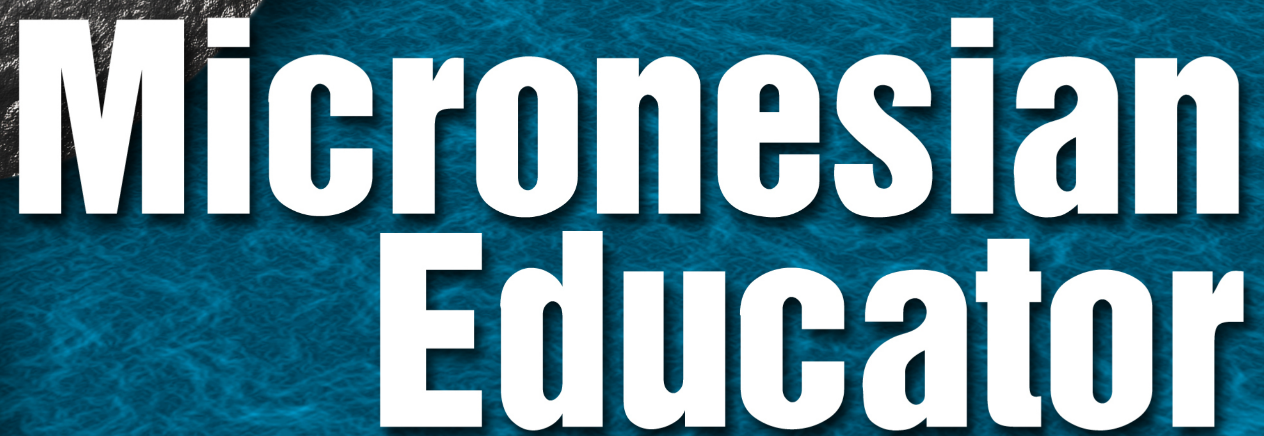

A Journal of Research & Practice on Education in Guam and Micronesia

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Photograph by Carim Yanoria

Nåna *by Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo*

Like the tåsa and haligi of the ancient Chamoru latte stone
so, too, does your body maintain the shape
of the healthy Chamoru woman.
With those full-figured hips
features delivered
through natural birth for generations
and with those powerful arms
reaching for the past calling on our mañaina
you have remained strong throughout the years
continuously inspire me to live my culture
allow me to grow into a young Chamoru woman myself.
Through you I have witnessed the persistence
and endurance of my ancestors who never failed in constructing a latte.
I gima` taotao mo`na the house of the ancient people.
Hågu i acho` latte-ku. You are my latte stone.

The latte stone (acho` latte) was once the foundation of Chamoru homes in the Mariana Islands. It was carved out of limestone or basalt and varied in size, measuring between three and sixteen feet in height. It contained two parts, the tasa (a cup-like shape, the top portion of the latte) and the haligi (the bottom pillar) and were organized into two rows, with three to seven latte stones per row. Today, several latte stones still stand, and there are also many remnants of them throughout the Marianas. Though Chamorus no longer use latte stones as the foundations of their homes, the latte symbolize the strength of the Chamorus and their culture as well as their resiliency in times of change.

Micronesian Educator

A Journal of Research & Practice on Education in Guam and Micronesia

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Contents

Editor's Introduction .... **iii**

Research/Theoretical or Position Papers in School and Education Alternatives for Indigenous Groups and Second Language Learners

Technological Empowerment: A Case Study of the Flipped Classroom in Macao, China 2

Evelyn Doman

Japanese Undergraduate Students' English Communication Problems and Learning Motivation outside Formal Classroom Environment 15

Patrick Lo, Dickson K. W. Chiu, Kevin K. W. Ho

Māori Academic Success: Why the Deficit Perspectives? 33

S 'Apo' Aporosa

The Implementation of English and Western Education on the Island of Guam 52

Deborah Ellen

Socio-Cultural Aspects of Education in Oceania

Theorizing a Decade of Pacific Rethinking [Education]: A Realist View of Emerging Pacific Research 80

Kabini Sanga

The Politics of Security and Insecurity in Fiji: Delving into and Including Indigenous Epistemologies and Knowledge Systems – Implications for Education in Fiji 97

Alumita Durutalo

Technological Adaptations of Abaknon Fishers in Capul, Northern Samar: How Ocean Currents Contribute to Resourcefulness and Transformation 117

Tito M. Cabili

Essay – The 4-H Initiative as a Long Standing Alternative to Formal Education in Guam and the US

Weaving the Micronesian 4-H Initiative: An Exploratory Study of Youth Development Programs on Guam 132

Peter R. Barcinas, Clifford Kyota, Victoria Ann Santos, Anthony Ada

Writing the Wrongs – Poetry as Resistance and Survivance: "Kantan Chamorittas" in the 21st Century 151

Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo

Keynote Speech and Interview: Tuna Economy as a Real Alternative in the Region after COFA – What does that mean for the University and HR Development?

Keynote Address by the CEO of the Parties to the Nauru Agreement PNA, RMI, Micronesia 173

Transform Aqorau, with interview by Unaisi Nabobo-Baba

Book Reviews

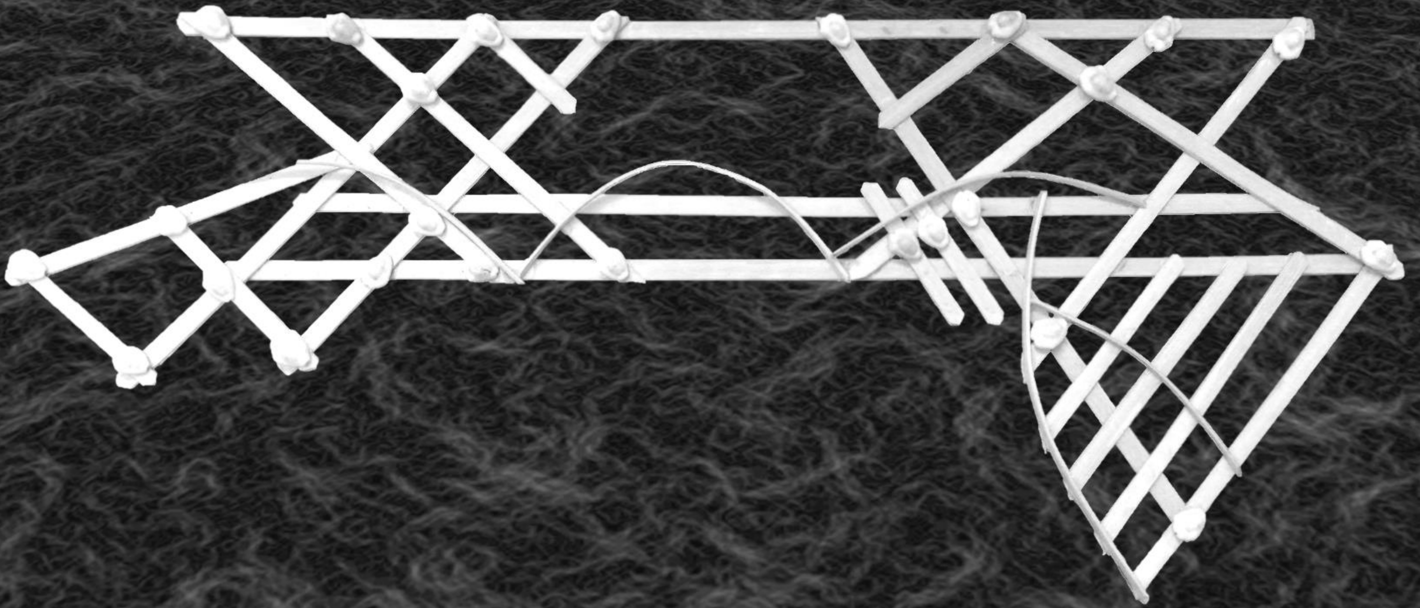
All her Faculties: The Representation of the Female Mind in the Twentieth-Century English Novel. By Rosenhan, Claudia 189

Paulette M. Coulter

Challenging Gender Norms: Five Genders Among Bugis in Indonesia. By Sharyn Graham Davies 193

Dan Ho

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION



Editor's Introduction

Dear readers,

Welcome to another volume of Micronesian Educator!

Education in the 21st Century is increasingly a combination of factors, policies, conventions and influences that are all at once local and or indigenous, regional, global and or international. In Guam and the Oceanic region we belong to, educational issues, successes, reforms and challenges are played out in these complex web of relationships – sometimes invited, sometimes forced upon us by association.

As I write this editorial, the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) has just completed its meeting in Pohnpei, FSM September 7-11, 2016 and issued a notice to possible tenders on the evaluation of the 2009-2015 Pacific Education Development Framework (PEDF) and writing of the new strategic plan for the next decade. The PEDF identified eight cross cutting themes as central issues of education and development that need addressing in the Pacific Islands not including higher education. These are: i) language and culture; ii) special education/ inclusive education; iii) gender and equity; iv) International Telecommunications technology (ICT); v) Education for sustainable development; vi) HIV AIDS; and vii) Youth. The regional framework is supported by PIF through the Pacific Is countries' education ministries and departments. The framework coordinates regional educational activities and provides advocacy and leadership to policy dialogue but as directed by countries. The idea is that the countries drive their own reforms governed by the external agendas and tempered by their local idiosyncratic needs and agendas. In the period covered 2009-2015, the two major imperatives for PEDF were the Education for All (EFA) agenda and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This is influenced by the UN Literacy Decade and the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. PEDF supports Basic Education (EFA) and training/ employment/ economic agenda. In the USA, we are also into the 15th year of the Federal Policy passed in 2001 titled, No Child Left Behind (NCLB). A lot of these have to do with ensuring that all children have equitable access to quality education.

Recently, UNESCO has also just issued a fresh mandate post 2015 for the SDG 4: Inclusive and Quality Education for All and the promotion of Life Long learning (LLL). The implementation tenet of SDG 4 is the Education 2030 Framework for Action (FFA). In Guam, we have just had elections in November. Similarly, Palau had just done the same. In the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), the near ending of the Compact of Free Association (COFA) in 2023 together with new issues related to climate change and non-communicable diseases, give legislators and all educational and related development stakeholders real concern as to how to combat such national issues. These are similar concerns for the Republic of Marshall Islands. On a happier note, Dr. Hilda Heini made history this year, 2016 as RMI's first ever female President, the first as well in Micronesia and the whole independent Pacific Islands – huge strides for us in Oceania.

So, in this volume we capture new and alternative as well as indigenous/local ideas, philosophies, policy and practice in education and development that impact education in Guam and the Pacific or Oceania. The Volume comes in five parts.

Part One has four articles. The papers, are largely research pieces or theoretical/ position papers of in-school alternatives and changes. Evelyn Doman on her work in the Pacific Rim – in Macao, China makes a case for the flipped classroom to improve learning outcomes. Patrick Lo, Dickson Chiu and Kevin Ho also take us to the Pacific Rim – to Japan in a study of English language speaking by University students in this particular context. They remind us of the importance of contextual factors in the pursuit to improve the achievement of students who are second language learners of English. Aporosa in the next article discusses an educational reform and alternative pathway among the Tainui of New Zealand. He argues against the use of the historically powerful yet negative impact of deficit theorizing in Maori education success. Deborah Ellen discusses her work on culturally responsive curriculum and the valuing and inclusion of Chamorro language and culture in the curriculum in Guam and elsewhere in the Pacific region.

Part Two has three papers. The papers touch on the socio-cultural aspects of education and the wider theme of alternative thought, knowledge creation and practice. Kabini Sanga reports on the decade long work of the Pacific regional movement named: “Rethinking Pacific Education by Pacific for Pacific (RPEIP)”. He highlights the RPEIP discussing in particular the emerging body of Pacific researches infused by RPEIP philosophy. The decolonizing/ dehegemonic initiative is all at once an alternative to educational thought and practice that is local and indigenous, creative, engaged and is responsive to the socio-cultural values, philosophies and cultures of Pacific Peoples. The next paper by Alumita Durutalo explicates that the politics of security in Fiji could benefit from a deeper understanding of indigenous Fijian philosophies and values. She also emphasizes the importance of political education and literacy that may help address the constant coups the country has been subjected to over the years. Finally, for this Part, Cabili discusses the sustainable use of environment and resources in terms of a hybridization of indigenous fishing technology and knowledge practices with new ways to sustain the environment. It is a case study of the Abaknons in the island of Capul in Philipines.This article reminds us of the UN Millennium Development Goal on Sustainable development with its related goal of education for sustainable development.

Part Three has two essays. The first is by Barcinas et al. on a long-standing alternative to formal education, the 4-H Initiative which prepares youths for life skills for the world of work and life in Guam and parts of Micronesia. The second is penned by Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo who discusses the power of “poetry of resistance” particularly by indigenous Chamoru women writers.

Part Four is a keynote speech by Transform Aqorau that provides real economic alternatives to the region after the Compact of Free Association (COFA) expires in 2023. The founding and out-going CEO for Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA) based in the Republic of the Marshall explicates the role and tenable enterprise that is PNA and registers the need for inter- governmental, inter non-governmental, collaborations especially among key Pacific islands’ fisheries stakeholders. The Editor caught up with him in RMI hence the Q&A session after his 2015 keynote on PNA. The Q&A session with the Editor focuses

on his views on human resource development and training in the sub region that PNA serves. The gist of the section for us looking at alternative ways to interpret island needs in the 21st century especially as COFA reaches its end in 2023, is to find alternative sources of revenue that can match or do better than COFA. Herein PNA offers a possible solution – already proven, but a solution that may need to see the shifting of agendas and curricula foci of Universities and higher education institutions in the Pacific Islands region.

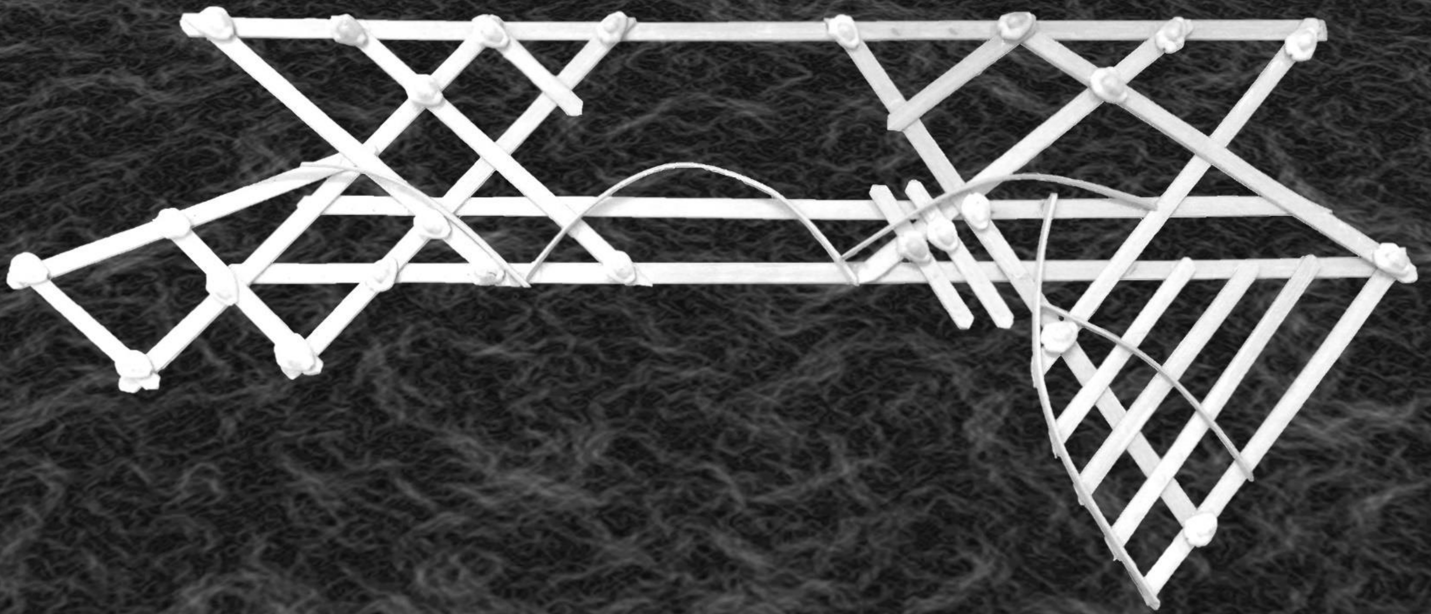
Part Five has two book reviews. The first review by Paulette M Coulter on the book: *All her faculties: The representation of the female mind in the twentieth-century English novel* by Claudia Rosenhan. She discusses the historically marginalized conditions of women in British literature as reflective of the subordinate positioning of women in society. The nuances and themes from this resonates widely in Micronesia and Oceania.

The second book review is by Dan Ho on the book: C*hallenging Gender Norms: Five Genders among Bugis in Indonesia b*y Sharyn Graham Davies. Dan Ho posits that Guam and the US may benefit from the versatile and inclusive way the LGBT community is lived out and theorized in the context of the Bugis in Indonesia.

I sincerely hope you will enjoy this volume!

Unaisi Nabobo-Baba, Editor

Research/Theoretical or Position Chapters in School and Education Alternatives for Indigenous Groups and Second Language Learners



Technological Empowerment: A Case Study of the Flipped Classroom in Macao, China

Evelyn Doman

Abstract

A two-semester case study was undertaken at a university in Macau on meeting 21st century student needs through technology that is used in the flipped classroom. The study sought to discover whether students in flipped courses have significant differences in meeting student learning outcomes (SLOs) of grammar and increasing their digital literacy skills over those in non-flipped classes. As a mixed methods study, students' use of technology for meeting student learning outcomes was evaluated quantitatively through student scores on grammar quizzes and a grammar survey and qualitatively through focus groups discussions and written action logs. Results show that the flipped teaching methodology greatly affect students' perceptions of the use of technology for language learning. Students were less anxious with using technology, and felt empowered as they learned to master content with the aid of technology.

Keywords: *Macau; digital literacy; grammar; flipped classroom*

Introduction

Much of higher education delivery today tends to utilize a blended approach to teaching and learning, one in which students receive a combination of face-to-face instruction in the classroom as well as online learning activities outside the classroom, generally facilitated through the use of a learning management system (LMS) or other forms of technology. This movement towards integrating more technology into learning has come about as a way to meet the needs of students today – known as digital natives – who are accustomed to using technology in most aspects of their lives (ATC21S, 2012). This movement has the flipped classroom steadily gaining acceptance and popularity in academic circles.

"Flipping the Classroom" is a pedagogical paradigm of teaching and learning that is traditionally defined as one in which all homework is done in class, and all classwork is done at home. Although the term was coined by Baker in 2000, it has generated a greater amount of interest in recent years. A typical flipped classroom approach involves students watching online video lectures prior to in-class meetings as a way to better prepare for more engaging and interactive lessons. The assumptions behind this model is that if students are better prepared, they will be able to participate more in discussions, debates, and problem-solving activities, all of which should lead to a more student-centered classroom which promotes higher-order thinking skills (Doman & Webb, 2014; Webb, Doman, & Pusey, 2014). During the in-class face-to-face sessions, teachers can also monitor student performance and give individual instruction or feedback more often.

Because of the nature of the flipped classroom, we can say that the approach has its roots in behaviorism as it promotes habits and behaviors in students, individualized learning and repetition of key concepts, and a system of rewards through formative assessments. It also has roots in constructivism as it allows for more student-to-student as well as teacher-student interaction and a co-construction of meaning, and in sociocultural theory as it establishes a greater degree of interaction that engages the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (the difference between what a learner can do without help and what he or she can do with help) (Doman & Webb, in press). The flipped classroom can also be seen as a modern extension of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in that the online videos reduce the amount of teacher-fronted instruction and turn the classroom into an environment where active learning approaches can dominate (Doman & Webb, 2014 & in press).

Although flipping the classroom has rapidly become popular in the American K-12 education system, it has been less commonly undertaken in higher education, particularly in contexts outside of the United States. By flipping an English as a Foreign Language classroom in Macau for two-semesters, quantitative data from student scores on grammar quizzes and a grammar survey and qualitative data from focus groups discussions and written action logs was collected from one experimental class (N=24) and one control class (N=24). By instructors integrating technology and promoting independent learning into their classrooms, university students are able to become autonomous learners with the assistance of the instructor who serves as a moderator and facilitator, rather than a lecturer. In addition, the flipped model better suited the needs of 21st century students, allowing teachers to address the 4Cs of learning: critical thinking, creative thinking, communicating, and collaborating (Webb, Doman, & Pusey, 2014).

Students can use critical thinking and problem-solving as they tackle the group projects and presentations assigned to them. They can critically evaluate, analyze, and synthesize new information. Students can communicate and collaborate during the pair and group work that they undertake in class. Each person in the group can take a role, so that everyone has their own individualized part to play in the team efforts. Students can be creative and innovative with using technology through the new software and websites that the teacher introduces for coursework and independent learning activities, assigned both in and out of the classroom. Besides computers, tablets and Smartphones are also capable these days of providing resources in the learning process. Students can even use the computer to reach websites and learning management systems, to complete homework assignments by further investigating issues by themselves, encouraging autonomy and generating students' responsibility for their own learning – a skill that they will need after graduation from university as they move into their careers. It is reported that Millennials are expected to have 15-20 jobs in their lifetimes (Meister, 2012). It is, therefore, imperative for them to have transferable skills that will allow them to move freely between positions and to be able to think on their feet, both critically and creatively.

Bishop and Verleger (2013) show that there are very few studies employing experimental designs that compare flipped versus non-flipped students; rather, most focus on student and teacher perceptions

of the flipped classroom alone. It is hoped that the current study will help to fill the gap in the literature on the flipped classroom and offer data in support of the flipped model.

The research questions addressed in the current study include:

1. Does the use of technology in a flipped classroom lead to higher learning gains?
2. Do students become empowered as they acquire new digital literacy skills?

Literature Review

Recently, there has been quite a lot of literature highlighting the benefits of flipped learning in various fields of K-12 and higher education. Much of the literature shows that by reversing the location of where knowledge is attained from the classroom to the home through the use of videos or other technologies, class time is freed up to allow for more opportunities for students to engage in higher order thinking skills, such as the evaluation and synthesis of the information that they acquired prior to coming to class.

A survey of the research on flipping the classroom at the university level revealed three common areas. The most common types of studies conducted on the flipped classroom explore student perceptions of the model and involve the use of surveys or interviews to inquire into student satisfaction with the model. A second trend in the research is an examination of teaching techniques that can be used to incorporate the flipped model into the classroom. Finally, a third trend includes descriptive articles that exhibit the step-by-step design and theoretical underpinnings of the flipped classroom. To date, there has been little experimental or quasi-experimental data reported on the flipped classroom in the US – an area which the current investigation addresses.

Studies on student perceptions about the flipped model have been overwhelmingly positive. Papadopoulos, Santiago-Roman, and Portela (2010) administered a 42-question survey in their engineering statistics classes and concluded that students found the inverted method to be worthwhile, that the lessons were useful and interactive, and that the inverted method was preferable to the traditional lecture-based class. These findings are comparable to those concluded by Pedroni and Meyer (2006) who collected data from their computer science classes which were taught with an inverted framework. Pedroni and Meyer found that students' grade averages slightly increased from 4.0 to 4.1 and that satisfaction with the software used to run the online portion of the class (Traffic and Flag Hunt) increased from 2.7 to 2.9 based on a 1-5 Likert Scale. Finally, Zappe et al. (2009) found that, when flipping their engineering classes, students preferred only about half of the classes to be flipped so as to allow a reasonable amount of time for traditional lectures as well. By using video lectures on ITunes, Zappe et al. (2009) found that the online component allowed for increased teacher-student interaction and that students were willing to use out-of-class time to watch the videotaped lessons, with many of them watching portions of the videos multiple times in order to gain a better understanding of the concepts. A majority of their students (74%) felt that the flipped classrooms were helpful, and 75.3% agreed that the additional time spent in class working on problem-solving activities greatly enhanced their understanding

of the concepts. Despite this, most students said that the fully flipped class was not preferable over a partially flipped class.

An abundance of articles and websites can now easily be found which present teaching techniques that can be used to create a flipped classroom. For example, Gannod, Burge and Helmick (2007) present the flipped model in the context of a software engineering curriculum. For their study, they incorporated podcasting for out-of-class activities and cooperative learning for in-class activities, and demonstrate how the traditional classroom is drastically different from the inverted (or flipped) classroom. They highlight the benefits of flipping for both students and instructors, as well as answer general FAQs for teachers who might be interested in trying this method of instruction. A second example can be seen in Kellogg (2009), who developed online materials filled with open-ended problem-solving experiences for an industrial engineering course. By presenting materials with embedded interactions (the technological and conceptual phenomena of seamlessly integrating the means for interaction into everyday artifacts), Kellogg found that the inverted classroom helped to supplement and reinforce classroom concepts.

There are also many articles and websites which convey how to create a flipped classroom, step by step. Muldrow (2013), for example, provides a guide on flipping and demonstrates that any teacher can set up a flipped environment easily. By displaying how flipping works and how to get students involved in the flipped classroom, Muldrow's article is one of many that help teachers to incorporate the approach. Bergmann and Sams (2012) explicitly depict how to set up a flipped classroom in order to provide individualized instruction to every student in the class. Day and Foley (2006) present how web-based intervention plans help to improve student learning outcomes, providing a framework for other computer science teachers to follow. These articles are just a few that are also included in the myriad of blog posts and news articles showing how to set up a flipped classroom.

As detailed above, research on the flipped model at the tertiary level is filled with reports on how to flip, technology that can be used for flipping, and testaments of student satisfaction with the flipped model. However, few, if any, offer experimental data on the flipped approach in a controlled environment. Therefore, research along these lines is of the utmost importance. The present study seeks to add experimental data to the limited amount of research currently available on flipping, while also exploring the viability of flipping at the tertiary level with non-native English speaking students in Macao, China.

Methodology

Participants and Context

The current investigation was undertaken at an English-medium university in Macao, China. Student participants were all enrolled in a one-year English as a Foreign Language course at the university, a required course for General Education (GE). Ninety-one percent of the participants were first-year students at the university when the study was undertaken.

Two classes agreed to serve as participants in this study, and all students signed the Information and Consent form given to them at the beginning of the semester. The two classes were high-

intermediate levels, one referred to as Level 2 and the other as Level 3. Most of the students were Macau residents (75%) while the remaining 25% were from Mainland China. Both groups are ethnically Chinese, although the Macau residents speak Cantonese as their L1, and the Mainland Chinese speak Mandarin as their L1. The Level 3 class served as the experimental group which received instruction via a flipped approach, and the Level 2 class was the control group who received instruction in the regular, face-to-face mode that was not.

As the instructor for both courses, the researcher played the role of teacher-researcher guiding the students through various learning tasks with an overall framework of the flipped approach. At the time of the current study, the researcher had flipped various EFL classes for the past three years.

The current study is part of a larger investigation in which the researcher worked with two other colleagues to investigate the impact and effects of the flipped approach on ESL/EFL classes with data from questionnaires, classroom observations, interviews with students and teachers, teacher field notes, and teacher meetings from the Fall 2013 semester until the Spring 2015 semester. Several publications have resulted from these studies (Doman & Webb, 2014; Doman, Webb, & Pusey, 2015; Webb, Doman, & Pusey, 2014) and others are in press or under review (Doman & Webb 1 and 2, in press). The research project has extended beyond borders and involves comparative studies with students in three locations: Macau, the United States, and Colombia. Further studies will be undertaken on the flipped approach with students in Guam.

Data Collection

This study employs a mixed-methods approach. Data was collected from student scores on ten grammar quizzes (after instruction) and one final grammar examination, a pre-and post-instruction grammar survey, focus groups discussions, and written action logs. For the flipped (experimental) group, instruction was via videos which the students watched at home before coming to class. For the non-flipped (control) group, instruction was delivered in class via teacher-fronted instruction for 10-15 minutes once per week.

Instruction was given on the following 10 lesson topics.

Lesson 1: Commas
- placement in compound sentences
- placement after introductory elements
- placement with dependent phrases and clauses

Lesson 2: Commas (continued)
- placement around nonessential elements
- placement in a series
- placement with adjectives

Lesson 3: Commas (continued)
- using commas with quotations

- comma Abuse

Lesson 4: Simple present and present continuous

- question forms
- statement forms

Lesson 5: Past tense and past continuous

- question forms
- statement forms

Lesson 6: Present perfect and present perfect progressive
Lesson 7: Parallelism
Lesson 8: Conditionals (basic intro)
Lesson 9: Independent and dependent clauses
Lesson 10: adjective clauses (identifying and non-identifying)

Grammar Quizzes and Examination

Variable analysis was conducted on the data from the quizzes and the examination. The ten grammar quizzes were administered to students weekly from week 3-13 of the semester. Students in the flipped (experimental class) took the quizzes online after exposure to online instructional videos on the specified grammatical points, while students in the control (non-flipped class) received paper-based quizzes after in-class instruction. A cumulative final grammar exam was administered in the final week of class, week 14. While the flipped classroom participants took the exam online, the non-flipped classroom participants took the exam during class time on paper.

Surveys

The pre-instruction grammar survey was administered to the students during week 2 of the course, and the post-instruction grammar survey was administered during week 14 of the semester. Survey items sought to examine students' confidence in using technology for educational purposes. The results of the survey were used for triangulation of the data to see if the results of the grammar quizzes and pre- and post-tests were consistent with students' level of comfort with using technology for learning. Internal consistency of the questionnaire items was estimated by using Cronbach's alpha. The coefficients in this study range from .495 to .758, with reliability being concluded for an overall score of greater than 0.7.

Focus Groups

During week 14, focus groups were conducted with student volunteers by a neutral graduate assistant employed by the English Language Centre at the university. All focus group sessions were tape recorded and transcribed by a graduate assistant and were then coded by the researcher of this study through theme-based analysis. Five students from each section volunteered to participate in the focus group sessions.

Action Logs

For the duration of the semester, students in both the experimental and control classes kept daily action logs, which served as reflections for what they had learned in the class that day or from the online instruction at home. Action logs ranged from 3-10 sentences per day. Students in the experimental group and the control group posted their action logs on the class Moodle sites in forums.

Data Analysis

Grammar Scores on Pre- and Post-tests

Mixed-factorial analyses of variance were performed on the grammar scores to answer three main hypotheses: (1) if there is significant difference between the control group and experimental group; (2) if there are significant differences between the pre-test and post-test conditions; and (3) if there is a significant interaction between treatment groups and the pre-test/post-test conditions.

Results showed that students in the experimental group had a significantly higher mean compared to students in the control group. The post-test mean was also significantly higher compared to the pre-test mean. However, the interaction effect was not significant. While the pattern of estimated marginal means was similar to the results obtained from the overall data, the *F* test of interaction effects was severely underpowered ($1-\beta = .12$). See Table 1, 2 and 3 for the ANOVA results and descriptive statistics.

Comparison between Treatment Groups for Each Quiz

A series of Student's *t* tests were performed on each of the quizzes to determine if students in the experimental group scored higher than students in the control group. There was a significant difference in quiz scores between the control group and the experimental group only in Quiz #8. The direction of the difference, however, was not as expected. Students in the control group had significantly higher scores compared to the students in the experimental group. The differences for the rest of the quizzes were not statistically significant. Except for Quiz #8, the effect sizes were too small to moderate and the observed statistical power are way below the recommended cut-off of .80. See Table 4 for the Student's *t* test results and descriptive statistics.

Table 1
Analysis of variance results

	F	*p*	Partial η^2	Observed power ($1-\beta$)
	Macau			
Grammar Scores				
Treatment Group	9.05(1, 34)	.005	.21	.83
Pre-test / Post-test	4.82(1, 34)	.035	.12	.57
Treatment Group * Pre-test / Post-test	1.52(1, 34)	.225	.04	.22

Table 2
Descriptive statistics for the main effects

	Control Group			Experimental Group			Pre-Test			Post-Test		
	M	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*
Grammar Scores	63.88	11.20	16	73.15	10.05	20	67.05	11.65	36	71	11.12	36

Notes: Each subscript letter groups whose means do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table 3
Descriptive statistics for the interaction effects

	Control Group						Experimental Group					
	Pre Test			Post Test			Pre-Test			Post-Test		
	M	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*
Grammar Scores	63.06	11.95	16	64.69	10.73	16	70.25	10.64	20	76.05	8.74	20

Notes: Bonferroni pairwise analyses were conducted. Each subscript letter denotes groups whose means do not differ significantly from each other at the .05 level.

Table 4
Results of t-tests and descriptive statistics for each quiz by treatment group

Outcome	Group						95% CI for Mean Difference				
	Control			Experimental							
	M	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*		*t*	*df*	Cohen's *d*	Observed power (1-β)
Quiz #1	6.96	2.82	22	8.04	2.35	24	-2.62, .45	-1.43	44	-.42	.29
Quiz #2	7.46	1.47	22	7.21	3.36	24	-1.32, 1.81	.32	44	.09	.06
Quiz #4	8.82	2.11	22	9.50	2.04	24	-1.92, .55	-1.11	44	-.33	.19
Quiz #5	8.50	1.34	22	7.38	4.36	24	-.83, 3.08	1.16	44	.34	.21
Quiz #6	8.41	2.36	22	7.00	3.75	24	-.47, 3.29	1.51	44	.44	.31
Quiz #7	7.32	3.36	22	7.79	4.10	24	-2.71, 1.76	-.43	44	-.13	.07
Quiz #8	7.14	2.57	22	3.63	4.07	24	1.47, 5.56	3.46**	44	1.02	.92
Quiz #9	7.41	2.56	22	7.08	4.04	24	-1.71, 2.36	.32	44	.10	.06
Quiz #10	7.68	2.30	22	8.92	2.34	24	-2.61, .14	-1.80	44	-.53	.42

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Results from the technology survey yielded relatively neutral results. The survey results from students in the flipped class had a mean of 3.78 on questionnaire 1 and 3.64 on questionnaire 2 with an average mean of 3.71 on both surveys which indicates that students in the flipped courses had a neutral to relatively positive attitude of using technology to assist in their learning. The results in the flipped class

for technology presence were slightly higher than the non-flipped classes with a mean of 3.59 on questionnaire 1 and 2.78 on questionnaire 2 and average mean of 3.18 on both surveys. The non-flipped students remained relatively neutral with regards to technology. However, when the overall flipped and non-flipped means are compared, there are no significant differences. What is significant are the results from questions 2 and 4 of the survey, where the significance was 0.009, when significance is determined if less than or equal to 0.05.

Discussion

This study reported on the attainment of student learning outcomes (SLOs) and the acquiring of digital literacy through the flipped approach to language teaching and learning. With an experimental design of students in one class receiving flipped instruction and students in a second class receiving traditional instruction, the grades from grammar quizzes and an examination, survey results, focus group sessions and action log data were compared.

Results from the study show that students in the experimental group had a significantly higher mean compared to students in the control group when examining the pre-test and the post-test. This finding is in line with those by Papadopoulos, Santiago-Roman, and Portela (2010). This means that the uptake of grammar over the long-term was greater for students in the flipped classroom. However, when we look at individual quizzes for the ten weeks, there were no observable differences noted, and on one quiz (quiz #8), students in the control class actually scored higher than students in the experimental quiz, although the scores were not significant. Therefore, this leads to conclusions that the flipped class did not perform well on short-term memory but did perform better over a longer period of time, lending evidence to Pedroni and Meyer (2006) who found that students in the flipped class showed greater improvement in overall GPAs. With the flipped approach, students could review the videos long after the lesson had finished, as many times as they liked. Therefore, they were better prepared for the final post-test grammar exam.

Results of the technology survey showed that students in both groups (experimental and control) felt comfortable with using technology for educational purposes, but that students in the flipped class felt that life-long learning skills and feelings of empowerment were greater with the more constant use of technology for learning, based on the significance of questions 2 and 4 of the survey. Data from the focus groups and action logs likewise confirmed these findings. This evidence, observed within the larger projects by the author, support the flipped approach (Doman & Webb, 2014; Doman, Webb, & Pusey, 2015; Webb, Doman, & Pusey; 2014). While the above conclusions are necessarily tentative and further examination of qualitative data in a larger-scale study need to be considered, results do seem to indicate three themes related to technology:

1. Personalized instruction: Students can learn at their own paces. With the homework normally being in the form of videos and readings, information that was normally only available in the classroom is now accessible all the time.

2. Life-long learning skills: Through the flipped experience, students learn to take responsibility for their own learning. They are given real-life skills that they can use outside the classroom.

3. Empowerment: Students enjoy that they can have access to the technology and can therefore control when and where they learn. The use of technology for English class gives them a better handle of technology for other classes.

Limitations and Conclusions

This study is not without its limitations. First and foremost is the non-observance of the flipped approach on the actual writing skills of the students. While measuring SLOs as compared to grammar intake and students' perceptions was a fundamental starting point, further investigations are necessary to see if the flipped approach leads to improved writing. This will be the subject of future investigations.

Second, the study was limited in the small number of participants. There were 24 students in the experimental flipped class and 24 students in the control non-flipped class, but these numbers are not great enough to make conclusions about whether the flipped method was superior over traditional teaching, especially if we assume that the flipped approach helps to promote long-term working memory of the language more so than the regular approaches to teaching language. Future studies should include more participants in order to ensure wider generalizations is viable.

However, this study does address the gap in the literature on the lack of empirical evidence in support of the flipped method, especially with university-level Chinese learners studying English as a foreign language. Results showed that the flipped teaching methodology did affect students' perceptions of the use of technology for language learning. Students were less anxious with using technology, and felt empowered as they learned to master content with the aid of technology. The effects of the flipped approach on their long-term memory, as evidenced in the final post-test grammar exam, leads us to speculate that the students in the flipped class benefited from the longer exposure to the videos and causes us to assume that they took advantage of watching the videos repeatedly over the course of the semester (evidenced in action logs as well). This has implications for the use of the flipped approach throughout language, particularly ESL/EFL, instructional settings.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions honestly and to the best of your ability. The survey should take you between 5 - 10 minutes. If you don't understand something or have a question, ask your teacher!

1. Technology is helpful to me as I learn English.

   Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. I feel empowered when I have to use computer programs like Microsoft Word, Google Documents, Power point, etc.

   Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. Watching online videos, reviewing power point presentations, taking online quizzes, and participating in online discussions and peer reviews can help me be successful in the future.

   Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. Technology is good for life-long learning.

   Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

5. I know how to record my voice or video and share the file with others on an online class page.

   Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

6. I feel worried and anxious when a teacher asks me to use technology.

   Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

7. A classroom that uses technology can help me with my academic and career goals.

   Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. I do not know how to upload assignments to a class page or how to participate on an online class page and doing so makes me nervous.

   Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

9. I can easily understand how to learn and communicate on an online class page.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

10. I am worried when my teacher requires me to use Moodle.

Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree

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Japanese Undergraduate Students' English Communication Problems and Learning Motivation outside Formal Classroom Environment

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Abstract

This study explores current social and cultural factors related to Japanese university students' motivations and attitudes towards speaking English outside the formal classroom environment via a self-constructed questionnaire. Despite educational efforts of over two decades, the results indicated that although many of them had learned English for at least 8 years, they still experienced anxiety and lacked the necessary self-confidence to speak in English outside the classroom environment. A majority of them even tended to shy away from English-speaking situations and avoided interactions with foreign speakers. This study also showed that the student respondents in general had very limited exposure to English outside of the classroom. It was their unique cultural differences, as well as other social predispositions that resulted in these Japanese students' reluctance to use English in daily communication

Keywords: *teaching and learning; higher education; Japanese speakers; social context; English application*

Introduction

One of the members of our research team is a faculty of the English-language Library Science program at a university in Japan. In the past few years, he encountered some questions and challenges constantly in this specific context, for example:

- Why do my students become so shy and nervous when they need to speak English, both in and outside of the classroom?
- How can I help these students overcome their anxiety, and help them find English speaking a more enjoyable experience?
- Why do Japanese students have so much trouble simply saying 'Yes' or 'No,' or feel so uncomfortable in expressing their own opinions?
- Why are Japanese students so passive in their way of learning? Why are they so unwilling to take part in discussions?

We attempted to find ways to motivate the students, to help them take part more actively in basic discussions, or even just to “chit chat” with other foreign students on campus, without feeling embarrassed or being fearful of making mistakes. The guidelines for foreign languages of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology had increased the emphasis on communication and interaction in the late 1980s and early 2000s. Unfortunately, there seems to be little improvement over the past 25 years.

There are a handful of theoretical studies related to English as a second foreign language in the context of Japan in the 1990s to the 2000s, such as Shimizu (1995), Sakui and Gaies (1999), Kobayashi (2002), and Yashima (2002). There were also some disparate studies exploring these problems, such as Benson (1991), who pointed out the fact of low morale. Cogen (1995) suggested the lack of taking initiative, and Tanaka’s (2007) study showed limited interactions by students with host families during home stay in a study abroad program in New Zealand.

There is a strong need to find out the root causes of their current “problems,” i.e., what attitudes the Japanese students have towards the learning, as well as the daily use of the English language outside the formal learning environment. In this study, the authors explored the social and cultural factors behind such attitudes and their reluctance using a holistic approach. There are no recent studies on the motivation and attitudes of non-English speaking students in communicating in English outside of the formal classroom environment, especially for Japanese university students. With the exception of the work done by Yashima (2002), there is a lack of recent research on the attitudes towards the English language held by Library Science students outside the formal learning environment in Japan.

Background and Research Questions

One of the issues explored in this chapter is the attitudes of non-English speaking students in communicating in English outside of the formal classroom environment. Krech, Crutchfield, & Ballachey (1962, p. 29), define attitudes in the social psychology context as “enduring systems of positive or negative evaluations, emotional feelings, and pro or con action techniques with respect to social objects.” Dörnyei (1996) also states that learners with more favorable attitudes towards a second language and its speakers are likely to be more successful in language learning than otherwise.

English language learning and teaching can never be separated from the social-cultural contexts of education (Tachibana et al., 1996). It is important for educators to acknowledge students’ preferences and attitudes in order to better understand and provide for the students’ needs in their language learning. Further careful investigation of student attitudes and the root causes of such attitudes can help clarify the ways in which English education can be best adapted to suit their needs and requirements in specific contexts. This study therefore aims to contribute new information on Japanese university students’ attitudes towards using English for daily communication purposes, identifying different cultural and educational factors that are hindering students’ language proficiency and self-confidence. The result of this study can also provide insight on understanding non-native English speaking students’ attitudes towards using English for daily communication purposes.

Research Questions

The study reported here in this chapter was guided by the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the relationships between ***self***-confidence and the ***level of oral English proficiency*** amongst the Japanese student participants?

RQ2: To what extent do Japanese students experience English-speaking culture or opportunities in their daily life outside the university?

RQ3: How do student attitudes and perceptions affect their motivation and attitudes towards English learning?

Methodology

The participants of this study were upper division students at the University of Tsukuba in Japan. They were learning English as a foreign language, and they were majoring in Library and Information Science. A printed questionnaire (with both open and close-ended questions) was developed and administered to the participants during their classes. The questionnaire was administered anonymously, with students not being required to identify themselves. The students were also asked to record their overall comments about their feelings towards using English for daily communication purposes. In all, 111 completed questionnaires were received, representing 24% of the entire undergraduate population of the Faculty of Library, Information and Media Science. Out of all 111 students surveyed, 60% were female, with ages ranging from 21 to 23 years. They had all spent at least eight to ten years learning English in Japan. A majority of them (75.7%) have been learning English since junior high school (see Table 1).

Table 1. The English language learning background of subjects (N = 111).

Learning English Since	Number (in %)
Kindergarten	2 (1.8%)
Elementary School	21 (18.9%)
Junior high school	84 (75.7%)
Senior high school	2 (1.8%)
Not answered	2 (1.8%)

Findings

Students' Perceptions of the English Language and English Learning

In order to probe into our subjects' perceptions of the English language and English learning, we explored this topic through three survey items. As shown in Table 2, a large number of our subjects found English to be a difficult language. At the same time, they understood that English is important especially for future employment. They also agreed that English is important as it is an international language, since English is so widely spoken outside of Japan. Such results indicated that students viewed English as increasingly important in getting a job skill in Japan because Japan is facing increasing demands of

internationalization. No doubt, with globalization and the role Japan plays in the international market, English proficiency is naturally viewed as a desirable skill that will lead to better job opportunities after graduating from university. This observation is in line with Sakui and Gaies (1999). The data suggests that the Japanese education system has not really done well in terms of adequately ***preparing students with the language skills*** necessary for the job market. In fact, the results reflected that a majority of the Japanese students who had studied English for at least eight years in Japan still have a difficult time in carrying out simple conversations with native English speakers. The reasons behind the students' language difficulties and their lack of self-confidence are further discussed in the following sub-sections.

Table 2. Students' perceptions of the English language and English learning

Response	Male	Female	Total
Question: Do you think English is important?			
Yes, I think English is very important.	27	34	61 (55.0%)
Yes, I think English is only important for my future work.	11	16	27 (24.3%)
Yes, I think English is only important in school & university.	3	9	12 (10.8%)
Question: What do you think of English Language			
I think English is a very difficult language.	13	31	44 (39.6%)
I think English is important for my future job/career.	13	20	33 (29.7%)
I dislike/hate learning English, but I have to for my current area of study at university. And I will continue learning English even after university.	10	17	27 (24.3%)
Question: What do you think about English as an international language?			
I think it is logical to make English the international language, since English is so widely spoken in many parts of the world.	22	27	49 (44.1%)
This is why I want to learn English so much.	9	14	23 (20.7%)
No comment.	8	12	20 (18.0%)

Notes:
(1) Our subjects are allowed to select multiple answers in responding to these questions. We only present the top 3 most chosen responses in our analysis.
(2) Percentages are calculated for the total column by dividing the responses by the total number of respondents (i.e., 111).

English Learning outside the University

Given that the current education system is not performing adequately in Japan, and students in general lacked the necessary confidence and initiatives to converse directly with foreigners, a majority of them did not see the benefits and the need of attending a private language school outside university. In fact, the results indicated that many students actually saw such private and small-class English teaching as a waste of time and money, as well as being too expensive. In fact, the majority of Japanese students did not attend a private language school. As Seki (2004, p. 139) explains,

> …these (private language) schools generally focus entirely on English conversation, taught by native English speakers. There are some problems with those schools and one of these is that the vast majority of 'teachers' have no teaching experience or qualification, but also that they are expensive. The standard annual tuition for one-hour lessons in the evening after work one or two days a week will easily cost around 2,000 or 3,000 pounds.

Seki (2004) further explains that the high tuition fees are probably the main reason why the majority of the students choose not to attend these private language schools more often. In fact, many students of such private language schools are not university students, but working adults, who need to pass certain examination, or feel the need of communicative English for their work or travel. Tables 3 and 4 summarize our findings.

Table 3. Apart from your University seminars & lectures, how often you speak English in a week? (N = 108)

Response	Male	Female	Total
Not so often. Because I am not so confident in speaking English. (Note 1)	22	35	57 (52.8%)
Never! I just dislike/hate speaking English. (Note 2)	6	11	17 (15.3%)
Not so often. Because I feel embarrassed & worry that other Japanese people might laugh at me.	7	4	11 (9.9%)
Never! Because of other reasons. (Note 3)	2	8	10 (9.0%)
Not so often. Because I feel embarrassed & worry that other native English speakers/foreigners might laugh at me.	2	5	7 (6.5%)
Very often, almost every week.	3	3	6 (5.6%)

Notes:

(1) A female respondent indicated that, "Almost all people whom I met are Japanese, so I do have the opportunity to speak English".

(2) A male respondent explained that "I don't have to (speak in English)", in addition to disliking the language.

(3) A male respondent gave a reason for not having to speak English, i.e., because he had "No opportunity" to do so. In addition, some of the female respondents provided reasons for "Never" having to speak English outside of the university lectures, including "I don't have to speak English, because my friends are Japanese"; "I don't have [the] opportunity"; "I'm learning English in class (only)"; "I'm busy with job finding"; and "時間がないから = Because I have no time".

(4) Percentages are calculated for the total column by dividing the responses by the total number of respondents answered this section of the survey (i.e., 108).

Table 4. Are you currently taking any private English lessons (outside the University)?

Response	Male	Female	Total
No, I don't want to waste my time & money for private English lessons.	23	30	53 (47.7%)
I want to take private English lessons, but I am already too busy with university assignments.	10	12	22 (19.8%)
I want to take private English lessons, but private lessons are too expensive.	5	17	22 (19.8%)
I think the English lessons/classes offered by the University are already good enough. There are no needs for extra lessons.	6	10	16 (14.4%)

Notes:
(1) Our subjects are allowed to select multiple answers in responding to these questions. We only present the top 4 most chosen responses in our analysis.
(2) Percentages are calculated for the total column by dividing the responses by the total number of respondents (i.e., 111).

Difficulties in Learning English Faced by Japanese Students

We also probe into the difficulties of learning faced by Japanese students, and our findings are presented in Table 5. In terms of the difficulties faced by Japanese students, not surprisingly, "Listening and conversation" was the most common response amongst our subjects. At the same time, most students indicated their desire for the ability to communicate effectively with the native speakers, i.e., including being able ***to engage in basic conversations, as well as having the ability to understand and be understood*** amongst foreigners. Our findings are in line with those of Benson (1991) and Sakui & Gaies (1999). The result indicated that students lacked the necessary language proficiency, as well as the self-confidence to communicate effectively. According to Adachi (2009) it is not so common for Japanese people to communicate in any foreign language on the street. Japanese students also seldom have any personal inter-cultural contacts with foreigners, experts or their foreign teachers." Gudykunst (1998) further explains that the Japanese have a collective culture and use high-context communication, and they have a comparatively homogeneous community. That leads them to use Japanese style communication strategies most of the time, and this results in difficulties for people from other cultures to understand them (Knower, 2002). Another reason for their lack of self-confidence could be a result of the lack of practice. Pease (2006) explains that students memorize English vocabulary, learn grammar, and translate passages from the textbook in much the same ways as ancient Latin text was studied. Chujo (2010, p. 21) also pointed out that "prior to students' entrance into a university, their previous 6 years of English education are focused on mastering grammar and vocabulary, because gaining a high score on the test is their focus, not the acquiring of conversational competence. The above situation has brought about the situation where English is being taught and learned as academic knowledge, not for the purpose of communication." On another note Ohtaka (1996) noted that English phonetic training is not actually practised in the classrooms in Japan.

Table 5. Difficulties in learning English faced by Japanese students

Response	Male	Female	Total
Which is/are the most difficult aspect(s) of the English language?			
Listening and conversation	25	29	54 (48.6%)
Grammar and vocabulary	14	28	42 (37.8%)
Writing	15	14	29 (26.1%)
Which is/are the most important aspect(s) of the English language to you?			
I want the native speakers and other foreigners to understand me well, without causing confusions.	19	34	53 (47.7%)
Basic pronunciation & correct accent is important, but the correct pronunciation is almost impossible.	17	22	39 (35.1%)
Pronunciation and the correct accent are very important to me and I think I could achieve that by hard work.	7	12	19 (17.1%)
What is/are most important English task(s) for you?			
Being able to listen & understand English native speakers and other foreigners.	21	30	51 (45.9%)
Basic conversations with English native speakers & other foreigners.	17	32	49 (44.1%)
Being able to read newspapers & academic journals.	17	20	37 (33.3%)

Notes:
(1) Our subjects are allowed to select multiple answers in responding to these questions. We only present the top 3 most chosen responses in our analysis.
(2) Percentages are calculated for the total column by dividing the responses by the total number of respondents (i.e., 111).

Students' Desire to Study Aboard

Our results in Table 6 also reflect that for most students, studying abroad is not something they would likely consider in the near future. Only a very small number of the respondents, mostly male, indicated that they planned to go overseas for further studies. According to the *Japan Times Weekly* (2011), the number of Japanese students studying abroad has been falling mainly because they fear that if they studied abroad, they may lose the chance to find employment when they return to Japan after their studies. This is because many enterprises stop accepting applications for work before students reach the fourth year of college. The results also indicated that in terms of planning to study overseas, m***ale students seemed to outnumber their female*** counterparts. According to Nishio (2001), both Japanese male and female students were equally concerned about the lack of language proficiency, but female students tended to have more concerns than males, and that could be related to indeterminateness. Further, Nishio (2001) pointed out that the issues raised by female students, especially among single female students with financial support from their parents which is whether they would get married and their parents' continued well-being and happiness. In addition, the age concern also worsened their worries about whether they would find a job, and whether they would be able to have children later.

Table 6. Planning for continuing education in an English speaking country (n = 107)

Response	Male	Female	Total
No, I don't. If I want to continue my education, it will be in Japan.	18	42	60 (56.1%)
Yes, I have thought about it, but don't know exactly when.	6	11	17 (15.9%)
I don't know.	8	8	16 (15.0%)
Yes, I am planning to go very soon.	4	0	4 (3.7%)
Yes, I plan to go in a few years.	7	3	10 (9.3%)

Note: Percentages are calculated for the total column by dividing the responses by the total number of respondents who answered this section of the survey (i.e., 107).

Japanese Students' Anxiety in Speaking English

The results indicated that a majority (59.4%) of them, and mostly female, only got to speak English a few times a year. On the other hand, 26.1% of them said that they would only talk to Japanese speakers. Meanwhile, 9.9% of them said that when foreigners wanted to talk to them, they would pretend "not understanding English." The results also indicated that the female students apparently had more contacts with the native-English speakers in comparison to the male students. Not surprisingly, only a small number of them got to speak English on a weekly or daily basis. According to Nitta (2004), her description of Japanese young people attending a Japanese school stated that they study all subjects in Japanese with Japanese teachers dispatched by the Japanese government, speak Japanese at home with their parents, and socialize primarily with other Japanese outside of school. Such results further verify the notion that students' language deficiency and their lack of self-confidence were a result of a lack of practice (see Tables 3 and 7).

Table 7. Talking with native English speakers or foreigners outside of a classroom (N = 111)

Response	Male	Female	Total
Yes, but a few times a year.	3	63	66 (59.4%)
Never. I prefer to only talk to people who can speak Japanese.	1	28	29 (26.1%)
Never. When native speakers or foreigners want to talk to me, I pretend that I do not understand English.	8	3	11 (9.9%)
Yes, every week.	3	1	4 (3.6%)
Yes, very often, almost every day.	1	0	1 (0.9%)

Shyness and Discomfort in Speaking English in Public Places

Not surprisingly, the results indicated that students in general felt uncomfortable, embarrassed and lacked the necessary self-confidence in speaking English in public places. A majority of them would simply walk away when they saw foreigners in public. Despite of that, a large number of them indicated that they would still "give it a try to help," even though they did not feel so confident. Meanwhile, a small group of them indicated that would only speak English when they are not amongst Japanese friends. Three

respondents indicated that they did not have the opportunity to speak English in public places (see Tables 3 and 8).

Table 8. Have you ever talked in English in public places? (N = 105)

Response	Male	Female	Total
No. I'm not confident in speaking English in public places. When I see foreigners in public, I try to walk away.	15	19	34 (32.4%)
Yes. Although I am not confident, I speak English to foreigners when they ask me for directions or other information.	14	19	33 (31.3%)
No. I feel embarrassed to speak English at public places. I only speak English in public when I am not amongst Japanese friends.	4	13	17 (16.2%)
Yes. I feel confident talking in English in public places. I only talk to foreigners when they come to talk to me first.	7	7	14 (13.3%)
Yes, I feel confident talking English in public places. When I see foreigners in public places, I go to them and ask if they need any help.	2	2	4 (3.8%)
Others (please see Note 1)	0	3	3 (2.9%)

Note: (1) Examples of other responses: "No opportunity to do so"; "No, I haven't had such a chance"; and "I have never been to public places, where I must speak English".

Hayashi & Cherry (2004) also reported similar risk-avoidance tendency amongst the Japanese students. According to them, Japanese students tend to show a more "authority-oriented" method of learning. This may be because they are more familiar with this "traditional" style of learning. This kind of authority-oriented teacher influence on students can be attributed to the traditional teacher-student relationships in Confucian heritage, in which the teacher is considered the key source of knowledge. Thus, students strongly rely on the teacher's instructions and beliefs. In other words, instead of initiating their own learning activities, Japanese students would rather wait passively for the teacher to provide the answers. As explained by Hayashi & Cherry (2004),

> …this may be explained in cultural terms as Japanese collectivism, or a general shyness and unwillingness among Japanese students to take risks. The reluctance to be more active, particularly during speaking activities, has been reported by researchers, and is clearly at odds with the communicative approach (p. 90).

Reasons behind Students' Anxiety When Speaking English

With reference to students' anxiety and embarrassment when facing English-speaking situations, the most common response was that they were "afraid to make mistakes in public when speaking English," "Japanese students do not want to make mistakes & cause confusion in public," and "in Japan, it is rude to leave someone in confusion & not being able to answer their questions." The second and the third most common responses were that students were "too shy to speak in English" and they worry "that other English native speakers and foreigners will laugh at them" (see Table 9). According to Horwitz,

Horwitz, & Cope (1986), speaking publicly in the target language is extremely "anxiety-provoking." McCoy (1979) also mentioned that "students frequently enter the second language classroom with fears and anxieties" (p. 185). Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope (1986) also explained that anxious students tend to fear making mistakes while speaking, and feel frustrated about their inability to present their ideas and express themselves in the target language. In addition to risk avoidance, Price (1991) also pointed out "their fear of being laughed at" or "making fools of themselves" being the major factors that made students anxious. Price (1991) also reported that students worry about their non-native accent and making pronunciation errors. According to Hayashi & Cherry (2004), "making mistakes in front of others is considered to be especially embarrassing in Japanese culture and may at least partly account for this concern with accuracy" (p. 85). Both Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope (1986) and Price (1991) reported that Japanese students in general tend to suffer from a high level of anxiety, as they first need to translate ideas and construct sentences in English within a limited time. This is a significant factor in inducing anxiety. Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope (1986) further explained that foreign-language anxiety is closely associated with the inability to present one's idea and opinions, which can undermine self-esteem and threaten one's self-image. In addition, such inabilities to pronounce words correctly or use correct grammar can lead to negative evaluation by others, and the inability to comprehend spoken questions can lead to confusion and embarrassment about how to respond or act. According to Koba, Ogawa, &Wilkinson (2000), Japanese students tend to have anxiety about speaking in front of other students, and they are likely to be afraid of 'taking risks.'

Table 9. Why are so many Japanese university students afraid or become nervous to speak English both in and outside of the classroom

Response	Male	Female	Total
Because for Japanese to say something to someone, they have to ensure that everything has to be correct; this applies to all languages including English and Japanese.	13	27	40 (36.0%)
Because they are too shy to speak English.	13	18	31 (27.9%)
Because they worry that other English native speakers and foreigners will laugh at them.	10	15	25 (22.5%)

Notes:
(1) Our subjects are allowed to select multiple answers in responding to these questions. We only present the top 3 most chosen responses in our analysis.
(2) Percentages are calculated for the total column by dividing the responses by the total number of respondents (i.e., 111).

Methods of Self-Learning Preferred Amongst the Subjects

When our subjects were asked what learning activities they undertook for improving their English skills on their own, a majority of them preferred a more passive and non-communicative style of learning, i.e., reading books and magazines in English. In contrast, out of all the 111 subjects, only four of them would choose to converse directly with native English-speaking foreigners for enhancing their oral skills (see Table 10). In the same vein, Koba, Ogawa, & Wilkinson (2000) also pointed out that English teaching

in Japan still focuses on grammar and translation exercises, although there is an increasing demand to improve communicative competence. Given the historical and social contexts, if interactions are not fostered and encouraged within the classroom, it will rarely occur outside the classroom. Interestingly and contrary to their responses, when students were asked what could be done to help them overcome their fear to speak English, a reasonably large number of them suggested that the university should recruit more native English teachers to help students with their English individually or in small groups. In other words, although the Japanese students tend to shy away from English-speaking situations, many of them still recognize the importance and benefits of authentic language learning. Only via direct interactions with native speakers can students learn how to properly pronounce words and phrases in a natural way. In addition, students can receive instant and accurate feedback from native speakers to help them overcome various speech-pattern-related problems.

Table 10. Methods of self-learning preferred amongst the subjects

Response	Male	Female	Total
What are you doing to improve your English skills?			
Read English books, newspapers & magazines.	18	31	49 (44.1%)
Watching English movies OR TV programs.	12	19	31 (27.9%)
Do nothing. I'm too lazy to learn English.	8	16	24 (21.6%)
What do you think could help Japanese university students overcome their fear to speak English?			
Students should find their own ways to learn since everyone's learning style, pace & interests are different.	10	21	31 (27.9%)
Japanese schools/university should hire more native English teachers to help students (one-to-one or in small groups) with their English skills.	11	18	29 (26.1%)
Don't know and don't care.	8	10	18 (16.2%)

Notes:
(1) Our subjects are allowed to select multiple answers in responding to these questions. We only present the top 3 most chosen responses in our analysis.
(2) Percentages are calculated for the total column by dividing the responses by the total number of respondents (i.e., 111).

Discussion

According to McConnell (1999), "the notion that virtually every student goes through 6 to 10 years of English instruction, but remains unable to converse with a native speaker, even in rudimentary terms, is now so much a part of Japanese perceptions of their own national character that one hears this lament time and time again from the Japanese in all walks of life. Former Prime Minister Takeshita, himself a former English teacher, was especially fond of poking fun at the poor state of English education in Japan, often at his own expense" (p. 52). This reconciles with our findings that students felt nervous and embarrassed when they had to speak English in public places, as they ***worried about making mistakes in the presence*** of others. In addition to their fear of being ridiculed, Japanese people often face difficulties in expressing their opinions. Such general shyness and unwillingness to take risks may be the results of

the students' own socio-cultural backgrounds. In fact, many researchers pointed out that Japanese people in general are not used to people or things which are different from the homogenous Japanese norm. Japanese people are also not comfortable with uncertainty. As explained by Aiga (1990), expressing one's opinions or ideas or participating in group discussions is not common in Japan. It is believed that this is closely related to the Japanese culture, where it is not the custom to express one's opinion. For example, an old Japanese proverb which says "go along with others," and they are especially reluctant to express their opinion to someone of higher status such as their teachers. Hayashi (1997) had noted that when Japanese students were asked what made a good student, they responded that good students do not interrupt the procedure of the class and should be quiet. Kindaichi (1978) also reported similar findings, i.e., Japan's linguistic homogeneity, and group oriented culture could make foreign language learning difficult. Japanese people are reluctant to offer opinions, debate or stand out of the fear of either making a mistake, or being perceived as more capable than their peers, even in their mother tongue.[1]

With reference to their language-learning environment, access to proficient English users outside of the university is often found to be difficult. Many did not have an opportunity to study or use English outside the classroom environment, as most of these Japanese students are living in an entirely Japanese-speaking context, and rarely get to meet English speakers on a daily basis (see Tables 3 and 7). Many researchers such as Benson (1991) have also commented that the homogeneous, monolingual society of Japan is not a favorable environment for learning English. This can be expected to impact students' overall motivation and attitude in a significant manner. Furthermore, for many years, Japan has been linguistically and culturally self-sufficient. For example, Japan has been able to export many cultural products, such as Japanese pop music, films, television dramas, comic books, and animated films. Owing to these reasons and in so far as one lives in Japan, there is no urgent necessity to speak any language other than Japanese for social or communication purposes.

With reference to the regular learning mode amongst the Japanese students, Seki (2004) explained that the teaching of more communication skills, such as speaking and listening, and more student-oriented learning, such as group study and creative work is indeed very rare in Japan. In addition, a majority of the English teachers are Japanese. Though this varies with universities, smaller and more communicative classes (usually taught by native English speakers) are usually optional and accept only a limited number of students. Furthermore, Japanese teachers of English also tend to teach English based

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[1] On one occasion (in May, 2012), one of the co-authors asked a female Junior student why Japanese students are so reluctant to speak out in class, and she gave the following explanation in her own words:

> First, Japanese tend to [be] reserve[d] from stating their opinion till they think that they understand 100%. We tend to aim to [be] perfect in public (I mean, in front of another person). So, if foreigners speak to us in English, most of the time we would remain silent because we are left in confusion. Secondly, we are raised with the idea, "You shouldn't do things that spoil the harmony among the members" or "Stand out from the crowd and you just invite trouble for yourself." So most Japanese dislike to standout. That's why they don't speak voluntarily. Thirdly, people tend to extremely dislike being humiliated (we think making mistakes in front of another person is typical of that) in the cultural climate of Japan. We become extremely frightened because of that fear. Fourthly, [I belong to this group], they might have [a]small [limited] vocabulary or cannot find relevant words to express something they want to say, and we are left in confusion. As stated above, we tend to aim at perfection. So we become very nervous because we think of ourselves as imperfect.

on Japanese communication patterns. Consequently, Japanese students tend to speak and understand English based on such Japanese communication patterns, i.e., including their different choice of vocabularies, sentence structures and pronunciation. All these cause difficulties for the Japanese in terms of communicating with non-Japanese speakers. As the survey results indicated, the biggest problems with English for these Japanese students are listening and conversation, followed by grammar and vocabulary (see Table 5). The Japanese language has no close relations to most other languages, including English. As Pease (2006) pointed out, "English language students in Japan do not develop listening and speaking skills, because they are not exposed to native English speakers or are taught by Japanese English teachers who can teach vocabulary and grammar without adequate English speaking skills. The lack of these skills negatively influences the students' ability to pronounce English words correctly" (p. 54). Mendelsohn (1995) further explained that the first reason why listening is often poorly taught is that traditional second/ foreign language listening materials are often not suitable for instructing students to listen in the real world. The content is often thoroughly inappropriate, boring, irrelevant, or downright patronizing.

For most Japanese students, the ability to understand spoken English and ***to speak with correct pronunciation*** is a slow process, and would evolve with much and constant exposure immersion and involvement of any second-language learners. Therefore, they perceive using English be an intimidating experience, with discomfort, high anxiety, low confidence, embarrassment, as well as a lack of initiatives for direct oral communications with foreigners. In addition, self-confidence is related to self-esteem, self-efficacy, and even anxiety. Parallel to Pease (2006)'s findings, students are reluctant to do so, because of their fear and a lack of self-confidence in their English-speaking abilities. Students who have a low degree of self-confidence are easily threatened by any difficult tasks. In addition, their fear of negative reactions, loss of face, and feelings of incompetence and helplessness amongst their peers are the other compelling reasons for the students to remain silent or to shy away from English-speaking situations.

Conclusion and Implications

The Japanese student participants in this study exhibited a range of attitudes towards learning English. Understanding their motivation, attitudes and related factors to these is particularly important to teachers, as it enables them to better understand and meet learners' specific needs. According to Aline (1999), English taught at the Japanese universities is almost entirely around reading and translating, and the students were seldom given the opportunities for oral communication. Furthermore, most of the instructions concentrate merely on the explanations of grammatical rules, with almost no opportunity for practicing the actual use of the English language in meaningful contexts. Consequently, students become very passive in learning and also perceive it as individual work, resulting in students' language skills that are more academic than communicative. This might explain why students' responses indicated a lack of willingness to communicate in English in 'real situations,' and therefore basic spoken English still remains difficult for them even in their senior year.

The results suggested that a majority of these Japanese students have little exposure to English in their daily life because Japan is a largely monolingual society and language learning via direct interaction with native speakers outside the classroom could be something they are unaccustomed to and find

intimidating *as a* task. “Unusual reactions” amongst the Japanese people towards the speaking of English are often ***beyond the understanding of many foreigners.*** Both the unique Japanese language and culture have further complicated the understanding of spoken English for the Japanese students.

The study also found that despite having low English proficiency, students in general still recognized the importance of acquiring the language for their future. Only a small number of the participants expressed having negative attitudes towards using English outside the classroom environment.

A number of implications can be drawn from the conclusion. There is the implication for the students who seriously need to increase their contacts with both the English language and especially with native speakers outside the classroom, because the English language is an essential tool to communicate with other people around the world and also to obtain information over the Internet. Second there is also the implication of the need for attitude change for students which can happen at home or via school programs. Avoiding English entirely is not a realistic option for Japanese students, because English language competency is essential today. The implication for the conclusion that Japanese students have fearful attitudes about speaking English may mean that the schools must begin strong programs to support attitude change. Perhaps early intervention at the early school level can help as well as at home via parental workshops and outreach.

It should be highlighted that the findings of this study cannot be generalized to all Japanese university students yet. Further and continuous research on Japanese university students’ attitudes and motivation is recommended, because they will be changing along with both the Japanese society and culture. It is hoped that the present study will add to the recent efforts to broaden the research agendas relating to the attitudes and motivation towards English learning amongst Japanese university students, as well as the reforming of English curricula in Japan. The study can provide insights to other researchers to build upon their research an element of probing into the learning issues of non-native English speakers learning in the English medium.

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Māori Academic Success: Why the Deficit Perspectives?

S 'Apo' Aporosa

Abstract

Academics have long discussed the power of communication to both motivate and discourage. Concerning education, Paulo Freire (1997) had explained the dialogical learning process and the empowerment that comes from the inclusion of student knowledge. Alternatively, Carlson & Dimitriadis (2003) describe disempowerment and underachievement among Afro-American students resulting from societal expectations that they will fail.

In a recent education environment scan focused on the Waikato-Tainui *rohe*, 28 *kaupapa* Māori education providers were identified as sites of high educational success, with one described as "outshining private schools and bucking national trends" (Carson, 2013). This aside, perceptions of generalized educational failure among Māori are commonplace in Aotearoa New Zealand. These impressions are fed by the media, the Ministry of Education (MOE) and in some cases, academic publications.

This paper discusses the power of deficit models and counter-narratives to academic underachievement. This will be juxtaposed with commentary on why some students and their education providers within the Waikato-Tainui *rohe* appear to be unaffected by these counter-narratives and deficit theorizing.

Keywords: *Māori; Waikato-Tainui; education; underachievement; deficit perspectives; empowerment*

Introduction

Until mid-2013, I was under the impression I knew quite a bit about Māori education and how today's descendants of the Pasifika voyagers, who settled in Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ) approximately 850 years ago, were achieving academically. As a New Zealand born Pasifikan[1] of Fijian ancestry, I had negotiated and failed within the New Zealand education system during the 1970s, leaving without any qualifications, a situation that exemplified many of my Māori schoolmates. In one sense, I understood the struggle of those friends; education just didn't seem to make sense. Anyway, we had repeatedly been told by our teachers we were going to fail, and when this came to fruition, I don't recall feeling surprised. With very few options, I joined the Army shortly after leaving school at 16 years of age and, following an

[1] Pasifika/Pasifikan is a term often applied in ANZ and Australia to those of Pacific Island ancestry as a collective and/or those who live in a 'foreign' country, whether as visitors, recent migrants, or even those born in that 'foreign' country, who identify first and foremost with their ancestral homeland in the Pacific (Aporosa, 2015, p.59).

accident, left the Army and was accepted into the New Zealand Police, something I was told had only been possible because I had achieved highly from a practical sense in the Army, and that this had compensated for my lack of academic success. I enjoyed these jobs, greatly assisted by the high number of Māori associates I worked with, many of whom also seemed to do well in a practical setting that did not require above average academic skills. At the same time, I occasionally caught up with some of my old Māori schoolmates, often watching them struggle with employment opportunities or being restricted to lowly skilled jobs. And throughout these years, the rhetoric regarding Māori academic failure didn't seem to alter much either. Whether from the wider community, teachers, the New Zealand Ministry of Education (MoE) or the media, I simply sucked up what was being repeated or reported and unquestioningly accept that Māori, and the increasing numbers of Pasifikans entering ANZ, were always going to struggle academically.

In the late 1990s, after leaving the Police, I began a 10-year period as a development worker at an isolated rural secondary school in Fiji. During that time, I was increasingly asked to add to the teaching curriculum of the Year 9 and 10 students. This was most often in the area of geography as ANZ is the country of study for Fijian geography students although a place very few Fijian geography teachers had ever visited. As my teaching opportunities increased, I would often muse that I, a failure at school, was now teaching. More importantly, I realized that I was doing a fairly reasonable job at it, and that the success of this was due more to simply 'discussing' ANZ geography themes 'with' fellow Pasifikans as opposed to 'at' them, which included using local language and references to create links in order to teach a theme. An example of this was to bring sachets of dehydrated coconut cream from ANZ. I would have the students mix this without seeing the packaging and then ask them to guess what it was. This was used as a spring-board into discussion on export to consider dehydration as aiding weight reduction to facilitate freight volumes although we would also discuss disadvantages such as issues of taste when considered against locally grated and squeezed coconut cream.

In another example, I took ANZ yams to the school. This produce is extremely small (the size of an adult male's thumb) when compared with Fijian yams (often as large as a rugby ball). After cooking these and guessing what they were, this opened up discussion on climate as a factor in produce size, with ANZ being vastly colder than Fiji. Fijian culture, through joking and veiled suggestion, links the size of yams with the size of the farmers', usually males, genitalia. Due to the size of yams from ANZ, this naturally led to veiled jokes by the students about the appendage size of ANZ men, which provided a link into discussion on culturally framed joking and explanations on how this type of rhetoric tends to be ethnicity situated and understood as opposed to having universal understanding. Essentially, I would look at the curriculum theme, and even though it was about New Zealand geography, I would search for local references to create application and links to assist student learning, which I presented in discussion format as opposed to a presentation or lecture. This led me to consider how people learn, contrasting that with my own schooling experience in ANZ, which included me contemplating whether things would have been different had my teachers framed my learning around my world views and ways of understanding as opposed to a *one-size-fits-all* Eurocentric teaching approach (see Footnote 6 for more on Eurocentric "white-stream" teaching approaches).

This pondering moved to a new level when I was asked to advise on aspects of education development in Fiji, prompting me to enroll as a distance learning student at ANZ's Massey University. Eleven years later, I graduated with a PhD in Development Studies with my doctoral thesis having focused on the importance of cultural identity to academic achievement from a Fijian perspective. While the leap from improvising as a geography teacher to doctoral graduate sounds simple, it was the greatest challenge of my life and impossible without the support of many people including my extremely patient wife and Massey University's *Pasifika@Massey* Pasifika student support service. Although this led to new understanding on Pasifika ways of learning, which often differ from Eurocentric approaches, at no time did I ever stop and consider that those same conditions may explain the Māori education experience. I simply continued, blindly, unquestioningly accepting the rhetoric that Māori underachievement was inevitable.

In mid-2013, I joined the research team at the *Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development* (the *Waikato-Tainui College*[2]), an academic and research institution established by Waikato-Tainui, about which I will explain shortly. One of my first tasks at the *Waikato-Tainui College* was to prepare an education environment scan to provide a foundation for the next step, the development of a Waikato-Tainui education strategy by their *Tribal Development Unit*. Within a few days of commencing that report (Tiakiwai, Kilgour & Aporosa, 2013), I found my assumptions about Māori education being seriously called into question.

This paper is the result of my learning and movement from a place of ignorance which, from experience, also reflects a position held by a large portion of New Zealand society and even some academics. I commence by briefly introducing Waikato-Tainui, a Māori sub-tribe who provide a valuable comparison with mainstream discourse concerning Māori educational achievement. This is followed with an overview of selected Ministry of Education (MoE), media and academic commentary which I argue

[2] The *Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development* (the *Waikato-Tainui College*) was opened by the late Māori Queen, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, in February 2000 and funded from the 1995 *Waikato Raupatu Settlement*. This 'Settlement', comprising land and cash valued at $170 million, was awarded to Waikato-Tainui by the New Zealand Government as part of a formal apology for the unlawful confiscation of their land (887,808 acres/3596 square kilometres, and known as the *raupatu*) during the Aotearoa land wars in the 1860s (MHC, 2014). The *Waikato-Tainui College* was founded by Waikato-Tainui tribal statesman, Oxford University graduate and politician, Sir Robert Mahuta, and has two distinct arms; it is the tribe's research and academic facility and a venue for the growth of tribal leaders, researchers and academics. It is a "contemporary whare waananga [traditional house of learning] that draws on maatauranga Maaori [traditional knowledge] and indigenous knowledge systems to develop models of excellence" (Heremaia, 2013; double vowels deliberate, see Footnote 3 for explanation) guided by the principles and values of *Kiingitanga* (see explanation near the end of the Introduction section) and Waikato-Tainui's *Whakatupuranga 2050 Strategic Plan* (W-TCRD, 2013). The *Waikato-Tainui College* offers the *Taahuhu Maatauranga Maaori Masters Programme* (a two-year *kaupapa* Māori course) and an indigenous leadership inspired Masters of Business Administration (MBA) qualification as part of an affiliation with The University of Waikato's Management School for Corporate and Executive Education. In 2011, the *Waikato-Tainui College* was awarded an international MBA Innovation Award from the London-based Association of MBAs (Harmes, 2011) in recognition of the "quality of the programme [run at the *College*] and uniqueness of its curriculum" (Waikato Business News, 2013).

perpetuate the generalization that Māori are failing educationally. I then contrast this with my own learning which grew out of reports from *kaupapa* Māori schools within the Waikato-Tainui *rohe* (traditional boundary, area or region) which I used to inform the Waikato-Tainui education environment scan.

Pihama et.al. (2004) explained that *kaupapa* Māori early childcare (pre-school) and compulsory education (5-16 years of age) schools such as Māori-centric learning environments were guided and driven by Māori language, traditions, culture, values and "traditional concepts of learning". Essentially it is education provision "*for Maori by Maori*" as opposed to the "educating of Maori", and involves the wider family in a holistic approach to learning and identity solidification (2004, p.34). This is vastly different to main-stream education provision which is mostly Eurocentric in influence, with the exception that many secondary schools (year 9-12) offer Māori language as an optional, although standalone, subject. As at April 2016, the MoE recorded 74 *kaupapa* Māori schools (year 1-12) within their *Education Counts* website; this being slightly less than three percent of the total 2545 schools in ANZ. Concerning Waikato-Tainui *kaupapa* Māori schools, *Kiingitanga* values dominate as the guiding ethos[3]. *Kiingitanga* refers to the Māori King Movement which was established in 1858, and aimed at uniting Māori tribes under a single chiefly monarch with the goal to counter colonial land confiscation and preserve Māori culture. Today, the home of the Māori King and the *Kiingitanga* Movement is in the heart of the Waikato-Tainui *rohe* at Tuurangawaewae *Marae* (tribal, family village and/or meeting grounds) at Ngaaruawaahia. *Kiingitanga* values are structured under three dominant themes: "tribal identity and integrity" through the protection of knowledge, language and culture; "tribal success" including education, research and leadership and, "tribal social and economic wellbeing", aimed at self-determination and economic growth (Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Inc., 2007, pp.4-5).

Following the discussion on *kaupapa* Māori educational success models within the Waikato-Tainui *rohe*, the impacts on student learning resulting from deficit models and counter-narratives will be explained, with reasons then offered as to why some students and their education providers within the *rohe* appear to be unaffected by this type of negative discourse. I conclude with several challenges, which I hope will assist in repositioning those who continue to think in the deficit model as I once did.

Positioning Waikato-Tainui to Inform Māori Educational Success

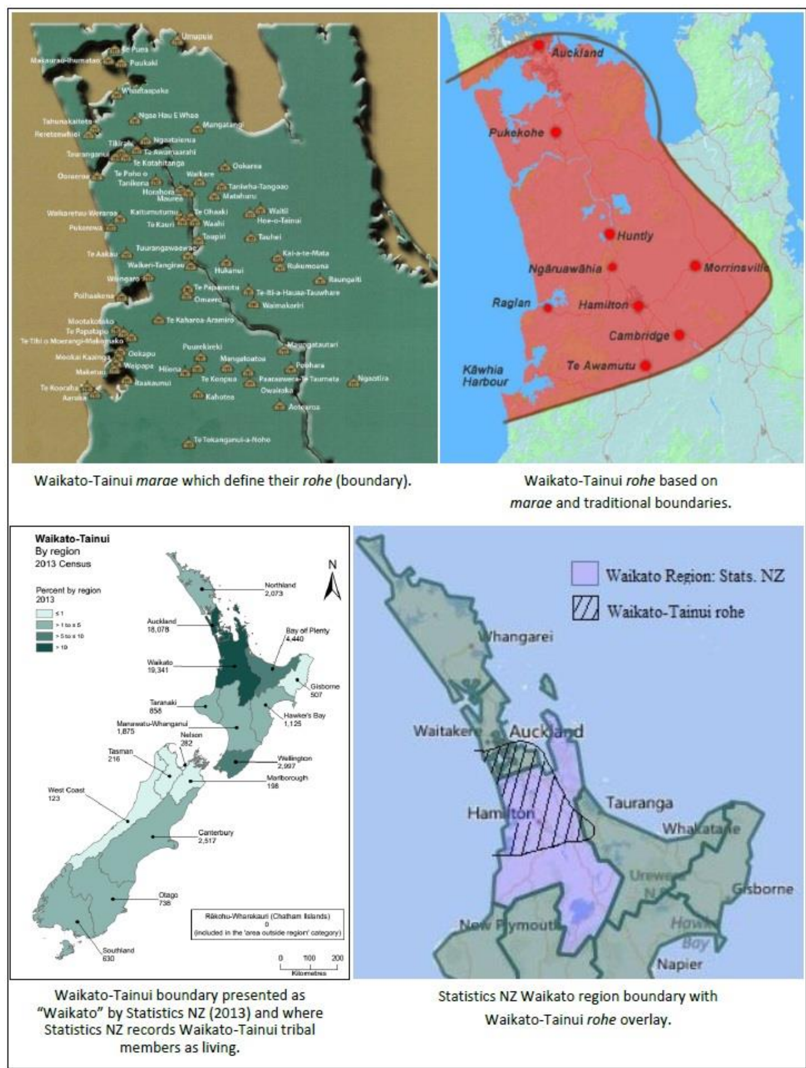
Population statistics concerning Māori can be confusing. This is because of a disparity between how tribal groups within Māoridom account for themselves based on their *rohe* and how the New Zealand Government (Statistics New Zealand) decides numbers according to colonially imposed land boundaries. An example of this variation is evident when considering Waikato-Tainui. This sub-tribe, comprising of 68,000 registered tribal members living across ANZ (Tiakiwai, Kilgour & Aporosa, 2013, p.8), is one of four

[3] Waikato-Tainui linguistic protocol dictates the use of double vowels (aa, ee, ii, oo, uu) as opposed to macrons (ā, ē, ī, ō, ū). This protocol is observed in this paper when quoting Waikato-Tainui commentators, publications or Waikato-Tainui names and references. In all other cases, macrons are used. Quotes will be presented as per the original, with Māori occasionally presented as 'Maori'.

sub-tribes within the Tainui confederation. Waikato-Tainui's *rohe* is defined by its 68 *marae* and is situated across areas of both the Waikato and South Auckland regions of ANZ's North Island.

In contrast, Statistics NZ records Waikato-Tainui as having 55,995 members across ANZ with its land boundary being that of the wider Waikato region, meaning Statistics NZ incorrectly categorized Waikato-Tainui boundaries into the *rohe* of other sub-tribes. Figure 1 shows the difference between how Waikato-Tainui recognize their *rohe* in comparison with the New Zealand Government's perception. This difference in *rohe* and boundary understanding also applies to schools and school-age youth (between 5 and 16 years). The MoE collect student data, and therefore understand student ethnic makeup, attendance and academic achievement, based on Statistics NZ boundary definitions. This then creates a disparity between how education is represented and understood for tribes such as Waikato-Tainui and how the MoE interpret and present academic data.

Figure 1: Disparity between Waikato-Tainui *rohe* and New Zealand Government recognized boundaries



Waikato-Tainui *marae* which define their *rohe* (boundary).

Waikato-Tainui *rohe* based on *marae* and traditional boundaries.

Waikato-Tainui boundary presented as "Waikato" by Statistics NZ (2013) and where Statistics NZ records Waikato-Tainui tribal members as living.

Statistics NZ Waikato region boundary with Waikato-Tainui *rohe* overlay.

(Source: Tiakiwai, Kilgour & Aporosa, 2013, p.7)

How Māori Educational Achievement Tends to be reported

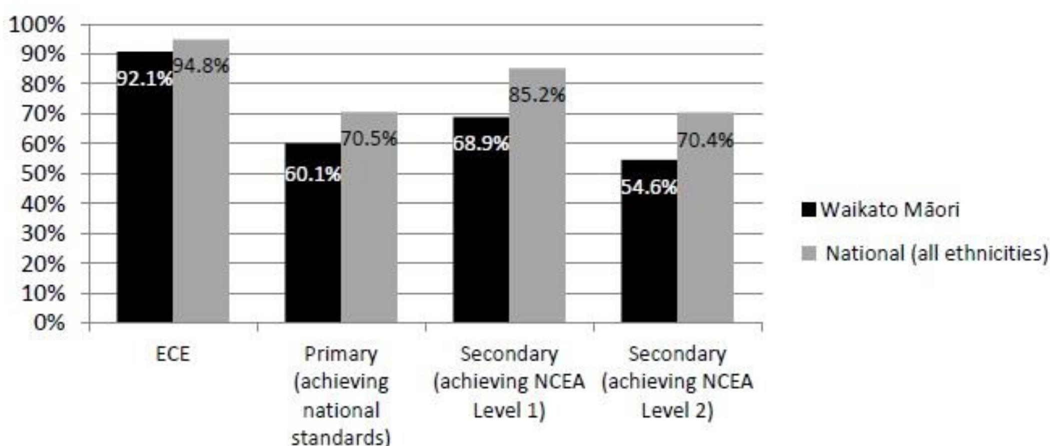
In a similar manner to Māori population statistics and boundary definitions, commentary on Māori academic success is far from clear-cut, frequently carrying with it undertones of negative bias, or in the not-so-distant past, blatant messages of failure. As Bell (2005, pp.147-8) explains, education policy in ANZ starting in the 1840s until the 1970s, was heavily influenced by "assimilation and integration ... based on racist assumptions" which perpetuated discourse on Māori underachievement (p.147). Assimilation was aimed at encouraging Māori to abandon their culture and integrate with a 'superior culture', namely that of the European Colonizers, which included learning and solely speaking the English language, mastering written literacy and embracing Christian values. It was argued this would reverse Māori inferiority while increasing intellectual capacity to produce academic scholars. The Education policy over a 130-year period then was underpinned by "dominance and subjugation", driven by notions of Māori inferiority and European superiority in which Māori were presented as underachievers who were destined to forever fail in their education (p.148).

Although Bell suggests a change in policy occurred in the 1970s, it was evident a hangover of sorts remained in the form of comments I heard at school in the 1970s in which teachers told Māori students they *were* going to fail. This continued into the following decade with Egan & Mahuta reporting in 1983 that a school in the Tainui *rohe* had stated it would not be having "Maaori classes in Form V [year 11] the following year because none of the Maaori students would pass Form IV [year 10]" (p.36). Levine and Vasil (1985, p.126), commenting two years later, reported, "when you have an educational philosophy that says 50 percent of the Maori students will fail anyway and you translate that into the actions of those who teach the children, a high drop-out rate is not surprising." (p.126)

Over the past 20 years, there has been a tempering of the language regarding Māori underachievement. For instance, while the MoE states that "Māori students do much better when education reflects and values their identity, language and culture" (MoE, 2013a, p.6), in actuality, success is measured on the attainment of credits and pass rates structured under a Eurocentric framework (Scott, 2009, pp. 101, 106). These pass rates are then used to create statistical profiles based on comparisons with other ethnicities on both a regional and national level. Finally, it is these profiles that are used to determine indicators of educational success and failure. The problem with profiles and comparisons is that they create generalizations that leave little space for specific representation. Using statistical profiles and comparisons, the MoE (2013b) report that Māori academic achievement within the Waikato region suggest two dominant trends; lower Early Childhood Education (ECE) participation rates together with lower achievement in the compulsory education (5-16 years of age) sector. The MoE presented these trends in several tables within their 2013 Pipeline Data summary which has been condensed and presented in Figure 2. This compares Waikato regional Māori achievement against national profiles from the MoE's perspective for the 2012 year and infers Māori educational underachievement in all areas from ECE through to the later years of compulsory education.

Perceptions of Māori educational underachievement, when presented as comparisons (such as the Waikato Māori and national averages graph in Figure 2) gain added traction when accompanied by negative reporting. For instance, in 2007, the then Minister of Education commented that “last Monday was another disheartening news story on Maori statistics…” (McCarten, 2007). More recently the MoE stated “inequitable education outcomes for Māori have persisted for too many years” (MoE, 2013a, p.5)[4] whereas the New Zealand Herald newspaper reported “Maori underachievement” as a “disgrace” (Irvine, 2013), and News Wire stating, “The statistics say it all. Māori … are at the bottom” (Nichol, 2015). Such representations feed impressions that generally Māori are failing in ANZ’s education environment. Moreover, these were generalizations that I had incorrectly accepted as representative of Māori educational achievement until mid-2013 when I joined the *Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development*. This was regardless of my learning during my time in Fiji and my post-graduate studies. On reflection, I had simply accepted what I had been told without considering other factors. In a similar vein, Kiri Powick (2002), commented that profiling and statistical reporting tends to nurture public suspicion and stereotypes about issues such as Maori unemployment or academic performance in schools.

Figure 2: Waikato region Māori education achievement data compared with national profiles for 2012.



(Source: Ministry of Education, 2013b)

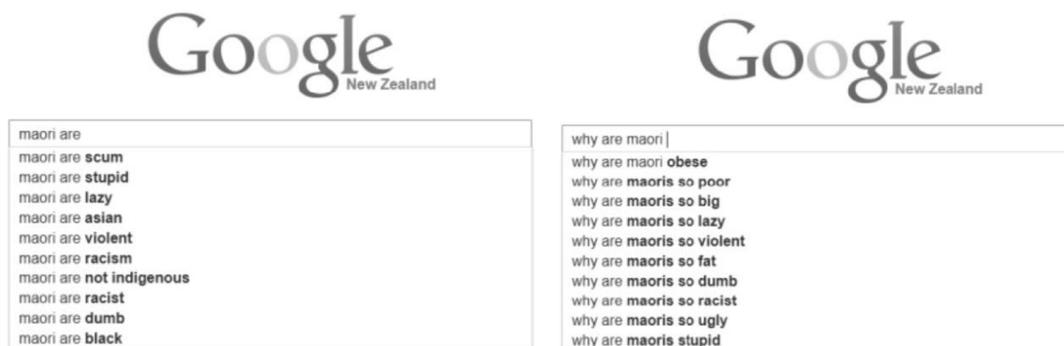
Additionally, in my case, my negative bias regarding Māori education had been further reinforced during a scan of the literature on Māori educational achievement during my doctoral studies. While I did not spend a lot of time in this space as my focus was Fiji, I recall much of what I did read as being dominated by negative commentary. Essentially, I did keyword searches through my university library database and Google, scanned what popped up, and from this gained an impression, one that fed my

[4] Admittedly, this comment was prefaced with, “We need to move away from characterising the problem as the failure of Māori learners within the system to how the system can maximise Māori potential” (MoE, 2013a, p.5). While there may be a move of late to bring a greater sense of positivity to MoE commentary, the general opinion is that Māori are failing in education. Nichol’s (2015), in her article entitled “Māori students still struggling with stereotypes, racism”, acknowledges that there is a general ignorance in ANZ regarding Māori education. She seeks to excuse some of this; “I’m not blaming New Zealanders for that ignorance because we have had an entire history of colonisation” in which Māori have been expected to fail academically.

negative bias. An interesting and provocatively titled article, *Maori are scum, stupid, lazy: Maori according to Google* and published in *Te Kaharoa, The e-Journal of Indigenous Pacific Issues*, adds to this theme.

In the article, Steven Elers (2014) presents the results of Google searches using several keywords that include 'Māori'. Figures 3a and b present the search results using the keywords "Maori are" and "why are Maori". Elers states, "Google … stipulated that the results of Autocomplete are driven by the search activity of their users and indexed websites" (p.20). He goes on to question "the morality and the mental wellbeing of a sector of society who input drivel into the Google search engine and publish or post hateful anti-Maori sentiment online" which is "stereotyping and misrepresent[ing]… Maori" (p.20) and perpetuating "racist discourse" (p.21). It appears that what dominates user keyword input influences how Google prioritizes search results.

Figure 3a/b: Google search engine results for keywords "maori are" and "why are maori".



(Source: Elers, 2014, pp.19-20)

Upon joining the *Waikato-Tainui College* in 2013 and learning the actual state of Māori educational success (which I will describe shortly) – I found illuminating reading works by scholars such as Durie (2003), Bishop, Berryman et.al. (2003; 2007; 2012), Herewini & Tiakiwai (2011), Earl and Associates (2008) and Milne (2013) to name a few – who questioned the negative and biased academic material that exists. For example, a recent NZ education journal suggested Māori "underachievement in the 21st century is simply unacceptable" (Porter-Samuels, 2013, p.17)[5] whereas academics in the *British Journal of Sociology of Education* the following year argued that the *kaupapa* Māori "approach… contributes to maintaining low educational achievement" (Lourie & Rata, 2014, p.19).

[5] Although this comment was presented within an article entitled, *Raising Pasifika achievement*, discussion included Māori. The opening comment illustrates this inclusion; "Pasifika learners, along with Māori, continue to experience high disparities in New Zealand's education system" (Porter-Samuels, 2013, p.17), with further references to Māori throughout. A similar comment can be found in Mercier, Douglas, McFadgen *et al*., (2013, p.122), "Māori student underachievement is apparent at all levels of education, being particularly stark at secondary and tertiary levels", whereas Callister (2009, p.3) stated, "School data indicate a significant number of Māori boys leave school with no or very few level 1 NCEA [National Certificate of Educational Achievement] credits" (see Footnote 8 for an explanation on NCEA).

Regardless that there is a great deal of powerful academic commentary on Māori educational success (such as that discussed by the authors listed above), public perception has mostly been driven by negative reporting from the MoE, media, a number of academics together with pop-ups during online search. This is what I had been guilty of too before my Tainui experience. To paraphrase Dr. Ann Milne (2013, p.3) from *Kia Aroha College* in Auckland, I too had embraced the "pervasive, deficit-driven whitestream[6] explanations of 'achievement gaps' and the 'long tail' of Māori … 'underachievement' in New Zealand schools". In my ignorance I thought I was beyond this, considering I had taken a post-development, anti-hegemonic, post-colonial critique position in my doctoral thesis to argue the critical position of cultural identity to academic achievement for Fijian students, a stance which I genuinely believe in.

Before I discuss the impacts of deficit approaches and counter narratives to educational achievement, together with a little more on my own learning upon commencing the Waikato-Tainui education scan, I will first present a snapshot comparison between the deficit models presented above by the MoE, the media and selected academics, and how education is experienced for some Waikato-Tainui. In doing so, I argue that the latter is a vastly more accurate representation of the Māori position in education. Moreover, it was this learning that opened my eyes to the actual state of Māori academic success, challenging my "deficit-driven white-stream" misunderstanding and bias.

How Education is Experienced for some Waikato-Tainui

The Waikato-Tainui education environment scan, which I completed in late-2013, includes seven pages of what is best described as very impressive academic achievement at 28 *kaupapa* Māori schools within the *rohe*. Space constraints here prevent a full breakdown of that achievement in which I drew heavily on Education Review Office (ERO)[7] reports. Highlights include *Te Koohanga Reo o Ngaa Kuaka* situated in Silverdale, Hamilton. This *koohanga* (*kaupapa* Māori pre-school) has two campuses; an under-two and an over-two-year-old facility. ERO described this ECE provider, with its education delivery based on cultural practices, as "highly effective" and providing a "smooth and well-managed" transition between the two campuses (Rolleston, 2012, p.2). *Te Koohanga Reo o Ngaa Kuaka* also acts as a *te reo* (Māori language) based training and development site for ECE trainee teachers where it is not uncommon to have a wait list of 50 pre-schoolers wanting to enroll (Gilbert, T. 2013. Personal communication Oct. 21). Another is *Kakano Early Childhood* which operates three ECE centers within the Waikato-Tainui *rohe*. ERO described this provider as producing students with a strong sense of self who are "capable learners and communicators" (Smith, 2012, p.4). I found many more ECE providers within the *rohe* of which the ERO was highly complimentary.

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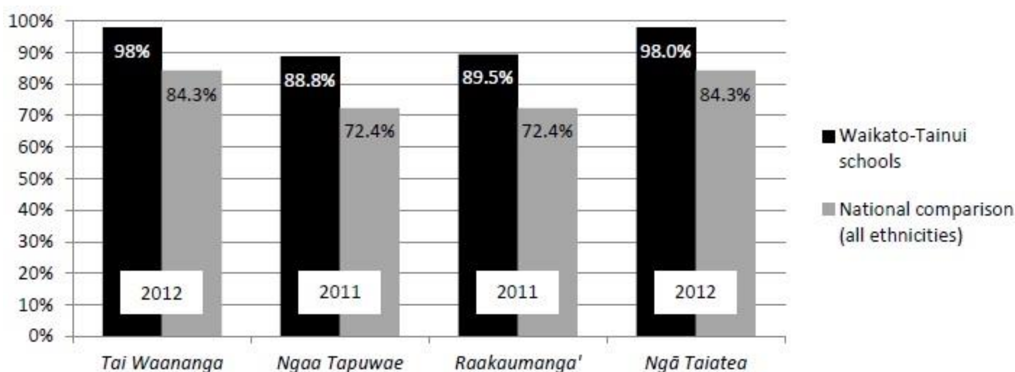
[6] In her doctoral thesis, Milne (2013:3-4) draws on several commentators to define her use and application of "whitestream" throughout the study. She explains "whitestream" as the culture of the ANZ education system, influenced and driven by the "'White' [Eurocentric] experience" in which Māori and Pasifika learners are subjugated, monitored and measured against "White" achievers. Milne adds that the Māori-centric approach, one structured around Māori lifeway's that include a high standard of living and health together with participation and inclusion as Māori, is the antithesis of "whitestreaming", although this is critical to Māori academic success.

[7] The Education Review Office (ERO) is an independent Government body consisting of approximately 150 review officers tasked with evaluating and reporting on education for the MoE and wider government.

Concerning primary education (5-10 years of age), ERO cited *Te Kura Kaupapa Maaori o Te Puuaha* at Port Waikato as having excellent parent teacher relationships and a student strength in their language, culture and values which in turn produces “a strong sense of belonging and pride” (Smith, 2013, pp.20-1) informed by “the philosophies of *Kiingitanga*” (Smith, 2013, p.2). *Kiingitanga*, the Māori King Movement, and their values was explained in the Introduction section. At the three bilingual units at *Knighton Normal School* in Hillcrest, ERO acknowledged “high quality teaching" where the majority of students were "achieving at or above National Standards” (Randell, 2013, p.5). Twelve other *kaupapa* Māori primary schools were also singled out as sites of high academic achievement.

A number of secondary schools (years 9-12, 13-16 years of age), sites where NCEA (National Certificate of Educational Achievement[8]) pass rates are the primary indicators of academic failure or success, proved even more impressive. Providers such as *Tai Waananga* near The University of Waikato, *Ngaa Tapuwae* at Maangere in South Auckland, *Raakaumangamanga* in Huntly, *Ngaa Taiatea* in Rotokauri, Hamilton, are four of fourteen high-performing secondary schools whose academic success was described within the education scan. For brevity, Figure 4 combines data to show the NCEA Level 2 pass rates – for the years that data was available – for these schools when compared with national averages. I have deliberately chosen Level 2 as the pass rates here were not quite as good as Level 1. Therefore, this offers some idea as to the impressive rates at NCEA Level 1, with *Ngaa Tapuwae* and *Tai Waananga* both achieving 100 percent pass rates in 2011, for instance.

Figure 4: Selected Waikato-Tainui NCEA Level 2 data compared with national average for 2011 and 2012.



(Source: Ministry of Education, 2013b)

The successes of these *kaupapa* Māori schools – education facilities that represent only a handful of the highly achieving campuses within the *rohe* not to mention other areas of Aotearoa – present a vastly different picture to that described by others. These schools also present an interesting counterpoint to Lourie & Rata (2014, p.19) who I discussed earlier, and who suggested that *kaupapa* Māori in education

[8] The National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) is ANZ’s main secondary school qualification. It is recognised by tertiary education providers and employers as demonstrating that the Certificate holder has gained a sufficient level of skill and knowledge for the subjects recorded. NCEA has both a NCEA Level 1 and 2, with Level 2 demonstrating higher proficiency.

contributed to academic underachievement. Admittedly not all Māori education settings are idyllic whereas many mainstream teaching environments still have some work to do to reflect the results presented in Figure 2. However, MoE (2013a, p.5) discourse of generalized Māori academic failure, Māori educational "disgrace" as reported in the media (Irvine, 2013)[9], and the "simply unacceptable" failure described in a number of academic publications (Porter-Samuels, 2013, p.17), misrepresents the position for a large number of highly successful Māori students and their *kaupapa* providers. These counter narratives are even more worrying when considered against the MoE's 2017 target of an 85% NCEA Level 2 pass rate for all (MoE, 2014). The *kaupapa* Māori schools described here have surpassed this target. It was these successes that exposed my "pervasive, deficit-driven" ideologies and prompted me to re-evaluate my thinking. I will expand a little more on that learning shortly after first considering what the likely impacts are of these constant counter-narratives and deficit models on education success?

Learning Under a Counter-narrative, Deficit Model, Cloud

In the introduction to their edited text on education and democracy, Carlson & Dimitriadis (2003) make an interesting comment. They say, "Education is not … about the transmission of knowledge so much as the formation of identity" (p.17). They go on to explain that as part of learning, students are positioned within spheres of empowerment or disempowerment dependent upon whether the teaching is perceived to affirm or invalidate their worldviews and identity makeup. Moreover, for those who identify with "historically marginalized" groups, they are more likely to have their position represented negatively and therefore have lower levels of empowerment (p.17). Paulo Freire understood this; it was a central theme in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. As a reminder, Freire (1993) argued that education, if delivered as "dialogical learning", had the potential to transform the poor and disempowered through the creation of pedagogic spaces in which marginalized people groups could understand how social institutions and hegemonic power systems had shaped their lives and impacted their identities, and in turn, regain empowerment from this. Finally, with academics arguing that performance in education is closely linked with empowerment through cultural identity and affirmation (Shaffer & Kipp, 2010, pp.407-8), and combining this with Carlson & Dimitriadis and Freire's commentary regards the power of deficit models to inhibit educational achievement, this would suggest then that what a student is told and taught has a profound effect on their sense of worth. This, in turn is a determinant on how well they do in the classroom.

I would argue then that the misrepresentation and creation of generalizations concerning Māori educational underachievement by the MoE, media and some academics is fueling deficit perspectives which are perpetuating some of the academic failure that is present, especially in mainstream education. Moreover, regardless that this is a misrepresentation of the actual as exemplified by a number of Waikato-Tainui *kaupapa* Māori schools, it would appear some of the blame for academic failure must be carried by those – namely the MoE – whose goal it is to improve educational standards. But then this observation

[9] A scan of local media confined to the past four years was undertaken to assess positive reports. Although a large number of schools within the Waikato-Tainui *rohe* are achieving well above national averages, only one positive comment was located. That was *Ngaa Taiatea* in which the reporter stated was "outshining private schools and bucking national trends" (Carson, 2013).

is not new. In the 1983 *Tainui Report*, Ken Egan & Sir Robert Mahuta discussed the power of counter-narratives to educational underachievement. They stated that the continual criticism and portrayal of Māori education from a deficit perspective – or as they termed it, "the constant reminder of failure" – creates "a justifiably negative attitude to education [and therefore] it is to be expected" – academic failure will result (p.36). While this theme could be expanded to include other academics who discuss the power of discourse to disempowerment within the education environment (Fūlōp *et al*., 2007; Janks & Ivanič, 2013), the more important question in my opinion is; what do the highly achieving Waikato-Tainui schools put their amazing success down to? How have they countered the counter-narratives and deficit perspectives?

Identity Solidification and Empowerment to Counter the Counter-narratives and Deficit Perspectives

When it became apparent during the writing of the Waikato-Tainui education environment scan that Māori education was not quite what I had assumed, I then needed to understand why and how these campuses within the *rohe* were doing so well in the face of commentary that negated this. Through the reading of reports and discussions with the principals from some of these schools, a common theme emerged. For instance, *Tai Waananga* (2013) pointed to *mana Māori* (Māori authority, integrity, and dignity), *mauri* (life essence, life principle, life force) and *whānau ora* (family health) principles aimed at leadership growth as the reason for their success. For *Ngaa Tapuwae*, it was the values of *Kiingitanga* to nurture and ensure "that students' identity and culture is supported" (Rolleston, 2012b, pp. 11, 16).

Raakaumangamanga's principal stated that while NCEA passes were important, greater emphasis was placed on "cultural wellness, social wellness, physical wellness and even spiritual wellness", as these led to student capacity to then meet the NCEA requirements (Heremaia, 2013). *Ngaa Taiatea*'s Principal stated, it is "those things that are precious to Tainui … cultural, intellectual, physical, spiritual and *whaanau* [family including extended family[10]] development and well-being" that lead to educational advancement (Ohia, 2013). Condense these indicators, and I would argue that these led to empowerment through identity solidification, or as Paulo Freire presented it, these schools have created pedagogic space in which cultural identity has been put first, and this has generated empowerment which has contributed to what one commentator referred to as, educational achievement within the Waikato-Tainui *rohe* that is "outshining private schools and bucking national trends" (Carson, 2013).

Essentially *kaupapa* Māori schools, by incorporating culture, language, traditional values and the involvement of *whānau* as part of the curriculum delivered by way of "traditional concepts of learning" (Pihama et al, 2004, p.34) provide Māori learners with a medium they understand and one which aligns with their worldview. This, in-turn, influences learning excellence. Upon reflection, this is no different to the approach I took with my students in Fiji[11], albeit though, my situation was the result of improvisation

[10] Māori, as part of their collectivist cultural expression and worldview, extend the notion of 'family' (*whānau*) beyond relatives to include those who are linked through "some common interest such as locality, and urban *marae*, a workplace and so on" (Milne, 2013, p.82).

[11] For more on the use of local systems, processes and worldviews to assist education delivery, see Aporosa's (2014, p.51-3) post-development education framework.

and teaching ignorance whereas *kaupapa* Māori is deliberate, structured and underpins the entire teaching process. In contrast, the Eurocentric approach does not allow for such alternative styles. It has, and in many cases continues to be, dominated by auditory presentations from an individualistic "white-stream" perspective that uses examples, processes and ways of learning that are often foreign to Māori and Pasifika students. This has been the education model for the past 150 years, one dominated by Eurocentrism and characterized by top-down teaching approaches. This has been aimed at skill development for participation in industrialization (Webster, 1990, p.119), the creation of "human capital" (Youngman, 2000, p.56), and the growth of people with "modern cultural values" (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p.223), skills necessary for facilitating capital output and economic growth (Tuinamuana, 2005, p.204) conceived and constructed solely to aid national level development (Webster, 1990, p.98; Huntington, 2002, p.21; St. Clair Skeet, 2007, p.31-2). The challenge now for ANZ is to accept that different cultures learn differently and that this understanding can be utilized to increase learning potential. This will also greatly assist in shifting the negative bias reporting regarding Māori educational achievement.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper, supported by detailed ERO reports and the Waikato-Tainui education environment scan (Tiakiwai, Kilgour & Aporosa, 2013), presents some very impressive academic achievement by Māori students within the Waikato-Tainui *rohe*; achievement one commentator explained as surpassing national averages and challenging private schools who have traditionally been held academically elite (Carson, 2013). In doing so, this paper has highlighted three key themes. Firstly, it has exposed the “pervasive, deficit-driven” beliefs of someone – namely me – who thought they were beyond such influences; someone who has studied the educational struggles of Fijian students at post-graduate level which included a scan of the Māori educational literature. As part of writing the Waikato-Tainui education environmental scan and the reading of scholars (such as Durie and Commentators mentioned earlier) who reflect the findings of that report, I learnt that I had been drawn to my negative generalization that all Māori were failing academically as a result of a powerful deficit-focused discourse presented in early MoE policy and perpetuated more recently by sectors within the MoE, the media and academia. Although I may have “seen the light” regarding the actual position of Māori in academia, many in ANZ remain in the “dark”. To complement my learning, enhanced from my time at the *Waikato-Tainui College*, I also wanted to know if there were other factors that had encouraged my biased perception, especially from the perspective of literature. Online search engines appeared to play a role in this.

As Steven Elers (2014) demonstrated by using keywords such as “Maori are” in online searches, the autocomplete function in sites such as Google can result in output which highlights racist stereotypes and misrepresentation. Admittedly, as a doctoral level researcher I should have consulted the literature widely instead of simply scanning what first popped up in search engines (including that from my own university library). That deeper search would have revealed quality commentators such as Professor Mason Durie (2003) and the other education specialists I mentioned earlier instead of allowing my narrow deficit perspective to be falsely reinforced. More importantly, I, of all people, should have been aware of the fallibility of search engines. This is something I am well aware of from other areas of my research,

especially in traditional Fijian practices such as *kava*[12] use. Google searches on this theme tends to present *kava* in a mostly negative sense in initial search result pages, misrepresenting this traditional medicine as dangerous (causing liver damage and, in some cases, death), which it clearly is not (Kuchta, Schmidt & Nahrstedt, 2015). I am unsure as to how to address this matter, as online search engines play such a critical role in today's literature review process. However, I do hope this first key theme will encourage further debate on the topic of search engines and their capacity to feed deficit-driven perspectives.

The second key theme in this paper is that while a powerful counter-narrative exists concerning Māori academic achievement, many students are nevertheless prospering in the face of deficit perspectives through a determined aspiration for, pursuit of, and the embracing of values associated with their culture and identity. To reiterate *Raakaumangamanga*'s school Principal, once "cultural … social … physical … and spiritual wellness" were established, this laid a foundation in which NCEA was both "expected" and achieved (Heremaia, 2013). Admittedly, there remains the challenge that, given that so much of the Māori high academic achievement is located away from where the majority of learners are (mainstream education), how can these successes be transferred to those other settings? Irrespective that this is an area in which others have addressed, I believe the MoE, media and selected academics must continue to be called to account for perpetuating falsities about Māori scholastic failure. Principally for the MoE, their selective commentary is potentially driving some of the Māori underachievement.

This paper has highlighted that Māori are not failing en mass in education as some – including sectors of the MoE – are leading us to believe.

Second, this paper has highlighted the inaccuracy of statistical profiling as the dominant mechanism for MoE classifications of success and failure. These simply perpetuate generalizations that tend to highlight negatives for Māori, failing to recognize and promote positive models from which those who are struggling can gain inspiration and empowerment.

The third main idea raised in the paper is the issue of why there is so much powerful material available on Māori academic success (again by Durie and others as presented earlier) although little is known about it, especially within the Pasifika and Pālangi (those of European ancestry) communities.

On reflection, I realize that this paper may about "preaching to the converted" (considering the focus of this journal and its likely audience), – I now partially put myself in this camp as I have a greater understanding of Māori educational realities – One important question that still needs to be addressed is: Is it possible that Māori educational researchers, *kaupapa* Māori teachers, and the parents of these successful Māori students, are so familiar with what they know that they assume others have the same level of knowledge? I know I have been guilty of this in areas related to Fijian cultural practice, especially *kava* use. I know the *kava* culture and this indigenous substance so well that I am often surprised,

[12] *Kava* is a drink made from the *Piper methysticum* plant. Both the drink and plant are potent icons of Pasifika identity and cultural practice (Aporosa, 2015).

although shouldn't be, when someone assures me that *kava* is an alcoholic beverage, which it certainly isn't[13]. This though is a very common misconception and one reported as fact in some internet search engine pop-ups. By educating on what we know, we have the power to create pedagogic space and empower those who may have traditionally been marginalized through counter-narratives and deficit perspectives.

Finally, considering that the highly achieving schools discussed here cited culture and identity as their primary focus, which then aided impressive National Standards and NCEA achievement rates, a bi-product of this is the question of what should educational success for Māori be based on? It appears a structure dominated by a Eurocentrically prescribed, assessed and measured "whitestream" system is not working for Māori. Does more emphasis need to be placed on the creation of *kaupapa* Māori schools by the MoE? I rhetorically ask this question as I would argue that the future of Māori education and the broadening of that achievement into the mainstream, driven by the elements of "cultural … social … physical … and spiritual wellness", will only be achievable once *kaupapa* Māori is legitimized and accorded an equal standing by the MoE, media and the naysayers within academia. I would add that this use of local language, traditions, culture, values and "traditional concepts of learning", as espoused by Pihama et.al. (2004) concerning *kaupapa* Māori, could be applied to many of the schools in the Pacific Islands. While many of these learning environments are led by indigenous teachers, some of whom were born in the village where traditional cultural values are embraced, many of these same people have since been molded into "whitestream" educationalists by their Eurocentric influenced training institutions. Is this also hampering the academic prospects of students in the Islands?

Rancière (1991, pp.45-9) stated in his interestingly titled book, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*, equality in education is the start point rather than the end goal. He goes on to explain that no one culture or education system has the right to suggest their method of education prescription is the most potent, or that they are the ultimate qualification standard authority. It is once the dominant education providers recognize this, legitimize, acknowledge and promote alternative ways of learning, that intellectual emancipation and widespread academic achievement will be possible for all.

Acknowledgement

John Donne (1572-1631) said, "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main." I need to sincerely thank the "continent" of people who played a part in shifting this "island" from struggling school-boy to where I am today, a "continent" of people too numerous to name. I do though need to make special mention of my "students" at *Richmond Methodist High School*, Kadavu, Fiji. I say "students" as they were also my teachers in the same manner as my family (*vuvale* Vasu/Bainimoli) and friends at Rauni (the *Richmond* district), and more recently my *whānau* at the *Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development*. Special thanks must also go to my wife Jan who encouraged me into higher learning and who has been tirelessly patient with me as my on-call tutor and

[13] See Aporosa (2011). This article discusses the common myth that *kava* is believed to be alcoholic and have the same effects as fermented beverages.

motivator; Luke Mikaire Crawford (Tuatini *Marae*, Tokomaru Bay, Ngāti Porou, former NZ Police Sergeant) who has been my Māori go-to expert for over 20 years; Asaeli Tulagi (Leya, Cakaudrove, Fiji), respected friend and mentor; and the crew at Massey University's *Pasifika@Masssey* student support.

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The Implementation of English and Western Education on the Island of Guam

Deborah Ellen

Abstract

When the United States took possession of Guam following the Spanish American War, schools adopted an American educational approach which continues to this day. This paper describes the findings of a focus group study carried out on the island of Guam which sought to identify the emic perspectives of community members regarding the relevance of education in Guam's schools to the students' lives, as well as views related to the status of the Chamorro language and, if or how, the language should be maintained. The conversations of the participants were transcribed and analyzed, resulting in several key findings: (a) the perceived lack of relevancy of education to the lives of young people on Guam, (b) an inclination toward greater relevancy, (c) identification of attitudes within the community as being pivotal in determining the level of relevancy in schools, and (d) being cognizant of factors which contribute to learning.

Keywords: *Guam; colonialism; Chamorro language; Indigenous language loss and revitalization; Western education*

Introduction

The indigenous people of the Mariana Islands first arrived on the islands over 3,500 years ago following a journey of some 1,300 miles from the northern Philippines (Farrell, 2011). As time passed, they established a unique culture and language that was adapted to their needs and their island environment. They became known as the Chamorro people. Their lives were rooted within an interdependent family system (inafa'maolek) and were based on the concept of reciprocity (chenchule) wherein resources were mutually shared and family relationships were deemed as paramount to survival (Owen, 2010). The Chamorro culture evolved over the next 3,000 years into a thriving system adapting to the changing seasons and natural fluctuations in population, much as the ebb and flow of the tides.

The arrival of Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores and the accompanying Spanish soldiers in 1668 initiated a spiritual and political conversion process of the Chamorro people who, since that time, have been dominated by foreign powers and the accompanying values and languages of such powers (Farrell, 2011). It was during the Spanish period of rule that the first formal educational programs were introduced on Guam. Subsequent American occupation introduced and enforced the acquisition of the English

language and American educational endeavors (Underwood, 2012). Although the Japanese controlled Guam for only a few years during World War II, they were determined to eliminate any evidence of a previous affiliation with the United States (Misco & Lee, 2012. This mission was partially carried out through the creation of schools with a focus on the Japanese language and Japanese values. When American troops returned to Guam and rescued the Chamorros from the atrocities experienced during Japanese occupation, the Chamorro people felt a tremendous sense of gratitude and loyalty to the American soldiers and to the United States (Misco & Lee, 2012; Owen, 2010). Hence, they allowed the American military governors to reestablish control of the island, which included the confiscation of ancestral land, the imposition of official English language policies, and the restoration of schools aligned with American educational policies and programs (Misco & Lee, 2012). The tradition of chenchule — the sense of obligation and repayment — continues to this day, but not without some concern from local residents.

The implementation of foreign educational systems, such as that of the American system, is often the impetus behind language and cultural shifts within indigenous populations such as the Chamorro community on the island of Guam (Botha, 2010; Halagao, 2010; Hinton, 2011; Ngai & Koehn, 2010). Indigenous community members throughout the world have rallied for the right to reinstate the use of their languages, as well as a revival of their unique lifestyles and traditions. Over the past 40 years, Chamorro community leaders and educators have echoed similar concerns regarding the decline in Chamorro language fluency as indicated in the findings of several studies (Berger, 1995; Borja, 2011; Odo, 1987; Pa'a Taotao Tano', 2010; Santos & Salas, 2005; Spencer, Palamo, & Vela, 1987). According to the most recent survey of language use (Pa'a Taotao Tano', 2010), approximately 28% of the Chamorro population between the ages of 18 and 39 claim that they can speak Chamorro either very well or well enough to understand other Chamorro speakers. The significance of such findings is the diminished potential of approximately 70% of the Chamorro population of child-bearing ages to adequately transmit the Chamorro language to the next generation.

One approach toward Chamorro language maintenance has been the creation of the Chamorro Language and Culture Program (CLCP). Initiated in 1978 through the passing of Public Law 14-53 (GPL 14-53, 1977), the CLCP provides for instruction of the Chamorro language and Chamorro cultural awareness. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Chamorro language educators and proponents, the program lacks sufficient time, resources, and overall support. For example, instructional time in elementary schools is limited to 20 minutes per day for lower elementary grades and 30 minutes per day for 4th and 5th grade students. Students at the middle school level only receive one year of instruction, and one year of instruction is required at the high school level for graduation. Instructional time is divided between language and culture, resulting in limited language instruction and, hence, limited transmission of Chamorro language fluency within the schools. The limitation of instructional time, resources, and funding — as well as the lack of previous valid assessment records — has resulted in criticism from within the community regarding the efficacy of the program. Such concerns are echoed within other indigenous communities wherein "There are 'weak linkages' between policy and practice/implementation, which may render language-planning efforts ineffective" (Sallabank, 2013, p. 344).

In addition to concerns related to language maintenance, statistics from the Annual State of Public Education Reports (ASPER) for the Guam Department of Education indicate a perpetual cycle of low Scholastic Assessment Tests (SAT) test scores. For example, data from 2007-2008 (GDOE, 2008) indicate that an average of 16% of the students tested scored at or above the proficiency level in reading and only 6.5% of these students scored at or above proficiency in math. Longitudinal data reflect decreasing levels of reading and math proficiency as students continue through the school system (Appendix A). Similar evidence of academic issues are reported within indigenous communities in other regions previously under colonial rule (Halagao, 2010; Hermes, Bang, & Arin, 2012; O'Connor, 2009**;** Salaün, 2009).

In the case of Guam, the Department of Education (GDOE) has relied heavily on federal funds leading to alignment with federal guidelines required for financial support as well as the mandated reliance on materials and programs which do not necessarily reflect the life experiences or values of the island communities (Zuercher, Kessler, & Yoshioka, 2011). Numerous federally-funded strategies and policies have been implemented as a means to address the low test scores such as No Child Left Behind, Praxis certification requirements for teachers, Direct Instruction, and Success for All, as well as the most recent implementation of Science, Technology, Engineering and Math education (STEM) and Common Core State Standards. Nevertheless, test results remain low: test results from 2013-2014 indicate that 15.3% of the students scored at or above the proficiency level in reading, while only 8.3% scored at or above the proficiency level in math (GDOE. 2014). Scores are particularly low at the high school levels where only 11.5% of the students scored at or above the proficiency level in reading and 1% scored at or above the proficiency level in math (GDOE, 2014). On average, 51.75% of high school students scored below a basic proficiency level of reading, while 89.5% of high school students scored below a basic proficiency level in math (GDOE, 2014).

Problem Statement

These two areas of concern, a decline in Chamorro language proficiency and persistent low test scores, indicated a need for further studies with the potential of providing a greater understanding of community members' perceptions of the problems and potential ways to address these issues. Thus, the main problem addressed by this study was the need for further understanding regarding the lack of persistent academic progress among Guam's schools and the declining use of the Chamorro language (Calvo, 2012; GDOE, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014; Pa'a Taotao Tano', 2010). As in other previously colonized communities, the issues of low academic performance and indigenous language loss are being questioned and efforts are being taken to address these concerns (Hinton, 2011; McCarty, 2011). The greatest concern was that without a change in direction, nothing can change: indications of academic progress would not improve, and the Chamorro language would continue to decline in use to a point of obliteration.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this qualitative focus group study was to provide further understanding of the emic perspective of Guam's community members regarding the lack of persistent academic progress

among Guam's schools and the declining use of the Chamorro language. Six research questions were used as a means of gaining insight into community members' thoughts regarding the current implementation of an American educational stance and the potential use of a more Chamorro-based educational approach: (1) What is the attitude of community members regarding the relevance (or lack thereof) of the current classroom curriculum, materials, and instructional practices to living on Guam?; (2) What is the attitude of community members regarding the relevance (or lack thereof) of current classroom curriculum, materials, and instructional practices to Chamorro culture?; (3) What is the attitude of community members toward the current implementation of the Chamorro Language and Culture program within the schools?;(4) What is the attitude of community members toward a greater emphasis on Chamorro language and culture within the schools?; (5) What ideas do community members have in regard to promoting greater academic success within Guam's schools?; and (6) What is the level of understanding that community members have regarding a connection between academic success and the promotion of indigenous language and culture?

Review of Literature

In addressing the issues of the diminishing use of the Chamorro language and the perpetual low scores of Guam's students, three key areas were deemed as being the most relevant focus of examination: the impetus behind language loss, strategies to reverse such loss, and a review of the efficacy of strategies that are being carried out in other indigenous communities. Moreover, the relationship between these aspects and the development of academic knowledge and skills is explored.

Indigenous Language Loss

At the end of the 20th century, linguists had identified some 6,900 unique languages in use around the world (Janjua, 2011; Roberts, Keegan, Houia, & Dale, 2013). Language experts estimate that between 50% and 90% of these languages will cease to exist by the end of the 21st century (Anderson, 2011; Harrison, 2007; Kravitz, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). According to a report from the United Nations Forum on Indigenous Issues (n.d.), "Up to 90 percent of the world's languages are likely to disappear before the end of this century if current trends are allowed to continue" (par. 2).

While language experts note that the loss of indigenous languages is not a completely new phenomenon, the recent changes in language use over the past century have been associated with colonialism and the resulting occurrence of linguistic imperialism (Gallegos, Murray, & Evans, 2010; Yoshioka, 2010; Phillipson, 1999; Said, 1993). As Fishman (1991) explains, language shift takes place because language represents power: "[Language shift] occurs because interacting languages-in-cultures are of unequal power and, therefore, the weaker ones become physically and demographically dislocated" (p. 59). Language experts purport that the initial stage of language loss is initiated when discrimination occurs against a language or the speakers of a language that is deemed as being less favorable and less important than a dominant language (Crystal, 2000; Harrison, 2007).

Official language policies reinforce this discriminatory practice against indigenous language use (McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, & Zepeda, 2009; Wangdu, 2011) such as evident under American

military governance on the island of Guam (Misco & Lee, 2012). Language policies and the associated punishment for use of indigenous languages exert pressure on members of the younger generation of indigenous language speakers creating a shift toward greater use of the language deemed to be more powerful, more important, and even necessary for survival (Putnam, Putnam, & Jerome, 2011; Verdon, McLeod, & Winsler, 2014). Intergenerational communication diminishes creating a chasm between the elders and youth resulting in a greater sense of disempowerment and the interruption of oral traditions and ceremonies being passed on to the younger generations (Gatimu, 2009; Sallabank, 2013; Yoshioka, 2010). With limited occasions to use the indigenous language, people perceive the language as unnecessary within both the local community and the international arena which infers that it has nominal value (Phiri, Kaguda, & Mabhena, 2013; Putnam et al, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010). Linguists argue that it is this attitude toward one's own indigenous language as being less important and not necessary which ultimately can and has led to the loss of such languages (Crawford, 1996).

The fact that education systems within indigenous communities are modeled after those from the countries which dominate their communities reinforces the view that indigenous languages are less essential or meaningful (Misco & Lee, 2012; Wilson & Kamanã, 2011). When indigenous students encounter academic and language acquisition challenges, the blame is often placed on the students themselves (Janjua, 2011; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) due to their lower socioeconomic status and alleged lack of academic "mentality" (Salaün, 2009). Indigenous students eventually come to internalize such views and think of themselves as being "what is wrong" with the system (Lateroute, 2007). Another way in which education can adversely impact indigenous language use results from a misalignment of the curriculum and instructional pedagogy implemented in the school with the students' culture (Freire, 1985; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; Thaman, 2009). As an example, during colonial occupation, school materials were imported from imperialistic nations which were irrelevant to the students' lives, cultures, and values (Gatimu, 2009; Munroe, Borden, Orr, Toney, & Meader, 2013) resulting in what Freire (1985) refers to as a "'culture of silence' that dominates most people" (p. 9).

A final point related to language loss is that of the dilemma of what Fishman (1991) refers to as the either/or mindset wherein indigenous people have come to believe that they must give up one language and cultural identity for another. This ideology is embedded within the concept of assimilation which is aligned with nationalistic identity (Gutek, 2004). During the colonial era, indigenous people were initially forced to align themselves with the language policies and values of the imperial powers (Gatimu, 2009; Munroe et al., 2013). Later, the indigenous people often shifted toward the foreign ideals as this was perceived to be the only way to survive and succeed in life; indigenous identities and languages were deemed as stumbling blocks to survival and financial success.

Reversing Language Shift

Each indigenous community faces unique challenges as a result of a myriad of variables such as attitudes toward the language, number of speakers, funding, emigration and immigration, and pressure to conform to Western educational policies and standards. The process of revitalizing indigenous languages requires an initial assessment of these factors to determine where to begin, to ascertain if

people are committed to revitalizing the language, and what the most appropriate measures should be (Crawford, 1996; Grenoble 2013; Krauss, 2007). Examining the level of fluency and use within the community is an initial step toward determining the actual needs and resources available and to set realistic goals toward the strengthening of the indigenous languages (Fishman, 1991; Grenoble, 2013). An assessment of human resources helps to identify the number of speakers, the levels of language proficiency of the speakers, the distribution of speakers at various age levels, and the level of commitment amongst the speakers (Grenoble, 2013). Attitudes at the macro-level (extra-national and national) must also be assessed as they can generate a shift toward other languages (such as English) in pursuit of greater economic prospects (Baker, 2011; Grenoble, 2013; Yoshioka, 2010). For example, decisions may be made at the national level in regard to language and educational policies such as the No Child Left Behind Act or withholding national support for local language initiatives which directly affect local communities (McCarty, 2011).

The next stage in language revitalization efforts is the development of a plan which is specific to the needs of the local community (Fishman, 2009; Grenoble, 2013; Hinton, 2011). Language revitalization and maintenance requires specific spaces of language use wherein its use is expected (Crystal, 2000; Janjua, 2011; Reyhner, 1999). The lack of spaces for language use infers a devaluation of the language as well as an absence of the need for the language. Two key factors are pivotal in language revitalization and maintenance efforts which relate to the concept of space: intergenerational transmission and language use in school (Basu, 2009; Fishman, 1991, 2009; Greymorning, 1999; Hinton, 2011).

Language experts claim that intergenerational transmission is the foundation of language revitalization efforts (Fishman, 2009; Hinton, 2011; Paciotto, 2010; Verdon et al., 2014). Intergenerational transmission ensures that members of the younger generation are engaged in learning and using the language (Fishman, 1991; Lewis & Simmons, 2009). If children are not learning and using their indigenous languages, no one will be able to pass the language on to future generations eventually leading to the loss of their languages (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Intergenerational transmission of the language also supports indigenous language use beyond limitations of school programs (Verdon et al., 2014) which is particularly important if funding is cut for school programs leading to limitations of teachers, materials, or time allotted for the programs resulting in the weakened efficacy of the program. This, in turn, can lead to negative attitudes within the community regarding the role and value of the program.

While intergenerational transmission is deemed as being pivotal in language revitalization and maintenance efforts, language instruction within the school setting is not only important; it is the legal and human right of individuals to have access to an education in their indigenous language (Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010; United Nations, 1996). Language experts and activists claim that incorporating indigenous language programs within school settings proffers an official recognition of the value of the language (Hanafi, 2009; Huaman, 2014; Nguyen, 2011). The elimination or marginalization of indigenous language instruction within schools creates a power shift toward the dominant language in which indigenous cultures come to perceive their own language, culture, and identity as being somehow inferior (Black, 2010; Gallegos et al., 2010; Misco & Lee; 2012).

While indigenous language programs encounter a number of obstacles such as lack of fluent speakers, lack of language training of speakers, lack of funding for materials, and lack of support from community members or school officials, the social and other ramifications of not including indigenous languages within schools can outweigh the challenges (Hornberger, 2008; Munroe et al., 2013; Nguyen, 2011). For example, indigenous students display a higher incidence of absenteeism, a lower academic performance, drug and alcohol addiction, and "a school climate of discrimination against all things Indigenous" (Hornberger, 2008, p. 6). Similar issues were acknowledged by the Governor of Guam (Calvo, 2012) as being evident on the island prompting a need for change within the island's school system: drug abuse, crime, high dropout rates, and increased rates of unemployment and dependence on the welfare system due to low academic performance. Furthermore, inclusion of indigenous language use within schools cultivates a sense of respect for these cultures as well as a sense of identity, belonging, and pride within indigenous students as well as a heightened interest and willingness to engage in the language and culture (Haraseb, 2011).

Examples of Educational Approaches Used Among Indigenous Populations

A key focus of education vis-à-vis schools is academic achievement or success that infers the attainment of knowledge and skills mandated within a school system. While the acquiring of knowledge and skills can take place within a plethora of venues and can include social, cultural and emotional aspects, Western educational institutions most frequently refer to the learning which takes place within classrooms based on instruction; the focus is explicit knowledge and skills as set forth within curricula (Guskey, 2013). The academic achievement of students is often judged through test scores, and such results are deemed as being indicative of the student's — and nation's — ability to compete for jobs within the local and global arena (Appiah, 2012; Carnoy & Rothstein, 2013). Such an approach to education and learning is in contrast with traditional concepts and methods of what it means to be educated as a contributing member of the community.

Prior to European arrival on the shores of the ancestral lands of indigenous peoples, education was embedded within local communities and within their daily lives as an extension of their world views (Agbemabiese, 2012; Hart, 2010; Norbert-Hodge, 2010). The thrust of education as such was to prepare young people to be able to provide and care for themselves, their families, and their local communities; it was based on functional and social skills with spiritual elements embedded within all aspects of life and learning (Agbemabiese, 2012; Botha, 2010). Indigenous knowledge, or "Ways of Knowing", involved a community endeavor with a focus on the local environment, one's relationship to the components within one's local environment, a holistic epistemology, and an inclusion of spirituality in all aspects of life (Botha, 2010; Hart, 2010). Indigenous Knowledge was a process-oriented pattern of learning imparted through intergenerational transmissions, observation, and experience (Gayman, 2011; Norbert-Hodge, 2010). Children learned through the process of observation mentoring, storytelling, and trial and error.

When Europeans arrived, they brought along their own ideas, religions, and philosophy of education, which conflicted with the indigenous epistemology. Hence, there is a discrepancy between the

epistemology and ideology of indigenous ways of learning and knowing which can lead to a sense of disparity with the instruction provided within a more Western-based educational setting (Kawagley, Norris-Tull, & Norris-Tull, 1998). This lack of congruency between the learner and the learning is said to initiate and perpetuate problems encountered throughout a majority of indigenous communities such as low academic achievement, high dropout rates, low self-esteem — all of which can generate greater social issues of loss of language, loss of culture, substance abuse, suicide, and lack of employment (Black, 2010; Gayman, 2011; Lee, 2009).

Indigenous communities around the globe are implementing a variety of measures to address the specific needs of their students. Programs range from limited culture and language instruction to immersion programs wherein all instruction is provided in the indigenous language and based on indigenous epistemology. For example, in Northern Ghana the School for Life (SFL) program has been implemented as a means of promoting relevant education for students whose lives revolve about lifestyles rooted in subsistence farming and herding. Prior to the implementation of SFL, approximately 42% of school-age children were not attending schools due at least in part to the resistance of parents to previous colonialism and missionary agendas, lack of funding for quality schools, a shortage of qualified teachers, and a reliance upon children for helping the family with daily tasks. The program has been directly responsible for higher levels of attendance, improved attitudes of parents, and significant strides in student success (Mfum-Mensah, 2009, p. 144). For example,

> 81.2 percent of SFL pupils meet minimum standards for literacy and numeracy at third grade level after a nine-month cycle, whereas about 90 percent of public school pupils in sixth grade in the communities do not perform at the minimum level of reading. (Mfum-Mensah, 2009, p. 144)

Hence, the efficacy of implementing a program with curricula and materials that embody the culture of the students' community can reap significant — and positive — results.

Similar grassroots efforts in other indigenous communities have prompted comparable results. Evidence within the Dene Kede of the Northwest Territories of Canada includes a 109% increase "in enrollment of Aboriginal learners in all [college-level] programs". Navajo students within indigenous-based school programs have achieved greater strides in learning than their counterparts who had not attended the schools: "Students consistently outperformed the comparison group on national and local measures of achievement" (McCarty, 2011, p. 151). The data from longitudinal studies carried out over a 5-year period with the same cohorts indicate significantly higher scores in areas of English reading, language arts, and math, as well as "stronger Navajo oral language and bi-literacy abilities; they became stronger in both languages and had the benefit of additive bilingualism" (McCarty, 2011, p. 7).

Language revitalization efforts within the Indigenous Hawaiian and Māori communities have also realized substantial results. Both communities initially created programs (Pūnana Leo in Hawai'i and Māori Kōhanga Reo in New Zealand) in the early 1980s for preschool-age children which led to the extension of

programs through the university levels. In Hawai'i, the number of fluent speakers increased from approximately 50 speakers under the age of 18 years in the early 1980s to over 2,000 (Housman, Kawai'ae'a, & Ka'awa, 2007; Ng-Osorio & Ledward, 2011). Students enrolled in schools such as Näwahïokalaniÿöpuÿu, one of the 21 Hawaiian language immersion schools within the state of Hawai'i, "outperform the state average for all ethnic groups on high school graduation, college attendance, and academic honors. The school has a 100 percent high school graduation rate and a college attendance rate of 80 percent" (McCarty, 2011, p. 9). Similar results are evident in New Zealand: "Māori medium schools are more likely to meet both literacy and numeracy requirements (in Te reo Māori or English) for NCEA Level 1 by the end of year 11, than their Māori counterparts in English-medium schools" (Roberts et al., 2013). Furthermore, more young people are not only learning the language, but they are also graduating from high school (increased graduation rates), have gained competency in their core subjects (taught through the medium of Māori), and are committed to returning to the schools and communities they had been part of as a family as teachers of the language.

Methodology

The Design

An exploratory focus group design was deemed as being the most appropriate in addressing the specific purpose of this study as it fostered rich discussions between community members wherein thoughts, feelings, and reasons for responses and other nuances could be further explored within a more authentic social setting (Hennink, 2014; Liamputtong, 2011; Millward, 2012). Morgan (1998) argues that it is within the participants' discussions that notable insight is gained — not only into their thoughts but also the reasons for their views. As an exploratory focus group study, the data provided a greater understanding of the thoughts and feelings of community members related to the educational opportunities within the public schools as well as regarding the status of Chamorro language and culture. The conversations, reactions, and body language elicited data beyond mere statements such as would have been otherwise prompted through the use of surveys or individual interviews.

Participants

The use of purposeful sampling allowed the researcher to recruit participants who had interest and knowledge of current curricular and pedagogical practices being implemented within the schools. Upon approval from the Institutional Review Board of Northcentral University and from the Committee on Human Research Subjects of the University of Guam, over 200 email messages were sent to teachers, administrators, and community members on the island of Guam. Three determining factors were required for participation: (a) at least 18 years of age, (b) past or current involvement within Guam's educational system either as a student or educator, and (c) interest and willingness to take part in the study. In all, 24 participants — representative of diverse age groups, involvement within the education system, and of ethnicity — took part in the study (Appendix B). It should be noted that the comments posed within each group were similar in nature and irrespective of the number of participants within the groups. This point demonstrates the level of saturation that was reached regardless of the number of participants and groups.

Data Collection

Focus group sessions were held in a semi-private setting; the room was only accessible to participants, although the rest of the building was being used by the general public and, during one session, for a religious gathering. A semi-structured questionnaire, comprised of open-ended questions, was utilized to guide the conversations within the focus groups. Each question was linked to the research questions. Open-ended questions enabled the researcher to seek clarification as needed and to pursue further questioning as a means of gaining greater understanding of comments as well as the reasons behind participants' statements (Hennink, 2014). The researcher acted as the moderator or facilitator of each focus group discussion. The sessions lasted for approximately 90 minutes and were recorded using audio- and video-recording instruments by an assistant. Participants were required to acknowledge their consent in using the recording devices prior to the beginning of the focus group sessions. When possible and appropriate, the researcher noted observations such as body language and level of intensity in responses and comments.

Data Analysis

The data comprised recorded focus group discussions, as well as field notes taken by the researcher during the discussions and while watching the video recordings. The field notes provided documentation of body language and degrees of emotion displayed throughout the discussions which is advantageous in clarifying the level of emphasis placed on certain comments being made (Millward, 2012). Also included were comments gleaned from the *Pacific Daily News* (PDN) on articles related to Chamorro culture and language within the public-school system. The recordings were transcribed verbatim and uploaded into the NVivo 10 database allowing the researcher to organize and analyze the resulting data. The use of the software facilitated the identification of themes (coding) and subthemes through the use of the nodes or folders which store statements related to the theme (QSR International, 2012). Participants were invited to read through the transcript for their focus group session to verify these for accuracy.

Limitations

Potential limitations included researcher bias, bias within the questions, time, and the risk of participants altering or covering their true opinions. The researcher in this study was familiar with many people in the setting as well as with the issues at hand. To control for potential bias, the researcher she encouraged the participation of group members, became an active listener, and refrained from raising her own opinions. The researcher also asked the participants for clarification to ensure that their comments would not be misconstrued. In terms of the actual questions, the researcher controlled for bias by creating questions that encouraged discussion but were specific enough to address definitive points. The questions were submitted to several community members in Guam who were instrumental in mentoring the researcher throughout the study. Potential bias in the reporting process was addressed by encouraging participants to read through the transcripts to ensure that comments and inferences had been recorded accurately. Limitations included the shortage of time that the researcher was able to be on the island and the fact that this time was during the summer holiday when many members of the community left the island or otherwise were engaged in community events. To address the potential

limitation of the altering of comments, the researcher used initial responses to screening questions to place participants in groups in which their opinions would be most closely aligned.

Results

Research Question 1

(1) What is the attitude of community members regarding the relevance (or lack thereof) of the current classroom curriculum, materials, and instructional practices to living on Guam?

Emerging theme: Perceived lack of relevancy of curriculum, materials, and instruction to life on Guam.

The first node or theme to be identified was a perceived lack of relevancy of curriculum, materials, and instructional practices to the daily lives of Guam's community members. Participants in each of the five focus groups (100%) confirmed the lack of relevancy noting that the only relevancy occurred within Chamorro classes or when a specific teacher took it upon her or himself to make the materials and instruction more relevant. The researcher frequently needed to remind participants that this question was specific to life on Guam as a remote, tropical island in the Pacific Ocean—not on Chamorro language and culture in general. All comments related to Research Question 1 described the lack of relevancy. For example, Participant 10 (Focus Group 2) stated, "*Right now, we also have a problem with much of the curriculum is not even local, you know, or locally understood…Our education has always been for a long time…unquestioned education."* Participant 19 (Focus Group 4) noted, "*I felt there was a disconnect [sic] to the formal curriculum…. The formal curriculum is not, you know—it's totally foreign."* Participants in three of the five focus groups (60%) also noted the lack of relevancy in assessments such as the SATs.

Emerging Theme: Role of Teachers

Participants from each of the five focus groups (100%) commented on the role of teachers in creating greater relevancy of school learning to living on Guam. Examples included teachers who had taught units related to the ocean, environmental issues on Guam, and historic aspects. One participant commented that teachers were currently working on implementation of the STEM program which included identifying ways in which lessons could relate more to Guam. Several participants stated the fact that it was often teachers who were not from Guam who attempted to incorporate greater relevancy.

Emerging Theme: Obstacle to Greater Relevancy

The three factors that were most commonly addressed by focus group participants were (a) lack of resources, (b) GDOE policies, and (c) attitudes. Comments sometimes overlapped between these categories such as when GDOE policies affect funding for relevant materials. Comments associated with the absence of relevant resources were elicited in four of the five focus groups (80%). Participants in Focus Group 2 discussed the lack of materials as a result of reliance by GDOE on materials published in the United States mainland. Participants from three of the five focus groups (60%) commented on the issue of GDOE polices as being a barrier. Participant 14 talked about how GDOE has adopted different policies and programs from the United States and the impact of such programs with the local population. Participants from two of the five focus groups (40%) referred to attitudes as being an obstacle in greater

relevancy. Participant 15 from Focus Group 3 spoke about the attitude of many local community members related to a marginalized identity.

Research Question 2: Relevance of Educational Materials and Practices to Chamorro Culture

(2) What is the attitude of community members regarding the relevance (or lack thereof) of current classroom curriculum, materials, and instructional practices to Chamorro culture?

Emerging Theme: Lack of Relevancy to Chamorro Culture.

Participants in four of the five focus groups (80%) discussed the lack of relevancy of materials and instruction other than within CLCP classes or special events. Participants noted that the main reference to Chamorro language and culture was within their Chamorro classes and during special events such as Chamorro Day. Participants in Focus Group 4 discussed the question of culture being something innately learned through living within the culture as opposed to a topic that could be taught. Participant 19 (Focus Group 4) discussed learning about the culture from being immersed in it rather than through actual instruction in school: "*I went to schools, uh, that were predominantly Chamorro… so I felt like it was embedded, not explicitly in the curriculum, but just in the culture of the school of the Chamorros."*

Emerging Theme: Barriers to Greater Relevancy

The topic of barriers preventing a greater degree of relevance of materials and instruction to Chamorro culture arose in two of the five focus groups (40%). The key barriers mentioned within focus group discussions were GDOE policies, a focus on adhering to American curriculum and testing, an attitude that "*there is no to little value in that which is local"* (Participant 15, Focus Group 3), and the fact that "*there are a number of cultural groups on Guam which could lead to some people being offended"* (Participant 22, Focus Group 5). Participant 17 (Focus Group 3) expressed the view, *"…what DOE's doing is coming in, and it's really pushing every child in DOE towards academic success…without looking at their indigenousness and how they value academic success."*

Research Question 3: Attitudes of Community Members towards the Current Implementation of the Chamorro Language and Culture Program

(3) What is the attitude of community members towards the current implementation of the Chamorro Language and Culture program within the schools?

Emerging Theme: Positive Aspects

Participants in four of the five focus groups (80%) talked about the beneficial aspects of the CLCP. The majority of the comments expressed appreciation that there was a program in place while also noting other favorable aspects of the CLCP. Participants in Focus Group 2 discussed the point that although the program has many positive aspects, the purpose of the program should be clarified. Comments by participants in the different focus groups indicated that the program has helped to promote positive aspects of Chamorro culture, yet there seemed to be confusion over the program's role in teaching the Chamorro language.

Emerging Theme: Areas which need to be Adressed

Much of the discussion in each of the focus groups referred to the challenges faced by the CLCP. It should be noted that the comments were stated as aspects that needed more support and were not stated in a way as to denigrate the program. The most frequently discussed area of concern (60%) was that of inconsistencies within the program's curriculum. Group 1 deliberated on this topic in terms of inconsistencies in the actual language as well as what is taught from year to year and from school to school. The next most commonly discussed point was the lack of time and materials; participants from 3 of the 5 focus groups (60%) raised this point, although had fewer comments than that related to the lack of consistency. The topic of community attitudes and commitment also emerged during discussions in three of the five focus groups (60%). As Participant 15 (Focus Group 3) posited,

> There's just this barrier in those who teach and those who administer in which they don't really want the language to come up there…. They still sort of feel that English is superior, that sort of Chamorro should not come back to life.

Research Question 4: Attitude of Community Members towards a Greater Emphasis on Chamorro Language and Culture within Schools

(4) What is the attitude of community members toward a greater emphasis on Chamorro language and culture within the schools?

Emerging Theme: Greater Promotion of Chamorro Language and Culture

Participants from each of the focus groups (100%) elicited comments related to a greater promotion of Chamorro language and culture on the island of Guam. Hence, there appeared to be an abundance of support for taking greater strides in promoting Chamorro language and culture within educational institutions on Guam. Participants from Focus Groups 1, 2, 3, and 4 (80%) expressed the need for more time for Chamorro language and culture within GDOE schools. Participants in Focus Groups 2, 3, and 5 (60%) suggested that Chamorro language and culture could best be promoted through the means of either immersion or charter schools. Participant 17 claimed that students from Rota demonstrated greater fluency in Chamorro as well as in English and said they scored higher on college entrance exams which, he claimed, was due to the bilingual approach which had been implemented a number of years ago within the schools on Rota. Three participants in Focus Group 1 commented specifically on the correlation between self-identity and the advancement of Chamorro language and culture and raised these points:

> Participant 3: "*You want to know who you are…"*
>
> Participant 8: *"Yeah, that's what I was gonna say… It's good...to let them know that that's your identity. You need to know it"*
>
> Participant 3: "*You are part of America, but, you know, this is your territory… That's who I am, you know? It's important*".

Emerging Theme: Community Attitudes as a Barrier to a Greater Emphasis or Inclusion of Chamorro Language and Culture

Four of the five focus groups (80%) articulated the view that attitudes within the community were the overriding barrier to a greater emphasis on Chamorro language and culture within the GDOE system. At least 16 comments were elicited during the focus group conversations that were relevant to this topic. The reasons raised concerned the focus on English language skills, an imposed supposition that being more connected to an American identity was beneficial, and an assumption that the Chamorro language and culture was not necessary. The main theme to emerge from the conversation in Focus Group 1 was that of a general attitude within the community that the Chamorro language and culture was not important. Participants in Focus Groups 2 and 3 noted the point that attitude was a generational concern. For example, Participant 6 (Focus Group 2) remarked, *"My dad always said 'English is important. You learn English first.'"* Participant 15 (Focus Group 3) stated, *"In my mom's generation, it wasn't really that great to be Chamorro."* Policies and politics were also identified as being reflective of attitudes such as when GDOE reinforced English as the medium of instruction and the use of an American curriculum. This point was elaborated on as a long standing attitude: *"We're considered low class people"* (Participant 24, Focus Group 5). Participants in Focus Group 5 also discussed the issue of dichotomy wherein community members were caught in an 'either-or' dichotomy of cultures and have tried to adapt their cultural identity to a Western lifestyle and identity.

Research Question 5: Perceptions of Community Members in Regard to Promoting Greater Academic Success within Guam's Schools

(5) What ideas do community members have in regard to promoting greater academic success within Guam's schools?;and (6) What is the level of understanding that community members have regarding a connection between academic success and the promotion of indigenous languages and cultures?

Emerging Theme: The Role of Educators

Educators were deemed a key factor in student learning as mentioned by participants in each of the five (100%) focus groups. In most cases, participants described examples of exemplary teachers who had a strong positive impact on student learning. Nevertheless, several participants also provided examples of ways in which some educators inhibit student learning such as in the case of ineffective teachers. Participant 6 in Focus Group 1 described personal experiences related to school leaders and other school staff whom the participant felt were incompetent. Participants in Focus Groups 3 and 4 posited that educators needed more training, while Participant 22 (Focus Group 4) suggested that teachers lacked sufficient resources, support, and time.

Emerging Theme: The Role of Family Support

Participants from three of the five focus groups (60%) identified the importance of family support in regard to academic achievement. Participant 18 (Focus Group 4) noted that: *“parents of students who were in higher level courses such as honors classes tended to be more highly involved, while parents of students in lower level classes tended to be hands-off.”*

Emerging Theme: The Role of Culture.

Discussions arose in three of the five focus groups (60%) related to the way in which culture played a role in the attitudes of community members toward academics. For example, Participant 20 (Focus Group 4) expressed the view that education is perceived differently by community members on Guam as opposed to community members in the States. Participants in Focus Group 5 also noted a difference in culture as being a key factor in academic achievement. As noted by Participant 24, *“A lot of our people out here, we’re all, uh, geared to a laid back [lifestyle].”* Participant 23 added, “*We’re more concerned with…you know, getting enough food to feed the family, and not being concerned about whether I want to be a doctor or I want to be a scientist…. Our priorities are different.”*

Emerging Theme: The Need for Greater Relevancy

Participants in three of the five focus groups (60%) identified the need for a stronger and clearer connection between the students’ lives and schooling as a way of addressing academic success. Their comments demonstrated a consensus regarding the need for a change in what is considered to be a foreign educational approach. For example, Participant 10 (Focus Group 2) stated*, “If we continue to look to outsiders to make our curriculum, it’s never gonna really connect thoroughly.*” Participant 20 (Focus Group 4) commented, *“We’re adopting a model that was designed for one type of population to this very different type of population, so I think that's a challenge.”* The key idea elicited from the discussion in Focus Group 5 was that the reliance on American funding linked to programs from the States was counterproductive to academic achievement for Guam’s students.

Research Question 6: Level of Understanding Regarding a Connection between Academic Success and the Promotion of Indigenous Languages and Cultures

(6) What is the level of understanding that community members have regarding a connection between academic success and the promotion of indigenous languages and cultures?

Participants from each of the five focus groups (100%) noted a correlation between academic success and the promotion of indigenous languages and cultures. Participants in Focus Groups 1, 3, and 4 discussed the significance of relating learning to the students’ languages and cultures as enhancing a sense of identity which was said to be an important factor in learning. Comments from Participant 10 (Focus Group 2) inferred an understanding of the role of indigenous epistemology and indigenous knowledge: *“Education used to mean that you connected with what you can do in the community—what would make you beneficial to the community. See a need, feel a need, you know… Now it’s [about] assessment: SAT scores*.”

Participants in Focus Groups 2, 3, and 4 referred to research, thus, demonstrating an advanced interest and degree of understanding on the topic. For example, Participant 11 (Focus Group 2) stated, *"If the child is rooted culturally… they aspire academically."* Comments from participants in Focus Groups 3, 4, and 5 indicated cognizance of the role of greater relevancy as well as the benefit of being bilingual. As an example, Participant 22 (Focus Group 5) offered, *"There's [sic] a lot of studies that show that children who learn multi-languages at a younger age have greater ability when it comes to language…"*

Discussion

Evaluation of Findings

Four prominent themes emerged from the data: (a) a perceived lack of relevancy of the current curriculum, materials, and instruction to life on Guam and Chamorro language and culture; (b) the overall view that greater relevancy would be advantageous for students on Guam; (c) the perceived predominant barriers to greater relevancy; and (d) identified perceptions of how to promote greater academic achievement.

First and foremost, participants from each of the five focus groups indicated that current classroom curriculum, materials, and instructional practices lacked relevancy to life on Guam. Participants from four of the five focus groups (80%) indicated that the current curriculum and materials are not relevant to Chamorro language or culture with the exception of time during the Chamorro classes or during special events such as Chamorro Day. Participants noted several issues related to the lack of relevancy such as diminished interest and a perceived disconnection from what is taught. Participants from three of the focus groups (60%) also discussed a lack of relevancy in standardized testing, which ultimately interferes with efforts that promote greater relevancy.

Such responses were not completely unexpected as GDOE has relied heavily on the use of an American-based curriculum and American textbooks since the inception of the public school system. Furthermore, the situation on Guam is comparable to situations in other postcolonial nations (Misco & Lee, 2012; Pak & Hwang, 2011; Phiri et al., 2013) and indigenous communities (Gayman, 2011; Putnam et al., 2011; Sallabank, 2013). Researchers note that community members view themselves as being disadvantaged or less valued and educated than members of the dominant community; there is a sense of disempowerment (Alfred, 2009; Halagao, 2010). This leads to a dichotomous shift wherein members of the indigenous community believe that they must choose between maintaining their own indigenous identity or adopting the identity of the dominant power (Hermes et al., 2012; Quimby, 2010). Community members and educational leaders within indigenous and postcolonial regions tend to focus on educational priorities and stances of the dominant power. Participants in this study expressed the view that this sense of identity has continued to pervade the minds of educational leadership within the GDOE school system. However, the participants in this study questioned the existing state of affairs.

Participants from each of the five focus groups (100%) postulated that greater relevancy to life on Guam and Chamorro identity was a worthwhile endeavor that should or could be applied throughout the various subject areas. The responses of participants imply an awareness of the importance of greater

relevancy and coincide with the findings of research within indigenous communities that are implementing a more indigenous approach within schools (Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; Munroe et al., 2013; Phiri et al., 2013). The views expressed by the participants were not completely expected, primarily due to conflicting comments within general discussions in the community as well as opinions posted within the Guam *Pacific Daily News* indicating a predilection toward the American system and ideology. Nevertheless, upon closer review of the field data, the researcher noted that the most emotionally-charged comments against a more local approach tend to be elicited from only a few people and the same people each time.

Participants identified several key barriers to greater relevancy: attitudes, GDOE policies, and the lack of funding, time and resources. However, GDOE policies, funding, time and resources are indicative of previous and current attitudes within the community. Hence, the aspect of attitudes would seem to be the most critical barrier. The participants' comments mirror attitudes within other indigenous communities wherein linguists and language activists have identified the role of attitudes as being pivotal in the success of language revitalization efforts (Baker, 2011; Crystal, 2000; Fishman, 2009; Hinton, 2011; Paciotto, 2010; Sallabank, 2013). The key reasons posited for non-supportive attitudes are echoed in studies from other indigenous communities: the focus on English language skills (Pac, 2012; Sallabank, 2013), an imposed supposition that being more connected to an American identify was beneficial (Alexander, 2013; Misco & Lee, 2012), and an assumption that the Chamorro language and culture was either less important or not necessary (Black, 2010; Misco & Lee, 2012).

Responses from participants indicated an awareness of key factors related to academic achievement: (a) the role of educators, (b) the role of families, (c) the role of culture, and (d) the need for greater relevancy in the curriculum. Aspects identified in these studies as being crucial for learning are dependent upon the ways in which educators interact with students or organize learning opportunities (Desimone & Long, 2010; Hinton et al., 2012; Pillars, 2011). The responses of participants in this study placed a greater role on parent (family) involvement than has been established in comprehensive studies such as that of Lee and Shute (2010) who reported that, while parental expectations and aspirations were beneficial, the parental role was not necessarily more crucial than other factors such as student engagement and learning strategies.

The topic of the role that culture plays on attitudes of family members emerged within the discussion on family support. As an example, participants in Focus Group 5 referred to families on Guam as being more "*laid back*" in their approach to education. Participant 24 also identified the cultural value of taking care of each other and feeding the family as being perceived as more critical than education. As noted by participants, the current educational system on Guam is a product of American ideals based on American values which can conflict with the foundation of Chamorro culture and values. This factor is identified by scholars who recognize the disparity between the Western and indigenous approaches to education (Botha, 2010; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; Taufe'ulungaki, 2009).

Participants from each of the five focus groups (100%) identified ways in which the promotion of a student's native language and culture was linked to academic success. The key reasons posed were improving self-identity and self-esteem, easier to relate, enhanced interest, and being bilingual as enriching the brain. These aspects have been identified by neuroscientists as significant factors in learning such as the need for learning to be meaningful (McCall, 2012), a focus on connectivity to students' lives (Hinton et al., 2012; Pillars, 2011), and the role of support and encouragement (Li, 2012).

Implications

Based on an analysis of the results of this study and the correlation between the results and findings from the literature review, several key implications are drawn. First, community members recognize the lack of relevancy of curriculum and materials to the students' life experiences on the island of Guam as well as the indigenous culture. Second, there is evidence that at least some participants are cognizant of the correlation between the lack of relevancy and factors such as marginalization. Third, there is the awareness of a pervasive colonial mentality. Fourth, participants are aware of the discrepancy between Western and local islander views of education and life. Fifth, while participants identified the implementation of the CLCP as being a positive cultural component in schools, they also understand the significance of further communication within the community to more clearly identify the goals of the CLCP. Comments from participants also imply the evidence of a dichotomous mindset wherein people believe they must give up one language and cultural identity for another. Furthermore, there appears to be burgeoning awareness within the community of the correlation between greater relevancy of curriculum and student learning.

Recommendations

The findings of this study infer a number of recommendations for practical application as well as for future studies. One recommendation is to provide information related to the risk of language loss, the impact of language loss, and potential steps toward language revitalization and maintenance. While previous efforts are noted, the persistence of a dichotomous and colonial mentality is apparent. Hence, it may be beneficial to re-address the issues of language through informative conversations. Another recommendation is to develop and administer a survey wherein community members could indicate their potential interest in enrolling their children into a school program that seeks to promote greater relevancy to their identities and lives. Based on the outcome of the survey as well as communication resulting from potential meetings, decisions could be made as to how to address the needs and interests of community members. Additionally, a committee could be created to look into the concerns which emerged from this study (such as greater clarity in the purpose of the current CLCP) and to oversee all efforts related to indigenous identity including the promotion of language and culture and writing grants toward this purpose. A final proposal is the creation of opportunities for additional focus groups over a longer period of time, as additional groups and participants could provide greater insight and, possibly, different perspectives.

Summary

The main problem addressed by this qualitative focus group study was the need for further understanding regarding the lack of persistent academic progress among Guam's schools and the declining proficiency of the Chamorro language. Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative focus group study was to provide further understanding of the emic perspective of Guam's community members regarding the lack of persistent academic progress among Guam's schools and the declining proficiency of the Chamorro language. The findings of the data suggest that the community members involved in this study believe that a more relevant approach to education would be highly beneficial for the students on the island of Guam in terms of academic learning and socio-cultural development. It is hoped that the voices of these participants will propel community members, including leaders, into steps toward a more meaningful educational experience, which resonates with the realities of life on Guam.

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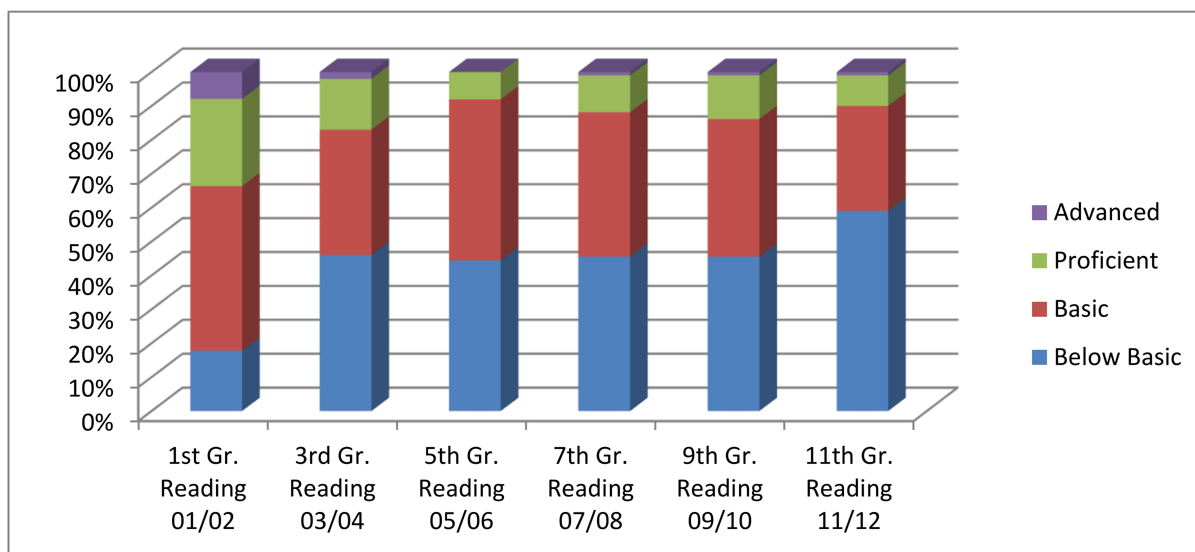
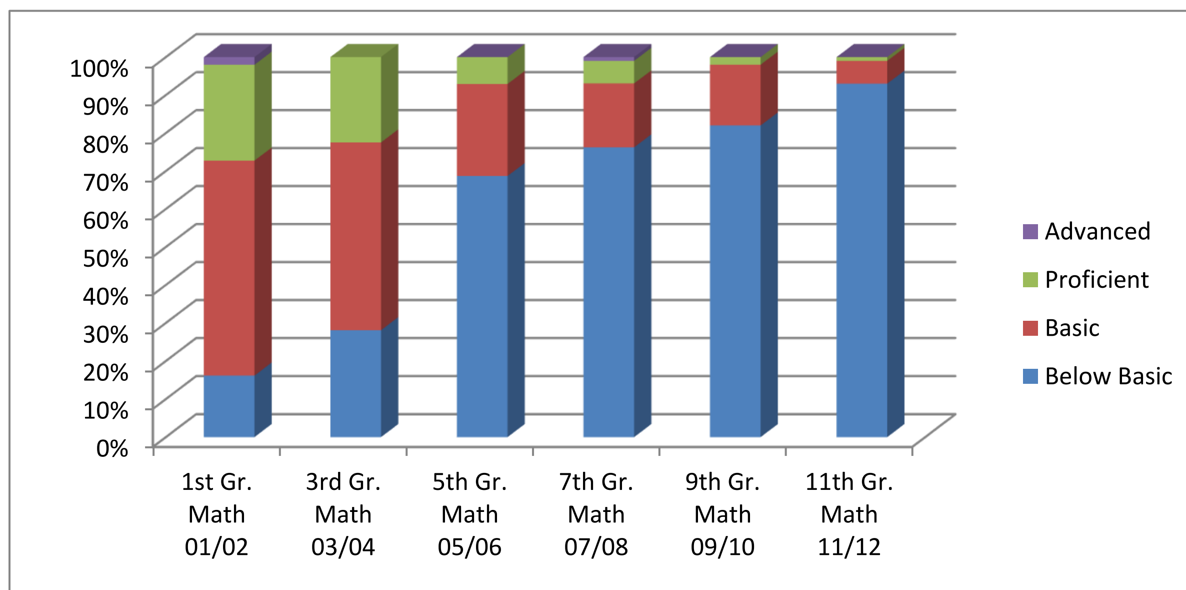
Appendix A: Annual State of Public Education Report

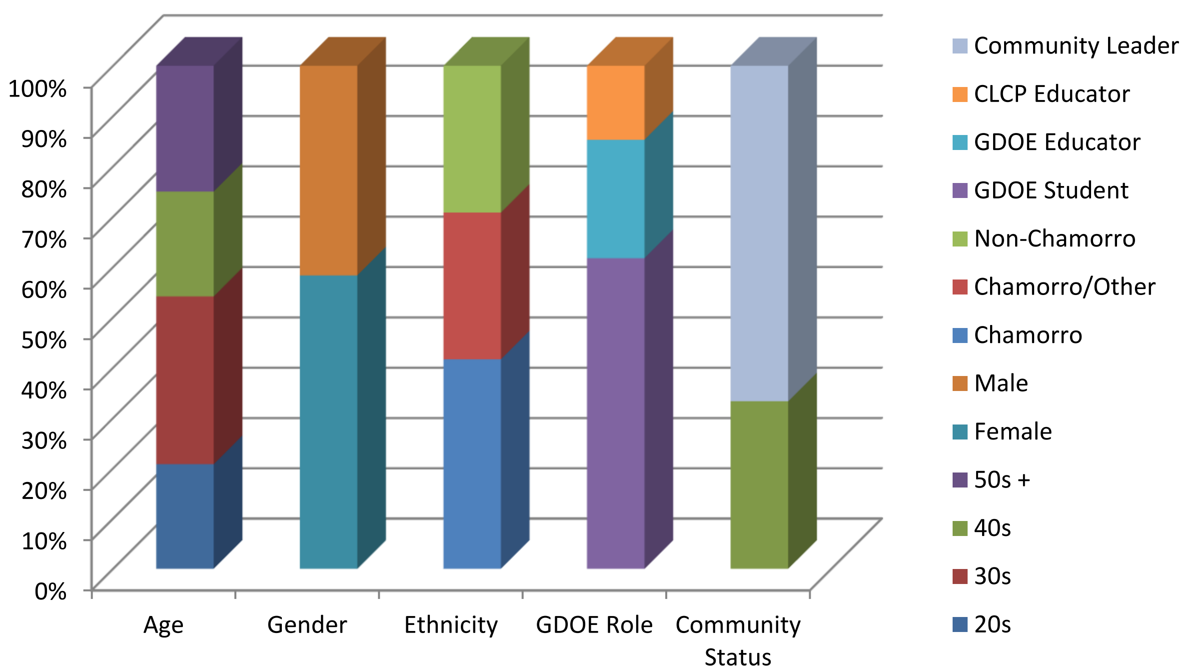


Cohort SAT Reading levels from 1st through 11th grades (GDOE, 2004, 2008, 2011)



Cohort SAT Math levels from 1st through 11th grades (GDOE, 2004, 2008, 2011a)

Appendix B: Demographics of Focus Group Participants



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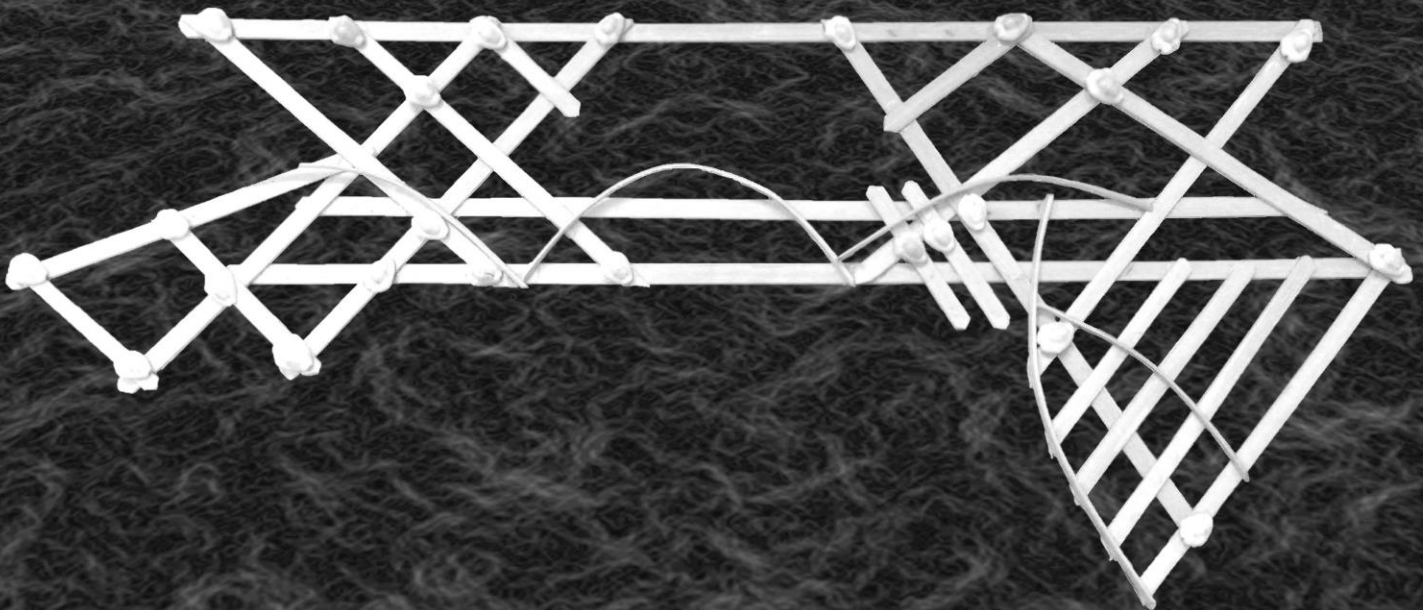
Socio-Cultural Aspects of Education in Oceania



Theorizing a Decade of Pacific Rethinking [Education]: A Realist View of Emerging Pacific Research

Kabini Sanga

Abstract

As an educational reform movement, the Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative for and by Pacific Peoples (RPEIPP) has generated considerable interest among indigenous/ local Pacific researchers. The extent of the influence of RPEIPP, however, has not yet been adequately documented. Specifically, what areas of educational research have been examined? What is the nature of the RPEIPP-influenced Pacific research? Using a realist approach, this paper reviews the emerging Pacific research literature, taking into account relevant grey literature and research theses produced during the past decade. A thematic analysis of the literature is undertaken; revealing an emerging vibrant Pacific distinctive interdisciplinary scholarship which is providing new approaches to Pacific scholarship, transforming educational thinking and reconceptualising research for a new generation of indigenous Pacific researchers. Following an analytical summation of the RPEIPP-influenced literature, speculations are made of the futures of Pacific research.

Keywords: *Pacific/Pasifika research; rethinking education; Pacific/Pasifika peoples*

Introduction

This chapter on the emerging RPEIPP Pacific research body provides a view on its theoretical features and speculates on its possible futures. The scope of this paper is limited to Pacific research as influenced by the Rethinking Pacific Education Initiative for and by Pacific Peoples (RPEIPP); an indigenous Pacific education reform movement (Thaman, 2012) which began in 2001 with a Colloquium of indigenous Pacific education leaders (Pene, Taufe'ulungaki and Benson, 2002). Cognizant of the conflicts of definition in impacts studies (White, 2009), this paper uses *as influenced* to mean *attribution*, not solely but as a contribution; an interpretation which is premised on an assumed open systems (Petruccione and Breuer, 2002) perspective of Pacific research. Unlike a closed systems view which assumes causality of influence, an open systems perspective offers a more complex and compelling overall picture (Grove, Kibel & Hass, 2005). Moreover, an open systems perspective fits with the Pacific concept of *va*, which according to Wendt (as cited by Refiti, 2002), is understood as a space of interconnectedness of relationships and influence. In undertaking this review, the paper supports the call by Levin (2009) for educational research efforts to be the subject of research so that we can "learn more about the effects of various efforts" (p.13).

In 2001, RPEIPP was conceptualized as a development project, led and implemented by indigenous Pacific Islands educators and for the first five years, funded by NZAID. The then Minister of NZAID Matt Robson (2002) lauded the initiative as “good example of how New Zealand could, in partnership, support education initiatives arising from Pacific peoples” (p. 1).

The RPEIPP responded to two areas of needs: (1). for local ownership of formal education; and (2), clear visions for formal education in Pacific countries (Pene, Taufe’ulungaki and Benson (2002). The RPEIPP vision was of Pacific education systems to promote the survival, sustainability and transformation of Pacific communities, cultures, languages and knowledge systems. RPEIPP was based on very clear principles, including leadership by Pacific peoples, enhancement of Pacific autonomy, responsiveness to Pacific priorities and facilitative engagement with Pacific partners (Sanga, 2006).

Since 2001, RPEIPP has exerted its presence in Pacific educational rethinking; having undertaken research projects, offered training for researchers, organized conferences, commissioned studies, undertaken mentorship and leader development (Sanga, 2012) and initiated targeted reform agendas on Pacific teacher educators, indigenous Pacific thinking and Pacific decolonization of research (Nabobo-Baba, 2012). According to van Peer (2008), under the RPEIPP change agenda, Pacific education books were published and the Network of Pacific Educators, the Commission on Education in Micronesia and Pacific Education Research Foundation were established.

Over the years, observations have been made of the impacts of the RPEIPP reform movement. According to Thaman (2004), RPEIPP has acted as a catalyst for change in Pacific education and has led to the interrogation of education systems from Pacific cultural perspectives. The Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (2009) has attributed RPEIPP as the primary ideological promoter of Pacific Islands languages and culture in education. Others (van Peer, 2008; Burnett, 2009; Samu, 2010; Vaka'uta, & Koya, 2014) have attributed RPEIPP influence on different aspects of Pacific education policy, practice and research. As yet, no systematic research has been undertaken to ascertain the impacts of RPEIPP on the emerging Pacific research.

The purpose of the paper is two-fold: To describe the nature of the RPEIPP-influenced Pacific research in the last decade; and to speculate on the future of Pacific research.

Paradigmatically, this is a descriptive study, aimed at setting the bases for future interpretive and critical enquiries. In writing the chapter, I state upfront that I have been closely associated with the RPEIPP; and acknowledge the vulnerabilities of an “eye witness.” Moreover, in this paper, I have taken an appreciative stance; a position which privileges certain views but is preferred to counter what the late Epeli Hau’ofa (1994) referred to as self- belittlement by Pacific Islanders.

Methodology

A realist approach to relevant Pacific education literature between 2004 and 2014 was conducted, using the process identified by Pawson (2006). A realist review is “an interpretative theory-driven

narrative summary which applies realist philosophy to the synthesis of findings from primary studies that have a bearing on a single research question" (Wong, Greenhalgh, Westhorp, & Pawson, 2012, p. 93). Developed by Pawson and Tilley, this approach learns from real world phenomena through discerning not only what works but also how and why it works (Kirst & O'Campo, 2012). A realist view uses qualitative and quantitative research as evidences, including theoretical research, grey literature, policy reviews and peer reviewed articles.

The following databases were sourced: A+ Education, EBSCOhost, Education Research Complete, ERIC, Google Scholar, Index New Zealand, Indigenous Education Research Database, New Zealand Education Theses Database, Proquest Education Journal and Teacher Reference Centre.

The following broad search terms were implemented: Pacific Island or Pacific People and policy; and educational research; and educational practice and education. The search provided four reports, fourteen books, forty-six doctoral theses, and 122 journal articles. Abstracts or executive summaries were reviewed and when found relevant to the focus of this paper; were retrieved in full and manually coded using a thematic analysis framework. In the end, four reports, thirteen books, fifteen doctoral theses and eighteen journal articles were selected and reviewed. Each was categorized once except for one book, which was used in two different themes.

Inspired by the EvaluLead Framework (Grove, Kibel & Hass, 2005), this review is organized around three themes: Advocacy, developmental and transformative research. The EvaluLead framework is used in leadership related impact studies in education, health and international development and field-tested in numerous settings (Black, Metzler & Waldrum, 2006; Black, 2007; Madsen, 2014). This paper has confined its use of the result types of the EvaluLead framework in support of the paper purpose of describing emerging Pacific research as a journey of positive growth and maturation.

The first theme of advocacy research is primarily concerned with raising the profile of a key issue, highlighting the needs of a particular people and exposing an injustice (CTB, 2014). Its aim is to heighten awareness (Marshall, 1998) or as a way of participation in policy (Sankar, 2005). Advocacy research in education addresses specific problems including practices, processes, expectations, relationships and a wide range of theoretical, methodological and political issues (Halloran, 1990 as quoted by http://www.le.ac.uk/peresources/ [*obsolete link*]). Advocacy research is sociological; serving to challenge and counter conventional works, often by raising questions rather than providing answers (http://www.le.ac.uk/peresources/ [*obsolete link*]).

The theme of developmental research is about progressive change over time (Grove, Kibel & Hass, 2005). It shows results of achievements of markers, associated stories and case studies of progress towards longer term goals at different paces and in unpredictable ways. Finally, transformational research is institutionalized within contextual policy, practice and research environments. From a process perspective, transformation research shows a profound direction, departure or level of change (UNDP, 2011). It is achieved and sustained over time and leads to improvements of peoples' lives. It is marked by

national or regional actors effecting the transformational change (UNDP, 2011), through evidences obtained from personal reflections and shifts in indicators at individual, organizational and societal levels.

Results

The review results are organized into three themes: Advocacy, developmental and transformational research.

Advocacy Research

The majority of the reviewed literature can be categorized as advocacy research. Altogether, two reports, seven books, six doctoral theses and seven journal articles were reviewed and further categorized into the following sub-themes:

Stakeholder Contribution in Education

As formal schooling is introduced, Pacific researchers have been calling for greater participation in education. In a thesis on Tongan mothers' participation, MacIntyre (2008) investigated the contributions of Tongan mothers and called for the inclusion of Tongan language, culture and lived experiences in the education of Tongan children. In the first of two books reviewed, Sanga, Niroa, Matai and Crowl (2004) documented the critiques of Ni-Vanuatu authors on numerous aspects of Vanuatu education including systems, processes, culture, values, language and learning, calling for greater Ni-Vanuatu involvement in formal education. In the second book by Dorovolomo, Koya, Phan, Veramu, and Nabobo-Baba (2008), calls for Pacific-embedded contributions were made as numerous authors discussed issues of teaching and learning approaches, strategies and research. Finally, in an article on inclusive education in Samoa, Faamanatu-Eteuati (2011) found practices to be inconsistent with the policy rhetoric; and called for the inclusion of voices representing students.

Pacific Cultures in Education

In this sub-theme, two theses, one report and two journal articles were reviewed. In the first thesis, Kalavite (2010) examined the factors which contributed to the academic achievements of Tongan students in New Zealand; and found that mutual understanding and respect of both Tongan and New Zealand social and academic cultures were positive. Second, Ng Shiu (2011) examined the enabling and disabling experiences of Samoan tertiary health students at a New Zealand university; noting that enabling and disabling learning experiences related to individual agency, family, university, spirituality and friends.

In a report by Schofield, Walker and Going (2011), the achievements of Pacific and Maori students in a private training institution identified the positive factor of relationships. Finally, in the two articles, Toso (2011) called for a Samoan approach to spirituality for early childhood practices involving Samoans in New Zealand, and Thaman (2009) called for cultural democratization of schooling, to include indigenous Pacific ways of teaching and learning.

Schools-Pacific Context Mismatches

In this sub-theme, one book, an article and a thesis were reviewed. First, in ‘Otunuku, Nabobo-Baba and Johansson-Fua (2014), twenty-four authors wrote on a wide range of topics, pointing out mismatches between Pacific socio-cultural contexts and that of the school. Second, in a New Zealand thesis, Manueli (2012) found a mismatch in the institution’s expected Information Communication Technologies (ICT) skill levels for students with their actual skill levels. Third, in an article on Samoan New Zealand students, Leaupepe (2011) pointed out the place of Play for early childhood education students and offered ways of negotiating the tensions of views of Play in school settings.

Critiques of Frameworks, Identities and Understandings

In this sub-theme, two theses, two books, three articles and one report were reviewed. In the first thesis, Tongati'o (2010) described the policy process, approach and strategy used by the New Zealand Ministry of Education in its development of Pasifika education plans between 1993 and 2009; and offered insights on educational planning for Pasifika peoples. In the second, Samu (2013) analyzed the constructs of diversity and Pacific/Pasifika education as used in New Zealand. Samu deconstructed these constructs, their assumed understandings and representations, thereby deepening their policy usages.

In the first of two books, Baba, Mahina, Williams and Nabobo-Baba (2004) offered a myriad of critiques of Pacific and indigenous research theories, frameworks, concepts, practices and uses; and made suggestions for improving understandings of Pacific research. In the second, Sanga and Thaman (2009), presented the works of fourteen Pacific educational leaders who critiqued curricula by questioning assumptions, assessing reforms and challenging policies and practices.

In the first of three articles, Samu (2011) presented the voices of Samoan women on formal education and how these changed over time. Second, Vaka’uta (2011) presented a dialogue on Fijian identity and belonging; arguing for citizenship education which is socially cohesive. Third, Siteine and Samu (2011) investigated how Pacific peoples had been represented and stereotyped in the New Zealand School Journal between 2002 to 2009.

In the only report reviewed, Chu, Abella and Paurini (2013) used the Kakala Research Framework appreciatively to record Pacific tertiary students’ experiences to better understand their academic needs and achievements in New Zealand settings. The authors offered ideas including appreciative pedagogy, teaching and learning relationships and institutional commitment.

Critiques of International Aid in Pacific Education

Two edited books were reviewed on this sub-theme. First, Sanga, Chu, Hall and Crowl (2005), showcased the works of thirty scholars who analyzed the relationships between international donors and Pacific country recipients of aid. Authors covered numerous topics and offered suggestions for improving donor-recipient relationships. Second, Sanga and Taufe’ulungaki (2005) presented the works of ten Pacific educators who critiqued aid policies, processes, projects and impacts in Pacific countries.

Developmental Research

Under developmental research, eight theses, eleven journal articles and two books were reviewed; and categorized into the following sub-themes:

Development of Indigenous Research Frameworks

Indigenous Research frameworks situate the research process within the epistemologies of indigenous pacific peoples. The nature of these frameworks privilege local indigenous worldviews and epistemologies as well as languages and cultures. The frameworks are postcolonial and original, they are intrinsically woven, affirm and guided by indigenous knowledge systems, aspirations and cultural protocols of knowledge giving and receiving.

In the first thesis, Fouvaa (2011) examined the maintenance of Samoan language in New Zealand and offered the concept of Fono a le nu'u (meeting) as a framework for preservation of the Samoan language. In the second, Joskin (2013) investigated the implementation of curriculum in Papua New Guinea; proposing the Kibung (gathering) Framework as a conceptual tool for curriculum implementation.

In the first of four articles, Sauni (2011) examined the practices of researchers in their engagements with Samoans and offered the Ula Model of Engagement. In the second, Vaioleti (2006) proposed an exposition on Tongan talanoa as a research method. In the third, Nabobo-Baba (2008) proposed her Fijian Vanua Research Framework for indigenous Fijian contexts. In the fourth, Sanga (2013) described the nature of the emerging Pacific Islands metaphors as used by Pacific researchers.

Applications of Indigenous Research Frameworks

Two theses and four articles were reviewed. In the first thesis, Vudiniabola (2011) examined the Fijian Nursing curriculum by successfully using the Vanua Research Framework by Nabobo-Baba (2008). In the second, Cowley-Malcolm (2013) explored the perceptions of Samoan parents about childhood aggression by using approaches including the Fa'afaletui Framework.

In the first of four articles, 'Otunuku (2011) discussed his use of Tongan talanoa method in a study on Tongan parents' understanding of the New Zealand school system. In the second, Amituanai-Toloa (2009) argued for a culturally appropriate method to improve research outcomes for Samoans. In the third, Fletcher, Parkhill, Fa'afoi and Taleni (2006) used a Pasifika research approach to explore the literacy experiences and achievements of Pasifika students in New Zealand. In the fourth, Tuafuti (2011) discussed the use of fa'asamoa protocols, describing the challenges encountered and offering ways of moving forward.

Articulations of Indigenous Concepts and Ideas

In the first of four theses, Chu (2009) examined the mentoring for Pacific students and offered an Appreciative Mentoring Framework for nurturing mentor-protégé relationships. In the second, Ruru (2010) examined the effectiveness of international aid in Fiji teacher education and offered the Bure Framework. In the third, Vaioleti (2011) advocated for the inclusion of Tongan educational concepts to

enhance teaching and learning of Tongan students and proposed an integrated Tongan learning framework. In the fourth, Panapa (2014) offered the Ola Lei Framework for health education in Tuvalu; one which is place-derived and informed.

In the first of two books, Sanga and Kidman (2012) documented works by fourteen emerging Pacific researchers, all graduates of Victoria University of Wellington. Inspired by RPEIPP, the book covered topics including citizenship, identity, mentoring, curriculum, teaching and learning. In the second, 'Otunuku, Nabobo-Baba and Johansson-Fua (2014) acknowledged the works of twenty-four authors who offered ideas about philosophies, policies, processes, framings and practices; derived from Pacific contexts and realities.

Of the three articles, the first by Sanga and Walker (2012) described the Malaitan mind—ontological, cosmological, anthropological, epistemological, metaphysical and axiological representations of indigenous Malaita, Solomon Islands. In the second, Aue Te and Rubie-Davies (2011) explored the concept of a culturally responsive pedagogy; offering the Tivaevae Framework as an analytical metaphor for teaching and learning responsively to Cook Islands students. In the third, Johansson-Fua, Ruru, Sanga, Walker and Ralph (2012), presented Pacific mentorship metaphors, obtained from a creative process by Tongan and Fijian educators; and for use in Pacific contexts.

Transformational Research

The theme of transformational research attracted the least number of outputs: five books (one repeated), one thesis and two reports. These works are further categorized into the following sub-themes:

Leadership Development Conceptualizations

In an edited book by undergraduate students of Victoria University of Wellington, Chu, Rimoni and Sanga (2011) recorded the visionary images of the students of future Pacific leadership; creations of leadership which were inspired by the leadership stories of their post-graduate student counterparts. The use of collages and imageries is a novel idea of framing and applying leader/leadership development.

Storytelling Methodology

Storying lives sometimes referred to as talanoa or narrativity is a dominant pedagogy in Pacific contexts and methodology for research (Nabobo-Baba, Houma and Veramu; 2008). In this sub-theme, storytelling for educational and leadership development is highlighted. In the first of three books, Sanga and Chu (2009) compiled a collection of leadership stories by their students. Capturing the leadership stories of students (as opposed to status-position holders) is a novel way; still uncommon in the popular literature on leadership.

In the second, Nabobo-Baba, Houma and Veramu (2008) captured the stories of their students and Pacific educators and colleagues at the University of the South Pacific; sharing personal stories of perceptions, experiences and reflections of their own educational journeys. In the third, Chu, Rimoni and Sanga (2011) demonstrated how personal stories of leadership were applied by a younger cohort of

university students for their own leader development experiences. All three books are evidences of an innovative and inspirational methodology.

Indigenous Knowledge Creation

In this sub-theme, one book and one thesis were reviewed. The book by Sanga (2014) is based on a research project of the Gula'alā people of Solomon Islands; written in Gula'alā language on the subject of indigenous ethics for the cultural sustenance and survival of this people. In the thesis by Aporosa (2013) a Vanua Research Framework was used to offer a post-development perspective on traditional-contemporary tensions in yaqona consumption by Fiji teachers. This study gave recognition of place-based knowledge and local voices to people who must, themselves, find solutions to local challenges.

Policy Influences

In the first of two reports, Johansson-Fua's (2012) Research Manual for Tongan Teachers has become a policy document; adopted and used by the Tonga Ministry of Education. Second, at an institutional level, Falepau and van Peer (2010) have documented the influences of RPEIPP on the Pacific Strategy, a policy document of Whitireia Community Polytechnic of New Zealand.

Discussion

A number of characteristics are observed of the emerging Pacific research, as follows:

Use of Pacific Contextual Metaphors

Particularly in the developmental research category, a first feature of the emerging Pacific research is its use of Pacific metaphors. Examples include: from Tonga, the Kakala Research Framework; and Talanoa methodology; from Fiji, the Vanua Research Framework and from the Cook Islands, the Tivaevae Framework. Others include the Samoan Ula model of engagement as well as the Ola lei Framework from Tuvalu.

While the use of indigenous Pacific Islands metaphors predates RPEIPP, the past decade has certainly witnessed a level of usage, never seen before. Understandably, as indigenous Pacific researchers take their place in academia; they are using their own metaphors to demonstrate understanding (Garner, 2005), stimulate and prompt actions in others (Elliot, 1984) and inspire creativity in their areas of scholarship (Bryant & Zillman, 1988). As cultural constructs, metaphors are not without limitations. However, by using indigenous metaphors, Pacific research is consistent with other indigenous voices (Battiste, Bell, Findlay, Findlay and Henderson, 2005) in their calls for increased pluralism in research (Andreotti, Ahenakew & Cooper, 2010).

The metaphors used in the emerging Pacific research are distinctively Pacific. Elsewhere, Sanga (2013) had described these metaphors as active. Hence, the metaphor of talanoa is an everyday Tongan activity; as is the bure (Fijian house) a salient image in Fiji; or the tivaevae in the Cook Islands. As well, the metaphors are visual, such as the fono e le nu'u (a Samoan village meeting) or a kibung (PNG gathering). Moreover, the metaphors used are culturally embedded in and relevant to the Pacific. This point is in

contrast to conventional usage of metaphors which targets politics, morality and religion (Kovecses, 2010).

Pacific Islands Source Influences

A second feature of the emerging RPEIPP infused Pacific research body relates to the strong influences of Pacific Islands sources. For instance, 'Otunuku's work on Talanoa obtains its inspirations from Vaioleti's; or that Sauni's work on Ula model is referenced to Samoan experiences and life-worlds. As well, Nabobo-Baba's Vanua Research Framework is entirely referenced to the indigenous Fiji context. Equally so, in the advocacy research, Vaka'uta's article or the report by Chu, Samala and Paurini were referenced against works by Thaman (2009), Taufe'ulungaki (2009) and Nabobo-Baba (2009); all Pacific Islanders themselves.

By drawing from Pacific Islands sources, the body of emerging Pacific research has since 2000 obtained insights from indigenous Pacific Islands philosophies; affirming indigenous Pacific ontologies, epistemologies and axiologies; and in doing so building on indigenous Pacific research methodologies. This robust connection is evident of place-rootedness and confidence.

Centring of Indigenous Pacific Voices

The Pacific has numerous indigenous groups and voices. Not all are currently represented in the emerging RPEIPP Pacific research profile. This point aside, a third feature of the Pacific research is its centring of indigenous Pacific voices. This feature is evident in the honouring by indigenous Tongans, researching Tongans; or by Samoans researching Samoans or by indigenous Fijians researching iTaukei.

Moreover, centring of indigenous Pacific voices is seen in other ways. For instance, there is an unapologetic use of Pacific languages such as Tongan, Tuvalu or Solomon Islands languages (Houma, 2008; Sanga, 2014) and others; in the emerging Pacific research. As well, centring is seen in the prioritizations of deconstructionist (Vaka'uta, 2013), re-constructionist (Johansson-Fua, 2014; Samu, 2013) and post-development (Aporosa, 2013) research agendas.

Such centring is important. By doing so, Pacific scholars are making the point that indigenous Pacific is also a thinking place; a point which is not necessarily accepted in the university. By using indigenous Pacific languages of thinking, Pacific researchers are, in the views of Battiste, et al, (2005), reclaiming, recovering and restoring their indigenous knowledge systems in highly colonized sites. Moreover, because knowledge is encoded in language (Simpson, 2004), using indigenous languages establishes and legitimizes indigenous Pacific scholarship as intellectual spaces.

Generosity-oriented Research

A fourth feature of the emerging Pacific research body is in its generosity-oriented nature. The Pacific scholarship is consistently about doing research as a way of giving back to people; whether they are Samoans or Tongans. Consistently, Pacific researchers talk about doing research for the betterment of their families, cultural communities, nation states or the Pacific region; and not necessarily to advance

personal career goals, disciplinary or knowledge interests. In their thesis report acknowledgements, researchers are considerably generous in thanking their friends, families and guardians. Moreover, the Pacific research appears rich in its service-orientation to a new generation of Pacific researchers (Sanga and Chu, 2009), specific communities (Sanga, Matai, Niroa and Crowl, 2004) or to the Pacific region (Sanga and Thaman, 2009). This service-orientation scholarship is a feature of indigenous research in other parts of the world.

Islands/Diaspora Relationships

A final feature of the emerging Pacific research can be expressed in two ways: First, the living indigenous cultures of the Islands (as motherlands) are feeding the intellectual hunger of diasporic researchers. Where Pacific metaphors or imageries are used by diasporic researchers, these are always obtained from and reflective of the Islands. This fact may be true of first generation indigenous researchers, all of whom are familiar with the islands yet are living in Pacific-rim settings.

Second, the diasporic researchers and not their Islands counterparts are leading the advancement of the emerging Pacific research. This point is evident by both the volume of outputs from as well as the thought-leadership demonstrated by diasporic scholars. Limitations of methodology aside, such claims of voluminous production of outputs can be explained by a number of factors including privilege, funding, capacity and more.

The Future of Pacific Research?

The emerging Pacific research is dynamic and its future, potentially explosive and multi-routed. From the review, the following speculations are made.

First, the rethinking of Pacific education will continue in the next decade. This will be in the form of strong advocacy research, particularly from those representing Small Island States (e.g. Tokelau, Tuvalu, Niue, Nauru, Cook Islands), special needs communities and the sub-regions of Melanesia and Micronesia. While some Small Island States appear to have been served under the Pacific regional and Pasifika advocacy research to date, the next decade's focus will shift into specific identity reclaiming research. Similarly, with heightened awareness of rights and needs, special needs communities will have their voices represented more intensely.

Though not exclusively, the advocacy research from Melanesia will have two salient features: It will be bold in its expositions of indigenous intellectual traditions as it counters perceived intellectual injustices, misrepresentations and misunderstandings by the formal education systems; and, the Melanesian scholarship is expected to be strongly clan-based; reflective of the diverse, pluralistic and egalitarian nature of indigenous Melanesia. The future advocacy research by Tongans, iTaukei and Samoans is likely to be more clan/family oriented.

Ongoing Pacific regional and diaspora advocacy research is expected. However, these are likely to focus on intercultural research, ongoing injustices and research which is responsive to and part of international, regional and national indigenous agendas.

Second, the next decade will see a heightened interest in developmental research. Besides sustained outputs from current active Pacific and Pasifika researchers, those representing Small Island States, Micronesia and Melanesia are expected to feature strongly. In their contributions, a rich array of indigenous metaphors will be introduced, applied, theorized and re-conceptualized. More so, the next decade will witness a new generation of Pacific researchers, many of them representing clans, assert their thinking spaces; and in doing so, requiring the knowledge systems of formal schooling to adapt and re-engage. Hopefully, Pacific research might reap an intellectual harvest of truth-seeking and freedom, not yet experienced in formal schooling. Finally, mature Pacific researchers will need to orientate their developmental research towards more educative purposes; thereby nurturing a new community of Pacific convergence researchers who can engage in intellectual middle grounds and with multiple research traditions.

Third, transformational research is going to be the cornerstone of the future Pacific research. Due to its authentic nature, its generosity-service orientation and relational nature, Pacific research has potential to inspire global scholarship. To be transformative, Pacific research must be imagined and conceptualized by Pacific peoples. It must voice the numerous, changing and sometimes, conflicting voices of Pacific peoples; using genres including dance, song and silence. Moreover, indigenous Pacific languages must be the principal modes of thinking in future Pacific research. Such a starting point is necessary for context-informed teaching, learning and intellectualizing. Additionally, language ensures that future research serves the peoples who speak the language. In other words, while global knowledge interests are important, they are secondary to Pacific priorities—including keeping their intellectual spaces alive and vibrant.

Limitations

A number of limitations of this study are acknowledged. First, as a subjective study, it is susceptible to cognitive, methodological, practical and personal choices and biases. However, a subjective study was desired hence the decision to use a realist approach. Second, the sample literature used may not be representative of the emerging Pacific research. Even so, it is hoped that the findings of this study can motivate further research covering a broader literature base. Third, this study is not longitudinal, a design deemed more appropriate for measuring pragmatic impacts. However, as a first study, this work has established some baseline positions for future theorizing of Pacific research.

Conclusion

In this review, the emerging RPEIPP infused Pacific research body is categorized thematically as advocacy, developmental and transformational. It uses Pacific contextual metaphors and draws its inspirations from Islands sources. As well, Pacific research is marked by its centering of Pacific voices and its generosity-service orientation. Finally, Pacific research is led and supported by a symbiotic familial

relationship between the Island and the diasporic Pacific. Based on this review, speculations are made; painting a picture of a future Pacific research which is dynamic in all three thematic areas.

Glossary

Bure: An indigenous Fijian house

Fa'asamoa: The Samoan way

Fa'afaletui: A Samoan research framework, reflecting Samoan values

Fono a le nu'u A Samoan village meeting, used as a metaphor for research

iTaukei: Indigenous Fijians

Kakala: A Tongan garland making process; used as a research framework

Kibung: Papua New Guinea meeting, used as metaphor for engagement

Ni-Vanuatu: A person or persons from Vanuatu

Ola lei: Tuvalu for peaceful, harmony, contentment and happiness

Pasifika: Generic term for New Zealanders of Pacific Islands heritage/ ancestry

Talanoa: A conversation (as used in Tonga, Samoa & Fiji)

Tivaevae: A Cook Islands quilt

Ula: A Samoan model for engagement

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The Politics of Security and Insecurity in Fiji: Delving into and Including Indigenous Epistemologies and Knowledge Systems – Implications for Education in Fiji

Alumita Durutalo

Abstract

Security and insecurity are not new concepts in the evolution of Fiji's political history. Indigenous Fijian epistemology through oral history and culture highlight crucial concepts that are directly linked with the foundation of security or *"tudei"* in Fijian society. Likewise, the erosion of security leading to insecurity or *"tiko yavavala,"* is also highlighted through Fijian epistemology. The conceptualization of security and insecurity changes over time through history as Fiji evolves from the pre-colonial to the post-colonial periods.

In the conceptualization of indigenous security thinking, Fijian political history narrates pre-colonial power and leadership struggles amongst different chiefdoms for the extension of political power and control of resources. High chiefs commanded their own *mataivalu*[1] for the security of their *vanua*[2] and people. However, pre-colonial political engagement in terms of the extension of geo-political boundaries, changed drastically after the contact period. The establishment of the colonial state on 10th October, 1874 and the introduction of the new rule of law, rigidified a once complex political system. To ensure social and political control, the colonial state introduced new rules of engagement regarding security. However, these took their own unique peculiarities in the colonies and former colonies like Fiji. While peace was basically maintained through the compliance of a number of revamped customary and colonially created institutions during the period of colonization, this peace was directly challenged in the post-colonial era. At independence, Fiji inherited a number of complex issues, some of these contributed directly to power struggles, resulting in three military and one civilian coups between 1987 and 2006.

The chapter discusses the changing phases of security and insecurity in Fiji; the marginalization of the indigenous forms of security thinking and the increasing dominance of new forms of security

[1] Mataivalu refers to traditional/customary warriors of high chiefs. They were the defenders of a vanua which encompassed, chiefs, traditional leaders, resources and people in a geo-political boundary.
[2] Vanua is a geo-political boundary within which a high chief rules.

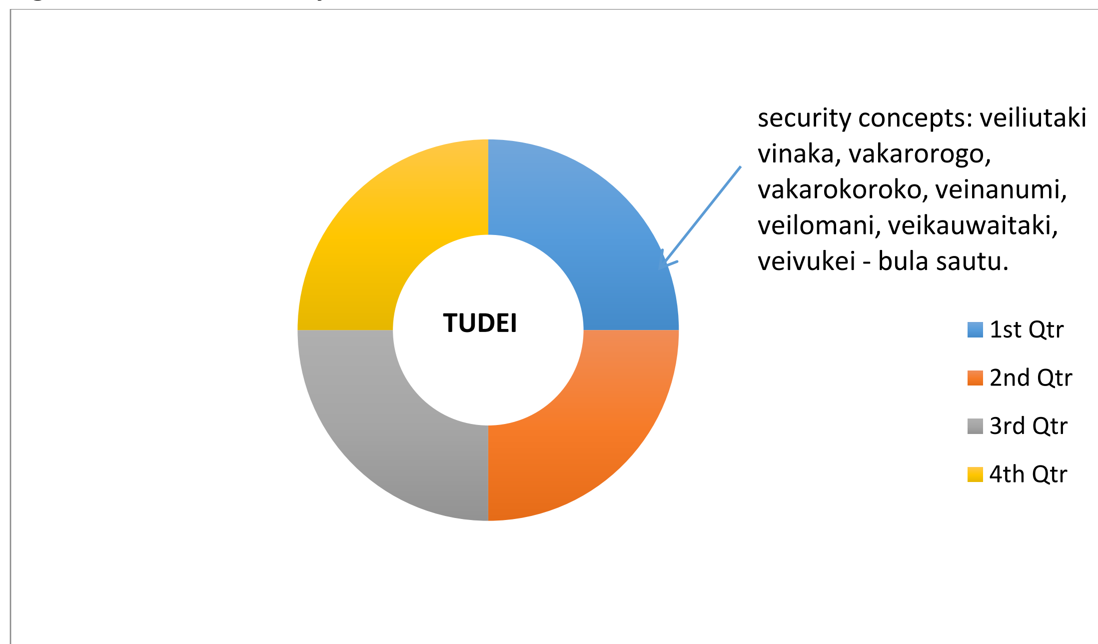
through modern liberal democracy. This has seen continued military interventions and intermittent military dictatorships after general elections, posing the greatest challenge to security in Fiji. Security thinking and conceptualization in the indigenous context, based on indigenous epistemology has been distorted and marginalized through new/modern security thinking. An initial qualitative study via in-depth interviews done in 2014 is also reported here.

Keywords: *Tudei or security; tiko yavavala or insecurity; epistemology; indigenous; politics; pre-colonial state; consensus decision making; indirect rule; post-colonial state; liberal democracy; elections; patron-clientelism; patronage; vote buying; militarism; political security; human security*

Introduction: Fijian Epistemology and Security

Indigenous Fijian epistemology defines "security" as *"tudei"* or "qaqaco", meaning standing firm, stable, steadfast or well grounded. In this particular context, "tu" means to stand or something that stands and "*dei"* means firm, stable, steadfast, or well grounded. The opposite of "t*udei*" is "tiko y*avavala*" meaning, shaky, unstable and ungrounded. Tudei or security as an indigenous ideology, is the end product and at the core of a complex web of interlinking concepts. In a diagrammatic illustration, tudei may be presented in the following way:

Figure 1: Tudei or Security Model



As highlighted in the illustration above, *"Tudei*" in indigenous Fijian epistemology is a wholistic philosophical concept, represented by the core of the circle. The different colored sphere around the core represent the interlinking web of concepts that strengthen and hold the core together.

Security or tudei is achieved with the positive alignment of life physically and spiritually through the three Fijian cosmologies comprising Lagi (the realm of the Gods), *Vuravura* (Earth, the *Vanua* or the

space of the living), and *Bulu* (the Underworld, resting place and world of the deceased ancestors).[3] The cosmos are continuously interacting physically and spiritually through their inhabitants. When rules of engagement are observed, there is a positive alignment of the cosmos, enabling "*Tudei"* or security amongst the living.

Philosophically speaking, in indigenous Fijian epistemology, one cannot expect stability in one's life by breaking the norms and rules of society or by polluting the environment in which one lives and gets his or her sustenance from. Life, in this context, is a complex web of relationships involving the continuous interaction of the physical (and social) and the spiritual.

How can Tudei*/Security be achieved?*

The practice of a number of interrelated concepts enable security within communities and or societies. These include the practice and observance of a number of inter-related concepts such as:

"Veiliutaki vinaka" or good leadership is a core tenet of "tudei" or security. A good leader leads an exemplary life and considers the welfare of his or her people as his primary focus. A good leader settles disputes amicably, redistributes resources fairly and is just and fair in his or her decision making. An end product of good leadership is the achievement of "*bula sautu"* or "good life" by those he or she leads. i.e. or she is visionary. Good life denotes a state of well- being, peace and plenty in a *vanua* or land.

Linked to the concept of "*veiliutaki vinaka*" is the concept of ***"Vakarorogo."*** Good leadership will make people want to listen to or submit to sanctioned authority. A good leader normally receives total (or almost total) leadership support from his or her people. Such leadership earns ***"Vakarokoroko***" or respect from the people; it is a virtue achieved as a result of good leadership. *Vakarokoroko* is a gesture that involves people showing respect to elders and leaders. Respect is expressed through language *"itovo vakavosa"* and cultural expressions of respect **"*veirokovi*"**. Security thinking in indigenous Fijian epistemology is also highlighted in the use of language to foster respect amongst people. A person who does not show respect through his or her proper language usage not only reflect "poor breeding" but can cause conflict and war. Likewise, a person that behaves badly is seen in similar light, *"sega ni vakaitovo*" and can be a menace to society.

The three similar and inter-related concepts of "Veilomani", "Veikauwaitaki" and "Veivukei" also contribute to security and stability in society. *Veiloman*i is the act of love shown towards fellow humans and this act also indicates *veikauwaitaki* or concern for others and is further linked to *veivukei* which is help given to others who are in need. The fulfilment of these indigenous concepts will ultimately result in the achievement of *"duavata"* or unity which stems from working together for the benefit of social units (itokatoka – extended families, ***mataqali*** – sub clans, ***yavusa*** – clans, ***vanua*** – geo-political units, ***matanitu*** – lose forms of states).

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[3] Nabobo-Baba, U. 2007. *Knowing and Learning: An Indigenous Fijian Approac*h. Suva, University of the South Pacific/IPS Press.

The ultimate sign of security within a community, society or vanua is *"bula sautu"*, a stage in life where the land is fruitful and there is an expression of happiness by the people, reflecting *"bula galala"*, or freedom. This on the whole indicates that leadership must be good and people are following the norms of society. When people are satisfied or happy they ultimately are in the right spirit or "*yalo dodonu*" and become agreeable with their leaders in the physical and spiritual sense.

Every action has meaning and implications in the long term. As an example, in my *vanua* it is an indigenous conservation practice when digging for *"tivoli*" or wild yams in the forest that the plant root is re-buried so that the plant regrows and in the next yam season, there will be yams to harvest again. The consequence of not reburying yam plants is not having yams in the next yam season. In indigenous Fijian epistemology, the Gods do not bless the land and environment when it is abused, nor do they bless lazy people. Replanting is part of resource conservation and resource management that modern agriculture science teaches us but our ancestors have practiced this for thousands of years.

Insecurity/Tiko Yavavala as an Indigenous Fijian Concept

Insecurity, according to indigenous Fijian epistemology is a consequence of unacceptable behavior or behavior that is not condoned by members of society. This can lead to conflicts if not resolved amicably. Restorative justice through consensus decision making is crucial to the maintenance of security and stability in a community, society or *vanua.* Therefore, to maintain peace and security, conflict resolutio*n* is an important aspect of any type of leadership from the most basic to the most complex social units.

In indigenous Fijian epistemology, conflict resolution is most important to maintain social solidarity and security because at the end of the day, members of a clan who are in a conflict situation may have to go and plant on the same piece of communally owned land or fish in the same communally owned fishing ground. In an earlier work I had posited:

> From a modern functionalist perspective, social solidarity depends on harmonious living amongst individuals and groups[4].

The non-resolution of conflicts can ultimately lead to insecurity and complex situations, more so now as Fijian society has evolved from the pre-colonial to the colonial and post-colonial contexts. Modern socio-political and economic relations have emerged and simultaneously introduce new forms of conflicts which are quite challenging to resolve. The non-resolution of conflicts can result in continuous fully fledged conflicts such as Fiji's recurring coups.

Traditional Legitimacy and Indigenous Thinking about Security in the Early Period of Contact (1700s to 1800s)

[4] Durutalo, A. 2003. "Informal Justice in law and justice reform in the Pacific Region" in *A Kind of Mending: Restorative Justice in the Pacific Islands,* Dinnen, S. et al. (Eds). The Australian National University, Pandanus: p. 171.

European contact and influence extended the realm and meaning of security amongst indigenous Fijians. Political security increasingly became contested ground amongst powerful chiefdoms in eastern and northeastern Fiji as chiefs fought for political supremacy. A few high chiefs realized the importance of the newcomers and their newly introduced goods. Tanoa of Bau, for example, made use of the musket skills of Charles Savage, a shipwrecked sailor, to consolidate his political leadership. Savage became "the *Vunivalu's* or Warlord's White man" by supplying firearms as well as teaching Tanoa and his warriors how to use firearms on their enemies. This new knowledge contributed to the rise of *Bau* and the eclipse of *Verata*, two powerful chiefdoms in eastern Fiji. Derrick describes the growth of powerful chiefdoms in Fiji as coinciding with the introduction of modern weapons such as firearms. He explains:

> The Lakeba people who met Cross and Cargill, on the beach in October, 1835, carried muskets, spears, one club, a bayonet fixed to the end of a pole, bows, and bundles of arrows.[5]

Although armed with new weapons, an important point that was observed about early forms of Fijian warfare was the observance of established rules in their conduct. Derrick further narrates that:

> Native warfare was conducted with due observance of ceremonial and established rules, even among the hill people.[6]

Security thinking extended further with the arrival of missionaries in 1835. Christianization consolidated the power of some high chiefs in some *vanua* in eastern and northeast Fiji. The establishment of the new *lotu* (religion) through Christianity, strengthened the foundation of the orthodoxy of *vanua (geo-political boundary), lotu* (religion) and *matanitu* (state). It also reinforced authority through traditional legitimacy. This orthodoxy of *vanua, lotu* and *matanitu* formed the cornerstone of security thinking within the indigenous Fijian world and was consolidated at the time of colonization.

Establishing and Legitimizing a New Form of Security through the Colonial State

To define the security concern in any modern state that was a colony, is to first of all deconstruct and identify what the state was about. For example, simple questions should be asked on why and how the modern state was introduced. The questions that Held (1983), poses on the state debate are:

> What is the relationship between state and society? What is the most desirable form this relationship might take? Whose interest does and should the state represent[7]?

In the mid-nineteenth century, an extension of legal-rational authority, earlier introduced by Christian missionaries, was consolidated in Fiji through British colonization. Security under the colonial

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[5] Derrick, R. A. 1946. A History of Fiji, Volume One. Suva, Government Printing Press: p. 49.
[6] Ibid. p. 49.
[7] Held, D. *et al. (Ed). 1983. States* & Societies. Martin Robertson, Oxford: pp. 1-2.

state was grounded on liberal democratic principles with some blended form of traditional authority to facilitate colonial rule. The system of In-direct rule in Fiji was a classic example of the use of traditional authority to facilitate colonial administration. For indigenous Fijians, the creation of the system of Indirect rule, similar to the formation of a "state within a state", was a symbol of the preservation of indigenous Fijian rights and interests on their native land. This gave indigenous Fijians a sense of solidarity and security and ultimately contributed to the long-term support they rendered to chiefly and political leaders like Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara whose Alliance Party government led Fiji from 1967 to 1987.

Traditional legitimacy through modern state leadership initially provided indigenous Fijians with a sense of familiarity, identity, unity and security under the modern state. The indigenous Fijian epistemological thinking of building a solid and secure society through *"veiliutaki vinaka",* "*vakarorogo", "vakarokoroko", "veilomani"* and *"duavata*" largely governed indigenous life in the context of pre-contact Fiji. In the context of the modern state, new ways have become increasingly entrenched.

It is obvious from Fiji's political historical experience that democratic transition to legal rational authority would always be a challenge given that colonization did not take place in a vacuum but in a well-entrenched indigenous society which had evolved for thousands of years. Durutalo (2003) argues that:

> The foundation for any type of governance or leadership is the people's recognition of the authority upon which such leadership is based. Legitimacy based on consent is the basis of any type of governance or leadership. For democracy to survive, it must first of all be recognized and accepted by the people who are governed through it. This implies that people must accept the form of authority which accompanies democracy.[8]

Herein lies the first dilemma on the legitimacy question of Fiji's security under the modern state. If indigenous Fijians had to live according to the demands of their customary laws on socio-political and economic units as descendants of first settlers on their land/*vanua,* then legitimizing the new rule of law and the new leadership systems based on this law, will always be done on contested ground.

Human Security under the State

Modern security can be defined as the state of being free from danger or threat. To extend the definition to political security implies a defense against any type of political aggression and is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors basic human rights. In international politics, the traditional meaning of security includes "the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of states from external military threats."[9] This was the crux of the concept linked to national security that dominated security analysis and policy making during the Cold War period.

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[8] Durutalo, A. "Governance and Democracy Re-Thinking the Basis of "Legitimacy" in the Context of South Pacific Governments". Paper Presented to the Governance in Pacific States Development Research Symposium, Sept. 20 – Oct. 2, 2003, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji. Pacific Islands Governance Portal Digital Library, Conference Papers 2003, No. 14: p. 3.

[9] Acharya, A. 2011. "Human Security" in *The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction*, Baylis, J., Steve, S. and Owens, P (Eds). New York, Oxford University Press: p. 480.

Security re-thinking in the 1970s and 1980s was influenced by various responses to the Middle East Oil Crisis and an awareness of global environmental degradation. While the state remained at the centre of the security focus, security was by now conceptualized under broader non-military terms. The human security thinking shifted the security focus from state oriented security thinking to the individual as the focus of security discussion. The debate for this new security thinking highlights the need to acknowledge the concerns of the negative impacts of globalization which may be non-military in nature such as poverty and environmental degradation. On the other hand, critics are concerned with the broadness of the definition.[10]

International Debate on the Meaning of Security

Since the end of the Cold War, the international debate on security has moved from the realm of "national security", emphasizing state security, to include "human security", which implies an emphasis on security at the individual level or micro-level of society. This new security thinking encompasses the realities that impact on the lives of individuals and which may affect the quality of lives that people live. Factors that are now considered as threats to human security include human rights abuses in authoritarian and militarized states, armed conflicts, poverty, economic exploitation of labor, gender biased government policies, disease and environmental degradation.[11]

The *Human Development Report of 1994* that was issued by the United Nations Development Programme, outlined the scope of human security under seven main areas and these are: Economic Security; Food Security; Health Security; Environmental Security; Personal Security; Community Security and Political Security.[12]

Fiji: Security Issues at Independence and Beyond

Fiji entered independence in 1970 with a number of long-term security issues. Although not conspicuous at the time of independence, the signs were already there. Perhaps, the biggest sign was the feeling of insecurity expressed by different ethnic group leaders at the time of independence. Indigenous Fijians on one hand wanted to continue to dominate politically in their own *vanua.* Indo-Fijians wanted to be treated as equal with other ethnic groups in Fiji and Europeans wanted to maintain their position at the apex of the hierarchy. The 96 years of ethnic compartmentalization under the colonial state had succeeded in establishing a feeling of insecurity amongst the colonial subjects.

A further challenge to emerging security issues at independence were the nature of the problems that Fijians were confronted with. Some of these were intra-Fijian problems, products of pre-colonial rivalries amongst different powerful chiefdoms. Others were products of colonialism in terms of the re-

[10] Ibid. p. 480.
[11] Acharya, A. 2011. "Human Security" in *The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction*, Baylis, J., Steve, S. and & Owens, (Eds). New York, Oxford University Press: p. 480.
[12] Ibid, p. 480.

structure of colonial society to fit the colonial administrative agenda. These problems created their own dynamics, throwing up peculiar forms of conflicts over time.

The first intensive challenge to national security in Fiji emerged with the introduction of party politics and elections in the decolonization period. A new way of electing "new" leaders through voting ultimately threw up a number of "submerged" feelings of animosity that were well suppressed during the 96 years of colonization. This provided an avenue for the expression of political dissent which ultimately resulted in military coups in the post-election periods. While the reasons given for the execution of different coups were many and varied, exacerbated by unresolved problems over the years, especially after colonization, it became clear at this point in Fiji's political history that "legitimacy" in the justification of power and authority of the state was to be a long-term challenge.

With three military and one civilian coups between 14th May, 1987 and 5th December, 2006, and four written Constitutions between independence in 1970 and general elections in 2014, it is evident that grounding a stable representative form of liberal democracy in Fiji will require a lot of hard work. The September 17, 2014, general elections marked the beginning of another attempt at resurrecting representative liberal democracy, a fourth attempt after the fourth military coup.

Internal security threats in Fiji have been consistent between 1987 and the present regardless of the types of interventions imposed by regional and international institutions. For example, economic sanctions in 1987 did not prevent another coup in 2000 and neither did it prevent the fourth military coup in 2006.

Challenge on Representative Democracy and Security in Fiji: Views Expressed by 2014 Election Interviewees

Although the reasoning for the four coups varied slightly from one to another, a consistent factor in all has been the direct involvement of the Fiji Military Forces (FMF). The means of utilizing coups to enable security and reap democracy has not worked in Fiji.

A research undertaken prior to the Fiji elections in 2014 highlighted some of the views expressed by some voters prior to the elections. One of my 2014 pre-election interviewees in Suva stated:

> The military act was contradictory – in an attempt to sow democracy they overthrew an elected government.[13]

While coups under any guise is wrong legally and democratically speaking, a huge challenge facing Fiji since 1987 has been the thinking that coups can be used to facilitate "democratization" or "re-democratization" or "to wipe the slate clean and start all over again" as if democracy was applied in an empty space. This challenges the chances of a country ever achieving or even just remotely getting near some liberal democratic benchmarks. Election interviewee number 10 further expressed:

[13] Interviewee No. 10. Fiji Elections Research, 18th June, 2014. Suva, Fiji.

> The military wanted to introduce real democracy in Fiji but, if you do not practice it yourself, it amounts to nothing because in a democracy, practicing is the most important thing to do.[14]

This interviewee further explained the fact that eight years of military "re-democratization" in Fiji, from 5th December 2006 to 17 September, 2014, was self-defeating when considered in the light of having so many decrees that curbed citizens' human rights. Some of these included the Media Industry Development Decree Number 29 of 2010, the Fiji National Provident Fund Decree, Number 52 of 2011 and the Political Parties Decree Number 4 of 2013. [15]

Another interviewee prior to the 2014 Fiji elections explained that one of the biggest challenges to building a stable representative democracy in Fiji is the nature of social engineering adopted to do this. He argued:

> You cannot build a community out of a set of fiction. Every society that is stable knows its history and knows itself. You cannot construct a new society out of social engineering. [16]

The interviewee added that the means of democratization through military coups will not work in the long term.

One of the biggest challenges for grounding solid representative democracy in Fiji has been the authoritarian ways in which the processes of electing leaders have been continually disrupted and then re-attempted through military interventions since Fiji's first military coup in 1987. Accompanying these interventions have been the introduction of post-coup military governments which shrink rather than extend the political arena. This limitation and shrinking of the political arena have ranged between one year (after the 2000 coup), four years (after the 1987 coups) and most recently, eight years (after the 2006 coup). Political liberalization after periods of military dictatorships highlight gradual transitions to civilian rule, similar to the trend in some African countries such as Nigeria. [17]

Additionally, associated with the shrinking of the political arena has been the increase in political power as well as the increase in the size of the military as an institution of the state. The current number of military personnel in Fiji now stands at approximately three thousand in the regular force and five thousand in the territorial force. This is quite a large number for a developing country with a population of approximately 881, 065 people and in which about thirty one percent of its population live in poverty.[18]

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[14] Interviewee No. 10. Fiji Elections Research, 18th June, 2014, Suva, Fiji.
[15] *Republic of the Fiji Islands Government Gazettes*, Vol. 11 (69), 2010. Vol. 12 (123), 2011, and vol. 14 (91), 2013.
[16] Interviewee No. 3. Fiji Elections Research, 14 June 2014. Nausori, Fiji.
[17] Sindjourn, L. 2010: p.3.
[18] 2015 Budget Response by National Federation Party President – http://nfpfiji.com) (accessed 30th November, 2015).

An increase in military size and number automatically translates into financial cost.

The table below highlights, three selected years of military expenditure and budget estimates between 1986 and 2015.

Table 1: Fiji Military Actual Total Expenditure and Estimated Budget (1986, 2001 and 2015)

Year	Budget
1986 (actual total expenditure)	$16,518,000.60 (one year before the first coup in 1987)
2001 (actual total expenditure)	$79, 346,000.50 (a year after the third coup)
2015 (estimate only)	$200,000,000.00 (nine years after the fourth coup)
2016	$100,000,000.00 (estimate only)

Source: 2015 Budget Response by National Federation Party President – http://nfpfiji.com)

Secondly, the continuous attempt to re-democratize through military interventions and reinventions, in the long-term, builds a citizenry who over time either become indifferent to what happens around them or worse still, can no longer discern what is democratically correct or wrong.

From my pre-election interviews in Fiji, approximately 70% of my interviewees saw no distinction between a military government that usurped power through a coup, and one that was democratically elected by the people.[19] For those that could not distinguish between an elected government and one that usurped power through a coup, they focused solely on the types of development that were introduced in certain communities or villages. The means through which a government came into power did not seem to matter anymore. Any government, no matter how it came to acquire power, was considered good if it gave to the people, as demonstrated by a 20-year-old interviewee who proudly stated:

> I supported the 2006 coup to some extent. The military government introduced development to some villages.[20]

This thinking was supported by a much older person, who explained in Fijian:

> *E ca na vuaviri, ia, na matanitu vakamataivalu qo e kauta mai na veivakatorocaketaki* (a coup is bad but this military government brought development.). [21]

The negative impact of continuous coups are already reflected on people's thinking in terms of determining the differences between a democratically elected government and one that is ushered in through a coup. It is evident that political instabilities between 1987 and 2014 impacted on the thinking of people, in terms of determining what is democratically correct and incorrect. This was more so for

[19] Thirty people were interviewed prior to the 2014 Fiji Elections.
[20] Interviewee No. 12, Fiji Elections Research, 21st June, 2014, Nausori, Fiji.
[21] Interviewee No. 22, Fiji Elections Research, 26th June, 2014, Suva, Fiji.

youths who were born in that period of time between 1987 and 2006 Additionally, Vakaoti's research on "Young People's Democratic Participation in Fiji" (2014), highlighted youths' indifference in attempting to participate in the Constitutional process or joining a political party in Fiji.[22]

A third development that has been strengthened through coups since 1987 is patron-client politics or patron-clientelism. This happens when politicians and in Fiji's case, coup executers and those who control power, "buy people's allegiance" through goods and services. Clapham (1985), argues that clientelism is a form of corruption. He adds that clientelism:

> lends itself to a form of government by handout, in which the government itself becomes dependent on the sources of funds through which it is effectively obliged to buy support, whether these be foreign aid receipts or royalties from MNC's. Most of all, it supplies no way by which governments can develop the efficiency and accountability which are needed to render legitimate the enormous power of the modern state.[23]

As experienced in Fiji's case, each successive coup leader since 1987 not only bought people's allegiance either through "promises," "tokenism," "jobs for the loyal and family," etc., but also tried to surpass each other in such a process. This has seen a number of financial crisis in Fiji, such as the collapse of the National Bank of Fiji[24] after the first and second military coups; the Agriculture Scam[25] after the third coup and continued vote buying after the fourth coup.

Each successive coup regime not only did more "vote buying" but also supported itself legally by introducing new constitutions with specific provisions to protect those directly or indirectly associated with the illegal overthrow of power. These saw the introduction of the 1990 Constitution after the 1987 coup and the 2013 Constitution after the 2006 coup. These two Constitutions both have immunity provisions to protect those involved. Chapter 10 of Fiji's 2013 Constitution continues the Immunity Provision in Fiji's 1990 Constitution. Fiji's 2013 Constitution states:

> Notwithstanding the abrogation of the Constitution Amendment Act 1997 and despite the repeal of the Constitution of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of Fiji (Promulgation) Decree 1990, Chapter XIV of the Constitution of 1990 continues in force in accordance with its tenor, and the immunity granted in Chapter XIV of the Constitution of 1990 shall continue. [26]

This provision in itself is a security threat and a direct contradiction to any attempt to rebuild democracy in Fiji since the Constitution as the supreme Law, begins by pardoning some wrong doers,

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[22] Vakaoti, P. 2014:pp. 29-31.
[23] Clapham, 1985:p. 59.
[24] Grynberg, R. et al. 2003. *Crisis: Collapse of the National Bank of Fiji.* Crawford House Publishing, Adelaide.
[25] http://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/170260/former-senior-public-servant-in-fiji-arrested-over-agriculture-scam (accessed 16th Feb., 2016).
[26] *Constitution of the Republic of Fiji 2013*, Chapter 10, P; 83.

which directly implies that citizens are not equal under the rule of law. As already experienced in Fiji, this provision may be a recipe for continuing the coup culture.

In such a political culture where a powerful institution like the military is favored by Law, any competition from outside the ruling military regime's political party is a tough competition indeed. In 1992, Major General Sitiveni Rabuka's *Soqosoqo ni Vakavulewa ni Taukei (SVT)* party and in 2014, Frank Bainimarama's *Fiji First party,* both won post-coup elections. Likewise, *Laisenia Qarase's Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua (SDL)* Party, won elections in 2001 after the 2000 coup. Sindjoun (2010) argues that:

> The different pathways of political liberalization affect the dynamics of political parties. [27]

In this context, Fiji's post-coup civilian political parties are usually challenged by the dominant military backed party which emerges from a post-coup military government or rather military sponsored government. Access to power through control of state resources and control of state institutions and the means of state repression, strengthens the chances of military backed parties in post-coup elections.

Political Parties, Patron-Clientelism and Ongoing Challenges in Fiji

Clientelism practiced in the form of vote buying is a characteristic of elections globally, but more prominent in developing or Third World states, including those in the Pacific Islands. While gifting as part of reciprocity was part of indigenous Pacific cultures, the context that was introduced during colonization and maintained in the post-colonial period through political practices, clearly aims at influencing people's allegiance for power control. Durutalo argues that in the 1960s, the indigenous Fijian faction of the Alliance Party, known as the Fijian Association:

> used the vast network in the Fijian Administration to secure its power base. Patron client politics inevitably emerged as a dominant feature of such a power arrangement. [28]

Patron client politics makes the client (voters or ordinary citizens), to feel obligated to the patrons (politicians), for as long as the clients remain powerless and dependent politically and economically.

There are many forms through which vote buying is practiced in the Pacific. Kabutaulaka for instance, explains that in the Solomon Islands, the practice of "crossing the floor" in Parliament is common and is part of "unbounded politics". This happens when politicians switch allegiance if and when there is a more lucrative promise from another political group or political party. [29]

[27] Sindjourn, 2010: p. 4.
[28] Durutalo, 2005: p. 20.
[29] Kabutaulaka, 2006: p. 103.

Within indigenous Fijian society, the patron-clientele structure was founded under colonial administrative structures such as the Native later Fijian Administration. The hierarchy of roles that were introduced under this governance system gave rise to a network of patrons and clients. With the introduction of party politics, the network was utilized by politicians to maintain a political relationship with voters[30]. This came in the form of promises on development to be undertaken in a village or community or personal gifts to individuals, families and organizations. Gift giving was evident in the period prior to the 2014 elections as seen in the following images.

Image 1: Gift Giving Prior to the 2014 Fiji Elections – A Candidate in the former Military Government Handing Out Garbage Bins to rate payers in Nasinu Town, Fiji

Source: http://fijivillage.com/news/Ratepayers-of-Nasinu-Town-Council-receive-13000-free-garbage-bins-9kr25s/

[30] Durutalo., A. 1997:p.52

As discussed earlier by Clapham, patron clientelism network may also involve gifts through foreign aid receipts. Images 2 to 4 highlight such gift giving process in Fiji prior to the 2014 elections.

Images 2, 3 & 4 – Gifting and Re-Gifting before the 2014 Elections: From an Overseas Donor to the Minister for Women in the former Military Government (Image 2) and then Onwards to a Women's Club in Fiji. (Images 2 & 3)

Image 3 – Former Minister for Women Talking to a Women's Club Before Re-Gifting Sewing Machines from an Overseas Donor Prior to the 2014 Elections in Fiji

Image 4: A Women's Group Receiving Re-Gifted Sewing Machines Prior to the 2014 Fiji Elections

http://www.fijileaks.com/home/stitching-up-for-election-we-have-600-sewing-machines-coming-in-from-china-and-another-300-from-india-we-also-have-80-machines-left-in-our-office-for-distribution-and-we-will-hand-these-out-before-elections-womens-minister-jiko-luveni

Since the first military coup in 1987, patron clientele politics has been strengthened by the various military governments to maintain allegiance on Fijian voters. As seen in images 1 – 4, gift giving has intensified over the years since 1987. Narsey argues that in the case of the 2014 elections in Fiji:

> It can be difficult to know when a "freebie" is "vote buying" and not just a good policy by any good government, although the timing of the freebie can be a good indicator. [31]

Vote buying in the long term does not help to facilitate democratic thinking in Fiji nor does it teach people that "vote buying" is morally wrong. In the long term "bad competition" leads to more insecurity amongst the citizens.

Human Rights Concerns and Insecurity in Fiji

A number of developments have highlighted individual and group security under human rights concerns in Fiji in the most recent years. These have ranged from missing police report files to deaths due to security forces brutality and resignation of senior government officers due to allegations of militarization of the state.

A youth leader complained that his sexual allegation case that was reported at Suva's main Totogo Police Station in 2013 was not resolved and the victim was informed by police officers that his case was closed. [32] Additionally, on 24th November, 2015, a 23-year-old man passed away in hospital after a session

[31] Narsey, W. "The Voting Behavior in Fiji's September 14 Elections" in *The Fiji Times*, 21 Sept. 2014.
[32] Semi Turaga. Monday 30th November, 2015. Fijivillage.com (30/11/2015).

of interrogation by police officers.[33] On a similar charge, in August, 2014, eight police officers and a soldier were charged with one count of rape and manslaughter in a case where the accused later died in police custody. The manslaughter charge was later withdrawn and the rape charge remained after the victim died.[34]

In an interesting court case against an accused who was charged with robbery with violence, Fiji's Director of Public Prosecution, Christopher Pryde, dismissed the charge as the accused was assaulted by police in custody. Pryde says:

> The only evidence against Jone Manasa is the confession he made whilst in police custody which the court has ruled as inadmissible…the allegations against the police officers are very serious.[35]

At another level of dissent, the resignations of some senior level government officials has caused concern on the overall security issue in Fiji. On 11th November, 2015, Radio Australia announced the resignation of the then Fiji's Police Commissioner, Ben Groeneweld, citing his reason for resigning as relating to military's interference in police work.[36] After the resignation of Groeneweld, military colonel Qiliho was made his replacement. This led to another resignation by the Constitutional Office Commissioner, Richard Naidu who stated that the appointment of a military officer to replace Groeneweld was a major concern as it showed the increasing militarization of the Fiji Police.[37]

Fiji's security issues have evolved with time and influenced by the forces of change through liberalization, democratization and globalization, making the challenges quite insurmountable. The indigenous virtues that once contributed to the philosophy of *"tudei"* have been marginalized by the demands of neo-liberal economics. Fiji has come to the crossroad where leaders and citizens have to focus on minimizing conflicts through long-term policies, which can be national, regional or international in nature. These policies in the long-term should reduce the likelihood of conflicts and insecurity at different levels of society.

Implications for Education and Policy

Given the plural and complex nature of Fiji's society and the longevity and intensity of political conflicts, long-term policies should be considered carefully to target citizens at all levels of society from the individual/family to the national levels. The policies should reflect and address the nature of these complexities and tailored to suit the realities in Fiji.

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[33] Vijay Narayan. Friday 27th November, 2015. Fijivillage.com (27/11/2015).
[34] Vijay Narayan. Friday 27th November, 2015. Fijivillage.com (27/11/2015).
[35] Diptika, Sharon. Monday 30th November, 2015. Fijilive.com (accessed 30/11/2015).
[36] ABC Radio Australia. http://web.archive.org/web/20151110001730/http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/ …(accessed 11th October, 2015).
[37] fijione.tv/richard-naidu-resigns-from-constitutional-offices-commission/ (accessed 15th November, 2015).

At the national level, Fiji needs peace and reconciliation, similar to the process of truth and reconciliation in South Africa but tailored to suit the Fiji context.[38] Reconciliation should include admissions and apologies on atrocities committed since the 1987 coups and a strategy to move Fiji forward. Part of this reconciliation could be an honest discussion about the future of indigenous Fijians in Fiji in terms of their ownership of resources as the first settlers, as guaranteed in the Fiji Constitution as well as through the United Nations provisions on the rights of indigenous people[39]. These rights should be explained to indigenous Fijians in all their different dialects for ease of understanding the language. Institutions like the Itaukei Land Trust Board (TLTB) should have their own resource on education policies for indigenous Fijians. These should target the education of indigenous resource owners on how they can benefit from their resources. Education should be conducted in local indigenous languages and dialects. Government should also embark on a discussion of the rights of other non-indigenous Fijians in Fiji and reassure these groups of their future.

Linked to this discussion at the national level is an attempt to re-visit important provisions in Fiji's current constitution, especially those that are of concern to some citizens or groups. For example, an honest discussion of the long-term implications of the Immunity provision in Fiji's current Constitution and whether this will hinder or facilitate future political security.

At the national level, legislation review regarding political parties and elections should include a ban on vote buying as this has become a serious issue over successive years of coups. This should include a declaration of all money and gifts received to aid political parties or individuals participating in elections. Additionally, to prevent corruption due to long-term control of government, the term for any individual holding the important office of Prime Minister or President of the state should be limited to two election terms (ten years).

Linked to this is the need to consider national political education through which all voters are taught their rights to participate freely as individuals or as members of groups in all political processes. At the school level, political education should be included in the national curriculum from the primary to tertiary level.

At the local government level, provincial institutions and town councils should work together to promote development across ethnic and class boundaries. The14 provincial councils in Fiji and the Rotuman Council should utilize their traditional infrastructures for modern development purposes. For example, unemployed youths in the villages could be aided to farm commercially and also helped to find markets for their produce.

For indigenous Fijians, provincial councils should also cater for the members of their provinces in urban areas, especially the unemployed and the under-employed. Part of provincial council service and

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[38] http://www.usip.org/publications/truth-commission-south-africa (accessed 12th February, 2016).
[39] http://files.unicef.org/policyanalysis/rights/files/HRBAP_UN_Rights_Indig_Peoples.pdf
(Accessed 16th February, 2016).

budget should be directed towards members who need help. In the long-term, this could reduce unemployment and crime rate in the urban areas.

Fiji's complex political problems have directly challenged state security at all levels and need a multi-dimensional policy approach and strategic educational programs to reduce the likelihood of continued conflicts and suffering. In education and political literacy, a properly thought out plan is needed. This plan must be well resourced and done at all levels of education, as well as informally and non-formally in the tribes and settlements. Fiji's 150 inhabited islands and all its urban and rural settlements and villages need to be reached. The time to do this is now!

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Technological Adaptations of Abaknon Fishers in Capul, Northern Samar: How Ocean Currents Contribute to Resourcefulness and Transformation[1]

Tito M. Cabili

Abstract

This chapter investigates the livelihood strategy of the Abaknons and its effects on the coastal subsystem. Abaknons, the local people of the small-island of Capul, Northern Samar take advantage of the windswept and whirlpool-dotted strip of rushing sea at the San Bernardino Strait, hemmed in by the western current from the Pacific Ocean and the eastward current from the China Sea. This chapter examines how a traditional fishing community transforms its fishing technology by re-inventing the varied non-biodegradable discards brought about by such ocean currents to the shores of Capul. The opportunities offered by these throw-aways heighten the resourcefulness of the Abaknons, resulting in other transformation triggered by this seemingly small change. The study used a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. The productivity, adaptive transformation and inventiveness were determined by the catch per unit effort (CPUE) of the re-invented and other fishing gears and methods of the islanders. Data was collected using interview, observation, focused discussion and fish productivity measurement. Significant insights gleaned from the study revealed that the local people in an island ecosystem have adapted their fishing practices to the natural occurrences most especially the sea currents as the result of the confluence of the rushing current from the San Bernardino Strait and the Pacific Ocean. The knowledge and practices related to fishing reflect how the local people adapt their lives to climate and other environmental conditions. Similar to any small-island in the Philippine archipelago, Capul and its islanders, the Abaknons are dependent on farming and fishing as major sources of livelihood. Their fishing methods and gears are usually designed and practiced in consonance with their local knowledge systems, community practices and the natural system for adequate productivity to meet the needs of the community as well as to revitalize the ecosystem.

Keywords: *technological adaptations; ocean currents; resourcefulness; transformation*

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[1] An intial version of the paper was presented in the 2014 International Conference on Technology, Education, Assessment and Management (TEAM), Guam, USA.

Introduction

Similar to any small-island in the Philippine archipelago, Capul and its islanders, the Abaknons are dependent on farming and fishing as their major sources of livelihood.

Their fishing methods and gears are designed and practiced in consonance with their local knowledge systems, community practices and the natural system for adequate productivity to meet the needs of the community as well as to revitalize the ecosystem.

Through time, people have changed their fishing gears and methods. Their deep knowledge of the biophysical environment and fishing system that have evolved via adaptation to environmental conditions has helped them get more catch as well as conserve the resources of the ecosystem. To sustain this way of life, people have devised their own calendar of activities based on sensitivity to the changing biophysical environment.

This study showed how the local people in an island ecosystem have adapted their fishing practices to the natural occurrences, most especially the sea currents as the result of the confluence of the rushing current from the San Bernardino Strait and the Pacific Ocean. It highlighted the knowledge and practices of the Abaknons and how they live within the limits of the island resources. The knowledge and practices related to fishing reflect how the local people adapt their lives to climate and other environmental conditions. This chapter further highlights how the Abaknons have adapted their fishing methods and gears/technology to climate and other environmental conditions and how they make use of the throw-aways that the current has brought to the coast. More specially, the chapter: 1) describes the fishing methods, gears and technology used by the Abaknons; 2) describes how the current contributes to the innovations of their fishing gears; and 3) assesses the productivity of the gears and methods in terms of Catch Per Unit Effort (CPUE).

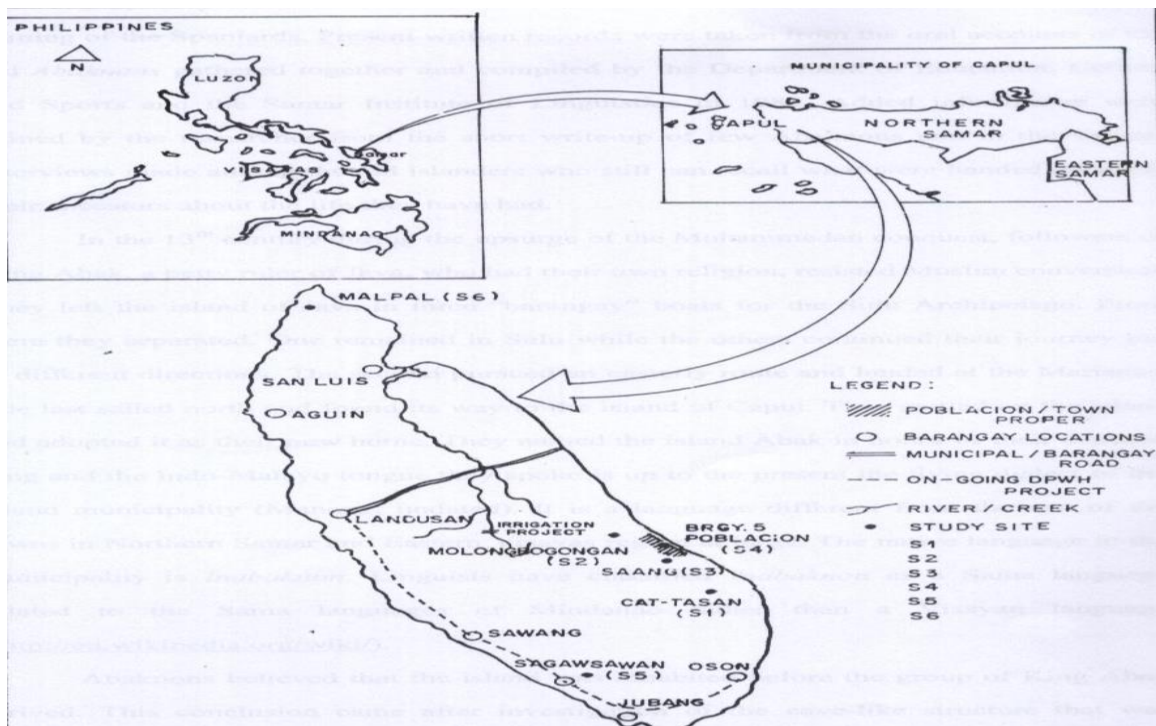
Methodology

The Small-Island of Capul, the Locale

The island discussed in this chapter is the island town of Capul in the Province of Northern Samar. In terms of its land area, the island has 3,500 hectares that accommodate 12,343 human populations. Originally named **Abak**, the people of Capul are called **Abaknons.** Their language **Inabaknon** is unique. Linguists have classified it as a Sama language of Mindanao rather than a Visayan language.

Geographically, Capul lies at 124° and 10" E longitude and 12°N latitude. The island is bounded by the San Bernardino Strait on the north, San Vicente on the south, Allen on the east and the Province of Masbate on the west. It is part of the eastern Seagate of the Philippines facing the Pacific Ocean. It is situated in the middle of a windswept and dangerous whirlpool-dotted strip of rushing sea San Bernardino Strait hemmed in the western current from the Pacific Ocean and the eastward current from the China Sea. (Please see-**Figure 1**. Map of the Philippines locating Northern Samar, San Bernardino Strait, Pacific Ocean and South China Sea).

Figure 1. **Map of the Philippines locating Northern Samar, San Bernardino Strait, Pacific Ocean and South China Sea.**



Methods Used

The study was conducted from January to December of 2007. Using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, the productivity, adaptive transformation and inventiveness of the fishermen were determined by the catch per unit (CPU) effort of the re-invented and other fishing gears and methods of the islanders. More specifically, the study used the following data collection procedures: Interview; Observation; Focus group discussion; and Fish productivity measurement.

Results and Discussions

Calendar of Abaknons Livelihood Activities

Generally, farming and fishing are seasonal. The time for fishing depended on the season and flow of currents. Ordinarily, April to November is devoted to fishing using *taklob* (basket traps) while December to March is for upland farming. Farming and fishing are in some instances combined with almost equal time given to them. Fishing usually happens at night time and farming during the day (Figure 2. Abaknon calendar of the livelihood strategy activities)

Figure 2. Abaknon calendar of the livelihood strategy activities

The main fishing season runs from March to August. From October to February, fishing activities are at times affected by strong winds and rough seas, caused by monsoon winds and typhoons. Interviews further revealed that May was the best month for fishing. Data also suggests that fishes during this month undergo *pagbiyod* (spawning). Though inclement weather usually occurs during the “ber” months, the sea current when it is calm, offers double opportunities for fishing. *Humugot* (low tide and the current is towards the lighthouse or towards San Bernardino Strait; the current is fit for fishing) is observed twice, i.e., more or less five hours in the afternoon and the same number of hours in the evening. Local fishers also consider the phase of the moon as an indicator. The most suitable most suitable periods for fishing are during *katallo luyo si kawara* (few days before the last quarter) and *kaodto si kadayaw* (few days

before the full moon). The passing on the knowledge of the elders also includes their knowledge on *tuig* or season, *landos* or flow of the current, which may improve fishing efficiency.

Gear used varied with the experience and the investment capital of the fishermen, and the motive of having more catch to satisfy the needs of the family. The variation of the fishing gear may range from the traditional and less expensive to the more sophisticated and expensive gears.

Season and weather also influence the behavior of the fishermen with respect to target species, methods and gears used for fishing. The fishermen based their choice of fishing gear on their knowledge of the gear, the ease of the use, initial cost, and seasonality, and are no longer solely influenced by tradition (Mangi, et al., 2007). The skills in making traditional fishing gears were handed from the elders and the modern ones are patterned after the fishermen of the nearby municipalities. Their ingenuity is triggered and enhanced by the availability of materials brought by current which is essential for transformation to good quality artificial baits, lures and or terminal tackle.

Fishing Methods and Gears

Depending on the *tuig* (flow of the current and season), fishing gears used may also differ. The different fishing methods and gears the fisher folks used were the following:

Pamangaraw (hook and line fishing) is a method for fishing that uses kook/s and line. This comes in three ways, using hook and line just on the shoreline or on waist-deep, the other way is using a non-motorized banca, and the third is with the use of a motorized banca. Hook and line shoreline/coastal fishing, can either be hand line, or hook and line with bamboo stick. Hand line fishing is purely hook and line, and the line is hand held as the name implied while the latter is hook and line but the line is tied in a curved bamboo stick, more or less two meters long. As the materials are common and simple, this is the least expensive among the hook and line fishing method and the least damaging fishing method. Damage to fish and habitats through removal of high proportion of juvenile fish is minimized and direct coral damage is avoided (Mangi, et al. 2007). On the other hand, hook and line fishing using a non-motorized banca is done in a little deep sea more or less 10 to 20 meters. The size and kind of fish catch differ according to the method used. *Pamangaraw* can be done either in the day or nighttime depending on the *tuig* or season. Hook and line using a motorized banca can be in the form of *kitang, lagolo, or rambo* (Fig.3). These require high initial costs; however the fisher gets a large return from the usual big catches.

Kitang (Fig. 3) is relatively an expensive method. This needs motorized-banca, a long and big fishing line (main line), usually a thousand meters in length. A hundred to a hundred and fifty hooks are singly tied on a one-meter long line and then tied to the main line. Each hook has real fish bait which is simultaneously dropped, in deep sea. After several minutes or depending on whether the line is too hard to pull which means more fish will eat the bait and are hooked, the main line is pulled towards the banca. *Kitang* is expensive because the hooks and the line alone cost more than two thousand pesos (Php 2,000.00) and the bait for single-day fishing costs five hundred pesos to a thousand pesos. However,

fisher-folks revealed that the initial capital is equivalent to the price of only one big fish caught. Few fisher-folks, however, engage in *Kitang* because of the high initial cost.

Figure 3. **Islanders' common gears and methods**

Kitang hook and line with real fish as bait

Hook and line fishing "*lagolo*" with artificial bait rapala

Lago'lo' (Fig. 3), is similar to an ordinary *pamangaraw*; it differs only because of the type of bait used and how the bait is dropped. The bait is an artificially carved fish called *rapala* which is tailored just like a real small fish with two hooks on it. This is dropped using a stone as big as a child's basketball, more or less three inches in diameter. It is dropped down the bottom of the sea and pulled upon reaching a desired depth to drop the stone, leaving the *rapala* (Fig. 3) in the fishing line. The fishing line is pulled once a fish eats the bait and is hooked in it. A sack of stones or more is used in a day of *lago'lo* fishing. The impact of the dropped stone with the *rapala* poses real threat to the coral reef. This method protects the smaller fishes as most of the catch is big and mature fishes (In-Fisherman, 2007).

Rambo is another fishing method also similar to an ordinary *pamangaraw*. This uses either a non-motorized or a motorized banca, and a fishing line. Its bait is not a fresh fish but a shrimp-like lure made of wood artificially carved, and beautifully painted that in a distance it really appears like a real shrimp. The hooks are placed at the tail and middle-back of the *rambo*. The terminal tackle or the lure in the form of artificial shrimp is called *rambo* usually double the size of the real shrimp. Such creativity of the design

lures big fishes and squids and ensures more catch, thus more income for fisher-folks. According to (In-Fisherman, 2007), using these artificial baits is a science of deception.

Trap fishing comes in various forms depending on the gear used. *Timing-timing* (small trap for small fishes) is a fishing gear made from *mamban*. Wild small fishes enter but once trapped could not go out anymore. Moss from the coastal zone are used as bait; these *timing-timing* are clipped at the bottom of the gear to attract fishes. This small gear, usually one foot in diameter, is used during summer and good for low-income fisher folks as this does not need a banca. The *timing-timing* is carried overhead and is dropped in a desired depth, usually one to two meters deep.

Taklob is another basket-like fish trap comparatively three times bigger than the *timing-timing*. The design and depth of dropping depends on the desired fish species.

The direction or flow of the current guides or directs the dropping of the lure or terminal tackle or simply the hook and line gear, trap and net. The best dropping time is during *humugot*, when the current is moving from the Pacific Ocean towards the San Bernardino Strait or during *tumaob* when the moon is about to set. A fisherman's *taklob* is dropped in one setting. During the months of August to February when the sea is rough but still tolerable for fishing, placing the *taklob* in the *turis* (gully) during nighttime is a mechanism to keep the gear safe from strong waves.

Bobo is another fish trap, which uses the same materials with the timing-timing and *taklob* however; it is woven in a rectangular shape. In size, it is twice bigger than the *taklob*. This type of trap requires less time and effort as it does not use baits. Monitoring and taking off the catch need less time too, as it is done twice in a week only. The gear is dropped 15 to 20 meters deep and allows moss to grow. Such depth of dropping minimizes coral disturbance. Tying and some other essential construction materials can be taken from the drift materials.

Figure: 4. *Taklob*, *timing-timing* and *bobo*.

Pamana or speargun fishing is a method which can be done during day and night time. It uses a *pana* (a metal rod one to two meters long triggered by a wooden gun-like structure), *antipara* (goggles), and to some, *panyapak* or flippers. Improvised flippers are made either from wood or plastic materials

and rubber to hold tightly to the feet. All materials can be taken from drifting wastes from the sea. When done during the nighttime, this method uses flashlight.

Qualitative estimation revealed such method to be the cheapest. Spear guns require low initial costs when purchasing, low labor input when making, low labor input and no cash input in maintaining them and no boat is required. However, spearguns are associated with high labor input and require relatively longer fishing time. The islanders however, designed *panyapak*, an improvised flipper to make swimming easier. From a fisher's point of view, it is the most attractive gear to use as they do not invest in gear and boats, however, it is also the most damaging to fish and habitats as it removes a high proportion of juvenile fish and a high rate of direct coral damage per unit catch and fishing unit area (Mangi et al. 2007).

Pokot, tagata, and *pamurugkas* are similar in structure and are generally called fishnets. They only differ in the size of the mesh and the species of fish the net is intended to catch. The *pokot* has a square inch mesh and is intended to catch any fish found in a 3 to 5-meter deep sea. *Pokot* with a bigger mesh size and longer than an ordinary one is dipped in an open sea and intended to catch big fish. It has a relatively high catch, large crew size and per capital returns compared to other types of nets. *Tagata* is netted in such a way that each mesh would not allow a fish as big as a point finger to pass through. This gear intends to catch small coral fishes. *Pamurugkas* is used to catch *burugkas* only. The mesh is about a centimeter in diameter. All forms of nets use *pamato* (metal anchorage).

Investing in fishnets needs huge capital plus boat and maintenance costs, however, the gear has a long life span so overtime it proves to be a worthwhile investment. A net depending on how owners and fishers manage and take care of it, can last up to more than ten years. The floaters can be taken from drifting wastes.

Significance of Ocean Currents

To the Abaknons, the flow of the ocean current brings a few essential indicators. First, it directs and guides the fisher-folks to when, where, how and what to fish and how much time to devote for fishing. This further guides the fishers as to what fishing gear to use.One more thing worth noting is that the current from both the Pacific Ocean and the San Bernardino Strait whose confluence is usually observed at the southern part of the island carries with it drifting materials which the islanders call "*gaod*". These materials are already wastes to some but to the islanders, these are treasures essential for designing fishing gears and reinventing their old gears.

The drifting materials used by the fisherfolks in designing their goggle (*antipar'ra*), *kulata/buros* or the handle of the spear, the *busay* or the paddle. The various types of *rambo* are also designed out of these materials. These are also good sources of materials for other designed and invented artificial baits like the piece of wood for the *rapala*, rubber and other tying materials for flippers or duck feet, goggles, floaters for *kitang* and significant materials for the float and fly fishing gear.

Figure 5. Paraphernalia in *pamana* or speargun fishing

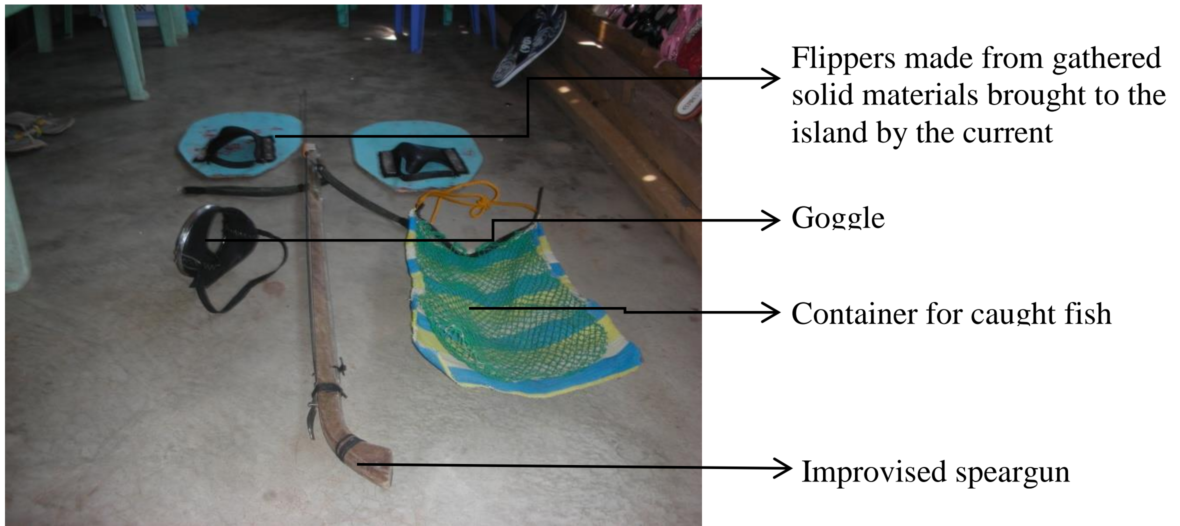


Figure 6. Types of nets

Pokot si kalaluman

tagata

pamurugkas

Figure 7. ***Gaod*** **or drifting materials (debris) for the construction of fishing gears.**

It was difficult to quantify the cost of the fishing gear and the other related equipment and tools fishers use because all respondents found it hard to give a unit price. Some buy the materials one after the other; others get the materials and prepare the gears by themselves. Thus, qualitative assessment based on the responses in the interviews and focus group discussion was done.

Qualitative estimation of costs revealed that *pamana si kababawan* or *speargun* fishing along the coast is the method with the cheapest capital costs. Spear guns require low initial costs, low labor input in making and maintaining them and no boat is required (Mangi, et al. 2007), just swimming along the coasts at one to two meters deep. *Pamangaraw* or hand line fishing has cheap initial cost as it needs

inexpensive hook and line but getting bait entails another expense and maintenance is also costly. *Kum'prisor* or compressor fishing on the other hand is the most expensive which costs more or less hundreds of thousands; consequently, only one is presently operating in the island. If other methods are to be considered excluding this method, it was known that *kitang* with the motorized boat is the most expensive. Due to modifications of the method to suit the financial capital of the fisherfolks, this can be done using a non-motorized *banca*. The method and the kind of gear used by fisherman greatly depend on the financial potential of the fisherman and the intended type of fish to catch.

Productivity of Fishing Activity

A fish catch survey was conducted in two seasons; a season when the sea was rough and a season when the sea was calm. The survey period for each season covered the complete phase of the moon; that was, from the first quarter to the full moon for a period of 28 days. All the 10 fish buying stations in the entire island were considered in the survey. The survey revealed that the island accumulated a fish catch of 20,126 kilograms in 28 days were caught during the calm sea period. This means, the island has the potential to provide an estimated annual total of 173,935 kilograms of fish which showed that the whole island had an approximate annual fish value of PhP11, 167,157.00.

The data on fish catch provided on opportunity for the assessment of the fishery dynamics of the five municipal fishing gears of the island namely: speargun, hook and line, net, basket-like trap and compressor. These also provided an estimate of the status of the fish stock resources of the island. The data therefore are vital in the establishment of fishery management policies that would further conserve and/ or protect the biomass of the fishery resources from collapse (Maneja 2003).

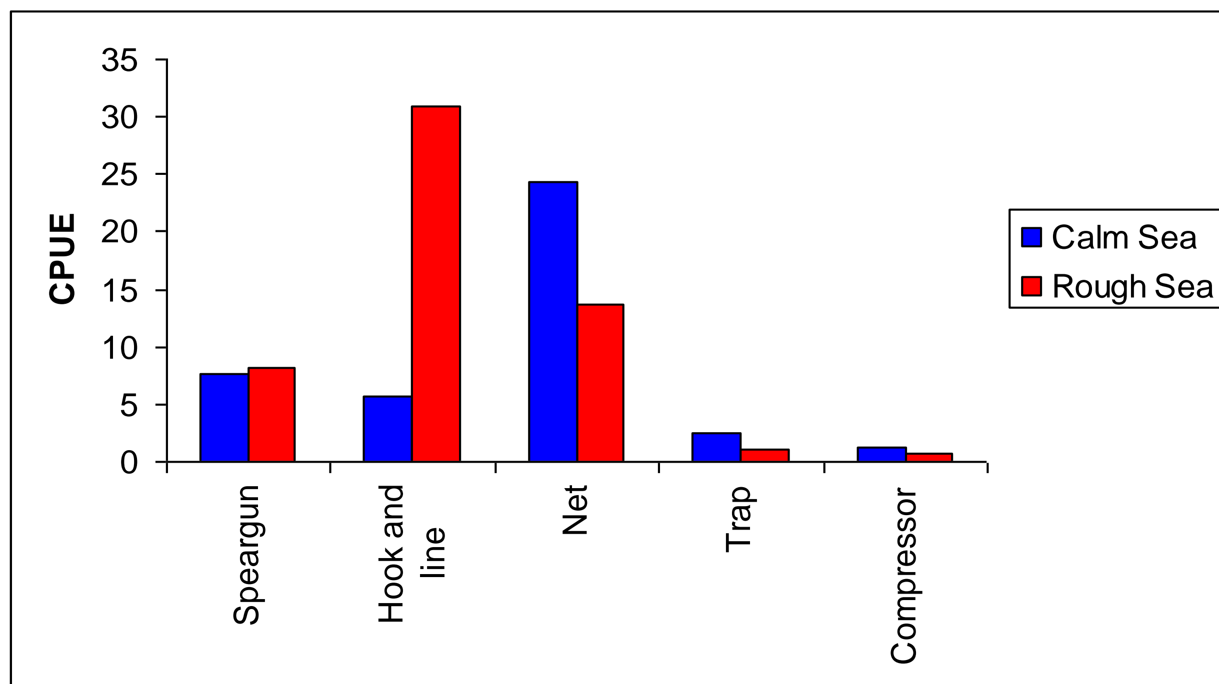
Similarly, fish productivity and the status of the island's resources, catch rates of every fishing gear were monitored for 28 days both calm sea and rough sea periods. Catch per unit effort (CPUE) of every fishing gear was computed. The CPUE obtained in the study indicate the current status of fishery resources in the fishing grounds of the island (Fig. 8). It would have been far better if comparisons of the present CPUE with the previous studies be made; however, no study was conducted relative to this.

The study revealed that during the period when the sea is calm, the average CPUE of the five fishing gears is 8.27 kg/man/hour compared to the 10.89 kg/man/hour average CPUE of the same fishing gears during the rough sea period (Fig. 8). During the calm sea period, the net had the highest CPUE of 24.35 while the compressor had the least.

The high fish catch using the net reflects the good status of the fishery in the island's fishing ground particularly in the coral line along the coastal zone. The fish catch was dominated by the targeted fish species (particularly *Thunnus albacores* for big open-sea nets) and less of mixed catch (only in coastal nets) which means that the individual fish caught were within the accepted market size for the species which indicates good status of the fishing ground (Maneja, 2003). This was further confirmed by the fact that the mesh size of the nets used by fisherfolks is dependent on the fish species they target to catch.

However, there is a decline of CPUE during the rough sea period which could be due to the strong flow of the current that increases effort but fish catch leveled off.

Figure 8. CPUE of different fishing methods and gears



Spear gun fishing came out to have a CPUE of 7.57 indicative of the good condition of the coral cover and fishery resources in the entire island. This fishing method is usually done in sea water that is one meter to a few meters deep. The increased effort due to the use of modified flippers and other gears could be attributed to the high CPUE. It was previously practiced during the day time only with no modified fishing paraphernalia. Trial and error experiences of doing spear gun fishing during night time depending on the *landos* gave them more catch. Night time spear gun fishing did not require much effort at some time. This they do in neck-deep sea water where they easily can stand and take a breath for rest. The gun or the *kulata* can be constructed from the *gaod*.

Hook and line is the third with the largest CPUE of 5.74 kg/man-hour during the calm sea period, however, it has the highest CPUE during the rough sea period with 30.91 kg/man-hour. This CPUE can be attributed to the various forms and styles of artificial deceiving baits, carved aesthetically and lifelike that they wiggle naturally. It also brings implications like good condition of the fish resources and the coral cover. Aside from the fishers' local knowledge of the temporal distribution of fish species, the high CPUE of hook and line shows the island fishers' ingenuity of designing baits. These are less expensive than when using real fish for baits and besides, artificial baits really lure and deceive fish hence more catch. Each *paon* (bait) usually captures the target fish species. Proven for instance is the *rapala* that catches thigh-sized mature yellow fin; *rambo* gets the large-sized *kanoos (*squid), and a lot more. The 18.32 kg/man-hour average seasonal CPUE is far above the CPUE of the same gear in Bolinao, Pangasinan which ranges

from 2.18 to 3.83 kg/man-hour (Maneja, 2003), although the present study covered daily catch for one month during the rough sea period and daily catch for one month during the calm sea period while that of Maneja was done per fishing boat trip for one year.

The relatively high CPUE of hook and line and high mean seasonal CPUE of the island bring significant implications. First, is the very good present condition of the fishery resources in the island? The fisher folks' practices like identifying specific fishing areas for every gear, the prohibition of illegal fishing, the growing discipline among fisherfolks' group and the conduct of rituals for the gears are indeed geared towards the conservation of the marine resources in the island. Furthermore, their traditional knowledge on the sea current fit for fishing, on the life cycle and biology of the fish added to the said practices are all worth sustaining.

Conclusion

Fishing methods and gears have continuously evolved throughout recorded history. Fishers are inventive and not afraid of trying new ideas. A common way to classify these gears is based on the principle of how the fish or other preys are captured and, to a lesser extent, on the gear construction.

Islanders design fishing gears using lures from materials brought about by the ocean current. Using the invented and reinvented fishing gears and technology must go hand in hand with these observed local principles:

1. Visualizing the underwater topography to pinpoint big catch;
2. To better visualize what lies beneath, one must study the shoreline and imagine what the sea bottom would look like without water. (The islanders' deep knowledge of the biophysical environment enables them to determine the right depth for the lure to have an assured catch);
3. Keeping a sharp eye out for isolated cover, such as rock piles, sunken tires, brush and boat docks;
4. It is not just the structure of the lure that counts but the style of jerking it;
5. Using a lure that provides more versatility for changing the direction or making baits change course by sweeping the rod from one side to the other, or by using current and wind, and by manipulating the bait; and
6. Multi-movements [of the fisherman] is more realistic; it emulates what a real bait-fish does.

Acknowledgement

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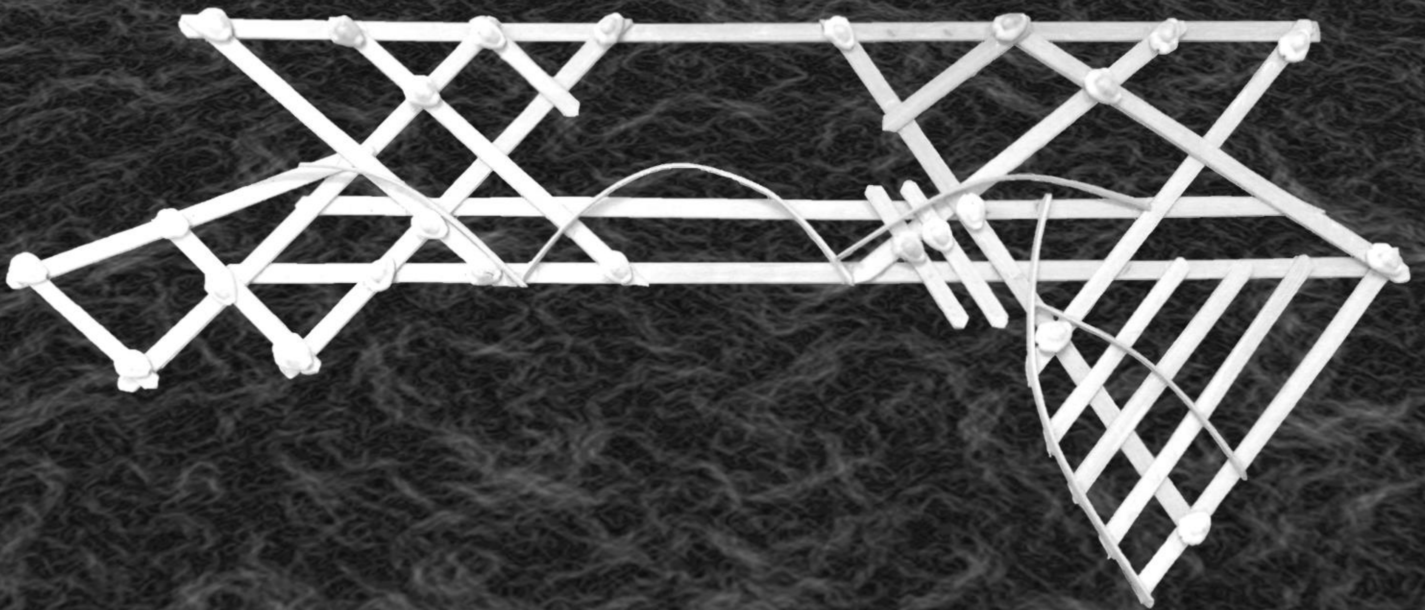
Essay - The 4-H Initiative as a Long-Standing Alternative to Formal Education in Guam and the US



Weaving the Micronesian 4-H Initiative: An Exploratory Study of Youth Development Programs on Guam

Peter R. Barcinas
Clifford Kyota
Victoria Ann Santos
Anthony Ada

Abstract

Navigating the myriad of youth interest programs can be a daunting task considering the need to reach underserved youth in terms of where they reside. The essay reviews the 4-H youth development program in building community collaborations and partnerships with emphasis on connecting with one's community. With funder expectations, accountability and positive impact outcomes to the community as goalposts, the chapter highlights the latest "Weaving the Micronesian 4-H Initiative" and examines ways to transform and strengthen youth development work. This is at a time when communities seek to improve and strengthen family oriented involvement with community youth serving organizations. A strong community context for supportive learning environment for youth then is explored through the 4-H youth program. The Community Action Framework used in the 4-H work aligns and leverages youth planning efforts and programs. This can be an important part of the youth experience and closes the gap in sourcing programs and knowledge needs for positive change in the lives of youths. In many ways this can be characterized as defining a community's social capital and engagement around youth development work. The essay firstly outlines the background of the 4-H program, then it describes how the initiative is tied to the land grant system. We also offer a glimpse of the 4-H life skill reference and how it fosters practical life skill acquisition and overall healthy growth and community based sustainable youth development.

Keywords: *4-H youth development program; Micronesia; community*

Introduction

The University of Guam (UOG) began in 1952 as a two-year teacher-training school known as the Territorial College of Guam and in 1965 became an accredited four-year degree granting institution. The University of Guam became a land grant institution setting up the Office of Land Grant Programs in 1972; today this falls under the College of Natural and Applied Sciences (CNAS). The three major areas are: (1)

Agricultural Experiment Station (AES), (2) Resident Instruction for academic programs, and (3) Cooperative Extension Service (CES). CES has recently undergone changes to the structural makeup of its programs consisting of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Economic and Community Systems and Family 4-H Youth Development, Food and Nutrition.

A key part of building the future for youth to be engaged learners and future leaders can be found in the land grant signature 4- H youth program. The 4-H program focuses on supplemental learning with emphasis on life skills and volunteerism. This focuses on helping youths become responsible citizens by gaining and engaging in experiential learning, real-life situations and practical application as community volunteers. Youth positive development can be seen in a variety of experiences helping youth transition into young adults. According to the 4-H Youth Center website (www.4-h.org), 4-H is the largest youth development organization with about 6 million youth and over 611,800 volunteers in the United States. This organization goes back more than 100 years for the United States. 4-H programs exist in Africa, Finland, Germany, and the Philippines and today in Guam.

The 4-H program is found in the land grant colleges and universities embedded under the Cooperative Extension System and the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). In Micronesia, access to the largest positive youth development and mentoring organization is available through each of the following educational institution's Cooperative Extension programs: the University of Guam, the College of Micronesia, Palau Community College, Northern Marianas College and the College of the Marshall Islands. The 4-H program portfolio comprise 35 life skills.

4-H Program Connection to Community Action Framework (CAF)

Well-crafted youth intervention development programs include themes such as prevention, cost-avoidance and blending solutions intended to address deviant youth behavior. A review of the youth development literature notes gaps related to effective programming and a communities' response to address the complexity of youth issues (Vries, Hoeve, Assink, Stams & Asscher, 2015). The CAF provides a programming approach to balance prevention strategies and the need for a more inclusive approach to youth development work (Gambone & Connell, 2004). Further, Davis-Keane and Eccles (2000) suggest the importance of knowing when to transition from the importance of parental roles and need to distinguish between "promotive and preventive strategies." The inclusion of evidenced-based design curriculum and reliance on experiential learning opportunities for cognitive social/emotional growth underscore the importance of blending life skills work linked both to families and community-based positive learning opportunities (Eccles & Gootman, 2002).

In Gamone and Connell's (2004) study, the authors suggest the need to examine the ready state of communities in "improving the long-term life chances of young people." The author's key finding applies the CAF approach using five questions related to five areas of inquiry which include goal setting, setting milestones and tracking progress, needs assessments, community support and creating positive learning environments. While the CAF builds on interaction between families and communities, the 4-H

youth programs incorporate experiential learning with sensitivity to different learning styles (Kahler & Valentine, 2011).

Youth experiences tempered with positive interactions with their physical and social environments where youth feel most comfortable contributes to increased cognitive and social learning opportunities. While there are other theoretical frameworks that stress the importance of leveraging community networks and reinforcing the learning environment for youth work, the CAF focuses on leveraging signature programs to develop and define their version of social capital metrics and indicators. Addressing the CAF questions provides for a type of community youth work appraisal of programs that would be useful to youth development practitioners and community planners interested in bridging both school-based learning with non-school learning opportunities that can be sponsored through a community-based supportive learning initiative.

An Introduction to Micronesia/Pacific Islands Region

The Micronesian Islands which are located in the northwest Pacific region consists of four groups of islands: the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls, and the Gilberts. The islands could also become linked through the land-grant statuses of their universities. Guam which is a part of the Marianas Islands can be linked to the extension programs in the Northern Mariana Islands, Palau in the Caroline Islands, the Marshals Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Chuuk Pohnpei, and Kosrae).

Figure 1. Map of the Micronesian Region

Guam and the Northern Marianas

Guam is 212 square miles, making it the largest island in Micronesia. The indigenous people of Guam, the Chamorros, became U.S. citizens in 1950 when the island became an unincorporated territory of the U.S. Guam is home to many other ethnic groups, however English remains the official language while Chamorro is still widely used. Guam is also the most modernized island of Micronesia with tourism being the biggest source of revenue followed by the military.

The Northern Mariana Islands consist of a chain of fourteen islands, however only seven of the islands are inhabited, with most people living on the island of Saipan, the capital of the group and the most developed. Rota has much farming and produces fruits and vegetables and the island of Tinian has a beef and dairy ranch. Fewer than two hundred people live in the northernmost populated islands. The Northern Marianas have a mixture of ethnicities, however the Chamorros remain the dominant group, while Carolinians (from Chuuk and Yap) are growing in numbers.

Palau

Palau (Belau) is a grouping of several hundred volcanic islands plus a few coral atolls[1] that are a part of the Caroline Islands and is home to two ethnic groups the Palauans and the Southwest Islanders. Only about eight of its islands are inhabited even though hundreds of tiny rock islands lie within its barrier reef[2]. These rock islands are a major tourist attraction for their beauty and rich reef communities. The capital island of Koror is modern and developed, while the rest of the islands are still in varying levels of village subsistence lifestyle; there is still much farming and fishing.

The Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia

The Marshall Islands consists of two chains of atolls and coral islands; only twenty-four of the islands and atolls are currently inhabited. Majuro is the capital and is the most developed island which consists of almost half of the total population. The Marshallese have two dialects in their language, one for the Ralik Chain and one for the Ratak Chain.

The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) consists of the remaining islands of the former Trust Territory: Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae. Yap remains one of the most traditional islands in Micronesia and consists of four islands and eleven inhabited island atolls. There is plenty of rain to support subsistence agriculture, so there is no real [cash] economy aside from the government jobs, which are funded by U.S. grants. Chuuk consists of a cluster of volcanic islands surrounded by a barrier reef and twenty-four inhabited island atolls. Pohnpei consists of one large volcanic island and six inhabited atolls. The heavy rainfall produces a lot of food for local consumptions and the natural beauty of Pohnpei is the reason that tourism is slowly rising. Lastly, Kosrae (pronounced Ko-shy) is one volcanic island of about 42 square miles with many rivers and waterfalls due to plentiful annual rainfall.

[1]Atoll: a ring-shaped reef, island, or chain of islands formed of coral.
[2]Barrier reef: a coral reef running parallel to the shore but separated from it by a channel of deep water.

Micronesia is a widely diverse and unique region to explore. Although most of the main islands in Micronesia are developed or developing, and focus on the traditions and cultures as well. The diversity of culture, language, dialect, lifestyles, and geography of each island is complex yet interesting. Most of these islands' people live in a village subsistence lifestyle; fishing and sailing are the main cultural skills passed down from generation to generation. These traditional island life-styles and cultural values are practiced at different levels in each of the islands of Micronesia, nevertheless they remain at the core of communities and families. The widely used proverb, "it takes a village to raise a child" is one that is used to describe the upbringing of youth in the traditional island life-styles. Traditions have changed overtime, but originally it was defined by the different roles taken by villagers when raising a child.

4-H Youth Development: 48 Years of Maintaining the Land Grant Institution Youth Signature Program in Guam

Youth programming work has a rich history due to the U.S. Congress extending agricultural research and federal extension programs to the insular areas. The Youth programs starting point can be credited to the 1931 Congressional passage of the Federal Extension program to Guam establishing the first Boys' and Girls' club in the villages. The national youth 4-H Program, has been in existence for more than 100 years. Some of the signature youth programs, such as the Boy and Girl Scouts and Sea Cadets continue to evolve depending on the level of support and interest they receive. These programs have been a part of a community movement teaching our youth leadership skills and good citizenship.

The 4-H Youth Development Program is a predominant model of positive youth programs that have impacted many lives. In 1902, the model for formally organized club requirements was credited to A. B. Graham, superintendent of schools in Clark County, Ohio. The boys and girls agricultural club he formed consisted of officers, projects, meetings, and recordkeeping requirements. Through the cooperation of agricultural college professors and county school superintendents, a club structure emerged for agricultural education for youth. The educational climate of that decade saw educators for the first time recognizing the needs of young people and the importance of education to meet those needs. Then progressive educators in town and city schools also introduced nature study into the curriculum; school gardens attracted much attention in many places throughout the country. Rural educators, in response to a demand from farmers, introduced subjects that taught boys and girls to understand and appreciate rural life and emphasized rural opportunities. This year will mark 113 years of services for the United States and its territories. The national 4-H youth program structure and model can be found under different club names in other countries such as Africa, Finland, Germany, and the Philippines.

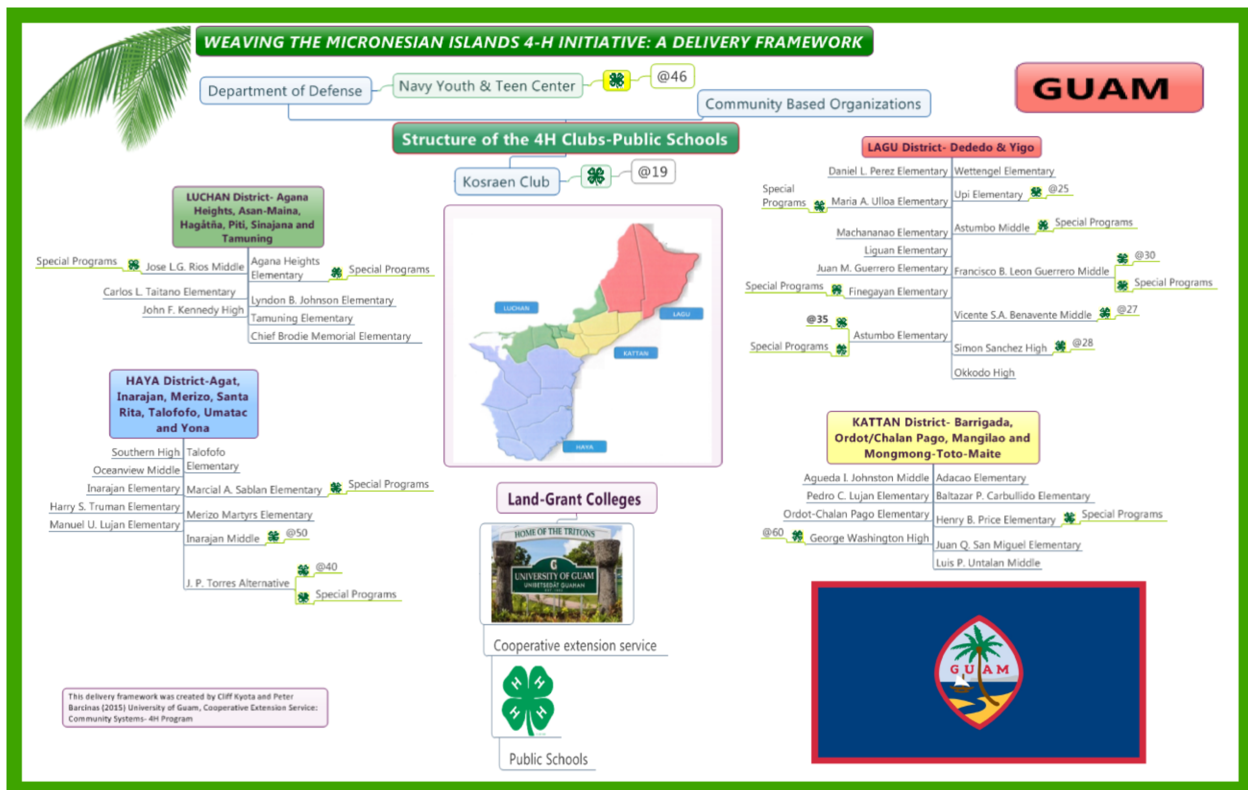
Extension programs are not new to Guam. The 4-H Youth Program was under the umbrella of the Guam Department of Agriculture in the late 1950's, before it was transferred to the University of Guam (UOG) once the land-grant status was achieved in 1972 by the UOG. However, with the lack of documentation, the activities of a Guam 4-H charter club reflected only those that occurred after 1972. Guam's 4-H club has initiated numerous programs and delivered them to the community through workshops in home economics, gardening, arts and crafts, and fisheries. Among all of these, the 4-H

fisheries program received the highest attention and impacted many youth in our islands. This particular program was designed to deliver skills that promote oceanography, seamanship, cultural practices, and fish science.

The 4-H Idea Today

The current 4-H program at UOG was designed to educate and empower families, youth and communities to understand how individuals and families can both obtain and use resources of time, money, and human capital to develop their potential as participating members of society. UOG's Cooperative and Extension Services (CES) conducts and facilitates workshops that help families understand the significance of human development and family well-being. The 4-H staff and volunteers conduct workshops which focus on these areas of emphasis: economic preparedness (resource management, time, money and human capital, and youth entrepreneurship), the interrelationships between society and households to improve family well-being, human development (child, adolescent, adult), and workforce preparation. The workshops aim to increase the awareness and knowledge of targeted youth (ages 5-19) through camps, school enrichment youth activities, after school programs, projects and curricula.

Figure 2. 4-H in Guam Framework



The programs focus on increasing knowledge in the essential elements: the sense of belonging and sense of safety, self-confidence and self-esteem, literacy, communication, problem solving, volunteerism and community service for youth, interaction and relationships with adults and peer groups,

leadership development and opportunities, youth initiatives in non-formal science, engineering, and technology and civic engagement. One very successful program, known throughout the island, would be the 4-H fisheries program which has had over 700 participants and has sustained itself for 28 years. This program is credited to the late 4-H State Program Leader, Mr. Theodore Iyechad and the UOG Guam Marine Lab researcher, Mr. Barry Smith. Most of the alumni from the program have provided volunteer services, which has contributed to the program's success every year. Members of the community are always welcomed to volunteer their time by taking on any of the following roles:

- Community Club Advisor – To advise the 4-H members enrolled in the workshops and programs
- Project Club Advisor – To share one's skills, talents and special interests in a single project area
- Cloverbud Advisor – To lead children in grades k-12, through hands-on learning activities
- School Enrichment Volunteer – To teach a short-term 4-H Curriculum to a class of school children
- Short Term Volunteer – To teach a special interest program, and/or assist a 4-H group with a special project

Program priorities include creating an environment where there are opportunities for youth to gain and increase their sense of belonging, independence, mastery and generosity, as well as to enable and master the skills needed to make positive life choices, become civically engaged, act responsibly and be a positive influence in their communities. Guam's youth struggle not only with age specific issues, but also with other issues in the community.

Latest Signature Initiative: "Weaving of the Micronesian Islands"

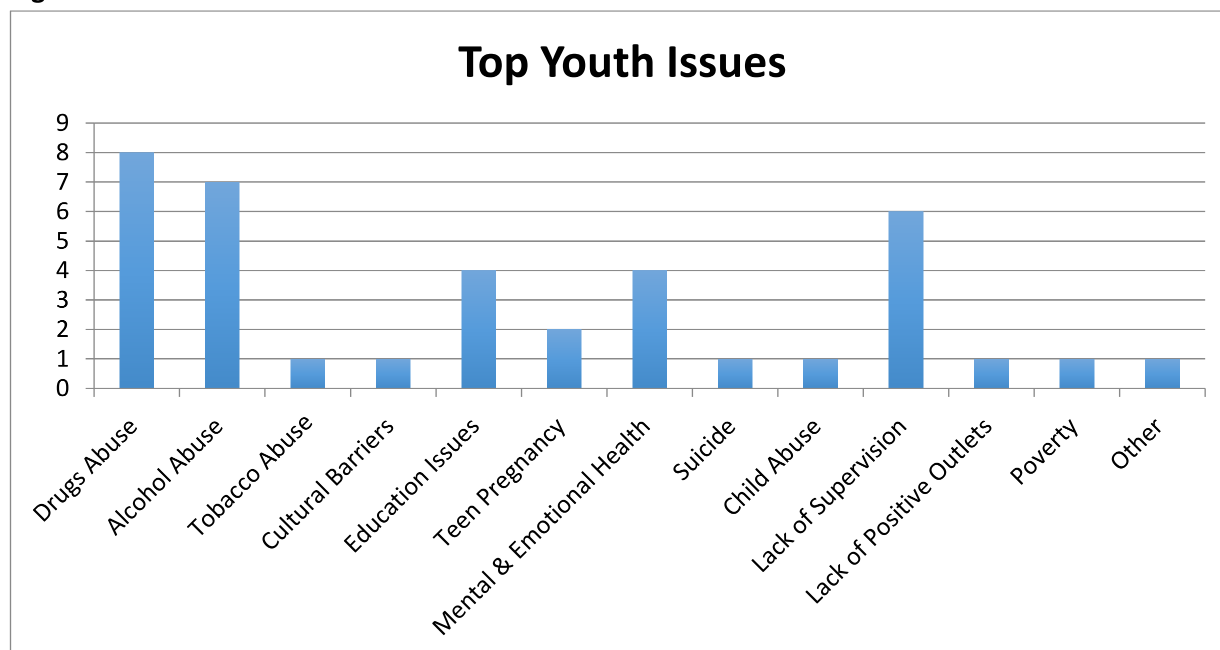
Recently, an event was held by the University of Guam's 4-H Program featuring the Lieutenant Governor of Guam, Raymond Tenorio. It focused on youth development and was called "Weaving of the Micronesian Islands"; it was attended by members of Government agencies and organizations concerned with Youth Development. Each stakeholder completed a survey where they were asked, "What are the top 3 youth issues you are familiar with?" The survey's responses to this question (Figure 3) showed that Guam's youth may struggle the most with drug abuse, alcohol abuse, and lack of supervision. One of the goals of the 4-H Program is to provide education, programs and experiences that provide prospects and opportunities to master learning of essential life skills that allows young people to be trustworthy, respectful, responsible, fair and caring citizens. The program aims to help youth, adults and families integrate these principles into their everyday lives to help cope with the issues listed above as well as future issues that may arise.

Understanding the Community Action Framework (CAF) As It Relates To 4H

Robinson and Meikle-Yaw's work on linking social capital and community capacity (2007) aligns well with this emerging interest to revisit the adequacy of youth development programs and the associated youth problems faced by communities and organizations. This is linked to the CAF approach to signature projects. The 4-H- life skills program is used together with the ideas in Vries et al. (2015) to deliver youth prevention programs tied to "family context" allowing for accessing a wide range of practical and programming experience. The CAF can be viewed as a bridging reference to coordinate family and

community based programs. This approach allows for building the right partnerships in the design and implementation of effective youth strategies and initiatives. In R. Lerner & J. Lerner (2013) longitudinal 4-H Study of Positive Youth Development research, the authors acknowledge the benefits derived when youth connect with their community. The importance of bridging school time learning with the out-of-school learning experiences (community and family aligned) show that youth engaged in 4-H learning programs are "***Four times*** more likely to make ***contributions to their communities*** (Grades 7-12) and t***wo times*** more likely to be ***civically active*** (Grades 8-12)" (Learner & Learner, 2013).

Figure 3. Youth Issues



For over 100 years the 4-H program has produced young adults that are equipped with the knowledge and skills to be successful and contributing citizens. These alumni have gone on to excel in a wide range of career choices. The 4-H Positive Youth Development Program model provides Guam's youth with the tools and life skills needed to lead more productive lives. A component of the community action framework would be the offering of career exploration and pathways support to the participants of the 4-H programs.

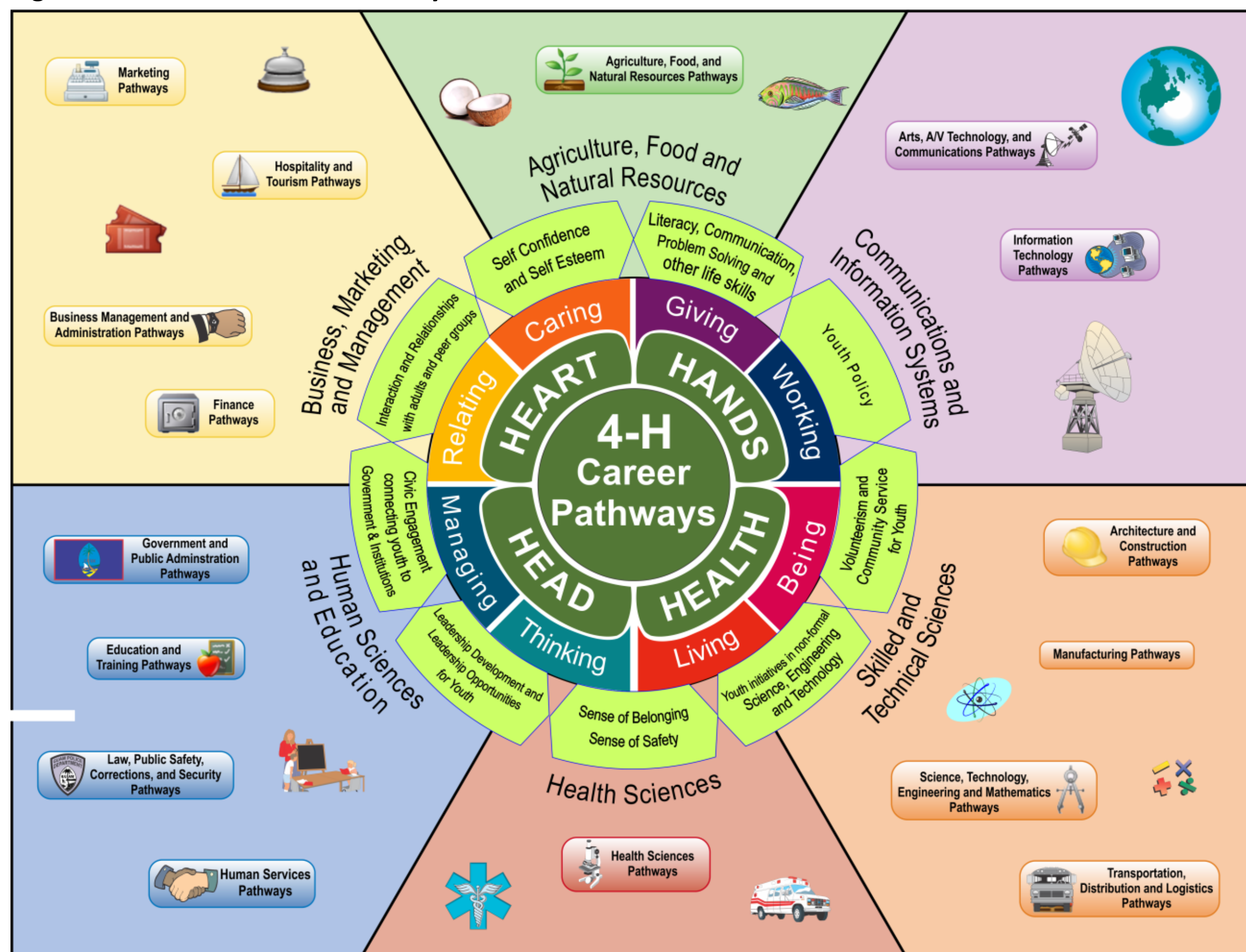
Participants are taught life skills in relation to targeted youth development knowledge areas when exploring career aspirations. Effective career pathways planning can be achieved through consistent exposure to 4-H programming which provide proper guidance beginning in early education and continuing on into post-secondary education and training.

Features of the 4-H Community Development Structures

The framework described here builds on the idea of the development of a regional youth monograph aligned under a community program approach and includes the following: 1)Youth Asset Map

with an emphasis on the impacts of teaching life skills and 2)Youth Data Sources collected from youth programs and reporting through the *Kids Count Data Book*[3].

Figure 4. 4-H Youth Career Pathways



Youth Asset Map

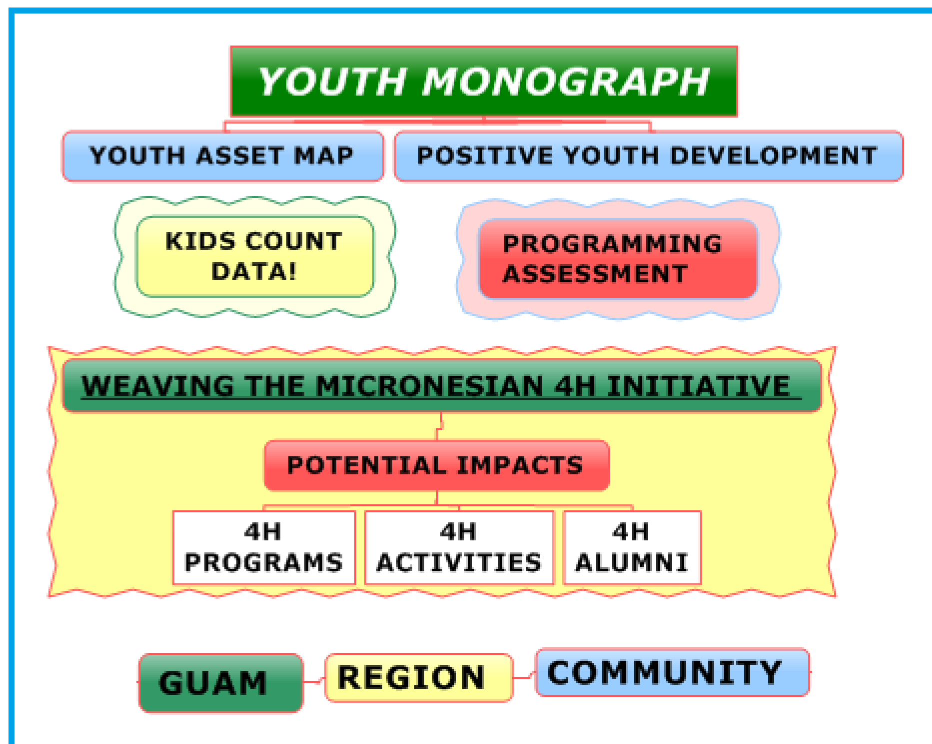
A Youth Asset Map is a tool used to capture the programs and supports available to the community that will be accessible to all seeking the information. The region consist of individual evidence-based youth programs structured to be implemented and sustained while producing proven outcomes and impacts to the youth, families and their communities. Through the formalization of a unified Youth Asset Map these programs are:

- Documented to reflect their contributions to positive youth development
- Referenced as a tool to assist in youth needs assessment strategic planning

[3] Providing state legislatures, public officials and child advocates with the reliable data, policy recommendations and tools needed to advance sound policies that benefit children and families. The Kids Counts Data Book is a Casey Foundation signature publication which began in 1990 and has since published a total of 26 reports. The Kids Count Data Book also feature stories from several states on advocacy efforts that have improved outcomes for kids and families.

- Provide access to vital youth programming information

Figure 5. 4-H Community Development Structures



Through the use of the Youth Asset Map the PYD impacts such as that of the 4-H will be compiled and used as a reference for regional evidence based program structures. According to The Educator's Guide to Emotional Intelligence and Academic Achievement, the connection between academic and social-emotional learning (SEL) is important when preparing children for the roles they will inherit in society that are currently occupied by adults. SEL refers to a process of learning that includes the aspects of education that focus on character education, service learning, citizenship education and emotional intelligence. The mission of 4-H has always been to provide youth with "Skills for Living", delivered through the life skills wheel model. 4-H programming aims to assist in social and emotional development (SED) which promotes civic engagement and leadership development.

Youth Data Sources

Guam's 4-H program collects data for every workshop conducted and compiles annual reports distributed to program stakeholders. The data consist of the participants' demographic information, the schools and school districts, the knowledge gained after every program module and life skill activity, and the overall workshop experience. With this data collected it is possible to measure and track the 4-H participant's SED activities. The youth monograph will serve as a tool to align knowledge needs to the 4-H and other youth program data and evidence based results. The Kids Count Data Book is an example of

how this data collection can be used to track trends in child well-being while highlighting positive practices that have improved child health and development.

The Need for the "Weaving the Micronesian Islands 4-H Youth Framework"

The 4-H community development structure presents a strategy to overcome the issues that affect the youth here on Guam and in the region. The Micronesian 4-H project aims at promoting and supporting sustainable positive youth development by leveraging the programs for youth within the land grant institutions. In particular, the Guam 4-H initiative intends to align and create a youth program brand. This involves adapting the 4-H life skills (four key areas of Head, Heart, Hands, and Health) wheel to each of the Micronesian languages. Weaving the Micronesian 4-H is based on the idea of promoting the integration process of the life skills framework for youth programs. Using the land grant network begins with Palau and Kosrae as the start point to merge the life skills programs with appropriate youth development initiatives. In 2016, President Tommy Remengesau proclaimed it to be the year of the Youth for Palau aimed to raise awareness about the myriad of youth issues and need to align resources and programs to help increase the level of activities for positive youth development work.

One of the major assets of the 4-H framework is the 4-H Life Skills Wheel developed by Dr. Patricia A. Hendricks, Extension Youth Development Specialist at Iowa State University (Figure 6). The life skill wheel is a communicational instrument that is utilized by educators to promote and strengthen youth development programs. The life skill wheel represents the basic foundation that prepares our youth for success in life. It helps our youth build character and enables them to apply these learning words to everyday life situations. Some of these key words include teamwork, social skills, cooperation, leadership, and self-esteem.

These words are not new to our islands' life style. As our islands in the region grow in a rapid adaptation of economical means, we are becoming detached from these fundamental values. The resulting challenges from these socio-economic factors have greatly impacted our youth causing them to become detached from our everyday values. By integrating this life skill model within our youth programs youth will be provided with the tools to assist in coping with these challenges, therefore enhancing sustainability and productivity within our youth programs.

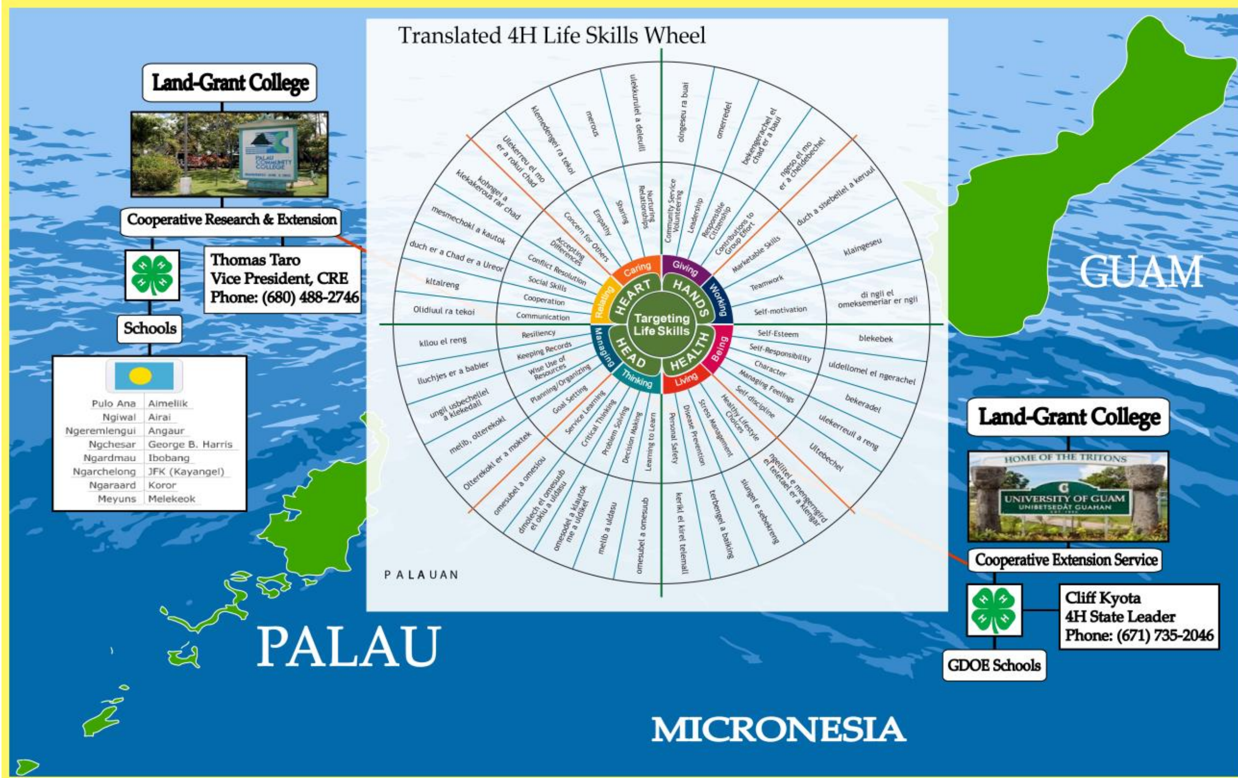
Framework Features

Youth programming sustained and managed by the 4-H programs can play an important role in youth development work. In the long term, the project is expected to have a positive effect on regional communities. The possibilities of intercultural dialogue and the life skills regional approach will provide a positive learning environment for youth and building bridging programs to increase the public value of 4-H programming.

Figure 6. 4-H Life Skill Wheel – English

4H Life Skills Wheel English

Figure 7. The Micronesian Region Land Grant and 4-H Map – Palau



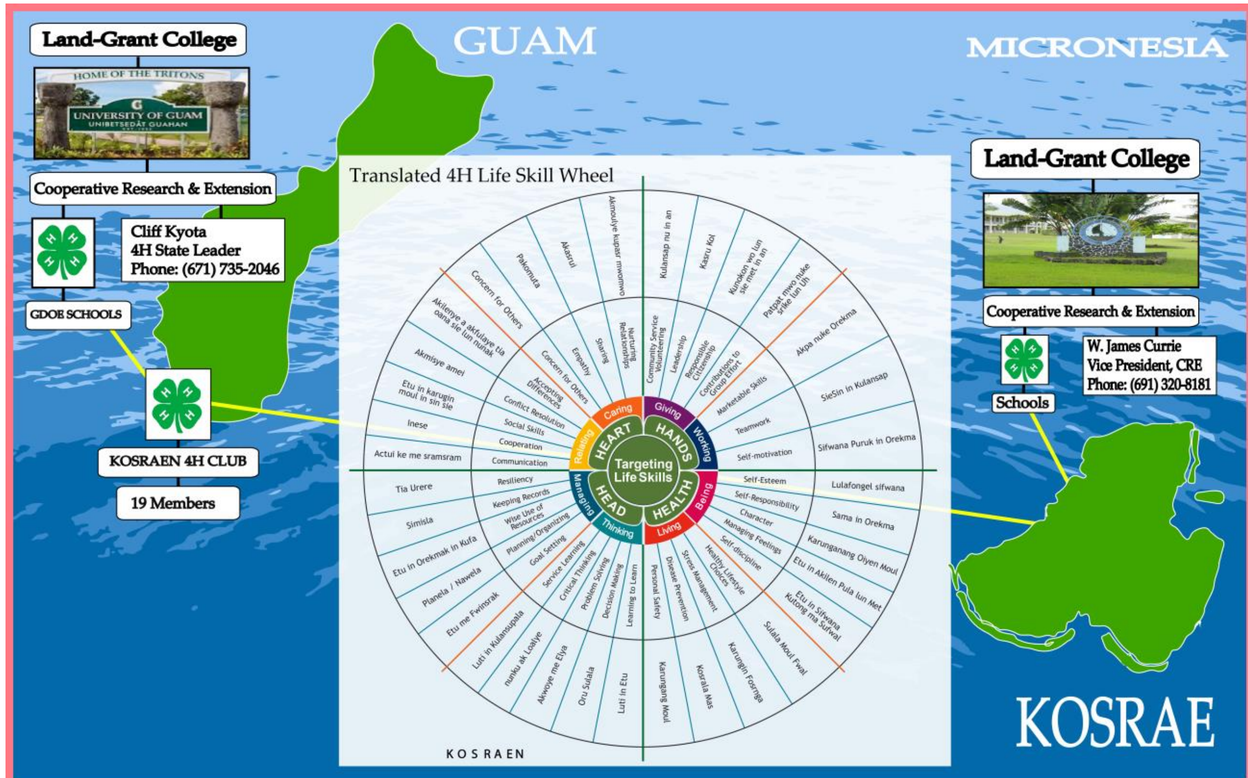
The University of Guam's 4-H Youth Development Program took the initiative and translated the life skill wheel in all the Micronesian languages, therefore creating the basis of a standard youth program for the region. Being able to translate this wheel will help our youth educators to have a uniform youth program across the region. Life skill translations will help amplify the regional concept of "Weaving the Micronesian Islands". The Kosraean community of Guam is the first chartered Micronesian Island 4-H Youth Development Program using the Life Skill model. The monthly meetings and club events also provide opportunities for the youth to share and relate to cultural aspects of the Kosrae.

Other Micronesian communities in Guam are being informed of this model, and to incorporate it when formulating their respective 4-H youth clubs.

The idea of chartering the Micronesian islands of Guam comes with dedication and cooperation. For the last four years numerous attempt have been delivered and implemented to work cohesively with Micronesian ethnic groups in Guam. As is typical, there have been obstacles that have interfered with the mission. However, these obstacles did not prevent the levels of exposure to the 4-H program model to ethnic youth groups. The Kosrae interest kept growing on how Positive Youth Development helps them empowering their youths. As the idea of becoming the 4-H club came to the chartering part, Kosrae's future club conducted its first unofficial meeting on September 25, 2015 at UOG's CNAS. Once the club completed the national and state requirements for being an official charter 4-H club the Kosrae 4-H club became official on August 5, 2015. As an official charter club they have done several fundraising. Their

activities are mainly focusing on leadership, citizenship and life skills. This idea would help this young generation to become proactive in service learning and enable them to take part in positive services in our community.

Figure 8: 4-H Connection and Life Skills Wheel – Kosrae



4-H Alumni in Depth Interviews: Weaving from the Past to Begin the Future

As part of our efforts to begin our evaluation of the effectiveness of Guam's 4-H programs as perceived by 4-H members and practitioners and parents, the authors of this paper held a qualitative 4-H focus group interview using content analysis. A series of 11 questions were developed by the authors. The 11 questions were posed to 4-H focus group participants on April 19, 2016 and were used to begin our evaluation review. A total of five participants were selected from a list developed by the 4-H State Leader.

Summary findings include a strong perception that the program was effective tied to the importance of the experiential thematic references linked closely to the life skills and the accompanying program delivery provided through youth mentors and volunteers. This sense of belonging or characterized as structured participation. A noted comment touched on the need to actively promote and support youth programs linked closely with the 4-H club at the village level. While this review of the 4-H program is preliminary, the workgroup plans to replicate the survey with other 4-H partners and collaborators to identify and determine other perceptions about the-4-H program approach effectiveness as a youth development signature program. This will help identify other critical areas of need for working

with youth and helping provide training for community organizations and youth volunteers. The following questioning and responses is an excerpt from the transcript:

FACILITATOR II: Ok, so I am going to go ahead and ask question 1 and then we are going to start from (___) and just work our way from there around the table. So question 1: How did you get to know or get involved with 4-H?

- Signed up by parent/grandparent
- Volunteering
- Paid mentor
- Shared information from 4-H stakeholders

FACILITATOR II: (2) What was your first impression about 4-H programs? Responses were as follows:

> *I thought that being the only child, it was a great chance to meet people and it wasn't just people my age not just my peers. Overall it was a good impression I was excited about it. I stuck to it and it came to be something I looked forward to after school so when school was done and the summer time hit I had something else to do.* – PL

> *Well I guess my first impression about 4-H when I started working was that it was very different because growing up I wasn't really in like programs like that. So I just thought that it's interesting because you have the (Life Skills) module and then talk about it, because it's so hands-on that you kind of incorporate an activity to reinforce it so they can understand better. –KLG*

> *So my first impression because I was in high school we need (Service Learning) hours so I just thought it was something I can do to just get hours and graduate but as I kept going back I really liked it. I was used to learning in a classroom setting and 4-H is different because when you learn something you actually go out and apply it and that's how I learn and I just thought it was really interesting. – G*

> *"Ok when I first heard about the 4-H I was dealing with a lot of youth too doing some sports, baseball so I was like why not try something different with dealing with education too!"* – A

> *"My first impression I was confused the first time I heard of it, but then the more we got into it was like ok this is good it's going to make us learn more or do more things and you know just get out and be kids*!" -AA

FACILITATOR II: (3) Please describe your most memorable experience where you observed a 4-H participant engaged in a learning experience. (4) What do you like best about the 4-H youth programs?

- Program participants taking what they've learned and sharing it with the others
- Having past participants return as volunteers to the program
- Gaining interest with the "learning by doing" activities
- Opportunities to learn traditional activities
- Sharing stories from back home during our time together

A respondent added:

It's usually years later when that participant has gone off to do different things, as a matter of a fact last week a participant who's an adult now (made the comment) "I know this person because he taught me how to fish when I was this tall." You don't really see it at the time, but the impact that you make is still there. - PL

FACILITATOR II: (5) After your involvement or taking part in the various 4-H programs or activities, what do you think should be changed, improved or dropped?
Responses include:

- More outreach in the schools and village events
- Assist 4-H alumni with sharing their experiences and the benefits gained from the program
- More training for mentors in the 4-H program in the different areas such as horticulture
- More clubs in the community that operate outside the school year as well
- Involving teachers in the service learning hour opportunities tied to the program

FACILITATOR II: (6) How do you think young kids or families have been impacted by the 4-H program in being connected to their communities or families? .This is a two-part question (7) 4-H youth programs have and continue to serve their communities (i.e. schools, villages or programs) in many ways, Please offer your thoughts on the following questions: What do you see as the benefits for youth and for communities from these activities? a. Benefits for youth? ; And b) Benefits for communities?

Response included:

- The kids and their parents benefit from the tutoring support
- Provides afterschool programs that offer educational activities
- Youth exposure to informed decision making
- Youth benefit from the program framework that combines fun activities with life skills
- Youth share what they've learned with their families

A participant clarified:

I think what the 4-H program does well it kind of combines and weaves education and fun together. So enjoyment and acquiring information outside of your normal school subjects

is something that whether or not the youths realize it it is occurring. Many of these youths that retain this information based off of their experiences carry that out into the community– PL

FACILITATOR II: (8) "Learning by Doing" what would you describe as the most useful activities in helping young people develop their skills?

Responses include:

- Hands-on engaging activities that get the participants up and moving
- Working in teams allows for new social interactions
- Anything that's hands-on that's culturally relevant to an individual is most likely to stay

Participant KLG noted:

"Letting them be creative so that where they understand that there's not just one way of doing something there's different ways and they can see it themselves." –KLG

FACILITATOR II: Ok, next question. (9) What do you think is needed to expand life skills programming for youth in the community? Given our interest in expanding community programming for youth development work, Do you have any suggestions for 4-H to partner with other youth programs or community organizations?

Responses include the following:

- 4-H and village mayor partnership to promote community service opportunities
- Exposure to more than sports
- Activities focused on planting
- Provide program planning technical assistance to individuals

FACILITATOR II: (10) Please provide any ideas or thoughts about the following interest areas for expanding 4-H youth programs and or service opportunities for 4-H members? (a) Support the elderly (b) Community Improvement (c) Helping the disadvantaged (d) Supporting 4-H Agriculture and Farming Education (STEM) (e) Health Education (f) Working with children and Youth and People facing crisis (g) Helping people with disabilities (h) Promoting safety and healthy living

Responses include:

- Collaboration with the healthy aging program
- Club fundraising
- Specialized education and mentoring for individuals dealing with the disadvantages
- Improved frequency on in school 4-H programs
- Culturally relevant external companion curriculums

FACILITATOR I: Please share any other comments you might have concerning the 4-H programs?

Responses include the following:

- 4-H mentors that are available to help sustain projects initiated by the 4-H program
- Increase in 4-H staff that are passionate about their work in the community
- My wish for our club would be to continue to work with the 4-H program to offer more activities for the youth so that they keep returning every month

Moving Forward

The possibilities of the Weaving Micronesian Life Skills 4-H approach tied to the regional land grants will, on the one hand, achieve a unifying youth supportive system, and, on the other hand contribute to increasing the support and stability of positive youth development work. Further exploration into the youth development programs on island through the use of the youth monograph's asset map paired with a series of focus group sessions will strengthen the Community Action Framework. The youth programs tied to the region's cooperative extension strongly emphasize communities and families with regard to positive youth development. Youth will be equipped with the skills to succeed in life, focus on their education and engage in responsible planning towards their desired careers.

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Writing the Wrongs – Poetry as Resistance and Survivance: "Kantan Chamorittas" in the 21st Century

Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo

Abstract

In this paper, the author explores the significance of resistance and survivance through the use of poetry by Chamoru women and how their poetry responds to various facets of US colonialism on Guam (e.g., US militarism, occupation of Chamoru lands, and issues of language and identity loss). These poetic responses demonstrate that Chamorus have not only survived and endured through their centuries-long colonial history but that in this 21st century, their lyrical lines continue to speak back to indigenous and human rights violations and social injustices.

Keywords: *Resistance, survivance, poetry, Chamoru*

Ginen i sisun nanå-hu,	From the breasts of my mother,
Ginen i guålo` gi tano`-ta…	From the gardens of our land…
I hagå`-ta ginen håga` nånan nanå-hu…	Our blood is of my grandmother's blood…

(“Nånan Nanå-hu,” a Chamoru chant by I Fanlalai`an)

I Tinituhon (The Beginning): Introduction

Guåhan, also known as Guam, is the largest and southernmost of the fifteen islands known as the Mariana Islands, in the “Pacific Ocean” (Perez 1996a: 70).[1] It measures about 30 miles in length and 4 to 12 miles in width (“Maintaining Chamorro Culture” 1998: 110). The indigenous people of the Marianas are the Chamorus.[2] According to the 2000 Census, the total population on Guåhan was 154, 805, of whom 65, 243 (42.15%) were Chamoru[3] (Guam State Data Center Bureau of Statistics and Plans).[4] Guåhan was

[1] I am aware that the Portuguese explorer who sailed for Spain, Ferdinand Magellan, encountered the ocean in which Guåhan dwells and named it *Mare Pacificum* (peaceful sea); it is from this name that the Pacific Ocean was derived (see Maielua's “Moanaākea” in *The Space Between—Negotiating Culture, Place, and Identity in the Pacific*, edited by A. Marata Tamaira).

[2] There are three ways that people spell the word which refers to the indigenous people, language, and culture of the Marianas: Chamoru, Chamorro, and CHamoru. I have opted to use the first spelling.

[3] In the 2000 Census, Chamorus and part-Chamorus are separated, the former making up 57,297, and the latter making up 7,946, amounting to a total of 65,243 (42.15%) of the 154,805 total population of Guåhan. I have chosen to combine both the Chamoru and part-Chamoru populations, as they shouldn't be separated because we are all Chamoru.

[4] As of 2010, the Chamoru people make up about 35% of approximately 180,000 residents on the island (see Cristobal).

severed from the rest of the Mariana Islands (known as the Northern Mariana Islands) in 1898, after the Spanish-American War, when Spain gave up control of Guåhan to the US and control of Northern Marianas to Germany. Guåhan has been an "unincorporated US territory" since August 1950, meaning that residents are US citizens but cannot vote for the US president and have only a nonvoting representative in the US Congress ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 112; "Part I: Political Status" 1998: 17).

> [W]e have a lot of work ahead of us. We know what we have got to do, and we're going to do it step by step. We will free our people from the bondage of colonial slavery. It is now or never. It is almost too late. We have to save what's left. (Santos 1998: 121)

This paper examines the poetry of Chamoru women poets from Guåhan and demonstrates how poetry can be used as a tool of resistance and a means of "survivance." Resistance, as used in this paper, is defined as "an active quest for justice, and as a means of collectively empowering a particular group of activists, not merely as a reactive phenomenon created in response to power and its abuses" (DeShazer 1994: 2). In the words of Mary K. DeShazer, author of *A Poetics of Resistance—Women Writing in El Salvador, South Africa, and the United States*:

> I use the term resistance as an umbrella covering poetry that challenges oppressive governments, policies, and institutions but often goes beyond mere opposition […Resistance poetry itself] offers and supports various counter-hegemonic models of social justice and racial/gender/class empowerment […]. (ibid: 2)

Moreover, survivance is a word that was coined in 1998 by Gerald Vizenor, an Ojibwe writer, scholar, and activist (Nelson 2008: 6). It is a combination of both "survival" and "endurance" (Carson 444). According to Vizenor, "'[S]urvivance, in the sense of native survivance, is more than survival, more than endurance or mere response; the stories of survivance are an active presence […S]urvivance is an active repudiation of dominance, tragedy, and victimry'" (as qtd. in Carson 2009: 444). Survival denotes the continuance of past practices; survivance is the continuance of past practices *and* the combination and creation of new ones (Nelson 2008: 6, emphasis added). Further, indigenous peoples' stories of survivance display the active presence of the peoples in addition to the active resistance toward the "dominant cultural narratives" (Carson 2009: 444).

In fino` Chamoru, there are no words which directly translate into resistance and survivance, but there are phrases which come close. "Inaguaguati" is closest in meaning to resistance. "Lina`la` minesngon" means life of endurance, or, survivance. As a collective community, all Chamorus must come together to resist the colonial leaders and institutions which continue to deny us our basic rights as the indigenous people of Guåhan. We must do this if we are to continue to exist into our future.

The two Chamoru poets were born and raised on the island of Guåhan. They are second generation post-WWII children, products of the public high school system, and the first of their families to graduate from college. In fall 2008, they met for the first time in a Pacific Islands Studies graduate

course at UH-Mānoa, learned that they were from the same place, and instantly became friends. But it wasn't until the spring of 2009 that their relationship with poetry became official through their hosting and performing the first-ever "I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi" ("The Journey of Our Words") poetry reading. Both had been writing for years individually, yet neither fully understood the capacity of their work, together, as far as being a way out, even a way in, to the exposures of the truths and stories of their people and home. They had maintained close connections with home, and their poetry allowed them to continue to do so. The hugua` na palao`an Chamoru ni chume`lu yan mantituge` whose poetry serves as a tool of resistance and a means of survivance for Chamorus and whose poetry will be featured in this paper are Anghet Hoppe-Cruz and Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo.

Perhaps what ties Hoppe-Cruz and Borja-Quichocho-Calvo together in addition to their poetry is that they are activists and community organizers (they most recently established Fight for Guåhan).[5] Their work separately and collaboratively in the classroom, with "I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi," and with Fight for Guåhan, shows the love they have for their home and people. As women of a colonized nation, it is only fitting that the two work to raise consciousness about US imperialism and work in solidarity with allies from across Oceania in sovereignty movements, demilitarization struggles, and decolonization efforts. Though speaking of Kanaka Maoli women, the following quote from Haunani-Kay Trask is applicable to many indigenous women, including Chamoru women: "Women are at the forefront of the sovereignty movement" (1999: 191). "[…T]he main reason women lead the nationalist front today is simply that women have not lost sight of the *lāhui*, that is, of the nation" (ibid: 94). Albert Wendt states the following in reference to Māori and Hawaiian women but again which can be said of women throughout Oceania:

> [Maori] women make up the strongest group in the [sovereignty] leadership […] The reason is simple. Indigenous women are discriminated against doubly—as women and as Maori or Hawaiian. They have suffered more than the men. It's the women who have kept the families going in the whole struggle. That's why when they turn their attention to organizing the movement, they're far stronger than the men. (Hereniko and Hanlon 1999: 89)

While Pacific Islander men have been known to control women and exercise their patriarchal ways, "[…] they have certainly not succeeded in silencing women poets," some of which include Grace Mera Molisa of Vanuatu, Konai Helu Thaman of Tonga, Julie Sipolo Makini of the Solomon Islands, Haunani-Kay Trask of Hawai`i, Nora Vagi Brash of Papua New Guinea, Ruth Saovana-Spriggs of Bougainville, and Momoe Malietoa Von Reiche and Makarita Va`ai of Sāmoa (Clarke 2000: 14-15). In Micronesia, some female poets include Teresia Teaiwa (of i-Kiribati ancestry), Emelihter Kihleng of Pohnpei, Cecilia "Lee" Perez and Anne Perez Hattori of Guåhan. Hoppe-Cruz and Borja-Quichocho-Calvo are also part of this growing list of female poets of Oceania.

[5] Fight for Guåhan (FFG) promotes decolonization and demilitarization. Currently, its main goal is to raise awareness and protest against the military buildup of the Marianas. Guåhan means "we have," and FFG stands to fight for what we have and reclaim what was lost.

It is important to note that Hoppe-Cruz and Borja-Quichocho-Calvo acknowledge and have been inspired by the work of their predecessors, Chamoru female poets, Lee Perez and Anne Perez Hattori. This paper will feature some of Perez's and Hattori's works as well. It is hoped and anticipated that this paper can initiate dialogue on the poetry and other creative works of the Chamoru people and the importance of poetry to and for Chamorus as a process of resistance and survivance.

Finaloffan Guåhan (Historical Background of Guåhan and its Chamorus)

> "In the Chamoru world view, the Mariana Islands lie at the center of the universe and all human life began in [Guåhan]" ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 110).

> In the beginning, there was no land and no water, no sign of life. But there were two beings, a sister and a brother, named Fo`na and Pontan. One day, Pontan called Fo`na because he knew he was dying. He wanted her to fulfill his dreams of creating the world. He told her to use his powers and his body to make the world. And so Fo`na listened to her brother.
> With his back, she made the land and the ocean.
> With his chest, she made the sky.
> With his eyes, she made the sun and the moon.
> With his eyebrows, she made the rainbow.
> Seeing that the earth was finished, Fo`na decided to create the first people. With her powers, she turned herself into a rock. It was from this rock that the first people were born. (paraphrased from the chant "I Tinituhon"; I Fanlalai`an 1996a)

Chamorus settled the Marianas over 4,000 years ago, "sharing a unique and special relationship with the land and sea" (Phillips 1996: 3). It is believed that Chamorus migrated from Southeast Asia, bringing with them breadfruit, bananas, taro, and coconut (Souder 1992a: 29). Initially, Chamorus resided in "oceanfront villages composed largely of clan members practicing a matrilineal system of descent" (Hattori 2004: 11). At the head of each clan were the maga`håga and maga`låhi, the highest-ranking sister and brother, respectively. "Their authority emanated from their mothers and from the status of their clans […] as well as on their own personal leadership qualities and abilities" (Kasperbauer 1996: 33). Chamorus also practiced a caste system which included the matao (the highest caste, inclusive of the maga`håga and maga`låhi) and the mangachang (lowest-ranking caste). The matao inherited their power and land rights through their matrilineage (personal communication, Jeremy Cepeda and Gregorio Ecle, July 21, 2010). The mangachang, on the other hand, could not rise to power and were restricted from "residing along the oceanfront, fishing in the ocean, and marrying higher-ranking persons" (Cunningham, as cited in Hattori 2004: 13).

Today, Chamorus no longer practice the caste system. However, the clan structure and relations are still maintained. Moreover, Chamoru cultural practices and values have played and continue to play a very significant role in our everyday lives and relationships. One important cultural value is inafa`maolek, or interdependence, "being kind and good to one another" (Kasperbauer 1996: 29).

Chamorus have known and understood "that the clan or extended family, and *not* the individual, serves as the core of society" ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 111). Whether during "canoe building, net making, fishing or babysitting, relationships built on the concept of inafa`maolek enabled clans to rely on each other for whatever need arose" (Hattori 2004: 14).

Further, Guåhan and its Chamorus have been occupied by three different nations: Spain (1668-1898), Japan (1941-1944), and the United States (1898-1941; 1944-present) ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 111-114). These occupations will be discussed further in the following sections.

Spanish Occupation

Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan (who sailed for Spain) landed in Guåhan in 1521. However, it was not until 1668 that the first Spanish settlement was established on the island (Souder 1992a: 31). During that year, "with the establishment on [Guåhan] of the first colonial settlement in the Pacific, Spanish Catholics began challenging many of the ancient practices and beliefs" of the Chamorus (Hattori 2004: 14). The Spanish missionaries also told the Chamorus "that the nakedness of their bodies was immoral" and forced them to wear clothing (Kasperbauer 1996: 31).

The Spanish priests and missionaries would learn fino`Chamoru (Chamoru language) in order to better communicate and get along with the Chamorus. Such efforts were noticed by Chamorus and allowed for the people to be more easily converted (Sanchez 1998: 36). "The missionary effort received its greatest honor when Padre [Diego Luis de] San Vitores converted and baptized High Chief Quipuha [Kipuha]" of Hagåtña, the most esteemed maga`låhi of his time (ibid). Chief Kipuha gave up his land in Hagåtña for the creation of the first church in the Marianas, the first church in all of Oceania, the Dulce Nombre de Maria Cathedral-Basilica (ibid).

By 1670, dissatisfied with the foreign beliefs and practices of the Spanish, Chamorus engaged in open rebellion against the missionaries and soldiers, resulting in the Spanish-Chamoru Wars, which lasted about thirty years (l670-1700) (Souder 1992a: 31). "By the early 1700s, Spanish accounts report[ed] that the population of the Mariana Islands had dropped from an estimated 50,000 to only 3,500, with most deaths attributed to warfare and diseases brought by the Spanish" ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 111; Hattori 2004: 14-15).

Knowing that many of their men were being killed, Chamoru women themselves also defied the Spanish following the Spanish-Chamoru Wars. They would purposefully abort their unborn children knowing that their future offspring's "'freedom' would be denied" (Souder 1992b: 158). They foresaw the future of their people and knew that there would be much suffering and death at the guns of their colonizer.

American Occupation

In 1898, Guåhan was ceded to the US by Spain after the Spanish-American War through the Treaty of Paris ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 112). At the end of that year, US President William

McKinley stated the following in his Executive Order for Guåhan: "The Secretary of the Navy will take such steps as may be necessary to establish the authority of the United States and to give the necessary protection and Government" in Sanchez 1998: 84). In January 1899, US Navy Captain Richard Leary was appointed as the first naval governor of Guåhan by President McKinley. Guåhan and its Chamorus were under the sole control of the US Navy Department and the appointed naval governor. The superiority of the naval department and governor was granted through a document known as the "Instructions for the Military Commander of the Island of Guam, Ladrones, Pacific Ocean" (ibid). For 50 years, "interrupted only by the Japanese occupation during World War II, Naval Governors administered island affairs through a series of executive orders which dictated appropriate standards and acceptable behavior for the people of this newly acquired territory" (Souder 1992a: 33). Further, the US Navy's control of Guåhan was non-democratic: "the Chamorro people were not allowed to participate in their government" ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 113).

Japanese Occupation

On December 7, 1941 (December 8 in Guåhan), Japan bombed Pu`uloa, Hawai`i (more commonly referred to as Pearl Harbor). That same day, Japan also bombed, invaded, and occupied Guåhan (Sanchez 174-175). The Japanese treated the Chamorus very harshly, as the Chamorus were "forced to provide food and labor for the Japanese military" ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 113). Japan controlled Guåhan until July 21, 1944. During the almost three-year occupation, Japanese officials tortured and killed many Chamorus. Chamorus were forced to do laborious work and were given rations for food ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 113; Sanchez 1986: 186). Chamorus were even forced to march to a concentration camp in Manenggon in the village of Yo`ña. Along the way, many Chamorus got sick and did not survive. If any Chamorus could not handle the long and painful journey, then the Japanese would kill them instantly or leave them to die (Sanchez 1986: 227-228).

American Re-occupation

On July 21, 1944, the US returned to Guåhan and recaptured the island and its people from the Japanese ("Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 113). Because of the harsh treatment by the Japanese toward the Chamorus and because of the feelings of nostalgia during the first American occupation, many Chamorus were happy and relieved to see the Americans (Perez 1996a: 71). In the process of recapturing Guåhan, American troops destroyed major villages of the island, such as Hagåtña and Sumai, claiming "that it was necessary to destroy the [cities] to prevent Japanese troops from using buildings as cover against advancing [US] Marines" (Sanchez 1986: 235). This was why Chamorus were forced into refugee camps after the war: Their island had been decimated (ibid: 244).

While many Chamorus were excited and grateful for the return of the US, there were also Chamorus who resisted the US government, especially when the military began seizing Chamoru lands. "By 1948, the US military and other parts of the federal government had taken 42 percent of Guam's land. These lands were used primarily for military bases. Some lands […were] used as military parks and recreational areas" (Maintaining Chamorro Culture" 1998: 114). Until this day, there are still unresolved land problems, including Chamorus trying to reclaim US occupied lands and, due to the scarcity of land

(and even great financial need), there are often familial conflicts over lands. Yet despite the Chamorus' "long history of foreign rule, [they] have proven themselves to be a strong, durable, and flexible people who can survive under even the most difficult conditions" (ibid).

Chamoru Activism

Throughout Chamoru history, there have been Chamorus who opposed colonial rule, colonial government policies, and other things of such nature, and could, therefore, be dubbed as activists. There were Chamoru chiefs such as Hurao and Matå`pang who openly defied the Spanish in the 1600s. There were the Chamoru women who purposefully aborted their unborn children following the Spanish-Chamoru Wars. Then there was Father Jesus Baza Dueñas who, during the Japanese occupation in WWII, kept practicing and teaching the Catholic faith to Chamorus.

In the 1970s, Chamoru activism grew out of the movement against the passing of the proposed Guam Constitution which, if ratified, "would have put [Guåhan] in a status closer to statehood," thus resolving the much-debated issue of political status (San Agustin 1996: 145). Out of this proposed Guam Constitution came the growing Chamoru activist movement, namely the emergence of three Chamoru grassroots organizations: the People's Alliance for Responsible Alternatives (PARA), the People's Alliance for Dignified Alternatives (PADA), and the Guam Landowners Association (GLA) (ibid). Each organization opposed the Guam Constitution. Eventually, PARA and PADA joined together to form PARA-PADA, which literally means "stop [the] slap" (ibid).[6] GLA was an ally of PARA-PADA**;** its goal was the return of property taken from Chamorus by the US government during and after WWII. The Guam Constitution was never passed (ibid: 152).

It was PARA-PADA and the GLA that would lead the way in the establishment of other organizations that would promote Chamoru rights and culture, self-determination and change in political status, and other related issues. Such groups included the Organization of People for Indigenous Rights (OPIR, founded by educator and activist Dr. Chris Perez Howard), the Chamorro Grassroots Movement, the Guåhan Congress, and the Guam National Party, most of which though short-lived, helped to bring attention to very important issues (San Agustin 1996: 152). In the early 1990s, I Nasion Chamoru (The Chamoru Nation) was formed by Anghet Santos, a Chamoru activist and senator who fought for the return of Chamoru lands from the US military. The Guåhan Coalition for Peace and Justice was later formed. In November 2009, in response to the draft environmental impact statement (DEIS) for the proposed US military buildup, the We Are Guåhan coalition was formed and has been the main organization in anti-buildup efforts, raising consciousness and mobilizing people both on and off Guåhan.[7] Outside of Guam, there has also been movement, Chamorus and others from Guåhan who continue to support those at home. One group formed in the 2000s is known as Famoksaiyan (which translates to "the place or time of nurturing" or the time to paddle forward and move ahead") is based of California ("Famoksaiyan" blog site). Another group, formed in February 2010, is Fight for Guåhan (fight for what "we have"), which is

[6] "PARA-PADA campaigned to 'PARA' [stop] the constitution because it did not adequately address Chamorro rights and was therefore a 'PARA' [slap] in the faces of the Chamorros" (San Agustin 1996: 145).
[7] For more information, see the We Are Guåhan web site: wearequahan.com

based out of Hawai`i. When looking at the history of Chamoru activism, it becomes quite evident that there are several organizations and groups involved, but they all have common goals as their motivations, including the reclamation of Chamoru rights, Chamoru self-determination, and the return of Chamoru lands and resources.

Kantan Chamorritas in the 21st Century: About Chamoru Women Poets

> 'Poets are born, but they are not born poets. Society creates the system that the poet is born into, and the poet has to work at becoming a poet through this system. Through poetry, the poet tries to bring about change in the society. Poets are teachers of change, critics of society. The poet is but a tool of society […the one who] exposes the good and the bad of society.' (Noonuccal, as qtd. in MacKay 2009: 95)

In Guåhan, poetry *written* by Chamorus is a relatively new creative venture. Chamorus have long recited their poetry out loud, but they rarely wrote the words down. A prime example of this spoken word medium is Kantan Chamorrita (*kanta* means to sing). Kantan Chamorrita is a phrase referring to "a verse form that the [Chamorus…] have passed down in their folk literature for generations" (Souder 1993: 189). Chamoru women (*Chamorritas* as they have been often called) were the ones who participated in this spoken word form, especially at parties and other social gatherings and after a long day of work (ibid). The women would sing the verses they spontaneously composed in the Chamoru language. "The Kantan Chamorrita is always sung by two or more people in a call-and-response fashion" (ibid: 190). It was often a fun and collective activity. It also "served the function of expressing, in a culturally acceptable way, thoughts that otherwise would have been difficult or sensitive" (ibid), such as grievances and misunderstandings. For example, below is a Kantan Chamorrita verse pertaining to sexual mimicry:

Antes gi annai tiempo-mu	A while ago when it was your time
Kalan makina hao ni` bibu	You were like a fast machine
Annai esta ti tiempo-mu	Now that time is no longer yours
Kalan puyitos manok hao ni` figo.	You are like a shivering chick.

(as qtd. in Souder 1993: 191)

Throughout the rest of this paper, poetry from Hoppe-Cruz, Borja-Quichocho-Calvo, Perez, and Hattori is provided. Their poems speak to the everyday realities of Chamorus living on Guåhan as well as Chamorus living abroad. These realities range from what Chamorus have to deal with daily to what they have to deal with throughout their entire lives, from language loss and identity, to US colonialism, and militarism. These are issues that not all Chamorus are open to speaking about, so in a way, these Chamoru poets are 21st century Kantan Chamorritas, speaking back to the colonial grain.

For the purposes of addressing these various realities, this author has chosen certain poems from these poets and has strategically organized them based on two themes: resistance and survivance. "Not only the content of writing, but the act of writing is political" (Trask 1999b: 18). Writing poetry is a way

of addressing the wrongs of our colonizers, of rebelling against them, and it is how we heal, not as individuals, but as a collective.

Poetry as Resistance (Part I): Against Colonialism and Militarism

> resistance is a woman / whose land is all on fire / perseverance and determination / are her daughters […] / resistance is every woman who / has ever considered taking up / arms writing a story leaving the abuse / saving her children or saving herself ("Resistance," Connie Fife)

In the following poems, Borja-Quichocho-Calvo and Hattori write against the colonizer and write of the strength of the Chamorus. Borja-Quichocho-Calvo writes against this idea of "Liberation Day," which was dubbed by Chamoru activist Anghet Santos in the 1900s as Re-Occupation Day, and shows that Chamorus have yet to be truly liberated from their American colonizer.

Hattori questions the US/American education system that has been imposed on Chamorus and addresses the result of being brainwashed by such propaganda and history.

"Re-Occupation Day (a.k.a. 'Liberation Day')" by Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo

Every 21st of July,
the people of Guåhan march in their red, white, and blue,
thanking Uncle Sam and his men in uniform.

The Chamoru people were freed
from over 300 years of forced Catholicism
and forced last names,
from bowing to Yokois
and forced death marches,

yet they continue to be enslaved
by the SPAM-crazed golden arches,
by drafts and recruitments,
by "the land of the free."

I tano` i taotao-hu på`go iyon-ñiha—

They took Sumai
and used it for their military.
They made us citizens
but denied us the vote.
They stole our language
and made us speak English.

Our history books say that we're free,
that we're making good money from tourism.

As I drive through Tomhom,
my view of the ocean obstructed
by the Outrigger and the Hyatt,
I think of the stories Tåta used to tell me
about the latte stone huts that once lined the ocean
and how they were bulldozed
to keep up with the times—

No trespassing signs now line the ocean.

I taotao-hu trabiha ti manlibre.

My people are not free.

Part of "foreFathers" by Anne Hattori

…Our foreFathers,
like washington and jefferson,
franklin and lincoln
who are these gentleMEN anyway
whose faces flatten bulletin boards
and whose manifestos are memorized
by school children islandwide

did they sweat sweet tropical perspiration
did they plant *suni* and pick *lemmai*
and beseech the blessings of *guelas yan guelus*
under the sweltering sun of latitude 14

so why do we
yes, We
teach that They
are everything
or something
or even anything
to us,
Chamorro natives

who work the soil,
ride the sea,
inhale our exhalations,
and inherit the land
immortally.

Poetry as Resistance (Part II): Against Violence and Abuse

In "Heart and Soul" and "Road through Manenggon," both Hoppe-Cruz and Borja-Quichocho-Calvo, respectively, express the pain brought on various Micronesian communities by the US. As Chamorus and other Micronesians become more separated from themselves, as we continue to lose our lands and become displaced and continue to die from diseases, the US continues its plans to use these separations to fulfill their goal of expansion, its manifest destiny in the Pacific. Speaking against these US plans, Hoppe-Cruz and Borja-Quichocho-Calvo emphasize the importance of remembering our history, as it continues to repeat itself in our present.

"Heart and Soul" by Anghet Hoppe-Cruz

BRAVO is equivalent to
1000 Hiroshima
BOMBS BOMBS BOMBS
    1000
    Big Fat Dicks
    Penetrating Mother Earth
    Kwajalein Kwajalein Kwajalein
Shooting into her
Colorless
Tasteless
Heartless Sperm
    Tainting her
    Kwajalein's descendants
    Eat, Breathe, Drink, Swim
Colorless
Tasteless
Heartless Sperm
    The act of LOVE
    She on top, in control
    Receiving
    Creamy
    Sweet
    Heart and Soul Man
BRAVO is equivalent to
1000

Hiroshima
BOMBS BOMBS BOMBS
1000
Big Fat Dicks
Penetrating Mother Earth
Kwajalein Kwajalein Kwajalein
Tainting her
Her Daughters' Womb contaminated
Colorless
Tasteless
Heartless Sperm
Killing the fullness of love making
She Wants For Fears receiving
Creamy
Sweet
Heart and Soul Man
She bears the Fruit of Heart & Soul

Disfigured Disheartened Injustice

BRAVO is the equivalent of 1000 Hiroshima

BOMBS

BOMBSBOMBS

B

O

M

B

S

"Road through Manenggon" by Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo
We don't need
another road
to divide
sever

and disconnect
our people from each other.

We don't need
another road
that separates

U
S

from our culture
from our ancestors
who sweat and bled
while marching through the hills.

These hills
have natural connections.
When hiking to Sigua,
I am part of the rich red dirt.
I am part of the rope
that connects tåno` yan tåsi.

When jumping off Sigua,
I hear the voices of those
who have jumped before me.

We don't need another road.

I want to hike Sigua.
I need to jump Sigua.

My blood,

rich and red,

is yearning for Sigua.

Poetry as Survivance (Part I): Chamoru Matriarchy

"The Chamorro woman is at once culture-bearer, culture preservationist, and agent of change" (Souder, 1992b: 143). Chamoru society is a matrilineal society, meaning that the women of our families are highly respected. In Chamoru households, the woman is the head of the house. Even in the 1600s,

Spanish Jesuit priest Diego Luis de San Vitores noticed our matrilineal society when he came to Guåhan: "In the home it is the woman who rules, and her husband does not dare give an order contrary to her wishes, nor punish the children, for she will turn upon him and beat him" (as qtd. in Souder 1992b: 149).

"It is important to recognize that [Chamorus] believed in the ultimate power of women as the source of life and controller of their environment" (Souder 1992b: 153). The next three poems, "Steadfast Woman," "Part III: Beware," and "Nåna" honor our Chamoru women, the women we come from, the women we are.

"Steadfast Woman" by Cecilia "Lee" C. T. Perez

Steadfast woman
Cries with strength.
Gives me strength.
Let me cry with you
and speak my voice.

Lush
are your words of pain.
Let us reclaim ourselves
Lush.

My heart is contorted
and soars
in grateful pleasure
for your risk.

"Part III: Beware" (enunciate as you read) by Anghet Hoppe-Cruz
surprised, you compliment my english
while my sister laughs at the perfection to which my tongue enunciates
and my elders laugh at my feeble attempts to speak in our native tongue.
what is it about my english that impresses you so?
hmmm…is it the color of my skin that caught you off guard?
did you not think it possible for a brown skinned woman to
art-iculate
                    post-ulate
                                        to not be consumed by my colonizer's hate?
beware of the {micro} brown skinned woman
for we are full of surprises

"Nåna" by Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo

Like the tåsa and haligi of the ancient Chamoru latte stone
so, too, does your body maintain the shape
of the healthy Chamoru woman.
With those full-figured hips
features delivered
through natural birth for generations
and with those powerful arms
reaching for the past calling on our mañaina
you have remained strong throughout the years
continuously inspire me to live my culture
allow me to grow into a young Chamoru woman myself.
Through you I have witnessed the persistence
and endurance of my ancestor who never failed in constructing a latte.
I gima` taotao mo`na the house of the ancient people.
Hågu i acho` latte-ku. You are my latte stone.

Poetry as Survivance (Part II): Håyi Hit? (Who Are We?)

Chamoru identity has been a very sensitive issue for Chamorus. What it means to be Chamoru, from the Chamoru perspective, varies, often depending on factors such as gender, location, and age. Some of the everyday identity issues that Chamorus have to deal with are language loss, the inability to speak our mother tongue, Fino` Chamoru (Chamoru language); we have been unable to live off the lands and the ocean like our ancestors; and we have been strongly influenced by the colonizer, thus resulting in our inability to see ourselves for who we truly are: Chamorus, not Guamanians, and most definitely not Americans. Poetry is an avenue for us to address questions and affirmations of who we are. While a contentious topic, Chamoru identity is important to think about and discuss. As is evident in the following poems, solidifying our identities is crucial to our survivance.

"Chamoru Renaissance" by Lee Perez

It's fashion
now
to claim
our roots
but yet
we cannot
face
we've stepped
across
a line
so thin

and shifted
to the other
side.

And though
we strain
to shape our
selves
exactly
to our past,
culture moves
like drifts of sand
and there is
no going back.

Excerpt of "I am a Chamoru woman in the 21st century" by Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo

I am a Chamoru woman in the 21st century,
trying to find balance between change and continuity,
attempting to stabilize what is left of my unstable
memories
memories which have triggered holes in my already traumatized soul,
a soul suffocated by communities and hotels and "No Trespassing" signs,
all of which attempt to disconnect us from the one thing
we can still claim as ours.
But how can we call ourselves, i manaotao tåno`,
the people of the land,
if we have been misplaced and displaced
in our very own home?

I am a Chamoru woman in the 21st century,
and like my brothers and sisters standing next to me,
am a citizen of the U.S. of A.,
not by choice but by force,
where we are neither black nor white,
but
Brown.
Brown-skinned beauties who get lumped
into categories
of Asian/Pacific Islander,
Non-Micronesian.
In this country,

we are neither valid nor invalid.
We ARE the "gray area."
We are illegitimate offspring
of great old, non-existing "Uncle Sam,"
yankee doodle dandy,
who says we're legit
only when he needs brown bodies to die for his shit.

Poetry as Survivance (Part III): Tinige` I Lachi Siha (Writing the Wrongs)

Haunani-Kay Trask said that "if you don't resist, you're gonna die" (personal communication). Poetry allows us as indigenous Pacific Islanders to continue our resistance in the struggle for decolonization, so that we can maintain our survivance, in spite all of the colonial chaos. It also provides a space for us to write the wrongs of our past and present, to write the wrongs of the colonizer, and to write the wrongs of even ourselves, with hope that we will not repeat the wrongs. These last two poems address the issue of writing the wrongs, as expressions of freedom. How can we re-gain the freedom that our ancestors once had?

"Re-search" by Anghet Hoppe-Cruz

I am from sunsets and gentle waves
I am from storms
Bamboo left standing
I am from a broken heart
Disillusioned love
A broken family
A family that always hoped
I am from the island of brilliant sunsets
Red orange flamed skies bleeding into
the ocean

I am from a culture lost,
Trying to find itself
I am from the grace of iron wood trees
I am the grace in the iron wood trees
The ifit tree, tåya` siha
Is no more
I am from the tears of many women
And the laughter of even more
Searching finding
Re-rooting
I am from Islan Guåhan

"The Colors of Freedom" by Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo

Mañainå-hu,

What did the
sky
look like
before?

Mañainå-hu,

What did the

land
look like
before?

Mañainå-hu,

What did the
ocean
look like
before?

Mañainå-hu,

What did our
people
look like
before?

Clear
Hilet långet
Lush
Hilet gada`
Clear
Hilet tåsi

Hilet niyok

Free

I FINAKPO`: THE END

Ginen i sisun nanå-hu,	From the breast of my mother,
Ginen i guålo` gi tano`-ta…	From the gardens of our land…
I hagå`-ta ginen håga` nånan nanå-hu…	Our blood is of my grandmother's blood…

("Nånan Nanå-hu"; I Fanlalai`an 1996b)

In 1999, Anghet Santos wrote that "we are morally obligated to disobey unjust laws" (Santos 1999). Poetry allows us to disobey such laws. The Chamoru women poets whose works were shared throughout this paper have shown that our words are our form of resistance. Poetry is a way for us to

continue living, in spite of breathing in all of the toxins from the colonizer. I sinangan-ta inaguaguati-ta yan lina`la` minesngon-ta.[8]

In 2016, as decisions continue to be made about the re-militarization (more commonly referred to as the military buildup) of Guåhan without the Chamorus' consent, more Chamorus are realizing and understanding the predicaments that we are put in, from land condemnations, the displacement of our people, unhealthy and unsustainable water and other natural resource issues, to threats on our culture, environment, and social lifestyles. We can no longer wait for the US to free us from its confinements. We need to get the keys and unlock ourselves from these tightly-locked shackles. If we cannot find the keys, then we need to use all of the strength we have to free ourselves. Our poetry is part of this strength that can free us.

Glossary

dispensa yo`: Excuse me; I'm sorry; forgive me
famalao`an: women
guela yan guelu: female and male ancestors
hilet gada`: green (color of premature fruit, e.g., banana)
hilet långet: blue (color of the sky)
hilet niyok: brown (color of the coconut)
hilet tåsi: blue (color of the ocean)
hugua` na palao`an Chamoru ni chume`lu yan mantituge`: two Chamoru women, sisters, and writers
inafa`maolek: a Chamoru practice of interdependence, reciprocity; literally means to make good for each other
inaguaguati: resistance
lemmai: breadfruit
lina`la` minesngon: survivance; literally means life of endurance
mantituge`: writers
nåna: mother or grandmother
suni: taro
tåno`: land
tåsi: ocean

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[8] Our poetry is our resistance and survivance.

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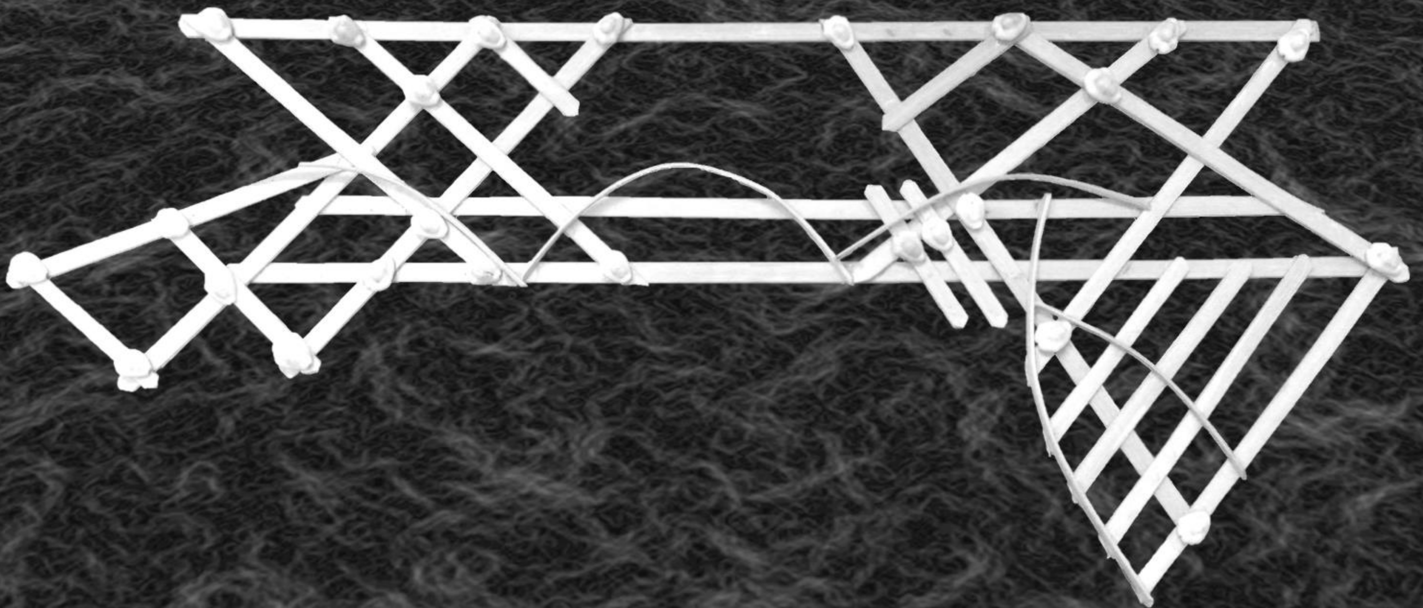
Keynote Speech and Interview: Tuna Economy as a Real Alternative in the Region after COFA - What does that Mean for the University and HR Development?



Keynote Address by the CEO of the Parties to the Nauru Agreement PNA, RMI, Micronesia

Transform Aqorau
***with interview by* Unaisi Nabobo-Baba**

Introduction

This is the keynote address for the 5th Pacific Tuna Forum held in Nadi, Fiji, on 22-23 September 2015 by *Transform Aqorau (PhD) Chief Executive Office, PNA Office, Marshall Is.*

The topic: **MAXIMISING ECONOMIC GAINS THROUGH BETTER MANAGEMENT OF TUNA RESOURCES IN THE PACIFIC.**

The keynote address is followed by a Q&A the CEO Dr Aqorau had with the Editor on the educational and Human resource training needs of his key focal areas or points**.**

The Keynote Address

Hon. Osea Naiqamu, Minister for Fisheries and Forests, Fiji
Hon. Tinian Reiher, Minister for Fisheries, Kiribati
Hon. Peter Isoaimo, Member of Parliament in PNG
Hon. Garry Juffa, Governor – Oro Province, PNG
Honourable Leaders of Fiji and PNG
Dr. Abdul Basir Junhi Mohammed
Mr. John Kasu, Managing Director of NFA
Mr. Inoke Wainiqolo, Permanent Secretary for Fisheries and Forests, Fiji
NFA Board Members
Our Eminent Chairs – Professor Glenn Hurry and Ambassador Shane Jones
Excellencies and Distinguished Guests

It is an honour and privilege to be given the opportunity to deliver the keynote address at the Fifth Pacific Tuna Forum! – In an earlier address I had said that:

> The PNA is about assertive expression of self determination,
> of helping yourself, and ensuring and working hard towards
> integrating the largest industry in the region into your domestic
> economies" – Dr Transform Aqorau (PNA Director)

Maximising economic benefits from the tuna fisheries in Pacific Island Countries (PICs)

Maximising economic benefits from the tuna fisheries has been at the heart of the endeavours of the Pacific Island countries ever since the negotiations of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention which gave rise to the extended maritime jurisdictions now commonly known as the exclusive economic zones (EEZs). You may argue that this principle is inherent in the calls made by the late ambassador Pardo of Malta when he called for the high seas areas beyond national jurisdiction to be preserved as the **"Common Heritage of Mankind".**

It (the early 80's) was a period of agitation to restructure the international economic order of the oceans so that the wealth of the oceans could be shared with newly emerging States. At the time the idea of the extended maritime zones was gaining international acceptance at the 3rd UN Conference on the Law of the Sea; Pacific Island countries were also emerging as independent States.

The then Prime Minister of Fiji, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara supported by Fiji's Secretary for Foreign affairs and key negotiator at the Law of the Sea Conference, Ambassador Satya Nandan had the foresight to ensure that these newly emerging independent States should also benefit from the expanded maritime jurisdiction to develop the natural resources in these maritime areas. Thus, **the 1976 Pacific Islands Forum Leaders' Declaration on the Law of the Sea** called on Pacific Island countries to claim 200 mile Fisheries or exclusive economic zones. Hence, the idea of extended maritime jurisdictions, fishing rights, maximization of economic benefits and self-determination have been intertwined right from the onset of nationhood.

The confluence of independence, self-determination, extended maritime jurisdiction, sovereign rights and maximization of economic benefits from the oceans is important in understanding the management framework that informs this discussion, especially in appreciating the evolution of management frameworks that have been aimed not only at sustaining tuna stocks but also in ensuring that **Pacific Islanders are not just bystanders.**

Maximizing Tuna Resources, Management Framework and Nation Building in PICs

The idea of maximizing economic gains from the tuna resources has its origins in nation building; in providing a base for economic development; and in providing a means to improve the social and economic wellbeing of Pacific Islanders. But these values and principles have not always been shared and in the 1970s and early 1980s, the small Pacific Island countries came into open conflict with the United States who did not recognize the sovereign rights of coastal States over highly migratory fish stocks.

The attempts to establish the management framework through which the Pacific Island countries could work on the economic gains from their tuna fisheries have been centred around **five institutions,** which have varying degrees and shades of responsibilities some of which are complementary and some supplementary. These are:

- **the Pacific Island countries (PICs)themselves** through their Fisheries Departments who are the primary custodians of the tuna resources and who exercise on behalf of their citizens together with other State agencies sovereign rights to exploit, explore, develop and manage the fisheries;

- **the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC)** whose scientific support in stock assessment and understanding biology of the tuna is necessary in ensuring that fisheries managers are served by having the right information before them;

- **the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA)** whose technical and policy support in the drafting of fisheries management laws and regulations, development of fisheries management plans, and monitoring, control and surveillance (MCS) platforms.

- **There are <u>two institutions</u>** whose roles and decisions on the Pacific Island countries have far greater impact on economic incomes and gains because of the way they are constructed.

  These are the i) **Nauru Agreement Parties or the PNA** in whose waters almost 70-80% of the tuna in the Western and Central Pacific and who supply about 40% of the global skipjack catch that goes to canning, and who have legally binding decision making mechanisms through what are known as the PNA Implementing Arrangements and the Palau Arrangement under which vessel limits were placed and which are now replaced by effort controls known as the Vessel Day Scheme (VDS).

  The PNA is a management and regulatory authority in which the Parties collectively exercise legally binding decision making functions in so far as the limits on fishing effort are concerned. Examples of conservation and management measures that the PNA have instituted include the 3 Months FAD closure, 100% Observer coverage on all purse seine fishing vessels, 100 % tuna catch retention, in port transshipping and the prohibition on fishing in the high seas pockets.

  ii) **The Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC)** is the overarching organization which provides the conduit through which members of the WCPFC ensure that conservation and management measures for tuna stocks adopted for the high seas are compatible with in-zone measures.

Understanding the relationship between these different institutions and the way in which they work is important in appreciating the mechanisms through which the PNA Members, in particular, have been able to maximize economic gains by increasing the revenues that they receive from their tuna fisheries.

There are opportunities and also risks in having two management and regulatory authorities, namely the PNA and the WCPFC operating within the region.

The perceptions of the WCPFC from the standpoint of the PNA is that the WCPFC: -

a) Continues to provide opportunities **to add sustainable value to PNA fisheries**, especially through the purse seine Vessel Day Scheme (VDS), by clearly defining zone-based effort rights of PNA Members in their zones, and by limiting opportunities for purse seiners to fish outside PNA waters. There is a potential for a similar kind of benefit, though of lesser value, for the tropical longline fishery.
b) Operates important **schemes to control fishing in the high seas** that can benefit PNA Members including VMS, boarding and inspection, transshipment regulations and observers, which are being slowly tightened over time;
c) **Is making slow but important progress on bycatch conservation**, especially shark conservation. This can improve and add sustainable value to PNA fisheries, provided these measures do not unduly interfere with fishing for target stocks;
d) **Improves scientific understanding** of the resources, fisheries and ecosystems on which PNA Members are highly dependent;
e) But also the perception that it provides opportunities for others to use the Commission to **intrude on the rights of PNA Members** to manage their own resources in their own interests.

Measures to Increase Gains from the Harvests of Tuna Resources

I have labored somewhat to elaborate on the overarching supporting institutions for fisheries management in this region but it is necessary to understanding the way things are done.

However, these institutions alone do not necessarily lead to increased economic gains.

It is <u>the measures that are developed and applied collectively and individually</u> that result in increased gains from the harvesting of the tuna resources, and in this regard:

- it is the combination of decisions surrounding the application of skipjack limits through the Vessel Day Scheme (VDS) for PNA Members;
- prohibition of fishing on the two high seas pockets;
- the nomination of Skipjack limits for non PNA member coastal States; and
- hard limits for High Seas fishing that has led to these increases, although we are seeing the benefits of these High Seas limits eroded by increased access from fishing vessels from our own domestic fleets.

The Vessel Day Scheme (VDS)

It is the application of limits through the Vessel Day Scheme (VDS) that has had the most transformative impact on revenues!

These benefits do not just flow through overnight and having to work through the complex maze of the different political and economic interests of individual countries, Ministers, and personalities is not easy.

It has taken <u>15 years to get to where we are now</u> from the review of the Palau Arrangement Vessel Limits, the design of the VDS, its adoption and its full implementation.

The decision to implement the VDS was taken in 2005 and its implementation came into effect in December 2007. Even then its application by members took longer and it has only been in the last 4 years that PNA members have largely been selling days.

The efficacy of the VDS has taken longer to realize and the structural and governance issues to ensure its effectiveness require ongoing support from the PNA Office through the PNA Fisheries Information Management Systems (FIMS).

The upshot of this is that instituting a fisheries management framework that will deliver on economic outcomes is an evolutionary process.

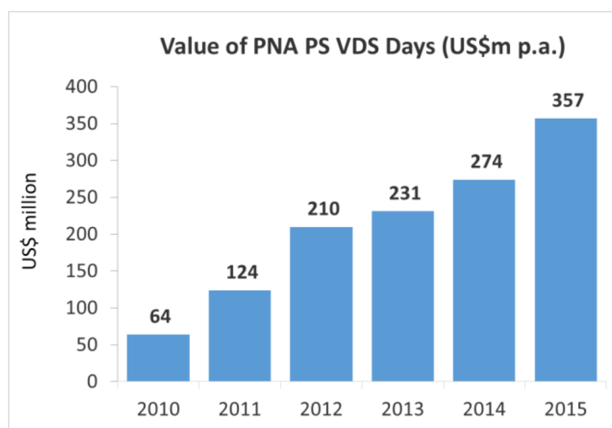
It takes time to harness political support around a concept, to negotiate the necessary regional legal framework, to institute the national regulatory systems, and ultimately to realize the economic benefits. The transitional period can often be uncertain because the economic benefits and outcomes are not immediately obvious, and from our experience this is the key motivator in getting broad based support for an initiative.

It is not as easy as some people would have us believe!

There are no shortcuts in this business!

In the past 5 years, revenues to the PNA Members have increased from around $60 million in 2010 to an estimated $350 million this year. This is the largest tradable natural asset in the region.

This can be seen from Table 1 which shows the revenues from that the PNA Members receive from the sale of days through the VDS.



There is no doubt that the VDS has been effective in increasing revenue to the PNA members, and will continue to be a valuable instrument to PNA members.

To that extent, it is disappointing that in recent weeks those who have been most vociferous in advocating replacing the VDS with which they themselves don't apply to skipjack and are not even Parties to the Arrangement!

Better Control and Measures for Ensuring Sustainability of Healthy Stocks of Tuna

The VDS is only one component of the package of measures that influence the tuna fishery in the region, and the PNA members are only a subset of the region where the tuna that supplies the World Market is taken from.

There has to be better controls overall including in Indonesia and the Philippines, and the high seas, particularly the Eastern High Seas areas which are open.

We have initiated measures through the WCPFC to ensure that the stocks remain robust and sustainable.

In this respect the PNA initiated the adoption of **Limited Reference Points (LRP)** and have supported the implementation of harvest strategies, involving adoption of reference points (RPs) and **Harvest Control Rules (HCRs**) as a basis for maintaining healthy WCPO tuna stocks that could benefit PNA, in particular because of their dependence on these stocks.

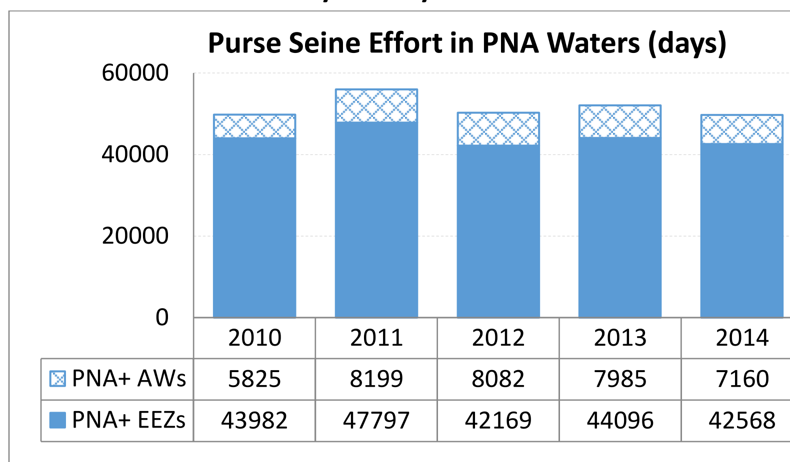
PNA members have taken a leading role in the development of reference points and harvest control rules initially as a response to meeting the requirements for the certification of the PNA free school skipjack fishery by the Marine Stewardship Council but while this requirement remains, PNA Members support this process as a good approach to maintaining healthy stocks.

In this regard, PNA Members have proposed a target reference point (TRP) for skipjack of 50% of the unfished spawning biomass, and PNA have adopted this as an "interim skipjack TRP" for the purpose of developing harvest control rules.

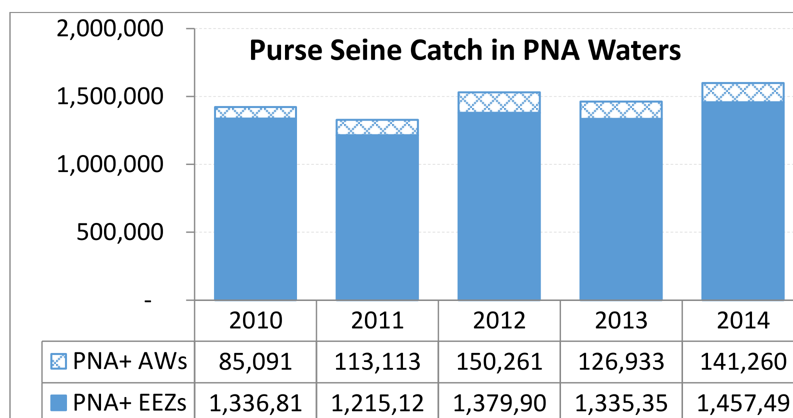
This TRP is based on maintaining the purse seine fishery at around the same level as now and since 2010 to ensure current benefits to PNA and other participants in the fishery, and avoid additional adverse impacts from the purse seine fishery.

In spite of this, there has been some misplaced misunderstanding of where the increased catches are coming from in the region, and the **following tables show the flat world of the PNA catches in the last 5 years** and the increase in catches outside the PNA region.

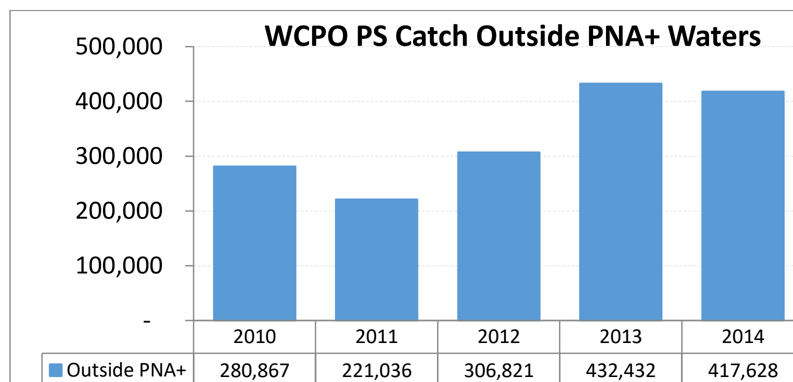
Purse Seine Fishery Activity in PNA Waters



	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
PNA+ AWs	5825	8199	8082	7985	7160
PNA+ EEZs	43982	47797	42169	44096	42568



	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
PNA+ AWs	85,091	113,113	150,261	126,933	141,260
PNA+ EEZs	1,336,81	1,215,12	1,379,90	1,335,35	1,457,49



	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Outside PNA+	280,867	221,036	306,821	432,432	417,628

PNA Tuna Fishery: Complexities and Opportunities

The PNA tuna fishery is very complicated. It is a multispecies, multi-fleet and multi-national fishery.

It comprises four tuna species in addition to several species of billfish and tuna-like species being fished by a large number of fishing nations, at least 12 nations, employing several different types of fishing

gear the most important of which are purse seine, long line, pole and line complemented by various types of fish aggregating devices (FADs).

The fishery is prosecuted over a very large area containing many national EEZs as well as high seas areas and the tuna harvested enters several processing and marketing lines in different countries.

Skipjack tuna remains in a very healthy state and the challenge is to expand the opportunities in which the economic gains from the harvesting of these resources may be maximized.

In 2014 the PNA conducted an independent review of the Purse Seine VDS. Part of the review process investigated the bio economics of the purse seine VDS and found that overall, given recent operating conditions (input and output prices), there is a high probability that fishing fees can be substantially increased in the fishery to a likely range for a maximum daily fishing fee around $12-17,000 with a likely range for the maximum annual fees to be between $370 million and $1150 million.

The study cautioned however that it was highly likely that the total fee maximizing policy will further reduce the biomass of bigeye tuna unless fishing methods (especially the use of FADs) are altered.

There are economic costs in reductions in attainable fishing fee revenues by as much as 2/5’s that would be incurred to the PNA, in particular, as Small Island Developing states (SIDS) which would flow from efforts to restore the bigeye stock level to the vicinity of the maximum sustainable yield (MSY) through reducing VDS fishing days which gives rise to the advisability of exploring fisheries technical ways of reducing bigeye bycatch without reducing the catch rate of especially of skipjack.

The authors of the VDS Review were quite confident in their bio-economic investigations which indicate that actual fishing fees collected have been significantly below what has been attainable. This is borne out by the fact that benchmark VDS fees have increased drastically over the past few years while the operating conditions in the fishery have remained comparatively stable, and last year dipped significantly with no impact on fees.

The question was asked as to why fishing fees have not been maximized. The Authors offered a number of possible reasons operating at different levels:

- The first main explanation is that the fee pricing policy has simply not been aggressive enough. There are many possible reasons for this which includes the fact that the VDS inherited a regime of very low or even non-existent fishing fees. In fact, it might be argued that in raising fishing fees, the VDS has been fighting convention and tradition;

- Second, the fishing States, fishing vessels and Associations oppose raising the fees which they apply through bilateral oligopolies with several Distant Water Fishing nation (DWFN) companies dealing with a fairly loose consortium of several EEZ-nations;

Therefore there is a wide space for bargaining and negotiations. In this bargaining process, the DWFN companies have several strong cards. They know much more about the profitability of their operations and the tuna industry in general than the PNA. No doubt they use this informational advantage to the extent possible. To be fair, some in the industry advocated increased fees, to push up prices and indirectly their profits whilst forcing out inefficient capacity. They can, at least to a certain extent, play different PNA-members against each other and probably do. They can enlist the support of their national governments and they can threaten to and even take steps to concentrate their tuna fishing outside the PNA area. All of this means that it is not at all easy for the PNA-nations to aggressively raise fishing fees, especially not when the selling of fishing days is done by individual PNA Members;

- The other main reason is that the PNA Members have so far not endowed their VDS system with fishing day selling methods designed to maximize fee revenues.
  - They have set the total number of fishing days apparently primarily on biological grounds with little or no regard for the demand while fee maximization requires that the supply of fishing days be determined both on economic and biological grounds with a firm eye on the profits functions of the fishing vessels.
  - In operating the VDS, the PNA Members have not adopted market clearing methods which is a prerequisite for fee maximization).
  - -PNA Members decide on the total number of fishing days and in recent years set benchmark prices. However, as is well known from elementary price theory, setting both price and the quantity is not conducive to clearing fishing day markets and definitely not compatible with maximizing fee revenues.

These are issues which are being looked at the PNA Members including tenders and auctions which economic theory strongly suggests as the most effective way to maximize selling revenues in imperfect markets.

These things take time to develop but I am confident that we will get there!

Effort vs. harvest-based systems

The current debate on the fisheries management framework is whether we should move from the current VDS effort system to catch limits or harvest based systems.

Indeed, this was an issue that was considered by the Authors of the VDS Review in which they argued that limited effort systems, such as the VDS, suffer from a fundamental weakness that prevents them from generating economic benefits to the participants in the long-term. This fundamental weakness stems from the fact that fishing effort is a multidimensional phenomenon and fishers constrained by effort limitation will have a strong incentive to expand those dimensions of fishing effort that are not limited.

In simple terms, if rents are too low, it leaves excess profits to build more / overcapacity, and logically more catch. The experience from numerous fisheries around the world shows that this incentive is strong enough to wipe out all net economic gains from even the richest of fisheries.

Harvest-based systems, where the volume of harvest by individual fishers is constrained, do not suffer from this weakness. It is well established both theoretically and empirically that such systems are capable of generating the highest possible flow of economic benefits from fisheries on a sustainable basis. As a tool to maximize the flow of economic benefits from the PNA tuna fisheries, harvest- based systems, therefore, should in principle be superior to the current effort-based system.

There are two major qualifications to that conclusion:

- The first is the role of fees in the form of the price for vessel days. In simple economic theory, taxing fishing activity should be just as effective in economic and conservation terms as catch limits because the fees reduce or even remove the incentive to over-investment.

  With a high enough price for days therefore, the risk of an effort system creating an incentive to over-investment is reduced.

  That risk may still not be totally removed so some additional form of response to effort creep will still be required if the VDS is retained in its current form. However, this means that the price of days is a potent ingredient of the fisheries management contained in the VDS because of the role of the vessel day price in securing and sustaining the economic benefits coming from the scheme.

  So, contrary to arguments sometimes made by representatives of the DWFN, the fishing fee is the redeeming part of the VDS. It follows that the higher the fishing fee can be pushed while still selling the allowable fishing days (assuming they are optimally determined), the better for the world economy.

- The other qualification is the extent to which “catch limits respond” to fluctuations in availability and therefore catch rates.

  On the one hand, for example, a good year for yellowfin catches might make it difficult to fully use skipjack catch limits in a multi-species catch limit system. On the other hand, a couple of years of poor skipjack recruitment leading to lower catch rates would mean higher catches and higher fishing mortality under catch limits than when effort is limited.

The only other serious question is whether a harvest based system; presumably some variant of ITQs (Individual Transferable Quotas) could be effectively enforced in the PNA multi zone tuna fisheries, and whether issues of mis-declaration of catch and area which plagued pre VDS governance can be addressed. Here the jury is still out because ITQs work best where there are strong Government regulatory institutions and laws, and single zones to manage.

These are the key reasons why the Authors of the VDS Review recommended that despite the possible superiority of catch limits, it was advisable for the PNA Members to initiate a study about the feasibility of transforming the current VDS to a system based on individual harvest restrictions. This is currently being done, and indeed, was decided even before the Forum Leaders made this decision!

The Longline Fishery: Removing Flag Based Catch Limits

It is somewhat of a paradox therefore that while some outsiders to the PNA fisheries management systems are calling for us to move away from effort limits - to catch limits, the catch limit schemes that do exist in the region are absolute failures in ensuring effective management of bigeye tuna.

This has prompted the development of a longline (LL) vessel day scheme (VDS) which largely serves two main purposes:

a) **Effective control of the longline fishery** where the longline VDS will:
   i) control the level of longline fishing in the waters of each PNA Member and PNA Members as a whole, and in that way contribute to more effective management of the tropical LL fishery;
   ii) Provide a basis for an effective zone based arrangement for longline management in the tropical WCPO.
b) **Increased contribution of the tropical longline fishery** to the sustainable development of PNA Members, which will at the same time create an incentive for PNA members to reduce juvenile bigeye and yellowfin tuna in the purse seine fishery.

The current system of managing the WCPO tropical longline fishery by flag-based bigeye catch limits for the major fleets is fundamentally flawed and cannot be effective for three reasons:

a) Because it is based on the historical catches of the major flag fleets, it must always require a SIDS exemption since SIDS have not historically had the capacity to develop longline fishery. The result is that the longline bigeye catch limits have failed to control the bigeye catches or the level of effort in the tropical longline fishery, generally, with DWFN effort shifted to SIDS under charters once limits are reached.
b) The catch limits have failed to reduce the level tropical LL fishing with substantial growth in tropical LL effort since reductions in bigeye catches were agreed in 2008. Effort limits will be more effective, including high seas effort limits, perhaps alongside the existing catch limits for the major fleets at first.
c) The current structure of the tropical longline fishery based around distant water fleets that tranship in the high seas is unsustainable because it cannot be effectively monitored and controlled. The operations of the vessels are concealed by:
   i) the withholding of operational data
   ii) a very low rate of observer coverage on high seas LL operations – lower than 5%; and
   iii) the low observer coverage is mainly by observers from the national programme of the vessels and not from independent observers

As a result, there is continuous evidence that the distant water longline fleets transshipping in the high seas are engaged in IUU fishing and control over these fleets needs to be greatly improved. The best

way to improve control of the tropical longline fishery is to phase out those fleets based in the high seas transshipping their catch and replace them with fleets that land or transship their catch into ports.

With a zone-based set of limits on longline effort, the effort limits can be hard limits without a SIDS exemption in exactly the same way as there are purse seine effort limits by zone with no SIDS exemption. The reform is essential if the tropical longline fishery is ever going to be managed effectively.

The longline VDS is also designed to secure increased benefits for PNA Members from the tropical longline fishery. Among other benefits, it will create an incentive for PNA Members to support measures for the conservation of bigeye. Currently, the cost Commission Members measures to conserve bigeye, especially the FAD closure, far outweigh the potential benefit to PNA Members from bigeye conservation. Increasing the value of the tropical longline fishery to PNA Members will create an incentive for them to cooperate in reducing juvenile bigeye and yellowfin mortality in PNA waters.

PNA Members see the longline VDS as a critical instrument in reshaping the tropical longline fishery away from being based around fleets that fish and transship in the high seas to fleets that fish more in EEZs as well as the high seas to a lesser level and unload their catch directly into ports, rather than transshipping at sea.

PNA Members believe that the implementation of zone-based effort limits in the WCPO tropical longline fishery should be beneficial. Our vision is of a longline fishery that is largely made up of the national fleets landing into their domestic ports, and fleets based locally in PNA Members EEZs landing their catch into PNA ports for processing and export.

PNA Members consider that it is likely to shift the LL VDS to catch limits one day in the future, once the fishery has been reformed and is properly controlled with effective monitoring of catches.

The same shift to zone based effort controls and self-determination by SIDs can equally well serve the Albacore rich nations to the south who continue to struggle with the dictates of the industrialized nations in the fishery.

Conclusion

It is clear that economic outcomes and gains depend fundamentally on the structure of the fisheries and the day to day controls that Pacific Island countries have over the fishery.

The PNA Members have shown this to be the case with the reform of the purse seine fishery by the application of hard limits through the Vessel Day Scheme. There are hard limits for skipjack to which PNA Members are held accountable for to the WCPFC through the Total Allowable Effort (TAE) under the VDS, and hard skipjack limits that other coastal States are accountable for. Tightened limits on the high seas with no SIDS exemptions would provide further controls, enhance the scheme and effectively control oversupply.

This management framework will include managing capacity by applying the WCPFC definition of capacity as follows:

> The amount of fish or **fishing effort** that can be produced) by a vessel or a fleet if fully utilized and for a given resource condition."
> to estimate the levels of effort in the tropical tuna fisheries and the tropical purse seine and longline fleet sizes consistent with the amount of fishing opportunities available from the sustainable yields of the Tropical Tuna species, and allowable effort and catch under the WCPFC measures for tropical tuna.

PNA Members will manage purse seine capacity in their waters by effort limits under the VDS and the price of days. These approaches are designed to maintain the right size of fleets, while providing opportunities for new vessels that provide more benefits to PNA Members and removing vessels that are uneconomic or uncooperative in terms of failing to support domestic development.

As I said, these reforms and building new structures are an evolutionary process and take time to construct, patience to build, and must ensure that the custodians of this resource are not bystanders but participants in the fishery.

My message to the Forum Fisheries is:

Please work with us, and support the systems that we have developed; don't try and undermine the fisheries management framework that we have developed, because we will ultimately win;

We (PNA) are here to Stay!

An Interview: The editor caught up with the CEO and had a conversation of a number of issues he had raised.

Q&A the CEO Dr Aqorau had with the Editor on the: Implications of the work done by PNA, the issues and history raised and the regional nature of the problems raised. The Q&A session also focused the Educational and Human resource training needs of his key focal areas or points of his address.

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Dr Nabobo-Baba (Editor): You had raised a number of important ideas related to maximizing of the benefits of tuna fisheries. Could you please summarize each main idea and discuss the implications of such ideas to educational and human resources preparation by the colleges or post secondary institutions of the region. For example the idea of maximizing the economic benefits for tuna fisheries...

Dr Transform Aqorau (CEO, PNA): It goes without saying that the skill sets, experience, knowledge and understanding of the fishery can only be enhanced through having fisheries economics, business, commercial and entrepreneurial skills taught at Universities. These skill sets and knowledge just don't

happen. They have to be nurtured and developed, and inculcated into the mindset of our fisheries personnel. I have seen a shift in emphasis in the region over the past 25 years away from just managing the biological aspects of the fisheries, and herein lies the role that our educational institutions have in helping to shape and direct this change., and ensuring that our peoples have the necessary skills with which they can use to ensure that we also manage our fisheries resources, not just to achieve biological sustainability, but also protecting and enhancing the social and economic aspects of Pacific Islands peoples' livelihood.

Dr Nabobo-Baba (Editor): Please comment on the vulnerabilities (as you see it of the small island states of the Pacific Islands, and especially the relatively smaller in size countries of Micronesia and the importance of setting in place a sustainable industry like tuna...

Dr Transform Aqorau (CEO, PNA): While we are small physically compared to other Island States and Territories and countries, we should not lose sight of the fact that are situated in the largest ocean in the world through which the largest tuna resources in the World swim through. The Micronesian States are blessed with these resources and so while there are vulnerabilities that are associated with being small, there is nothing small about the scale of the size of the tuna resources that the Micronesian countries have under their control. The challenge is really to move away from this mindset where they think they are vulnerable and susceptible and start viewing their inheritance from a point of strength, and this can only be driven to people from Institutions where they are inculcated with a new and different kind of development economic thinking; one that emphasizes the strengths of their natural capital, building on innovative ways in which they can utilize their tuna resources in other ways. This requires research and thinking that is outside the box

Dr Nabobo-Baba (Editor): How do you see the role of the University of Guam in ensuring that these can be done?

Dr Transform Aqorau (CEO, PNA): The University of Guam is well placed to provide this support because it can draw on the extensive resources that are available in the US, it has a very good economics and research unit and it is situated right in the heart of Micronesia. Indeed, it should feel a sense of responsibility to play this pivotal role in helping to explore new ideas, break some of the frontiers in innovative application of ways in which the economic benefits from the tuna resources can be used to benefit Micronesia. Its primary student base is both from Guam but also from the neighboring Micronesian Islands who are quite dependent on the tuna resources. Many of the citizens from these Micronesia Freely associated States migrate to Guam in search of work and other income generating opportunities. Some of the educational research opportunities surrounding these issues could centre around the question of ensuring the activities that are taking place in the exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of these Micronesian States are integrated into the domestic economies of these States so that they can use them to create jobs and improve their social and economic wellbeing and perhaps reduce the outward migration to Guam.

Dr Nabobo-Baba (Editor): How do you think the University can be best placed to offer this kind of training, and how best can the Islands be served?

Dr Transform Aqorau (CEO, PNA): I think there are real opportunities to be innovative. The University can work on two major fronts. The first is at the theoretical level involving the design and delivery of courses that promote development thinking that is different from the classical development model whereby Micronesian States are viewed are small and considered as less than capable of being financially independent. The tuna resources are global resources, and the Micronesian States are custodians of these very important resources that supplies international markets. The second is to work with the countries themselves through workshops, conferences and undertaking applied research and development of policy initiatives. The University is where ideas are germinated and this would be some of the real opportunities that can be brought into the fishery.

Dr Nabobo-Baba (Editor): Thank You for your Time!

Appendix

[Notes on PNA]

Adopted in Nauru in 1982, The Nauru Agreement Concerning Cooperation in the Management of Fisheries of Common Interest (Nauru Agreement) or PNA is a sub-regional agreement on terms and conditions for tuna purse seine fishing licenses. It has a secretariat in the Marshall Islands and its CEO is Dr Transform Aqorau.

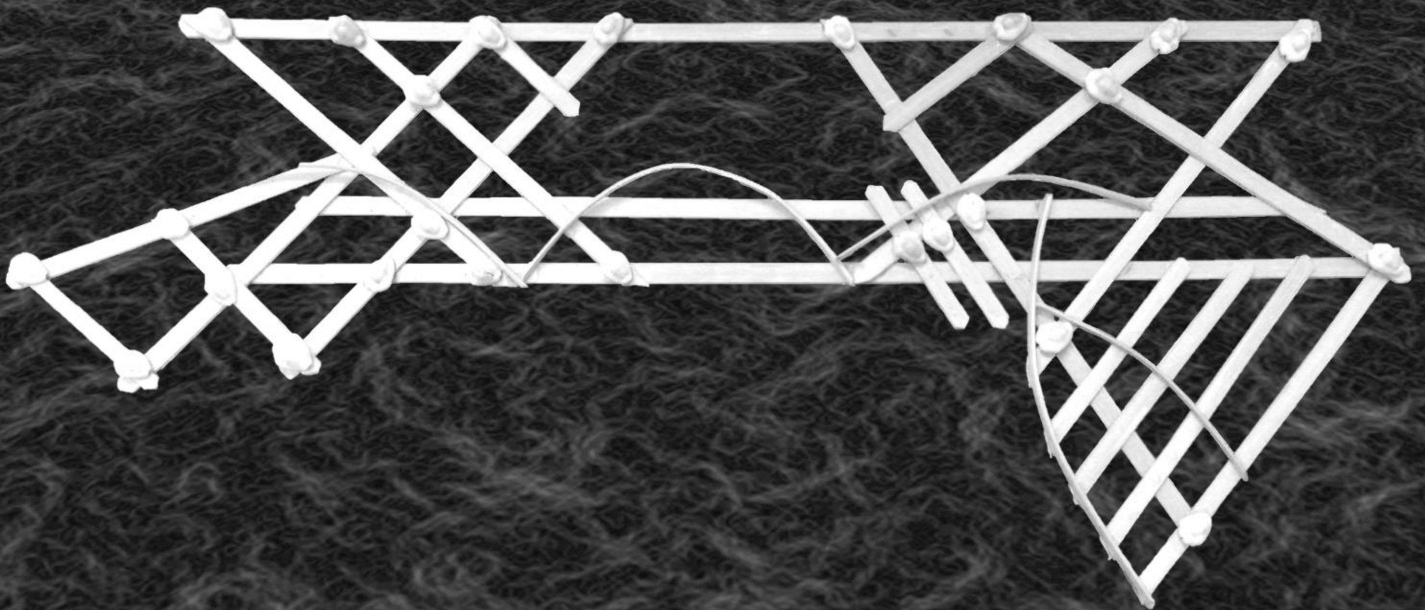
It brings together eight Pacific Island countries to sustainably manage tuna and increase economic benefits for their peoples.

PNA members are Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau (PU), Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu.

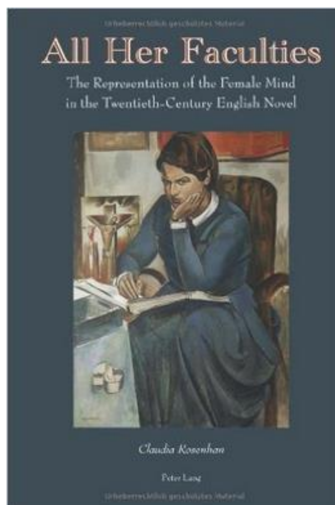
Their combined exclusive economic zones (EEZs) control 25 per cent of the world's supply of tuna (see figure 1). This is 14.3 million square km with an annual tuna catch of approximately 1.2million metric tons in 2008 – worth about over US 2billion dollars. (WWF, 2011) –
http://awsassets.panda.org/downloads/factsheet_7.pdf

***Dr. Transform Aqorau** is currently CEO of the PNA Office based in the Marshall Islands. He was previously Legal Adviser and Acting Deputy Secretary in the Solomon Islands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Legal Advisor of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat based in Fiji, and Legal Officer, Legal Counsel and Deputy Director of the Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency based in Solomon Islands. His PhD (1997) of the University of Wolongong, Australia, looked at the implementation of the fisheries provisions of the law of the sea convention by the Pacific Islands States. This involved examining the fisheries provisions of the Law of the Sea Convention and the UN Fish Stocks and evaluating the implementation of those provisions by the Pacific Island States.*

Book Reviews



All her Faculties: The Representation of the Female Mind in the Twentieth-Century English Novel. By Rosenhan, Claudia



Reviewed by Paulette M. Coulter. Oxford, UK: Peter Lang. 219 pp., $105.95 (Hardback). ISBN-13: 978-3034317658.

Claudia Rosenhan's (2014) *All Her Faculties* examines six twentieth-century English novels and their treatment of the female mind in academia, where it might seem that a woman's faculties would be most valued. The six novels and their authors – *Ann Veronica* by H. G. Wells (1909), *The Rainbow* by D. H. Lawrence (1915), *Gaudy Night* by Dorothy L. Sayers (1935), *Lucky Jim* by Kingsley Amis (1954), *Nice Work* by David Lodge (1988), and *Possession* by A. S. Byatt (1990) – roughly span the twentieth century. A single chapter addresses each author/book combination while the first and eighth chapters are an introduction and conclusion, respectively. Rosenhan provides an extensive bibliography (pp. 187-211), an excellent resource for mining information on the novels, novelists, feminism, and other aspects of the twentieth century, as well as an index. Unless otherwise noted, all citations herein refer to Rosenhan.

The preponderant evidence from the six novels indicates to Rosenhan and the reader that, despite more than 150 years of discussing the "woman question," a strong anti-intellectual bias persists against women in English (British) literature. The late nineteenth century provided women the chance to attend British and American colleges and universities and to work outside the home. The university remained a setting in which women, Rosenhan claims, were restricted by existing mythos. The novels span the time frame from Edwardian Britain to nearly the end of the twentieth century and Lodge's pen or computer. All these novels focus on women in academia, and Rosenhan acknowledges that they may not portray *all* the trends and ideas regarding women in twentieth-century British literature.

At the heart of Rosenhan's discussion is the Cartesian duality principle: There the male represents reason and the female represents the physical aspects of humanity. This bias is sustained by belief in the "genderedness of genius" (p. 5). A counterbalance to gendered genius may be found in Julia Kristeva's trilogy on *Female Genius: Colette*. Duality is also sustained by the "discourse of evolution" that postulated a more primitive and less developed physical nature to women (pp. 10-11). In this discourse, men and women have separate spheres of influence: men are allocated the public spheres and women the privacy of the home. This discourse also reinforces the cultural belief that males are creative while females are merely procreative (p. 25ff.). That belief boils down to the following idea in more or less sexually explicit terms in the six novels: A woman is a mere caretaker of husband and producer of children if she is married. If she is not married, she is an aberration – a sexual object, a sexual deviant, a sex-starved lunatic.

In H. G. Wells novel "the eponymous heroine actively pursues a love affair and commits adultery" (p. 42). For his candor in displaying active female sexual conduct, Wells "acquired a reputation as a subversive writer" (ibid.). Despite Ann Veronica's early (mis)conduct, she eventually marries and thereafter "her narrative function slowly degenerates to that of intellectual sounding board for [her husband's] 'prig' opinions" (p. 51). Wells's presentation of women seems essentialist. His female characters *need* the constraints of marriage and childbearing "to control their emotions" (p. 57), which reinforces the Cartesian duality and disparity of the sexes.

Where Wells was considered a subversive writer, D.H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow* "was actually censored in England after Lawrence's publisher Methuen was successfully prosecuted for obscenity" (p. 63). Lawrence himself "dismissed censorship" (ibid.). Rosenhan indicates that feminist critics Simone de Beauvoir and Kate Millett have been hard on Lawrence. *The Rainbow* is the *Bildungsroman* of Ursula and "the expansion of the female mind" but the story takes "place against the backdrop of necessary if low-status vocational training for women, which underwent a degree of professionalization in the latter years of the nineteenth century" (p. 69). Ursula chooses to become a teacher because this training will prepare her for a position of paid employment. Rosenhan states that Ursula's experience shows "an increasing disillusionment in her encounters with social reality, and her attempts to reconcile a thinking (male) and an unthinking (female) self-results [sic] in the conflicting discontinuous states of the modern self" (p. 79). In fact, while the educational system seemed to be expanding, education was still considered unnatural for women in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The reader might think all that changed after World War II. Women, as demonstrated by Rosie the Riveter, had carried out much of the industry required for winning the war on all fronts. Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim* portrays the return of men from the war and re-entering academia. Yet *Lucky Jim*, Rosenhan states, "pitches the new provincial male hero against the establishment – a special place now reserved for the educated woman," and Jim, like potentially many other men "feels himself cheated out of a position in society by those he perceives to be less deserving than himself" (p. 111). Several comments on Amis's *Lucky Jim* indicate that the work is often considered humorous or comedic, but neither the underlying tension nor Jim's resentment seem humorous.

The final male-authored novel Rosenhan examines is David Lodge's *Nice Work*. She comments that "[w]hilst Lodge strongly objected to Amis's harsh characterization of Margaret in his [Lodge's] critical responses to *Lucky Jim* [...], it does not follow that his own approach to female characterization is necessarily more generous" (p. 135). Instead, he seems equally harsh. Robyn Penrose, the female protagonist of *Nice Work*, is a university lecturer specializing in feminist and industrial literature. The male protagonist, Victor Wilcox, is a manager of an engineering firm. This oddly matched pair meet – and develop a romance – when the lecturer is assigned to observe industrial activity one day a week at the plant. Rosenhan comments: "For Robyn the university has become a safe haven for the female intellectual," one which she is unwilling to give up for the "typical escape routes of escape through marriage, legacy or emigration" (p. 149). Lodge's novels show for Rosenhan that "the retreat into the privacy of chaste scholarship is [...] one way of dealing with the fact that the woman character remains trapped in a political reality of a [...] discourse" complicit with patriarchy (p. 150). The ideology of patriarchy also trapped Wells's and Lawrence's female characters.

Surely, this will not be the case with the female novelists Rosenhan discusses?

Dorothy L. Sayers's *Gaudy Night* and A. S. Byatt's *Possession* blend the genres of mystery and romance. Each contains two concentric narratives, and each, unfortunately, falls into the "happily ever after" of romance or marriage for the heroine according to Rosenhan. In *Gaudy Night,* Sayers's Harriet Vane solves the mystery of the strange occurrences at her alma mater while deciding whether or not she will marry Lord Peter Wimsey. Rosenhan comments that Vane's Shrewsury College is much like a convent, both physically and intellectually (p. 93); its medievalist tone "indicts the university as a focus of sexual anxieties and repressions" (p. 50). Similarly, Byatt's female protagonists are "a spinsterish Victorian poet and a single twentieth-century feminist scholar" (p. 155). The Victorian poet, Charlotte LaMotte, has an affair and a child whom she gives to a relative to raise while she withdraws completely from society. The feminist scholar, like Vane, succumbs to romance. Rosenhan concludes that the workplaces of modern and postmodern female scholars are as isolating as the kitchens and homes of earlier women (p. 175), and as they appear to be for Lodge's Penrose.

Not everyone will want to read Claudia Rosenhan's *All Her Faculties,* unfortunately, including some people who should. The book is based on philosophical, social, cultural, and literary theory; some readers may find it too theoretical and, therefore, dry, but the book is, in fact, well written and readable. The cost of the book is also high, about $106.00. While Rosenhan takes a clear feminist stance, neither her stance nor her writing is stridently feminist.

Were Micronesia and the University of Guam free of inequalities, Rosenhan's book might seem unnecessary here. Inequalities persist. Real and perceived inequalities are part of life. Human childhood requires protective adults. Students need teachers. Some inequalities are choices that form the basis of how we define ourselves as groups and individuals. History has also created inequalities through conquest and colonization.

On a personal and professional note, reading Claudia Rosenhan's *All her Faculties* left me stunned and saddened. The mythos that the only purpose of women is to serve men sexually and bear children persists in many societies, not only in English (British) literature. The persistence of this idea, which Betty Friedan (1963) called *The Feminine Mystique,* highlights a need for education. Education is necessary for awareness that belief persists in the face of contrary evidence. All beliefs are based on willingness to believe them, are believed in spite of empirical evidence, and are exploited for their usefulness, as Graham Lawton (2015) demonstrates. One function of education, especially a college education, is to question belief, to question one's personal and cultural beliefs and assess their value. Change of any kind is difficult, and the institution of education itself is slow to change. Michael Schermer (2013), publisher of *Skeptic* magazine and author of *The Believing Brain* (2011), however, has stated, "Debunking [ideas, etc.] is not enough. We must replace bad bunk with sound science" (Schermer, 2013, p. 77). We need not only sound science, but sound education in every discipline.

This education includes English (British, American, and any other English or translated-into-English) literature. Rosenhan (2014) has exposed the bunk of persistent mythos in six twentieth-century British novels in their treatment of the female mind in academia. I hope her bibliography offers many replacement ideas for many readers. Education is a must.

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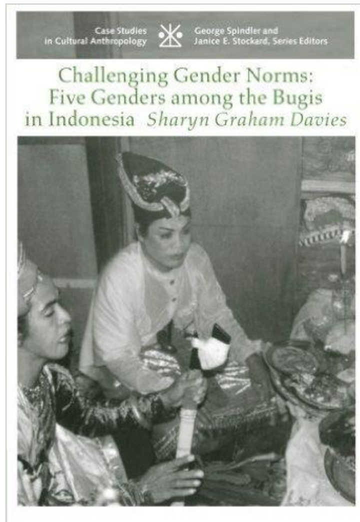
Challenging Gender Norms: Five Genders Among Bugis in Indonesia. By Sharyn Graham Davies



Review by Dan Ho. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning. ISBN-13: 978-0495092803. 152 pages. Paper. US $63.12

Introduction

As Guam and Micronesia struggle to incorporate Western concepts of LGBT rights, the work of Sharyn Graham Davies offers a fascinating and clarifying perspective on how one culture in Indonesia negotiates its five native gender expressions in the modern world. Though their gender structure differs from Guam and Micronesia, the incorporation of gender's place, and gender roles in the Southwest Sulawesi society is surprisingly efficient. In fact in Guam natives (without the influence of American social politics) long ago had the varied forms of gender. Consider the word "chelu." For instance, representing male, female, brother and sister. In the culture, there is no distinction in sex or gender when referring to men and women in any kind of context.

In America, the simplest and most irrational way to frame the concept of gender is *him* or *her* or *everyone in between*. We are comfortable with the ideas of traps and oppression to help us classify and understand everyone in between the dominant culture. The recently transformed Caitlin Jenner explains that transitioning from Bruce Jenner to Caitlin represents the end of a lie. He expresses to Diane Sawyer in her revealing 2015 *20/20* interview that the real "him" was trapped inside an idealized male body and ensnared in a social construct that was built upon sports heroism and heterosexuality. For most Americans, this is sufficient information to ease the confusion and fear; Ms. Jenner has by and large been accepted and cheered. She has the potential to become a hero larger and more financially successful than Bruce Jenner ever was (Vasey, 2015).

Another transgendered star, the multi-award winning actor, Laverne Cox, offers another angle to explain how to approach "her" transgender identity. In a October 13, 2014, dialogue with social intellectual, bell hooks, at The New School in a series called "Transgression," Ms. Cox explains: Freedom and acceptance could not occur in America unless the "Imperialist, White Supremist, Capitalist Patriarchy" – a term made famous by Ms. hooks – was dismantled for its predetermined, acceptable gender types. (The New School, 2014). In other words, Laverne, though she is widely embraced and lauded in America, still feels haunted by certain American social constructions and systems that, despite her triumphant transformation, threaten to take it away without notice or reason. Caitlin does not. What unites them is that they both refuse to discuss what's become (or will become) of their penises. And they reveal some interesting points about how America frames transgenderness: Traps, lies, alienation, rapid categorization (him/her/everyone else in between). We seem to borrow classic American social themes of slavery and oppression, rather than considering and assigning specialized constructs for those in-between. We are uncomfortable with the in-between or what some may refer to as areas of grey. We do not quite know what to make of them, never mind what roles they play in our social, spiritual and economic lives.

Then comes the work of Sharyn Graham Davies, who in her short book, *Challenging Gender Norms: Five Genders among Bugis in Indonesia*, accomplishes several feats worthy of attention by both LGBT Americans and thoughtful heterosexual Americans. It is the result of fieldwork that began in 1999 in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, which (we can guess) continued until publication in 2007.

The book has seven chapters, which efficiently detail Ms. Davies' full experience during her research time among the Bugis in Southwest Sulawesi. Chapter 1 serves as the introduction and description of the author's methodology and her research process. We are introduced to the gender structure of the Bugis in Chapter 2 through various scenes of street life such as parades, weddings and market excursions. In Chapter 3, we begin to understand that gender is a highly important dimension of Bugis life; that people are, in fact, defined by their gender. In Chapters 4, 5, & 6, the author reveals the nuances of female, male and shaman by dedicating a chapter each to the three genders: roles, social placement, financial capacities, power. Finally, the book ends with a prolonged conclusion in Chapter 7, which is mostly field notes makes the reader long for a more composed narrative.

The book has wrapped the author's years of study in an engaging narrative that gifts the reader with a fascinating ethnography about the three- (3) transgender types or categories found in South Sulawesi. In fact, Davies acknowledges that there are five (5) genders, but only briefly mentions the two (2) heteronormative genders, man and woman. Instead she focuses on the remaining three (3) transgender types, the **calalai**, the **calabai**, and **bissu**.

Davies initially defines *calalai* as women who take on a male persona, including traditional male roles such as blacksmithing and strenuous fieldwork. The *calabai*, she writes, are males who take on the female role. I hesitate here to agree that they take on a traditional female persona. Throughout the book, much attention is paid by the author of the glamorized personal style of the *calabai*. In fact, when she regales us with accounts of weddings in the later chapters, we understand that the *calabai* are tasked

with very specific roles, such as producing brides who are more like them, than "real" women. *Bissu* are a specialized androgynous group that is more religious by definition. They interact with spirits and serve as ambassadors to the spirit world in roles that are difficult to define, suffice to say they are a combination of oracle, traditional healer and, as Davies later writes, shaman.

As she details her methodology, Davies describes an early encounter with a *calabai* at a street festival, which gives us insight into her nature as a researcher. She is inquisitive and straightforward yet determined to "go native." Later in the book she reveals certain fragilities, for example, she is shy about gazing upon the genitals of a willing *calabai*, and becomes fond of hanging out at a *calabai*-run beauty shop. She reveals herself to be a tool that can be manipulated, which serves her research well. "Fluidity" is a likely generalized descriptor a reader might use of the transgender world in Sulawesi. Davies stops us from this conclusion because she willingly submits to an unpredictable unwrapping of these genders that, as it turns out, lead highly un-fluid, prescribed lives.

In southwest Sulawesi, life, in general, is dictated by a combination of religion, nationality, spirituality and social standing. If the American model of transgender self-actualization succeeds, it is because of a "freedom" that individuals feel they achieve by a hard-won transformation. Conversely, Davies reveals to us that there are no such freedoms to strive for in Bugis South Sulawesi society. While *calalai*, *calabai* and *bissu* acknowledge arriving to their true selves as a personal, Allah-mandated, obligation, most do so by the intense participation of their families and communities. Many other members of society enhance, embrace and encourage the transgender to emerge and thrive. It is hardly a privately excruciating experience. Indeed, Davies provides an interesting account of a *calalai* whose son-less father encouraged her to self-actualize at a very young age. Similarly, there are *calabai* who are recognized and encouraged in the same way at early ages. In the trangender's lifetime, it is expected that he/she would hirself identify, mentor and educate younger individuals in the ways of the transgender.

Except for jaunty "preludes" at the beginning of most chapters, one of the features of the book that calls into question Davies' research imagination (Grey, et. al., 2007) is her choice to describe the three transgender classes without using a formulaic outline that she applies to each, and would therefore make for easier reading. For example, female transgendering is revealed, in part, by sections about sexuality and community relations, while a discussion of male transgendering lacks this same coverage. Instead, she writes about male femininity and social perceptions. The chapter on *bissu* contains over twice as many sections than are featured in *calalai* and *calabai* chapters. In fact, it is a more interesting chapter because it ventures into the gruesome elements of the *bissu* rite of passage (stabbing) and how they negotiate androgyny in a Muslim society. By the time one reads the penultimate chapter of the book, one begins to believe that half of the book is dedicated to the *bissu*. Davies might explain that, in fact, the *bissu* serve a larger purpose in society as life literally revolves around their spiritual pronouncements upon brides and grooms. Perhaps, though there is equal meat in why the *calabai* are not encouraged by society to be so overtly sexual in public. Is this researcher bias? Why does she not delve into the *calalai* and *calabai* with the same richness of detail? In fact, she seems less interested in the *calalai* than the other two transgender classes.

Another unsettling issue is that Davies teases us with several mentions of the surprising advanced ages of the transgender subjects, particularly the *calabai* and *bissu*. She writes that they look remarkably younger than one might expect of say, a normal 70-year old. What does she mean by this? Is it due to make-up? A secret beauty/skin regimen? A benefit bestowed by Allah himself for their life roles? As these individuals grow in age, so does their workload and importance to society. It seems that there are riches to be had by a deeper account of how the transgender ages in South Sulawesi society, yet Davies avoids even a superficial mining of these potential gems. What factors contribute their ever-increasing importance as they age? This is a tough question for most in the West: What do you do with an old queen? What do old queens actually do? South Sulawesi seems to have it figured out.

There is one technical/editorial issue that diminishes an otherwise entertaining book, which is the uneven use of journal entries. Essentially, it is light at the front, heavy at the back. This leads the reader to feel that Davies gets lazy towards the end, or that there is some sort of cover-up for analyses that should be there. At the beginning and middle of the book, she guides the reader through a gentle and thoughtful discovery of the world she is observing; but by the end, one must fend for himself/herself through long unedited sections of her notes. Grey, Et. al. (2007) will say that Davies moves between thin and thick descriptions. (Grey, Et.al.: pg. 216). Some passages are acutely specific (her accounts of *calabai, bissu*), and some are light (she glosses over *calalai*).

Davies concludes by retelling a conversation with a government official at the end of her research. He pleads with her to look beyond the "Dr." title that her work in South Sulawesi will guarantee her. He asks her to assist him in creating a pitch that they can present to the Indonesian government, one that includes suggestions for public agencies that would attend to the health and security of the *calalai*, *calabai*, and *bissu*. It is not clear that Davies takes on this request; in fact, her final words are indicative of issues that face natives who find themselves the subjects of Western research. What is in it for our people? Did we simply serve to provide researchers with titles and opportunity? Davies writes that the publishing of her work would be a huge and important step towards the government worker's dream. But that is her last word on it.

One of the things we struggle with in America is understanding and accepting the usefulness of a flamboyant transgender community. What purpose do they serve in American society? Documentarian Jennie Livingston tackles this in her film "*Paris is Burning*" (1990). She documents "houses" in black urban communities, where the transgender "mothers" take on homeless youth who they raise as their children or drag apprentices. (Malayanus, 2014). They exist underground and considered unvital. Conversely, Davies reveals to us that this is hardly the reality for South Sulawesi transgendered individuals. They are, in fact, inextricable from Bugis society. By the end of the book, the reader is made to understand that the world cannot exist without them.

The few quibbles aside, the book is an important contribution to the literature and understandings of gender and could make an interesting text for courses on gender and related areas such as sociology and anthropology.

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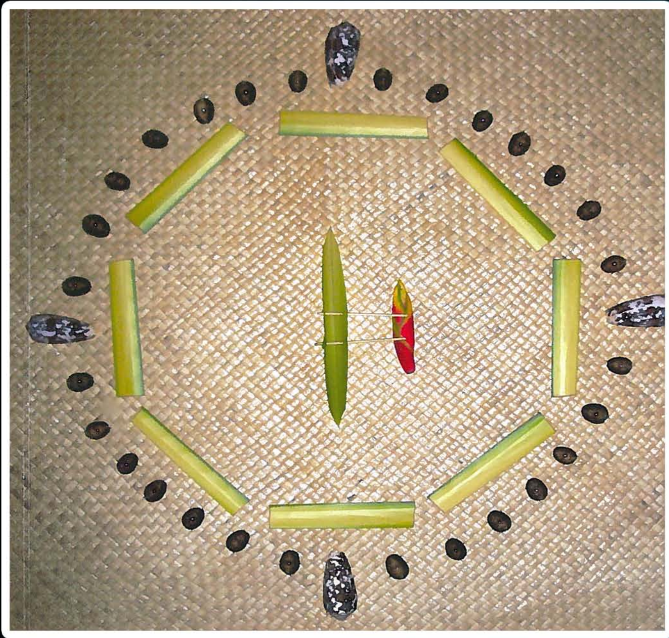

Heiwa: Heiwa is the pushing of the canoe on the unfolded mat to demonstrate how a canoe will actually sail in the ocean from the departure island to the destination island. The navigator uses one or more stars or constellations and uses the faunan etak (primary reference island) and possibly a fauan yatil (secondary reference island) in tracking the course. Heiwa is also used to explain the feeling of the canoe's movement caused by the waves and swells hitting the canoe.

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