as the strong emphasis these methodologists often place on carrying out research in ways that are deeply respectful and culturally appropriate from an indigenous point of view (L. T. Smith, 1999; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004; Vaioleti, 2006).

In this section of the chapter, I discuss several research activities that I undertook not only to determine if I could carry out this research in an appropriate manner, but also to support me in continuing to do so once the research had begun. I begin my discussion here with the first of these activities which involved deep self-reflexive work into the key personal and professional reasons why I wanted to carry out this particular research project. Questions that I considered here included: Why did I want to research loss of place due to climate change? Why did I want to learn from a Pacific people? And why – both professionally and personally – were some of the arguments made by indigenous Pacific methodologists so compelling to me? The key discoveries of this examination are shared here because they provide valuable insights into why I thought I could carry out this research with the respect and care required.

Many of my answers to these questions brought me back to an experience that had profoundly impacted my development as a scholar. This experience took place in 2007 and involved a student exchange to Samoa for six months. In order to communicate how profoundly my experiences in Western Samoa impacted upon my development as a scholar,

it is first necessary to introduce myself properly and how I came to study there. My name is Vicki Erin Flack and I am a New Zealander, born to second – and third – generation New Zealand Europeans. Up until age twenty-two, I lived almost exclusively in Dunedin, New Zealand, apart from a few years living in London, England. At that point in my life, I had a reasonable understanding of Polynesian cultures due in part to growing up in New Zealand and being educated in a schooling system that strived to be bicultural, at least in a basic kind of way. I had also been studying topics such as Pacific history and culture, belonging, place, multiculturalism, and identity as part of my Bachelor of Arts, majoring in art history and theory as well as political studies at the University of Otago. Following a couple of visits to Samoa, I decided that I wanted to study Pacific history and politics at their national university, not yet knowing that this would be an experience that would profoundly change me.

There are several reasons why Samoa was such a formative experience. One is that I engaged with a wider range of people, and in more diverse ways, than I had at my university in New Zealand. In Samoa, I was immersed in a different world, from the daily self-questioning about how far communal norms and rules should apply to my personal life, to an awareness of the substantially different university dynamics. Dunedin had, and still has, a quite homogenous population – more so than many other parts of the country. In the 2006 census, 78.7 percent of Dunedin's population identified as belonging to the European ethnic group, compared with just 67.6 percent for New Zealand overall (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.). Thus, while I was learning about others, I was not doing so experientially. It was theory, not practice, and always at a distance.

My experiences in Samoa were also highly embodied, and this too profoundly influenced my development as a scholar. As Seamon and Sowers (2008) note, humanistic geographers such as Edward Relph have compellingly argued that in order to really discuss and understand "sense of place", "place attachment" or "place identity", we first need to establish how people experience these in the lived world (p. 43). A considerable part of this understanding is obtained through embodied experiences such as paying attention to what our perceptual equipment is telling us about a place (Casey, 2001; Tuan, 1979; Woodyer & Geoghegan, 2013). Getting to know Samoa would include a variety of bodily experiences such as hand cramps,

island viruses, and learning to move slower in response to the overwhelming heat. These experiences revealed, upon later reflection, that my studies at university had been somewhat one-dimensional, and as such had failed to capture a decent glimpse of the complexity of place and its importance to people. My inability to gain a deeper understanding of place and how meaningful it can be to a people should not be understood as a failing on the part of the University of Otago, but rather a reflection of the limitations that can come with learning about places from a distance.

At the National University of Samoa (NUS) I studied Pacific history and politics. As part of my studies there, I learnt about Pacific research methodologies. The theoretical literature engaged with was significantly different from what I had encountered previously and made a valuable contribution to my development as a scholar. The importance of these methodologies was compounded by the dramatic difference between the classroom dynamics and what I had experienced at my previous university. What was often interesting was not so much the topic under debate, but the way in which the debate operated. Who spoke up? And who refused to, arguing that it was not their role within that society to do so? This all helped emphasize and articulate what I had only been able to intuit through my personal and everyday experiences.

Considering the reasons why I was drawn to researching this particular topic, as well as some of my past experiences that had the potential to help support me in appropriately undertaking it, was a useful move but it was far from the only task that I needed to undertake in order to determine if I should carry out this research. For one, as part of my self-examination, I also needed to consider what my physical appearance might symbolize to others and why that might be problematic. The element of most concern to me was that I was a non-indigenous researcher from New Zealand wanting to learn about climate change and loss of place, and more specifically, seeking to research a place where indigenous communities are on the frontline of climate change. What might it mean for a non-indigenous researcher from New Zealand to undertake this research? New Zealand is, after all, a country that was colonized, and I am a member of the colonizing society. Not only that, what did it mean to be from an industrialised developed country, one that has significantly contributed to climate change? It

was therefore crucial that I understood my positions of privilege within both colonial and climate change power dynamics, and acknowledge that it was not my 'home' that was on the frontline of climate change.

I also undertook extensive background research to establish – to the best of my ability – what type of experiences Tokelauans had previously had with non-indigenous researchers. I uncovered this information through engaging with a diverse range of resources on Tokelau and its people. There were not that many resources available and the geographical distribution of them was constrained. As a result, I undertook most of this research in New Zealand, where they were more heavily concentrated than in Sydney. The resources I engaged with included both the literary and the visual, and I also met with several people who had expertise on Tokelauans or on indigenous methodologies. These resources provided valuable insights, such as that Tokelauans had a long history of isolation and once colonized were often governed from afar (Angelo, 1997; Hooper, 2008; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). These resources also contained insights into Tokelauans' experiences engaging with non-indigenous researchers. Much of this literature reflected positive research relationships, including Tokelauans actually approaching non-indigenous researchers with a particular project in mind (Mallon et al., 2003; Pene, Peita, & Howden-Chapman, 2009; A. Thomas & Tuia, 1990).

Part of my self-examination also involved considering, as a researcher, what my particular weaknesses and strengths were in relation to this project. To begin with the major weaknesses, I was, and continue to identify as, a beginner in Tokelauan culture. Based on my experiences in Samoa I was aware that becoming acquainted with people and places takes a considerable amount of time, and I suspected that in this case it would take much longer than the time I could devote to it within the timeline of PhD fieldwork. I also knew that primary and secondary resources could only do so much to prepare me for this work: lived experiences could not be captured adequately by them. I also could not speak the language and there were no formal opportunities to learn. This is a problem, as some indigenous Pacific methodologists recommend that the researcher be fluent in the native language (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). Due to personal and material constraints I also could not make the type of commitment to these Tokelauan communities that often seemed to be advocated. Indigenous Pacific

methodologists often argue for a lifelong ongoing commitment (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). I was only able to spend roughly a month in each community and the field research was only intended as a small part of the overall project.

However, there were also strengths to my situation and abilities as a researcher. For one, I was a fully funded PhD candidate in an interdisciplinary program that sought to work towards social justice.[6] Academia can at times be quite an influential space, as there are often opportunities to disseminate information through conferences and publications, as well as to access funding to undertake research. Tokelauans are not particularly visible in academia, and the research on how this issue of climate change and inhabitability will affect them has been quite limited, despite the fact that they are often identified as amongst the most at risk of losing their homelands due to climate change (Adger et al., 2011; Kempf & Hermann, 2014). Not only that, I was in an interdisciplinary program, and for Pacific scholars this is highly important as they argue that the only way to appropriately research Pacific peoples is to do so in an interdisciplinary manner (Hviding, 2003; McFall-McCaffery, 2010; Whimp, 2008). The interdisciplinary program meant that I was constantly exposed to perspectives emanating from different disciplines. This program transferred universities mid-project, but what remained throughout was a belief in participatory, inclusive, and respectful dialogue with others. There were other strengths that I brought to the project as well, and these will be discussed in Chapter Six.

I also needed to explore whether or not I could actually conduct this research in a humble and respectful manner. If I did not feel this was possible then I would not pursue the project. Indigenous Pacific methodologists often emphasize the importance of humility in researchers and this is also reflected in their methodologies, such as the types of questions they suggest are appropriate to ask and recommendations they make for altering behaviour to take into consideration the age, rank, gender and so forth of the person that the researcher is seeking to learn from (Denzin et al., 2008; George, 2010; Louis, 2007; Vaioleti, 2006). To illustrate, in Vaioleti's (2006) discussion of *talanoa*, he refers to a variety of different research situations

[6] This was the Doctoral Program in Political and Social Thought, first homed at Western Sydney University, and then later at the Australian Catholic University under the new name of Doctoral Program in Social and Political Thought.

to show how the researcher would need to adjust their behaviour. These scenarios include visiting the sick and engaging with high-ranking members of the community.

Lily George (2010) is one indigenous Pacific methodologist with whom I have found common in regards to the self-reflexive work needed to humbly research other people and other places. She discusses her experiences seeking to respectfully research the people connected with the Awataha marae, located on Auckland's North Shore. At the beginning of her PhD, her *kaumātua* (tribal elders) suggested that she return to her *tūrangaewaewae* (standing place) in the Bay of Islands, located on the east coast of New Zealand. They suggested this to her on the basis that it was important for her to seek more information about her own *whakapapa* and *whānau* (family), and that "through grounding [her]self in the whakapapa of [her] own people" she could then respectfully seek to research the histories of other people and other places (p. 244). Essentially, she was seeking a culturally appropriate way to undertake the self-reflexive work needed to respectfully research others. She represents *whakapapa* as both context and method. According to George, *whakapapa* – which can be understood as history or genealogy – is about our relations to other people and other places (thus, context). To this she adds that *whakapapa* is also about learning from the experiences and wisdoms of ancestors and others (thus, method).

I do not claim to have the same type of attachment to places and people that Lily George has, but I do agree that it is important to undertake some self-reflexive work before seeking to learn about others. For me, the self-reflexive work began with reflecting back on the experiences in Samoa that had such a profound impact on my thoughts about home and a good life. I had not, however, visited Samoa with the intention of researching home and the potential loss of it. In light of this, I felt it was important that I also interrogate what home meant to me, as well as what it might mean to lose it. I arrived in New Zealand for fieldwork in July of 2012 and moved frequently, staying in a place for no longer than five weeks at any one time until I returned to Sydney in January of the next year. The places where I stayed during this time were Dunedin, Wellington, Auckland, Apia (Samoa) and Nukunonu. This movement was in part due to the needs of the project, but it was also partly to expose myself to the task of making and sustaining homes. I kept a blog during this time to think about

questions like, what did I think home was for me? And how did I try to establish and sustain it?

To further support my attempts to respectfully research this topic, there was an additional activity that I built into my research approach which involved ongoing conversations with Meli about home. The goal of this was to have both my personal and professional understandings of home enriched and complicated. In Wellington, this primarily took the form of Meli recalling her memories about life in Nukunonu, a place she had not been to in 36 years. Once in Nukunonu, we frequently compared life on the islands to New Zealand, noting, for instance, our feelings of homesickness. I also learnt a vast amount from Meli – in part through paying attention to what stood out to her during the field research. For example, in Nukunonu she noted such things as an ease of movement in her bones that made her eager to return to New Zealand to tell her doctor about the improvement. She also noticed changes on the island and considered whether or not she would ever want to return to Nukunonu after this trip.

Through these activities I was not trying to understand exactly what Tokelauans and other climate-vulnerable people were facing; rather, I was trying to catch a glimpse of what was at stake and to have that inform both my behaviour in the field and also my later theorizing. At the time this part of my approach was largely intuited, but later engagement with relevant scholarship confirmed that this was – overall – a valuable part of my approach. For one, various scholars have been critical of the way that emotion is often either marginalized, or entirely removed, from academic research (Wendt, 1975; Wesley-Smith, 2016). Pacific scholars Farrelly and Nabobo-Baba (2014), for instance, make a compelling case for the importance of intersubjective empathy in order to improve cross-cultural communication. They argue that emotions – and understanding them in an in-depth and culturally specific manner – has the potential to be an immensely valuable part of our research practices. They argue that intersubjective empathy can help address issues such as power imbalances between researcher and researched, reduce misrepresentations of a people, and overall result in more culturally respectful research practices. Steiner (2015) has argued that emotions can play key roles in encouraging others to take action in the fight against climate change, such as through humanizing the topic.

The self-reflexive work that went into the decision to undertake this research, and subsequently carrying it out, supported me in researching other people and places with the care and respect required, but it did come with some major limitations. There was a very real limit to the extent to which I could remotely grasp what it might mean to be part of a community that is facing the loss of their homeland due to climate change. For one, I knew I could always return home, and in that respect the practice was simply too structured and intentional. In many respects it was impossible to avoid this manufactured element, in part because of the restrictions that come with researching in a university environment – universities need to ensure the safety of their researchers and the research participants. As a result, they often require quite extensive detail about research plans well in advance, and can request adjustments to these plans if they are deemed risky.

There was, however, one experience during my fieldwork which truly challenged me, and through which I gained some important insights. This occurred while making our way back to New Zealand, having just finished data collection in Nukunonu. On the way, we ended up stranded in Samoa due to Cyclone Evan. For several days we were holed up in a concrete house with no water or electricity and listened to the constant thud of trees being uprooted every minute or so. The neighbouring suburb was evacuated due to flooding and the house in our direct line of sight collapsed. The river that ran alongside the house was overflowing, rain was coming in through the windows, and we did not even have a car in the driveway to suggest a possibility of escape. Unlike many others, we were lucky enough to be able to leave a few days later. I remember feeling relieved as we flew into Auckland and saw the calm waters of New Zealand below. Cyclone Evan was one of the worst cyclones Samoa has ever experienced and caused damages that equated to 30 percent of their GDP (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.). The cyclone was a force that disrupted research plans, delaying our return by several days, but also contributed to my thinking about the various impacts of environmental devastation in ways that careful planning could not.

Various indigenous Pacific methodologists have made compelling arguments about the influence of researcher subjectivity on research, as well as the need for researchers to deeply

consider whether or not they can carry out research in ways that are culturally appropriate and respectful from an indigenous point of view (George, 2010; L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). In this section of the chapter, I discussed key tasks that I undertook in order to not only determine if I could carry out the research appropriately, but also to support me in doing so once the research had begun. This deep – and ongoing – engagement with researcher subjectivity is in fact an essential part of providing support to those that need to adapt when facing the loss of a place due to climate change and is thus a key component of the critical interdisciplinary approach that I put forward later in this chapter.

Selecting Tokelauan Weaving as a Case Study

Through engaging with indigenous Pacific methodologies and undertaking quite an in-depth self-reflexive process, I managed to acquire sufficient evidence that I could undertake this research appropriately, and thus I began considering how and where to approach the task. It was essential that I find a way to intervene that aligned with the ethical and theoretical orientation of my overall project. There were two key dimensions to this. One was that I wanted to quite deliberately strive to disrupt power inequalities that were present between myself and Tokelauans through having the Tokelau part of my research not only provide valuable content for the theories that I would eventually put forward, but also heavily shape *how* I theorized. This dimension is discussed in depth in the final section of this chapter. The second, and related, dimension – and the one that this section of the chapter focusses on – involved the selection of a type of Tokelauan material culture to use as a conversation tool in order to learn about identity and belonging *from* Tokelauans. The type of material culture selected was Tokelauan weaving and the research itself involved working with Meli to build upon *Te To'kie i Nukunonu.*

There are several major reasons why researching Tokelauan weaving aligned well with the theoretical and ethical approach of my overall project, one of which is that it took seriously an argument often made by indigenous Pacific methodologists about the importance of using culturally appropriate communication tools when engaging with Pacific peoples. Indigenous Pacific methodologists commonly argue that people throughout the world use a variety of tools to communicate, including dance, art, photography, and oratory, and engaging with such

forms opens new possibilities and spaces for conversation (Kahakalau, 2004; K. M. Teaiwa, 2012; Vaioleti, 2006). As will become apparent throughout my discussion in this chapter, researching weaving enabled me to pursue insights into identity and belonging in ways that were culturally appropriate and nuanced.

An additional reason why I chose to research weaving is because there were clear signs that in doing so, my research could benefit not only my own interests, but Tokelauans' as well. Indigenous Pacific methodologists have often argued that research should improve people's lives, and researching weaving had the potential to do exactly that (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). From the very initial stages of this project, there were clear signs that weaving was an endangered heritage art. This point was reflected for instance in research commissioned by CNZ, the major state-owned funding organization for the arts. The research aimed to provide a general overview of how the various heritage arts were faring amongst the seven major Pacific communities of New Zealand. These seven communities were identified as Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Cook Island, Tuvaluan, Tokelauan and Niuean. CNZ commissioned this research in order to identify how they could improve their funding processes. The results of this research are detailed in the report *Health of Pacific Arts 2009: Research Summary Report* (2009). In this report, the heritage arts are divided into categories labelled "strengths", "weaknesses" and "challenges and opportunities" (p. 6). They were labelled this way in order to indicate what art forms were most in need of CNZ's support. Tokelauan weaving is identified as an area of "weakness" amongst the Tokelauan heritage arts. Although this summary did not specifically address why weaving was not faring well, overall difficulties with the funding application process were identified. The report also emphasized how reliant these communities were on the oral transmission of skills and meaning from generation to generation.

While there was sufficient evidence to show that weaving was an endangered practice, this alone was not enough to justify selecting weaving. I also needed evidence that weaving was still a meaningful practice and art form for Tokelauans themselves as I did not want to undertake research that had no purpose for the people it was about. With art there is always the risk of tokenism as cultural objects and cultural practices can, due to a variety of factors,

cease to function in a meaningful way for those concerned. As Iris Marion Young (2002) argues, it is not just about protecting what is important to us from careless neglect or accidental damage; it is also about keeping them meaningful to us. In order to achieve this, we have to interpret and reinterpret them to make them relevant to the particular context we are in. As she so nicely puts it, "when things and works are maintained against destruction, but not in the context of life activity, they become museum pieces" (p. 153). And, as the Pacific scholar Wendt (1976), has so eloquently put it, no culture 'is ever static and can be preserved (a favourite word with our colonisers and romantic elite brethren) like a stuffed gorilla in a museum" (p. 52). *Te To'kie i Nukunonu* provided evidence that Tokelauans still found weaving meaningful.

My preliminary research into how *Te To'kie i Nukunonu* was received by members of the Tokelauan communities, as well as my own analysis of this documentary, provided sufficient evidence that at least some Tokelauans cared about the on-going survival of Tokelauan weaving. For one, I encountered people who had watched the documentary multiple times and told me of others who had also enjoyed the film. I also repeatedly heard Tokelauans, particularly older ones, express their fears that the art of weaving would in effect go to the grave with them. As Meli herself has stated, weaving is the "Tokelau women's treasure" (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Thus, it was clear that at least some Tokelauans cared about the survival of weaving. There are also clear examples within the documentary that show that many of the Tokelauans involved in the project found it really worthwhile – a point that is returned to in Chapter Six.

While I had been able to determine that weaving was an endangered heritage art, and that at least some Tokelauans were seeking to ensure its survival into the future, this was not the end of the work that I needed to undertake to select weaving as the communication tool to use to learn more about Tokelauan identity and belonging. For one, I needed to also consider whether or not it was culturally appropriate for me, as a non-Tokelauan – and one that could not immerse themselves long term in a community, to research weaving at all. As a result of background research I had conducted, I had become aware that in the past particular information had been understood as belonging to particular families and thus was not to be

shared with outsiders – whether those outsiders were Tokelauan, or other, and this included information about weaving (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Mallon et al., 2003). Particular patterns, for example, can be thought of as a family treasure to be passed down from mother to daughter as a type of inheritance (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Wolffram, 2011). In addition, there are often concerns about sharing information with people from the other atolls (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Hoëm, 2004, Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). In recent years, the situation has altered somewhat, with Tokelauans generally demonstrating an increased willingness to disseminate cultural information more widely (as evident in Hooper, 2010; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Mallon et al., 2003). It does still require caution, though, as some people are more comfortable sharing than others and some information is particularly culturally sensitive.

Through undertaking some valuable background research into *Te To'kie i Nukunonu*, I was able to uncover evidence that showed that at least some members of the Wellington community were willing to share information about weaving, both with one another and also with the general public. This sharing of cultural information with outsiders is discussed in considerable depth in Chapter Six and thus my discussion here is brief. One example of Tokelauans being willing to share cultural information more widely is evident in the fact that Tokelauans from all of the atolls were invited to participate in the documentary, not just those from Nukunonu (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). The launch of the documentary was also open to anyone to attend and was advertised to the general public (Pahua, 2011). A further key indicator that Tokelauans involved were prepared to share information about weaving more widely, is reflected in details about the DVD itself, such as being available for general purchase and having English subtitles (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; On-Going Government of Tokelau, 2011b).

My engagement with these resources on weaving provided the insights needed to select weaving but I still needed to find a suitable project to build upon, and an appropriate person to collaborate with for the field research as well. I needed my work to build on a pre-existing and completed project due to the limited time I had available to conduct the field research, and thus the importance of quickly gaining entry into these communities and having a clear

purpose for being there. I needed to collaborate with a Tokelauan, or trusted non-Tokelauan, for the field research in order to align my approach to the field research with the theoretical and ethical framework of my overall project, a point that will become clearer as I proceed. *Te To'kie i Nukunonu* would provide the entry point of my research, and Meli would become the ideal collaborator for my project.

One of the key reasons why *Te To'kie i Nukunonu* appealed to me as an entry point for my own work is because it had involved a collaboration between Tokelauans and non-Tokelauans, and had also received public funding from CNZ. As such, it indicated that at least some Tokelauans were willing to not only share information more widely about Tokelauan weaving, but also to work with outsiders in order to do so. More specifically, this project involved the contributions of several non-Tokelauans, including Dr. Allan Thomas and Dr. Paul Wolffram. Thomas was an ethnomusicologist who had a considerable history engaging with Tokelauan communities both in Wellington and in Nukunonu (A. Thomas & Tuia, 1990; Thomas, Tuia & Huntsman, 1990; Wolffram, 2011). Sadly, Thomas did not live to see the project come to fruition, passing away in 2010. Before this occurred, though, he asked his former doctoral student and friend, Dr. Paul Wolffram, to assist with the filming of the project (Wolffram, 2011). In the end, Wolffram contributed as an editor, co-producer and director, and also helped Tokelauans apply for funding from CNZ (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Wolffram, 2011). Based on my research, it became clear that Tokelauans also had extensive control over the documentary content and how it was made, with the non-Tokelauans there largely to support them in their efforts. This dynamic, that appealed strongly to me – as well as *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* itself – is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Six.

The documentary also opened up the possibility of working with Meli. Before introducing Meli properly, and discussing why she was such a useful person for me to collaborate with, it is first important to note how Meli positions herself in relation to the communities. It is considered impolite in Tokelauan culture to claim one's own knowledge as greater than anyone else's (A. Thomas & Tuia, 1990) and for Meli it was the community that she was interested in supporting and progressing. Meli consistently presents herself as working on behalf of the community and Wolffram (2011) argues that this came through in the documentary in a variety of ways.

He notes for one that during the filming of the documentary Meli chose to present to other members of the Tokelauan community, rather than to the camera. He also notes that she requested that both the presenters and the audience be filmed. In addition, he points out that Meli situates herself in culture and community by sharing with the viewer her lineage, her family connections, and some of her connections to the wider community. Through these strategies, he argues, Meli strove to effectively position herself as speaking on behalf of the community, and working on behalf of their interests, as opposed to her own. Meli brought the same orientation to her work with me, consulting members of the community about the project, and often being quite modest about her own weaving knowledge.

Meli was born in Nukunonu and moved to New Zealand at age 29 in the hope of improving her blind son's quality of life. When I first met Meli she was 64 years old and had never been back to Tokelau. Despite leaving a considerable time ago, Tokelau has remained important to her and there are multiple examples of her striving to find ways to incorporate Tokelau into her daily life in New Zealand. In addition to the weaving documentary, Meli has, for instance, worked for several years at one of the only early childhood centres in New Zealand where Tokelauan is spoken, and continues to go on the radio every few weeks to read Tokelauan stories aloud. She has also been involved in organizing the Easter Festival and other cultural events and activities.

Based on the various conversations I had with Meli, there were two key features of her childhood in Nukunonu that she seemed to really value. One of these was that while it was not a life that was rich in resources, it was one in which people made the best of what they had. For instance, she recalls learning to count – "tahi, lua, tolu… one, two, three, four, using the shells… from the beach or whatever is surrounding us like stones" (personal interview, September 5th, 2012). The other feature of her life in Nukunonu that Meli appeared to have really valued was the strong sharing ethic present on the islands, and this often came up in our conversations.

Meli's quite considerable contributions to the documentary are discussed extensively in Chapter Six, but for now it is useful to identify some of the key roles she had in this project in

order to indicate why I thought she would make such a valuable collaborator for my own research. It was Meli's idea to record the traditional weaving practices of Nukunonu women (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Wolffram, 2011). She had identified a need in her community for more resources on weaving to be made to ensure its survival into the future (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Wolffram, 2011). As she shared with me, Tokelauan women in Wellington had said to her "please Meli, we want to read a book about weaving. Hopefully one day Meli, please can you make a book?" (personal interview, September 14, 2012). The key ways in which Meli contributed to the documentary included undertaking extensive research into weaving, recruiting people to participate in it, and she was also the main presenter in it (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011 Wolffram, 2011).

Meli's contribution was recognized by CNZ in 2011 when they awarded her the Pacific Heritage Arts Award (Creative New Zealand, 2011), which is given on the basis that the artist "has made a major contribution to maintaining, reviving or promoting a Pacific heritage artform in New Zealand" (Creative New Zealand, 2015b). The art forms that were eligible to be considered for this award were "language, dance, traditional music, weaving or tatau" (Creative New Zealand, 2015b). Meli's work encouraging Tokelauan culture in New Zealand did not end upon the completion of this documentary. In 2012, she was involved in making a CD of *fatele* (Tokelauan action songs) composed by her late parents (Puka & Puka, 2012). Like the documentary, this project was partly funded by CNZ and involved Tokelauans and non-Tokelauans working together to produce it (Author's Field Research Notes; Puka & Puka, 2012).

In line with indigenous Pacific methodologists, I sought to establish a collaborative research relationship with Meli. Collaboration requires a more equal power dynamic than a non-indigenous researcher having an indigenous person as an assistant or informant (Louis, 2007; L.T. Smith, 1999). A collaboration is about bringing together people with complementary skills. From my perspective there were a variety of potential benefits that could come from collaborating with Meli. For one, due to her strong connections to Tokelauans in both Wellington and Nukunonu she could help me to gain the entry into these communities more

quickly than if I had been on my own, which was an important consideration, because I could only spend roughly a month in each field site. An additional reason why I wanted to collaborate with Meli was that she could provide valuable and on-going guidance on how to carry out my research in ways that were ethical from a Tokelauan point of view. Due to my minimal experience with this community, as well as the time constraints that I had for the field research, I did not feel entirely confident about my ability to address concerns Tokelauans may have had with my project and conduct. As Meli had a much more in-depth understanding of these communities and how they functioned that I did, she had the potential to provide useful guidance for me to carry out my research appropriately. Furthermore, she could help me to find ways to appropriately reciprocate the research.

Meli's expertise on weaving was also a key reason why I wanted to collaborate with her. One of the reasons for this was because she could potentially notice similarities and differences between the two communities that I would otherwise miss and which could provide further useful insights for me into identity and belonging. Furthermore, as Meli had this expertise on weaving – she could – both directly and indirectly – help me to occupy the role that I was striving for – that of a receptive listener. As will be seen further on in this chapter, Meli for one was often – at least from my perspective – interpreted by Tokelauans as heading the research on weaving, with me occupying more of an assistant role. This would actually turn out to be a highly useful dynamic for the purposes of my research.

A collaboration should benefit all involved, so what were the possible benefits of it for Meli? Through working with me, it seemed that a variety of possibilities opened up for Meli. My university research funds covered her transport costs, enabling her to travel to Nukunonu. In Nukunonu, she could further her own research interest in weaving and could ignite and participate in discussions about weaving in both communities. On another note, through working with me Meli could also return to Nukunonu for the first time since she had left many years ago. She also expected that this would be her last trip due to her age and the difficulties of the journey. In addition, Meli was able to somewhat shape me to meet her, and the communities', needs as the methodologies I was using, such as ethnography, were open to – and supportive of – that.

Having determined that collaborating with Meli had the potential to be mutually beneficial, I began seeking to establish a relationship with her by first contacting Wolffram, who then checked with Meli whether he could put us in touch. Meli and I began getting to know each other via phone calls and then I visited her in Wellington in January of 2012. I returned to Australia that January to complete the ethics process and prepare for the field research. During this time Meli and I regularly spoke on the phone in order to develop the research plan. The project took into account the importance of atoll affiliations for Tokelauans, who often identify first by atoll and then by nationality (Huntsman, 2017; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Wessen et al., 1992). Many of the Tokelauans in Wellington are from Nukunonu and weaving is particularly culturally significant to those from that island (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman, 2017; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Wolffram, 2011). There is a Tokelauan story of reciprocal theft that involves a spirit from Fakaofo as well as one from Nukunonu. This story has been used to explain how the *kie* pandanus came to be grown in Nukunonu and how Fakaofo obtained a freshwater well (Hoëm, 2005; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). In Nukunonu, some of the most culturally valuable gifts are those made from the *kie* pandanus (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman, 2017).

As I would discover through engaging with indigenous Pacific methodologies, and subsequently striving to construct my own field research project, using a form of material culture, such as Tokelauan weaving, can provide a way for researchers who are unable to immerse themselves long term into a community to quickly gain entry into the community, and to do so in ways that align with the goal of treating indigenous peoples as equal conversation partners. Selecting the entry point, and the particular form of material culture, needs to be carefully undertaken, though, in order to ensure that the research is respectful from an indigenous point of view.

Lessons From the Field

Having broadly selected a site to intervene in, and having found a highly useful collaborator in Meli, I turned to the task of actually carrying out the field research. For my research, I was interested primarily in belonging and identity, and more specifically, in how people

meaningful adapt their cultures and communities to life elsewhere. Researching weaving was a particularly useful tool for gaining insights into my overall topic as, for one, it had the potential to involve a considerable proportion of the Tokelauan communities in Wellington and Nukunonu. Weaving is not just about those who weave: there are also those who help process the materials, as well as those with less direct roles such as freeing up the time required for weaving. There are also the numerous people that use the handicrafts, such as sleeping on a mat or decorating their homes with fans. This makes weaving quite different from art that is directed at art markets, which only a few would see and only a very few would normally get to touch. Weaving also references the connections *between* the two communities, such as the work involved in transporting pandanus from Nukunonu to Wellington. A more in-depth discussion on why weaving – at its best – should be understood as a community endeavour, is undertaken in Chapter Five.

There were several reasons why I chose to start the field research in Wellington rather than in Nukunonu. One reason was because the documentary had been a success, in terms of not only the content, but also the process involved in making it. Meli had had such a significant role in making the documentary and thus it seemed that we could build on the work she had already done. It also provided the opportunity for the relationship between Meli and me to develop further before we travelled to Nukunonu. Up until this point, the main way we had engaged with one another was through phone calls. Heading to Wellington first also helped with organizing the Nukunonu part of the project. Being in Wellington meant that I could directly ask Tokelauans questions about such things as booking the ferry and what I should take with me to the island. If the particular Tokelauan in question did not have the answer, they would often know someone who did.

At the time, there was no group weaving happening in Wellington that Meli or I were aware of, and thus we could not simply go and observe people. Instead, the main encounters happened at Meli's house, where she gathered a range of people together to talk about and demonstrate weaving. I deliberately chose not to dictate what would happen in this space or who would be present. There were some parts to these research activities that I had to intervene in – such as explaining the project and having the participants fill out consent forms.

For the most part, though, I tried to sit back and let them structure it the way that suited them. I also did not exclude those that did not permanently reside in Wellington from taking part – such as those who normally live in Nukunonu but were visiting New Zealand at the time. I made this choice not to exclude them out of recognition of how mobile Tokelauans are.

In Wellington, I was not only learning about weaving, I was also building my knowledge of how to do this research by observing how Meli organized these research activities, the dynamics within the group, and also how people interacted with me. To give an impression of what happened in these settings I will now recall just one of them. One day I turned up at Meli's house where she had gathered a group of women and one man to discuss weaving. When I entered the room, I noticed that handicrafts, and other Tokelauan cultural items, such as a *toki* (hafted adze), had been laid out in the middle of the room as if in a display cabinet. Everyone had gathered in a circle, some sitting on the chairs, but most on the floor. I drew on my experiences in Samoa and decided to sit on the floor. There was one woman there who was weaving but did not say a word during this activity and later I would find out that she was visiting from Nukunonu. Meli began with a speech and a prayer; following this, I went over the research project and consent forms. After that each person took turns introducing a different type of handicraft or other Tokelauan cultural item, such as a *tuluma* (fishing box). Upon the conclusion of the activity, I was invited to eat Tokelauan food with them for lunch and took the opportunity to do so. While there I also practised the little Tokelauan that I knew and my willingness to make mistakes seemed to foster bonds.

The research undertaken was impacted by the particular sets of relationships that I managed to establish and sustain with others. Meli was the key relationship in this project and through her I formed connections with a wide range of people. In Wellington, we had initially wanted to hold a meeting with Tokelauans at their community hall, but this was not possible due to their busy schedules, nor did they appear to find it necessary. Those that participated in the research were fine with giving consent on an individual basis. I would suggest that a key reason why this was possible was Meli's prior work on weaving in this community. There were other relationships that I established over the course of the project as well that were not directly related to Meli. For one, I formed relationships through trying to achieve particular

organizational tasks, such as getting the consent form and information sheet translated. I also interviewed people that I had identified on my own as having expertise on Tokelauan culture.

The experiences in Wellington were not that challenging, in part because I was working with Meli and it was possible to build on the work she had previously done for the documentary. I also got the impression that many of my participants were quite comfortable with researchers. Part of this may be due to the fact that many more Tokelauans are now born in New Zealand than on the islands (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a), and thus have potentially had more experience with Western-educated researchers. Nukunonu would present something else entirely – a situation that demanded I accept different interpretations and roles to enable me to do this work in a culturally appropriate manner. In order to undertake research in Nukunonu, I first needed to have my research proposal approved by the Council for Ongoing Government of Tokelau. Their approval was issued before we arrived on Nukunonu. Although having this approval was technically enough for us to proceed with the project, Meli suggested that we also present to the *fatupaepae* (women's committee). In the *National Policy for Women of Tokelau 2010-2015 fatupaepae* is defined as

> a mother or a young lady, who has clearly understood that she is the cornerstone of the family, village and nation and has been taught about her responsibilities as a Fatupaepae within these various sectors. The term "Fatupaepae" and "Sacred Being" literally translated the notion of active responsibility of women towards the extended family together with the freedom to express one's self with respect. (Ongoing-Government of Tokelau, n.d., capitalization in original, p. 2)

One of the main reasons why it was important for us to meet with the *fatupaepae* was in order to recognize the female authority body on the island. The *fatupaepae*'s responsibilities include monitoring the cleanliness of the village, caring for the communal vegetable garden, sewing, weaving, and more (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996, On-Going Government for Tokelau, n.d.-b). There is a weaving committee within the organizational structure of the *fatupaepae* which fills commissions and also makes handicrafts for village purposes. In fact, while we were in Nukunonu, the *fatupaepae* were preparing a large commission of mats for a church in Samoa. We ended up holding two meetings at the *fatupaepae*, one at the beginning of our time in

Nukunonu and the other at the conclusion in order to provide them with an opportunity to raise any further questions or concerns.

To give an impression of how these meetings functioned, I briefly discuss here the first meeting we held with the *fatupaepae*. Meli, I, and a translator, attended this meeting at the *fatupaepae's* hall. We were on their agenda for 10am and when we entered the room, we saw the women seated in roughly a square formation, with those holding more senior positions seated at a table. Meli began our presentation, speaking to the group in Tokelauan while the translator sat between us quietly translating. Meli introduced herself, including her family and community connections, and discussed how the relationship between us had developed, referring to me as her daughter and baby as she went along. During her speech, she expressed her deep appreciation for weaving and the skills of the women. She also rhetorically asked who was she to come and research weaving? A question that (at least from my perspective) adhered to the Tokelauan importance attributed to cultural modesty.

It was then my turn to speak, during which I discussed why I wanted to study weaving, and provided essential information about the project, including research methods, and how the research would be used. I paused frequently during my explanation to allow the translator to speak. Following this explanation, Meli and I opened the floor to questions. There were only about seven or eight questions and comments directed at us during this time. An example of a question was whether or not I would talk to men about weaving as – according to the questioner – they too have important roles in weaving, to which I answered in the affirmative. An example of a comment was when one woman spoke up to share with us that the women of Nukunonu were also worried about weaving surviving, and had themselves made a book about weaving in order to try and help ensure its survival.

The way meetings functioned at the *fatupaepae* was quite different from anything I had experienced in New Zealand and Australia, more so in relation to Meli's part of it than my own – Meli is after all from Nukunonu and some of these women were her relatives. Through raising this component of the meetings, I am provided with the opportunity to briefly discuss relational ethics. Autoethnographers Ellis et al. (2011) provide a particularly useful discussion

on relational ethics. They argue that researchers do not carry out their work "in isolation" (p. 281). Rather, they exist in – and care for – relationships with significant others, including with participants. As Ellis et al. (2011) argue, researchers "do not normally regard them [research participants] as impersonal 'subjects' only to be mined for data", instead, researchers may understand them as "friends" (p. 281). As various autoethnographers have demonstrated, even when extensive measures are undertaken to preserve the anonymity of a research participant, there are often ways of finding out who they are and thus caution must be exercised to ensure that the information shared does not inadvertently cause harm (Denshire, 2014; Ellis, 2007; Ellis et al., 2011). Further on in this thesis, I discuss the sharing of field research information in greater depth. For now, I simply seek to highlight that researchers need to be cautious about the cultural information they share, and the ways in which they share it. This also aligns with indigenous Pacific methodologists who have argued that researchers need to be careful about what information they share, lest they inflict harm (Kahakalau, 2004; Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006).

Officially we had all the research approval required to do this research, but honouring the terms of that consent needed to continually be lived out in the everyday in terms of how we, and the project, were interpreted and how we responded to those interpretations. In Nukunonu, one of the ways in which I was made sense of by the community was through the relationships I had with others. For instance, those who had not heard of me prior to my arrival are likely to have first identified me by the colour of my skin, immediately indicating that I most likely was not Tokelauan. I then came to be understood through the variety of relationships I had with others. Meli and her husband were with me and they are considered quite an important couple, in terms of both lineage as well as what they have done for the communities (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). In terms of seeking to research weaving specifically, both Meli's own research into this topic, as well as her lineage, played important roles in having the project accepted by members of the community. While Meli knows a considerable amount about weaving, she does not in fact consider herself a weaver (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Meli's mother though was a master craftsman, a term that is

used for women that are highly skilled in weaving (A. Thomas et al., 1990)[8], and this seemed to help the community endorse our project. This term is also used for men that are fine wood carvers and for fishermen that make their own hooks (A. Thomas et al., 1990). Collaborating with Meli was essential in order for my project to be accepted by those in Nukunonu. As one man said to me, he had wondered what I was doing there, who was this white girl wanting to research weaving? He had only come to understand, and seemingly (based on my interpretation) accept, my presence due to the relationship I had with Meli and the hope of it being a partnership that was in the community's best interests. It was not the research proposal that I had submitted prior to my arrival that resulted in his acceptance of my presence (a document this man would most likely have been privy to based on his job); rather, it was whom I was working with and how I was perceived by members of the community.

Figure 4: Woven bracelet, Nukunonu, 2012.

I would also discover that my gender was a major contributing factor in terms of the information I could acquire about weaving in Nukunonu. The *fatupaepae* is the women's committee, but it is also the name commonly used for their meeting hall.[9] That hall is the main place on the island where group weaving occurs. It is a highly gendered space, with men only there when they have prearranged meetings with the *fatupaepae* or in the evenings when the hall is used for dance practice. During my research, I encountered several men that did weave,

[8] The term 'master craftsman' is used by A. Thomas, Tuia, and Huntsman (1990). I have used their term in this instance. However, for the rest of the thesis I have chosen to use the more gender-neutral term 'master crafter'.

[9] Tokelauans told me that the reason why the meeting hall was called the *fatupaepae* is because it's the *women's* space.

but none did so at the *fatupaepae*. In fact, one loved to weave – and even gifted me a bracelet (Figure 4) but laughingly told me that he would never do so there. Weaving is understood as very much a female activity and if it had not been for my gender, I am doubtful that I would have been able to continue, or at the very least, have been able to obtain as much information as I did. The flipside of this is that there will also have been information that I was not privy to due to my gender.

My age also impacted the implementation of this research project in Nukunonu. In Tokelau, wisdom is often associated with age – the older you are, generally the wiser you are considered to be (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Wessen et al., 1992). Huntsman and Hooper (1996) have identified some exceptions to this rule, including a recognition that some people never were, nor will be, that intelligent, and also that some older people are senile. Overall, though, it is assumed that people become wiser as they age and gain more life experience. Older people also tend to occupy the major positions of authority in Tokelau. At the time I was 27 while Meli was 65, and this led to me being referred to as 'baby' while Meli was called 'Aunty'. I was also sometimes referred to as Meli's daughter. At times I felt like I was an assistant rather than a researcher, and in many respects, I felt that this worked in my favour as it appeared to encourage the community to mould me into what they required and also aligned with my overall goal of being a receptive listener.

Finally, it is important to discuss the different ways in which my body contributed to the research process. To some extent, I had anticipated that I would need to understand how my particular bodily presence would significantly impact the research. For one, from the start I had known that I would need to dress in a culturally appropriate way, such as wearing a sarong while swimming. I also needed to think about how I used my body and what that communicated to others: that it was important, when working in these communities, that I, for instance, show a willingness to learn skills that were valued within the communities themselves – such as how to prepare the leaves for weaving – by showing myself to be comfortable in engaging in hands-on activities (see Wolffram 2006 for a useful discussion on this point).

I also had to start thinking of my body as communicating a great deal to me about place, such as its particular scents and climate. Literature drawn from humanistic geography was particularly useful in regards to this last point as it helped me to obtain not only a deeper understanding of how people experience place as embodied beings, but also to gain a deeper appreciation of how important and irreplaceable particular places are (such as Casey, 2001; Seamon & Sowers, 2008; Woodyer & Geoghegan, 2013).

My body inevitably and clearly indicated particular information about me. For instance, no one asked my gender or age; they simply assumed these, and these assumptions influenced the research significantly. How I used my body, and what that seemed to suggest to people, also factored into the research process. I have already discussed how this played out in Wellington, but Nukunonu was quite a different dynamic and a much more intense experience. As was the case in Wellington, I tried to participate and help out as much as possible. I tried to enact this primarily through participating in as many weaving and cultural activities as possible. For one, I assisted in preparing pandanus leaves, which involved sitting for the majority of the day rolling the dyed leaves into cylinder-like shapes to help them dry. I learnt how to do so by watching the Tokelauans around me, which is exactly how Tokelauans normally learn how to weave as well (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). I also went with those I had been working with for a swim in the ocean afterwards, attempting to scrub the dye from our skin – seeing this not so much as a straightforward leisure activity, but as an extension of the work we had been doing that day.

Through carrying out the field research with Meli in these two – in some respects – quite different field sites, I gained valuable insights into what was involved in order to seek to learn from, and about, Tokelauans. It is clear that conducting research in ways that are respectful from a Tokelauan point of view is not a rigid and formulaic process, but rather one that requires considerable flexibility and on-going work. Doing so also necessitates deeply acknowledging that who researchers are (and are interpreted as), as well as who they are importantly connected to, can profoundly impact the research. Both of these points ended up being incorporated into the critical interdisciplinary approach that I propose further on in this chapter.

Challenges Sustaining a Respectful and Reciprocal Research Relationship

The challenges that I would encounter when I turned to the task of theorizing and writing had already begun to emerge in the field research and nearly resulted in the Nukunonu part of the project not happening at all. The university processes, and the particular needs of my field research, were somewhat incompatible with one another. At the time I was a student at the University of Western Sydney and this university (like many others) had quite rigid approaches to field research. This included filling out a travel diary before I left, indicating what I would be doing every day for the next seven months, and providing an address for where I would be staying well in advance. The ethics application process seemed to be predicated on a false sense of stability and predictability – that I could know exactly what would happen before it did. There are legitimate reasons why a university would require such documentation, such as reputation, insurance coverage and exercising its duty of care over to its students. However, it was an approach that was at odds, in some respects, with the communities I wanted to learn from. In my encounters with Tokelauans there was often a need for flexibility. When I asked questions, such as the address where we would be staying on Nukunonu, they would answer quite simply that we would figure it out once we got there – an approach that worked perfectly in practice but made it difficult at times to meet the university's requirements.

What would lead me to the brink of failure began with the Nukunonu side of things. Both obtaining Tokelauan ethics approval to conduct research in Nukunonu, and physically getting myself to the island proved complicated. There was no centralized system for applying for research approval from afar. I could not make a submission through a web portal, for instance, as I had been able to with my ethics application in Australia. Instead I needed to contact others who had done research in Nukunonu to find out how to make an application, and even they signalled that it was far from a linear process. I submitted the research proposal via email, which was then passed on to the Council for Ongoing Government of Tokelau. The only question the Council asked was how I would restrict the island part of my project to Nukunonu. My answer was one of geographic enclosure – that I would speak with people, or record observations, while on Nukunonu itself. I also noted in my response that I would alter the

proposal in any way that they needed, but despite several email inquiries, I heard nothing more about my proposal.

This posed a potential roadblock as I needed research approval in order to obtain the visa required for securing a place on board the ferry to Nukunonu. There were no airstrips on Nukunonu, so the only way to get there was by ferry. These ferries made the trip on average every two weeks and could take several days to get to the atoll, depending on what route they took (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-a,-b). The challenge with the ferry was not only to secure a spot on board, but also to retain it. It was not possible to buy tickets in advance and the online schedule was not updated frequently enough to be considered reliable. The ferry schedule could be disrupted for a number of reasons, such as poor weather conditions, or if it was required for a medical evacuation from one of the atolls (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-a). People could also lose their spot on board the ferry if someone else was deemed to need it more. As I tried to arrange the passage I encountered stories of people who had ended up either stranded in Samoa, eventually having to return to New Zealand after running out of time, or stranded in Tokelau, waiting to obtain a spot on the one of the boats back. Lacking the formal approvals I required to make an initial request for a place on the ferry, and with time passing, it appeared possible that the Nukunonu trip may not be possible.

Figure 5: One of Tokelau's Ferries, Nukunonu, 2012.

The research approval and ferry booking would be resolved eventually. The granting of the approval does not seem to have been primarily due to the quality of my formal research proposal. Instead, it appears to have been about the impression I made in person while in New Zealand and how people interpreted the relationship I had with Meli. Essentially, in order to get the research approved I needed to meet with influential people face to face and convince them of the value of the project. Once they were convinced, they activated their social – and often transnational – networks in order to help me overcome the various obstacles I was facing. Once I had their support, the process smoothed out to the extent that I even managed to pre-book our passage on the ferry. The experience of trying to overcome this problem has reinforced the importance of the face to face that is so frequently mentioned in indigenous Pacific methodologies (Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Vaioleti, 2006).

The Nukunonu challenges were resolved, but there was still a hurdle to come, and this time it came from the university. Because of the challenges involved in securing the research approval and booking the boat, I had already postponed the trip once and was quickly running out of time to do the project. Both Meli and her husband were coming with me to Nukunonu and this meant six weeks away from their lives in Wellington. I wanted to respect their time and not ask to reschedule again. I was also aware that cyclone season was rapidly coming up and wanted to avoid it if possible as it could disrupt the ferry schedule and make for a more turbulent ferry journey. I also wanted to steer clear of Christmas time, in part because it would be inappropriate to do research then but also because even if we managed to get there before Christmas we could find it difficult to get back off the islands due to the limited spots available on the ferry and the large number of Tokelauans wanting to make the trip.

In hindsight, it seems that the problem was that the university systems did not have the flexibility needed for this situation. The hurdle I encountered related to my funding application. There were numerous stages to this process and it took many weeks for my application to be processed. They also would not reimburse the tickets if I booked them on my own. Two weeks before we needed to leave for Samoa we still had no tickets, nor could I get an answer about when this would happen. Fortunately the issue was resolved and I would suggest that there were several reasons why we were able to overcome the problem. One of

them was that my supervisors contacted relevant people in the university to try and resolve the issue. Another was that Meli, her husband, and I had all tried to be flexible in order to overcome the problem. Meli and her husband had been flexible in allowing for the original postponement of the trip. At the two-week mark I had also started looking into paying for the trip myself. At this point in the story all I want to highlight is that the relationship with the university had taken on a conflictual turn and that our flexibility helped overcome this challenge.

While I was in Nukunonu the struggle I had experienced trying to negotiate the at times conflictual expectations and wants of the university versus the Tokelauan communities seemed to dissipate. I had completed the necessary forms and procedures for my university before departing for Nukunonu and while I was in the field the only form that they needed me to complete was a travel diary. I could now simply focus on conducting my research in a way that was culturally appropriate and respectful for those living on Nukunonu. In fact, I thought that the challenges of negotiating these two worlds was largely over – Nukunonu, after all, was my final field site, and things went smoothly there during the fieldwork period. As I found out after returning from the field, this would not turn out to be the case.

When I returned from the field I admittedly felt relief: I had my data and I had recovered a stable everyday life. It was now time to turn those field experiences into a thesis. I quickly discovered that this was not going to be a simple task. The first issue I had to deal with was the question of what information could be shared and what could not. Knowledge is often carefully guarded within Tokelauan communities, to be shared only by particular people and in certain company (Hooper, 2010; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Mallon et al., 2003). The reason for this is that they are concerned about how sharing this information might impact upon the relationships they have with others. Like many other Pacific peoples, Tokelauans come from small communities where anonymity is impossible and social harmony is highly valued. In Tokelauan culture, *māopoopo* (social unity) is a key value. As Huntsman and Hooper (1996) explain, this value translates into meetings where Tokelauans focus more on how people feel about what has occurred rather than whether or not they achieved their end goal.

These authors also argue that Tokelauans often take into consideration who is present at a meeting before deciding whether to tell a story and, if so, which version of it to tell.

It was not easy to determine what information about weaving could be shared and what could not. I was, and continue to identify as, a beginner in Tokelauan culture, so in that respect it was difficult to establish where the line was. I also struggled because there were differences of opinion in the Tokelauan community about sharing particular bits of information. Meli, for one, felt that it was essential that people widely share information about weaving. Her argument was based on a concern that people were passing on without sharing the information, thus losing it forever. Yet even in my conversations with her, it was clear that her stance was not universally held. During one conversation, she referred to the Tokelauan understanding of knowledge as a form of cultural ownership. She noted that some Tokelauans continued to follow that way of thinking. Her response to that was to state: "is that the culture of love and sharing? Nah to me, no… let it out, allow people, allow whoever. Ask! Weaving is a gift from god" (personal interview, September 14, 2012).

In light of the complex situation I was dealing with, I chose to err on the side of caution and thus will not discuss weaving patterns and techniques in intricate detail. Instead, I have focussed in this thesis on information about weaving that is widely available in the Tokelauan communities. Some might argue that this limited disclosure challenges the significance of the work, but an important point should be kept in mind here, which is that I employed questions and conversations about weaving in order to appropriately gain insights relevant to my three broad questions on cultural adaptation, rather than to acquire in-depth, and potentially quite culturally sensitive, information on weaving. In fact, it would be contrary to the purposes of this thesis to share culturally sensitive information about weaving. After all, if we are to have any hope of successfully addressing the difficult problems that are arising due to climate change, we need to first focus on establishing and maintaining trust, respect, and a greater understanding and enactment of cultural norms and boundaries. Writing is a power-laden exercise, it names people's realities and thus we need to be careful while doing it lest we inflict harm upon others (L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006).

Through my work, I have also come to understand visual images as a source of potentially sensitive cultural information and thus have taken a quite cautious approach to the sharing of visual imagery in this thesis. Film and photography were used in the field primarily to capture information that I might want to return to at a later stage and was never intended as a key part of my research approach. As a result, visual ethnography in itself has not been a key methodology for my work. However, discussions that have occurred within the field of visual ethnography concerning visual ethics have been important to my work.

I have found Pink's (2007) argument about visual ethics particularly useful for my own work and have used it to determine which images to include in this thesis. Pink argues that before entering the field, we often have to indicate what type of visual methods we will use, how we will use them, and whether or not we will share the end products, such as photographs and films. This is in order to fulfil, amongst other things, ethic committees' requirements. She argues that while this forward planning is often required, we also need to be highly responsive to the cultural context, and the particular relationships that we are a part of, *once* we are in the field – and that can require us to alter our intended research practices quite significantly. We may, for instance, discover that the community we are engaging with actually wants the images we are producing shared much more widely than expected, or the opposite.

Based on Pink's compelling arguments, I decided to take a quite cautious approach to the sharing of visual imagery, one that parallels the way in which I incorporated information about weaving in the written components of this thesis. Many of the images I have included in this thesis are limited to items that were gifted to me, such as fans and rolls of *lau kie* and *lau hulu*. Other images used have been selected on the basis that they are already widely available – such as images taken from *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, or activities that are undertaken in highly public settings and which I am confident do not contain highly culturally sensitive information.

There was more to this challenge, however, than simply restricting what weaving information could be included in the thesis. The bigger challenge had to do with my relationship to others and how to recognize that in the thesis. To reflect back on this Tokelauan understanding of knowledge, it is not that some information can never be shared and some always can be.

Instead, it is about recognizing a relationship between the person who is sharing it and the audience. How does sharing that information, in that particular context, affect the *relationship* between them? Roland Barthes (1977) once famously argued for the death of the author, and in doing so contributed to a broader discussion about what forms the relationships between author, audience, and text should take. He argued that the reader did not need to focus on who the author was or what they were exactly trying to communicate with the text, but could instead interpret the text in their own way. Barthes has frequently been cited, including by autoethnographers who find value and agreement in the argument for multiple interpretations of a single text (Ellis et al., 2011). While such a move is important and enriching, there is still an issue present, which is how, in this medium (a sole authored thesis), the author can retain a relationship with their audience.

The thesis form has some major challenges when it comes to the task of sustaining a relationship between author and audience. To turn back to the thesis, as a permanent document I have little control over who may access it and how they might use it. I also cannot anticipate the multiple interpretations that can happen, nor can I directly respond to them if something has come across in a way that I did not intend. In the field, I had the flexibility to address misunderstandings and mistakes right then. I could use my body to communicate a willingness to learn and to make up for past mistakes. I also had a greater understanding of how the information was being received as I had a much more direct and immediate relationship with people. There were simply more opportunities to have a flexible and malleable relationship with people and with knowledge.

As I withdrew from sharing in-depth information about weaving, another issue rose to the surface: that the content of this thesis is not primarily focussed on weaving, or even specifically about Tokelauan identity and belonging. A major risk here is one of cultural appropriation – that the work that I did in the field has the potential of becoming little more than a tool to be used for my own purposes and of little value to the communities themselves. Simply engaging in respectful and collaborative relationships in the field is not enough; the research actually needs to have some form of benefit for those that it is about. Indigenous Pacific methodologies strongly emphasize the importance of reciprocating (Kahakalau, 2004;

L. T. Smith, 1999), but how do we fulfil that in less-than-straightforward circumstances? I suggest that we do so through making the most of the particular opportunities to reciprocate that *do* arise during the research.

There were a variety of ways in which reciprocation was present in this project. For one, Meli and I knew that one of the reasons why weaving was endangered in New Zealand was due to the difficulties that Tokelauans had sourcing the raw materials from the islands. In light of this, we brought bundles of pandanus back to New Zealand with the intention of holding a weaving workshop. Another example of reciprocation occurred when I presented at a conference in Wellington and used the same trip to present to members of the Tokelauan community as well. In the latter presentation I discussed the basics of how weaving is made and engaged with, and why I think it is in danger. This presentation was also beneficial for me as I could get their feedback on my conclusions. I have also actively sought to reciprocate in the context of the thesis itself, including writing in an accessible style. Furthermore, the discussion on why weaving is endangered (Chapter Six) is another deliberate act of reciprocation. While it is widely known that Tokelauan weaving is struggling, there is little information available on *why* that actually is the case – now, having undertaken research in both sites, I can provide valuable insights into this question.

One of the biggest struggle was yet to come: finding a writing style that honoured the goals of the research, and also fulfilled what I perceived at the time as the expectations and requirements of a PhD. For one, I felt – rightly or wrongly – that I needed to make stronger claims about Tokelau and its people than was possible on the basis of the information acquired during the field research part of my project. Those that undertake field research often do so for a year or longer and thus have more time to gather the knowledge needed to make strong claims about those they have sought to learn from and about. I was only in each field site for roughly a month and there were limited resources on Tokelau as well, thus I did not feel comfortable making strong claims about this subject. Ultimately, this would resolve itself as a strength of my project because I came to realise the value of finding ways for ethical and mutually beneficial work in cases where long-term immersion is not possible, but reaching this conclusion was a difficult journey. Conceiving of ways to write that empowered Tokelauans,

and climate vulnerable people in general, and emphasising that they are in the best position to make decisions concerning their own futures, was a challenge, but I felt immediately that it would have gone against the goals of this project if I were to write in a style that suggested that I knew exactly how Tokelauans should response to the complex challenges they are facing. Struggling to write in ways that took into account these two elements of my project, and also fulfilled – at least what I perceived as – the conventions and expectations of a PhD, led me to a sense of failure as it meant that I also could not perceive a way to guide researchers in similar positions to my own to overcome such challenges as well.

One Pacific Scholar that has been particularly useful for me to find a way to overcome this challenge is Katerina Teaiwa (2004), in part due to commonalities in our projects. She undertook multi-sited ethnographic research and due to budgetary constraints was only able to undertake quite short field research stints. Her field sites included Fiji, Kiribati, and Australia. There are two parts to her project that contributed to her sense of failure – her identity as a researcher and the amount of time she could devote to each field site. These two issues significantly contributed to the thought-provoking argument she ends up putting forward.

The first of Teaiwa's perceived 'failures' concerned her identity as a researcher. Teaiwa identifies herself as a Banaban woman with strong roots, but notes that she is not proficient in the language, and also received an overseas education. She felt that she met neither the perceived requirements of an indigneous anthropologist nor those of a Western anthropologist. Her sense of failure was also about how much time she could spend in each place and how well she could get to know it. She argues that she was only able to capture "slices" of each place (p. 228). It is from this space, however, that she is able to argue for a deconstructive anthropology and the importance it could have for the task of decolonizing the academy. She argues that this type of anthropology refuses to provide strong answers or to assume a shared audience. She suggests that because of this, it is useful for a complex decolonization agenda. She argues that knowledge is partial as it happens in specific places and involves particular people. She suggests that knowledge should be understood as multiple, contested and ever-evolving: that there cannot be a final word.

Teaiwa's argument has significantly influenced the way that I have found to write in a style that not only recognizes the challenges associated with short term field research, but also honours the overall goals of my research. The work that goes into theorizing should ideally occur from a place in which researchers are highly aware of the very real limits and gaps in their knowledge, and are open and honest about those limitations with their readers. Additionally, this awareness should be used to help researchers put forward their insights carefully. We should not, for example, be putting forward arguments that suggest that we know exactly what Tokelauans, or other climate vulnerable people, should do in order to respond effectively to the complex challenges they are facing. Instead, we should be seeking to empower them to respond to the complex challenges they are facing in ways that align with their perspectives and goals. Each of these features, in fact, makes an important contribution to the critical interdisciplinary approach that I put forward in the following section.

The Emergence of My Critical Interdisciplinary Approach

All of the challenges and solutions put forward in the preceding part of this chapter have been building towards a discussion not only of the importance of interdisciplinary research but also of what such an approach might actually require. In order to construct this final part of my argument, it is necessary to discuss one last challenge I encountered and how I came to address it. This was the overall challenge of identifying – and bringing together – diverse scholarship in order to put forward useful and culturally sensitive responses to my three research questions on cultural adaptation.

When I came back from the field, I began trying to write this thesis and in doing so, started to obtain other academics' inputs, whether that was in my academic home, or in further flung places like conferences. As I did so, I encountered incredibly diverse – and at times completely incompatible – perspectives on my work. I became overwhelmed by conflicting recommendations, such as which scholars to engage with – and even *how* to engage with these scholars. Could I, for instance, engage with scholarship derived from both Western feminism and Indigenous scholarship – even though indigenous scholars have at times been highly critical of some Western feminists' representation of indigenous peoples (Evans, 1994;

Moreton-Robinson, 2000)? In addition, there was a seemingly endless supply of information relevant to the topic of cultural adaptation due to climate change. I felt overwhelmed and paralysed but a way forward had to be found and I argue that my search for – and subsequent discovery of – a useful critical interdisciplinary approach, can provide important insights for other scholars who are unable to immerse themselves long term in a particular community, but who nonetheless have the potential to be valuable allies to a climate vulnerable people.

As I started trying to find a solution to the complex challenge I was faced with, I became more attuned to the fact that two key bodies of scholarship for my work had repeatedly identified interdisciplinarity as a key aspiration but – like me – had struggled with the question of *how* to enact that. These two bodies of scholarship were Pacific Studies and scholars working in the natural and social sciences that were seeking to provide useful support to climate vulnerable people. To begin with Pacific Studies, scholars in this field have often argued that interdisciplinary research is the only way to represent the complexity of Pacific life-worlds and have also linked interdisciplinary research to their calls for the decolonization of the academy (T. Teaiwa, 2006; Wesley-Smith, 1995; Whimp, 2008). Despite the importance of interdisciplinarity to this field, scholars have struggled with the question of what an interdisciplinary approach should actually entail (Wesley-Smith, 2016; Whimp, 2008). As Wesley-Smith (2016) has argued, there is only very limited literature on Pacific Studies as an "institutionalized, interdisciplinary project" (p. 156). While Whimp (2008) – in his review of Victoria University's Pacific studies program (located in Wellington, New Zealand) – claimed that "while interdisciplinarity remains an aspiration, great difficulties remain in the framework of the university for realizing that aspiration" (p. 598). As Wesley-Smith (2016) points out, amongst the challenges hindering the development of an overarching/institutionalised interdisciplinary approach to Pacific Studies, is that it is an immensely difficult task to try and overcome the power imbalances between sources of knowledge in order to fulfil the aspirations held for interdisciplinary research.

Various scholars working in the natural and social sciences who are seeking to provide support to climate vulnerable people have also identified interdisciplinarity as an aspiration, but as immensely difficult to actually implement (for instance Crate, 2011; Mercer et al., 2007). They

have argued that interdisciplinary approaches are essential for reasons such as to improve responses to the complex challenges climate change is posing to us, as well as to include those that have been marginalized in climate change discussions in more productive and equal ways (Crate, 2011; Mercer et al., 2007). The aspiration is an admirable one, but it is – as they have argued themselves – immensely difficult to implement. For instance, questions have been asked about what such an approach might require and who should undertake it – people from which disciplinary backgrounds, whether the work should be undertaken as individuals or as teams, and how we might bring together very different relationships to knowledge in productive and respectful ways (Arbon & Rigney, 2014; Crate, 2011; Lefale, 2010). The difficulties of addressing such challenges is further compounded by the reality that we have now left the era of the Holocene, a time in which Steffen et al. (2011) argue, "contemporary civilization has developed and thrived", and are now in the Anthropocene, an era that overall provides much more difficult circumstances to take action in (p. 860). As Edvard Hviding (2003), a social anthropologist, once stated, a "rapidly and unpredictably transforming world requires transformed research approaches, as reflected in calls for interdisciplinarity—a concept easily invoked but a research approach less easily implemented" (p. 43).

In seeking a way forward, I have come to understand my work as fitting broadly within the field of what Klein (2010) has termed 'critical interdisciplinarity'. One of the reasons for this, is that critical interdisciplinary approaches often focus on social justice related issues, and tend to think about what research *does* – rather than perceiving it as a *neutral* process undertaken in pursuit of *objective* knowledge (Klein, 2010; Repko et al., 2017). As such, it aligns well with what indigenous Pacific methodologies have indicated about conducting research appropriately, such as considering how sharing cultural information might affect the relationships between people before choosing to do so (L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). In addition, critical interdisciplinary approaches can involve moving peoples, and their ways of being and knowing, from the margins of academic scholarship, to the very centre (Gunn, 1992; Klein, 2010). This is a component of critical interdisciplinary approaches that I find particularly useful, because it can be used to help address power imbalances present in cross cultural communication between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. Finally, critical interdisciplinarity is an approach that encourages following ideas where they go, rather than being bound strictly to a particular research formula (Klein, 2010; Repko et al., 2017; Whimp,

2008). This final point has provided me with some of the breathing room required to overcome some of the complex challenges of interdisciplinary research, such as conflicting definitions – and subsequent usage – of concepts.

While I came to identify as a critical interdisciplinarian, there were still no easy answers available as to how to combine diverse bodies of information in productive and respectful ways in order to create useful theories that responded to my three research questions on cultural adaptation due to climate change. It was only through focussing on both the insights of various indigenous Pacific methodologists, as well as my experiences striving to create and sustain respectful, reciprocal, and equal, research relationships with Tokelauans throughout my project, that I started to perceive a way forward. Or in other words, my critical interdisciplinary approach emerged.

Firstly, I came to the conclusion that striving to keep Tokelauans, and their ways of knowing and being, at the centre of my work, was essential for finding a way forward that aligned with the ethical and theoretical orientation of my project. Tokelauans have often been marginalized in academic discourses, including in climate change discourses (as demonstrated in Chapter One). It is essential that outsiders treat Tokelauans, and other climate vulnerable people, as the crucial knowledge holders and valuable conversation partners that they are. In order to achieve this within the specific context of my project, I had quite deliberately striven to disrupt power imbalances between myself and Tokelauans during the field research, both through working with Meli and through seeking to occupy the role of receptive listener as opposed to that of an expert. As I carried on with my research journey, I realised that I could also use the key insights and remaining questions that had arisen from the field research to help narrow down what bodies of literature were most relevant and appropriate for my work. How had New Zealand Tokelauans, for instance, managed to retain a meaningful relationship with Tokelau while living away from the islands? How could I use that to create useful – and more broadly applicable – theory on sustaining a relationship with a place other than inhabiting it? And what bodies of literature would help me to do so?

Secondly, through focussing on what had enabled me to overcome the challenges encountered attempting to constantly treat Tokelauans as equal conversation partners throughout the project, I came to the realisation that engaging with my subjectivity was highly important not only for carrying out the field research, but also for the task of theorizing. Through engaging extensively with work by various indigenous Pacific methodologists, I had come to understand the important ways that researcher subjectivity can impact research. I had considered extensively how who I was (and was interpreted as), as well as who I was importantly connected to, influenced the field research, but I had not yet come to understand that as a highly valuable tool for *how* I might draw together diverse ideas and theories in order to create useful and respectful theories on cultural adaptation.

Engaging with my subjectivity in order to create these theories involved two key and related dimensions. One dimension involved continuing to strive to create and sustain respectful and reciprocal research relationships with Tokelauans even when those relationships were not immediately present to me – such as when trying to theorize. Any solutions I put forward had to be heavily informed by respectful and reciprocal engagements with Tokelauans as mutual conversation partners. The second – and related – dimension was that I needed to start to understand my subjectivity not as a limitation, but rather as the very site from which I *could* put forward useful theories. In particular, I started to think of my specific academic circumstances – as a student in an interdisciplinary program that strove to address various social justice issues – as an important tool for helping me find ways to provide useful – albeit limited – insights into cultural adaptation. The three research questions that were guiding my work were quite broad and had the potential to be answered in various and diverse ways. Seeking ways to respond to them via conversations with other academics, and my exposure to resources both literary and other, helped my theories emerge. The process was not linear or easy – and in fact my ideas sometimes emerged primarily because of struggles I encountered answering questions such as ‘what is a meaningful identity?’. It was nonetheless a process that used my skill sets, relationships, experiences and resources to the best of my abilities and that is a powerful approach to take to addressing climate change related issues.

Embracing my subjectivity in combination with a strong emphasis on maintaining respectful and reciprocal relationships with Tokelauans ties in well with what other scholars have argued for as well. As various scholars have pointed out, no one can provide complete and perfect answers to the complex challenges that climate change is posing (Hulme, 2009; Mercer, et al., 2007; Steiner, 2015). What we can do, as various scholars have argued, is be honest about our limitations and make the most of our particular skill sets, relationships, experiences, and access to resources, in order to provide useful support to climate vulnerable people (Mercer, et al., 2007; Steiner, 2015). Embracing subjectivity can thus be understood – when undertaken in combination with a strong emphasis on deeply respectful and reciprocal research practices – as key to enabling outsiders to provide useful, albeit limited, forms of support to a climate vulnerable people.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I took an autoethnographic approach to sharing key parts of my research journey that provide valuable insights into the development, and subsequent implementation of my critical interdisciplinary approach. In doing so, I strove to provide not only insights into what this approach entails, but also the reasoning behind it. The critical interdisciplinary approach proposed is heavily informed by my engagement with indigenous Pacific methodologies, as well as my experiences not only planning and carrying out the field research, but also striving to bring what I had learnt from the field into conversation with diverse scholarship in order to create useful theories that responded to my three questions on cultural adaptation.

The critical interdisciplinary approach put forward, and subsequently demonstrated in the following chapters of this thesis, is not a rigid process for providing support to a climate vulnerable people, but rather a set of guiding principles that diverse researchers can incorporate into their own approaches in ways that take into account their specific circumstances for taking action. My approach consists of three major guiding principles, one of which is that outsiders should strive – throughout all stages of the research – to treat those they seek to provide support to as crucial knowledge holders and equal conversation partners. This can involve a variety of steps, starting with taking their ways of relating to knowledge

seriously through incorporating parts of it into their own research approaches, and seeking to not only learn about, but also *from*, climate vulnerable people. A second guiding principle involves striving to provide support in deeply respectful and reciprocal ways, which can mean, amongst other things, thinking seriously about the implications of sharing cultural knowledge before doing so. A third – and related – guiding principle is to understand researcher subjectivity as the site from which people can provide valuable forms of support. How can we best use our particular resources, relationships, experiences, and skill sets, to help a people faced with the loss of a place go on in ways that they consider meaningful? This approach is not about providing perfect answers to highly complex situations, rather it is about being realistic about what can be achieved, and seeking to provide support to the best of our abilities in light of that.

Chapter Three: The Challenging Task of Being a Receptive Listener

The research question to which I found it most difficult to respond using my critical interdisciplinary approach was the nature of a meaningful identity. Following deep reflection, it became apparent that the main reason I was struggling with this question was that it was forcing me to think more about what had happened when I had sought to listen deeply to Tokelauans, and to allow my research to be guided as much as possible – directly and indirectly – by them. In particular, I became increasingly aware of challenges (as in the example discussed in Chapter Two) I had encountered in honouring the authority of Tokelauans while also pursuing the research agenda demanded by a PhD project. One of the conceptual conflicts I experienced was that at times, I felt compelled to make my own determinations of who 'counted' as a Tokelauan, and whose opinions and voices should even be prioritized within the limited time I had for speaking with people – these were not issues on which I found consensus amongst the Tokelauans I met.

In this chapter, I use this source of struggle to argue that while it is valuable for 'outsiders' to strive to occupy the role of a receptive listener – someone who strives to deeply listen and to be led by the community they are seeking to support – there are some major challenges present in actually fulfilling this approach. There are two key points that I seek to make. One is that, as researchers, we can find ourselves needing to, amongst other things, justify to our institutions and funding bodies the importance of providing particular forms of support to a climate vulnerable people, and in doing so, risk moving away from supporting another's adaptation, to assuming that we know what a good life is for someone else. While I will suggest some ways to mitigate this issue, I also make clear that the problem cannot be entirely eradicated. The second point that I aim to make is that because communities consist of a diverse range of people – with varied, and at times, conflicting opinions – researchers can be forced into having more decisive and active roles in determining who is a part of that community, and whose opinions to prioritize than they wanted. Thus, while seeking to be led by a community is a useful approach, it is not without its challenges.

The Fine Line Between Supporting and Ascribing

In this section I begin to explore the fine line that can exist between supporting another's adaptation and assuming that it is possible to understand what constitutes a meaningful life for someone else. The issue that is focussed on in this section is the reality that while cultural adaptation due to loss of place is a profoundly complex and important issue, it is not the only major issue that climate change is presenting to the world. As we do not live in a world of limitless resources, outsiders may find themselves requiring compelling reasons to use their skill sets and resources to work on the particular task of cultural adaptation due to loss of place. As I will demonstrate, the danger here is that those compelling reasons can start to blur the line between providing useful support, and assuming that we know what is best for someone else. While some suggestions are put forward in this section on how to mitigate this issue, this issue is one that cannot be entirely eradicated.

While there is increasing agreement that humans are contributing to climate change and have some responsibility for reducing and dealing with the various impacts it is already having on the world, what to actually prioritize in this context is highly debated (Hulme, 2009; Steffen, 2001; Zalasiewicz et al., 2011). There are major concerns facing our futures. For one, scholars have argued that access to clean water, a basic necessity of life, is set to become an increasingly pressing issue for the world (Adger, Huq, Brown, Conway, & Hulme, 2003). An additional source of concern is the many millions expected to migrate due to climate change, putting a variety of pressures on the societies that take them in (Black, 2001; N. Myers, 2002). To add to the complexity of these debates, there are also questions over whose interests should actually be prioritized. For instance, should the focus primarily be on the interests of those that are already living in this world, or should it also take into consideration quality of life for future generations (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012; Hulme, 2009)?

In addition, some scholars have pointed out that the Anthropocene is an era in which it is difficult not only to identify which issues to prioritize but also to determine the likelihood of our responses to them being successful (Barnett, 2001; Hulme, 2009; Steffen et al., 2011). Climate change is a highly complex phenomenon and this can hinder people's capacity to respond effectively to the various issues it poses. As Steffen et al. (2011) argue, we have exited

the era of the Holocene, a time in which "contemporary civilization has developed and thrived" (p. 860). We are now in the Anthropocene, a time typified by increased incidence of extreme weather events, demand on resources, and uncertainty about not only what course of action to take, but also the likelihood of our responses being successful (Barnett, 2001; Hulme, 2009; Steffen et al., 2011). The future appears to hold, at least in some respects, circumstances in which it will be highly difficult to take action. As a result of all these factors, it is essential that we find compelling reasons to work on a particular issue, both for ourselves and also to encourage the support of others, such as financial donors. Thus, those seeking to support another's adaptation following the loss of a place due to climate change require compelling reasons to do so, perhaps more so now than ever before.

As Read (2000) has argued, cultural belonging is an essential part of what it is to be human, and there can be significant benefits to arguing for the importance of enhancing belonging, including convincing governments to invest in cultural funding for a wider range of groups – but there are dangers present as well. The main peril is that it can be a very fine line between providing culturally appropriate support and applying one's own concept of a good life to others. Even well-intended and well-informed researchers can accidentally overstep the mark; after all they cannot entirely cast aside their own subjectivity. The very vocabulary we choose to use often reflects our own cultural backgrounds: what do we mean, for instance, when we use concepts like 'home' and 'place'? As will be shown in Chapters Four and Five, these are not in fact universal or culturally neutral terms. How might our understandings and use of these terms affect what happens to those we are seeking to support? It can at times be quite easy to lose sight of the considerable influence our own cultural background has on the ways in which we engage with others and also on how we interpret their perspectives. Pacific and indigenous scholars have pointed out the harm that can be inflicted through others applying their own concepts of a good life to them. They have noted the negative impacts this has had not only on their sense of identity, but also on their access to the various resources required to support their ways of life (Mallon & Pereira, 2002; L. T. Smith, 1999).

Western scholars also need to understand that their own relationship with place is embedded in their ontologies and epistemologies, and that these may be profoundly different to those

of others. Various scholars working in a wide range of disciplines have made this point, including Moreton-Robinson (2003) who has considered the Australian context to reflect on the differences that exist between what she refers to as the "non-Indigenous subject – colonizer/migrant" and Indigenous belonging (p. 23). She argues that there is an "incommensurable difference" between these two groups (p. 23). One of the points she raises is that non-Indigenous Australians often understand themselves as separate from the land, whereas Indigenous Australians are in unity with it – they were created from it, and need to continue to care for it. As Moreton-Robinson (2003) argues, for Indigenous Australians, retaining a relationship to a specific place is often an essential part of their identity. A similar relationship to place is reflected in some Pacific scholarship on circular migration. As scholars such as Bonnemaison (1985) and Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009) have demonstrated, some Pacific peoples have inalienable relationships to specific places, thus retaining their relationships with that place is essential to maintaining their identity, which is quite different from some of the dominant Western ways of relating to place.

The partiality embedded in researchers' ontologies extends beyond relationships with place though, and thus it is essential that researchers undertake some self-reflexive work to not only further acknowledge the limits of their worldview and their capacity to understand others, but also identify what those limits actually *are.* Stelmach's (2009) argument about the significance of what she refers to as 'in-search' has significantly shaped my own approach to this task. Stelmach's argument emerged from her experiences interviewing Aboriginal people in Canada about their perspectives on what roles parents should have in the education system there. During this research, Stelmach discovered that she could not entirely understand what it was to be Aboriginal and could not adopt their worldviews, even temporarily. For Stelmach, the way forward was through seeking to learn more about herself and the limits of her worldview rather than attempting to completely understand what it meant to be Aboriginal. She quite rightly identifies that it has become fairly common for researchers, particularly those working on cross-cultural research, to acknowledge their partiality in their work. However, she notes "that researchers must do more than 'out their presence' to others; researchers must 'out themselves' *to themselves* to understand the world view which underpins their actions and assumptions" (italics in original, p. 38). Essentially, Stelmach is suggesting that scholars need to do more than simply acknowledge their subjectivity, they also need to consider *how* their

subjectivity has impacted their research. Stelmach's own 'in-search', revealed to her that her Eurocentric upbringing and strong Enlightenment-based beliefs had a significant influence on how she behaved in the world and how she interpreted others. She states that this search involves "intentional or directed vulnerability regarding one's inability to know or make definitive claims" (p. 35). She argues that once we undertake this in-search and learn about the limits of our worldviews, our future encounters with others can arise from a place of curiosity as we will not know ahead of time what will emerge out of these cross-cultural exchanges.

Stelmach's argument is compelling, and can be further extended in a way that is useful to the goals of this thesis. In order to achieve this, I begin by reiterating that writing is a knowledge production exercise and thus can shape people's lives (Denshire, 2014; Ellis et al. 2011; Vaioleti, 2006). Scholarship drawn from autoethnography is particularly useful for understanding writing in this way. Scholars working in this field often argue that the written form never provides a culturally neutral account of the world in which we live. Instead, they argue that the conclusions drawn by the author are always influenced by factors such as the author's circumstances, cultural background, and goals (Boyd, 2008; Denshire, 2014; Ellis et al., 2011). Autoethnographers also commonly argue that what we write, and how we write it, can profoundly change the world in which we are living in; therefore, caution needs to be exercised to try and ensure that those changes are positive. As Ellis et al. (2011) have argued, "as a method, autoethnography is both process and product" (p. 273).

Inspired by autoethnographers' compelling arguments, I argue that the authors of scholarly texts need to be upfront with their audiences about their own world view. Partiality is often acknowledged in research these days, but rarely do scholars share their exploration into their own partiality with their audience (notable exceptions to this include George, 2010; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004). Why did the scholar undertake this work? What is their particular worldview? How might that influence their results? I argue that this is an extension of Stelmach's argument, which suggests that we out ourselves to ourselves. I claim that this needs to be taken further – that we quite actively need to out ourselves to our audiences. This outing of ourselves to our audiences needs to be done in enough depth that our audiences can gain a

proper insight into some of the major ways in which our subjectivity may have impacted upon both the data collection and the interpretation of the results. It should be noted that Stelmach is quite correct when she states that the "paradox of my attempt to be reflexive is that I could only do so from within the perspective of who I am" (p. 40). This is an important point: even my own self-reflection is affected by my worldview, signalling how far partiality can extend.

Through 'outing' myself, I put myself in a vulnerable position. A diverse range of criticisms could be directed at my understanding of a good life, depending on the reader's background. This is not the first time in the thesis I have deliberately exposed myself to the audience. In Chapter Two, I discussed both the reasons why I undertook the weaving project and how I did so. In that discussion, I strove to be honest and open about what happened. I also included both academic and personal reasons for undertaking the project, potentially exposing myself to a diverse range of criticisms – for one to even write in first person remains quite controversial in many academic settings. It is also quite rare for researchers to disclose how complex, unpredictable, and messy field research can actually be at times (notable exceptions to this include Dombroski, 2011; Wolffram, 2013).

Making ourselves vulnerable in a variety of research contexts has the potential to not only help address power inequalities between ourselves and those we seek to learn from and about, but also to remind both ourselves and our readers of the limits of our research. To begin with, researchers often occupy positions of power and deliberately placing ourselves in vulnerable positions can help distribute power more fairly between ourselves and our research participants. Various autoethnographers have, for instance, recognized how powerful incorporating the researchers' presence into the final texts can be for disrupting power imbalances between the researchers and those they seek to learn from and about (such as Denshire, 2014; Ellis et al., 2011). Additionally, through being open about topics such as the personal and professional reasons behind our decisions to research a particular subject, it can remind both ourselves and our readers of the limits of the extent to which we can understand others. It is highly important that researchers never lose sight of the limits to their understanding of other worldviews.

In order to recognize my partiality and how it can influence my research, it is important to once again return to my experiences in Samoa. I return to this topic as recognizing the overlap between the personal and the professional is a highly important starting point for the task of appropriately supporting another's adaptation. For one, being socialized in New Zealand impacts not only what scholarly texts I encounter but also how I interpret them, something that became apparent to me primarily through my experiences in Samoa. In the previous chapter I briefly noted that there were significant differences between my experiences at university in Samoa compared with New Zealand. These differences included not only engaging with alternative scholarship but also the classroom dynamics. The differences in classroom dynamics emphasized a point that I was unable to fully grasp through engaging with literature on my own. This point was that a researcher's subjectivity always impacts how they interpret information. True objectivity is simply impossible.

There is one scholar in particular who has profoundly impacted my thinking about this topic: Jonathan Lear. In his book *Radical Hope: Ethics in the Face of Cultural Devastation* (2006), Lear explores how a people might continue to live a life that they consider meaningful following cultural devastation. More specifically, Lear discusses the Crow, a Native American tribe that managed to survive as a distinct people following this very occurrence. Lear compellingly shows that Native Americans experienced immense upheaval due to the encroachment of white settlers into their lands, and that not all tribes managed to continue to live a life that they considered meaningful following this.

A component of Lear's argument that I find highly compelling is his claim that people are finite erotic creatures. He suggests that we are finite in the sense that we are not all-knowing, nor can we create everything we want or obtain everything we desire. As a result, there are a variety of ways of living in the world rather than one ultimate way. In regards to the erotic, Lear claims to follow a basically platonic conception of it. He argues that "in our finite condition of lack, we reach out to the world in yearning, longing, admiration, and desire for that which (however mistakenly) we take to be valuable, beautiful and good" (p. 120). He argues that to live such a life exposes us to danger, but that even with "all the risks involved, we make an effort to live with others; on occasion we aspire to intimacy; we try to understand the world; on occasion we try to express ourselves and create something: we aim toward living

(what we take to be) a happy life" (p. 120). The risks that he is referring to include physical and emotional injury, but also the possibility that we might discover that we were mistaken to follow that particular version of a good life.

Lear's argument has had a profound impact on my thinking and broadly aligns with other scholars that have significantly influenced my work as well. For one, a finitude of understanding is apparent in both indigenous Pacific methodologies and the broader field of indigenous methodologies. We do not understand the world in its entirety, but rather have a limited view of it, influenced by factors such as our subjectivity and the particular historical and social contexts we are living in (Denzin et al., 2008; Kahakalau, 2004; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004). What I derive from Lear's argument is that there is no one ultimate way of life, but rather multiple ones, all of which are of value. While we may have different concepts of a good life, we nonetheless share in common a need to feel that our way of life is a meaningful one. A good life is one that someone *feels* is meaningful, one that makes them happy; it is not simply ascribed to them. This can help explain why some people choose to belong to more than one group, or even to surrender their membership if they feel that being part of that group is not enriching their lives.

The final point I want to raise is that belonging to a group identity is about connection, not sameness. Stuart Hall (1990), a prominent cultural theorist, has discussed two common ways of understanding cultural identity. The first is essentially about sameness: each person in the group is assumed to have the same experiences, values, norms, and aspirations as all the other members. He argues that this understanding is on the premise that people have a 'one true self' and if it is hidden from view then it supposedly needs to be rediscovered (p. 223). The second conceptualisation of cultural identity reveals that while there is common ground between members of the group, there are also significant divergences. He suggests that we cannot talk about what is shared for long before we start to uncover our points of difference. He refers to this as 'being' and 'becoming'. Identities have a history, a 'being', but they are also in a constant state of 'becoming'. What it means to be a part of a group is constantly evolving in response to both internal and external changes. People also negotiate their

belonging so that it continues to be fulfilling for them to belong to it. How people belong to that group, and what that belonging means to them, can also be quite individual.

Providing support to a climate vulnerable people is never an entirely neutral act, even for those of us striving to occupy the role of a receptive listener – a role that emphasizes listening and being led, more so than *knowing*. We can, for one, have to justify to various others – such as our institutions and funding bodies – the need to provide this support. Furthermore, the reasons why we seek to provide this support can be deeply personal, such as valuing other ways of life. Thus, there are potentially dangerous forces that can propel us to move away from deeply listening to others, to thinking we understand what a good life is for someone else, and thus what the best course of action is for them. As I have shown in this section, through deeply acknowledging and sharing with our audiences both the professional and personal reasons why we seek to provide such support, it is possible to help mitigate some of this harm.

Unavoidably Implicated: My Field Research Experiences

One primary goal of my field research was to enable Tokelauans to have as much control over the discourse as possible. There were two main reasons why this was important. The first was out of recognition of the fact that Pacific peoples have often been spoken for rather than empowered to speak (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012; L. T. Smith, 1999). Scholars have shown that this speaking for has occurred in some of the climate change discourses and can have a variety of negative outcomes, such as misrepresenting what the people affected by the issue consider at stake, and the subsequent proposing of poorly thought out solutions to complex problems (Bravo, 2009; Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012; Mortreux & Barnett, 2009). The second reason why I wanted to enable Tokelauans to have as much control over the discourse as possible was because of how I understood and sought to position myself as a researcher in relation to these communities – as a receptive listener that was highly aware of the limits to which they could understand the worldviews of others.

I sought to listen deeply to, and to be led by, Tokelauans, and in many respects my approach to this was inspired by Gibson-Graham's (2006) conceptualisation of a 'beginner's mind'. Their

version of a 'beginner's mind' builds on ideas expressed by Shunryu Suzuki in his influential work *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind: Informal Talks on Zen Meditation and Practice* (2010) and is discussed in considerable depth in Chapter Six. For now, I seek only to identify the key elements of it that influenced this dimension of my research approach. According to Gibson-Graham (2006), this type of beginner is someone who understands themselves as in a constant state of learning with no end point in sight. They suggest that this is a beginner who will never become a masterful knower, but will be a receptive listener as they will never lose sight of the limits of their knowledge and will always be open not only to alternative ways of understanding an issue, but also alternative solutions to it. They argue that an expert can have a preestablished idea of what the problem is about and how to resolve it, and as a result, this can hinder the expert from perceiving other solutions to a problem. Engaging with Gibson-Graham's beginner's mind helped me to understand the value of working from a place in which the limits of understanding are embraced as a site of creativity and possibility.

In developing my research plan, I strove to incorporate features that would help support me in achieving my goal of being a receptive listener. This contained a variety of dimensions, one of which was on-going self-reflexive examination that not only helped me to retain an awareness of the limits to which I could understand Tokelauan worldviews, but also how to carry out my research in light of those limitations. This involved an examination into such topics as why I wanted to undertake this project, what my strengths and limitations were, and whether or not it was appropriate for me to carry out this project. I continued to engage in this kind of self-examination throughout the project, including regularly uprooting in order to further explore the topic of home. This self-examination was accompanied by an effort to learn as much as possible about Tokelauans through engaging with a diverse range of resources. I did, as indigenous Pacific methodologists argue for, my homework (L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). These two steps in combination contributed in a variety of ways to my formulation of the project, made me aware of my limits, and also affected my approach to questioning people.

From the very early stages of the project I decided that it was inappropriate to ask Tokelauans direct questions about climate change and loss of place. There were several reasons for this.

One was that I was an outsider to these communities and also came from a privileged position in the respect that my 'home' was not on the frontline of climate change. This topic is potentially a highly sensitive and intimate one. Thus, I felt that it was not appropriate for me to intrude unduly. During the research, I always ensured that those participating in the project knew what my broader project was about, but I left it to them to decide whether or not they wanted to talk to me about the broader themes of climate change and cultural adaptation following the loss of a place. Instead, I chose to focus on the less controversial topic of weaving. Through researching weaving, rather than directly researching climate change and cultural adaptation due to loss of place, my project seemed to come across in a less confrontational manner. It was also arguably a more culturally appropriate approach to the research. Indigenous Pacific methodologists, after all, claim that cultures relate to knowledge in different ways from one another, and communicate it in alternative ways as well (Denzin et al., 2008; L. T. Smith, 1999; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004). Not all cultures prioritize the written word as extensively as modern Western scholars. Researching weaving also provided genuine common ground between myself and the weavers, even if we were coming from different starting points. This is because I have a background in art history and theory and an appreciation for visual communication. As highlighted in Chapter One, various scholars have shown that studying material culture can provide useful insights into the creation, sustainment, and expression of identity (Horan, 2017; Mallon et al., 2003; Pereira, 2002).

Through taking a fairly fluid approach to the line of questioning I could enable my participants to frame the topic in their own terms. The result of this approach was that a few participants, particularly those who have had more experience engaging with researchers, briefly discussed climate change. Others chose to refer to home in their discussions on weaving, such as Tokelauans based in Wellington reflecting upon times when they felt homesick for Nukunonu, but did not raise the potential danger threatening Tokelau.

I also wanted to enable the communities I worked with to drive the selection of participants as much as possible. In relation to the weaving part of the project, there were two main ways that I would recruit participants. One was by using the snowballing technique. I used *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* as a starting point for identifying people that were interested in sustaining

weaving as a cultural practice. Working with Meli was also highly important – she had a key role in identifying participants and arranging to meet with them in culturally appropriate settings and manners. The other dimension of my project, which was to broadly learn more about what constitutes a meaningful life, and how a people might adapt following the loss of place, involved a more active role on my part. Through undertaking extensive background research, I was able to identify relevant experts and contact them to interview on my own.

While I strove to listen and to be led, it would become increasingly clear that this was a more complex task than I had anticipated, and that I would be forced into having a more active and decisive role in the research than originally intended, largely due to community politics. What became clear to me through the field research, as well as my later engagement with various bodies of scholarship, is that being part of a community is about connection and not sameness – while members have core values and practices that help bind them together, they can be quite diverse from one another (Hall, 1990; Menzies, 2001). Furthermore, as Jones (1970) argues, some are better positioned to express their point of view, and in doing so, can sometimes silence other perspectives.

With all this in mind, I reflect upon several instances that perplexed me as a researcher and helped me to come to understand that listening and being guided by a community was far from a straightforward task, particularly when it came to a topic both as complex as cultural identity and as important as maintaining it following the loss of a place. On Nukunonu I encountered a Caucasian New Zealander, or as they are often referred to on the islands, a *palagi* (white person). This woman knew the more traditional Tokelauan codes of behaviour, language, dances, and more. She also felt that she belonged in Tokelau rather than in New Zealand, and some on the island actually referred to her as Tokelauan. In contrast, there was a family on the islands that were ethnically Tokelauan and yet were referred to by some as *palagi*. These Tokelauans had lived in New Zealand for a considerable period of time and this seemed to have significantly influenced how they in turn inhabited Nukunonu. Their house was quite unusual by Nukunonu standards, closely resembling a typical New Zealand home with two levels and running hot water. In addition, their behavioural codes were somewhat different and some of their opinions sometimes sat uneasily with other people on the island.

Yet, the people themselves identified quite proudly as Tokelauan. Both these examples show that who counts as Tokelauan is not straightforward or uncontested.

To further complicate the task of determining who to speak to, and whose opinion to prioritize, I would encounter people that identified as Tokelauan but who had quite complex ethnic and/or national backgrounds. One such example is Fuli Pereira, the Pacific Curator at the Auckland Museum. She shared with me that she had migrated to New Zealand in the late 1960s when she was still a young child and can, in fact, only remember the part of her childhood that took place in New Zealand. Her mother, though, had really striven to make her children aware of where they came from "both physically and culturally", doing so through sharing stories with her children about Tokelau, and Atafu – the atoll she was from (personal interview, September 18, 2012). Pereira went on to state that, while she does not consider herself fluent in Tokelauan anymore, and has only actually visited Tokelau once – and that was in the early 90s – Tokelau "absolutely is my reference point" (personal interview, September 18, 2012). She also noted during the interview that her father's grandmother is Samoan, and thus she has ethnic links to that group as well. Pereira is an example of someone that identifies as Tokelauan, but also could have identified as belonging to a different ethnic group or nationality, in her case New Zealander or Samoan.

Many Tokelauans, like Pacific people in general, in fact identify as belonging to more than one group. As Macpherson (2004) argues, Pacific peoples have a high rate of intermarriage, and they are generally "inclusive", meaning that they, and their descendants, are not required to pick between their group memberships (p. 140). In fact, according to the 2013 census only 37.5 percent of New Zealand Tokelauans identify purely as Tokelauan; the rest identify with *at least* one other ethnic group as well (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). While on a theoretical level I was aware of this, actually having Tokelauans identify with more than one atoll, or ethnicity/nationality – raised questions about the parameters of my study. Were these two field sites actually able to do the work that was required of them?

Given the politicisation of identity in the Tokelauan community – my approach was inclusive, allowing participants to refer me on to the people they thought I should speak with. This,

however, inevitably embedded my work in community politics but to resist this and insist on my own predetermined definitions of 'who counted' would have been equally politically and theoretically at odds with my theoretical approach. Based on my engagement with indigenous Pacific methodologies, I knew it would be inappropriate for me to, for instance, take a direct line of questioning to asking Tokelauans how they would feel if Tokelau were to become uninhabitable. Various indigenous Pacific methodologists have challenged, amongst other things, the universal right to knowledge, and have also indicated that direct lines of questioning can be highly inappropriate when seeking to learn from and about Pacific peoples (L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). I also felt that such questions about a meaningful life were not entirely intelligible to everyone. Do we know with absolute certainty what is important to us and how the loss of it in the future might affect us? Harry Frankfurt (1982) has explored this before, arguing that what we profess to care about does not always align with what is actually important to us. Essentially, his argument is that not everything we care about has the important function in our lives that we think it does, and sometimes the things we think do not matter can turn out to be of profound importance to us. I eventually came to the conclusion that directly asking people such questions was rife with problems, and not particularly helpful for the thesis, either.

A flow on effect of these complexities was to dangerously consider broadening my focus from Tokelauans to include anyone who might potentially have their capacity to live a life that they consider meaningful threatened if Tokelau were to become uninhabitable due to climate change. The dangerous temptation here was to disregard borders. As various multi-sited ethnographers have demonstrated, while we are living in an increasingly globalised world, places, and their borders, both formal and informal, still matter (Marcus, 1995; Visweswaran, 1994). While whose identity was at stake was far more complex than the geographic factors, this did not mean that everyone in the world would be profoundly affected by the loss of Tokelau.

The importance of borders, but also the difficulty of perceiving some of them, became apparent to me through reflecting back on some of my field research experiences. For instance, in a meeting with the *fatupaepae*, a member raised concerns about sharing particular information about weaving with people from the other atolls. What was interesting

about this situation was that other members of the *fatupaepae* who were present at the meeting, as well as at later weaving activities, were from other atolls, and some were even from other countries entirely. In addition, there had also been practical concerns, such as how to translate the information sheet and consent form given that the spelling of the Tokelauan language is contested between the islands. I decided on the 'wh' over the 'f' to account for Nukunonu preferences. These examples reflect structural challenges, but also difficulties accommodating individuals' perspectives and concerns.

Some might argue here that a non-indigenous researcher simply should not be researching indigenous people. Some indigenous researchers have in fact argued this point to varying extents (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). I argue that such division is not useful, particularly within the context of the Anthropocene, as the issues that are arising due to climate change are often highly complex and at times, require quite urgent responses. Thus, a wide range of allies, with different skill sets and knowledge bases, as well as capacities for taking action, are needed – a point that was discussed in greater depth in Chapter One.

Furthermore, it is not only non-indigenous researchers that become implicated in the research: indigenous researchers do as well. For one, indigenous researchers can encounter difficulties accessing particular information due to their position in the community. They may also not want to share their findings with their community out of fear of causing upset if their conclusions challenge long-held beliefs and norms (L. T. Smith, 1999). As Jones (1970), an indigenous scholar, states:

> As an insider, people often do not look upon you as a researcher. You may be a friend, someone who is trusted. In this capacity, people have revealed deeply personal things to me; and in this context also, I am in a position to learn many specific things about the people. Such revelations may be related to the research, but I would be both dishonest and disloyal to reveal such information. (p. 255)

Striving to deeply listen to, and to be led by, those to whom we seek to provide useful forms of support is a valuable approach, but it is not without its challenges and complexities. Communities, after all, often contain a fairly diverse range of people, with different, and at

times conflicting, opinions and goals. No researcher, whether indigenous or non-indigenous, can entirely overcome these challenges, even those that are able to immerse themselves long term in a community to gain a more in-depth understanding of the people they seek to support. It is thus essential that researchers acknowledge and retain an awareness of this issue.

Comparing and Contrasting Tokelauan ways of Life

In this section of the chapter I discuss Tokelauan ways of life in New Zealand and in Tokelau. I undertake this discussion in order to further demonstrate the immense diversity that can exist amongst people who all identify as belonging to the one nationality or ethnicity. Through doing so, I strive to further signal how complex cultural identity is, thus highlighting once again that listening deeply to the community, and being led by them, is not a simple undertaking.

My discussion begins on the islands and with *faka Tokelau*, which basically means the Tokelau way of life. *Faka Tokelau* is a way of life that places considerable emphasis on family and community and involves a complex social and economic order (On-Going Government of Tokelau, 2004). Many of the economic activities on these islands are directly aimed at improving the overall community's well-being. In fact, the Council of Elders has the right to order people on the island to undertake particular tasks such as weaving (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Hoëm, 2004; Huntsman, 2017). Hoëm (2004) claims that the Council of Elders can even "ban individuals or families from the village for improper behaviour, or order them to go overseas for more positive reasons such as to take up a scholarship" (p. 195). In Tokelau, the community's well-being is of the upmost importance.

Two core concepts within *faka Tokelau* are *inati* and *māopoopo*. *Inati* has to do with the equal distribution of communal resources and is at least partly directed towards supporting vulnerable community members (Hoëm, 2004; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). One example of *inati* is communal fishing on the islands. As Kupa (2009) explains, when communal fishing is carried out the fish are brought back to *te laulau* – the traditional place for sharing this resource. It is then distributed equally amongst the families regardless of whether or not a

member of any given family actually partook in the fishing (p. 157). Tokelauan culture is traditionally egalitarian, which makes it quite different from some other Pacific Island societies where food is often associated with status (Hoëm, 2009; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Huntsman and Hooper (1975) define *māopoopo* as "a unity of purpose and of action" (p. 417). As Hoëm (2004) argues, on the islands there is a strong emphasis on social harmony: if people erupt with anger, they will often be met with significant disapproval.

Members of the island community also have quite clearly defined roles and responsibilities, some of which are allocated based on gender. Men typically occupy the most obvious positions of authority, including as members of the Council of Elders, also known as the *Tapulenga* (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; On-Going Government of Tokelau, 2014). The Council of Elders is responsible for the everyday administration of the island and also has important roles to play in international relations. Women have their own domains of power and concern, particularly within the context of the *fatupaepae*. They are responsible for tasks such as monitoring the cleanliness of the village, weaving, and sewing (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b). Admittedly, this strong division of gender roles is changing. For instance, traditionally men filled village councils and made community decisions but these days women are increasingly having a role in this as well (Gasson, 2005; On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b).

The roles and responsibilities that people have on the islands is at least partly a reflection of how gender is understood in Tokelau. There is a Tokelauan saying, *Ko te fafine e nofo: ko te tagata e fano i te auala*, which Huntsman and Hooper (1975) have translated as the "woman stays: the man goes on the path" (p. 418). Huntsman and Hooper argue that there are several meanings associated with this saying, one of which has to do with how spaces are occupied on the island. They argue that women generally 'stay', in the sense that they occupy spaces within the village confines, including the house and the cookhouse. Men, on the other hand, go on 'the path', which includes public spaces, out to sea, and to the outlying plantation islets of the atoll. Huntsman and Hooper (1996) argue that historically, women in Nukunonu have been associated with the private sphere because they have been perceived as both valuable and vulnerable. These authors argue that women have been understood as valuable due to embodying life and the continuity of families, and vulnerable because they have been

perceived as not only more likely to attract danger, but also less capable of responding effectively to it.

Huntsman and Hooper (1975) argue that women are also understood as the 'weak side' while men are perceived as the 'strong side'. These authors indicate that this is not simply a case of referencing differences in physical strength: it is also about their emotions and how they express them. These scholars suggest that Tokelauan women are typically more openly emotional, and their gatherings will often involve much more bickering than men's do. They claim that when men gather for public occasions they are expected to conduct themselves in quite a dignified and authoritative manner. These authors also argue that men's arguments are expected to be presented in a logical and rational fashion, with minimal emotion expressed. Huntsman and Hooper link this difference in emotions to Tokelau's early religion, as women are understood as more closely tied to the spirits than men.

An additional key element of Tokelauan culture is respect for one's elders and a belief that generally speaking, the older a person is, the wiser they are. In fact, there is a Tokelauan saying specifically relating to this point. The saying is *He Toeaina ke nofo i te mulivaka*, which Kupa (2009) translates as an "Elder to sit at the canoe's stern" (p. 156). Kupa (2009) explains the proverb in the following way:

> This Tokelau proverb acknowledges the place of 'toeaina' (elders) sitting at the stern of the Vaka [a Tokelauan type of canoe], to oversee the welfare and safety of the crew, directing and advising them using their vast knowledge, experience and wisdom. (p. 156)

This correlation of age and wisdom is reflected in their authority structures, with senior men generally making up the Council of Elders, while older women occupy the more senior positions of authority within the *fatupaepae* (Hoëm, 1993, 2005; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Elders are also often understood as sources of cultural information and treasures (Mallon et al., 2003; Pene et al., 2009).

There is a complex social order on the islands, including, amongst other things, the allocation of everyone in the village into one of two competitive sides, referred to as *faitū*. Hoëm (1993) argues that the allocation into "'sides' is based primarily on parental affiliations, but individuals may change their affiliation at the time of marriage and according to residence"

(p. 149). These sides engage in competitive rivalry with one another, such as during a game of *kilikiti* (Tokelauan cricket), where each side performs songs and dances, and whichever team loses is smeared with black paint (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Hoëm has also noted that occasionally the "sides" are activated in order to carry out work for the village (p. 149). On each of the islands these sides have different names: in Nukunonu it is *Englani* and *Amelika* (England and America) (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

Another major component of Tokelauan life on the islands is religion, typically some form of Christianity. Nukunonu is primarily Roman Catholic, while Atafu is Protestant and Fakaofo is a mixture of the two (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). During the week, a variety of religious activities take place, such as church meetings and services. While these different forms of Christianity have become the dominant religion on the islands, they have been somewhat adapted to adhere to Tokelauan values such as respect for elders and a strong emphasis on equality (Countries and Their Cultures, n.d.). Even the church ceremonies incorporate both Christian and local components, such as handicrafts used as decorations on the church walls (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

An additional key feature of life on these islands is a strong emphasis on atoll affiliations. Tokelauans generally identify first and foremost as being from a particular atoll rather than as Tokelauan more broadly (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman, 2017; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). The emphasis on atoll affiliations is reflective of their history. This includes the understanding that each atoll was originally populated by a distinct people, and that they eventually came together due to a variety of factors, including Fakaofo dominating the other two until 1915 (Hoëm, 2005. 2009; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). While there are major commonalities between the three atolls, such as similar environments, there are also some significant differences, like religious affiliations and what they consider cultural treasures (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman 2017; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). There is even ongoing atoll-based disagreement about how the Tokelauan language should be spelt (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

While I have identified some of the core features of living as a Tokelauan on the islands, there is a key point that needs to be kept in mind. This is that people belong to groups in diverse ways and that they also constantly negotiate their belonging, working to alter the group in

order to have it better meet their needs and wants. The group also alters in response to changes external to it. Hoëm (2009) has identified several changes in Tokelau that have challenged the more traditional way of life on the islands. For one, she notes that there is increasing division in terms of what types of work is undertaken there, with some engaging in subsistence activities while others are doing office work. According to Hoëm, the problem is that subsistence activities encouraged people to work together and helped foster the community, while office work is more about individual needs and wants and does not contribute in the same way to village life.

Tokelauans are a highly mobile people, and thus it is essential to discuss the diaspora. Tokelauans have a considerable history of out-migration, doing so for a diverse range of reasons, including economic, political and social factors. Tokelauans are in fact such a mobile population that their census actually takes it into account. Since the 2006 census, there have been three different types of counts included in the census: 1) "de jure usually resident population", 2) "usually resident population present in Tokelau on census night" and 3) "usually resident but away population" (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Their mobility is also reflected in the form of large diaspora populations around the world, with the most substantial one being in New Zealand.

There are some similarities between the Tokelauan way of life on the islands and in New Zealand. For one, *māopoopo* has continued to be an important value for Tokelauans, and it has been argued that it is a key reason why they established cultural associations, sport clubs, and festivals in New Zealand (Green, 1998; Walrond, 2005/2015). There are also several early childhood centres in New Zealand where Tokelauan is spoken. It is also spoken on some radio channels (Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Walrond, 2005/2015). Religion has also continued to be a key feature of Tokelauan lives. In the beginning, the various churches played key roles in helping Tokelauans adapt to life in New Zealand, a point that was also true for other Pacific migrants that were a part of those initial migration waves in the 1960s (Boardman, 1979; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Macpherson, 2012).

While there are commonalities between the Tokelauan way of life on the islands and in New Zealand, there are also significant differences, which reflect that those in New Zealand have

needed to strategically adapt. One of the changes that has been noticed by a variety of authors is a tendency for Tokelauans to become more atomistic in New Zealand (Hoëm, 2004; Howden-Chapman et al., 2000; Lemihio, 2003; Wessen et al., 1992). While there continues to be a variety of active Tokelauan community groups and events, some have suggested that the desire to engage as a community is weakening, particularly for those born in New Zealand rather than on Tokelau itself (Huntsman, 2017; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Wessen et al., 1992). As Howden-Chapman et al. (2000) have argued, Tokelauans can feel quite isolated and stressed in New Zealand. These scholars note that New Zealand is a much larger country, and Tokelauans are much more widely dispersed there than on the islands. They acknowledge that this point is important not only because it is a key reason why they are unable to engage with one another on a regular basis, but also because it can make it more challenging for Tokelauans to provide various forms of support to one another.

Since the initial mass migration to New Zealand there have also been tensions amongst New Zealand Tokelauans in regards to how they should identify themselves, where their loyalties should lie, and what implications that has for them trying to sustain their identity in a multicultural country where they only constitute a very small proportion of the overall population. The beginnings of this tension are evident in some of the results of an interdisciplinary longitudinal study, undertaken from 1968 to 1986, that aimed to explore the impact of migration on the health of Tokelauans by comparing their health with those on the islands. Key results from this study are recorded in Wessen et al. (1992). Part of this study looked at the impacts of social change on Tokelauan migrants' health and thus can provide valuable – and quite in-depth – insights – into Tokelauan experiences seeking to adapt to life in New Zealand, and how they negotiated their identity in this context. These researchers note, for instance, that sometimes pan-Tokelauan organisations were formed in order to try and exert a more powerful political presence than they had managed to achieve when they had been divided along atoll lines. They also note that some Tokelauans started to identify with the New Zealand locality that their community was centred in – such as the Porirua Tokelau Youth Club or The Petone Tokelau Association – rather than as from a particular atoll. The researchers argue that identifying in these different ways were at times a source of tension amongst Tokelauans with some feeling, for instance, that atoll affiliations should remain the primary identification. Tensions about how to identify themselves, as well as the possible and actual implications of this identification, have persisted amongst New Zealand

Tokelauans (Author Field Research Notes, 2012; Green, 1998; Kele-Faiva, 2010; Lemihio, 2003).

Additional perceived changes include that there has been a decline in opportunities for people to engage with Tokelauan elders, and also that these elders can sometimes hold less authority in New Zealand. In New Zealand, there are elders that are highly respected, and are, as Mallon et al. (2003) have argued, "iconic figures in their migrant community" representing "Tokelau culture, and are widely perceived as guardians or custodians of cultural knowledge" (p. 16). However, due to the different social environment, there can be less of a need for intergenerational engagement (Mallon et al., 2003; Pene et al., 2009, Wessen et al., 1992). For one thing, as Mallon et al. (2003) points out, it is no longer essential for younger Tokelauans to learn some of the more traditional cultural skills such as how to make a *toki* (hafted adze) or a handicraft, as they do not have the same functional purposes in New Zealand. Huang (2015) has also argued that elders are struggling to both engage with, and represent, members of the younger generation owing to a cultural divide that has emerged. While Kupa (2009) argues that the younger generations are faced with a different world, one where it is necessary to speak English and engage with technology such as microwaves and smartphones, and where it can be more difficult to find time to interact with their extended family members than it is on the islands.

It is clear that there are significant points of both connection and difference not only between Tokelauans on the islands and those living in New Zealand, but also within each of these communities, due to factors such as age, gender, life experiences and preferences. This further demonstrates how complex identity is, and that there are no easy answers for those of us seeking to deeply listen, and to be led, but finding ourselves propelled into having to have a more direct impact on the research than originally intended.

Tokelauans Negotiating Belonging

In this final section of the chapter, I seek to demonstrate further how complex and dynamic identity is, through discussing Tokelauans first as transnationalists, and then as a Pacific people. Through undertaking this discussion, I also aim to demonstrate that Tokelauans are

constantly negotiating their belonging, and pay significant attention to the affective in order to maintain their memberships in more than one group. Scholars have argued that Tokelauans who migrate do not surrender their attachments to the islands and assimilate wholesale into the new country. They suggest that Tokelauans are best understood as transnationalists (Hoëm, 2009; Mallon et al., 2003). What is it to be a transnationalist, though? And what implications does that have for life as a Tokelauan? And are Mallon et al. (2003) correct in stating that Tokelauans on the islands, and Tokelauans in New Zealand, in many respects constitute a single community?

Transnationalism, as it is employed in this thesis, is a fairly recent concept, only emerging in scholarship during the 1990s (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). There have been many points in history where the mobility of humans has led people to feel connections to multiple places, but in the late twentieth century scholars observed that due to the efficiency, availability and even necessity of long-range travel, the number of people meaningfully attached to more than one country, and to more than one community, had developed in a way that had not been adequately theorized or conceptualised (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999). While there were pre-existing concepts and theories about migration that already challenged the relevance of the notion of nation-states, including the idea of fixed borders, and people's resources and attachments, being limited to the one place (normally their place of origin), there were also some major differences present in what scholars were observing, and thus a need for a new term to acknowledge this (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Portes et al., 1999). What sets transnationalism apart from other forms of mobility is that it involves ongoing reciprocal exchange relationships between at least two places and their respective communities (Nakhid, 2009; Spoonley et al., 2003), and the exchange has to have a degree of regularity to it: a one-off exchange is not considered evidence of transnationalism (Nakhid, 2009; Portes et al., 1999). Thus while the growing scholarship on mobilities has informed this thesis, the reciprocity inherent in the concept of transnationalism is particularly important for this study.

Transnationalism can occur for diverse reasons and take a variety of forms. It can be inspired by a variety of economic, social, political, and cultural factors, and can take both formal and

informal routes. A formal route might be the establishment of businesses in more than one country that are dependent on one another to succeed, such as through an on-going exchange of material and other resources. An example of a more informal expression is the movement of people and objects on their own in quite flexible ways, and some of these are discussed further on in this chapter. Transnationalism is also not solely the movement of people; it is also the transportation of ideas, goods, information, and technologies (Alexeyeff, 2009; Nakhid, 2009; Spoonley et al., 2003). In fact, the emergence of transnationalism has been associated with advances in transportation and technology which have helped to support and encourage this way of life (Nakhid, 2009; Portes et al., 1999; Spoonley et al., 2003). This includes increased availability of air travel and advances in technology that enable people to communicate quickly with one another over vast distances.

How transnationalism is experienced and enacted is context and culturally-specific. In recognition of this, it is necessary to narrow the discussion down to Pacific transnationalism before turning to explore Tokelauan transnationalism. There are two reasons why I begin with Pacific transnationalism. One is that Tokelauans are a Pacific peoples, and thus scholarship on this topic has some broad applicability to Tokelauans as well. The second reason is that there is very limited scholarship available on Tokelauan transnationalism, and thus this approach helps to address the gaps in the literature. 'Pacific peoples' is a term that references what is shared, but also what is distinct, and this is demonstrated throughout my discussion.

A commonality amongst Pacific peoples is that they tend to be highly mobile, resulting in the creation of diaspora communities in various places around the world, including Australia and the United States. For some Pacific groups, there are more people living in the diaspora than on the islands (Buch et al., 2011; Horan, 2017; Lee, 2009b). Many Pacific peoples retain their connections to their homelands even when living far away from them (Borovnik, 2009; Lee, 2009b; Refiti, 2012). How that transnationalism has been enabled has also shaped the form it has taken. There is a particular history as to the factors that have enabled Pacific people to engage in transnationalism and why. As Spoonley (2001) argues, it was in the 1970s that parts of the Pacific acquired commercial air travel, providing people with greater opportunities for travelling between places. He has also argued that the development of new technologies has

provided opportunities for people in the Pacific not only to engage with those in the diasporas more regularly, but also to keep their cultural traditions and identities alive.

In considering the transnationalist life, there may be an inclination to assume that it is primarily about people travelling between places and fostering and sustaining connections. In some instances this is the case, such as New Zealand–born Tokelauans who travel to the islands for important occasions such as to celebrate the opening of a new church. Transnationalism is not always about people travelling, however. It can also be about ideas, cultural objects, and even food, moving between places and affecting life in those places (Lee, 2009b; Nakhid, 2009; Spoonley et al., 2003). Transnationalism can also be undertaken through engaging with one another via phone calls and emails (Alexeyeff, 2009). Some people also never travel to their origin country, instead learning about it primarily through the stories and experiences of other family members (Mallon et al., 2003; Nakhid, 2009). Transnationalists are also interesting as they may, as Spoonley (2001) argues, for instance, play professional sport for their own homeland, and then later for their host country, which is a reflection of them negotiating their identity.

Not all Pacific peoples, however, have equal access to the transportation and technology that supports such a transnational life. For one, telephone densities in the Pacific are quite low, although that does depend on the country in question (Spoonley, 2001). Tokelau was the last country to obtain a telephone service, doing so in 1997 (Levine, 1998). Prior to that, they had been reliant on shortwave radio links to Apia (Levine, 1998). To this day, cell phones do not work on Nukunonu, although it is possible to use satellite phones (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Some countries also have much greater access to the transportation that enables them to connect with the world. For instance, Samoa has regular flights in and out of the country. In contrast, Tokelau only has the fortnightly ferries and the occasional private boat making the trip between the atolls. There are other factors that influence a people's capacity to engage in transnationalism, though, such as access to visas and having 'good' passports. There are only a few groups within the Pacific peoples population that have unrestricted access to New Zealand, for instance, and these are the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau (Hoëm, 2009; Spoonley et al., 2003).

The ways in which transnationalism is lived by Pacific peoples references again the fact that the term 'Pacific peoples' signals points both of connection and of difference. Nakhid (2009) has argued that Pacific transnationalism is different from other versions, and that even within it there is significant diversity. She notes, for instance, that there are major cultural differences amongst the people living in the Pacific. However, she has also argued that there is some cultural commonality present in terms of how it is lived. She refers to a "Pacific way", which places values on such things as respect for elders and community, and also emphasizes the importance of family (p. 216).

In discussing Pacific transnationalism, caution needs to be exercised, as it can be tempting to idealize the life of the transnationalist, failing to acknowledge the loss that is also a part of it. It can be difficult to maintain strong relationships with diverse peoples and places. As various scholars have demonstrated, those living in New Zealand may still continue to identify in a meaningful way with their kin, their village, and their religion, but they are also likely to focus on their more immediate life – on what it is to live in New Zealand – and seek to contribute, whether emotionally or culturally, in that place (Nakhid, 2009; Spoonley, 2001; Spoonley et al., 2003). Lee (2009b) has also argued that transnationalism can weaken over time as the ties to homeland diminish, such as in the case of the second generation – although Lee does point out that because kin is often so important to Pacific peoples, it can be hard to entirely detach from these networks. Alexeyeff (2009) has also identified drawbacks connected with migration, such as those that leave the islands experiencing feelings of "displacement" and "alienation" in their new country (p. 92). She also notes that a person's departure can have negative impacts on the origin community as well, not only in terms of missing the person who has left, but also sometimes in the form of a loss of skills that were much needed in the community.

Turning to Tokelauan transnationalists more specifically, it is necessary to emphasize one point: that belonging is not easy; it is contested, and it is far from straightforward. I noted earlier that Mallon et al. (2003) claim that in many respects Tokelauans on the islands and in New Zealand constitute a single community. I am largely in agreement with these authors, but

it is also important to acknowledge that tensions can exist between the two communities. To illustrate this point, I discuss two examples. The first concerns a play that was written and performed in the early 1990s by some members of the New Zealand Tokelauan community. The second concerns New Zealand Tokelauans' perception of, and involvement in, the 2006 referendum concerning whether or not Tokelau should become independent.

Hoëm (2005) has discussed a controversy that emerged due to a group of Tokelauans writing and performing a play about an aspect of Tokelau's history. She explains that this play touched upon controversial topics including incest and atoll rivalry. She notes that these young Tokelauans were inspired to develop the play following the release of *Matagi Tokelau* (1991), a history book that was written by Tokelauans, under the guidance of scholars. She argues that this book had made public, knowledge that was once considered the property of particular families. She explains that there was controversy over whether or not it was appropriate for these Tokelauans to put on such a play, with questions raised such as whether or not those involved had sought the elders' approval before doing so. She notes that this group brought the play to Tokelau, and while the elders allowed it to go ahead, they did not attend; in addition, a group from the island community put on their own version of the play, claiming to be presenting the *proper* version of the story.

A second example of tension between the two communities occurred during the lead-up to the 2006 referendum over whether or not Tokelau was to become independent. The General Fono had decided in the 1990s that only those Tokelauans actually living on the islands could make decisions about the islands' future (Kalolo, 2007). The Tokelauan communities overseas repeatedly asked to be allowed to contribute to the decision-making process and were denied each time (Hoëm, 2009; Kalolo, 2007). Even though the New Zealand Tokelauans were not allowed to vote, they nevertheless expressed their desire to be included. As Kalolo (2007) explains, these Tokelauans sent letters over to the islands and had their friends and family read them aloud. According to Kalolo, these Tokelauans requested that the Fono change their mind, and put forward arguments about why they should be allowed to vote. As Hoëm (2009) explains, Tokelauans also made newsletters, visited the islands, and went on national radio to spread their message. As Hoëm argues, New Zealand Tokelauans wanted a say in the future

of their islands and, not being able to do so, raised questions about the legitimacy of the political bodies of Tokelau.

Tokelauans, like many Pacific peoples, also do not have to choose between identities. They can marry people of different ethnicities or nationalities than their own without having to then choose between groups. There is also a high rate of intermarriage between Pacific peoples, meaning that Tokelauans potentially have multiple meaningful places (Macpherson, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Admittedly, not all Pacific peoples find this enjoyable. As Mallon & Pereia (1997) identify, for some it can be a real struggle as they feel that they should pick one identity over the other. Yet the point remains: Pacific peoples can in effect have multiple meaningful places, or in other words, multiple homes.

So far in my discussion I have shown differences and similarities between life as a Tokelauan on the islands versus life in New Zealand. I have also argued that Tokelauans constitute transnationalists – that they need both places to exist in order for them to live a life that they consider meaningful. Throughout I have argued that they are also a Pacific peoples, and this intersects with their identity in interesting ways as well. I have attempted to signal throughout my discussion that belonging to a group is not straightforward, nor is it always easy. Identity is constantly being negotiated and adapted and people have different perspectives, not only on what they want as members of their group but also on what it is to even be a member of that group. If I am correct in suggesting that all these differences are present – and sometimes tensions too – how is it possible for a person to feel they belong as a Tokelauan? And to actually belong to the group? Furthermore, how is it possible for them to also cope with being a Pacific peoples as well – a belonging that can sometimes conflict with their other ones?

I argue that part of the reason why many Tokelauans, and Pacific peoples in general, are able to successfully belong to a variety of cultural groups is because they pay significant attention to the affective. When Tokelauans engage in communication with one another, they pay a great deal of attention to the particular situation they are in and consider how information might impact the relationships they have with others, a point that they share in common with other Pacific peoples (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Mallon et al., 2003). To illustrate this point,

I refer now to the reflections of one Pacific artist – Pauline Hoeft-Cocker as recorded by Mallon & Pereia (1997). This artist was born in New Zealand to a German/Tongan father and a Rarotongan mother, and identifies as having strong connections with Tonga in particular. This is quite a complex situation and she notes that she has to be quite careful as to how she identifies herself, as depending on the particular audience, it can cause upset. She discusses a time when a newspaper referred to her as a "Tongan contemporary artist". One of her relatives from the Cook Islands said to her, you are "not a Tongan, you're a Cook Islander", while another person told her, you "know, you don't look like a Tongan. You're a Rarotongan" (p. 31). She is a clay artist and argues that engaging with clay, a medium that is all about malleability, meant that she could explore and represent different parts of who she was.

What I have attempted to demonstrate with this last point is that in order for Tokelauans, and Pacific peoples in general, to retain their identity, they need to engage in an on-going and quite fluid process of negotiation. This negotiation takes place between them and the people they are in meaningful relationships with, such as members of other Pacific groups. As Weir (2008a) argues, identity should not be understood as category, but rather as dialogical. She argues that "we *form* our identities through our relationships, our commitments to and identifications with particular others and 'we's'" (italics added, p.117). The implication of this understanding of identity is that it is highly difficult, if not impossible, for someone to determine what it exactly is to be Tokelauan, and thus who exactly should receive our support – something that – as I demonstrated earlier in the chapter – researchers can nonetheless find themselves being propelled into having to make decisions about.

Conclusion

This chapter emerged out of my attempts to use my critical interdisciplinary approach to come up with a useful response to my research question of what is a meaningful identity. Through paying attention to the struggles encountered responding to this question it became apparent that part of my research approach – that of striving to be a receptive listener – was in fact a much more complex, and in some respects, imperfect, undertaking than originally anticipated and that this needed to be highlighted for other researchers seeking to undertake a similar research approach. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, researchers can be required to justify to their institutions the importance of the research, and this can start to blur the line

between supporting someone else's adaptation, and assuming that we understand what a good life is for someone else. It is clear also that communities consist not only of a diverse range of people, but also varied – and sometimes conflicting – opinions. Thus, even when striving to occupy the role of a receptive listener, researchers can find themselves being propelled into having to decide who to speak to, and whose opinions to prioritize. Therefore, while the role of a receptive listener has the potential to be a highly valuable one, it is important to acknowledge that it is not a straightforward or perfect solution for providing support.

Chapter Four: Conceptualizing Home

> Losing a home, I can assure you, is not the same as losing a land, losing land is losing culture, losing your identity, losing almost everything that is dear to you…Beautiful people like us, like you, will have no home soon.
>
> *Mikaele Maiava* (UCLA, 2011)

As I strove to find useful ways to use my critical interdisciplinary approach to respond to my three broad questions on cultural adaptation, a particular concept kept crossing my path – this was 'home'. It arose, for instance, while watching Mikaele Maiava as he powerfully and emotively addressed an international audience about what it meant for Tokelauans to be faced with the loss of Tokelau – and attempted to convince them to change their ways of living in this world in order to save his *home* – his *country* (UCLA, 2011). It also arose frequently in a more theoretical and abstract manner via the diverse ideas, theories and conversations that I encountered in scholarly settings once I returned from my field research, as academics debated, for instance, what form a home could take, what functions it could have in supporting identity, and whether or not it was even a concept worth supporting.

One of the points that most powerfully struck me about these diverse experiences, engagements, and arguments, was that 'home' appeared to potentially have highly important roles in the creation, sustainment, and adaptation of identity, such as providing an important site for cultural transmission to occur in, and for a sense of safety and belonging to be obtained. *But* – and this was an important but – it was necessary to conceptualize and use this term quite cautiously. Due particularly to my exposure to feminist scholarship at the ISJ, I was aware that some conceptualizations of home have received significant – and not unfounded – criticism. Some scholars, for instance, have argued that in order for some to benefit from the ideals associated with home, other members of the group can pay quite a high price, such as experiencing home as a trap and as a site of violence (Wardhaugh, 1999; Warrington, 2001). Thus, it was clear that it was essential to seek to conceptualise the aspects of home which enrich people's lives and community identity, while retaining an awareness of the potential pitfalls of the concept as well.

A further point that struck me, due to my exposure to these diverse sources, was that home could in fact take many forms and had the potential to be highly adaptable. A home was not necessarily a house, nor did it have to even be a particular fixed location or built structure. In some instances, so long as the space fulfilled the functions of a home, its form was not in fact so important. This was a powerful realisation – and one that was unlikely to have occurred had I chosen to work within the bounds of any one specific discipline, rather than seek the perspectives and ideas of diverse others. This was a highly important realisation as the Anthropocene does not provide ideal conditions for the making and sustaining of homes; thus, we need to find homes that can take diverse forms and exist in even dire circumstances. Overall, we need to make visible greater possibilities for going on in meaningful ways.

In this chapter, I argue that through engaging deeply with the multiple meanings of 'home', it is possible to not only uncover and recognize the valuable roles that homes can have in supporting a people's culture and identity, but also make visible greater possibilities for a people to have access to a home even in highly difficult circumstances, such as those faced by climate vulnerable people. In order to make this argument, I begin by engaging with a range of key ideas about home drawn from a variety of disciplines. This part of my discussion consists of two sections. In the first I put forward a broad argument about how homes can support identity. In the second I discuss different forms that home can take. I finish the chapter by making visible various inclusive and adaptive homes for Tokelauans, both on the islands and in New Zealand, and in doing so, demonstrate not only the real-world applicability of what I am arguing in this chapter, but also signal some ways in which outsiders could provide useful forms of support for the creation and sustainment of such homes, now and in the future.

Home's Functions

'Home' is an evocative term which is likely to bring to mind particular images almost immediately, such as a house, an area of land, or even an entire country. It is useful, however, to attempt to briefly sideline the specific form home might take, to focus instead on its functions. There are two key reasons I begin my discussion in this way, one of which is in recognition of the compelling arguments that various feminists have put forward about the potential dangers of this concept, and thus the need to conceptualise it with a great deal of

care. As various scholars have demonstrated, some 'homes' should not in fact be encouraged and supported as they are experienced by some of their members as quite harmful, rather than beneficial (Wardhaugh, 1999; Warrington, 2001; Weir, 2008b). On the basis of these criticisms, it is thus essential to clarify the useful functions of home, those that support communities, and the individuals that belong to them, in engaging with, and retaining, their culture in enriching and beneficial ways.

The second reason for beginning the discussion here is to try to loosen some of the associations that exist between home's functions and the specific forms that it takes. Home can provide a variety of important supports for identity, yet as a range of scholars have quite rightly pointed out, having a home is often experienced as a form of privilege (Visweswaran, 1994; Young, 2002). I argue that we need to find ways for more people to have access to a home and one possibility for achieving this is through broadening what forms we think a home can take. Through focussing on its functions, we might perceive some diverse and unexpected spaces as homes. Before proceeding with this discussion, however, it is necessary to indicate that there is always some overlap between home's function and its form, and thus it is not entirely possible to keep home's form out of the discussion even at this early stage.

The type of home that I am interested in here is the type primarily geared towards supporting a community's efforts to retain its identity. In light of this, one of the functions that home should have is to provide an environment where members can obtain a sense of belonging and feel nurtured. Home has often been conceptualized in such a way. For instance, Yi-Fu Tuan (1975), a humanistic geographer, describes home as "nurturing shelter" (p. 154), while Iris Marion Young (2002), a prominent feminist, points out that people "often look forward to going home and invite others to make themselves at home" (p. 314). Ideally, home is somewhere we want to spend time because it *feels* good to be there. Being part of a group can enrich our lives in a multitude of ways, including having others there to support us during difficult times, and having them affirm our way of life.

Homes can also provide members with an environment where they can experience continuity between past and future. Young (2002) discusses this point, arguing that home can provide an

anchor for identity, enabling people to adapt without losing a sense of who they are and who they are aspiring to become. Her argument is that homes are a space in which our history is passed on, but that this is done in quite an active way as members need to reinterpret their past in order to make it more relevant to the world they are living in now. A similar point is reflected in the arguments of other scholars, such as Māhina (2006), who writes that Pacific peoples generally understand themselves as walking backwards into the future, with the past firmly in front of them, thus enabling them to make informed decisions about where they as a people are headed.

A key feature of the type of homes that I am arguing for in this chapter is safety. The importance of this feature, and the role that it has in supporting a people in retaining their culture and identity, is multifaceted and complex. For one, a home should provide a community with the capacity to protect its members from those who may indirectly or directly threaten their way of life. Indirect threats can come in a variety of forms, such as unequal distribution of resources and lack of cultural understanding by others. An example of an indirect threat can be seen when those who control cultural funding have quite a culturally specific and narrow understanding of what constitutes art, and also of appropriate ways to engage with art. Their understandings can prevent other groups from having as many opportunities to engage with, and represent, their culture as it actually is, or is in a process of becoming (for useful discussions on this refer to Mallon, 2010; N. Thomas, 1996; Wendt, 1976). There are also more direct threats, such as active discrimination. A home should ideally function as a space in which people can not only retreat from such dangers, but also safely engage with and preserve their culture.

There is more to this feature of safety than simply providing a safe space to retreat to. It is also about being restored in order to address such threats. In regards to this point, bell hooks' (1990) essay, "Homeplace: (A site of resistance)" has been useful not only for my own understandings of home, but also for many other scholars as well (such as Visweswaran, 1994; Weir, 2008b; Young, 2002). I return to hooks throughout the chapter and for that reason I discuss her argument in some depth here. In this piece, hooks recalls the journey she made to her grandmother's house when she was a child. Hooks is African-American and her

grandmother's home was located in a hostile white neighbourhood. Upon arriving at her grandmother's home, hooks recalls a feeling of safety and proceeds to discuss how it was an important place for them to have their dignity restored and their culture affirmed and appreciated. Hooks goes further than this though, to extend a story that can seem individual, private and small-scale, to a much broader political project. She links her story to an African-American tradition of making 'homeplaces' – environments where a community could be restored so that they then could challenge the discrimination they were encountering in the public sphere.

While safety is clearly an important feature of homes for enabling a people to retreat, recover, and respond effectively to external threats, it is also important that members feel safe from threats internal to the group as well. As various feminist scholars have demonstrated, some conceptualisations of home have come at a high price for particular members (Wardhaugh, 1999; Warrington, 2001). A variety of other feminist scholars have acknowledged these criticisms but have pointed out that homes can also be experienced in an entirely different way – as places of physical and emotional safety (Weir, 2008b; Young, 2002). For them, it then becomes essential to reconceptualise home in a more complex way, rather than falling into a false dualism, so that it does not become a case of either we support the ideal of home while accepting that some may pay a high price for it, or else we abandon the ideal entirely (Weir, 2008b; Young, 2002). Weir (2008b) provides a useful formulation, arguing that we need to surrender the fantasy of home as an environment where there are no conflicts. She suggests that we should instead view home "as a site of the risk of connection, of sustaining relationship through conflict" (p. 8). She proposes that we seek to create homes where conflict is accepted and addressed through dialogue rather than violence. Such an approach acknowledges the importance of home to belonging and to identity, but is quite grounded and realistic about what types of home we can ever hope to acquire. Even those that have homes that are enjoyable and fulfilling have to deal with conflict within them from time to time. Through experiencing conflict and finding mutually acceptable resolutions, the relationships between people can actually be strengthened.

Another important element that needs to be present in these homes is what Young (2002) has conceptualised as 'privacy'. While Young's discussion is focussed on the needs and rights of

individuals, her conceptualisation of privacy can be usefully applied to communities as well. Young argues that her concept of privacy "refers to the autonomy and control a person has to allow or not allow access to her person, information about her, and the things that are meaningful associated with her person" (p. 152). She proceeds to argue that this means that "a person should have control over access to her living space, her meaningful things, and information about herself" (p. 152). Based on Young's conceptualisation of privacy, it is clear that privacy can be experienced and understood in diverse ways. For one, it might be physical privacy – that those outside of the home cannot easily see into the space and observe the activities of the inhabitants. Or, it might be more about being able to share culturally sensitive and valuable information without fear of others overhearing it. In previous chapters I discussed the Tokelauan relationship to knowledge and how Tokelauans can be quite selective in terms of when and where to share particular information as this can affect their relationships with other people. A home should enable people, such as Tokelauans, to discuss sensitive topics without fear of being overheard, preventing them from facing unwanted repercussions.

People also need to feel a sense of ownership over the home; they need to feel that they have a reasonable amount of control over the space, enabling them to influence who and what is there and how people behave while they are present. As Young argues, to "own a space is to have autonomy over the admission to the space and contents" (p. 152). Her definition of owning a space is quite broad and can be usefully applied to communities, who may employ a diverse range of measures to control who has access to a specific space, and what information they can access once there. For instance, a community may have measures in place such as procedures for entering a community building such as a marae, building gates to keep unwanted visitors out, or simply inspecting their surroundings to make sure no one else is present before choosing to share culturally sensitive information. Having a fair degree of control over the home is important in order to enable its inhabitants to safely undertake various cultural activities.

The main reason why I am arguing for a *sense* of ownership is in recognition of culturally diverse understandings of ownership and ways of relating to places. For instance, Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2003) has compared Aboriginal and European belonging in Australia to

reveal some major differences between the two. She claims that for white Australians, their belonging is in part tied to a specific understanding of ownership, one that is linked to capital. She argues that Aboriginal people understand belonging, identity, and place, in quite a different way. She explains that, due to The Dreaming, Aboriginal people understand themselves as in unity with the natural world rather than separate from it. Thus, for Aboriginal people land is not something that they can actually 'own', at least not in the way that a non-Indigenous Australian might define ownership. Moreton-Robinson's argument is also mirrored in other groups, such as New Zealand's Māori. As Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, and Kirkwood (1995) argue, Māori often understand themselves as part of the natural world, existing alongside others, both animate and inanimate, rather than as separate or above them. These authors argue that Māori commonly understand themselves as having ongoing relationship with places and animals, relationships that require that they nurture these things rather than simply take what they desire from them. These scholars note that Māori do not accord human beings any special status or dominion over other parts of nature, something that distinguishes them from a variety of other cultural groups.

Finally, when discussing homes that are primarily aimed towards supporting a group's identity, it is essential to remember that identity is about connection, not sameness (Hall, 1990; Weir, 2008a). In Chapter Three I discussed Tokelauans, noting that their identity is constantly negotiated in response to changes both internal and external to the group. I also suggested that each Tokelauan belongs to the group in their own ways, reflecting such differences as age, gender, and life experiences. This diversity needs to be mirrored in the homes that are there to support the group's identity. Some homes will be used by the vast majority, if not all, of the group. While these homes might be shared, members of the community will use the space in different ways from one another. A community hall, for example, might be intended for everyone but may also contain spaces within it for specific activities, ones that are only carried out by a select few in the community. There are also homes that are only ever intended for a specific portion of the group, such as a youth centre. In order for homes to provide the important functions that I have argued for, it is essential that they take into account the diversity that exists within the group.

Home's Forms

In this part of the chapter I argue that homes can come in diverse forms and have the potential to be quite adaptable. My discussion here is divided into two parts, beginning with an investigation into homes that are generally thought of as having a fairly high degree of permanency, such as a house, an area of land, or even an entire country. By starting here, it is possible not only to demonstrate how these spaces can support identity but also to acknowledge a criticism that a range of scholars have put forward about home. This criticism is that there has been a tendency in academic scholarship to think of homes as being stable and unshifting, as having a high degree of permanence (Ahmed, Castañeda, Fortier, & Sheller, 2003; Nakhid, 2009; Sandu, 2013). Understanding home as having a high degree of permanence is problematic, as it potentially excludes many millions from having a home, such as those that leave places behind for one reason or other, including migrants, transnationalists, cosmopolitans and refugees. Thus, in the second part of this section, I explore home in relation to those that leave, and in doing so, make it apparent that many more people could have access to a home than if we conceive of home in physically fixed terms alone.

One example of a quite fixed home is a house. A variety of scholars have argued that the house becomes a visible manifestation of our identity as the inhabitants carefully select what items to include in that space and may also alter the house to suit their preferences, such as changing the structure to make rooms bigger or smaller (Van Lennep, 1987; Young, 2002). As Young (2002) argues, a house can also reflect people's routines, such as where they eat breakfast, who with, and why. Depending on factors such as whether or not they can afford to own the house and who their neighbours are, the inhabitants can also acquire a quite high degree of privacy and safety. House as home is often conceptualised in quite an individualistic way, where an individual or family inhabits that space and alters it to meet their needs, and where it provides a withdrawal from the public sphere to the private (Van Lennep, 1986; Young, 2002).

House as home is not only about the individual, it can also function in important ways for connecting with community. This point is reflected, for instance, in hooks' (1990) argument: she was not simply visiting her grandmother's house, she was also connecting as an African-

American woman and resisting neighbourhood hostility. These connections may be more concrete than the emotional community connection in the hooks example. Noble (2014), for instance, has explored the different understandings and requirements of built space around the world, including the ways that houses have been constructed to reflect cultural beliefs and activities. For example, he argues, in Muslim areas a common characteristic of homes is to have two courtyards, one for the men and the other for the women. The men's one has access to the street and affords them opportunities to engage with other men that are wandering past, while the women's one has no direct access to the street, creating a communal, but also private, space.

Home as house is a common association, but it is not the only built structure that could be considered a home (Christensen, 2013; Mallett, 2004, Young, 2002). Scholars have pointed out that our lives take place in diverse settings, such as community halls and churches (Moss, 1997; Young, 2002). In fact, these built spaces can be much more important than a house in terms of creating a home for a community. In recent history, architects have recognized the importance of these buildings for community engagement and have started adjusting their designs in light of this. Archer (2005) argues that a lot of "work in architectural history has addressed buildings as only the passive handmaidens of other interests and forces in society" (p. 432). He notes, though, that since the start of the twentieth century, scholars working in diverse disciplines have considered how "built space" might be used more strategically, such as to foster and sustain culture (p. 430).

Homes do not always require a physical built structure; sometimes it can be more about relating to a particular place. This is the case for many Māori. In recounting their genealogy, it is common for Māori to identify particular rivers, mountains, and other natural features that are tied to their individual and collective identity (George, 2010; Jahnke, 2002). This point is also apparent in some other Pacific peoples' groups as well, as clearly demonstrated in Bonnemaison's (1985) discussion of what he has referred to as 'Vanuatu societies'. In this, he argues that, although members of these societies can actually be quite mobile, and some in fact even live permanently overseas, it is nonetheless essential to their sense of identity to retain strong relationships with particular places in Vanuatu. He argues that these people in fact have an inalienable, and in some respects deeply spiritual, relationship with specific

places. Place as home is not limited to indigenous peoples either. As Read (2000) has demonstrated in considerable depth, non-Indigenous people can also identify their sense of belonging as dependent on sustaining a relationship with a specific place.

Home is also multiple and multi-scalar: some may claim that a house or an area of country functions as a home to them, but they may also argue that their nation-state is home for them as well (Christensen, 2013; Mallett, 2004). Depending on the size of the nation-state and who else lives there, it could arguably constitute a home. For instance, a person might feel that they belong there and may also be able to engage with their culture with little threat from outsiders. Or, the opposite might be true: they may have a home – in the sense of house as home – but may experience feelings of homelessness on a broader scale, as reflected in Christensen's (2013) discussion of homelessness in the Northwest Territories of Canada. In this, she suggests that while indigenous peoples might have a house to live in, they may nonetheless still experience homelessness. The homelessness that she is referring to relates to the dispossession of their land and the harm to their culture that has been inflicted upon them by colonization and its aftermath. It is about their inability to live a life that they consider meaningful and to retain a relationship with their community.

Much of the above conceptualisation of house as home assumes ideal, or at least privileged, access to place and resources. For instance, having access to a built structure such as a community hall or a house, and then being able to alter it so that it suits requirements, can be quite dependent on having the material resources to do so. Furthermore, it also assumes the freedom to maintain ongoing connections, yet Weir (2008b) has noted that worldwide there are large numbers of people that have been forcibly displaced from their homes, including refugees, immigrants and homeless people. In their case, the privilege is partly about having the ability to stay 'at home'. Weir has argued quite rightly that "the privileged need to question their cosy homes, while the oppressed need to have access to them" (p. 8).

For those that are able to stay in place, or close to place, there is a possibility to create homes in the nooks and crannies – to, in effect, be strategic when it comes to making and sustaining homes. While we may desire for everyone to have equal opportunities to form and sustain

homes and should work towards achieving this, we also need to accept that not everyone will always have ideal conditions for creating home. Thus, it is important to think about how people will create homes in less than ideal circumstances. Hooks' discussion of homeplaces is one excellent example of creating homes in difficult circumstances. Her descriptions of homeplaces signal a great deal of adaptability and resilience on the part of African-Americans. At varying points in the text, she refers to homeplaces as "fragile", "tenuous" and "transitional" (pp. 42, 47). The forms they take include "the slave hut, the wooden shack" (p. 42) and "a makeshift shed, a small bit of earth where one rests" (p. 47). What comes through here is that they do not rely on having access to one particular building, or even a particularly permanent space: as long as it fulfils the functions required of home, they can be made and remade as circumstances demand.

It is not only those who stay that have the capacity to adapt or create homes: it is also those who leave. Through examining literature on cosmopolitans, migrants, transnationalists and refugees – I will demonstrate that they too have the ability to create homes, even those in highly difficult circumstances such as refugees. I begin my discussion by exploring rootless cosmopolitanism, doing so for several main reasons. One is to show how some of their arguments have the potential to undermine the importance of home. An additional reason is to reveal that these cosmopolitans need homes as well and to explore the forms that their homes might come in.

At its most basic, cosmopolitanism refers to understanding oneself as primarily a citizen of the world, rather than primarily as a member of a smaller grouping such as a nation-state. There are considerable positives to cosmopolitanism, such as a care for those beyond one's immediate contact – for instance, those in far-off countries. There are also admittedly many different conceptualisations of cosmopolitanism. Some cosmopolitans are, for instance, rooted cosmopolitans – grounding their care for others in their own belongings, whether that is to a country (Appiah, 1997) or to a religion (Euben, 2013). Other cosmopolitans are better understood as rootless, identifying themselves first and foremost as citizens of the world as a whole, with seemingly little, if any, attachment to the local (Calhoun, 2003; Waldron, 1992).

There are some conceptualisations of rootless cosmopolitanism that are deeply troubling, as they can undermine the importance of home. These cosmopolitans understand themselves as not needing homes, and project this view onto others. Waldron (1992) is one example of this, claiming that he can travel the world, engage with various cultural forms and not feel that his identity has at all been compromised. He has even argued that to provide material support for minority cultures is, in effect, to create an artificial situation similar to "Disneyland" (p. 763). He argues that cultures should be exposed to the forces of the world and if they are meant to survive, they will. In claiming this, he fails to recognize why some might be better positioned to protect their culture than others.

As Waldron's views suggest, rootless cosmopolitans can fail to recognize that a key reason why they are able to claim that home is of little importance to them is – as various scholars have compellingly argued – because they occupy positions of immense privilege and power (Calhoun, 2003; Visweswaran, 1994). If they recognized this, they might become more aware of the presence of homes in their lives in diverse ways. These cosmopolitans have *chosen* to leave places and people behind, rather than being forced by others to do so. Their movement and ways of inhabiting the world have also, as Calhoun (2003) points out, been supported by advantages that not all have access to, such as passports that allow for relatively easy entry into a wide range of countries. These cosmopolitans can often also be reliant on their homelands being secure, enabling them to expand out without necessarily questioning their attachment to the places they have left behind.

The major problem with rootless cosmopolitanism is not, however, that they are deceiving themselves; it is that they have the potential to undercut the importance of home to those that are not as privileged. These rootless cosmopolitans have, in some situations, not only material advantages but also discursive ones. As Calhoun (2003) points out, such cosmopolitans may be more prominent in conferences, for instance, and thus their understanding of the world can at times dominate. One critic of the rootless cosmopolitan position is the feminist ethnographer Visweswaran (1994), who refers to it as "a kind of transcendent transnationalism" (p. 111). She argues that it is important that such scholars interrogate their own privilege and for less privileged people to be able "to claim home as place of nurturance and protection" (p. 111). She compellingly states that "it does seem to me

that one of the worst abuses of thinking about the local was to assume that we gained more than we lost by leaving it behind" (p. 111). Homes matter: they support identity in a variety of ways. Due to a range of factors, some are not as well positioned to secure their homes as others are. This point finds connection with the earlier discussion on feminism and their arguments that rather than abandon the ideal of home, we need to make it more widely available.

There is one last concern that I have with the position of the rootless cosmopolitan: it can discourage us from examining the presence of home in their lives. Do they, for instance, make new homes while away? I argue that many do, and that even a hotel room could constitute a temporary home. D. J. Van Lennep's 'The Hotel Room' (1987) is a useful tool for reflecting upon how cosmopolitans might make home. In this, he uses a hotel room to explore how a room becomes ours through the process of inhabiting it over a period of time. He uses the example of a hotel room as it is a room that anyone can book, as long as they have the necessary financial resources. He acknowledges that compared with a privately owned home, there are significant limitations to how the space can be altered to meet the inhabitants' needs; it is not possible to alter the colour of the walls, for instance. It is in light of the reduced ability to alter the space that I would suggest that it might be best understood as a diluted form of home.

There are several reasons why a hotel room could be considered a home of sorts, one of which is that the occupant can obtain a sense of privacy and safety there. As Van Lennep argues, my "hotel room is my room; for I shall pay for it, perhaps I have even reserved it in advance" (p. 212). A hotel room is also generally a space in which the occupant has a fairly high degree of control over who can enter and when. A 'do not disturb' sign can keep hotel staff away and a lock on the door can keep others out. An additional reason why a hotel room could be considered a home is that the occupants can engage in some cultural activities while there. For instance, who do they invite into this space? What activities do they undertake while there? Can the people there obtain a sense of cultural belonging?

Before leaving Van Lennep behind, there is one last thought-provoking point that he makes – and this concerns the limits to which we can deliberately create home. Van Lennep argues that, for most of us, having a home exactly the way we desire it is not an option. In fact, he

claims that it is an “unfillable dream”, as there is simply too much that lies outside of our free choice (p. 209). For instance, what have others given to us to use and what are the limits of the space we are using? Who occupies the spaces around us? He also argues that how we use a space is impacted by our class, culture and more, and that a room is in part about our social ego – who will we receive and where? Thus, we cannot make a home without first considering who else might enter and their opinion of it. Van Lennep also notes that even those of us with a very high degree of control over the space – a very rare few – cannot force a home as it has more to do with feelings than a precise formula.

This critique of rootless cosmopolitanism provides several useful tools in going forward. One is that it provides an opportunity to show that home/s features in all of our lives, even in those that outwardly deny its importance. It also provides an opportunity for thinking of home as a process – that we constantly work to sustain old homes, and to make new ones as well. My discussion has also started to show that ‘home’ can happen in a variety of settings and scales. It can be a house, a hotel room, an area of land, or even an entire country. In order to develop my argument further I turn now to scholars working on migration and transnationalism. I do so because it shows homes as at times multiple and interdependent, as coming in diverse forms, and it also provides an opportunity to explore homes that are more temporary and transitory.

Transnationalism as a field of study only really began to emerge in the 1990s (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Through discussing transnationalism’s emergence, it is possible to draw out the commonalities it has with other schools of thought – thus providing an opportunity to indicate that they too can provide important insights into home. In the beginning, it had to be proven that there was an actual need for a new concept, that there was not already a term that adequately covered transnationalism’s subject matter. Portes et al. (1999) argue that this was not a straightforward task as transnationalism shared commonalities with other schools of thought, in particular those working on migration as well as postcolonial theorists. Portes et al. (1999) identify two major challenges that scholars had to address in order to justify this new concept. The first was that pre-existing schools of thought already challenged the notion that migration was a straightforward one-way trip, where people in effect abandoned their past home and assimilated into the new one. They argued that what actually happened was more complex. They claimed that people preserved the culture they had brought with them

but also adapted strategically to their new environments. The second challenge that Portes et al. (1999) argue scholars faced when trying to put forward an argument for a new concept was that elements of transnationalism had existed for centuries, such as return migration and "periodic home visits" (p. 224). Thus, was it possible to claim that anything new was happening? It is important to acknowledge these debates because it signals that these other schools of thought also have important insights into home and its adaptability.

Research into transnationalism and migration offers a variety of insights into home, one of which is that homes can be multiple and interdependent. Transnationalists live complex lives and as a result have homes in more than one place (Baldassar, 1997; Sandu, 2013). I argue that they are interdependent homes, largely due to the reciprocity element that is part of transnationalism. Reciprocity requires a two-way exchange that is beneficial for all involved. Admittedly, the extent to which these transactions are likely to always be equal is questionable, but nonetheless they are important. For instance, one community may provide remittances and in exchange receive cultural objects or information, or have their land possession secured while they are away (Hau'ofa, 1994; Lee, 2009a; Portes et al., 1999). In return, the community that receives the remittances gets much-needed financial input that helps support their way of life (Hau'ofa, 1994; Lee, 2009a; Portes et al., 1999). Because of these mutually beneficial exchanges, their homes can be understood as depending on one another. To make this point more explicit, an example of this interdependency could be a migrant that decorates their house with cultural objects from their origin community, thus enabling them to feel more at home there. On the other side of the exchange, for example, a community might be able to build a new church with funds sent over by these migrants.

In order to develop this point about interdependent and multiple homes further, I engage with research conducted on an Italian migrant community in Perth, Australia. Baldassar (1997) applied a transnationalist lens to her research on this community. She came to the conclusion that it was essential for these Italians to undertake return visits to their origin community in San Fior, Italy, in order to sustain their identity and to obtain a stronger feeling of belonging as *Italians*. She identifies a variety of reasons why the return visit was important, one of which is that it enabled the migrants and their descendants to address the homesickness they felt

for San Fior as a particular and unique place. Baldassar argues that for these San Fior migrants, inhabiting a particular place, albeit temporarily, contributed significantly to their capacity to feel at home in the world. According to Baldassar, the return trip also enabled the younger generation Italian-Australians to purchase gold jewellery or Italian designer clothing which helped them to be more visibly identifiable as Italian once they returned to Australia. She also argues that through returning to San Fior, these Italians could also be legitimated in the eyes of the community as they showed that their migration to Australia had been successful in terms of improving their financial situation, thus justifying their initial departure. What is interesting about this case is that Baldassar argues that the San Fior migrants are similar to pilgrims as when they are in Perth they desire to be in San Fior and vice versa. What all of this implies is that, at least for these migrants, they need both homes to exist in order to feel more broadly at home in the world.

A major insight that scholarship on transnationalism provides is that making and sustaining homes is an ongoing and unending process, and one that is not entirely within people's control (Ahmed et al., 2003; Mallett, 2004; Sandu, 2013). It is an unending process as people constantly have to adapt to changes both external and internal to the group. These changes can include political, legal, social, cultural, environmental and economic factors. While it is a process, we also need to keep in mind that it is not one that we have complete control over, a point that has already been raised in my discussion on Van Lennep and that I now seek to develop further. For one, there are debates about how long it can take to *feel* at home in a place (Ahmed et al., 2003; Read, 2000). How many years, or even generations, does it take for migrants to identify as belonging to their host country? Belonging is not only about what an individual or groups wants or feels; it is also about what others think. Read (2000) has explored this topic in great depth in relation to Australia and the different groups living there, including indigenous peoples and white Australians – who gets to decide who belongs, and on what basis?

An additional insight that can be gained from engaging with scholarship about transnationalism is that home can come in more temporary and transient forms than sometimes thought, and that the particular environment is not always of primary importance. The reality that some homes are quite transitory is reflected in Baldassar's research. When

migrants visit San Fior they are doing so on a temporary basis, perhaps staying with relatives or finding a hotel. The fact that it is a temporary home does not detract from its importance – after all, it is essential that these migrants make this trip in order to feel like Italians and, more broadly, to feel at home in the world. Home does not always involve prioritizing a particular place, in fact there are many who argue that simply engaging with their culture is enough for them to feel at home (Jahnke, 2002; Read, 2000). These two points are useful for thinking about home's adaptability.

An additional example of temporary and transitory homes is apparent in Alexeyeff's (2009) discussion of *tere pati* (travelling parties). According to Alexeyeff, a *tere pati* involves 20–100 Cook Islanders travelling to other places to create and sustain various types of relationships, including social and economic. She argues that Cook Islanders have a considerable history of engaging in this practice, one that even stems back prior to European contact. She states that a *tere pati* can originate either in the Cook Islands or in one of the diaspora communities. *Tere pati* provide multiple opportunities for people to engage with one another and for cultural transmission to occur, all of which are important components of a home. For one, as Alexeyeff argues, a *tere pati* can provide an opportunity for those on the island to pass on the "'old' stories', songs, and dances" to their children (p. 96). She also notes that members of the diaspora view *tere pati* that are headed to the Cook Islands as providing important opportunities for their children to learn culturally valued skills such as fishing and Cook Island Māori. I argue that when people are engaging in this cultural transmission, homes are being created around them.

Finally, where, and what, people consider 'home' can profoundly change over the course of their lifetime, and this helps not only further illustrate how important having access to a home can be for an individual and/or community, but also homes' adaptability. Multiple examples could be provided in order to make this point, but the one I have chosen to focus on here concerns those that have very little choice in leaving their homes – refugees, internally displaced people, and asylum seekers (referred to collectively in this section as refugees). They are forced out of their various homes and have to rely on others to take them in. According to the United Nations, there are currently more than 50 million refugees worldwide (UNHCR, 2014). The vast majority of refugees are internally displaced and are eventually able to return,

although that number has worryingly declined in recent years (UNHCR, 2014). As various scholars have noted, not all refugees necessarily want to return though to what once was 'home', including those that have little fear of returning (Carens, 2013; D. Miller, 2015). Based on what such scholars have suggested, this appears to be at least partly due to refugees having effectively created 'homes' while in Asylum, places where they have acquired, amongst other things, a sense of belonging, and safety. This question of where home is located is one that finds connections with others as well, such as transnationalists and migrants. They too may come to identify more strongly with the place they moved to than the one they left behind (Nakhid, 2009; Sandu, 2013). This point suggests that where home is can shift, and that in itself suggests that people have the capacity to create homes in diverse situations, and a determination to do so.

Tokelauan 'Homes' on the Islands and in New Zealand

The conceptualisation of home put forward in this chapter emerged in response to both my experiences in the field and my exposure to diverse theories and ideas encountered in more typically academic settings. Undertaking deep theoretical and conceptual work has helped me to conceptualize home in a way that has the potential to be highly useful not only for a climate vulnerable people, but also for outsiders seeking to provide them with appropriate forms of support. This is because the way in which I have conceptualised home not only recognizes that such sites can provide a variety of highly important functions for sustaining an identity, but also that these homes can take diverse forms and have the potential – when adequately and appropriately resourced – to be quite adaptable, enabling them to exist even in highly difficult circumstances.

There was an additional outcome to undertaking this theoretical and conceptual work though; it helped me understand a point that up until then I had only been able to intuit – which was that during my field research I had encountered real world examples of the types of home that I had theorized. I had been exposed to a wide range of homes during my field research – all of which had important roles to play in supporting Tokelauan identity. Some of these homes were quite permanent and site-specific structures, while others were much more adaptable and temporary. Overall, I had gained a deeper appreciation and understanding of Tokelauans'

skills at making homes in diverse situations and realised that a valuable next step was to make this visible. Through doing so, Tokelauans could potentially gain a deeper awareness of their skills at making such homes, and outsiders seeking to provide Tokelauans with appropriate and concrete forms of support could also perceive opportunities for doing so. As will be seen in my discussion, one possible way for outsiders to provide support is through giving appropriate and adequate resources to these 'homes'.

In this section of the chapter, I strive to show that my conceptualisation of home can be observed in the home-making practices of Tokelauans on the islands, and in New Zealand, and should be encouraged and supported by outsiders. In order to make this argument, there are two goals that I need to achieve. The first is to make visible a diverse range of homes that help support Tokelauan identity, while the second is to demonstrate that Tokelauans can create homes in a wide range of situations. It should be noted that this discussion is not aimed at revealing all of the homes that Tokelauans have, but rather to achieve the above two goals.

I begin my discussion by focussing on homes in Tokelau and by claiming that there is a strong correlation between inhabiting the islands and being part of the Tokelauan community. As a result, the island as a whole can function as a home because it is a space where people can – amongst other things – obtain a sense of belonging and sustain their culture. In contrast to multicultural nations such as New Zealand, Australia, and the United States, in Tokelau there is a strong correlation between living specifically as a Tokelauan and living on these islands. In the most recent census 85 percent of Tokelau's inhabitants identified as either full or part Tokelauan (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

This strong correlation between community and place is reflected in a variety of ways, including their responses to population pressures on the islands. Huntsman and Hooper (1996) have discussed some of the islands' responses to overpopulation. They note that the people of Atafu and Nukunonu have previously dealt with the overpopulation of their villages through spreading onto neighbouring land. It is their discussion of Fakaofo that is the most intriguing. According to Huntsman and Hooper, in the late 1960s, Fakaofo needed a new school and hospital and there was no suitable space available on the islet they were inhabiting.

It was decided that these buildings would be constructed on a previously uninhabited neighbouring islet, and some families moved there as well. These scholars state that the "new settlement remains a suburb, however, and Fakaofo continues as one village in the socio-political sense" (p. 28). This discussion is important as, even when Tokelauans have become more widely dispersed on the island, they have still chosen to govern themselves as one.

Figure 6: The Roman Catholic Church Whinagalo Paia*, Nukunonu, 2012.*

There are a variety of buildings on the islands that are intended for community engagement and cultural transmission, and these provide physical spaces where people live out important elements of home-making. These buildings include the *falepā* (meeting hall), where feasts, farewells, dance competitions and even games of bingo take place (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). It also includes the churches, which have a major presence in the lives of the vast majority of people (Figure 6). Based on my observations, most Tokelauans on Nukunonu seem to attend church services at least once a week. The *fatupaepae* is another important community building: during the day it is largely a female only space, and at night it is used for choir and dance practice (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

There is significant diversity within a community, including different genders and ages, and this needs to be reflected in their homes as well. This point is apparent in Tokelau and is clear when reflecting on the different homes that people have, depending on their gender. In the previous chapter I briefly explored gender roles in Tokelau through engaging with the

Tokelauan saying *Ko te fafine e nofo: ko te tagata e fano i te auala*. According to Huntsman and Hooper (1975) this translates as the "woman stays: the man goes on the path" (p. 418). As several scholars have demonstrated, this saying references gender roles, and also what spaces different people on the island occupy (Hoëm, 1993; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Men typically are quite visible, carrying out activities such as fishing, tending the plantation and occupying the most obvious positions of authority (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Hoëm, 1993; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). In contrast, women are associated with the house and the village, in part because they are understood as both valuable and vulnerable and thus needing to be protected (Hoëm, 1993; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Women stay near the home, raising the children and caring for the house.

The reality of home is much more complex than this saying suggests, however. For one, as Hoëm (1993) argues, women often ask people that they see wandering past where they are going. She argues that this reflects a right to know the activities of other community members. It was also apparent to me during my field research that women undertake a variety of cultural activities outside of the house as well, such as when they are fulfilling their duties as members of the *fatupaepae*, which can involve a range of activities such as weaving and checking the general cleanliness of the village. I also observed that women were involved in activities that included both genders, such as practicing for a dance competition on the island and playing *kilikiti* (Tokelauan cricket). Based on my observations, being involved in such activities enabled these women to connect with their culture and community. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that gender roles have been changing somewhat in Tokelau – such as an increase in the proportion of women involved in Tokelau's politics, as reflected – for instance – in a growth in the number of female delegates within the General Fono (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b, p. 6).

There is one group that has not been considered yet, and this is young adults. Age and wisdom are strongly associated in Tokelau, and thus younger people are unlikely to exert much authority or say in the house, or in the governing of the village in general. However, I would argue that they too have a variety of homes on the island. For one, everyone in the village is divided into one of the two *faitū* (sides) (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman &

Hooper, 1996). This affects life on the islands in the form of friendly competition, such as in games of *kilikiti* and dance competitions (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Based on my observations, the youth appear generally quite involved in these activities. This is important as they are potential sites for Tokelauans to obtain a sense of belonging and for cultural transmission to occur.

I have argued that one important function of home is to protect a way of life, and this protective side of home is apparent in a diverse range of ways in Tokelau. It is apparent, for instance, in regards to land distribution and who can visit the islands. For one, since the Tokelau Islands Amendment Act of 1967 it has been illegal to sell land (*fenua*) to non-Tokelauans (Hoëm, 2005). Instead, Tokelauans must distribute it amongst themselves (Hoëm, 2005). There are a variety of possible benefits to this law, such as ensuring that external investors do not affect Tokelau too extensively. Tokelauans can also exert considerable control over who can even visit the island due to factors such as their geographic isolation and their ability to influence who can obtain a spot on board the boat to Tokelau. In Chapter Two I noted some of the formal and informal measures present in getting to Tokelau. Tokelauans can also impose rules about what visitors can bring to the islands – for instance, while I was on Nukunonu they were about to ban alcohol there.

Measures for protecting their Tokelauan ways of life are also reflected in more subtle ways than preventing people from visiting the islands and purchasing land. One example of this is Tokelauans' relationship to knowledge. A key reason they are careful about what information they share, and in what context, is, as Huntsman and Hooper (1996) point out, because improper information sharing can result in challenges to land possession and also disrupt the peaceful coexistence of the three atolls. A further example is viewing restrictions that have been applied to the internet on Nukunonu, reflecting decisions by the community about what is appropriate for people to engage with online (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Overall, there are a variety of examples that demonstrate that Tokelau as a whole, as well as the specific atolls within it, can in some respects be considered to be fulfilling the role of a 'home' in the sense that they have various measures in place to protect the Tokelauan way of life.

What happens on the islands is not sufficient to tell us about Tokelauans and home. After all, Tokelauans have an extensive history of out-migration, forming connections with diverse places and peoples (Kupa, 2009; Wessen et al., 1992). The major destination for them has been New Zealand, and thus it is necessary to consider what forms home has taken for them there and what it has enabled for them. In addition, I have argued throughout that many Tokelauans can be considered transnationalists, having lives and attachments in more than one place. Thus, it is necessary to think about home for Tokelauans within that context – to show their homes as multiple, interdependent, diverse, and highly adaptable.

In New Zealand, Tokelauans are much more geographically scattered than on the islands, in part due to their migration patterns, but also because of the immense size of New Zealand compared with the islands. When Tokelauans first began to move to New Zealand in substantial numbers, they headed to various parts of the country. Major destinations included Auckland, Taupo, Rotorua and the Wellington region (Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). These destinations were sometimes based on Tokelauan preferences and at other times a result of yielding to government resettlement schemes (Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). For instance, many Tokelauans from Fakaofo headed to Auckland because they had strong kinship ties with Samoans (Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). Tokelauans that headed to Taupo and Rotorua often did so due to the New Zealand government's resettlement schemes (Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). Tokelauans were needed for the forestry industry there and thus received government assistance in order to move (Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). Many also headed to these places without any form of government assistance (Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992).

Out of all the areas in New Zealand, Wellington has by far attracted the largest numbers of Tokelauans. In the beginning, some of these migrants chose to head directly to Wellington, while others relocated there from places such as Taupo and Rotorua (Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). They did so for a variety of reasons. One was that a strong Tokelauan community was forming there, encouraged by such things as church organisations that had taken an interest in supporting Tokelauans in adapting to life in New Zealand (Boardman, 1979; Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). An additional factor that may have attracted Tokelauans to Wellington was that it was one of the first places where state houses were built

after the war (Pene et al., 2009). By 2001, one-third of all New Zealand Tokelauans lived in the Wellington region, making it a major hub for Tokelauans in New Zealand (Walrond 2005/2015).

Tokelauans are thus quite geographically scattered in New Zealand compared with the islands. It is within this setting that I return to the topic of houses to show how they can be important sites for community members to obtain a sense of belonging and engage with their culture. As I demonstrated earlier in this chapter, houses are often conceived of as primarily about fulfilling an individual's needs, such as a place where they can obtain some privacy and where they can engage with objects in ways that reflect their identity. Tokelauans in New Zealand, however, demonstrate how houses can become important sites for community engagement as well. In doing so, they demonstrate that physical structures, such as houses, can take on new roles in supporting people's identities. Tokelauans have typically had quite limited financial resources available to use to help them adapt to life in New Zealand (Gray & McIntosh, 2011; Wessen et al., 1992), but they have shown resilience and adaptability, which is evident in some of the ways they have used houses.

Tokelauans in New Zealand often live in state housing and there have been several research projects undertaken on how they use these houses (Gray & McIntosh, 2011; Howden-Chapman et al., 2000; Pene et al., 2009). These projects reflect some of the challenges Tokelauans have experienced in New Zealand and also that houses can become important sites for community engagement and cultural transmission. These researchers have noted that like many other Pacific peoples in New Zealand, the physical structure of these houses is culturally inappropriate for Tokelauans, and this is negatively impacting their health. The main issue these researchers have identified is that Tokelauans tend to live with their extended family and these houses were not designed for this number of inhabitants. Tokelauans have the highest rate of three generations or more living in a single house out of any group in New Zealand (Pene et al., 2009). The houses were originally designed to meet the perceived needs of white Europeans, people who would generally want to live as a nuclear family and in small numbers (Gray & McIntosh, 2011). Due to the large number of occupants in a house, a variety of issues have arisen, one of which is the increased likelihood of the inhabitants being infected by illnesses such as meningococcal disease (Pene et al., 2009). New Zealand Tokelauans

experience a disproportionate rate of illness and disease (Pene et al., 2009). There are also concerns for their psychological well-being, with some commenting on difficulties they have obtaining privacy within the house and also obtaining adequate conditions to complete activities such as homework (Gray & McIntosh, 2011).

These researchers explored why Tokelauans choose to live with extended family, discovering that it was in part financially motivated but that it also had to do with culture. Tokelauans are amongst the most economically deprived of all ethnic groups in New Zealand. Living together has been in part an economic strategy, as it enables them to distribute the cost of rent across a larger pool of people (Gray & McIntosh, 2011; Howden-Chapman et al., 2000). Their financial situation is compounded by the generally poor quality of state houses, which are often without insulation and quite costly to heat (Gray & McIntosh, 2011). It has been argued, however, that even if Tokelauans could afford to live in smaller numbers, they would prefer to live in these extended family arrangements. As Pene et al. (2009) note, a "former chief executive of Housing New Zealand told a Parliamentary Select Committee that some people chose to live in overcrowded houses, even when offered alternatives" (p. 80). The researchers argued that Tokelauans wanted to live in these extended family configurations, but they also wanted adequate space in order for them do so in a manner conducive to a decent quality of life.

On a cultural and community level, the researchers found that living with extended family was advantageous for a variety of reasons. For one, occupants were able to have everyday ongoing relationships with a diverse range of relatives, from grandparents to aunts and uncles. An additional benefit of this arrangement was that it provided opportunities for cultural transmission, particularly between grandparents and their grandchildren. In one of the projects, young adults (aged 17 to late 20s) were asked about their views on state housing and how it affected their health (Pene et al., 2009). The researchers found that while the housing was not ideal, these young adults generally valued the opportunity to learn from their grandparents. Their grandparents taught them Tokelauan culture and customs as well as helping some to obtain a stronger sense of identity. Their grandparents also passed on culturally specific skills, such as teaching their grandchildren about weather patterns and

fishing. This environment also appeared to support the transmission of language. The grandparents involved in this project had migrated to New Zealand and often spoke Tokelauan at home. Unlike some other groups, Tokelauans have shown an increase in the number that can hold everyday conversations in Tokelauan (Pene et al., 2009). These researchers suggest that the reason why the rate of fluency is relatively high in these Tokelauan communities is because many are living with their grandparents.

These state houses are not the only spaces where Tokelauans in New Zealand engage as a community – and thus they are not their only 'home/s'. There are a variety of other buildings where Tokelauans gather as a community, some of which were established by Tokelauans on their own, while others were developed with external help. These buildings include churches, community centres and even several early childhood centres where Tokelauan is spoken (Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). These spaces, or 'homes', can provide Tokelauans with the opportunity to engage with their culture and strengthen their sense of identity. Religion is a considerable part of most Tokelauan lives, both on the islands and in New Zealand (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). In Wellington, one of the important Tokelauan churches is Sacred Heart (Roman Catholic). This particular church is important for a variety of reasons. For one, in the 1980s a mass was held there to celebrate the publication of the first prayer book containing Tokelauan text (Walrond, 2005/2015). This mass was held in Tokelauan, enabling the congregation to hear it in that language for the very first time (Walrond, 2005/2015). In Wellington there is also a community centre for each atoll, where people can gather and engage with their culture, as well as an early childhood centre, Matiti Tokelau Akoga Kamata, where Tokelauan is spoken (Huang, 2015; Huntsman, 2017).

The Tokelauan community centres in New Zealand have the potential to be quite useful as 'homes'. Huang (2015) discusses the research he did redesigning a community centre for the Te Umiumiga a Tokelau Hutt Valley (a Tokelauan community group). He explains that elders from that group approached Victoria University's architecture department to seek help redesigning their community centre so that it would feel like living in a Tokelauan village. Huang explains that the community had purchased several buildings but were finding that

they were not being used that often, partly because the layout of these buildings were not suited to Tokelauan needs. Following extensive research, Huang came to the conclusion that in order to achieve this goal they needed to focus on using architecture to foster diverse community engagements. In order to create culturally appropriate designs, Huang states that he took into consideration how these buildings could align with important Tokelauan cultural values such as *faitū*, *māopoopo* and *inati*. He also explains that he considered aesthetic features and found that while they would need to use different materials than on the islands, they could use the materials creatively in order to incorporate Tokelauan design ideals into the buildings. Thus, it is clear that for Huang, encouraging Tokelauans to use the community centre more required, amongst other things, making the space feel more *Tokelauan*.

Earlier in this chapter I argued that a community needs a range of homes to meet the different needs and wants of its members. Huang's redesign of this community centre is a concrete example of a fixed and quite permanent structure that takes into consideration, and supports, the diversity that exists amongst those that identify as Tokelauan. Huang was asked to capture the feeling of life in a Tokelauan village and what is interesting in his designs is that achieving this meant setting aside spaces for various people and their different activities. For instance, the design plans made use of both indoor and outdoor spaces. In regards to the outdoor spaces, he allocated spaces for undertakings such as a community garden and performances and gatherings (pp. 174-176). Inside the buildings, rooms were allocated for various activities including one for weaving, another for carving (referred to as men's workshop/garden shed), and another specifically for funerals (pp. 169-170, 173). There were also areas allocated to different age groups, such as a childcare area and a youth centre. Adaptability was also incorporated into the designs, including sliding walls to allow rooms to become smaller or larger depending on what the community required at any one point in time (p. 173). Huang's proposed plans for this community centre provide a concrete example of the type of ways that Noble (2014) argues architects have striven in recent years to build structures that are reflective of the cultural beliefs and activities of those that will use them.

Not all Tokelauan homes are physical and quite permanent structures, however, and one of the simplest ways of making that apparent is through applying a transnational lens. Many, if

not all, Tokelauans could be considered transnationalists (Hoëm, 2009; Mallon et al., 2003). In Chapter Three, I discussed what transnationalism meant for Tokelauans in terms of identity. It is again useful to return to this topic, but this time to consider what that might mean in regards to their homes. Transnationalism as a broader field of inquiry has shown home as multiple and interdependent, adaptable, diverse, and having varying degrees of permanency. It has also shown that sustaining old homes and making new ones is an unending process. Thus, it is important to consider what happens when these two communities encounter one another, and I do so through reflecting upon one example – the Easter Festival. This event is arguably the most important one in the Tokelauan calendar. It is held every two years and attracts thousands of Tokelauans from around the world (Hoëm, 2004; Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). It only lasts for a few days, yet I argue that in fact it constitutes a highly important – albeit impermanent – 'home' for Tokelauans.

In order to show that the Easter Festival is an important home for Tokelauans, I turn to Hoëm's (2004) discussion of a research project that was conducted in the early 1990s. According to Hoëm, individuals from the Hutt Valley Tokelauan community used the festival as a chance to conduct interviews with a wide range of people, doing so in order to seek Tokelauans' opinions on their cultural life in New Zealand. Hoëm explains that essentially the researchers wanted to find out if Tokelauans were satisfied with how things were, and if not, how they would like it altered. According to Hoëm, many of the respondents indicated that they had lost some of their interest in the gatherings and some indicated changes that they would like to see happen. She notes, though, that the researchers also found that the participants enjoyed the opportunity to engage with other Tokelauans at this festival and some participants also felt that it was especially important for their children to stay in touch with larger kin networks and the Tokelauan culture. On the basis of Hoëm's discussion of this research, it appears that the Easter Festival thus provides at least two of the important functions of home that I have been arguing for throughout this chapter. One is that it enables Tokelauans to obtain a sense of belonging as *Tokelauans.* The second is that it is an important site for cultural transmission. This final example brings together my overall argument which is that home can – when conceptualised well – provide a variety of useful supports for identity, and it can also come in diverse forms – some of which are quite impermanent – such as the Easter Festival.

Conclusion

For the development, and subsequent implementation, of my critical interdisciplinary approach, I have sought to find useful ways to respond to my three research questions on cultural adaptation. In pursuit of useful responses to my research questions, the term 'home' has often arisen. This term arose frequently both during my field research, and while engaging with scholarship drawn from a diverse range of disciplines. Although it did so in varied – and even at times conflicting – ways, it was clear that this was a term that, if conceptualised well, had the potential to offer a great deal of possibility in assisting a climate vulnerable people to sustain their identity following the loss of their homeland, as well as helping outsiders find ways to provide them with concrete and specific forms of support. Through using my critical interdisciplinary approach to draw into conversation diverse voices and experiences, it was possible to conceptualise home in such a way that the valuable functions it can have in supporting a people's identity were recognized and retained. It was also possible to show that home can take diverse forms and has a potential to be quite adaptable, thus enabling it to exist even in dire circumstances.

Chapter Five: Retaining a Meaningful Relationship With a Place

Upon my return to Australia I would find myself sitting at my university desk for hours, wedged between two piles of – in some respects – seemingly deeply incompatible information. To my left was academic scholarship on the topic of loss of place due to climate change, and how a people might carry on following that. To my right, were my field notes, *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, and a favourite *ili* (woven fan) that I had often used in Nukunonu to cool down, but which had now been rendered redundant by the university's air-conditioning system. Based on the theoretical and conceptual work that I had undertaken in the initial stages of the project, I knew I could not provide universal answers to any of my three research questions, but I could draw on my specific experiences, skill sets, resources, and relationships to find resonances between the theoretical and field work components of my research.

Embracing the subjectivity and partiality of my critical interdisciplinary approach, I reflected on the profound role that place – or even places – had in supporting particular ways of life, and that retaining a relationship with a specific place could also be deeply important to a person's, or community's, identity. My experiences in the field made it clear that I needed to address this, and I identified a significant gap in the literature on loss of place, particularly in the context of the Pacific: a lack of engagement with those in the diasporas – who potentially have a lot at stake if their homeland becomes uninhabitable, and who can also provide useful insights into finding ways to sustain a relationship with a meaningful place, other than inhabiting it.

In this chapter, I argue that it is possible to sustain a meaningful relationship with a place, other than inhabiting it, and make some indications about what that might actually require. I begin by first considering the key ideas within the scholarship on what is at stake should a place become uninhabitable, specifically in the Pacific context, in order to identify aspects of the topic which require further attention. Second, I discuss the New Zealand Tokelauan diaspora to demonstrate why it is important that more scholarly engagement with Pacific diasporas is undertaken in regards to this topic. From there, I use weaving to discuss in a more specific manner how place can contribute to a people's sense of belonging and identity, and

what might be required for individuals and communities to continue to relate to a meaningful place once it has become uninhabitable.

Loss of Place in the Pacific: An Overview of the Literature

It is clear that places are becoming uninhabitable as a result of climate change, and researchers have identified low-lying atolls such as Tuvalu, Tokelau, and Kiribati as amongst the most endangered places in the world (Adger et al., 2011; Connell, 2003; Kempf & Hermann, 2014). In discussing the fate of these islands there are three valuable questions that need to be explored – the first is a question of what is, or should be, meant when we claim that a people have lost, or are losing, a place. The second question is about *whose* sense of identity and belonging is at risk. The third – and related – question is the possibilities that might exist for a people to go forward in a meaningful way following such a loss.

I start my discussion here by engaging with the question of what do we actually mean, what is at stake, when we speak about a place becoming uninhabitable. I argue that there are at least two key dimensions that must be considered. One is that we are referring to the loss of a particular physical base that helped support a way of life, so there are immediate and practical concerns related to survival. The second is that place can also be the source of deep attachments, sometimes as strong as a relationship between people – and in this regard it needs to be understood as something invaluable, unique, and, in fact, irreplaceable.

The concerns that the affected community will lose the particular geographic base that has helped support its way of life is reflected in a variety of scholarly debates, including discussions about what might be needed in order to successfully relocate a community. In the Pacific region, there are two places that are often engaged with by scholars to reveal the complex issues around relocating a people in response to environmental devastation. These two places are Banaba (also known as Ocean Island) and Nauru. From 1900 to 1980, the British Phosphate Commission (BPC) intensely mined both these islands (K. M. Teaiwa, 2005). The BPC consisted of representatives from Britain, New Zealand and Australia (K. M. Teaiwa, 2005). The phosphate was used as agricultural fertilizer in the three BPC countries (K. M. Teaiwa, 2005).

The mining devastated these islands' environments, resulting in some proposing that the island communities be relocated.

Of these two islands, Banaba was the first to be considered for relocation, and its people were in fact relocated to Rabi, an island in Fiji. This relocation had a variety of impacts on the Banaban community, not all of which were positive. Teaiwa (2005) states that at the conclusion of the Second World War the BPC moved Banaba's people to Rabi on the understanding that it would function as a temporary home for them. She demonstrates that the BPC eventually persuaded Banabans to settle on Rabi permanently, enabling the BPC to freely mine Banaba. This relocation has negatively impacted Banabans in a variety of ways. For one, some of them do not feel that their belonging in Fiji is secure, as they constitute a small proportion of Fiji's overall population and their history of living there is fairly recent. This feeling of insecurity has been identified by several scholars, and at different points in history, reflecting that this has been an ongoing problem for Banabans. Writing in 2005, Teaiwa noted that there were a number of Banabans who feared that they would be expelled from Fiji with the next coup. Nearly 10 years later, Hermann and Kempf (2014) have argued that Banabans in Fiji continue to have concerns about their belonging in Fiji. They assert that the rise of ethno-nationalism in multi-cultural Fiji has led some Banabans to fear that their right to belong there, as well as the various rights and entitlements that accompany this, may eventually be withheld.

In the case of Nauru, the governments of Britain, New Zealand, and Australia offered Nauruans the option of relocating, but unlike the Banabans, they declined. In the 1960s, these governments offered to relocate Nauru's entire population to Curtis Island, off the coast of Australia. A range of scholars have explored why the people of Nauru rejected this offer. In doing so, these scholars have demonstrated that a complex range of social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental factors need to be taken into consideration when proposing a relocation site (Herr & Potter, 2006; McAdam, 2010; Tabucanon & Opeskin, 2011). According to these scholars, Curtis Island offered reasonable economic prospects – including rich agricultural opportunities and access to Australia's mainland for employment. They also note that Curtis Island provided a distinct geographic space for the community and Nauruans would

have retained some political autonomy as well. However, these scholars have also identified problems with the offer of Curtis Island that led Nauruans to reject it, such as fears that their Australian neighbours would be racist towards them. These scholars' arguments reflect that specific physical bases contribute significantly to a community's way of life in a diverse range of ways. The important contributions that a particular physical base can make to a way of life is also reflected in debates about which international political and economic rights those who have lost their territorial base might be able to retain, and what grounds might be used to support this (McAdam, 2010; Stratford et al., 2013). Debates have taken place over subjects such as whether or not countries such as Tuvalu will be able to retain their seats in organizations such as the United Nations (Gronewold, 2011). There have also been debates about what rights they might retain to their resources, such as their fisheries, once it is no longer possible to inhabit the place (Nasser, 2014). These debates reflect that the physical base contributed in significant ways not only to the daily lives of these communities, but also to their international political and economic rights, which can have an immense impact on their capacity to live as a community.

There is another dimension to places becoming uninhabitable – one that is not as obvious or commonly thought of as the first. This is that a specific and unique place can be a source of deep attachment for people. Several scholars have argued that there has been a tendency in climate change discussions about the Pacific to focus primarily on material aspects of what it might mean to lose a place – such as loss of income and how those displaced might be compensated for it (Adger et al., 2011; Henry & Jeffery, 2008). They argue that this focus has sometimes resulted in a failure to consider the effect that the loss of place could have on more immaterial aspects – such as culture – which are arguably just as important. Adger et al. (2011) importantly argue that the loss of place can never be entirely compensated for, that there is something priceless and invaluable about place. They point out that we cannot, for instance, simply replace some treasured cultural items once they are gone.

A range of scholars have argued that people can be deeply attached to specific places. As a result, the loss of a place can profoundly impact upon their emotional and psychological well-being, and in some cases it can negatively impact upon future generations as well (Adger et

al., 2011; Albrecht et al., 2007; Hess et al., 2008; Read, 1996). People develop in relationship with places, identifying what materials are available for them to use and deciding how to use them. Out of this, they develop practices and habits that not only make sense in that context but also are distinctly cultural and can be deeply meaningful to them.

People also imbue place, and its various products, with symbolic meaning. For instance, Adger et al. (2011) notes that sites of cultural significance, such as the Eiffel Tower or the Grand Canyon, are loaded with cultural meaning and can be of considerable importance even to those members of the community that have never actually been there. McAdam (2010) suggests that one of the reasons why Nauruans chose not to relocate was because those proposing the relocation had not considered in enough depth the spiritual significance that Nauru held for this community. This point about the Nauruans is also reflected in other cases such as some Tuvaluans who argue that Tuvalu was given to them by God – an argument that suggests that Tuvalu is of profound importance to them (Mortreux & Barnett, 2009). Various scholars have argued that, generally speaking, the longer we inhabit a particular place, the more attached we are likely to become to it (Hess et al., 2008; Read, 2000). These are not places that can be easily left behind; they are important to at least some people's sense of belonging and to their identity.

These two dimensions – place as supporting a way of life and place as a source of attachment – are both important and in fact work interdependently with one another. Communities need particular physical bases to support their way of life. For instance, if they seek to engage in a cultural dance they can require a number of items which are specific to their place, such as enough space, the right temperature and sound levels, and in some cases even specific materials for their instruments. Communities also need to retain a relationship with a specific and distinct place, or in some cases, *places*. Relating to place can be of considerable importance to a people's identity and sense of belonging (Moreton-Robinson, 2003; Read, 2000). It is a source of attachment and connection to others – even for those that live far away from it (Horan, 2017; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009; Mallon et al., 2003).

This second dimension of place has largely been neglected in discussions about the impact of climate change in the Pacific, and this is a problem; even if it were possible to provide a community with a very similar geographic base to the one they have been forced to leave behind, this alone is unlikely to be enough. For some, it will be important to find ways to continue to relate to the place they have left behind, otherwise their identity and sense of belonging could be jeopardized. In the Pacific, there has often been a tendency to frame the loss of a place as primarily, if not exclusively, about the inhabitants of these vulnerable islands. Where will they go? Who will take them in? What rights will they have? What will this mean for their culture? And what might this all mean for their host country? There is admittedly a large amount at stake for many of the inhabitants, but they are not the only people whose interests need to be taken into consideration. Pacific peoples, after all, live in the world of Oceania – a world that has been best represented by Hau'ofa (1994) as one of connections between diverse people and places. Pacific peoples is a term that recognizes the connections that exist between the Pacific's different groups and can be used to emphasize that if a place becomes uninhabitable there is the potential that it will impact a variety of groups, not just the ones that are most commonly associated with the place. Many Pacific peoples are also transnationalists (Borovnik, 2009; Lee & Francis, 2009; Nakhid, 2009), and thus have interdependent and multiple homes. In light of this, it is important that at the very least we consider how the loss of place will impact upon the community's diaspora.

Kempf, Van Meijl and Hermann (2014) have argued that scholars are still often applying quite a conventional understanding of place to the Pacific, and this is preventing them from perceiving the diverse ways in which place can feature in the lives of Pacific peoples, and also from recognizing how Pacific peoples will, and do, respond to climate change and the various impacts it is having upon their lives. They argue that often scholars are representing place as quite static and bound, which has the consequence of making it appear that people are rooted in place. They propose that we think of place differently – that on one level it is a "spatial dimension *per se*, considered as an object of investigation" (italics in original, p. 6). It is also, though, something that we construct, and they refer to this process as 'place-making'. They argue that we should not think of places "as static, self-enclosed entities, but rather as changing products of historical praxis" (p. 6). While Kempf and Hermann (2014) argue that in these climate change discussions there has been a tendency to leave out "the making (real

and imagined) of places by Pacific people in the context of travelling and international migration" (p. 200). What might be some of the benefits of conceiving of place in the way that the above scholars have suggested? One of the clear benefits is that the scope of concern is extended beyond the inhabitants, thus recognizing how mobile and connected Pacific peoples are generally. Another major benefit of their argument is that it opens up possibilities for going on in a meaningful way. It does so through broadening the ways in which people can relate to place – their options are no longer limited to inhabiting the place.

Pacific peoples is a term that recognizes both points of commonality and difference amongst the groups collectively referred to by it (Spoonley, 2001; Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005), and this point also applies to understanding how they move and dwell in this world. Some Pacific peoples, for instance, are best understood as undertaking circular migration (Bonnemaison, 1985), while others are better framed as transnationalists (Lee & Francis, 2009). Nonetheless, through expanding the scope of concern from the inhabitants of climate vulnerable places, to include those living overseas, valuable insights can be gained. These insights include the complexities of attachment to place, and the necessity for broad and nuanced conceptualisations of who might be impacted by a loss of place, as well as the range of consequences that different parts of a community may face.

The New Zealand Tokelauan Diaspora and Relating to Place From Afar

In this section, I focus on Tokelauans in the diaspora to begin to reveal some of what might be required in order for a people to go on in a meaningful way if a place becomes uninhabitable. Many, if not all, Tokelauans have retained practical and/or emotional ties to the islands, and thus those living away from the islands have established their own ways of relating to Tokelau (Huntsman, 2017; Kele-Faiva, 2010; Mallon et al., 2003; Wessen et al., 1992). As a result, they can provide valuable insights into what might be required in order to go on in a meaningful way following the loss of a place.

There are some significant intersections between the notion of place examined here and my conceptualisation of home. I argued in Chapter Four that home, when conceived well, can

provide valuable supports for identity, such as providing an environment where people can transmit culture, feel safe, and obtain a sense of belonging. I also argued that homes can come in diverse forms and that people can be quite strategic and adaptive in order to continue to have a home, even in dire circumstances. What I now seek to demonstrate is that specific *places* can contribute in complex and diverse ways to such homes – practically, emotively, and symbolically. I bring my argument to life through discussing it in relation to the Tokelauan diaspora in New Zealand.

To start with, what are some of the possible implications that the loss of Tokelau could have on the lifestyles of the diaspora? Members of the diaspora might, for instance, derive income from property that they own on the island or receive financial support from those living there. Their very right to be in New Zealand, and to access the full benefits of New Zealand citizenship, is derived from the historical relationship between Tokelau and New Zealand (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Wessen et al., 1992). There are also scholarships available in New Zealand that are specifically aimed at Tokelauans and which have been established primarily in order to address skill shortages on the islands, such as engineering and plumbing (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.-b). These scholarships are provided by the New Zealand Aid Programme (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.-b). One of the scholarship conditions is that the recipient spends at least two years on Tokelau following the completion of their studies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.-b). This condition is there so that their communities can benefit from the skills that the individual has acquired (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.-b). These scholarships are not only beneficial for the island communities, however; they are also beneficial for the individual who has their studies subsidized. If Tokelau became uninhabitable, Tokelauans in New Zealand might no longer be able to access such opportunities.

The ongoing existence of Tokelau is also important to the diaspora in terms of them being able to *feel* like Tokelauans. In order to feel like a Tokelauan in New Zealand, a person might, for instance, engage with Tokelauan cultural objects. They may, for example decorate their houses with handicrafts and *paopao* (model outrigger canoes) to help them obtain a deeper sense of belonging. Huntsman (2017), for instance, argues that Tokelauans in New Zealand

continue to make and engage with specific Tokelauan cultural items, such as handicrafts and model outrigger canoes. She also argues that there is one key Tokelauan "identity treasure" which is *Kahoa* ("pearl-shell pendants") that young girls and women in New Zealand are wearing in order to be visibly identifiable as *Tokelauan* (pp. 253, 276). As Huntsman argues, these items have been altered in some ways from their original forms and purpose, but they nonetheless function as identity treasures for New Zealand Tokelauans. I also observed during my field research that New Zealand Tokelauans sometimes decorated their homes with such cultural items. These items are also now possible to purchase online through either the official government website (www.Tokelau.org) or the atoll specific websites (www.nukunonu.tk and www.fakaofo.tk)[11], but some New Zealand Tokelauans still import the raw materials from the islands to make these items themselves (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). In either case, Tokelauans in the diaspora are, to varying extents, reliant on the ongoing existence of the islands either as sites of production for these cultural items, or as sources of materials that cannot be accessed elsewhere.

Tokelau itself can also be important in the ways in which Tokelauans in the diaspora create home spaces. I argued in Chapter Four that home can be productively understood as a space in which members of the community can gain a sense of belonging and nurturance and participate in such activities as cultural engagement and transmission. Although diaspora communities are not physically in Tokelau, the islands are invoked as a connection point to, for instance, share recollections of life on the islands or ask questions about Tokelau as an invitation for elders to share culturally valued information. The place itself, Tokelau, can thus be understood as pivotal in stimulating cultural transmission and in helping diaspora communities connect to and create home spaces. In many ways the distant place is as important to this newly created home space as the land on which the new 'home' sits.

Understanding how diaspora communities relate to Tokelau is more than an acknowledgement that they too have a vested interest in the islands. While those in the diaspora can often feel quite attached to Tokelau, and thus want to engage with it in one way or another, they are living in a very different country, and need to find ways to adjust to the

[11] There is no atoll specific website for Atafu.

context they are in (Huntsman, 2017; Kele-Faiva, 2010; Mallon et al., 2003; Wessen et al., 1992). The ways in which they have been innovative to sustain identity and culture might prove valuable in thinking about how other Tokelauans might do the same should they be forced to leave the islands due to climate change. In particular, Tokelauans' attempts at making and engaging with various forms of their material culture, such as handicrafts and *toki* (hafted adzes), can provide valuable insights into the adjustments they have needed to make due to the particular enabling and constraining factors of the new social context – the new *place* they are in. For instance, sometimes it is simply not possible to import a particular material due to factors such as quarantine restrictions; or, they might not be able to make a cultural item in the same way they would have done on the island – for instance, they may not have access to enough space to gather in as large numbers as they would have done on the islands, or perhaps they normally require a highly specific setting to make it in that simply cannot be replicated. The adjustments that members of the diaspora have had to, and continue to, make, provide important insights into how a people might sustain a relationship with a place once it is no longer inhabitable.

To explore further how Tokelauans manage to retain a relationship with a place while living elsewhere, it is worth engaging with anthropologists that have researched the topic of cultural production and signalled that place can be channelled both materially and symbolically (Mahon, 2000; Mallon et al., 2003; F. R. Myers, 1994). In regards to the material aspects, these scholars consider elements such as what the item was made out of and why – was it, for instance, imported from the origin community? Can the material be substituted? However, it is their investigation into the symbolic that is the most interesting, as it starts to signal possibility for going on in less-than-ideal circumstances. One of the points they often make is that meaning is ascribed to an item rather than inherent to it (Horan, 2017; Mallon et al., 2003). There are two benefits to this understanding. One is that there is overall less of a dependency on having the one specific material to make it with. The other is that it recognizes that the meanings attached to cultural objects constantly have to be adapted for them to remain relevant to the particular historical context in which they exist now. As Pacific scholar Wendt (1976) once compellingly argued, like "a tree, a culture is forever growing new branches, foliage and roots" (p. 52).

In order to illustrate this point about the material and symbolic factors of a cultural object in greater depth, it is worth exploring Mallon et al.'s (2003) discussion of Tokelauan *toki* (hafted adzes) that were gifted to the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (hereinafter referred to as Te Papa). This article is set against the backdrop that many Tokelauans in New Zealand are now born there and not all have been to the islands, yet they still want to have a relationship with Tokelau. These *toki* were made in New Zealand and the article is an exploration into how and why there were made. The *toki* were made by two Tokelauan apprentices (Kupa Kupa and Jack Kirifi), under the guidance of an elder called Fuli Fati, who also happened to be their grandfather.

In the article, both the material and symbolic elements of the *toki* are considered. In regards to the material, the authors argue that both indigenous and non-indigenous materials were used to make the *toki*. The lashing fibre for the *toki* was imported from Tokelau; the alternative would have been to use a synthetic fishing line. Mallon et al. argue that using this lashing fibre "offered a tangible and tactile cultural connection that somehow brought Tokelau and Tokelau's past closer to the present" (p. 20). The symbolic dimensions of these *toki* are arguably more important than the material. As the authors note, while making the *toki*, Fuli shared cultural information with the two apprentices, including how the *toki* is normally used on the islands. The apprentices also claimed that they obtained a stronger sense of identity as Tokelauans through learning how to make these *toki* and through interacting with Fuli. What my discussion is starting to reveal is that retaining a sense of identity as a Tokelauan is to varying extents reliant on sustaining a relationship with Tokelau itself. For those who are unable to inhabit Tokelau on a regular basis, there are alternative ways of continuing to have Tokelau present in their lives.

Through considering the Tokelauan diaspora, one point that emerges is that we need to be realistic about what can be achieved, and part of this involves recognizing the particular limitations and possibilities of the host country. In order to discuss this point, it is worth returning to the insights of ethnographers whose work is multi-sited and global (Burawoy et al., 2000; Epstein et al., 2013; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004; Visweswaran, 1994). A common feature of these methodologies is the notion that we live in an increasingly connected world, and thus

need to account for that, both in our thinking and in our actions. They argue that connections are fostered and sustained through both formal and informal avenues. Importantly, these ethnographers note that these connections do not erase distinctiveness. We are not living in a world where all borders, and all environmental and cultural differences, have been erased – nor should we be. While we are increasingly globalized, places still matter – they still significantly impact our lives and what we can achieve.

In light of this, what are some of the constraining factors for Tokelauans in New Zealand? One of the challenges that New Zealand as a distinct place poses for Tokelauans is that its climate is quite different from that of the islands. Some of the traditional Tokelauan materials cannot be easily grown there – a point that will become clearer later on in this chapter when I discuss Pacific peoples' attempts at growing pandanus in New Zealand. Furthermore, New Zealand has concerns for its own biodiversity and as a result has arguably one of the strictest quarantines regimes in the world. There is also a wide range of other factors that affect Tokelauans' capacity to live their way of life there, such as the presence of other groups that also require space and their own specific material resources, as well as what is – overall – a quite different social context from the islands. Tokelauans constitute only a very small proportion of New Zealand's much larger – and more multicultural – population, and are, to varying degrees, required to adjust to the specific rhythms of life present in New Zealand, which can pose some major challenges when it comes to sustaining their culture. These are just a few of the factors that can pose significant challenges for people in continuing to relate to a particular place while living elsewhere.

There is an additional dimension to the host nation that needs to be taken into account, and it has to do with the reality that homes cannot entirely be manufactured. A range of scholars have compelling argued that whether or not we *feel* at home somewhere is not entirely within our control (Ahmed et al., 2003; Mallett, 2004; Van Lennep, 1987), and so the actual place where a diaspora or displaced community is located must be considered. In order to make this point I engage with humanistic geographers. Humanistic geography arose in the 1970s with notable geographers such as Edward Relph (1976) and Yi-Fu Tuan (1976) coming to the view that geography had not considered in enough depth the ways that place is actually

experienced by people. This subfield of geography is no longer as prominent, nor as distinctive, as it once was; nonetheless, it does continue to influence scholars today (Seamon & Sowers, 2008; Winchell, 2000; Woodyer & Geoghegan, 2013). Humanistic geography as a field is interested in how people experience the world and their ideas and feelings about it. As Tuan (1976) argues, humanistic geography belongs more within the humanities and the social sciences than it does within the earth sciences.

Humanistic geographers can provide important insights into how people experience place and how that can affect their sense of belonging. These geographers often refer to phenomenology in this task (Sapkota, 2017; Tuan, 1976). They ask questions such as, how do we encounter place as embodied beings? What roles do our senses have in how we relate to, and understand, place? How does this differ between people and why? They are useful to engage with as they broaden what we might think is involved in continuing to relate to place while out of place. Through engaging with their scholarship, we might start to consider how such factors as the host country's temperature, smells, and sounds might affect our ability to relate to the place we have left behind, both on an individual basis and as a community. On a material level, people might have everything that is required to engage as a particular community and to relate to the place that has been left behind, yet something might still be felt to be missing. The presence of the place they are in might hinder their ability to connect with the one they have left behind.

An additional insight into this topic that humanistic geographers provide is how the presence of other people might impact upon our abilities to relate to the place we have left behind. We may have been able to meet all of the necessary material requirements and found ways to cultivate the environment to our preferences – such as encouraging particular scents and controlling the temperature – yet it still might not feel like a home to us. Scholarship produced by humanistic geographers is useful to reflect upon as it raises the point that feeling at home somewhere is not only dependent on how we experience the place – in terms of climate and so forth – it is also about who else is present and what their intentions are (Casey, 2001; Sapkota, 2017; Winchell, 2000). Humanistic geographers such as Tuan (1976) have provided compelling arguments about the relationship between crowding and privacy, arguments that

are quite applicable to home. Tuan gives the example of a pianist who is practising in a hall by himself when someone enters to watch. Tuan claims that this results in crowding, not because there is not enough physical room for the two of them, but because the pianist wanted privacy. According to Tuan's argument, crowding can occur in a variety of settings and is not so much about the number of people present but rather about conflicting goals.

Before leaving this part of my discussion behind, there is one final point that needs to be raised, and it is about showing possibility in less-than-ideal circumstances. This is the importance of emphasizing process over product when seeking to relate to place through a form of material culture. In the previous chapter I suggested that people can be quite opportunistic when it comes to creating homes, and this is again true in regards to how they continue to relate to place, both as individuals and as community members. Part of this is enabled through emphasizing process over product. Rather than seeking to exactly replicate how a particular form of material culture is made and used on the islands, people need to adjust it in order to take into consideration their new environments, thus enabling them to relate to a specific place from afar. While there will at times be parts of the practice that are considered too culturally meaningful to change, there are often aspects that can be adapted without threatening the meaningfulness of that particular form of material culture.

Mallon et al.'s (2003) discussion of the *toki* helps demonstrate how the making of a particular form of material culture can be adapted in order to enable New Zealand based Tokelauans to use it to relate to Tokelau and its way of life. As the authors point out that this was not an attempt to make an authentic version of a *toki*. Rather, the apprentices wanted to engage with, and learn from, their grandfather. As Mallon et al. (2003) point out, making the *toki* provided a reason for these Tokelauans to engage with one another, and through learning how to make them, the apprentices also gained a stronger sense of identity as Tokelauans and were able to take on new social roles in their community as they gained knowledge that was not widely available. Because the goal was not primarily to make a truly authentic *toki*, those involved were also able to find ways to adjust it to the New Zealand context without compromising the meaningfulness of the practice. For one, those involved could use the resources available to them somewhat strategically, and many of the resources used were in

fact obtained from New Zealand, rather than from the islands. While acquiring these resources, the apprentices also found ways to apply Tokelauan cultural understandings to their new contexts. For instance, instead of importing the timber needed to make the handle for the *toki* from the islands, the apprentices instead went out in search of fallen trees in New Zealand. As detailed in the article, this was not simply an act of acquiring the materials needed to make the *toki*. It was also an important act of cultural engagement and transmission as it was informed by what Fuli had taught them on an earlier trip about what they should be looking for in a branch.

In a world that is changing rapidly, it is not always possible for people to inhabit those places most deeply important to their sense of identity and belonging. Meaningful ways to relate to places other than inhabiting them, can be found however, and one valuable way of doing so is through exploring how those who live away from their homeland have nonetheless found ways to incorporate it into their lives. New Zealand based Tokelauans provide valuable insights into how meaningful a place can be even to those permanently living away from it, as well as alternative ways of relating to place other than inhabiting it. It is clear that a valuable way for Tokelauans to incorporate Tokelau into their lives in New Zealand is through making, and/or using, forms of Tokelauan material culture to do so. As I have shown, Tokelauan material culture can be adapted to take into consideration the particular enabling and constraining factors of New Zealand as its own specific place, without losing their meaningfulness for Tokelauans.

Tokelauan Weaving as an Adaptive Carrier of Place

How and why Tokelauan weaving is made and engaged with by members of the New Zealand diaspora can provide further useful insights into how a people might retain a relationship with a specific place once it has become uninhabitable, as well as some of the factors that might need to be taken into consideration in order for that to occur. In this section of the chapter, I begin to explore this through first making a case for understanding Tokelauan weaving as symbolizing, and referencing, a way of life – particularly for those from Nukunonu. From there, I show that the way weaving is made and engaged with demonstrates that it is a practice and art form that has a reasonably high potential to be adapted in order to help Tokelauans

continue to relate to place while out of place. I suggest, though, that some outside support is also required in order for this adaptation to occur.

Figure 7: Dyed pandanus leaves. Nukunonu, 2012.

To begin with, Tokelauan weavers often demonstrate a strong commitment to using materials from the islands. I was frequently told during the field research that if they could not get the materials from the islands, they simply would not weave. One of the major benefits of sourcing the materials from the islands is that it enables them to maintain a physical link with Tokelau. Currently, most of the weaving materials are obtained from Nukunonu, including coconut leaves, pandanus, and various equipment needed for weaving such as the *kuku* ("slicer") (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; A. Thomas et al., 1990, p. 48). Based on my field research observations, Tokelauans in New Zealand normally acquire these materials either through visiting the islands themselves or by asking a friend or family member who is headed there to bring some back (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). There are some non-indigenous materials used in weaving as well but they tend to play fairly minor roles in the handicraft (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). In Nukunonu, women sometimes dye the pandanus leaves in bright colours such as red and purple (Figure 7), sourcing this dye from Samoa. In New Zealand, women sometimes incorporate non-indigenous materials, such as ribbon, into their weaving (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

There are symbolic dimensions to the weaving material that make it particularly important, especially the *kie* pandanus. This plant is arguably the most culturally significant material used in weaving, and there is even a legend about how it came to be grown in Nukunonu. Tokelauan culture is largely oral based and thus it is necessary here to rely on Huntsman and Hooper's (1996) account of this legend. According to Huntsman and Hooper, one day a Nukunonu spirit called Hemoana discovered that Fenu, a spirit from Fakaofo, had used a coconut shell to steal water from Nukunonu. Hemoana took off in pursuit of Fenu, catching up at Motu Akea. Once there, Hemoana struck the coconut shell that Fenu was carrying, resulting in some of the water spilling. This spilled water is believed to have created the well on Motu Akea, which still exists there. Fenu managed to escape with the remaining water to Fakaofo, and later on Hemoana stole the *kie* pandanus from Fakaofo. These cuttings thrived in Nukunonu and continue to do so to this day (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). As Steiner (2015) explains, this legend is referenced in a contemporary Tokelauan song, 'Toku Koa' ("My Precious"), which is about the treasured materials (pandanus leaves) and handicrafts that are unique to Tokelau (p. 157). As Meli states about the pandanus leaves, they are "a valuable treasure of Nukunonu" (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011).

Weaving as a cultural treasure is apparent in both communities, although in somewhat different ways. To begin with Nukunonu, there are a variety of ways in which this notion of weaving as a cultural treasure is apparent. For one, new handicrafts are made for special occasions on the island, such as holy days like the Feast Day of Christ the King (Figure 8) which takes place every year on the last Sunday of October. This new handicraft might be a hat, a fan, or a bag, and can draw admiring glances and comments from other members of the community (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Handicrafts are also one of the main gifts given in Nukunonu. People use them in farewell ceremonies, for the birth of their first-born child, at funerals, and for weddings (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman, 2017; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Mallon, 2013; A. Thomas et al., 1990). As Huntsman and Hooper (1996) argue, "their special pandanus and the mats produced from it are valued throughout Tokelau and are distinctive to Nukunonu. Though the strands of pandanus are women's distinctive goods, they are a communal valuable, as both commodity and symbol. Nukunonu women together must produce the finest display of Nukunonu's worth" (p. 72).

Figure 8: Meli heading to the Feast Day of Christ the King church service, Nukunonu, 2012.

This understanding of weaving as a cultural treasure is not as visible in New Zealand, but it is nonetheless still present. Sometimes Tokelauans there will use handicrafts in their ceremonies, such as at a funeral, where they may wrap a coffin in a fine mat (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). I also observed during the field research that some Tokelauans had chosen to decorate their walls with handicrafts that they had made or received as gifts from loved ones. Continuing to engage with weaving as a cultural treasure in the New Zealand context helps demonstrate that there are Tokelauans who are really striving to maintain a relationship with Tokelau as a specific place and way of life. As will be discussed in greater depth later on in this section, acquiring the materials to weave, and handicrafts as well, is after all more challenging in New Zealand than it is on the islands.

The *kie* pandanus can also symbolize the negotiation that exists between identifying as from a particular atoll versus identifying more broadly as Tokelauan. Huntsman and Hooper (1996) discuss the beginnings of Tokelau, noting that it was not people that originally began to draw Tokelauans together, but rather these materials. According to the legend, Nukunonu obtained the pandanus leaves from Fakaofo and in exchange Fakaofo acquired a freshwater supply. Hoëm (2005) has argued that this legend is not only one of "mutual theft" but also one of "mutual dependency", as the islands needed to rely on one another for essential resources like water (p. 295). At the same time as weaving references Tokelauans connections, it also

signals their distinctiveness. Weaving as a cultural treasure is quite specific to Nukunonu, as opposed to Tokelau as a whole (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman, 2017; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011).

The *kie* pandanus is also reflective of life in a place that is not rich in natural resources, but is home to resilient and innovative people. Little can be grown on Nukunonu due to factors such as weather variability and poor soil quality (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; McQuarrie, 2007). However, those on the island have made the most of what they have. On Nukunonu, there is an abundance of *kie* pandanus, and this plant is quite suited to the climate there (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Pandanus plants suit coastal areas, and once well grown, they are resilient, able to endure drought, salt spray, and strong winds (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2006, p. 2). Tokelauans have utilized the pandanus to the best of their abilities, including using it to make items such as mats to sleep on and woven flowers to use to decorate buildings (Figure 9). Handicrafts also directly contribute to Nukunonu's economy, as they are available to purchase.

Figure 9: Woven flower used to decorate church, Nukunonu, 2012.

The pandanus leaves also reflect a variety of social and cultural norms, such as how to relate to land. The *kie* pandanus is primarily grown in the *lotokie*, the village plantation (Figure 10). This plantation consists of family and individual lots and has traditionally been cared for by the village as a whole (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). In the past, the village bell would be rung, signalling that it was time for all the women to gather in preparation for heading to the plantation to collect the leaves (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; A. Thomas et al., 1990). The plantation itself reflected the communal

nature of this community as it contained both family and individual pandanus plantations, and those who had large plots supported those who did not (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). The men also helped out with the planting and all areas that involved heavy labour (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Nowadays, women can go to the plantation in a group or on their own, but based on what I observed, they are generally expected to first seek permission from a senior woman in the village.

Figure 10: The Lotokie*, Nukunonu, 2012.*

Weaving as a practice can reflect people fulfilling their responsibilities as part of the Tokelauan community, and references their history as well, invoking memories of what once was. In the past, the senior ladies in the village would indicate what needed to be made and how (A. Thomas et al., 1990). The women would then weave together, perceiving the task as their responsibility on behalf of the village (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Thomas et al., 1990). This type of weaving is connected with the concept of *fakamua*, which is when an activity takes priority over all others as it is for the benefit of the entire village (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996, pp. 43-44). This has somewhat altered over time, with people increasingly employed in the public service or simply not wanting to weave, a point that is discussed in greater depth in the following chapter. Nonetheless, weaving is still undertaken these days as part of people's commitment to the village.

During the field research for this thesis, the women were busy preparing for the Ulu O Tokelau celebrations that were to be held on Nukunonu in 2013. The Ulu is the head of Tokelau, a

figurehead role that is rotated annually amongst the three atolls. A variety of tasks were being undertaken on Nukunonu in preparation for this event, including building a new *falepā* (meeting hall). In preparation for the Ulu celebrations, the women of the village were busy making handicrafts to decorate this *falepā* as well as to give to officials and other important guests. In order to make the required number of handicrafts, particular tasks had been allocated to each of the families, such as a requirement to make five hats and ten fans. This is a clear example of women weaving on behalf of the village.

Weaving in general also references place in less direct ways, such as when the women perform a *fatele* (action song) while making handicrafts. Weaving is a highly repetitive and quite physical task, involving long hours of sitting on the floor in the one spot (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). In order to make the task more enjoyable, and to help stay alert, the women will often take turns entertaining one another (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). The type of entertainment varies, but one way is to perform a *fatele*. According to Thomas & Tuia (1990), there are three main types of Tokelauan songs: *pehelagilagi* ("choral song"), *mako* ("love song"), and *fatele* ("action song") (p. 271). They claim that of these three, *fatele* is the most common and popular type, sung in a variety of settings, both formal and informal. These authors note that *fatele* are normally about life on Tokelau and its environment, and can include topics such as its history and also Biblical stories. These authors also note that some of these *fatele* are even specifically about weaving. These authors explain that a *fatele* normally begins with just the lyrics being sung, without any dancing accompanying it. As it progresses, the performers start to dance and may incorporate musical instruments as well.

Tokelauan weaving undeniably references Tokelau as a specific place, both symbolically and materially. Weaving is potentially thus a highly useful tool for Tokelauans to relate to place while out of place. However, if Tokelau were to become uninhabitable, the extent that weaving could continue to fulfil these functions would be somewhat dependent on how successfully Tokelauans could adapt it to take into account a world that has irreversibly changed. Weaving has the potential to be adapted in order to continue to carry place for Tokelauans. As I will demonstrate, how weaving is made and engaged with is already

constantly being adjusted in order to take into account factors such as individual and group preferences as well as needs, access to resources, and different social contexts in general. However, despite its adaptability, weaving has still been identified by both communities as an endangered heritage art (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Wolffram, 2011). As such, it offers a useful focus for considering how outsiders should provide support to Tokelauans in order for weaving to survive into the future, a point that will be returned to in much greater depth in the next chapter.

Figure 11: The Fatupaepae *Centre, Nukunonu, 2012.*

I begin my discussion here by using what I observed during my field research to discuss where women in Nukunonu weave, why, and what they are weaving. While weaving is still very much practised on Nukunonu, discussing these features of how weaving is carried out there can help start to make visible possible ways for people to continue to engage with weaving in more challenging circumstances, such as those that New Zealand based Tokelauans face. In Nukunonu, women can weave in a variety of different settings, and the setting they select is somewhat influenced by the size of the handicraft they are making. One of the most common places for women to weave at is the *fatupaepae* centre (Figure 11), where women gather to fulfil commissions, and also to undertake their own weaving. A variety of handicrafts are made at the *fatupaepae* centre, including mats. Weaving a mat requires a significant amount of space and often involves more than one woman working on it at the same time. Mats are not items that can easily be made in diverse settings, nor can they easily be transported while they are being made. There are, though, smaller handicrafts such as fans that are quite transportable and can be made in diverse settings. For instance, during the field research I

was told – and also observed – that some women work on fans while attending village meetings. I also observed women weaving smaller items such as fans and hats in their own homes.

Requirements for weaving are not purely about how much space is needed; it is also about being able to easily access the site, or sites, intended for weaving, which can involve a wide range of factors such as the time and material resources needed to get there. Part of the reason why Tokelauans can engage in weaving in diverse settings in Nukunonu is that there is a strong focus there on village well-being, and weaving is also often being undertaken *for* the benefit of the village, a point that will become clearer in the following chapter (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; A. Thomas et al., 1990). These two factors appear to allow for greater flexibility in regards to where and when women weave. During my field research, I encountered women who chose to weave primarily, if not exclusively, at home, sometimes out of preference, and sometimes because they have other commitments that they need to fulfil – such as needing to care for their grandchildren. Other women chose to weave at the *fatupaepae*, at times doing so primarily in order to have the company of other women while working on their own handicrafts. The diverse spaces that can be used for weaving on the islands, and the ways women's various needs are accommodated for, means that there are effectively numerous spaces that women can weave in, and that in itself can help support weaving's survival.

I shift my focus now to New Zealand based Tokelauans to further demonstrate that there is a flexibility present in the making of handicrafts that can enable it to continue to be practised even in less-than-ideal circumstances, thus enabling Tokelauans to find ways to continue to relate to Tokelau as a specific place while living elsewhere. Overall, the New Zealand context is a more difficult setting for Tokelauans to undertake weaving than in Nukunonu. This is due to a variety of reasons, many of which relate to the fact that New Zealand has a much larger, and more multicultural population, and is thus not geared exclusively – or even primarily – towards the interests and wellbeing of Tokelauans in the ways that life on the islands often is. Thus, Tokelauans in New Zealand are often not able to structure the rhythms of their daily lives in ways which naturally make space for weaving, as they would on the islands. New

Zealand's physical environment is also quite different from Tokelau, which can lead to challenges when it comes to Tokelauans accessing the material resources they need for weaving. Tokelauans have, however, found ways to somewhat overcome some of the major challenges they have encountered – two of which I discuss here. One of these issues is acquiring the treasured pandanus leaves, while the other is having suitable spaces to weave in. I argue that they have 'somewhat' overcome these issues as there are clear signs that weaving is struggling in New Zealand and needs – and should receive – the practical and material support of outsiders to help it continue to function as a meaningful art form and practice for Tokelauans.

To start with, what are some of the main difficulties present in acquiring the pandanus leaves? As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, Tokelauans can be quite committed to using the pandanus that comes from Nukunonu. In order to acquire the materials, New Zealand based Tokelauans have needed to be quite strategic as it is not a straightforward or easy process. On the basis of what I learnt during my time in the field, New Zealand Tokelauans seeking to import weaving materials will generally do so through activating their social networks and do so in generally quite small scale and informal ways. Either these New Zealand Tokelauans will travel to Nukunonu themselves or they will get friends or family members to bring materials back with them in their luggage. Depending on the relationships they have with those on Nukunonu they will obtain the leaves for free or pay a price decided upon by the people involved. In order to successfully transport the leaves, they may also need to engage with other people in the communities. This might happen if they want to find out more about New Zealand's quarantine requirements or if they need advice on how to obtain an export notice.

At times, groups of New Zealand based Tokelauans have also ordered pandanus in bulk and used public funding to do so, but this too has proven challenging. This point was evident, for instance, during an interview with Fuli Pereira who is the Pacific Curator at the Auckland War Museum. During this interview, Pereira identified herself as having worked on and off for CNZ (the major public funding body for the arts in New Zealand) for many years. Thus, Pereira should be understood as a key informant in relation to this issue. Through her involvement with CNZ, Pereira had gained valuable insights into the struggles Tokelauans can encounter

acquiring the materials needed to weave, and shared some of these with me. She argued that while there are many in the Wellington Tokelauan community who are quite skilled in putting together funding proposals, Tokelauans nonetheless could face some major challenges when attempting to place large pandanus orders. One of the factors she identified as posing a major challenge was cultural differences between New Zealand and Tokelau. She noted, for instance, that CNZ can require quotes from the island that are providing the material, but that "invoices and receipts and quotes are a really foreign and alien concept" for Tokelauans on the islands, making it difficult for them to understand and fulfil that requirement (personal interview, September 18, 2012). She also noted that even when funding issues were overcome, it was still a complicated process to get the materials to New Zealand, normally requiring someone to actually travel to the islands to acquire them. Pereira did note during this interview, though, that CNZ was becoming more aware of some of these issues and adjusting their practices in light of them.

New Zealand based Tokelauans have not only found ways to acquire at least some pandanus leaves, they have also adjusted how, and with whom, they weave, in order to be able to carry on the practice in their new environment. During my field research, I was often told that women who weaved in New Zealand did so as individuals, and at home. Several key reasons for this were given. One was the materials – that it was simply too difficult for most to acquire the amount of materials needed to make large handicrafts such as mats. Thus, they were making smaller items such as hats and fans. Another factor was time; there was a sense that New Zealand based Tokelauans were too time pressed to engage with this activity. This point is discussed in greater depth in the next chapter, but for now it is worth briefly returning to Pereira's insights. During our interview, she shared with me that she had worked with quite a few Tokelauan women's groups, and that these groups had often expressed concerns that the younger generation were not interested in learning to weave. Pereira – who in fact identifies as Tokelauan – however, understood the issue differently, and what she had to say about it was similar to what others had shared with me as well. Pereira suggested that women in New Zealand simply feel too time pressed in this environment to learn to weave. In her words "I don't think it's because the girls aren't interested. It's that there is no time to devote to learning how to weave, make a bangle even… make a placemat even, with all the pressures here in New Zealand" (personal interview, September 18, 2012).

There are also a range of spaces that can be, and have been, used for carrying out Tokelauan weaving in New Zealand. This point demonstrates that weaving can be somewhat adjusted in order for Tokelauans to continue to engage with it, even in less than ideal conditions. There has been, and continues to be, some Tokelauan group weaving occurring in New Zealand (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman, 2017; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Mallon, 2013). Tokelauans, for instance, have used their community halls as places where group weaving can be undertaken (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman, 2017; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Individual New Zealand based Tokelauans have also attempted to use their houses for weaving, with varying degrees of success. As one of the participants in the Healthy Homes project (Gray & McIntosh, 2011) noted:

> I feel we cannot function properly as a family because I want to have family discussions but there isn't the room … the lounge is used as a bedroom … I would love to do traditional Tokelau handicrafts in here but it is not possible because of the lack of space inside the house. (pp. 76-77)

These spaces are imperfect, and need to be better resourced, but they nonetheless demonstrate ways in which Tokelauans have adapted how they engage with weaving in order to sustain the practice.

To gain deeper insights into how weaving is quite an adaptable art, it is necessary to make a key point: while weaving is primarily a female cultural practice, it is overall a community (and even at times *communities*) endeavour. Thus, adjustments to weaving can – and do – occur on a community level, rather than purely amongst weavers. Tokelauan weaving is undeniably primarily associated with women. Weaving knowledge is passed down through female lines, it is predominately (albeit not exclusively) women that weave, and those that are considered experts at weaving are, as far as I could ascertain, exclusively female (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Wolffram, 2011). In addition, Tokelauan men are associated with their own gender specific treasures of fishing and carving (Hooper, 2010; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; A. Thomas et al., 1990). While it is a female cultural practice, it does an injustice to weaving, and its significance in Tokelauan life, if we fail to recognize that weaving – at its best – can incorporate a wide range of Tokelauans of different ages, genders,

and levels of expertise and interest in weaving. These Tokelauans contribute in diverse ways to the making of handicrafts, and to how – and by whom – the final products are used.

In order to demonstrate that Tokelauan weaving should be framed as a female art practice, but a community endeavour, I begin by briefly discussing how weaving is made and engaged with on Nukunonu, returning to this topic in greater depth both further on in this chapter, as well as in Chapter Six. All stages of weaving can be undertaken on Nukunonu, from growing and harvesting the materials, to the making and subsequent use of handicrafts (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). In order for that to occur, a wide range of people need to work together – of different genders, ages, and skill sets (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). People can provide support in diverse ways, such as helping with particular steps in the processing of the leaves, providing the space for weaving to occur in, or helping provide the financial incentives to weave (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

Tokelauan weaving is nowhere near as commonly practised in New Zealand as it is in Nukunonu, a point that will be discussed in greater depth in the following chapter. There is nonetheless still considerable evidence available to demonstrate that, while Tokelauan weaving is typically a female art, it can also – at its best – involve a substantial proportion of the community as well. In order to demonstrate this, it is necessary to focus on sites where weaving has fostered community engagement, rather than on particular weaving related tasks. Part of the reason for this is that not all stages of weaving are able to be carried out in the New Zealand context, thus some changes have needed to occur in order for weaving to continue to encourage community, rather than purely female, engagement amongst Tokelauans. For instance, the majority of the harvesting and processing of the leaves is completed in Nukunonu, and thus Tokelauans in New Zealand are not compelled to engage with one another in order to prepare materials to the extent that they are on the islands. Tokelauan weaving is also used quite differently in New Zealand due to factors such as differences in climate and type of economy, a point that will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Six.

If attention is paid to sites where weaving has fostered Tokelauan community engagement, rather than on particular weaving tasks, it becomes possible to perceive various examples of weaving having encouraged Tokelauan community engagement in the New Zealand context as well, and having done so in a quite adaptive manner. For instance, weaving demonstrations are often included as one of the Tokelau language week events (Creative New Zealand, 2016; "Vaiaho o Te Gagana o Tokelau," 2015). To put on a weaving demonstration though, requires not only those who know how to weave, and can demonstrate it effectively; it also requires people with other skill sets such as event organising. Thus, while New Zealand based Tokelauans may not be able to contribute to some of the more traditional tasks associated with weaving – such as helping prepare the materials – they can nonetheless be encouraged to engage with one another via other weaving related tasks. In the next chapter, I demonstrate this point in much greater depth through discussing the diverse roles that a wide range of Tokelauans had in making *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*.

While these two communities are connected, they are not tightly bound entities, and thus it is essential to briefly consider the ways in which weaving encourages community engagement not only within these communities, but also between them, and does so in quite an adaptive manner. What the literature suggests is that for Tokelauans, as well as for many other Pacific peoples, it is important to constantly retain connections to a diverse range of people and places – they are, after all, living in the world of Oceania (Hau'ofa, 1994; Jolly, 2007; Mallon et al., 2003). This suggests that being in, and relating to, only the one place has the potential to result in a feeling of loss. Pacific people need to have and constantly sustain relationships with more than one place, and more than one people, in order to feel more broadly at home in the world. This point is nicely made by Pacific Scholar Katerina Martina Teaiwa (2004) when she states that for her, "'home' is both current location and lived connection, so to speak from one's location requires multisited locution; a location is not necessarily a singular point but rather a place between specific points" (p. 230).

Through perceiving Tokelauans as both members of specific communities and transnationalists, the diverse ways that weaving can connect Tokelauans together become increasingly apparent. There is one example that demonstrates this point particularly well and

this is the work that goes into acquiring, and then transporting, weaving materials from the islands to members of the New Zealand Tokelauan community. In order to demonstrate how weaving can compel not only community engagement within specific communities, but also across borders, I discuss the work that occurs on Nukunonu itself preparing, and subsequently transporting, these materials to New Zealand, using my own experiences undertaking this task to do so.

During our final week in Nukunonu, Meli and I, with the practical and material support of a variety of Tokelauans, made, and prepared to transport, *lau kie* from Nukunonu to Wellington. The *lau kie*, which is the white version of the pandanus leaves, takes a considerable amount of time to prepare. In our case it took about a week, and even this involved shortcuts to ensure that it would be finished in time for our departure. The major steps involved in preparing this *lau kie* included acquiring the leaves from the plantation, peeling and boiling them, placing them in the sea for several days to help them turn white, and then leaving them in the sun to dry.[12] Some of the leaves were also dyed bright colours to be used for decorative elements in the handicrafts. Once all of these steps were completed, the leaves were rolled into bundles to be transported. In order to transport these bundles, we were advised by several people to acquire an export notice from the Tokelau government offices that stated that no harm has been caused to Tokelau's environment by removing them, and that bringing them into New Zealand would not harm that environment either.

Undertaking this particular task provided useful insights into what it might be like to have a sense of lived connection with one place, while physically occupying another. For one, a key reason why we were seeking to acquire the *lau kie* was because Meli and I were both aware that it was often not easy or straightforward for Tokelauans in New Zealand to acquire pandanus from Nukunonu. Thus, obtaining these materials was – overall – our way of responding to the needs of the Wellington community. It was also a step towards fulfilling Meli's goal of continuing to share weaving information with New Zealand based Tokelauans

[12] For a more in-depth discussion of how to prepare the *lau kie* than is possible within the confines of this thesis, one highly useful resource to refer to is *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*. It should be kept in mind though, that the preparation of materials differs somewhat case by case due to factors such as the particular preferences, resources and relationships of those involved. Thus, there is no one exact process for preparing these materials that everyone precisely follows.

via a workshop. Meli was fortunate enough to have strong family ties with a master crafter on Nukunonu who was quite passionate about the need for the art of weaving to carry on into the future, and who had agreed to help us make the materials to take back to New Zealand. Preparing to transport these materials to New Zealand also compelled us to think about how New Zealand – and its needs as a specific place – needed to be factored into what we were attempting to achieve. For instance, were we doing enough to meet New Zealand's notoriously stringent customs requirements? Thus, while we were physically located on Nukunonu, we had not entirely left New Zealand behind.

Figure 12: Rolls of dyed pandanus to bring back to New Zealand, Nukunonu, 2012.

The second key reason I have chosen to focus my discussion on the making of the *lau kie*, and the subsequent preparations for transporting it to New Zealand, is that it provides useful insights into how weaving related tasks can compel engagements between a diverse range of Tokelauans, and do so in a really dynamic and adaptive manner. The entire process was – in large part – overseen by the master crafter, from going to the plantation to harvest the leaves, to packing the bundles of *lau kie* into our bags. She was far from the only person involved in these tasks though. For one, male members of her family helped in a variety of ways. For instance, the master crafter's husband drove us to the *lotokie* (village plantation) to collect the leaves, and her sons helped with some of the more physically intensive tasks, such as transporting the leaves to the sea, and securing them in the water (Figure 13). Her daughters – who had professed themselves not to be weavers, or even particularly interested in weaving – helped with various stages of processing the leaves, such as dying them bright colours, and often actually seemed to enjoy helping, laughing and chatting away. In addition, both men

and women provided advice on what was required in order to meet New Zealand's customs requirements, such as ensuring that the items were entirely dry and free of insects, and the importance of acquiring an export notice. We also received advice – as well as practical support – for packing the *lau kie*, along with some handicrafts that we had been gifted, into our suitcases. Thus, in order to prepare these leaves to take back to New Zealand, we were compelled into engagements with a wide range of Tokelauans and in diverse ways.

Figure 13: Pandanus leaves in the sea, Nukunonu, 2012.

Through the various activities involved in processing, and subsequently, preparing the leaves to be transported to New Zealand, it became increasingly apparent to me how this was not a fixed and replicable process, but rather a reflection of how weaving can encourage people to engage with one another in highly dynamic and adaptive ways, and that those engagements are affected by each person's particular circumstances and sets of relationships. Based on earlier research, I was aware that there was not one *right* way to prepare the leaves, or to weave (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; MacGregor, 1937). My experiences helping process these leaves made this point even more apparent to me. For instance, one of the steps involved in preparing the leaves for weaving was to remove the thorns. We undertook this task while seated out the front of the Master crafter's house. When we worked on this task there were only women present, including the master crafter, her adult daughters, Meli and myself. The reality that different people could be involved in this task was strikingly apparent, because our immediate neighbours were also outside their house undertaking the same task, but in their case, it was a woman and her two adult sons. This is just one example of people

using their particular sets of relationships to achieve weaving related tasks, rather than having a highly rigid understanding of people's roles in weaving.

Figure 14: Meli demonstrating how to protect thumb while stripping the leaves, Nukunonu, 2012.

The ways that handicrafts are made, and subsequently used, also reflects the diversity that can be present amongst those that identify as Tokelauan. This diversity is present in decisions that they make regarding how to prepare the materials. For one, during the processing of the materials, Meli demonstrated how they used to wrap their thumb with a leaf to protect it from harm when removing the spine of the pandanus (Figure 14), while at the same time, the master crafter was using a more contemporary option to protect her thumb – Sellotape. This point is also reflected at various points in *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* (2011). In this, a Tokelauan woman called Koleti discusses two different tools that can be selected from to process the materials – the *hau kuku* and the *kuku kilipati*. She identifies the *kuku kilipati* as having been introduced to Tokelau and proceeds to bring her personal preference into conversation with her mum and her aunt's preferences. Koleti identifies as preferring the *kuku kilipati*, stating that "I use the new kuku, I call it a friend. It makes it quicker and more efficient to get the work done". She notes, though, that both her mum and her aunt preferred the *hau kuku*, with her aunt telling her that "it was better for the leaf and made nicer strips for weaving and there is no waistage [sic] of the material". There are other examples in the documentary that demonstrate that weaving is also a somewhat flexible practice, such as Koleti and Velonika disagreeing over how many rows to weave at a time.

An additional example of weaving as a flexible and adaptable practice is the colours people choose to use in their weaving. There are debates about colour choices, with some preferring natural colours over dye. While I was in Nukunonu, there was even some controversy about whether or not Napisan[13] was being used to make the *lau kie* whiter. Some argued that this did not happen at all as it deteriorated the quality of the leaf, while others claimed that it did. I never in fact witnessed it being used, but the debate itself was interesting as it raised questions about what changes could be made to weaving without damaging the quality of the handicraft itself. The differences of opinion about what colours should be used in weaving is also partly a reflection of women wanting to represent themselves as different from one another. Furthermore, it is a reflection of people adapting to changed circumstances – for example, they would not have had access to Napisan in the past. This point about being adaptive is also apparent in New Zealand. In the 1990s there was a Tokelauan weaving group that incorporated car packing materials into their work (Mallon, 2013). These packing materials were sourced from the car factories where some of their husbands worked (Walrond, 2005/2015). Women can also be quite creative about what they weave: during the research I saw woven book covers, flowers, and even shoes, items that are not made primarily for practical purposes and which help demonstrate the creativity and artistic flair of their makers.

Tokelauans' reasons for choosing to weave also reflect that it is a practice that accommodates the diversity within the community. Some of the women that work for the *fatupaepae* weaving committee do so because it is their job, but some also appeared to me to be quite proud of their work and to enjoy the opportunity to socialize with the other women. I also encountered two men on Nukunonu who wove, for the most part claiming to do so purely in order to help their wives and to have little interest in weaving itself. There was also one man who wove for the love of it, taking materials with him when he travelled so he could make gifts for others.

Weaving can both symbolically and materially carry place for Tokelauans. As such, weaving is potentially a valuable tool for Tokelauans to retain a relationship with Tokelau while not

[13] Napisan is a type of washing powder aimed primarily at removing stains.

inhabiting it. Weaving is an adaptable practice and art form, constantly being adjusted in order to take into account factors such as individual preferences and the specific social contexts that people are living in. However, weaving's adaptability has its limits, and there are indications that Tokelauans need material and other forms of support in order to help weaving continue to perform such meaningful functions in their lives. Thus, outsiders should provide material and other forms of support when Tokelauans request it, a topic that will be returned to in much greater depth in the next chapter.

Weaving and Pacific Peoples

Tokelauans are not the only people in the Pacific at risk of losing their homeland due to climate change, nor are they the only ones in the region that engage in weaving. Weaving is in fact a common cultural practice amongst Pacific peoples, although it is admittedly associated with some more than others (Mckendry, 2017; Pereira, 2002; Von Reiche, 2001). This situation suggests two points. The first is that my argument may have some broad applicability and usefulness for other Pacific peoples that are unfortunate enough to be facing the prospect of losing a meaningful place. The other is that Tokelauans are not the only Pacific group that has tried to sustain weaving as a cultural practice in New Zealand. Other Pacific peoples' attempts at doing so can provide useful insights into how a people might continue to relate to a place once it has become uninhabitable.

In this part of the chapter, I begin by exploring some of the major commonalities that exist amongst the weaving produced by diverse Pacific groups. Through doing so, I aim to show that the argument that I have developed for Tokelauans has some broad applicability for other Pacific groups as well. I recognize, though, that that this argument needs to be cautiously made as the way climate change is experienced, interpreted and reacted to is highly context-specific (Barnett & Waters, 2016; Hulme, 2009). Thus, while my argument may have some applicability to others, it should not be applied uncritically. Following this, I explore other Pacific peoples' attempts at sustaining weaving in New Zealand. I undertake this exploration in order to gain greater insights into what might be required to sustain Tokelauan weaving in New Zealand.

Pacific peoples is a term that references the commonalities that exist between these groups as well as their distinctiveness, and this point is evident in their weaving. There are some major similarities as well as differences between the weaving that these various groups produce. In this context, it is important to discuss why I am using the term 'weaving'. Pereira (2002) provides a useful explanation for why the term 'weaving' is appropriate to use when discussing the various "fibre arts" of Pacific peoples, rather than splitting them into categories of "weaving", "basketry" and "plaiting" (p. 77). Pereira conducted research on weaving groups in New Zealand. She asserts that all the women she spoke to during her research (including Polynesian and Fijian) simply referred to both the method and the final products as weaving. She also notes that loom weaving is not practised in Polynesia (p. 78). In light of these points, she suggests that the most appropriate term to use is simply 'weaving'. I am largely in agreement with Pereira that 'weaving' is generally the most appropriate term when discussing Pacific peoples as a whole. In regards to Tokelauans more specifically, though, the term 'handicrafts' is more appropriate as it helps distinguish it from the more everyday type of weaving using coconut leaves, and is also the term Tokelauans themselves normally use.

I begin my discussion by raising a broad commonality that exists between Pacific peoples: the materials used in weaving can be perceived as symbolizing the people's resilience and adaptability. For instance, pandanus is often grown on Pacific islands, and, just as in Tokelau, the communities make use of the plant in as many ways as they can. Many of these islands after all have quite limited natural resources (Thomas, Englberger, Guarino, Thaman, & Elevitch, 2006; Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2006). While the *kie* pandanus is non-fruiting, there are other varieties of pandanus on Tokelau, and also on other Pacific islands, that not only contain edible parts but also are used for a variety of other purposes (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; A. Thomas et al., 2006). The Secretariat of the Pacific Community (2006) notes that, depending on the variety of the pandanus, the leaves can be used for a wide range of purposes such as weaving and thatching, the wood for construction, and the roots for medicine. What this demonstrates is that the inhabitants of these islands have extensively explored how they could use one of their few natural resources to its fullest potential.

Māori weaving also demonstrates how adaptive and resilient Pacific peoples can be. Māori primarily weave with *harakeke* (a type of New Zealand flax). Over the centuries they have used this resource in a variety of ways and have adapted its use in response to changes in their environment. Wirihana (2008), a well-known Māori weaver, asserts that Māori have used *harakeke* for a range of purposes, including to make fishing nets, as lashing, and in medicine. Harris and Woodcock-Sharp (2000) have explored the changing ways that the flax bush has been used in New Zealand. They note that before European contact, Māori considered flax their most important source of fibre and used it for a range of purposes, including to make mats and clothing. These authors also claim that after contact, flax became a major part of New Zealand's economy, and at one stage it was New Zealand's most significant export. Harris and Woodcock-Sharp argue that following the decline of this industry, Māori began to engage more with weaving as a cultural undertaking and wanted to use their traditional materials to do so.

An additional commonality that exists amongst the weaving produced by Pacific people is that while some items are used for everyday purposes, others are considered highly culturally valuable items. As Pereira (2002) argues, some woven items are considered the most culturally valuable items within Pacific societies. She notes in particular that fine mats are often considered highly valuable, and can represent such things as "wealth, mana, and prestige" and also act as "material representations of social relationships" (p. 77). To illustrate Pereira's argument, I discuss several examples that show the immense cultural value that can be attached to weaving. The first example is an *'ie tōga* that is part of Te Papa's collections.

Within the Samoan exchange system, the *'ie tōga* (a type of fine mat) is considered the highest-ranking item and is used in special events and ceremonies to cement relationships between people (Pereira, 2002; Von Reiche, 2001). It is not uncommon, for instance, for an *'ie tōga* to be included in a women's dowry (Von Reiche, 2001). Some *'ie tōga* have existed for generations and have been linked with a variety of important occasions, adding to their historical, as well as sentimental, value (Pereira, 2002; Von Reiche, 2001). This particular *'ie tōga* was presented to the then Prime Minister of New Zealand, Helen Clark, by the Tamasese family in June, 2002 (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d.). Clark was in Samoa

to attend the 40th anniversary celebrations of their political independence, and while there, she officially apologized for the way that New Zealand had treated Samoa while it was under their administration (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d.). Clark was given this *'ie tōga* to show that Samoans accepted her apology and that the relationship between New Zealand and Samoa had now been repaired (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, n.d.).

Māori *kākahu* (cloaks) are an additional example of the considerable cultural value attached to some woven items. Wirihana (2008) discusses the incredible cultural value that a *kākahu* can have. Like the *'ie tōga*, these cloaks were used to mark special occasions, such as funerals and weddings. As Wirihana points out, *kākahu* indicated the social status of the wearer. There was a range of types of *kākahu*, including *kaitaka* and *kahu kurī* (Mckendry, 2017; Wirihana, 2008). According to Wirihana, a *kaitaka* was worn by high-ranking chiefs and was one of the most culturally valuable types of traditional dress. The *kahu kurī* was another highly culturally valuable type of cloak. At the time of European contact, this type of cloak was in fact considered to be the most culturally valuable and was worn only by the most highly ranked men. Wirihana explains that the *kahu kurī* were so culturally valuable that they even had names and their history was carefully passed from one generation to the next. The *kahu kuri* was made of dog skin (Mckendry, 2017; Wirihana, 2008).

I have demonstrated that there are some significant points of commonality that exist between Pacific peoples and their weaving, thus suggesting that the argument that I developed for Tokelauans might have some use for them as well. But what might be gained from flipping the argument on its head? In other words, what might be learnt from considering other Pacific peoples' attempts at maintaining weaving in New Zealand, and thus, in some regards, their attempts at sustaining a relationship to the places they have left behind? As Refiti (2012) asserts, in New Zealand, Pacific peoples adapt to the context they are in, using New Zealand resources and engaging in new techniques.

In New Zealand, there are a variety of examples of Pacific peoples changing both the materials they use for weaving and their weaving methods. One powerful example of this is a Niuean

pulou (hat) that is part of Te Papa's collections. Mallon (2012) discusses this *pulou*, which was made in the 1990s by a Niuean weaver called Moka Poi. He notes that it was woven out of red plastic bread bags that had been first cut into strips. Weaving with plastic bread bags could be understood by some as a degeneration of Niuean culture; however, I, as well as Mallon, interpret the use of this material as a sign of how adaptive Pacific weavers can be, using what they have at hand to the best of their abilities. This adaptability is also reflected in other Pacific groups, including Māori. Wirihana (2008) writes that Māori have typically used *harakeke* for weaving. She notes that since the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand there have been some substantial modifications in weaving techniques and materials; Māori now use non-indigenous materials in their weaving as well, such as synthetic fibres. Changing materials has overall not prevented weaving from continuing to be a meaningful practice for these groups.

A final example of this adaptability is that of Kiribati weavers living in New Zealand. The New Zealand artist, Louisa Humphry, as recorded by Brownson, Māhina-Tuai, Refiti, Tavola, & Tonga (2012), argues that there have been some significant changes for Kiribati weavers in New Zealand. She explains that for one, weaving does not serve the same types of functions in New Zealand as it does on the islands. She states that a:

> lot of the weaving [on the islands] is to provide the home with necessities such as mats and baskets and these might not be deemed as necessary anymore but the skills also teach determination and being proud of the end product, which reflects where you come from and the homeland that was home. (p. 37)

She also notes that weaving provides opportunities for activities such as the transmission of cultural stories between generations. Humphry raises an important question: where is culture if, in the future, members of the community visit an art gallery to see a cultural treasure and realize that there is no one left with the skills to actually make such an item?

Humphry's argument returns me to a point I made earlier: that a useful way to continue a cultural practice, and to encourage community engagement with it, is to emphasize process over product. The question then becomes not so much how the traditional practice of weaving can be sustained but how weaving can adapt so that it continues to have meaningful functions in Pacific peoples' lives. New Zealand weaving groups, both past and present, demonstrate

the usefulness of focussing on weaving's functions more than on the final product. In Leckie's 1993 overview of Pacific women's groups in New Zealand (which was revised and updated by Kelti in 2018), she arrived at the conclusion that while there were (and still are) Pacific weaving groups, these were often not solely focussed on weaving. She argues that these groups had important social roles and were the sites of cultural transmission between generations. She also argues that some of these groups have been major forces behind wider community projects, such as the establishment of a Tokelauan preschool. Thode-Arora (2014), in her discussion of Niuean weavers, reflects similar points, noting that these groups are often involved in a wide range of activities, including providing advice and support for medical conditions such as asthma and assisting members to fill out the various administrative forms that can come with living in New Zealand, for instance an application for a bank account. Thus, while people might join one of these groups with the intention of learning more about weaving, belonging to it can also provide a range of other important functions in their lives.

The final point that I raise in this chapter is that various Pacific peoples have explored how to use and sustain their weaving materials in New Zealand. Their decision to undertake this research, as well as their successes and failures, can provide rich insights into how to relate to a place once it becomes uninhabitable. One organization that has been particularly important in this context is Aotearoa Moananui a Kiwa Weavers, which has striven to encourage and support both Māori and Pacific weaving (Harris & Woodcock-Sharp, 2000; Mckendry, 2017; Pereira, 2002). In 1983, this organization held its first weavers' *hui* (meeting), during which the weavers decided that they wanted to seek more scientific information not only on how to use their traditional weaving materials but also on how to conserve them (Harris & Woodcock-Sharp, 2000). Following this decision, a variety of programs were undertaken in their attempts to conserve their weaving materials.

One of Aotearoa Moananui a Kiwa Weavers' programs involved Pacific peoples attempting to actually grow their pandanus plants in New Zealand. Pereira (2002) has explored this attempt, why it was undertaken, and also the outcomes. She argues that one of the reasons Pacific peoples undertook this work was because they felt that it would encourage more people to be involved with weaving. She notes that one of the benefits of growing pandanus is that

people would have the opportunity to not only weave but also go through all the steps of preparing the leaves for weaving – such as harvesting them, thus, enabling a much wider range of Pacific peoples to engage in weaving than is sometimes possible in New Zealand. Pereira writes that, in 1991, Aotearoa Moananui a Kiwa Weavers approached Dr Warwick Harris of Manaaki Whenua Landcare Research New Zealand to ask about the possibility of growing pandanus in New Zealand. According to Pereira, their first attempt at growing the pandanus in New Zealand was unsuccessful, largely due to New Zealand's cooler temperatures. She notes that they kept trying, and eventually one Niuean woman was not only able to successfully grow a pandanus plant in her conservatory, she also went on to weave with it.

Additionally, Warwick Harris and Mairehau Te Ua Ani Woodcock-Sharp (2000) of Manaaki Whenua Landcare Research New Zealand have undertaken research on 11 varieties of Phormium (flax). The aim of this research was to obtain a better understanding of the characteristics of each variety, and how they might be best used (Harris & Woodcock-Sharp, 2000). This research was supported by Te Roopu Raranga Whatu O Aotearoa who wanted to learn more about the physical characteristics of these plants in order to improve how they used them for the tasks of plaiting and weaving (Harris & Woodcock-Sharp, 2000). Te Roopu Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa represents Maori weavers and is a remnant of the Aotearoa Moananui a Kiwa Weavers organization which dissolved in 1994 due to funding changes (Toi Maori Aotearoa, 2016).

The ability to actually grow the materials Pacific peoples have traditionally used in weaving is an important one, both for providing more community members with a role in weaving and because it offers a physical link to the place they have left behind. In the case of Tokelauans – particularly those from Nukunonu – being able to grow the pandanus plant in New Zealand has the potential to be highly beneficial. As I pointed out in the previous section, when New Zealand Tokelauans currently receive the pandanus, it is almost entirely ready to be used for weaving. As a result, a number of people, most notably men, are excluded from the weaving process, thus reducing the potential for community engagement. If the pandanus was able to be grown in New Zealand, men could undertake some of the more conventional weaving related tasks, such as helping with the harvesting; in doing so, community, rather than purely

female, engagement could be fostered. Additionally, as I demonstrated earlier, this plant has both material and symbolic important to Tokelauans, and thus has the potential to be a powerful tool for enabling them to relate to Tokelau, while living elsewhere.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I used my critical interdisciplinary approach to become more attuned to a specific gap in existing scholarship on the topic of loss of place due to climate change in the Pacific, and to find a way to effectively respond to it. There is rich scholarship that helps make visible that the loss of a specific place can be highly important to a people, as it not only provides the resources necessary to support their way of life, but can also be a source of deep attachment and meaning for a people. There is, however, also a considerable gap in the scholarship in regards to how those most directly affected by the issue – Pacific peoples – actually inhabit the world. Pacific peoples are often quite mobile, and there is considerable scholarship that suggests that, while many live overseas, this does not mean that their homeland ceases to be important to their sense of identity and belonging. There are various benefits that can be gained through paying greater attention to Pacific peoples' ways of inhabiting the world. Key ones include that it broadens the understanding of whose identity should be considered threatened by the loss of the place, and that it makes visible alternative ways of relating to a meaningful place other than inhabiting it.

In this chapter, I made a beginning at addressing this gap through focussing on how Tokelauans retain relationships with their homeland while living overseas, why they have done so, and some of the factors that must be taken into consideration in order for this to occur. Weaving is a useful vehicle for exploring how a people might continue to relate to a place once it has become uninhabitable as it can both materially and symbolically reference the homeland, helping people to retain their culture and identity in their new environments. Through focussing on how Tokelauans and, to a lesser extent, Pacific peoples in general have adjusted weaving to take into consideration the enabling and constraining factors of the New Zealand context, possibilities for going on meaningfully following the loss of a place were made apparent. Additionally, specific ways that outsiders could provide useful forms of support to a climate vulnerable people were made visible, such as through providing spaces for people to weave in.

Chapter Six: The Contribution of Others to an Identity's Adaptation

As I continued to seek ways to use my critical interdisciplinary approach to formulate useful responses to my three research questions on cultural adaptation, I kept being drawn back to one resource in particular – *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*. Initially the documentary had primarily been intended as an entry point into the field research component of my project, rather than as a major site of enquiry. My research journey, though, had led me to realise that *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* was a highly valuable resource because, beyond its stated purpose of documenting the practice of weaving, it included profound insights into how a people might go on meaningfully following the loss of a place due to climate change, and to do so with the practical and material support of outsiders. I had gained this awareness through the work that had gone into addressing other parts of my research, such as my investigation into how a people can find ways to maintain meaningful relationships with specific places, other than inhabiting it.

In this chapter, I argue that *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* provides a useful model of how climate vulnerable peoples and 'outsiders' can work together respectfully and productively, but that in order to replicate the success of that venture, it is essential to obtain a nuanced understanding of the principles that informed it. My discussion occurs over three main parts. In the first, I explore some of the key reasons why Tokelauan weaving should be considered an endangered art form, and in doing so, indicate broadly what those involved in *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* were seeking to help address. From there, I turn to discuss components of *Te To' kie i Nukunonu's* content that make it such a valuable type of resource for the task of cultural survival and adaptation, following the loss of a place due to climate change. Finally, I explore the collaborations that occurred between Tokelauans and non-Tokelauans in order to make this documentary. For this last point, I refer to Gibson-Graham's (2006) engagement with, and subsequent conceptualisation of, Zen master Shunryu Suzuki's 'beginner's mind', as well as some of my own experiences working with Meli, in order to theorize that type of collaboration and to demonstrate why it is potentially so useful for taking action in the Anthropocene.

Responding to Weaving as an At-Risk Practice

Te To' kie i Nukunonu emerged largely in response to concerns within the Wellington Tokelauan community that weaving was an at risk practice, and a need for more resources that preserved information about this art form for Tokelauans now and into the future, as well as for work to be undertaken to help address some of the complex issues Tokelauans were facing sustaining their cultures and communities in a rapidly changing world (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Wolffram, 2011). In this part of the chapter, I draw upon my own research findings, as well as *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* itself, to make visible some of the main practical, methodological, and philosophical factors threatening Tokelauan weaving, and in doing so, help provide the necessary background information needed to understand broadly what *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* can be interpreted as seeking to help address.

One of the issues facing the survival of Tokelauan weaving is undeniably access to the resources needed to weave (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Creative New Zealand, 2009). In Chapter Five I identified difficulties that Tokelauans in New Zealand have obtaining the resources needed to weave, such as acquiring pandanus leaves and having access to adequate space to weave in. In light of that discussion it could be tempting to assume that these resource issues are the main reasons why weaving is struggling, and that this is what primarily needs to be addressed. This understanding needs to be avoided as it can distract from a more significant and complex issue that is present, which is that weaving has become less compelling for Tokelauans than it once was. Some might argue that weaving's decline is not such a concern because after all, cultural forms can change with little harm to the community involved, and in fact to expect them to remain the same is to assume that the people concerned lack the capacity to adapt. I agree with this point, but also argue that the weakening of weaving signals some broader challenges for the Tokelauan community.

I begin my discussion by focussing on an issue that is commonly identified in relation to oral-based cultures: the transmission of skills and meaning between generations. I start my discussion here as it draws in the importance of resources while also providing a useful opening for suggesting that there is more to weaving's struggles than the resource issue. There are a variety of reasons why oral-based communities are susceptible to losing cultural

information. People sometimes pass away before they are able to share the information with the next generation. In addition, some groups understand knowledge as a form of property, rather than as something that everyone should be able to access (Mallon et al., 2003; L. T. Smith, 1999). As a result, only certain members of society have particular knowledge, which means if they do not pass it on to the next generation before they die, this knowledge can be lost forever.

Tokelau is an orally based culture, and through focussing on how Tokelauans learn to weave, it is possible to perceive how that can, in some respects, make them more vulnerable to losing cultural knowledge. Cultural information about weaving is generally only stored in people's minds. Weavers do not use documented patterns to weave; rather, they refer to memory (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Traditionally, weavers have passed their information on to female family members as a form of inheritance (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Wolffram, 2011). Tokelauans generally learn to weave through first watching a friend or family member and then attempting to do it themselves (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Over the years, Tokelauan weavers can further develop their skills by watching others and asking for their assistance (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

Tokelauans have themselves recognized that the ways in which this transfer of knowledge has traditionally occurred are no longer sufficient, and that they need to take additional steps to help retain their cultural knowledge. One resource that clearly demonstrates this point is the *National Women's Policy 2010-2015* (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b). In 2004, the National Women's Council met together for the first time; during this meeting the female representatives from each of the atolls identified that they had similar concerns and issues to one another (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b). As a result, the Council identified a need for a national policy to be created specifically directed at Tokelau's women (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b). The overall aim of this policy was "to improve the quality of life and welfare for the women of Tokelau" (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b, p. 2). Contained within the *National Women's Policy* is considerable evidence that Tokelauan women have not only identified the loss of cultural knowledge as an important issue for them, but also identified steps to be taken to address it. For instance, one of the issues identified in the policy is a need for more "educational trainings and programmes for present and future

generations" to sustain their "traditional resources", such as weaving (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b, p. 22). One of the strategies listed in this policy for retaining cultural knowledge is to record "traditional practices such as the Tokelau way of life, legends, traditional dancing, weaving, fishing, traditional games and so on for present and future generations" (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b, p. 22). Thus, this policy clearly indicates that Tokelauans are concerned about losing their cultural knowledge and that they have identified steps to address this issue. Tokelauans have, in fact, already undertaken a variety of steps to retain weaving related information, and, as this chapter will illustrate, some of these strategies involve collaboration with people outside of the Tokelauan community.

Many of the New Zealand–based Tokelauans do not know how to weave, at least in part due to a lack of opportunities to learn. Based on my research, there appears to be quite a limited number of active weavers in New Zealand, and they often seem to be making smaller items, such as *ili,* rather than larger items like mats. This means that instead of working in groups to make an item, and in large and often quite public environments, such as a community hall, women instead often weave individually and do so in their homes. There is admittedly some group weaving that occurs, but it appears quite limited, particularly when compared with the scale of weaving that happens on Nukunonu (Author's Field Research Notes; Huntsman, 2017; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018). Thus, overall there are quite limited opportunities for New Zealand-based Tokelauans to learn how to weave.

The reasons why women are making smaller items, and inadvertently reducing others' opportunities to learn through observing, links back to the material issue in complex ways. For one, as highlighted in Chapter Five, these women often struggle to acquire enough material to weave large items such as mats. Furthermore, those in New Zealand that have managed to obtain the leaves can consider every bit of the material precious, using the offcuts to make smaller items such as decorative flowers and bracelets (Figure 15). As a result, there is little spare *lau hulu* and *lau kie* for people to use to practice weaving. As demonstrated in Chapter Five, Tokelauans can be quite committed to using the pandanus sourced specifically from Nukunonu, and thus can be resistant to entirely substituting weaving materials.

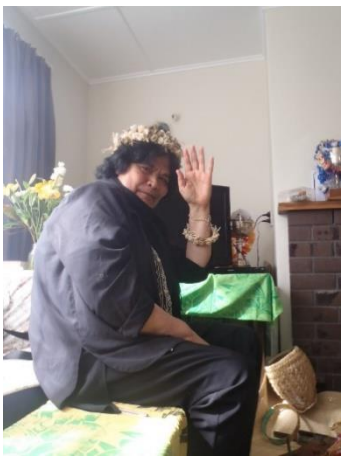

Figure 15: Meli showing a bracelet made from pandanus offcuts. Wellington, 2012.

Beyond these more direct family ties and immediate social networks there are events where weaving is demonstrated, such as Tokelau Language Week, which is typically held in late October to early November. The language week motto in 2015 was "*Totō hau tōkiga nei, auā na tupulaga e fāi mai*", translated as, "plant a seed today for the future generations" ("Vaiaho o Te Gagana o Tokelau," 2015). During that week, various events were held around the country to celebrate Tokelauan culture. In Wellington alone there was a weaving demonstration and an exhibition of Tokelauan arts and crafts ("Vaiaho o Te Gagana o Tokelau," 2015). While such events are useful for conveying information about weaving, they only occur occasionally. Tokelauans could benefit from having the option to learn weaving through a formal institution in New Zealand. This option is available to some other Pacific groups in the country. For example, formalized opportunities to learn Māori weaving are available through a variety of organizations, such as the Harakeke Flax Weaving Academy and Unitec Institute of Technology.

The issues around resources and access to knowledge-sharing spaces and events play a significant role in placing weaving at risk, but so too does a notable decline in the number of people actually *wanting* to learn how to weave and/or engage with handicrafts. In Nukunonu, access to the material is plentiful. In fact, I often observed women in Nukunonu throwing away the offcuts from the pandanus leaves – a striking difference from what I observed in Wellington, where they used every scrap. Furthermore, there were ample opportunities in Nukunonu for those who were determined to learn to weave to do so. While members of the various *fatupaepae* have identified a need for more formalized weaving workshops, from my

perspective at least, there appeared to be ample informal opportunities to learn how to weave on Nukunonu. To access these opportunities, women could, for instance visit the *fatupaepae* where women regularly gather to weave even when they do not have a commission to work on. During my field research, I encountered numerous women there who were quite willing to share at least the basics of weaving, yet during my time on Nukunonu, women also often commented on their struggles getting the younger generation interested in weaving, and debated whether or not they should force them to learn.

In my discussions with Tokelauans in New Zealand it became apparent that many of the younger generation there also did not seem to want to learn how to weave. This suggests that weaving is not as compelling for Tokelauans as it once was, but why is that? In large part the answer is that daily life for Tokelauans no longer relies as heavily as it once did on some of the practical functions of weaving. In order to explore this, I discuss some of the key roles that weaving has had in these communities in the past and compare these with the present day. In doing so, I demonstrate that weaving is no longer as useful as it once was for compelling community members to engage with one another, but also that it remains a significant vehicle for transmitting identity and culture, and thus its inherent value to Tokelauans remains high.

In Chapter Five I argued that the pandanus plant could be understood as symbolizing Tokelauan resilience and adaptability, as the people made the most of the resources available to them and pandanus was a key one. This argument can be usefully extended here to indicate how weaving has contributed to Nukunonu's economy. Nukunonu has limited natural resources and for a significant proportion of its history has had quite limited contact with the rest of the world (Angelo, 1997; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Wessen et al., 1992). Tokelauans did travel to neighbouring islands, but in terms of engagement with people beyond that, it was not until the 1800s that they began to encounter a wider range of people (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Kupa, 2009; McQuarrie, 2007; Wessen et al., 1992). Despite encountering a wide range of people in the past 200 years they still remain relatively isolated compared with much of the world. This means that Tokelauans have often needed to use the few natural resources to be found on their islands to the best of their abilities.

Weaving has been used in a variety of ways to support Tokelauan lives, including in diverse ways within their houses. Originally Tokelauan houses were open-walled, single-room structures, set upon low platforms (Hoëm, 2009; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Their roofs were covered with pandanus thatching, their windows had woven coconut-frond blinds that could be let down to keep out the wind and the rain, and woven mats were used as carpet, bedding, and something to sit upon (Hoëm, 2009; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). The houses were also made from local materials and were sparsely furnished (Hoëm, 2009; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996). Overall, weaving was an integral part of these built structures.

The role of weaving in Nukunonu's economy has altered due to a variety of factors. While woven items continue to feature importantly in spaces such as homes and meeting halls, they are overall less dependent on them. For one, Tokelauans now have more opportunities to import items such as couches, chairs, and beds. This is due to a wide range of factors, including the more frequent coming and going of the ferries. Within the last fifty years, the ferries have changed from only visiting the islands every three months, to roughly every two weeks (Wessen et al., 1992). Many Tokelauans now can be observed sleeping on mattresses placed on top of mats rather than directly on the mats (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Some Tokelauans even shared with me that they experienced bodily discomfort sitting and sleeping on the mats as they were used to mattresses and chairs. I also only saw one house on Nukunonu with coconut-frond blinds: most now have slitted glass windows with thin curtains (Figure 16). At the *falepā* (meeting hall) there are mats to sit upon, but there are also plastic chairs. The presence of alternatives has meant that weaving now occupies less of a prominent – and everyday – role in Tokelauan lives.

Figure 16: A typical house in Nukunonu, 2012.

While weaving may have become less of an everyday essential, it does still factor into Nukunonu's economy in important ways. Handicrafts are sold privately, through commissions, at markets, and online. If a woman is known as highly skilled at a particular form of weaving, such as making *ili*, other women will sometimes choose to buy the item from her as opposed to making it themselves (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Nukunonu's *fatupaepae* weaving committee also fills commissions, such as mats requested by a church in Samoa (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Handicrafts are also sold online alongside other examples of material culture such as *Paopao* (model outrigger canoes) and *Tuluma* (fishing boxes). Handicrafts are also sometimes sold at markets in Samoa, alongside weaving made by other Pacific peoples (On-Going Government of Tokelau, 2011a; Tausi, 2017b; Tefoepua, 2017).

Currently, weaving does not appear to be an attractive job prospect for the younger generation, in part because women have a wider range of employment options than they once did. Tokelauan women are attending university, taking up office jobs, and more (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; On-Going Government of Tokelau; n.d.-b; Wessen et al., 1992). Tokelauans are also quite a mobile population, in part due to opportunities they can access in New Zealand as well as advances in transportation (Walrond, 2005/2015; Wessen et al., 1992). This mobility has brought them into environments that can require quite different lifestyles and into contact with a more diverse range of people, such as in the multicultural cities of Wellington and Auckland (Leckie & Kelti, 1993/2018; Wessen et al., 1992).

Weaving is physically taxing, repetitive and involves many hours seated on the ground, and as such, can appear an unattractive job prospect. As Matalena notes, when "I was little I saw what my mother used to do[.] If she got tiered [sic] she would get up and stretch or hang from the beams of the ceiling to stretch herself out. That is another concern of the women who do the weaving [.] [I]ts [sic] hard work and you need to take care of yourself, go for walks, take a break" (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). The physical difficulties are alleviated through the use of music and other forms of entertainment, but they are nonetheless present (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; A. Thomas & Tuia, 1990). Some Tokelauans have ideas about how to change the way handicrafts are made in order to

make weaving easier and less physically taxing, but those changes are not always easily accepted, or desired by others, and thus do not provide any easy answers to this issue (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). While weaving can, and has been, adapted in the past in order for Tokelauans to continue to practice it, the extent to which changes to the way weaving is made is a source of on-going debate, as there are concerns that changes could threaten the overall meaningfulness and quality of Tokelauan weaving (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

The considerable work that goes into making handicrafts is also often not adequately financially compensated for, an issue that has been identified not only in Nukunonu, but also on a national scale. While I was in Nukunonu, questions were often raised by community members about whether the weavers' skills and efforts were undervalued, and how this situation might be rectified. At the time, an *ili*, which can take an entire day to weave (not including the time spent processing the materials), had a market value of around 20 NZD. In one conversation in which I participated, it was suggested that providing an information sheet to accompany the handicraft might make the consumer more aware of how much work and skill went into making the item, thus distinguishing it from cheap tourist trinkets.

Difficulties in making weaving a more economically viable, and worthwhile, undertaking have been identified, and responded to, at a national level as well. For instance, in the *National Policy for Women of Tokelau 2010-2015* one of the issues identified as hindering women's quality of life on the islands was a lack of opportunities for Tokelauan women to sell their handicrafts, and other such art forms, to an overseas market (On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b). While in 2017, Tokelau's Economic Development, Natural Resources and Environment Department (hereinafter EDNRE), re-established a handicrafts committee that had existed up until the early 1990s (Tausi, 2017a). According to Tausi (2017a), a representative for EDNRE, this committee, called the Tokelau Handicraft Committee, consists of three representatives from each of the atolls (one man and two women), and was re-established in order to undertake tasks such as strengthening and widening the market for weaving, and examining the pricing of handicrafts. Thus, there are clear indications that

Tokelauans are seeking to make weaving a more economically viable, and attractive, job prospect, while also being reluctant to change weaving practice on purely economic grounds.

The Tokelauan community in New Zealand have never used handicrafts for economic gain on the scale apparent in Nukunonu, although I was told by several Wellington based Tokelauans that they do occasionally sell their handicrafts at markets. Because New Zealand also has a very different climate, these items cannot function in the same ways. Wellington, for example, is wet and windy, conditions that can easily destroy handicrafts. There is also little need for a fan to cool oneself down with in Wellington's much cooler climate. In addition, there are plenty of alternatives present in New Zealand, such as beds instead of mats. As I observed in my field research, people are more likely to use handicrafts as decorations in their homes, such as attaching fans and hats to the walls. Using handicrafts as decorations is not necessarily a negative outcome; indeed, they may have purchased them in Nukunonu, thus contributing to that economy. Furthermore, using handicrafts for decoration can be quite important in turning spaces into homes, as argued in Chapter Five. The point remains, however, that weaving is not a reasonable job prospect for most, if any, New Zealand Tokelauans.

Weaving has also featured in various Tokelauan ceremonies in both Tokelau and in New Zealand, but there are some indications that, at least in the New Zealand context, this practice is weakening. In Nukunonu one such ceremony is *fakauluga*, which is to celebrate the birth of a couple's first child (A. Thomas et al., 1990). According to A. Thomas et al. (1990), during this ceremony guests bring gifts such as food and clothing, as well as handicrafts including fine mats, fans, and small mats specially made for the baby. Weaving also features in funerals and in weddings. At funerals in Nukunonu, a mat is often wrapped around the body or the coffin, while at weddings fine mats are presented as gifts and men wear *malo* (woven skirts) (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Huntsman, 2017; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2018). Handicrafts feature in Tokelauan ceremonies in New Zealand as well, but their inclusion does appear to depend somewhat on whether or not the handicrafts are readily available. In regards to funerals, there were some indications that only those that already have mats in New Zealand will normally use them, rather than try and have them sent over especially – a task that would be immensely difficult, if not impossible, in the case of a sudden passing

(Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). I did meet a woman in Nukunonu who had prepared for the eventual passing of her New Zealand based siblings by sending over mats in advance. I was also told that it was not uncommon for the mats to be buried with the body, which can deplete the number of available mats in New Zealand. Other Tokelauan ceremonies that could regularly involve the use of handicrafts in New Zealand is a potential area for future research.

There are, thus, a variety of factors that have significantly altered the role of weaving in Tokelauan life. However, the communities have been able to adapt weaving in the past so that it continued to play meaningful roles in their lives, so there is every reason to expect that similar adaptations could be devised to respond to the current challenges. However, it is also important to consider the rate of change that these communities are now experiencing, and to ask whether the unrelenting pressure associated with shifts in the global economy, and climate change more specifically, might mean that these communities could benefit from culturally appropriate support from people outside the Tokelauan communities to help them sustain their identity and culture during a period of immense pressure.

The accelerated rate of change appears to be affecting New Zealand Tokelauans more extensively than those in Nukunonu, but neither community is entirely exempt from it. In Chapter Three, I identified some of the changes in these communities and how they can result in tensions both within and between the communities. In regards to New Zealand, I identified a range of changes, such as questions about identity – whether to identify as from a particular atoll or from Tokelau more broadly, and debates about what information could be shared and by whom (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Lemihio, 2003; Wessen et al., 1992; Wolffram, 2011). In regards to Nukunonu, I identified changes such as the division of time spent on community activities versus activities that were more directed at individual interests, such as office work (Hoëm, 2009; Wessen et al., 1992). These changes are due to a variety of factors, not least of which is an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world.

The point of considering how weaving might adapt to meet the challenges facing Tokelauan communities is not based on the premise that Tokelauans need to sustain weaving at all costs. Rather, it is to counter the expectation expressed by some non-Indigenous people that

Tokelauans, and Pacific peoples in general, cannot and should not adapt their cultural practices. This view exists within a longer history of Pacific peoples being represented by others as lacking the capacity to adapt (Malkki, 1992; Mallon, 2010; Wendt, 1976). Such a representation needs to be avoided, as it potentially comes with a wealth of negative consequences for the people concerned. Pacific peoples' cultural expressions have at times been expected to meet others' standards of what is authentic and traditional for that particular culture (Mallon & Pereira, 2002; N. Thomas, 1996). This expectation has made it more challenging for Pacific peoples to undertake creative and innovative work, as when they have, others have sometimes claimed that what they have produced should be understood as a sign that their culture is degenerating.

While I am not suggesting that weaving needs to survive at all costs, I am suggesting that if Tokelauans cease to find it meaningful something else needs to take its place. At its best, weaving compels a wide range of Tokelauans to engage with one another, and to do so in diverse and dynamic ways. If weaving ceases to serve this function, another cultural practice will need to take its place, otherwise there will be less of a compulsion for community members to maintain their social ties, and this has the potential to weaken community ties. It is becoming increasingly probable that Tokelau will become uninhabitable, and thus it is likely that its population will eventually need to be relocated. In light of this, cultural practices that promote community engagement need to be supported as much as possible.

Finally, some of the challenges that Tokelauans are encountering with sustaining weaving as a cultural practice are not specific to them alone. Other groups have struggled to maintain their cultural practices, and in fact a variety of people have expressed concern over the worldwide decline in cultural diversity. This is reflected, for instance, in Kurin (2007), who states that worldwide there has been a loss of "literally thousands of linguistic communities, and with them much of the oral literature, the stories and tales and ways in which humans have seen and imagined the world – and how they might have done so in the future" (p. 12), while Lenzerini (2011) argues that currently "we are aware on a daily basis of the definitive loss – throughout the world – of languages, knowledge, knowhow, customs, and ideas, leading to the progressive impoverishment of human society" (p. 102).

Concerned parties have taken a variety of steps to try to slow the decline in cultural diversity, including the formulation and implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. As Kurin (2007) states, this convention sought to "ensure the survival and vitality of the world's living local, national, and regional cultural heritage in the face of increasing globalisation and its perceived homogenising effects on culture" (p. 10). This convention is an international treaty signed by members of UNESCO. Kurin (2007) writes that it was put in place to recognize the significance of intangible cultural heritage and to make it legally binding for the signatories to undertake actions to preserve, protect and transmit it. UNESCO (n.d.) defines intangible cultural heritage as not only physical art works but also:

> traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. (para. 1)

The UNESCO convention is important, and shares some points of commonality with what I have been arguing for throughout this section. As various scholars have demonstrated, one of the reasons this convention is important is that it recognizes that cultural products should be meaningful to the community, or *communities*, that generated them (Kurin, 2007; Lenzerini, 2011). The convention was important as it emphasized that cultural heritage needed to be meaningful as a part of community life. A further important dimension of this convention was that it recognized that culture, and its various products, are constantly evolving, rather than static. It represented cultural products as part of the community rather than as standing apart from it. In connection with this last point, the convention also recognized the important and quite integral roles that art forms can have in a community, such as fostering and sustaining relationships between various community members. A final key reason why this convention was important is that it made it a responsibility of the signatories - of which New Zealand was one – to provide support to the various communities living within their borders in order for them to retain their cultures (Kurin, 2007; Lenzerini, 2011).

Te To' kie i Nukunonu: A Type of Project Worth Supporting

In the previous section, I provided background information necessary for understanding why weaving is at risk, and through doing so, began to indicate some of the major issues *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* can be understood as striving to help address. In this section, I discuss *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* as a record of a significant cultural practice, doing so through undertaking two main steps. First, I provide some essential background information on the making of *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, as well as its content. From there, I focus on some key features of *Te To' kie i Nukunonu's* content to show that this resource not only helps preserve information about weaving for current and future generations, but also demonstrates some major ways in which communities can manage – as some have already done – to adapt to life elsewhere, while still retaining their culture and sense of identity. This discussion is undertaken not only to highlight what a special resource *Te To'kie i Nukunonu* is, but also in preparation for an argument that I make in the following section on how collaborative – and cross-cultural – work might be successfully undertaken in the Anthropocene.

According to Meli, the documentary project first emerged during meetings in Wellington with other Nukunonu women (Author's Field Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). During these meetings, the women compared life on Nukunonu with life in New Zealand and generally talked about life on the islands (Author's Field Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). They also discussed the need for information about weaving to be documented, arguing that their parents would have wanted the skills and art of weaving passed on to future generations (Author's Field Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). As Meli eloquently states in *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, the:

> skill of weaving is a special gift and it was the wish of our parents to see this art and skill of weaving passed on so that when we pass away there are recordings and writings about the wonderful talents and the gifts of Tokelau women.

While some of the ideas about weaving – and the need for this resource – had been percolating for a few years prior to this point, Meli identified both in her conversations with me, as well as in *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* itself, that 1995 was the real starting point of the project. In *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, she states that, during that year, frequent meetings and

discussions about weaving and the *lotokie* occurred with their elders. In an interview with me, she identified 1995 as the year when she first sat down with Allan Thomas to broach the topic of making a book about weaving (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Allan Thomas was an ethnomusicologist whose research areas included Tokelauan culture (see for instance A. Thomas & Tuia, 1990; A. Thomas et al., 1990). Wolffram (2011) notes that Thomas had an extensive history working with the Tokelauan community in Wellington and had also spent twelve months in Nukunonu in the late 1990s. Meli recalls getting to know Thomas through his regular visits to the Tokelau community hall with her uncle Henry Tuia (a.k.a Ineleo Henry Nonu Tuia) (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Henry Tuia was a prominent member of the New Zealand Tokelauan community and had quite considerable experience working with non-indigenous scholars on projects concerning Tokelauans (Sheenan Thomas, 2017; A. Thomas & Tuia, 1990; A. Thomas et al., 1990).

Te To' kie i Nukunonu took a long time to come into being, with the first meetings about the project held in 1995, and the release of the documentary occurring in 2011. There were a variety of reasons why it took a considerable amount of time; some of the main ones are identified here. Meli shared with me that Thomas had indicated that he was willing to help and had asked her even back in 1995 if she was ready to proceed (personal interview, September 14, 2012). She told him that she first needed to seek the permission of Wellington based community elders from each of the atolls and could not proceed with the project without it (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Meli shared with me that the elders gave her that permission and were in fact quite encouraging of the project (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Meli also continued to collect information about weaving during this time period (personal interview, September 14, 2012). An additional reason why this project spanned a relatively long time period is that Meli had other major events happening in her life as well, such as starting an early childhood teacher course in 2002 at the Porirua campus of the Whitireia Community Polytechnic[15] which lasted until 2005 which is when she received her diploma in early childhood education (personal interview, September 14, 2012).

[15] In 2010 the polytechnic was renamed Whitireia New Zealand.

In the end, Meli and Allan Thomas decided to make a documentary instead of a book, due to personal considerations and also because it was felt to be a more appropriate medium for the community (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Wolffram, 2011). Allan Thomas unfortunately passed away before the documentary was made, so it was not possible to gain his thoughts on how this project developed. It is possible to gain insights, however, via his former PhD student, Dr Paul Wolffram, who was also involved in making the documentary. Wolffram shared with me that Allan Thomas had wanted to make a resource that was meaningful and relevant to the Tokelauan community (personal interview, September 12, 2012). As Wolffram states "he's [Allan Thomas] all about if he was going to make a book about weaving then who is the book *for*?" (personal interview, September 12, 2012). Wolffram suggested that Thomas felt the documentary form was more appropriate for the Tokelauan community than an academic text (personal interview, September 12, 2012).

Wolffram's role in the project began in the middle of 2009,which is when Thomas approached him to ask if he would film the documentary (Wolffram, 2011). Wolffram agreed to this, and did the work on a voluntary basis (Wolffram, 2011). His contributions to this project in fact took more forms than merely filming it. Some of his major contributions included co–directing, producing and editing the documentary, and also applying for funding from CNZ (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Wolffram, 2011). Wolffram claims that he chose to be involved in the documentary because it had the potential to result in a resource that was meaningful to the community. As he notes:

> all too often people make documentaries or other resources, et cetera, that are really for outsiders and with the best intentions so outsiders get to know what these people are like, but it is quite rare that you get to make a documentary that is primarily for the community themselves. (personal interview, September 12, 2012)

In preparation for the filming of the documentary, Meli undertook a variety of tasks. For one, Meli recruited people to participate in the documentary, many of whom were members of her own immediate and extended family (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). She also invited people from all the atolls to participate in the documentary and there was a strong word of mouth element to what occurred (personal interview, September 14, 2012). As Meli states:

"once the story is there in Naenae, oh it's all the way in Porirua and in Wellington. Meli is doing *something*" (personal interview, September 14, 2012).[16] Meli noted that the making of the documentary clashed with another Tokelauan community event that was being held on the same day, which is why, according to her, there were not as many people involved in the documentary as she had hoped (personal interview, September 14, 2012). An additional task that she undertook was to prepare what she wanted to say in the documentary. She recalls doing this through asking God for help and also through letting the voices of her ancestors come to her (personal interview, September 14, 2012).

Figure 17: The layout of the stage in Te To' kie i Nukunonu *(Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Permission granted to use. Screenshot by Author.*[17]

In terms of construction, *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* is fairly simple. It is filmed in a single setting, which is identified at the beginning of the documentary as the Tokelau community hall in Naenae (Figure 17). Meli is by far the main presenter in it, but there are several other women that speak as well, and the key ones are identified in the documentary as Koleti, Matelena and Velonika. The configuration of people on stage remains largely the same throughout, with the men seated on the ground behind the women, and a band at the very rear of the group. The men stay seated throughout the documentary, while the women change positions on stage in relation to the specific activity being demonstrated – such as standing up to perform a *fatele*, or sitting to demonstrate how to weave a mat. The performers on stage are filmed, as are the audience, and examples of handicraft and other forms of Tokelauan material culture are

[16] Naenae, Porirua, and Wellington are all areas within the wider Wellington region.
[17] Permission to use screenshots from *Te To' kie i Nukununu* granted by Paul Wolffram on behalf of the copyright holder – Handmade Productions.

zoomed in on at various points in the documentary. A photo of Meli's parents is also visible on stage throughout, which helps emphasize the importance of ancestors in Tokelauan culture.

Te To' kie i Nukunonu contains a range of information about weaving and Tokelauan culture. The documentary is in Tokelauan with English subtitles. It includes information about the research process that went into the documentary and why the documentary was made. It also contains information about how the materials are sourced and prepared for weaving, including some discussion on who contributes to the various tasks and how. There is also some overall information on weaving methods and a demonstration of weaving a mat. In addition, *fatele* and prayer feature in the documentary.

Te To' kie i Nukunonu is quite different from a highly polished and well-rehearsed cinematic production which, as I argue later, adds to – rather than detracts from –its value as a resource. Meli can often be seen throughout the documentary referring to her notes, which are written on sheets of A4 paper. Additionally, instead of wearing some form of uniform, those on stage wear a mixture of clothes, some more traditional islander clothing such as *puletasi* and flower crowns, while others wear hoodies and T-shirts (Figure 18). For a considerable proportion of the documentary, a young girl in pyjamas and a pink dressing gown can also be seen on stage undertaking various activities, such as trying to learn the dances, and fiddling with bundles of pandanus (Figure 18). The English subtitles at the bottom of the screen have some minor spelling mistakes and inconsistent punctuation – 'wastage' becomes 'waistage', while 'tired' becomes 'tiered'.

Figure 18: Image showing papers on stage to help guide performers as well as the mixture of clothing worn by performers (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Permission granted to use. Screenshot by Author.

According to Wolffram, the filming, and postproduction, of *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* took roughly one to two years to complete (personal interview, September 12, 2012). Initially, Wolffram produced a small number of copies of the DVD on his own before approaching Creative New Zealand (hereinafter CNZ) to request funding in order to make additional copies (personal interview, September 12, 2012). CNZ provided $3,997 NZD towards the production of the DVD as well as its launch (Creative New Zealand, n.d.). Wolffram noted that it was unusual for CNZ to provide funding for projects that had already been largely completed. He suggested that the reason CNZ provided this funding was because "they have a priority trying to assist with Tokelauan projects and especially other small linguistic groups that are under threat and the cultures are under threat" (personal interview, September 12, 2012). The documentary was made available for general purchase at 25 NZD for individual use and 125 NZD for institutional use (excluding postage) (On-Going Government of Tokelau, 2011b).

Te To' kie i Nukunonu was launched at the Tokelau community Hall in Naenae on February 5, 2011 (Pahua, 2011). The launch was open to the general public rather than just people from Nukunonu, and it was free to attend (Pahua, 2011). According to Meli, Tokelauans from all the three atolls came to the launch and were quite emotional about being there (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Meli recalls getting up in front of the audience and thanking everyone who had been involved in making the DVD (personal interview, September 14, 2012). She recalls telling the audience that she had been given permission by the Wellington based elders to make the documentary and so she had, and that she had done so "with the love and help of the palagi" (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Her appreciation for her collaborators is also visible at the end of the *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* where she takes the time to identify and thank those who have supported her in making the resource, amongst them non-Tokelauans (Figure 19).

Figure 19: Meli holding a photo of her parents while acknowledging those who helped make Te To' kie i Nukunonu *(Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Permission granted to use. Screenshot by Author.*

Both Wolffram and Meli, in separate interviews, indicated that *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* had functioned as somewhat of a catalyst for Tokelauans in the community to consider collaborating with outsiders on future projects. Meli for instance noted that whenever she talks about the fact that non-Tokelauans helped make the documentary, other Tokelauans ask her: "did you go and ask? How did you connect with those palagi people?" (personal interview, September 14, 2012). While Wolffram stated that:

> every time I go to the Tokelauan community hall now people come up and start making sounds about a project that they've maybe got, so they're thinking that maybe they can potentially access, and do stuff a bit wider than within their own community. (personal interview, September 12, 2012)

Since the completion of the documentary, Meli and Paul have in fact collaborated together again to create a CD of *fatele* (Tokelauan action songs) composed by her late parents (Puka & Puka, 2012).

Te To' kie i Nukunonu is one of a range of resources intended to preserve information about Tokelauan weaving for current and future generations. For one, Tokelau has recently issued a series of stamps depicting Tokelauan weaving (New Zealand Post, 2015). Included in this range of stamps is even one of a basket made out of synthetic materials (New Zealand Post, 2015). The Museum of Tepapa Tongarewa (2018) also made a short video on weaving, set in

Nukunonu, which can be accessed via YouTube. Some information about weaving can also be found in academic texts (such as Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; MacGregor, 1937; A. Thomas et al., 1990). CNZ has also recently created a database of knowledge holders – including expert weavers – that could be accessed to create more resources on Pacific heritage arts (Creative New Zealand, 2015a). In 2016, CNZ also, in partnership with several museums and art galleries, brought over to New Zealand three Tokelauan weavers and one carver, as part of their Pacific Cultural Exchange programme (Creative New Zealand, 2016). This programme is ongoing and aims to encourage cultural transmission and the exchange of cultural knowledge, through bringing Pacific people over from the various islands to hold talks and workshops about the artistic practices that they specialize in (Creative New Zealand, 2016).

There are, therefore, a range of forms that cultural celebration and preservation might take. Indeed, Meli initially wanted to make a book but was convinced by Allan Thomas to pursue a documentary. A book undoubtedly could provide quite extensive information about weaving through descriptions, photographs, and perhaps even the inclusion of relevant Tokelauan song lyrics, perhaps even beyond the detail possible in a documentary, but the documentary could record other components such as how the women moved and interacted with one another while weaving, how much space weaving can involve, and what Tokelauan songs and dances look and sound like when they are performed. The documentary also proved a highly accessible format.[18] Many Tokelauans have access to DVD players or other technology for viewing the documentary, and as I discovered through my field research, people can, and do, come together to watch the documentary, commenting on people they know in it, and perhaps singing along with the songs as well. Tokelauan culture is oral based and thus the documentary form is potentially more generally appropriate for this community than a book. Thus the documentary fulfils the recommendations of indigenous Pacific methodologists that we should be making resources that are meaningful to the communities concerned, and this can mean using a different form of communication than what we normally use (L. T. Smith, 1999; K. M. Teaiwa, 2004).

[18] Wolffram (2011) includes a discussion about the benefits of using the documentary form to record information about Tokelauan weaving.

One of the reasons why *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* is such a special resource is the way it encouraged community engagement in a highly dynamic and adaptive manner. In Chapter Five I showed how weaving can encourage Tokelauans to engage with one another in diverse and dynamic ways. This type of engagement is in fact highly important for sustaining an identity, as it can strengthen community ties. I seek now to briefly apply that same argument to the documentary. For instance, as argued in Chapter Five, New Zealand based Tokelauans are unable to undertake some of the more standard weaving related tasks such as growing and preparing the *lau hulu* and *lau kie.* The documentary, though, provided those that may have otherwise been excluded from weaving – such as men – to contribute to weaving related tasks. In Nukunonu, one of the key ways that men contribute to weaving is by helping prepare the leaves (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). This can involve a variety of tasks such as transporting the leaves to and from the sea (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). As New Zealand–based Tokelauans import the leaves when they are almost entirely ready to be weaved with, men there lose these roles (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). There is little left to be done to the leaves once they arrive in New Zealand. At most, Tokelauans there will have to remove some bumps and straighten them – tasks that are generally – based on my field research observations - undertaken by women.

Through examining the documentary's content, it is possible to identify numerous ways in which Tokelauan men were provided with new roles in weaving, thus fostering community – rather than purely female (or even purely weaver) – engagement. Again, there are various examples that could be used here to make this point, of which some of the key ones have been selected here. To begin with, the men on stage appear to be there primarily to support the women who have much more active – and obvious – presences in the documentary. The men stay seated throughout the documentary, while the women change positions to suit their activity. The men sing along with the women, and the band members are all male as well (Figure 20). It is also only women that have major speaking parts in the documentary. There are also less obvious ways that men contributed to the documentary as well, such as Henry Tuia providing the various examples of Tokelauan material culture (such as handicrafts and *tuluma*) that were used to decorate the hall for the documentary, and Meli's nephew helping to translate the DVD into English (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012). Thus, this project

encouraged community – rather than simply female – engagement, and did so through seeking to achieve weaving related (albeit less conventional) tasks.

Figure 20: Male performers in Te To' kie i Nukunonu *(Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Permission granted to use. Screenshot by Author.*

It is also worth highlighting that there is considerable evidence contained within *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* of Tokelauans finding ways to relate to Tokelau, and Nukunonu more specifically, as a particular and deeply meaningful place while living away from it. This is an important feature of the documentary, considering the likelihood that Tokelau will become uninhabitable in the near future. Various examples of this could be provided here, such as the display of Tokelau material culture on stage, and the songs contained within the documentary that reference Nukunonu and the way of life there. One of the most intellectually interesting demonstrations of this point occurs during Meli's explanation of how the pandanus leaves are prepared for weaving. More specifically, it occurs during Meli's explanation of how the women go together to the *lotokie* in order to harvest the leaves. This part of the documentary is particularly interesting because it is not a straightforward description of how they harvest the leaves; rather, those on stage seem to be momentarily transported to the actual *lotokie* in Nukunonu. During this part of the documentary, Meli strides backwards and forwards powerfully across the stage, gesturing as she talks. The words that she uses suggests that to some extent she has transported herself from the community hall in Naenae back to the *lotokie*. Meli speaks as if she is actually at the *lotokie*, using phrases such as "lets enter!", to which the women on stage respond in agreement (Figure 21). Overall, those on stage appear to momentarily transport themselves back to Nukunonu. In other words, those on stage have found a way to relate to place while out of place.

Figure 21: Meli explaining how women collectively go to the lotokie *to harvest the leaves (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Permission granted to use. Screenshot by Author.*

Te To' kie i Nukunonu's ability to be a meaningful resource to Tokelauans is only one of its successes. It is accessible to a potentially very wide audience due to factors such as being available for general purchase and having English subtitles, and therefore it is also a way of promoting cultural understanding between Tokelauans and others, an important factor considering that climate change makes it highly likely that many Tokelauans will have to migrate to other countries. A peaceful coexistence could potentially be encouraged through learning more about – and coming to appreciate – each other's cultures. What Tokelauans have chosen to share in the documentary thus demonstrates a quite profound display of openness and trust as they share information about a cultural treasure – weaving – and also provide a quite intimate glimpse into Tokelauan community life.

Figure 22: Performers dancing with seemingly unrestrained joy (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Permission granted to use. Screenshot by Author.

Because there is an inherent vulnerability in opening up one's community and culture to the camera, a great deal is at stake in opting to do so for the potential benefit of reaching a mutual respect and understanding with 'outsiders'. Meli and her community were bold, and the documentary provides the viewer with quite an intimate view into Tokelauan culture. For example, in *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, the expression of various emotions are highly visible. At different points in the documentary, people can be seen crying as stories about Tokelau and weaving are shared. At one point, Meli – seated centre stage – quite emotively and poignantly says "Nukunonu, Nukunonu, Nukunonu, eh [.] This is where our ancestors are buried, we cannot forget it, we will not forget". Other emotions are also visible as well, such as good-natured bickering between the women over the 'right' way to weave, and women dancing both on stage – and in the audience – with seemingly unrestrained joy (Figures 22 and 23). As I argued earlier in this chapter, the documentary is also not a highly rehearsed and polished production; in fact, according to Meli there was no rehearsal at all, just a gathering the night before the filming (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Overall, those on stage do not appear to seek to present themselves in any other way than as they are. Given these features of the documentary, and the fact that a potentially very wide audience could access it, Tokelauans involved in this project can be perceived as placing a fairly high degree of trust in the viewer.

Figure 23: Audience members spontaneously deciding to join in the dancing (Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Permission granted to use. Screenshot by Author.

This dual audience for the documentary was part of the project from its conception. Meli pushed the community to become more willing to share cultural information not only with one another, but also with outsiders. Wolffram (2011) argues that she had done so out of fear

that if they did not begin to share information about weaving more widely, the art of weaving would be permanently lost. Based on my own field research experiences, and more specifically my work with Meli, I agree with Wolffram and can usefully extend upon his argument as well. In the various conversations I had with Meli it came through that she had a strong ethic of sharing, whether that was the sharing of material resources, or of cultural knowledge. Meli undertook various steps to try and fulfil her goal of widely sharing information about weaving, and Tokelauan culture in general, one of which was to ask Wolffram for the inclusion of English subtitles in the documentary. Meli shared with me that her reasoning for this was that she wanted Tokelauans that did not understand the language, and also "palagi people", to understand what was being said in the documentary (personal interview, September 14, 2012). Wolffram also wanted subtitles and thus their goals aligned here (Wolffram, 2011). It should be kept in mind that, while Meli was undeniably the driving force behind *Te To'kie i Nukunonu*, she understood herself as very much working on behalf of the community, and always strove to do what was in the best interests of the community.

It is essential to emphasize that while the opening up of the Tokelauan community and its culture to wider society is quite apparent in the documentary, Tokelauans themselves were in the driving seat for this project, and thus had control over what information they were prepared to share about themselves, their culture, and about weaving more specifically (Author's Field Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; Wolffram, 2011). This is an important point as, while the sharing of cultural information with wider society can have a variety of benefits, such as encouraging a deeper understanding and appreciation of each other's culture, it needs to be undertaken cautiously in order to ensure that Tokelauan cultural treasures are treated with the necessary respect and care (Kompridis, 2005; Kurin, 2007; Lenzerini, 2011). The opening up of cultural knowledge not only with one another, but with wider society, should happen within limits set by the community itself, which is very much what happened with the documentary.

A Form of Collaboration Worth Encouraging

In this final part of this section, I explore some of the key features of the collaboration that occurred between Tokelauans and non-Tokelauans in order to make the weaving

documentary. I do so in order to demonstrate how useful this type of collaboration can be for those seeking to provide practical and/or material support to communities faced with having to adapt their cultures and communities following the loss of a place due to climate change. While I primarily focus my discussion on *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, I also draw on my field research experiences as there are some valuable parallels that can be drawn between the two projects.

In order to not only theorize this type of collaboration, but to also make visible how valuable a tool it is for the task of cultural adaptation in the Anthropocene, it is necessary to begin by engaging with the concept of a 'beginner's mind'. This concept is originally derived from Zen master Shunryu Suzuki, who is often credited with having helped bring Buddhism to the United States of America. Suzuki gave a series of talks in California that were turned into a book called *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind* (1970). This book is now widely regarded as a spiritual classic, and some of the ideas contained within it have inspired scholars working in diverse fields to find alternative approaches and solutions to various issues (such as Davenport, 2017; Gebhard & Oprandy, 1999)**.** In this book, Shunruyi Suzuki is recorded as arguing for the potential of a beginner's mind, stating that "In the beginner's mind there are many possibilities; in the expert's mind there are few" (p. 21). What is essentially meant here is that an expert can become too narrow in their thinking; not only do they have a pre-established idea of the world, but they are also only able to perceive a limited range of options for responding to an issue. A beginner, on the other hand, is still learning, still exploring, and is thus open to not only understanding the problem in alternative ways, but also perceiving a wider range of possible responses to it.

The particular engagement with, and use of, Shunruyi Suzuki's beginners mind that I engage with in this section is drawn from Gibson-Graham's (2006) *A Postcapitalist Politics*. This book has been frequently cited by scholars, particularly those working within the field of political economy (for instance Bargh & Otter, 2009; Dombroski, 2011). For Gibson-Graham a beginner's mind emerged out of their project to tackle capitalism. Through applying a beginner's mind, Gibson-Graham were able to discover that capitalism had not, in fact, come to dominate the world to such a degree that all other types of economies had been erased. Gibson-Graham uncovered alternative economies located in diverse settings, some of which

seemed to make a more positive contribution to people's lives than capitalism did. Gaining an awareness of these alternatives provided Gibson-Graham with a new approach to their task: no longer would they strive to entirely overthrow capitalism – instead they would seek to make visible and build upon these alternative economies.

One of the key reasons why I find Gibson-Graham's beginner's mind particularly useful for my own work is that, like capitalism, accelerated climate change can come across as an all-pervasive and insurmountable issue. For one, the causes of climate change cannot be easily linked to the actions of any one country, nor can they be resolved through any one country's actions alone. This indicates that some form of global cooperation is required in order to address climate change – but what form would be the most appropriate? Are unified efforts better than disparate groupings all working towards broadly the same goal? It also has the potential to raise other questions and concerns, such as how people, in all their diversity, might work together to address climate change in general. The magnitude of the issues that people are facing is further compounded by the fairly high degree of uncertainty surrounding climate change related issues and how to respond to them, an uncertainty that can paralyse some from taking action (Barnett, 2001; Hulme, 2009; Millar, Stephenson, & Stephens, 2007). To make the issue seemingly even more insurmountable, the conditions for taking action in the Anthropocene have the potential to be highly complex and come with quite disruptive and unpredictable circumstances. Various scholars have signalled that it is an era characterized by increased extreme weather events and demand on resources (Gillings & Hagan-Lawson, 2014; Steffen et al., 2011). What this means is that, at least in some instances, there has been an erosion of the stability that once supported our actions. The world has never been entirely predictable, but it has often supported researchers to create strong research plans, with clear goals and objectives, many of which were achievable.

Gibson-Graham's conceptualisation of a beginner's mind offers possibilities for going forward in difficult circumstances. For one, it provides the compulsion to look for opportunities to take action even in seemingly hopeless situations. Their beginner's mind is about making the most of the situation we are in, rather than delaying taking action until conditions have improved. The reality is that, in some cases, conditions simply will never be ideal for taking action. For

instance, if we wait for perfect conditions, Pacific Islands nations such as Kiribati, Tuvalu and Tokelau are likely to become uninhabitable in the meantime. Representatives of these countries have often shown that they think that global action to address climate change is occurring too slowly. For example, in the lead-up to COP21 (Conference of Parties) meeting in December 2015, Fijian prime minister Frank Bainimarama stated that unless "the world acts decisively in the coming weeks to begin addressing the greatest challenge of our age, then the Pacific, as we know it, is doomed" (Milman, 2015, para. 6).

Gibson-Graham's version of a beginner's mind has contributed to my field practice and theorizing, but my interpretation of it has also been influenced by other scholarship, notably indigenous Pacific methodologies. To start with, the impetus to act, and to do so in creative ways, must also be accompanied by the respectful and collaborative research arrangements that indigenous Pacific methodologists have put forward (Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 1999). Quite simply, our creative responses also need to be truly ethical. This is not actually a major challenge, as indigenous Pacific methodologies tend to be quite adaptable (Louis, 2007; Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006). These methodologists often understand research as partial, affected by the subjectivity of the researcher and also the people that the researcher seeks to learn about (Denzin et al., 2008; L. T. Smith, 1999). Indigenous Pacific methodologies, therefore, have to be able to adjust to take these variables into account.

An additional reason why Gibson-Graham's elaboration of the beginner's mind is such a useful tool for my own work, is that they not only recognize some of the forces that might prevent us from taking action, they also suggest tools for counteracting those forces. What Gibson-Graham are essentially arguing is that people need to embrace their own finitude of understanding – that we will never progress from the role of beginner to that of masterful knower – nor should we attempt to. According to Gibson-Graham, the position of the masterful knower needs to be avoided as it can come with a much more limited range of options for responding to an issue – the person may have a strong pre-existing idea of what the issue is all about that prevents them from perceiving alternative responses to it. These authors suggest that, in order to occupy a beginner's mind, we need to have an innocent

curiosity about the world, and an urge to become more knowledgeable about the world we are living in. In fact, they suggest that people shift their focus to pay more attention to events and information that do not align with their pre-existing ideas of the world.

One of the key reasons why I have found Gibson-Graham's beginner's mind such a useful tool is that they provide some valuable insights into how to actually inhabit such a mindset. Gibson-Graham recognize that embracing our finitude of understanding is quite difficult for many. According to Gibson-Graham, to take on this approach, we have to accept that we will not have a clear idea of what the final outcome might be, and this can make us feel quite vulnerable. They suggest that our dislike of vulnerability can result in strong theory in which we attempt to once and for all establish what *is.* This type of theory, as Gibson-Graham argues, does more than describe the world: it also shapes it, as other possibilities are not given the time of day. They argue that it is a way of thinking that cannot live with uncertainty. In order to cope with this feeling of vulnerability, Gibson-Graham argue that we need to recognize that the emotional orientation that we bring to our work is highly important. They assert that it is necessary to foster a "love of the world" as opposed to "masterful knowing" (p. 6). They suggest that in order to achieve this love of the world, "we need to draw on the pleasures of friendliness, trust, conviviality, and companionable connection" (p. 6). They also suggest that we need to include "creativity" and "trust", and to actually appreciate "unpredictability, contingency, experimentation" (p. 7).

In regards to the importance of the emotional orientation that we bring to our work, I find parallels in Gibson-Graham's arguments with what I, and others, have attempted to bring to our research practices. For my own project, I have attempted to come from a place of curiosity, to perceive struggles as opportunities to learn rather than as signs of inadequacy, admittedly with varying degrees of success. This same point is mirrored in other scholars' experiences, including Stelmach (2009), who argues that it is important that researchers embrace the limits to which they can understand other people's worldviews. She notes that this can make us feel vulnerable, as we have to surrender the belief that we can ever entirely know what it is to be someone else. She suggests that only then can we approach the task of learning about others, and also of learning more about ourselves, from a place of curiosity. She claims that, through taking this approach, we are more likely to create "positive relationships" with one another (p. 51).

The final component of Gibson-Graham's version of a beginner's mind that has influenced my work is their understanding of power. Influenced by second-wave feminism, Gibson-Graham conceive of power as diverse, as something that everyone has, albeit in a variety of forms, and which can be used strategically in order to obtain an objective. As Gibson-Graham argue, power can often be thought of as top-down, as something that only a select few have. According to Gibson-Graham, in order to have a more hopeful future, we need to conceive of power differently. Gibson-Graham indicate ways in which power might be perceived in a more positive and democratic light. They explain that there are those in positions typically perceived as powerless who manage to find "ways to exercise power" (italics removed, p. xxv). They suggest that those who manage to achieve this have done so, in part, through an honest and thorough examination of the situation they are in. This has enabled them to recognize not only what has the potential to prevent them from achieving their goals, but to also identify opportunities to stop that from occurring. Gibson-Graham also suggest that power comes in various forms, and it is about maximizing the available resources. They note that sometimes that means working with those with whom we do not share the same aspirations, ideals, or goals.

There are significant similarities between Gibson-Graham's argument about power and arguments made by indigenous Pacific methodologists about research. A key point that these methodologists often argue is that research is a power-laden exercise: it names people's realities and can affect their lives in diverse ways (L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). These methodologists often also argue for collaborations as opposed to the dynamic of a researcher and their assistant. One of the reasons that they argue for collaborations is that they distribute power more evenly between people (L. T. Smith, 1999; Thaman, 2003). Collaborations are also about bringing together people with complementary skills, or in other words, complementary sources of power. Different skill sets can be used strategically in order to achieve a particular goal. Essentially, what I am suggesting is that by drawing on some of the insights of indigenous Pacific methodologists, it is possible to gain a greater awareness of the diverse forms of power that are present even in our everyday lives. Having an awareness of this can help us to make use of our own sources of power strategically in order to achieve our specific goals.

Tokelauans constitute a tiny proportion of New Zealand's overall population, and also tend to be one of the most economically disadvantaged groups there (Howden-Chapman et al., 2000; Pene et al., 2009), yet Gibson-Graham's beginner's mind provides important tools for perceiving opportunities for Tokelauans to carry on living lives they consider meaningful even in less-than-optimal circumstances, and to do so with the practical and material support of outsiders. With this in mind, I turn to discuss the weaving documentary. There are three elements of the beginner's mind that I will explore in relation to the documentary. These are the value of working from a beginner's stance, the importance of the emotional orientation we bring to our work, and an understanding of power as diverse and able to be used strategically in order to achieve our goals, even when the circumstances in which we must take action are far from perfect. I also discuss some of my own experiences carrying out the field research in order to further highlight the value of Gibson-Graham's beginner's mind approach.

I choose to begin my discussion by focussing on Wolffram's role in the documentary, as it provides an effective place to start discussing Gibson-Graham's beginner's mind in greater depth. Wolffram could potentially be perceived as the most powerful person involved in the project as he is a white male academic – an ethnomusicologist working in the Film Programme at Victoria University of Wellington – and is highly educated, has experience applying for grants, and has access to the technology necessary for making the documentary. Despite these points in Wolffram's favour, he did not hold all the power in these interactions, nor was he even the most powerful person present. In an interview with me, Wolffram compared his work with the Wellington Tokelauan community with field research he conducted in Papua New Guinea for his PhD. He noted that prior to making the documentary, he had spent two years in Papua New Guinea and could speak the local language. In contrast, he claimed to have quite limited experience with the Wellington Tokelauan community, stating that he was unable to speak the language and referring to himself as an outsider. During this interview, he stated, yeah "I mean, as an outsider I don't really have enough knowledge about the community or language. My preference is just to go with what they prefer" (September 12, 2012). He also noted that if he wanted to proceed any further with the Tokelauan community, he would need to learn the language and gain other cultural skills.

Wolffram also framed his contribution to the weaving project as really quite minimal and as about providing support rather than direction. In the various conversations that I had with Meli, she clearly indicated that she was highly grateful for what Wolffram had done, and that he had always been really willing to help her achieve her goals. From Wolffram's perspective, though, he had not done much. In his words, "Meli gives me way too much credit for what I have done for the community and my role in assisting them. Because I feel I haven't been really that involved and don't really deserve the thanks" (personal interview, September 12, 2012). Wolffram also shared with me his feeling that he was directed by Meli and other members of the community, as opposed to actually being in charge of the project.

Wolffram has himself explored the research dynamic that was present during the documentary project, and that exploration provides useful insights. In his symposium paper "Weaving with a Camera" (2011), Wolffram explores the collaboration that occurred between him and Meli. He claims that he initially thought that he and Meli would work together to identify potential interviewees, figure out suitable questions to ask, and decide what aspects of weaving to include in the documentary. He notes that he also wanted to film the documentary over the course of several months. In contrast, Meli wanted to put the entire community in front of the camera and provide an overview of the entire weaving process rather than just focussing on one or two elements. He explains that Meli also wanted to highlight the place that weaving occupied within the broader context of Tokelauan culture and thus wanted to include other components such as dancing, prayer and music. Wolffram also notes that Meli intended for the documentary to be filmed in one day – and that is what was achieved. According to Wolffram's account, what appears to have happened is that Meli really drove the project, with Wolffram taking on more of a supporting role. Wolffram's role in this project, and his understanding of himself as an outsider – or what I would argue could also be referred to as a beginner – intrigued me. From my perspective at least, Wolffram self-identifying in such a way made him more open to embracing the limits of his understanding about the Tokelauan community and what they desired, and thus, perhaps, more willing to be moulded into what the community needed.

As Gibson-Graham (2006) argue, the emotional orientation we bring to our work matters and Wolffram clearly enjoyed being a part of this project. During our interview he mentioned repeatedly that the project had resulted in a resource that the community actually wanted, and that this was something he had really valued about his involvement in the project. For instance, in an interview with me Wolffram stated that "the community is really hungry for these resources and they are using them and they are singing and they are being played around the place" (September 12, 2012). In claiming that the community is 'hungry' for these resources, he indicates that there was a demand for this work and suggests that this is one of the reasons why he felt his involvement was worthwhile. This point aligns with what I have been arguing concerning the beginner's mind: that positive affects need to be present and we need to undertake this work from a place of enjoyment, as opposed to striving to be the objective and neutral researcher.

It is also worth reflecting on Meli's role in the documentary and how it relates to the beginner's mind. Meli is influential in both communities because of her important lineage and also due to her work promoting Tokelauan culture. I have already identified some of Meli's contributions to the documentary, such as her role carrying out research for it and recruiting people to participate. Meli also seemed to have had a strong vision of what she wanted to achieve both when working with Wolffram and later when she collaborated with me. Wolffram appears to have a great deal of admiration for Meli, stating, "Meli, you know, and I think quite rightly, is very proud of being able to wrangle white people to help her do stuff" (personal interview, September 12, 2012). Wolffram also consulted Meli when applying for grants to find out what the community required for the launch (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012).

The collaboration involved in making the documentary was not limited to just Meli and Wolffram though, other people were involved as well. Of primary interest here are members of the Tokelauan community and the ways they used the resources available to them to the best of their abilities to enable the project to go ahead. Tokelauans are one of the most socio-economically deprived Pacific groups in New Zealand (Howden-Chapman et al., 2000; Pene et al., 2009) and it needs to be kept in mind that the funding from CNZ was not obtained until *after* the documentary had been made. Despite having less than ideal conditions for making

Te To' kie i Nukunonu, those involved nonetheless found a way to make it happen and they did so through using their resources strategically. This is reflected, for example, in the way the subtitles were made. Meli, several of her relatives, and Wolffram gathered for what she thinks was about three weekends to create those subtitles (personal interview, September 14, 2012). The subtitles in the documentary admittedly contain some misspelt words and inconsistent punctuation, but these are very minor mistakes considering that the meaning is still very much conveyed, and also considering what they *have* managed to achieve – which is to make a meaningful resource about weaving and to do so with fairly limited resources. There are various other examples of the community using their resources strategically in order to make the documentary, such as using the Tokelau community hall to film the documentary in, and the sourcing of the various examples of material culture that are used to decorate the hall (Author's Field Research Notes, 2012; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011). Tokelauans did not have ideal conditions to make this weaving documentary in, nor did they have limitless resources to do so, but they nonetheless found a way, and that is an incredibly powerful example of taking action in a rapidly changing world.

To further emphasize the potential useful of the beginner's mind type of collaboration that I am arguing for here, I turn now to discuss some of the elements of my own work with Meli. There are some significant parallels between Wolffram's experiences and my own. Like Wolffram, I had the capacity and opportunity to apply for public funds – in my case, university research funds. I was also more familiar with bureaucracy than Meli and thus could complete the paperwork required for this project, such as organizing flights and funding. Due to being positioned in academia, I had the potential to disseminate information about weaving through conferences and publications. There were also more subtle components to my power, such as my gender providing me with greater access to information about womens' contributions to weaving. For instance, the *fatupaepae*, where the majority of group weaving occurs, is a highly gendered space. If there is a man there, it is normally because he is a government official that has arranged a meeting with the women's committee. If I had been a male researcher, it is unlikely I would have been able to be present at the *fatupaepae*, or at the very least, that the women would have been as comfortable having me there. The flip side of this is that, due to my gender, it is likely that I was not as privy to information about male contributions to weaving as I might have been if I were male.

I also had other strengths that I brought to the project – in other words, other sources of power. One of these strengths was my appreciation for visual communication. Having a background in art history meant that I could use weaving to explore how people might sustain their identity following the loss of a place due to climate change. Approaching this topic from that angle meant that my research methods were culturally appropriate for Tokelauans. An additional strength that I brought to the project was my willingness to undertake quite extensive self-reflexive examination, which in turn enabled me to gain a greater awareness of my beginner status and the importance of not losing sight of this. It was important that I never came to think of myself as an expert on Tokelauans, or even on weaving.

While I had access to a variety of sources of power, Meli was, at least from my perspective, vastly more powerful than I was. In Chapter Two, when I reflected on the ways in which we were interpreted differently, what I did not point out is how that contributed to power dynamics. At times Meli was much more influential than I was because she was interpreted by some as heading the research project. This was partly because Meli is considerably older than I am, and in Tokelau, age is associated with wisdom (Huntsman & Hooper, 1996; Wessen et al., 1992). At the time of the field research, I was 27 and Meli was 65. Also, Meli is from Nukunonu and has a much better understanding of where things are located in the village and how to behave. I often felt hesitant, frequently finding myself in new situations and not entirely sure how to proceed. I suggest that this led me to have a greater awareness of boundaries and to behave more cautiously than I might otherwise have done. The constraints of my field research meant that I could never remotely hope to become an expert on Tokelauan weaving or Tokelauan culture in general, and I suggest that made me a more receptive listener.

The differing ways that Meli and I used our bodies also reflected our varying levels of expertise on Tokelauan culture and weaving. Meli had an embodied knowledge that enabled her to sit down and start processing leaves without assistance, even though she had not been to Nukunonu in 36 years. In contrast, my body repeatedly emphasized my beginner status, such as being unable to sit comfortably on the ground for any significant period of time – a point

that often-provoked laughter from members of the community. As discussed in Chapter Two, a major reason I was able to carry out this project was also because of how others interpreted Meli, and subsequently how they interpreted our partnership. Being a beginner – and acknowledging it – can be a fruitful space to work from, as it encourages an awareness of limits and a willingness to be led by the communities.

The communities also exerted their power over the research. For one, I entered the field with a fairly broad concept of weaving, but soon found the communities directing my attention towards their more specialized form of weaving – that of handicrafts. My broad conception of weaving included the type that is primarily made from coconut leaves and used for everyday tasks. This type of weaving is made by the vast majority of people on Nukunonu and is quick and disposable, with items often used for only about a month. Items made with coconut leaves include baskets for carrying fish, plates, sun visors and more (Figure 24). This type of weaving is highly visible in Nukunonu, yet few were interested in discussing it with me. Near the end of our stay, an extended family put on a demonstration of this type of weaving for us. However, this was, at least from my perspective, out of a sense of hospitality rather than an interest in promoting it. Instead, community members wanted to talk to me about handicrafts.

Figure 24: Examples of the everyday type of weaving, Nukunonu, 2012.

Through bringing the documentary, and to a lesser extent my own field research experiences, into conversation with Gibson-Graham's beginner's mind, I was able to draw out the value of

these types of collaborations, and to make a case as to why these types of collaborations should be encouraged in the future. As I have argued, *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, and to a lesser extent my own research on weaving, demonstrate that climate vulnerable people can find meaningful ways to carry on – with the practical and material support of outsiders – even when facing issues as complex – and seemingly insurmountable – as maintaining one's culture and community following the loss of a place due to climate change.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored further how a people might – with the practical and material support of outsiders – adapt their cultures and communities following the loss of their homeland due to climate change. More specifically, I engaged extensively with a resource to which my research process had unexpectedly kept leading me back – *Te To'kie i Nukunonu*. The documentary had never been intended as a major site of enquiry. Due to my research process, I had gained a deeper understanding of how special this resource was, both in terms of content, and also in regards to the type of collaboration involved in making it. Essentially, the documentary was a real-world example of Tokelauans finding ways to adapt their cultures and communities to life in New Zealand, and undertaking that adaptation with the practical and material support of outsiders.

Weaving is at risk, yet it remains meaningful to Tokelauans, and thus it is a useful example for considering how collaboration between Tokelauans and outsiders might function. I argue that *Te To'kie i Nukunonu* is a powerful enactment of such collaboration. Its content preserves information about weaving for current and future generations of Tokelauans, and also reflects a community finding ways to relate to place while out of place, as well as community members taking on new roles in weaving, thus enabling weaving to continue to foster community engagement. The conceptualisation of *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, particularly the making of the work, when brought into conversation with Gibson-Graham's 'beginner's mind', epitomises culturally affirming collaboration. It provides an instructive example of some of the tools that can be used to help people carry out this kind of collaboration, such as the importance of the emotional orientation that we bring to our work, and an understanding of power as diverse and able to be used strategically in order to achieve our objectives.

Weaving the Strands Together: A Conclusion

Climate change is threatening the on-going inhabitation of numerous places worldwide, posing major challenges to some ways of life. Places, after all, not only provide practical supports for specific ways of living, but can also be deeply meaningful to a people's sense of belonging and identity. The importance of what is at stake here should not be underestimated. Despite attempts to try and prevent these places from becoming uninhabitable, overall climate change is accelerating, and thus in some instances the worst-case scenario cannot be prevented. It is clear that in coming years, various climate vulnerable people will be faced with the profoundly difficult task of having to adapt following the loss of a place due to climate change.

While some adaptation measures will be carried out by the affected communities alone, others should receive diverse forms of support from a wide range of outsiders. One of the key reasons why outsiders should provide this support is out of a sense of responsibility. Climate change is a highly complex phenomenon, and it is immensely difficult, if not outright impossible, to attribute responsibility to any one group or individual's actions (Barnett, 2001; Hulme, 2009). There is, though, increasing agreement amongst scholars that human activities have contributed to the rate at which it is occurring, with some scholars having even begun to refer to the era we are in as the Anthropocene, doing so in recognition of the profound influence people are having on the Earth's systems (Gibson-Graham, 2011; Gillings & Hagan-Lawson, 2014; Zalasiewicz et al., 2011). Additionally, the complexity of climate change related issues means that there is a need to draw upon the skill sets and knowledge bases of a wide range of people to provide climate vulnerable people with the best chances of responding powerfully to the complex challenges they are facing (Crate, 2011; Lefale, 2010; Mercer et al., 2007; Steiner, 2015). Overall, it is unreasonable and unjust to expect climate vulnerable people to rely on their resources alone when it comes to responding to climate change related issues.

There is ample evidence that demonstrates that there are people external to such groups striving to provide appropriate and useful forms of support to climate vulnerable people, but who are struggling with the question of how to do so (Crate, 2011; Mercer et al., 2007; Steiner,

2015). Providing useful forms of support to a climate vulnerable people is a far from straightforward task. One of the commonly identified challenges is the sheer complexity of climate change related issues and the ways they refuse to adhere to the boundaries of any one specific discipline, or area of expertise (Crate, 2011; Hulme, 2009; Lefale, 2010; Mercer et al., 2007). Furthermore, the Anthropocene is an era typified by potentially difficult conditions for taking action. Various scholars have noted that it is a time when there is likely to be a greater demand on resources, an increased likelihood of unpredictable events and extreme weather, and also mass migrations of people (Gillings & Hagan-Lawson, 2014; N. Myers, 2002; Steffen et al., 2011). There is also considerable uncertainty surrounding how exactly climate change will impact the world and how best to respond to it, and that can discourage people from taking the desperately needed action to address it (Barnett, 2001; Hulme, 2009).

To make providing support an even more complex undertaking, climate change related issues can at times exacerbate both historical and ongoing injustices – such as those experienced by many indigenous peoples. As various scholars have compellingly argued, these are people that have often experienced, and can continue to experience, a great deal of cultural harm inflicted upon their communities and cultures by outsiders (Figueroa, 2011; Steiner, 2015). Thus, outsiders seeking to provide useful forms of support need to find ways to acknowledge, and strive to improve upon, how indigenous peoples have been treated by Westerners (Bravo, 2009; Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012; Figueroa, 2011). Outsiders need to find ways to understand that indigenous peoples are crucial knowledge holders and vital conversation partners, and that is a far from simple task.

In this thesis, I took on the challenge of exploring how outsiders might provide appropriate support to a climate vulnerable people, with a more specific focus on those who cannot immerse themselves long term in a community but who nonetheless have the potential to become valuable allies. While there is some guidance available for those who are able to undertake a year or longer in the field in order to gain a deep understanding of those they seek to support (for instance Arbon & Rigney, 2014; Datta, 2017), there is little available to guide those that cannot fulfil this requirement but who nonetheless have valuable skill sets,

knowledge bases, and resources that can be utilized to help a climate vulnerable people find ways to continue their lives in a manner that they consider meaningful.

In order to fulfil my research aim, I undertook a research journey that had several steps to it. I began this journey by engaging with key literature in order to identify the conceptual and theoretical issues that were making providing such support so challenging. Through undertaking this work, I gained insights into the overall value of critical interdisciplinary approaches. Overall, an interdisciplinary approach was decided upon due to the complexity of climate change related issues, and thus the need to engage with a wide range of resources located in diverse settings. Through engaging with scholarship on the two broad types of interdisciplinary approaches – instrumental versus critical – it became clear that a critical interdisciplinary approach was the best option for my project. Critical interdisciplinary approaches often focus on what research does, rather than understanding it as a neutral undertaking to reveal objective and cultural free knowledge (Gunn, 1992; Klein, 2010). This focus on what research does aligned well with my goal of treating climate vulnerable people as crucial knowledge holders and valuable conversation partners. Furthermore, critical interdisciplinary approaches encourage following leads where they take us, rather than being bound to a strict research plan (Gunn, 1992; Klein, 2010; Whimp, 2008). This is an important quality, as bringing together diverse bodies of knowledge in mutually enriching and beneficial ways is a difficult task, and our research processes need to have some flexibility built into them to account for this.

While scholarship on critical interdisciplinary approaches was useful for finding a starting point for my work, it did not in itself provide the specific answers needed for supporting a climate vulnerable people in their adaptation attempts. Thus, the next step in my research journey was to develop three research questions that would help anchor my work as I strove to create, and subsequently demonstrate, my own critical interdisciplinary approach. These research questions were: what is a meaningful identity? What capacity does such an identity have to adapt and remain meaningful to its members? And finally, what broad conditions are required in order for that adaptation to occur (with a particular focus on outsiders' contributions to that adaptation)?

The next step in my research journey involved taking seriously the point that indigenous peoples' ways of being and knowing have often been marginalized in academia, and the need for them to be instead treated as the crucial knowledge holders and valuable conversation partners that they are. In order to respond to this issue, I selected an indigenous people who – while widely reported as on the very frontline of climate change (Adger et al., 2011; Kempf & Hermann, 2014) – have thus far largely had their experiences, interpretations, and responses to climate change marginalized in academic scholarship. Overall, I sought to learn about belonging, identity, and cultural adaptation *from* Tokelauans. I did so primarily through undertaking a multi-sited and collaborative ethnographic project that engaged in conversations with Tokelauan communities in Wellington and Nukunonu, using the cultural practice of weaving as a conversation starter and anchor, in order to appropriately gain insights that would help me address my three research questions on cultural adaptation.

The final part of my journey, involved striving to use my experiences planning and carrying out the field research into conversation with a diverse range of scholarship. Through prioritizing what I had learnt from Tokelauans, I was able not only to identify ways to form useful responses to my three research questions, but also to narrow down the bodies of scholarship that would help me to create those responses. The disciplines I engaged with included transnationalism, indigenous studies, cosmopolitanism, Pacific studies, feminism, and human geography.

The key outcome of my research journey has been the development, and subsequent implementation of my critical interdisciplinary approach. This approach is one that is heavily informed by indigenous Pacific methodologies, which has proven essential in providing me with the tools needed to find ways forward when facing seemingly insurmountable challenges. There are three principles in particular that are key to the approach I have put forward in this thesis. These are respect, reciprocity, and the importance of embracing one's own subjectivity as a site of possibility. As has become clear to me through this journey, it is not about applying these principles in a formulaic and unchanging manner; rather, it is about finding ways to meaningfully incorporate them into our projects. Thus, even those that cannot immerse

themselves long term in a particular community, can find ways to incorporate these principles into the way they provide support.

I begin my discussion of these principles with respect. Firstly, as numerous indigenous Pacific methodologists have argued, respect is about honouring the cultural knowledge and protocols of the community being supported, and embedding this within all aspects of the work (L.T. Smith, 1999; Vaioleti, 2006). There are many ways that this principle can be honoured, such as using culturally appropriate communication tools when engaging with those we seek to learn from and about – as I did by using weaving as a communication tool to learn from Tokelauans. A further example of this is respecting cultural norms about the sharing of cultural information, whether that is orally, visually, or in written form. It can also be about respecting the limits to which we understand the worldviews of others, and thus striving – as I have done in my own work for this thesis – to be a receptive listener.

The second guiding principle of my critical interdisciplinary approach is reciprocity. As various indigenous Pacific methodologies have argued, all involved in the project should benefit from it — the researcher should never simply take without giving anything of value in return (Kahakalau, 2004; L.T. Smith, 1999). Again, this can be fulfilled in a wide range of ways, thus enabling a diverse range of scholars to find ways to incorporate this into their approaches. In my own project, this has taken both direct and indirect forms. An example of a clear and quite direct form of reciprocation is through providing the financial and practical resources to bring Meli to Nukunonu. While Meli does not consider herself a weaver, she has expertise in this topic due to her research for *Te To'kie i Nukunonu*, and as such, her presence in Nukunonu could foster an exchange of knowledge about weaving. A further example of this quite direct form of reciprocation is through including an in-depth discussion on why weaving is an at-risk practice. While Tokelauan weaving is often identified as at risk (Creative New Zealand, 2009; Ihaia-Alewhohio & Wolffram, 2011; On-Going Government of Tokelau, n.d.-b), there is thus far little written on why it is endangered, and there is no publicly available source that directly compares weaving in Nukunonu and in Wellington. Thus, my research provides valuable insights for Tokelauans who are striving to sustain weaving into the future, helping them not only to identify some of the reasons why it is endangered, but also to perceive additional

opportunities for sustaining it. Indirectly, the very ways in which I have constructed my theories are acts of reciprocating. I take lessons from Tokelauans and use my access to, and familiarity with, other ways of thinking and being to make visible greater opportunities for going on in ways they consider meaningful, such as through making visible Tokelauans skills at making homes in diverse settings, and indicating some ways that this could be built upon with the material and practical support of outsiders.

A further key guiding principle of my critical interdisciplinary approach is embracing one's subjectivity as the site from which it is possible to provide useful forms of support to a climate vulnerable people. In Western scholarship it is typical to hide the author's subjectivity away, through taking steps such as to write in third person. Through the complex research journey I have undertaken, I have come to understand embracing my own subjectivity as key not only to carrying out research in ways that are considered respectful and reciprocal from a Tokelauan point of view, but also as the site from which I can provide useful forms of support. As various scholars have already compelling argued, no one is in the position to provide complete answers to the complex challenges that climate vulnerable people will be faced with when seeking to adapt their cultures and communities (Crate, 2011; Mercer et al., 2007; Steiner, 2015). What we can do though is use our skill sets, experiences, resources, and relationships to the best of our abilities to empower climate vulnerable people to make the best decisions concerning their futures. As Steiner (2015) powerfully states, on "a global level, we must recognize that it will take all of our diverse skills, knowledges, experiences, and resources to put an end to the threat that plagues the Pacific and the world" (p. 170).

The development of my critical interdisciplinary approach, and the reasoning that went into it, was discussed in considerable depth over the course of Chapters One and Two. In Chapter One, I explored the need for outsiders to provide support to a climate vulnerable people, identifying the key challenges associated with doing so, and gave essential background information on how I sought to respond to these issues. More specifically, I provided valuable background information on the importance of a critical interdisciplinary approach; what indigenous Pacific methodologies are, and the key ways in which they have shaped my critical interdisciplinary approach; as well as the importance of autoethnography for enabling me to

transfer elements of that approach over into the written content of this thesis. In Chapter Two, I used autoethnography to share key parts of my research journey that contributed to the development, and subsequent implementation of, my critical interdisciplinary approach, and in doing so, provided valuable insights into the reasoning that went into my approach, as well as what it actually entails. Chapter Two also provided an opportunity to discuss in greater detail the importance of including the Tokelauan diaspora as participants in my project, and the significance of indigenous Pacific methodologies to my work.

Chapter Three bridged the tasks of developing versus implementing my critical interdisciplinary approach. While this chapter emerged in response to my attempt to address my research question of 'what is a meaningful identity', the response that I arrived at is in fact useful for helping to acknowledge, and to some extent navigate, the issues that can arise when seeking to occupy the role of a receptive listener. This is because, while 'what is a meaningful identity?' might appear a largely theoretical question, it has, as I discovered during my research journey, practical implications, such as whose opinion counts. As I showed in this chapter, there can be a very fine line between supporting, and ascribing a meaningful identity, even for those of us that are highly aware of the limits to which we understand the worldviews of those we are seeking to support. I put forward some recommendations about how to alleviate these issues, including researchers striving to retain a constant awareness of their own partiality and also being well informed about the history and culture of those that they seek to support. Overall, however, I argued that these issues cannot be entirely remedied, and thus the aim of this chapter was to raise an awareness of some of the complexities that can arise while seeking to support another's adaptation.

Chapters Four through Six move on from the task of developing the critical interdisciplinary approach, to actually demonstrating it. These chapters are, after all, the outcome of the work that went into bringing the field research into conversation with diverse theories in order to address my research questions. In Chapter Four, I focussed on the concept of home that had arisen in multiple settings for me during my research journey. In this chapter, I argued that homes — understood not simply as houses or dwellings but as sites through which people develop a sense of belonging, and engage in cultural transmission and engagement — can be

created and re-created, and have the capacity to provide important supports for a people to successfully adapt following the loss of a place. Indeed, there are already a wide range of worthwhile, adaptive and inclusive homes for Tokelauans, both on the islands and in New Zealand, but this thesis has been the first to study the significance of this conceptually, and to recognize the importance of applying concepts of home as they already exist in devising strategies for providing support.

In Chapter Five, I used my critical interdisciplinary approach to examine the topic of loss of place in the Pacific context, and to show that there are at least two dimensions to the loss. One has been explored quite considerably by a range of scholars: that the loss of a place is the loss of the specific geographic base that has helped support a way of life (McAdam, 2010; Tabucanon & Opeskin, 2011). The second dimension of the loss is one that has been raised less frequently, and this is that place can be a source of deep attachment and meaning, in some cases as strong as a relationship between people (Adger et al., 2011; Hess et al., 2008). This chapter extended the existing literature not only about what is at stake, but also who might be affected, and how they might go on in ways they consider meaningful. More specifically, I discussed the Tokelauan diaspora in New Zealand, and, through doing so, not only made a case for expanding the groups whose identity should be considered at risk if Tokelau becomes uninhabitable, but also indicated ways to relate to place, while out of place. For New Zealand-based Tokelauans cultural crafts, such as weaving and making *toki* (hafted adzes), provide material and symbolic links to the islands (Huntsman, 2017; Mallon et al., 2003), and this calls on us to consider how features and resources of other places – such as New Zealand – need to be taken into consideration in order to successfully sustain such cultural practices.

In the Sixth and final chapter of this thesis, I came full circle, returning to a resource that at the beginning I had understood primarily as an entry point into the Tokelau part of my research: *Te To' kie i Nukunonu*, a documentary that not only preserved information about Tokelauan weaving for current and future generations, but also demonstrated a people finding ways to maintain their culture and community away from their homeland, and doing so with the practical and material help of outsiders. The type of collaboration involved in

making *Te To' kie i Nukunonu* also provided a powerful – and real world – example of outsiders who did not have an in-depth understanding of the community they were seeking to support, nonetheless productively working with members of that community to help them achieve their goals. Through drawing upon Gibson-Graham's (2006) conceptualisation of a beginner's mind, I was able to not only theorize the type of collaboration involved in this project, but also identify why it was so valuable for taking action in the Anthropocene, as well as some of the key tools needed for undertaking this type of approach. I also drew upon some of my own experiences working with Meli to further expand upon why this type of collaboration is potentially so powerful.

The research journey that I have undertaken in order to write this thesis has been both personally and professionally challenging, but it has been one that has provided me with valuable insights into how an outsider who is unable to immerse themselves long term in a community can, nonetheless, find ways to provide that community with useful forms of support. Through focussing on treating those that we seek to support as crucial knowledge holders and valuable conversation partners, new ways of collaborating, and greater possibilities for going on in a rapidly changing world, become apparent.

References

350.org. (n.d.-a). *March 2nd Stand With the Warriors of the Pacific*. Retrieved from https://350.org/march-2nd-stand-warriors-pacific/

350.org. (n.d.-b). *Tokelau Warriors: We Are Not Drowning. We Are Fighting* [Image]. Retrieved from https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/d1c31b07-c2bc-4f41-b728-8ff9fc17dbf6

350 Pacific. (n.d.-a). *2013 Pacific Warrior Day of Action*. Retrieved from https://350pacific.org/news/pacific-warrior-day-of-action/

350 Pacific. (n.d.-b). *About 350 Pacific*. Retrieved October 10, 2019, from https://350pacific.org/about/

350 Pacific. (n.d.-c). *Tokelau*. Retrieved August 29, 2019, from http://350pacific.org/polynesian-islands/tokelau/

Adger, W. N., Barnett, J., Chapin, F. S., III, & Ellemor, H. (2011). This Must Be the Place: Underrepresentation of Identity and Meaning in Climate Change Decision-Making. *Global Environmental Politics, 11*(2), 1-25.

Adger, W. N., Huq, S., Brown, K., Conway, D., & Hulme, M. (2003). Adaptation to Climate Change in the Developing World. *Progress in Development Studies, 3*(3), 179-195.

Adler, J. (1989). Travel as Performed Art. *American Journal of Sociology, 94*(6), 1366-1391.

Ahmed, S., Castañeda, C., Fortier, A.-M., & Sheller, M. (2003). Introduction: Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration. In S. Ahmed, C. Castañeda, A.-M. Fortier, & M. Sheller (Eds.), *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration* (pp. 1-19). New York: Berg Publishers.

Albrecht, G., Sartore, G.-M., Connor, L., Higginbotham, N., Freeman, S., Kelly, B., . . . Pollard, G. (2007). Solastalgia: The Distress Caused by Environmental Change. *Australasian Psychiatry, 15*(S1), S95-S98.

Alexeyeff, K. (2003). *Dancing From the Heart: Movement, Gender and Sociality in the Cook Islands* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). The Australian National University, Australia.

Alexeyeff, K. (2009). Travelling Parties: Cook Islanders' Transnational Movement. In H. Lee & S. T. Francis (Eds.), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives* (pp. 91-102). Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

Aliki Faipule Salesio Lui. (2013). *Question of Tokelau* [Statement]. Retrieved from http://tokelau.org.nz/Bulletin/Articles+archive+2013/QUITO+ECUADOR+Statement.html

Anderson, L. (2006, August). Analytic Autoethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 35*(4), 373-395.

Angelo, T. (1997, January). Tokelau: The Last Colony? *The Journal of New Zealand Studies, 7*(3), 8-12.

Aotearoa. (n.d.). *File: Tokelau Islands.png* [Image]. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tokelau_Islands.png

Appiah, K. A. (1997). Cosmopolitan Patriots. *Critical Inquiry, 23*(3), 617-639.

Arbon, V., & Rigney, L.-I. (2014). Indigenous at the Heart: Indigenous Research in a Climate Change Project. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 10*(5), 478-492.

Archer, J. (2005). Social Theory of Space: Architecture and the Production of Self, Culture, and Society. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 64*(4), 430-433.

Baldassar, L. (1997). Home and Away: Migration, the Return Visit and 'Transnational' Identity. In I. Ang & M. Symonds (Eds.), *Home, Displacement, Belonging* (Vol. 5, pp. 69-94). Nepean, Sydney: Research Centre in Intercommunal Studies.

Bargh, M., & Otter, J. (2009). Progressive Spaces of Neoliberalism in Aotearoa: A Genealogy and Critique. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 50*(2), 154-165.

Barnett, J. (2001). Adapting to Climate Change in Pacific Island Countries: The Problem of Uncertainty. *World Development, 29*(6), 977-993.

Barnett, J., & Adger, W. N. (2003). Climate Dangers and Atoll Countries. *Climatic Change, 61*(3), 321-337.

Barnett, J., & Waters, E. (2016). Rethinking the Vulnerability of Small Island States: Climate Change and Development in the Pacific Islands. In G. J. & D. Hammett (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of International Development* (pp. 731-748). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Barthes, R. (1977). The Death of the Author. In S. Heath (Trans.). *Image, Music, Text* (pp. 142-148). New York, N.Y: Hill and Wang.

Bedford, S., Spriggs, M., & Regenvanu, R. (2006). The Teouma Lapita Site and the Early Human Settlement of the Pacific Islands. *Antiquity, 80*(310), 812-828.

Bennett, J. (Ed.) (2015). *Oceanian Journeys and Sojourns: Home Thoughts Abroad*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press.

Bhaskar, R., Frank, C., Høyer, K. G., Naess, P., & Parker, J. (Eds.). (2010). *Interdisciplinarity and Climate Change: Transforming Knowledge and Practice for Our Global Future.* New York, U.S.A: Routledge.

Black, R. (2001). Environmental Refugees: Myth or Reality? *UNHCR Working Paper, 34*. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/research/RESEARCH/3ae6a0d00.pdf

Boardman, D. W. (1979). Religion as a Factor in the Adjustment of Immigrants: The Case of the Tokelau Island Community in the Wellingston Area (New Zealand). *Social Compass, 26*(1), 73-85.

Bonnemaison, J. (1985). The Tree and the Canoe: Roots and Mobility in Vanuatu Societies. *Pacific Viewpoint, 26*(1), 30-62.

Borovnik, M. (2009). Transnationalism of Merchant Seafarers and Their Communities in Kiribati and Tuvalu. In H. Lee & S. T. Francis (Eds.), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives* (pp. 143-157). Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

Boyd, D. (2008, July). Autoethnography as a Tool for Transformative Learning About White Privilege. *Journal of Transformative Education, 6*(3), 212-225.

Bravo, M. T. (2009). Voices from the Sea Ice: The Reception of Climate Impact Narratives. *Journal of Historical Geography, 35*(2), 256-278.

Brownson, R., Māhina-Tuai, K., Refiti, L. A., Tavola, E., & Tonga, N. (2012). *Home AKL: Artists of Pacific Heritage in Auckland: Exhibition Catalogue*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

Buch, T., Milne, S., & Dickson, G. (2011). Multiple Stakeholder Perspectives on Cultural Events: Auckland's Pasifika festival. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management, 20*(3-4), 311-328.

Burawoy, M., Blum, J. A., George, S., Gille, Z., Gowan, T., Haney, L., . . . Thayer, M. (2000). *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Postmodern World*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Burley, D. V. (1998). Tongan Archaeology and the Tongan Past, 2850-150 B.P. *Journal of World Prehistory, 12*(3), 337-392.

Calhoun, C. (2003). 'Belonging' in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary. *Ethnicities, 3*(4), 531-568.

Caney, S. (2005). Cosmopolitan Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change. *Leiden Journal of International Law, 18*(4), 747-775.

Carens, J. H. (2013). *The Ethics of Immigration*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Casey, E. S. (2001). Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World? *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 91*(4), 683-693.

Chakrabarty, D. (2009). The Climate of History: Four Theses. *Critical Inquiry, 35*(2), 197-222.

Christensen, J. (2013). 'Our Home, Our Way of Life': Spiritual Homelessness and the Sociocultural Dimensions of Indigenous Homelessness in the Northwest Territories (NWT), Canada. *Social & Cultural Geography, 14*(7), 804-828.

Connell, J. (2003). Losing Ground? Tuvalu, the Greenhouse Effect and the Garbage Can. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 44*(2), 89-107.

Cook, J., Nuccitelli, D., Green, S. A., Richardson, M., Winkler, B., Painting, R., . . . Skuce, A. (2013). Quantifying the Consensus on Anthropogenic Global Warming in the Scientific Literature. *Environmental Research Letters, 8*(2), 1-7.

Countries and Their Cultures (n.d.). *Tokelau – Religion and Expressive Culture*. Retrieved November 24, 2015, from http://www.everyculture.com/Oceania/Tokelau-Religion-and-Expressive-Culture.html

Crate, S. A. (2011). Climate and Culture: Anthropology in the Era of Contemporary Climate Change. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 40*, 175-194.

Creative New Zealand. (2009). *Health of Pacific Heritage Arts: Research Summary Report.* Retrieved from www.creativenz.govt.nz/assets/paperclip/publication_documents/documents/23/original/health-of-pacific-heritage-arts-2009.pdf?1322079821

Creative New Zealand (2011, November 24). *Polynesian Diva Reigns Supreme at Creative New Zealand Arts Pasifika Awards*. Retrieved from http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/news/polynesian-diva-reigns-supreme-at-creative-new-zealand-arts-pasifika-awards-night

Creative New Zealand (2015a). *Pacific Heritage Arts Database*. Retrieved from http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/development-and-resources/pacific-heritage-arts-database

Creative New Zealand (2015b, May 5). *Seeking Nominations for Creative New Zealand's Arts Pasifika Awards 2015*. Retrieved from http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/news/seeking-nominations-for-creative-new-zealand-arts-pasifika-awards-2015

Creative New Zealand (2016, October 20). *Tokelau Artists to Share Their Weaving and Carving Skills*. Retrieved from https://www.creativenz.govt.nz/news/tokelau-artists-to-share-their-weaving-and-carving-skills

Creative New Zealand. (n.d.). *October-December 2010 Quick Response Contestable Funding Round*. Retrieved from the Creative New Zealand website: http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/search?utf8=%E2%9C%93&q=October-December+2010+Quick+Response+contestable+funding+round

Datta, R. (2017). Traditional Storytelling: An Effective Indigenous Research Methodology and Its Implications for Environmental Research. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 14*(1), 35-44.

Denshire, S. (2014). On Auto-Ethnography. *Current Sociology, 62*(6), 831-850.

Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S., & Smith, L. T. (2008). *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (n.d.). *Samoa Country Brief*. Retrieved February 1, 2016, from http://dfat.gov.au/geo/samoa/pages/samoa-country-brief.aspx

Dombroski, K. (2011). Embodying Research: Maternal Bodies, Fieldwork and Knowledge Production in North-West China. *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies, 7*(2), 19-29.

Education Review Office. (2016). *Fetufa Tokelau Akoga Kamata Early Childhood Centre - 24/11/2017*. Retrieved from https://www.ero.govt.nz/review-reports/fetufa-tokelau-akoga-kamata-early-childhood-centre-24-11-2017/

Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., & Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: An Overview. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 12*(1). Retrieved from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1589/3095

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivitiy: Researcher as Subject. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 733-768). Thousands Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Epstein, D., Fahey, J., & Kenway, J. (2013). Multi-Sited Global Ethnography and Travel: Gendered Journeys in Three Registers. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 26*(4), 470-488.

Eriksen, S. H., Nightingale, A. J., & Eakin, H. (2015). Reframing Adaptation: The Political Nature of Climate Change Adaptation. *Global Environmental Change, 35*, 523-533.

Euben, R. (2013). Cosmopolitanism Past and Present, Muslim and Western. In M. Boroujerdi (Ed.), *Mirror for the Muslim Prince: Islam and Theory of Statecraft* (pp. 297-325). Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Evans, R. (1994). The Negation of Powerlessness: Maori Feminism, a Perspective. *Hecate, 20*(2), 53.

Farbotko, C. (2005). Tuvalu and Climate Change: Constructions of Environmental Displacement in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography, 87*(4), 279-293.

Farbotko, C. (2010). Wishful Sinking: Disappearing Islands, Climate Refugees and Cosmopolitan Experimentation. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 51*(1), 47-60.

Farbotko, C., & Lazrus, H. (2012). The First Climate Refugees? Contesting Global Narratives of Climate Change in Tuvalu. *Global Environmental Change, 22*(2), 382-390.

Farbotko, C., & McGregor, H. V. (2010). Copenhagen, Climate Science and the Emotional Geographies of Climate Change. *Australian Geographer, 41*(2), 159-166.

Farrelly, T., & Nabobo-Baba, U. (2014). Talanoa as Empathic Apprenticeship. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 55*(3), 319-330.

Figueroa, R. M. (2011). Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Losses. In J. S. Dryzek, R. B. Norgaard, & D. Schlossberg (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society* (pp. 232-249). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Frankfurt, H. (1982). The Importance of What We Care About. *Synthese, 53*(2), 257-272.

Füssel, H.-M., & Klein, R. J. T. (2006). Climate Change Vulnerability Assessments: An Evolution of Conceptual Thinking. *Climatic Change, 75*(3), 301-329.

Gasson, B. (2005). Tokelau. Wellington, New Zealand: Tokelau Unit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

George, L. (2010). The Interweaving of People, Time, and Place - Whakapapa as Context and Method. *Pacific Studies, 33*(2/3), 241-258.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006). *A Postcapitalist Politics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2011). A Feminist Project of Belonging for the Anthropocene. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18*(1), 1-21.

Gille, Z., & Ó Riain, S. (2002). Global Ethnography. *Annual Review of Sociology, 28*, 271-295.

Gillings, M. R., & Hagan-Lawson, E. L. (2014). The Cost of Living in the Anthropocene. *Earth Perspectives, 1*(2), 1-11.

Green, V. J. (1998). *Tupulaga Tokelau in New Zealand (the Tokelau Younger Generation in New Zealand)* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis). The University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Gray, J. M., & McIntosh, J. (2011). Voices From Tokelau: Culturally Appropriate, Healthy and Sustainable Extended-Family Housing in New Zealand. *Journal of Asia Pacific Studies, 2*(1), 70-96.

Gronewold, N. (2011, May 25). Island Nations May Keep Some Sovereignty If Rising Seas Make Them Uninhabitable. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes .com/cwire/2011/05/25/25climatewire-island-nations-may-keep-some-sovereignty-if-63590.html?pagewanted=all

Gunn, G. (1992). Interdisciplinary Studies. In J. Gibaldi (Ed.), *Introduction to Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures* (pp. 239-261). New York: Modern Language Association of America.

Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (pp. 222-237). London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies, 14*(3), 575-599.

Harris, W., & Woodcock-Sharp, M. T. U. A. (2000). Extraction, Content, Strength, and Extension of Phormium Variety Fibres Prepared for Traditional Maori Weaving. *New Zealand Journal of Botany, 38*(3), 469-487.

Hau'ofa, E. (1994). Our Sea of Islands. *The Contemporary Pacific, 6*(1), 148-161.

Health Research Council of New Zealand. (2014, May). *Pacific Health Research Guidelines.* Auckland, New Zealand: Author. Retrieved from http://www.hrc.govt.nz/sites /default/files/Pacific%20Health%20Research%20Guidelines%202014.pdf

Henry, R., & Jeffery, W. (2008). Waterworld: The Heritage Dimensions of 'Climate Change' in the Pacific. *Historic Environment, 21*(1), 12-18.

Herr, R., & Potter, D. (2006). Nauru in the Arc of Instability: Too Many Degrees of Freedom? In D. Rumley, V. L. Forbes, & C. Griffin (Eds.), *Australia's Arc of Instability: The Political and Cultural Dynamics of Regional Security* (pp. 199-214). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Hess, J. J., Malilay, J. N., & Parkinson, A. J. (2008). Climate Change: The Importance of Place. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 35*(5), 468-478.

Hoëm, I. (1993). Space and Morality in Tokelau. *Pragmatics, 3*(2), 137-153.

Hoëm, I. (2004). *Theatre and Political Process: Staging Identities in Tokelau and New Zealand*. Brooklyn, NY: Berghahn Books.

Hoëm, I. (2005). Stealing the Water of Life: The Historicity of Contemporary Social Relationships. *History and Anthropology, 16*(3), 293-305.

Hoëm, I. (2009). 'Getting Out From Under': Leadership, Conflict Resolution and Tokelau Migration. In H. Lee & S. T. Francis (Eds.), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives* (pp. 191-202). Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

hooks, b. (1990). Homeplace (a Site of Resistance). In *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics* (pp. 41-49). Boston: South End Press.

Hooper, A. (2008, December). Tokelau: A Sort of 'Self-Governing' Sort of 'Colony'. *The Journal of Pacific History, 43*(3), 331-339.

Hooper, A. (2010). Two Tokelau Fishing Texts. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 119*(3), 227-268.

Horan, J. (2017). Cook Islands Tivaivai and the Haircutting Ceremony in Auckland: Ritual Action, Money and the Parameters of Value. In A.-K. Hermkens & K. Lepani (Eds.), *Sinuous Objects: Revaluing Women's Wealth in the Contemporary Pacific* (pp. 235-255). ACT Acton, Australia: ANU Press.

Howden-Chapman, P., Pene, G., Crane, J., Green, R., Iupati, L., Prior, I., & Teao, I. (2000). Open Houses and Closed Rooms: Tokelau Housing in New Zealand. *Health Education & Behaviour, 27*(3), 351-362.

Huang, H. (2015). *Relocating Tokelau: Recreating Island Villages in the Urban/Suburban Settings of New Zealand* (Master's Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand). Retrieved from http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/handle/10063/4284

Hulme, M. (2009). *Why We Disagree About Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction and Opportunity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Huntsman, J. (2017). The Treasured Things of Tokelau (Nayacakalou Medal Lecture). *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 126*(3), 253-282.

Huntsman, J., & Hooper, A. (1973). A Demographic History of the Tokelau Islands. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society, 82*(4), 366-411.

Huntsman, J., & Hooper, A. (1975). Male and Female in Tokelau Culture. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society, 84*(4), 415-430.

Huntsman, J., & Hooper, A. (1996). *Tokelau: A Historical Ethnography*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Hviding, E. (2003). Between Knowledges: Pacific Studies and Academic Disciplines. *The Contemporary Pacific, 15*(1), 43-73.

Ihaia-Alewhohio, K. T. (Director), Thomas, A. (Executive Producer), & Wolffram, P. (Director & Producer). (2011). *Te To' kie i Nukunonu: An Introduction to Tokelau Weaving* [DVD]. New Zealand: Handmade Productions.

Jahnke, H. T. (2002). Towards a Secure Identity: Maori Women and the Home-Place. *Women's Studies International Forum, 25*(5), 503-513.

Jayaraman, T. K., Choong, C. K., & Kumar, R. (2011). Role of Remittances in Small Pacific Island Economies: An Empirical Study of Fiji. *International Journal of Economics and Business Research, 3*(5), 526-542).

Jolly, M. (2007). Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and Foreign Representations of a Sea of Islands. *The Contemporary Pacific, 19*(2), 508-545.

Jones, D. (1970). Towards a Native Anthropology. *Human Organization, 29*(4), 251-259.

Kahakalau, K. (2004). Indigenous Heuristic Action Research: Bridging Western and Indigenous Research Methodologies. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being, 1*(1), 19-33.

Kalolo, K. (2007). Tokelau. *The Contemporary Pacific, 19*(1), 256-262.

Kaomea, J. (2001). Dilemmas of an Indigenous Academic: A Native Hawaiian Story. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 2*(1), 67-82.

Kele-Faiva, P. (2010). *The Voices of Tokelau Youth in New Zealand: Na mafialeo ona Tupulaga Tokelau i Nui Hila* (Masters Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand). Retrieved from http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10063/4497/thesis.pdf?sequence=2

Kelly, P. M., & Adger, W. N. (2000). Theory and Practice in Assessing Vulnerability to Climate Change and Facilitating Adaptation. *Climatic Change, 47*(4), 325-352.

Kelman, I., Mercer, J., & Gaillard, J. C. (2012, Spring). Indigenous Knowledge and Disaster Risk Reduction. *Geography, 97*, 12-21.

Kempf, W., & Hermann, E. (2014). Uncertain Futures of Belonging: Consequences of Climate Change and Sea Level Rise in Oceania. In E. Hermann, W. Kempf, & T. Van Meijl (Eds.), *Belonging in Oceania: Movement, Place-Making and Multiple Identifications* (pp. 189-213). Brooklyn, NY: Berghahn Books.

Kempf, W., Van Meijl, T., & Hermann, E. (2014). Movement, Place-Making and Cultural Identification: Multiplicities of Belonging. In E. Hermann, W. Kempf, & T. Van Meijl (Eds.), *Belonging in Oceania: Movement, Place-Making and Multiple Identifications* (pp. 1-24). Brooklyn, NY: Berghahn Books.

Klein, J. T. (2010). A Taxonomy of Interdisciplinarity. In R. Frodeman, J. T. Klein, & K. Mitcharm (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity* (pp. 15-30). New York, U.S.A: Oxford University Press.

Kompridis, N. (2005). Normativizing Hybridity/Neutralizing Culture. *Political Theory, 33*(3), 318-343.

Kupa, K. (2009). Te Vaka Atafaga: A Tokelau Assessment Model for Supporting Holistic Mental Health Practice With Tokelau People in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *Pacific Health Dialog, 15*(1), 156-163.

Kurin, R. (2007). Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage, 2*, 9-20.

Laurence, J., & Hill, T. (2005). Tokelau: Tropical Cyclone Percy. *United Nations Disaster Assessment and Coordination Team UNDAC Mission Report*. Retrieved from http://docplayer.net/2877359-Tropical-cyclone-percy.html

Lazrus, H. (2012). Sea Change: Island Communities and Climate Change. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 41*, 285-301.

Lear, J. (2006). *Radical Hope: Ethics in the Face of Cultural Devastation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Leckie, J., & Kelti, M. (1993, 2018). Originally published by Leckie in 1993 and updated by Kelti in 2018. *Pacific Women's Organisations 1954* -. Retrieved from https://nzhistory.govt.nz/women-together/pacific-womens-organisations

Lee, H. (2009a). Introduction. In H. Lee & S. T. Francis (Eds.), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives* (pp. 1-6). Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

Lee, H. (2009b). Pacific Migration and Transnationalism: Historical Perspectives. In H. Lee & S. T. Frances (Eds.), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives* (pp. 7-41). Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

Lee, H., & Francis, S. T. (2009). Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives. Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

Lefale, P. F. (2010). Ua ‘afa le Aso Stormy Weather Today: Traditional Ecological Knowledge of Weather and Climate. The Samoa Experience. *Climatic Change, 100*(2), 317-335.

Lefale, P. F., Faiva, P., & Anderson, C. L. (2017). *Living with Change (LivC): An Integrated National Strategy for Enhancing the Resilience of Tokelau to Climate Change and Related Hazards, 2017-2030 - IMPLEMENTATION PLAN, 2017-2022.* Wellington, New Zealand: Government of Tokelau and LeA International Consultants Ltd. Retrieved from https://www.tokelau.org.nz/site/tokelau/files/ClimateChange/LivCImplementPlan_web-2.pdf.

Lemihio, P. K. (2003). He Fatele Ke Hiva Te Afafine Tokelau: A Song for a Tokelauan Daughter to Dance. In P. Fairbairn-Dunlop & G. Makisi (Eds.), *Making Our Place: Growing Up PI in New Zealand* (pp. 151-170). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Lenzerini, F. (2011). Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples. *European Journal of International Law, 22*(1), 101-120.

Levine, S. (1998). Polynesia in Review: Tokelau. *The Contemporary Pacific, 10*(1), 230-236.

Levitt, P., & Jaworsky, B. N. (2007). Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends. *Annual Review of Sociology, 33*, 129-156.

Lilomaiava-Doktor, S. (2009). Beyond "Migration": Samoan Population Movement (Malaga) and the Geography of Social Space (Va). *The Contemporary Pacific, 21*(1), 1-32.

Louis, R. P. (2007). Can You Hear Us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research. *Geographical Research, 45*(2), 130-139.

MacGregor, G. (1937). Ethnology of Tokelau Islands. Honolulu, HI: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Mackley-Crump, J. (2013). The Festivalization of Pacific Cultures in New Zealand: Diasporic Flow and Identity Within Transcultural Contact Zones. *Musicology Australia, 35*(1), 20-40.

Macpherson, C. (2004). From Pacific Islanders to Pacific People and Beyond. In P. Spoonley, C. Macpherson, & D. Pearson (Eds.), *Tangata Tangata: The Changing Ethnic Contours of New Zealand* (pp. 135-156). Southbank, Australia: Thomson.

Macpherson, C. (2012, July 13). Pacific Churches in New Zealand – Programmes and Services. *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Retrieved from http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/pacific-churches-in-new-zealand

Macpherson, C., Spoonley, P., & Anae, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Tangata o te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Māhina, K. U. (2006). Intangible Heritage: A Pacific Case Study at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage, 1*, 13-24.

Mahon, M. (2000). The Visible Evidence of Cultural Producers. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 29*, 467-492.

Malkki, L. (1992). National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology, 7*(1), 24-44.

Mallett, S. (2004). Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature. *The Sociological Review, 52*(1), 62-89.

Mallon, S. (2010). Against Tradition. *The Contemporary Pacific, 22*(2), 362-381.

Mallon, S. (2012, October 11). *Vagahau Niue: Niue Language Week – A Rare Plastic Bread Bag Hat* [Web Log Post]. Retrieved from http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2012/10/11/vagahau-niue-niue-language-week-a-rare-plastic-bread-bag-hat/

Mallon, S. (2013, October 30). *Weaving Connections: Tokelau Language Week 2013* [Web Log Post]. Retrieved from http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2013/10/30/weaving-connections-tokelau-language-week-2013/

Mallon, S., Kupa, K., & Kirifi, J. (2003). Toki Niu Hila: Making Tokelau Adzes and Identity in New Zealand. *Tuhinga, 14*, 11-24.

Mallon, S., & Pereira, P. F. (1997). *Speaking in Colour: Conversations With Artists of Pacific Island Heritage*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.

Mallon, S., & Pereira, P. F. (Eds.). (2002). *Pacific Art Niu Sila: The Pacific Dimension of Contemporary New Zealand Arts*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.

Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 24*, 95-117.

Maude, H. E. (1981). *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864*. Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

McAdam, J. (2010). 'Disappearing States', Statelessness and the Boundaries of International Law. In J. McAdam (Ed.), *Climate Change and Displacement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (pp. 105-129). Oxford, UK: Hart.

McCully, M. (2011, October 5). *NZ and US Operation for Tokelau Drought Relief* [Media Statement]. Retrieved from http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/news/media-releases/2011/20111005-nauoftdr.htm

McFall-McCaffery, J. (2010). Getting Started with Pacific Research: Finding Resources and Information on Pacific Research Models and Methodologies. *Mai Review, 1*. Retrieved from http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/view/332/367

Mckendry, L. (2017). Māori Kākahu (Cloak) Fragments from Piha: Whakaari Pā. *Records of the Auckland Museum, 52*, 59-70.

McNamara, K. E. (2013). Taking Stock of Community-Based Climate-Change Adaptation Projects in the Pacific. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 54*(3), 398-405.

McNamara, K. E., & Farbotko, C. (2017). Resisting a 'Doomed' Fate: An Analysis of the Pacific Climate Warriors. *Australian Geographer, 48*(1), 17-26.

McQuarrie, P. (2007). *Tokelau: People, Atolls and History*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

Menzies, C. R. (2001). Reflections on Research With, For, and Among Indigenous Peoples. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 25*(1), 19-36.

Mercer, J., Dominey-Howes, D., Kelman, I., & Lloyd, K. (2007). The Potential for Combining Indigenous and Western Knowledge in Reducing Vulnerability to Environmental Hazards in Small Island Developing States. *Environmental Hazards, 7*(4), 245-256.

Millar, C. I., Stephenson, N. L., & Stephens, S. L. (2007). Climate Change and Forests of the Future: Managing in the Face of Uncertainty. *Ecological Applications, 17*(8), 2145-2151.

Miller, D. (2015). Justice in Immigration. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 1-19.

Miller, S. A. (2008). Native America Writes Back: The Origin of the Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography. *Wicazo Sa Review, 23*(2), 9-28.

Milman, O. (2015, November 1). Pacific Islands Make Last-Ditch Plea to World Before Paris Climate Change Talks. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian .com/environment/2015/nov/02/pacific-islands-make-last-ditch-plea-to-world-before-paris-climate-change-talks

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.-a). *Tokelau*. Retrieved January 10, 2016, from https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/pacific/tokelau/

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (n.d.-b). *Tokelau Scholarships*. Retrieved January 11, 2016, from https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/aid-and-development/scholarships/eligible-countries-and-regions/tokelau-scholarships/

Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs. (2006). *Pacific Analysis Framework With Pacific Consultation Guidelines: Analysing Public Policy Through Pacific Lenses.* Wellington, New Zealand: Author. Retrieved from http://www.mpia.govt.nz/assets/documents/PAF-Pacific-FrameworkF_2.pdf

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2000). *Talkin' up to the White Woman: Indigenous Women and Feminism*. Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2003). I Still Call Australia Home: Indigenous Belonging and Place in a White Postcolonizing Society. In S. Ahmed, C. Castañeda, A.-M. Fortier, & M. Sheller (Eds.), *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration* (pp. 23-40). New York: Berg.

Moreton-Robinson, A., & Walter, M. (2009). Indigenous Methodologies in Social Research. In M. Walter (Ed.), *Social Research Methods: An Australian Perspective* (2nd ed., pp. 1-18). South Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.

Mortreux, C., & Barnett, J. (2009). Climate Change, Migration and Adaptation in Funafuti, Tuvalu. *Global Environmental Change, 19*(1), 105-112.

Moss, P. (1997). Negotiating Spaces in Home Environments: Older Women Living with Arthritis. *Social Science and Medicine, 45*(1), 23-33.

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (n.d.). *Topic: 'Ie Toga (Fine Mat)*. Retrieved from http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/1522

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (2018, October 24). *Weaving in Tokelau: Novena's Story* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zgabCwlQ_sI

Myers, F. R. (1994). Culture-Making: Performing Aboriginality at the Asia Society Gallery. *American Ethnologist, 21*(4), 679-699.

Myers, N. (2002). Environmental Refugees: A Growing Phenomenon of the 21st Century. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences, 357*(1420), 609-613.

Nabobo-Baba, U. (2008). Decolonising Framings in Pacific Research: Indigenous Fijian Vanua Research Framework as an Organic Response. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 4*(2), 140-154.

Nakhid, C. (2009). Conclusion: The Concept and Circumstances of Pacific Migration and Transnationalism. In H. Lee & S. T. Francis (Eds.), *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives* (pp. 215-230). Canberra, Australia: ANU Press.

Nasser, L. (2014, October 19). When Island Nations Drown, Who Owns Their Seas? *The Boston Globe*. Retrieved from https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/10/18/when-island-nations-drown-who-owns-their-seas/hyH9W5b1mCAyTVgwlFh7qO/story.html

New Zealand Post. (2015). *Tokelau Weaving*. Retrieved from https://stamps.nzpost.co.nz/tokelau/2014/weaving

Noble, A. G. (2014). *Vernacular Buildings: A Global Survey*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Nordström, A. D. (1991). Early Photography in Samoa: Marketing Stereotypes of Paradise. *History of Photography, 15*(4), 272-286.

Nunn, P. D. (2003). Fished Up or Thrown Down: The Geography of Pacific Island Origin Myths. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 93*(2), 350-364.

O'Brien, K., Eriksen, S., Nygaard, L. P., & Schjolden, A. (2007). Why Different Interpretations of Vulnerability Matter in Climate Change Discourses. *Climate Policy, 7*(1), 73-88.

On-Going Government of Tokelau. (2004). *Culture and Society*. Retrieved November 29, 2015, from http://www.tokelau.org.nz/About+Us/Culture.html

On-Going Government of Tokelau. (2011a). Fatupaepae Preparing for Stalls in Apia. *Seventh Edition Te Vakai: An Insight into Tokelau: Water is Rising*, 3. Retrieved from http://www.tokelau .org.nz/site/tokelau/files//7th%20Edition%20Te%20Vakai.pdf

On-Going Government of Tokelau. (2011b). Te To'kie i Nukunonu DVD: An Introduction to Tokelau Weaving. *Seventh Edition Te Vakai: An Insight into Tokelau: Water is Rising,* 3. Retrieved from http://www.tokelau.org.nz/site/tokelau/files//7th%20Edition %20Te%20Vakai.pdf

On-Going Government of Tokelau. (2014). *Tokelau a True Small Island Developing State*. Retrieved from https://www.tokelau.org.nz/site/tokelau/files/SIDS/TokelauFactsheet4Web.pdf

On-Going Government of Tokelau. (n.d.-a). *Department of Transport.* Retrieved November 5, 2019, from https://www.tokelau.org.nz/Tokelau+Government/Government+Departments/Depa rtment+of+Transport++Support+Services.html

On-Going Government of Tokelau. (n.d.-b). *National Women's Policy for Tokelau 2010 – 2015*. Retrieved from https://www.tokelau.org.nz/site/tokelau/files/TOKELAU%20AFFAIRS_National%20Po licy+Plan%20of%20Action%20for%20Women-ENGLISH%20VERSION.pdf

On-Going Government of Tokelau. (n.d.-c). *Tokelau Government*. Retrieved November 10, 2019 from http://tokelau.org.nz/Tokelau+Government.html

Ono, R., & Addison, D. J. (2009). Ethnoecology and Tokelauan Fishing Lore From Atafu Atoll, Tokelau. *SPC Traditional Marine Resource Management and Knowledge Information Bulletin, 26*, 3-22.

Opeskin, B., & MacDermott, T. (2009). Resources, Population and Migration in the Pacific: Connecting Islands and Rim. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 50*(3), 353-373.

Oreskes, N. (2004). Beyond the Ivory Tower: The Scientific Consensus on Climate Change. *Science, 306*(5702), 1686.

Pacific Warriors Campaign Against Climate Change. (2013, March 4). *ABC News*. Retrieved from https://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-03-04/pacific-warriors-climate-change-action/4550898

Pahua, I. (2011, January 25). *Wellington – 5 Feb – Tokelau DVD launch*. Retrieved from http://temukatangata.org.nz/groups/whats_on_where/messages/topic/1WOIkm3wD8442oq2TA0eCB

Pene, G., Peita, M., & Howden-Chapman, P. (2009). Living the Tokelauan Way in New Zealand. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 2009*(35), 79-92.

Pereira, P. F. (2002). Lalaga: Weaving Connections in Pacific Fibre. In S. Mallon & P. F. Pereira (Eds.), *Pacific Art Niu Sila: The Pacific Dimension of Contemporary New Zealand Arts* (pp. 77-89). Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.

Perez, M. (n.d.). *Department of EDNRE*. Retrieved March 14, 2014, from http://tokelau.org.nz/Tokelau+Government/Government+Departments/Department+of+Economic+Development+Natural+Resources++Environment.html

Pink, S. (2007). *Doing Visual Ethnography* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE.

Pink, S. (2001). More Visualising, More Methodologies: On Video, Reflexivity and Qualitative Research. *The Sociological Review, 49*(4), 586-599.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22*(2), 217-237.

Puka, I., & Puka, H. (2012). *Songs of Tokelau: Ko a lā Whātupga* [CD]. New Zealand: Ode Records.

Read, P. (1996). *Returning to Nothing: The Meaning of Lost Places*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Read, P. (2000). *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Refiti, A. L. (2012). Building the House of Noa Noa and Lave Lave: A Possible Theory of Pacific Art. In R. Brownson, K. Māhina-Tuai, L. A. Refiti, E. Tavola, & N. Tonga (Eds.), *Home AKL: Artists of Pacific Heritage in Auckland: Exhibition Catalogue* (pp. 10-13). Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

Relph, E. C. (1976). *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

Repko, A. F., Szostak, R., & Buchberger, M. P. (2017). *Introduction to Interdisciplinary Studies* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles, U.S.A: SAGE.

Roberts, M., Norman, W., Minhinnick, N., Wihongi, D., & Kirkwood, C. (1995). Kaitiakitanga: Maori Perspectives on Conservation. *Pacific Conservation Biology, 2*(1), 7-20.

Roy, P., & Connell, J. (1991). Climatic Change and the Future of Atoll States. *Journal of Coastal Research, 7*(4), 1057-1075.

Sapkota, K. (2017). Humanistic Geography: How it Blends With Human Geography Through Methodology. *The Geographical Journal of Nepal, 10*, 121-140.

Sandu, A. (2013). Transnational Homemaking Practices: Identity, Belonging and Informal Learning. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies, 21*(4), 496-512.

Seamon, D., & Sowers, J. (2008). Place and Placelessness (1976): Edward Relph. In P. Hubbard, R. Kitchin, & G. Valentine (Eds.), *Key Texts in Human Geography* (pp. 43-52). London: SAGE.

Secretariat of the Pacific Community. (2006). Pandanus: Pacific Food Leaflet No. 6. *Healthy Pacific Lifestyle Section*. Retrieved from http://www.spc.int/hpl/index.php ?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=39

Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme. (2014, July 31). *Climate Change Adaptation Project Helps Tokelau, Now Better Prepared for Droughts*. Retrieved from http://www.sprep.org/climate-change/climate-change-adaptation -project-helps-tokelau-now-better-prepared-for-droughts

Shennan Thomas, Jennifer (2017, October 1). Obituary: Ineleo Tuia – Outstanding Leader of the Tokelau Community, *Dominion Post*. Retrieved from https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/capital-life/98055646/obituary-ineleo--tuia--outstanding-leader-of-the-tokelau-community

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.

Spoonley, P. (2001). Transnational Pacific Communities: Transforming the Politics of Place and Identity. In C. Macpherson, P. Spoonley, & M. Anae (Eds.), *Tangata o te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 81-96). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Spoonley, P., Bedford, R., & Macpherson, C. (2003). Divided Loyalties and Fractured Sovereignty: Transnationalism and the Nation-State in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 29*(1), 27-46.

Statistics New Zealand. (2012). *Profile of Tokelau Ata o Tokelau: 2011 Tokelau Census of Population and Dwellings 2011/Tuhiga Igoa a Tokelau 2011 mo te Faitau Aofaki o Tagata ma na Fale*. Wellington, New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand.

Statistics New Zealand. (2013a). *2013 Census Ethnic Group Profiles: Tokelauan*. Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/ethnic-profiles.aspx?request_value=24713&parent_id=24706&tabname=.

Statistics New Zealand. (2013b). *2013 Census QuickStats About National Highlights*. Wellington, New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-about-national-highlights.aspx

Statistics New Zealand. (2013c). *National Ethnic Population Projections: 2013 (Base)–2038 (Update)*. Retrieved from http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/NationalEthnicPopulationProjections_HOTP2013-2038/Commentary.aspx

Statistics New Zealand. (n.d.). *Quick Stats About Dunedin City*. Retrieved January 15, 2015, from http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2006CensusHomePage/QuickStats/AboutAPlace/SnapShot.aspx?tab=Culturaldiversity&id=2000071

Steffen, W., Grinevald, J., Crutzen, P., & McNeill, J. (2011). The Anthropocene: Conceptual and Historical Perspectives. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences, 369*(1938), 842-867.

Steiner, C. E. (2015). A Sea of Warriors: Performing an Identity of Resilience and Empowerment in the Face of Climate Change in the Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific, 27*(1), 147-180.

Stelmach, B. (2009). Research or *In*-Search? A Non-Aboriginal Researcher's Retrospective on Aboriginal Parent Involvement. *First Nations Perspectives, 2*(1), 35-56.

Stratford, E., Farbotko, C., & Lazrus, H. (2013). Tuvalu, Sovereignty and Climate Change: Considering Fenua, the Archipelago and Emigration. *Island Studies Journal, 8*(1), 67-83.

Suaalii-Sauni, T. (2008). Critiquing Pasifika Education at University. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 4*(1), 14-23.

Suaalii-Sauni, T., & Fulu-Aiolupotea, S. M. (2014). Decolonising Pacific Research, Building Pacific Research Communities and Developing Pacific Research Tools: The Case of the Talanoa and the Faafaletui in Samoa. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 55*(3), 331-344.

Suzuki, S. (1970). *Zen Mind, Beginner's Mind*. New York, N.Y: Weatherhill. Retrieved from http://www.arvindguptatoys.com/arvindgupta/zenmind.pdf

Tabucanon, G. M., & Opeskin, B. (2011). The Resettlement of Nauruans in Australia: An Early Case of Failed Environmental Migration. *The Journal of Pacific History, 46*(3), 337-356.

Tausi, L. (2017a, June 9). *A New Era for Tokelau National Handicraft Committee*. Retrieved from https://www.tokelau.org.nz/Bulletin/June+2017/handicraft+cttee.html

Tausi, L. (2017b, June 15). *Tokelau Handicraft Market day in Apia a Success*. Retrieved from https://www.tokelau.org.nz/Bulletin/June+2017/handicraft+market.html

Teaiwa, K. M. (2004). Multi-sited Methodologies: 'Homework' in Australia, Fiji, and Kiribati. In L. Hume & J. Mulcock (Eds.), *Anthropologists in the Field: Cases in Participant Observation* (pp. 216-234). New York: Columbia University Press.

Teaiwa, K. M. (2005). Our Sea of Phosphate: The Diaspora of Ocean Island. In G. Harvey & C. D. Thomspon, Jr. (Eds.), *Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations* (pp. 169-191). Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Teaiwa, K. M. (2012). Choreographing Difference: The (Body) Politics of Banaban Dance. *The Contemporary Pacific, 24*(1), 65-95.

Teaiwa, T. (2006). On Analogies: Rethinking the Pacific in a Global Context. *The Contemporary Pacific, 18*(1), 71-87.

Teaiwa, T., & Mallon, S. (2005). Ambivalent Kinships? Pacific People in New Zealand. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh, & T. Teaiwa (Eds.), *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations* (pp. 207-229). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Tecun, A., Hafoka, I., 'Ulu'ave, L., & 'Ulu'ave-Hafoka, M. (2018). Talanoa: Tongan Epistemology and Indigenous Research Method. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 14*(2), 156-163.

Tefoepua, P. E. (2017, July 5). *The Only Pacific Island Participating in the SBEC Trade Fair*. Retrieved from https://www.tokelau.org.nz/Bulletin/July+2017/SBEC+Fair.html

Thaman, K. H. (2003). Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education. *The Contemporary Pacific, 15*(1), 1-17.

Thode-Arora, H. (2014). Invisible Villages in the City: Niuean Constructions of Place and Identity in Auckland. In E. Hermann, W. Kempf, & T. Van Meijl (Eds.), Belonging in Oceania: Movement, Place-Making and Multiple Identifications (pp. 94-116). New York: Berghahn.

Thomas, A., & Tuia, I. (1990). Profile of a Composer: Ihaia Puka, a Pulotu of the Tokelau Islands. *Oral Tradition, 5*(2-3), 267-282.

Thomas, A., Tuia, I., & Huntsman, J. (1990). *Songs and Stories of Tokelau: An Introduction to the Cultural Heritage*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Thomas, L. A. J., Englberger, L., Guarino, L., Thaman, R. R., & Elevitch, C. (2006, April). Pandanus Tectorius (Pandanus). In C. R. Elevitch (Ed.), *Species Profile for Pacific Island Agroforestry* (Vol. 1.1, pp. 1-29). Hōlualoa, Hawai'i: Permanent Agriculture Resources. Retrieved from www.traditionaltree.org.

Thomas, N. (1996). The Dream of Joseph: Practices of Identity in Pacific Art. *The Contemporary Pacific, 8*(2), 291-317.

Toi Maori Aotearoa. (2016). *Weavers*. Retrieved January 15, 2016, from http://www .maoriart.org.nz/weavers-c-52_75.html

Tokelau Islands Shift to Solar Energy (2012, November 7). *BBC*. Retrieved from http://www .bbc.com/news/world-asia-20233754

Tokelau Profile - Leaders (2015, February 26). *BBC*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com /news/world-asia-16971840

Tuan, Y.-F. (1975). Place: An Experiential Perspective. *Geographical Review, 65*(2), 151-165.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1976). Humanistic Geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 66*(2), 226-276.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1979). Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective. In G. Olsson & S. Gale (Eds.), *Philosophy in Geography* (pp. 387-427). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

UCLA [University of California Television]. (2011, December 15). *Science and Art in a Climate of Change: A Dialogue of Nations* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KwyZrum6QBo

UNESCO. (n.d.). *What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?* Retrieved December 17, 2015, from http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003

UNHCR. (2014). *Wars Human Cost: UNHCR Global Trends 2013*. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendocPDFViewer.html?docid=5399a14f9&query=global

University of Otago. (2011, November). *University of Otago Pacific Research Protocols*. Retrieved from http://www.otago.ac.nz/research/otago085503.pdf

Vaiaho o Te Gagana o Tokelau – Tokelau Language Week October 25-31. (2015). Retrieved from http://www.tokelau.org.nz/site/tokelau/images/COP21/TokelauLW2015NZEventsCalendar.pdf

Vaioleti, T. M. (2006). Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research. *Waikato Journal of Education, 12*, 21-34.

Van Lennep, D. J. (1987). The Hotel Room. In J. J. Kockelmans (Ed.), *Phenomenological Psychology: The Dutch School* (pp. 209-215). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.

Von Reiche, N. N. (2001, July). The Revival of 'Ie Tōga Weaving in Samoa. *Pacific Arts, 23/24*, 113-116.

Visweswaran, K. (1994). *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Waldron, J. (1992). Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative. *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform, 25*(3&4), 751-793.

Walrond, C. (2005/2015). Written in 2005 and updated in 2015. Tokelauans –Communities. *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Retrieved October 10, 2019, from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/tokelauans /page-2

Wardhaugh, J. (1999). The Unaccomodated Woman: Home, Homelessness and Identity. *The Sociological Review, 47*(1), 91-109.

Warrington, M. (2001). 'I Must Get Out': The Geographies of Domestic Violence. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 26*(3), 365-382.

Wendt, A. (1976). Towards a New Oceania. *Mana Review: A South Pacific Journal of Language and Literature, 1*(1), 49-60.

Weir, A. (2008a). Global Feminism and Transformative Politics. *Hypatia, 23*(4), 110-133.

Weir, A. (2008b). Home and Identity: In Memory of Iris Marion Young. *Hypatia, 23*(3), 5-21.

Weissbach, U. (Author & Director), & Walker, L. (Producer). (2015). *The Solar Nation of Tokelau* [Documentary]. Pacifica Productions Ltd. Retrieved from https://vimeo.com/146467851

Wesley-Smith, T. (1995). Rethinking Pacific Islands Studies. *Pacific Studies, 18*(2), 115-136.

Wesley-Smith, T. (2016). Rethinking Pacific Studies Twenty Years on. *The Contemporary Pacific, 28*(1), 129-169.

Wessen, A. F., Hooper, A., Huntsman, J., Prior, I. A. M., & Salmond, C. E. (1992). *Migration and Health in a Small Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Whimp, G. (2008). Interdisciplinarity and Pacific Studies: Roots and Routes. *The Contemporary Pacific, 20*(2), 397-421.

Williams, C. P. (2007). *Maiden Voyages: Eastern Indonesian Women on the Move*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Winchell, D. G. (2000). Humanistic Geography. *The Humanistic Psychologist, 28*(1-3), 343-352.

Wirihana, C. H. (2008). *Kākahu as Cultural Identity.* Paper presented at the Textile Society of America 11th Biennial Symposium: Textiles as Cultural Expressions. Honolulu, HI: Textile Society of America. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/141

Wolffram, P. (2011). *Weaving With a Camera*. Paper presented at the Māori & Pacific Textile Symposium: Whatu Raranga a Kiwa, Understanding & Uniting Māori & Pacific Textiles, Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

Wolffram, P. (2013). Pakeha, Palagi, Whiteskin: Reflections on Ethnographic Socialisation and the Self. *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 14*(3), 207-220.

Woodyer, T., & Geoghegan, H. (2013). (Re)enchanting Geography? The Nature of Being Critical and the Character of Critique in Human Geography. *Progress in Human Geography, 37*(2), 195-214.

Young, I. M. (2002). House and Home: Feminist Variations on a Theme. In C. L. Mui & J. S. Murphy (Eds.), *Gender Struggles: Practical Approaches to Contemporary Feminism* (pp. 314-346). Lanham, M.D: Rowman & Littlefield.

Zalasiewicz, J., Williams, M., Haywood, A., & Ellis, M. (2011). The Anthropocene: A New Epoch of Geological Time? *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences, 369*(1938), 835-841.

Appendix

This project was originally granted ethics approval at the University of Western Sydney. I transferred to the Australian Catholic University in 2015. Ethics approval number at ACU was 2014 184N. I did not conduct any further research however and thus did not convert my consent forms and information sheets into Australian Catholic University ones. The project was closed off in December 2015. The information sheets and consent forms for those that were part of my research team were not translated into Tokelauan as they were competent in English.

Order of the following ethics documentation:

1) University of Western Sydney ethics approval letter.
2) Australian Catholic University ethics approval letter.
3) English version of information sheet and consent form for research participants.
4) Tokelauan version of information sheet and consent form for research participants.
5) Information sheet and consent form for interviewing members of the research team.

UWS HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

6 August 2012

Professor Katherine Gibson,

School of Humanities and Communication Arts

Dear Katherine,

I wish to formally advise you that the Human Research Ethics Committee has approved your research proposal **H9751** *"Climate Change and Inhabitability: Sustaining a meaningful identity following the loss of a place",* until 31 March 2014 with the provision of a progress report annually and a final report on completion.

Please quote the project number and title as indicated above on all correspondence related to this project.

This protocol covers the following researchers:

Katherine Gibson, Allison Weir, Vicki Flack.

Yours sincerely

Dr Anne Abraham
Chair, UWS Human Research Ethics Committee

K.Gibson@uws.edu.au

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

Human Research Ethics Committee
Committee Approval Form

Principal Investigator/Supervisor: Prof Allison Weir

Co-Investigators:

Student Researcher: Vicki Flack

Ethics approval has been granted for the following project:

Climate change and inhabitability: sustaining a meaningful identity following the loss of place

for the period: 30/11/2015

Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) Register Number: 2014 184N

Special Condition/s of Approval

Prior to commencement of your research, the following permissions are required to be submitted to the ACU HREC:

The data collection of your project has received ethical clearance but the decision and authority to commence may be dependent on factors beyond the remit of the ethics review process and approval is subject to ratification at the next available Committee meeting. The Chief Investigator is responsible for ensuring that outstanding permission letters are obtained, interview/survey questions, if relevant, and a copy forwarded to ACU HREC before any data collection can occur. Failure to provide outstanding documents to the ACU HREC before data collection commences is in breach of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research. Further, this approval is only valid as long as approved procedures are followed.

Clinical Trials: You are required to register it in a publicly accessible trials registry prior to enrolment of the first participant (e.g. Australian New Zealand Clinical Trials Registry http://www.anzctr.org.au/) as a condition of ethics approval.

It is the Principal Investigators / Supervisors responsibility to ensure that:

1. All serious and unexpected adverse events should be reported to the HREC with 72 hours.
2. Any changes to the protocol must be reviewed by the HREC by submitting a Modification/Change to Protocol Form prior to the research commencing or continuing. http://research.acu.edu.au/researcher- support/integrity-and-ethics/
3. Progress reports are to be submitted on an annual basis. http://research.acu.edu.au/researcher- support/integrity-and-ethics/
4. All research participants are to be provided with a Participant Information Letter and consent form, unless otherwise agreed by the Committee.
5. Protocols can be extended for a maximum of five (5) years after which a new application must be submitted. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

Researchers must immediately report to HREC any matter that might affect the ethical acceptability of the protocol eg: changes to protocols or unforeseen circumstances or adverse effects on participants.

[redacted]

Signed: .... Date: .... 09/02/2016.....

(Research Services Officer, Australian Catholic University, Tel: 02 9739 2646)

Sustaining an identity across the oceans: Weaving in New Zealand and Tokelau

Researcher: Vicki Flack, PhD candidate in the Doctoral Program in Political and Social Thought, School of Humanities and Communication Arts, University of Western Sydney. This project is supervised by Professor Katherine Gibson and Associate Professor Allison Weir.

Research Aims: This research is part of my PhD research which is exploring how people sustain their identity away from their homeland. The majority of my research is theoretical inquiry, engaging with literature on home, identity, place and belonging. My research is aimed at addressing three main questions - what is a meaningful identity, what capacity does this identity have to adapt, and what broad conditions are required in order for that adaption to occur.

My research also involves investigating how Tokelauans are sustaining their identity in New Zealand. This research is in recognition of the substantial Tokelauan population there who are expressing a strong Tokelauan identity. My research is narrowed down by comparing weaving in Tokelau and New Zealand in order to explore how an identity travels. I will compare such things as weaving methods, materials, and purpose.

My research begins by engaging with those connected, directly or indirectly, with the documentary 'Te to kie i Nukunonu: an introduction to Tokelau weaving'. The participants include those who weave and/or help provide the conditions necessary for weaving to occur in. In addition, they are also those that are likely to engage with woven products regularly such as having mats in their homes. I will participate in the general activities of this community with a particular focus on weaving. I will then follow the connections I have made with the people in New Zealand to Nukunonu where I will mirror as much as possible the research I have undertaken in New Zealand. I will also conduct interviews in both countries with academics and others to find out more about weaving, Tokelauan identity and what is enabling it to be sustained away from Tokelau.

Research activities:

- In-depth semi-structured interviews on Tokelauan identity and weaving. If the participant consents, these interviews will be audio recorded so that I can return to them at a later stage for deeper reflection.
- Direct observation of how Tokelauans engage with woven products as well as how they weave.
- I will also participate in a weaving group's activities and other community activities.
- I will also take photographs and film people engaging with weaving such as in their houses, churches, and meeting halls.
- I will also take photographs and film everyday activities in the two communities.

I would like to talk to you in one or more of these research phases. Interviews will last around one hour and will take place in an environment of your choosing.

Participation:

Participation is completely voluntary, and you may choose to withdraw your participation from the research at any time. If you do withdraw, I would erase any recordings I have made

or photos I have taken, and destroy as far as possible any notes I have made on you.

Use of information:

Information from this research may be published in reports, journal articles or in book form, in English or Tokelauan. As far as possible, I will protect your privacy and the confidentiality of the information you give me. I will not use your real name in notes or publications, unless you request it. I will audio record interviews and discussions, and take photographs and videos only with your consent. I may wish to extend upon this research in the future. If this does happen, I will contact you first to explain how I wish to use the information and to obtain your consent to do so.

Can I tell other people about the study?

Yes, you can tell other people about the study by providing them with the researcher's contact details. They can contact the researcher to discuss their participation in the project and obtain an information sheet.

What if I require further information?

When you have read this information, Ms Flack will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact Ms Flack at [redacted] or Tel XXX XX XXX XXXX. Alternatively you can contact Ms Flack's supervisors Professor Katherine Gibson (k.gibson@uws.edu.au) and Associate Professor Allison Weir (a.weir@uws.edu.au).

What if I have a complaint?

This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The approval number is H9751. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of the research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +6 2 4736 0013 or email humanethics@uws.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Human Research Ethics Committee

Office of Research Services

University of Western Sydney

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: Sustaining an identity across the oceans: Weaving in Tokelau and New Zealand

I,……, consent to participate in the research project titled Sustaining an identity across the oceans: Weaving in Tokelau and New Zealand.

I acknowledge that:

I have read the participant information sheet [or where appropriate, 'have had read to me'] and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher.

The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent to the interview being recorded (if relevant): Yes/No

I consent to being videoed (if relevant): Yes/No

I consent to being photographed (if relevant): Yes/No

I consent to Ms Flack directly quoting my comments in her thesis and any other publications resulting: Yes/No
(I will notify you if this is the case and allow you to see the context in which I quote you, allowing you to withdraw consent or ask for changes).

I consent to Ms Flack contacting me in the future in order to obtain my consent for extensions of the research: Yes/No

I would like to receive an electronic copy of the thesis when completed: Yes/No
Please write your permanent e-mail address below:

I understand that my involvement is confidential and that the information gained during

the study may be published but no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher/s now or in the future.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Return Address: _____

This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is:

H9751

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +61 2 4736 0013 or email humanethics@uws.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Whakaolaolaga o he whakahinomaga (identity) i ietahi itulagi: Whaimealalaga i Niuhila ma Tokelau

Tagata Hukehuke: Vicki Flack, he tagata akoako mo te whakailoga PhD i te polokalame ki na matakupu tau Mawhauwhauga Tau Politiki ma te Olaga Milomilohia o Tagata, Akoga tau ki Hukehukega ki Olaga ma Whaiga a Tagata ma na Whehokotakiga, Iunivehite o Sydney i Haute. Ko tenei hukehukega ei lalo o te kikilaga a Prof. Katherine Gibson ma Prof. Whehoahoani Allison Weir.

Na Hini o te Hukehukega: Ko te hukehukega ko he vaega e tau ki te hakiliga o te whakailoga PhD i ni hukehukega e tau ki te whakamainaga pe whakaauau vehea e tagata ki o latou fenua, whakahinomaga, nowhonowhoga i whawho o whenua. Ko te lahiga o aku hukehukega ko te kilkilaga whakatemawhauwhau, vakilikiliga o na whakamaumauga e uiga ki kaiga, whakahinomaga, nowhonowhoga, ma na manatu ve – "eo ai au?". Ko aku hukehukega e onoono ke tali ai na whehili taua ienei e tolu - hea te uiga o te whakahinomaga (identity), e ono mawhai nei ke iei ni huiga o tenei whakahinomaga, ma nia nei ni tulaga e ono mawhai ai ke iei ni huiga venei.

Ko aku hukehukega whoki ni hakilikiliga pe whakaolaola vehea nei e tagata Tokelau o latou whakahinomaga i Niuhila. Ko tenei hukehukega e ala ona ko te tokalahi o tagata Tokelau e whakaaliali pea o latou whakahinomaga fakaTokelau. Ko aku hukehukega e whakatino lahi ki te whakatuhatuhaga o na whaimealalaga i Tokelau ma Niuhila ka ke mawhai ai ona hukehuke atili pe whekavewhaki vehea te whakahinomaga o he tagata. Ka whakatuhatuha e au na itu e ve ko na itukaiga lalaga, na kope, ma na kautu.

E kamata aku hukehukega i te whakatalanoagia o ki latou, e tau hako pe ono tau whoki, ki te ata tifaga 'Te To Kie I Nukunonu: An Introduction to Tokelau Weaving'. Ko ki latou e i loto o tenei hukehukega ko ki latou e whaimealalaga ma / pe whehoahoani ki te tapenapenaga mo te whataunukuga ona lalaga. Whakaopoopoga, e iei whoki te tahi vaega e ono i loto o te lio o na mea tau lalaga e ve ko ki latou e manakomia ni moega io o latou kaiga. Ko au ka kau ki na mawhutaga valevale kae whakapitoa lava ki na mea tau lalaga. Oi whakaauau ai ienei mahaniga kua ko maua ma tagata i Niuhila ma Nukunonu ka ko whakatinoa ai na gaoioiga ona hukehukega e ve ona whakataunu i Niuhila. E whakatalanoa whoki e au ni tagata hukehuke ma ietahi mai ietahi atunuku e lua ka ke whakamaina atili ai te malamalama ki te matakupu tenei ko te lalaga, whakahinomaga fakaTokelau ma e mawhua vehea te whakaolaola o tenei tulaga i whawho o Tokelau.

Na Whakatinoga ona Hukehukega

- Whakawhehili loloto mo whakatalanoaga fuafua e uiga ki te whakahinomaga fakaTokelaua ma te whaimealalaga. Ka whai e malie ki ei te kua whakatalanoa, ko ienei talanoaga e puke i he mahini pukeleo ka ke mawhai ke toe whakalogologo ai au mulimuli ma mawhauwhau loloto ki ei.

- Whakamaumauga i na kikilaga ki na aga ma na e uiga ki mealalaga ma te faiga o ienei mea.
- Ko au whoki ka kau ki na whakatahiga whaimealalaga ma ietahi gaoioiga a te maopoopoga.
- Ko au ka puke ata mo ki latou e whaimea lalaga e ve ko te faiga i loto o o latou whale, whaleha ma na whalewhono.
- Ko au ka puke ata ina gaoioiga valevaIe a na maopoopoga e lua (Niuhila ma Nukunonu).

Ko au e whakatagi atu ko taua ke talanoa i he vaega pe ko na vaega o tenei hukehukega. Ko na talanoaga pe itula te loa ma e whai i te mea e whowhou koe ki ei.

Ko ki latou ei loto o te lio ona hukehukega:
Ei te malie lava o te tagata, ma e mawhai whoki ona whakamavae mai na hukehukega i ho he taimi. Ka whai koe e whakamavae, ka tape e au ni pukega o to leo, ata ma ni tuhituhiga o ni au whakamatalaga na ko whakamaumaua.

Whakaaogaga o na Whakamatalaga:
Ko na whakamatalaga mai tenei hukehukega e ono tuhia i ni lipoti, ni ietahi tuhituga e aowhia ai na tuhi, i te gagana Igilihi pe ko te Whaka-Tokelau. E whakataua te puipuia o whakamatalaga e tau ki to tagata. E he ko whakaaogaa to igoa moni i na tuhituhiga, vagana ai e tagihia e koe. Ka puke e au na talanoaga, ma puke ni ata ka whai e whakataga mai e koe. E ina whakaloaloa e au tenei hukehukega i te lumanaki. Ka whai ko te tulaga ia, ka logo atu koe e au muamua ma whakamatala atu oku manatu ki te whakaaogaaga o ienei whakamatalaga ma talohaga ho maliega.

E taga ke whakailoa e au ki tagata tenei hukehukega?
Io, e mawhai ona talaki e koe tenei hukehukega e kui atu i te whakaaoga e koe i na whakamatalaga e uiga kia teau kae pe maua vehea whoki au. E mawhai ona whakawhehokotaki mai au pe ka whai e whia kau ki ei pe whia maua whoki tenei pepa whakamatala.

Kaea kawhai e manakomia e au ni ietahi whakamatalaga?
Ka uma te whaitau o ienei whakamatalaga, ko Ms Flack ka ia toe whakatalagonia koe ma tali ni au whehili. Ka whai e manakomia nie tahi whakamatalaga i ho he taimi, whakamolemole whakawhehokotaki ia Ms Flack i te [redacted] pe ko te Telewhoni XXX XX XXX XXXX. Pe whakawhehokotaki te takitaki o Ms Flack ia Prof. Katherine Gibson (k.gibson@uws.edu.au) ma Prof. Whehoahoani Allison Weir (a.weir@uws.edu.au).

Kae ka iei haku whaitioga?
Ko tenei hukehukega kua whakataga e te Komiti e Pahia na Auala Tatau o Hukehukega, Iunivehite o Sydney I Haute. Tenei te numela o te whakatagaga H9751. Ka iei ni au whaitioga

pe ni whakawhehili ki te whaiga o tenei hukehukega, whakawhehokotaki te Komiti kua takua i te telewhoni +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +6 2 4736 0013 pe ko te e-mail humanethics@uws.edu.au. E puipuia au matakupu mai te aowhia mae ka hukehuke maeaea, ma logo atu whoki koe i he whakaikuga.

University of Western Sydney

Pepa o te Maliliega

Igoa o te Galuega: Whakaolaolaga o te Whakahinomaga i ietahi itulagi: Whaimealalaga I Niuhila ma Tokelau

Ko au,……., e malie ke kau au ki tenei hukehukega kua takua 'Whakaolaolaga o te Whakahinomaga i ietahi itulagi: Whaimealalaga I Niuhila ma Tokelau'.

E ko fakailoa atu:

Kua ko whaitaua te laupepa kua whakapitoa mo ki latou kua malilie ke kau ki tenei hukehukega [pe ka whai e talawheagai, `na whaitau mai'] ma na kua iei he avanoa na tuku mai ke whakatalanoa ai na fakamatalaga ma na tulaga e kau ai au ki tenei galuega ma te tino hukehuke.

Ko na lahaga e manokomia mo tenei galuega ma na tulaga o na taimi e iei ai au kua uma ona fakamalamalama mai, ma e ko aku whehili e uiga ki te galuega kua malie au ki na tali kua tuku mai.

E malie au ke puke tenei talanoaga (ka whai e talafeagai): Io/Heai

E malie au ke puke/video tenei talanoaga (ka whai e talafeagai): Io/Heai

E malie au ke puke ata tenei talanoaga (ka whai e talafeagai): Io/Heai

E malie au ke takua e Ms Flack aku whakamatalaga i tana Tuhi (Thesis) ma ni ietahi lomiga e tutupu mai ai: Io/Heai
(Ka logo e au koe kawhai ko te tulaga ia ma kavatu he avanoa ke whakalautele ai tau kikilaga ki te uiga kua whakaaoga ai, ma kavatu he avanoa ke toe hui ai to mawhauwhau).

E malie au ke whakawhehokotaki mai au e Ms Flack i te lumanaki ke tagihia ai ke malie au ki he whakaloaloa te hukehukega: Io/Heai

E manakomia ke maua haku kopi e-meli o te Tuhi (Thesis) kawhai e uma: Io/Heai

Whakamolemole tuatuhi emeli tumau ki lalo:

E ko iloa ko toku i loto o tenei galuega e he talakia ki te lautele ma e ko na whakamatalaga e maua i tenei hukehukega e ono whakahalalau ki te aowhia kae he iloa ai toku neitagata.

Kua ko iloa whoki e mawhai au ona whakamavae mai tenei heukehukega i ho he taimi kae he ono awhaina ai toku va ma ki latou na tino hukehuke iI te taimi nei pe ko te lumanaki.

Haini: _____

Igoa: _____

Aho: _____

Tuatuhi (e lawho ki ei tenei pepa, ka uma te whakatumu):

Ko tenei hukehukega kua whakatagaina e te Komiti e Puleapulea na Hukehukega e tau ki Tagata ma na Auala Talafeagai e Whai ai, Iunivehite o Sydney I Haute.

Numela o te Whakatagaga:

H9751

Kawhai e iei ni au whakatagi pe ni popolega e tau ki na auala talawheagai e tatau ona fai ai tenei hukehukega whakahokotaki te Komiti kua takua i luga kui atu i te Ofiha o Galuega Tau-Hukehukega i te telewhoni +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +61 2 4736 0013 pe ko te emeli humanethics@uws.edu.au. Ko na matakupu e lagahia ka puipuia ma hukehukegia maeaea, ma ka logo mai koe i he whakaikuga.

Sustaining an identity across the oceans: Weaving in New Zealand and Tokelau

Researcher: Vicki Flack, PhD candidate in the Doctoral Program in Political and Social Thought, School of Humanities and Communication Arts, University of Western Sydney. This project is supervised by Professor Katherine Gibson and Associate Professor Allison Weir.

Research Aims:

This research is part of my PhD research which is exploring how people sustain their identity away from their homeland. The majority of my research is theoretical inquiry, engaging with literature on home, identity, place and belonging. My research is aimed at addressing three main questions - what is a meaningful identity, what capacity does this identity have to adapt, and what broad conditions are required in order for that adaption to occur.

As you are aware, I will also be conducting field research that broadly focuses on how Tokelauans sustain their identity in New Zealand. This research is in recognition of the substantial Tokelauan population there who are expressing a strong Tokelauan identity. My research is narrowed down by comparing weaving in Tokelau and New Zealand in order to explore how an identity travels. I will compare such things as weaving methods, materials, and purpose. My research begins by engaging with those connected, directly or indirectly, with the documentary 'Te to kie i Nukunonu: an introduction to Tokelau weaving'. The participants include those who weave and/or help provide the conditions necessary for weaving to occur in. In addition, they are also those that are likely to engage with woven products regularly such as having mats in their homes. I will participate in the general activities of this community with a particular focus on weaving. I will then follow the connections I have made with the people in New Zealand to Nukunonu where I will mirror as much as possible the research I have undertaken in New Zealand. I will also conduct interviews in both countries with academics and others to find out more about weaving, Tokelauan identity and what is enabling it to be sustained away from Tokelau.

I would also like to include as participants those, such as yourself, who are a part of my research team. There are several reasons why I would like to do so. For one, they are members of the Wellington and Nukunonu communities and thus will have their own important contributions to make about weaving and Tokelauan identity. In addition, through their roles as members of the research team, they may notice similarities and differences in Tokelauan identity and weaving that I would then like to explore further by interviewing them. If they agree to participate in this project the following are some of the research activities that I may wish to undertake with them:

- In-depth semi-structured interviews on Tokelauan identity and weaving. If you consent, these interviews will be audio-recorded so that I can return to them at a later stage for deeper reflection.
- Direct observation of how you engage with woven products and how you weave.
- Photograph and film you engaging with weaving such as in your house.
- Photograph and film you undertaking everyday activities in either or both of the two communities.

Interviews will last around one hour and will take place in an environment of your choosing.

Participation:

Participation is completely voluntary, and you may choose to withdraw your participation from the research at any time. If you do withdraw, I would erase any recordings I have made

or photos I have taken, and destroy as far as possible any notes I have made on you. In addition, whether or not you decide to participate will have no impact on your role in the research team and on your relationship with the researcher.

Use of information:
Information from this research may be published in reports, journal articles or in book form, in English or Tokelauan. As far as possible, I will protect your privacy and the confidentiality of the information you give me. I will not use your real name in notes or publications, unless you request it. I will audio record interviews and discussions, and take photographs and videos only with your consent. I may wish to extend upon this research in the future. If this does happen, I will contact you first to explain how I wish to use the information and to obtain your consent to do so.

Will the study cause me any discomfort?
It is highly unlikely that this study will cause you any discomfort as my topic does not require the disclosure of culturally or politically sensitive information. There is, however, a strong likelihood that other participants will be able to identify you in my research findings. In order to ensure this does not cause you discomfort I will first show you how I intend to use the information and obtain your consent before proceeding.

How is the study being paid for?
The project is primarily being funded through the researcher's scholarships - College of Arts Postgraduate Award and UWS Top Up. The University of Western Sydney is also providing additional financial support through their Candidature Project Funding scheme.

Can I tell other people about the study?
Yes, you can tell other people about the study by providing them with the researcher's contact details. They can contact the researcher to discuss their participation in the project and obtain an information sheet.

What if I require further information?
When you have read this information, Ms Flack will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact Ms Flack at [redacted] or Tel XXX XX XXX XXXX. Alternatively you can contact Ms Flack's supervisors Professor Katherine Gibson (k.gibson@uws.edu.au) and Associate Professor Allison Weir (a.weir@uws.edu.au).

What if I have a complaint?
This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The approval number is H9751. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of the research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +6 2 4736 0013 or email humanethics@uws.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Human Research Ethics Committee

Office of Research Services

University of Western Sydney

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: Sustaining an identity across the oceans: Weaving in Tokelau and New Zealand

I,……, consent to participate in the research project titled Sustaining an identity across the oceans: Weaving in Tokelau and New Zealand.

I acknowledge that:

I have read the participant information sheet [or where appropriate, 'have had read to me'] and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher.

The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent to the interview being recorded (if relevant): Yes/No

I consent to being videoed (if relevant): Yes/No

I consent to being photographed (if relevant): Yes/No

I consent to Ms Flack directly quoting my comments in her thesis and any other publications resulting: Yes/No
(I will notify you if this is the case and allow you to see the context in which I quote you, allowing you to withdraw consent or ask for changes).

I consent to Ms Flack contacting me in the future in order to obtain my consent for extensions of the research: Yes/No

I would like to receive an electronic copy of the thesis when completed: Yes/No
Please write your permanent e-mail address below:

I understand that my involvement is confidential and that the information gained during the study may be published but no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher now or in the future and without it impacting my role in the research team.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Return Address:

This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is:

H9751

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +61 2 4736 0013 or email humanethics@uws.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.