

“Guardians” of Signatures? Future Directions in Pacific History from a Pacific Early Career Academic in Aotearoa

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Abstract

As a Pacific early career academic sitting between history and Pacific studies, I see unresolved tension concerning the lack of prioritisation of Pacific voices in Pacific history. In this article I explore how Pacific voices are included in the writing and teaching of Pacific history to establish that this is a continuing and unresolved issue. To do this, I survey articles in the *Journal of Pacific History* between 2015 and 2020 to trace the inclusion and prevalence of Pacific voices through authorship and prioritisation of historical evidence, alongside analysis of the teaching of Pacific history in universities in Aotearoa.

Introduction

In 1989, eminent historian of the Pacific Greg Denning, in the first issue of *The Contemporary Pacific*, wrote optimistically about the role of the historian and the future of Pacific history:

I have always felt that one of the special privileges of academic history is to be the guardian of the signatures human beings put on life. A maudlin, mawkish concept? Maybe, but the words human beings speak cannot be unspoken—not Jesus Christ’s nor Kamakau’s, not Karl Marx’s nor Tupaia the Tahitian’s. . . . Academic history displays the words spoken, the discoveries discovered by joining them to contemporary discourse about humanity.¹

The imagery of this statement has always struck me as significant. The idea of being the guardian of people’s signatures is a provocative description of the role of the academic historian, but also one that conjures paternalistic colonial framings of the “guardian” whose superior knowledge gave them rights and privileges over their “wards.”² There is a privileged sentimentality here in the imagery of being a guardian of the “signatures” that people leave on life. Denning transformed the discipline of Pacific history in Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific, but as an academic tied to the Pacific through my gafa or whakapapa, this is an uncomfortable framing of the role of the historian that I do not recognise in my own role as a Pacific early career academic (PECA) in Aotearoa–New Zealand.³ Think about being a guardian of signatures. Whose signatures are we preserving? Who gets to decide which signatures are worthy of protection? And, while it is true that words spoken cannot be unspoken, they can be ignored, spoken over, and silenced.

History as a tool of colonialism and marginalisation of Indigenous peoples is well established.⁴ The silencing of histories to control narratives of imperialism is part of our historical landscape in Aotearoa–New Zealand and the wider Pacific region.⁵ Increasingly in Aotearoa, Māori as tangata whenua are justly claiming their right to be centred and privileged in their own stories.⁶ Similarly, Pacific peoples have advocated for our knowledges and peoples to be recognised, validated, and privileged across academic disciplines in universities in Aotearoa.⁷ But there is tension between what *should be* and what *is*. Research is still done *on* and not *with* Indigenous communities worldwide, and what some of us think is assumed—the need to prioritise Indigenous voices in research—is not even registered as a concern by some.⁸

As a PECA, the marginalisation of Pacific voices in history was a shock to me because I assumed a level of progress that simply was not there. Toeolesulusulu Damon Salesa expresses this same sentiment when he states that “most Pacific scholars (or African and Native American scholars for that matter) thought such notions had been put to bed, but they seem to retain currency in some realms.”⁹ This was further evidenced through two personal experiences I have had in the previous few years: first, the experience of being at an international conference on Aotearoa and the Pacific where Indigenous peoples of Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa were a considerable minority; and second, through a reviewer comment I received after arguing that Pacific voices needed to be centred when analysing political processes of decolonisation in the Pacific that questioned whether “‘Pacific voices’ had really been ‘ignored’ in the literature?”¹⁰ My response to this was an unequivocal yes. But these experiences made me think beyond the idealised image I had as an early career academic about the realities of studying, writing about, and teaching Pacific history in Aotearoa. I was mystified as to how something so clear to me and my Pacific colleagues could not be seen by others. This led me to ask what it really means to centre Pacific voices? What would this look like, in historical research and teaching in a tertiary space? And overall, why is this important?

This paper is an exploration of these questions through the lens of a PECA. It argues that the priorities of Pacific history need to shift to centre the voices of Pacific peoples, and that the absence of these voices needs to be recognised as an urgent concern by historians of the region. In this article, I explore the idea of Pacific voices in Pacific history; I demonstrate that there is a distinct lack of Pacific voices; and I then discuss why it is important for Pacific peoples to know and learn a history immersed in the voices of Pacific ancestors. Finally, I will suggest some initial ways that historians can work towards developing a future for Pacific history that is significant for Pacific peoples.¹¹

It is important to note here that there have been a number of historians who whakapapa to the Pacific writing history that centres Pacific peoples. These champions of Pacific history demonstrate that robust and innovative historical narratives are possible when you centre Pacific voices.¹² The data displayed in this article shows that people are doing this successfully, but more historians need to recognise the importance of centring Pacific voices and take steps to shift historical practice. The importance of Pacific voices in Pacific history has many components, but central to this is the connection between Pacific peoples and their histories in terms of identity, wellbeing, connection, and the empowerment of our communities, particularly for Pacific youth. This discussion is especially important at the moment in Aotearoa due to the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) history curriculum restructure, and the recent inclusion of Pacific studies as a NCEA topic.¹³ We are at a point where Pacific history could potentially be widely accessible to youth in Aotearoa. Even though this is dependent on curriculum and teacher choice, these discussions are vital as we stand ready to take this next step. This article is an optimistic vision of what the future of Pacific history in Aotearoa could be and why it is important.

Ko Wai Au?

Stating positionality is not a common practice in the discipline of history, but who I am and my background *matters* in terms of my perspective, historical lens, and approach to history. I was born in Aotearoa to a migrant mother from Sāmoa and a first-generation migrant Dutch father. My historical training has traditional foundations with a focus on the history of the Ancient Roman World, but my path through the academy has been very untraditional and connected to my development and identity as a Pacific academic, historian, and person. I walk between the disciplinary areas of history and Pacific studies, so my priorities are different from

others who write or teach history, and they are entwined with my perspective and place as born in Samoan and raised in Aotearoa. I do not write or teach about the history of the Pacific in an objective way because who I am—who my family are—is connected to these stories of the past, so my approach to history is one that focuses on connection: this is the way I teach it, and this is the way I intend to write it. There are certainly different focuses and framings for Pacific studies globally, but for me, Pacific studies is culturally grounded and centred on Pacific epistemologies, values, and beliefs.¹⁴ This is the lens through which I view Pacific history.¹⁵

Shifts in the Discipline of Pacific History

For historians of the Pacific, my call for recognition and centring of Pacific voices may feel like one that has been made before. Since Pacific history developed as a discipline in the 1950s there has been a focus on Pacific peoples and their stories. J. W. Davidson, as the first chair of Pacific history at Australia National University (ANU), drove this with his emphasis on focusing on the perspectives of those in the Pacific who had been colonised, not on the imperial powers who did the colonising, recognising the agency of Pacific peoples in history.¹⁶ This shift in focus reflects global developments in the post-World War Two era, but Davidson also promoted “participant history,” emphasising that the historian’s methodology should be the experience of whatever they were writing.¹⁷ Davidson’s work in the Pacific during the era of “decolonisation” clearly impacted his historical practice. He recognised that “writing the history of non-European societies is an art that cannot be successfully pursued by those who give unquestioning obedience to traditional academic dogmas.”¹⁸ Harry Maude joined Davidson and pushed further the idea of history from the perspective of the people of the Pacific, promoting ethnohistory and experimenting with oral history as historical evidence, a very controversial inclusion at that point in time.¹⁹ From its first conception as an academic discipline, then, Pacific history has pushed the boundaries of traditional historical practice. But, as David Hanlon points out, there are strong echoes of colonial paternalism in these shifts. He puts it succinctly when he states, “Davidson’s brand of Pacific history thus retained a colonizing quality about it; its liberal gesture was to include Oceanic peoples in a form of historical expression that continued to render island pasts in terms of the conventions and values of European history.”²⁰

From these initial revolutionary teachings came a generation of historians—some Indigenous to the Pacific, most not—who studied the Pacific trained in this way, who pushed towards history that included the perspective of Pacific peoples (in their words, “Islanders”). Gunson points to a change with the death of Davidson in 1973 towards a fragmentation of the discipline of Pacific history, with subsequent historians widening their disciplinary focuses.²¹ Similar to these early pioneers, Greg Denning and his work on cross-cultural encounters advocated for history *in* the Pacific, stating history in the Pacific needs to be “vernacular and vernacularly tolerant of great variety,” and “it also needs to be somewhere—in school, in university, in publications, in the media—*somewhere* reflective.”²² This is a continuation of the urge to centre Pacific history in the Pacific, although with a wider vision of delivery and access. The development of Pacific history as a discipline has been one full of tension, and while this is only a snapshot of key influences, it demonstrates the early emphasis on the Pacific as the central focus.

However, despite the emphasis in these early developments in the discipline of Pacific history to focus on Pacific peoples, these approaches were still driven by non-Pacific historians with non-Pacific priorities. There were historians of Pacific ancestry from this hub of Pacific history at ANU, but the historical priorities of Pacific peoples and Pacific concepts of history had very little to do with these disciplinary trends. While these shifts in Pacific history were diverse and

revolutionary, they were still framed within objective, detached ideas of historical research that oppose the connectivity and personal nature of history for Pacific peoples.²³ As ‘Epli Hau‘ofa pointed out in his *Pasts to Remember*, these early historians had “near-total domination of the scholarly reconstructions of our pasts.”²⁴ This means that, for many years, they decided how the history of the Pacific was discussed, framed, focused, and taught. But, as will be subsequently discussed, the way Pacific peoples remember is unique. This is recognised by David Hanlon in his exploration of history in Oceania, in which he reflects that “one begins to realize, then, that the practice of history in Oceania is something quite distinct from what is commonly understood to be the practice of history in the Euro-American world, as well as something inherently variable and particular within this ‘sea of islands.’”²⁵

What Does “Pacific Voices” Mean?

The question, then, is what does my argument to centre Pacific voices mean? There are three ways that Pacific voices can be centred in historical narratives. The first is to shift the narrative beyond the actions of Europeans or Pālāgi in the Pacific and tell the stories of Pacific peoples. The second is to centre Pacific ways of telling history as evidence that drives historical analysis, not as peripheral to the evidence provided by Pālāgi. The third is to promote and foster historians that whakapapa to the Pacific to create, teach, and write Pacific history.

Centring the Stories of Pacific Peoples

The Pacific and Pacific peoples have often been relegated to the margins of history. One notable example of this in both a conceptual and practical sense is Damon Salesa’s observation of the tendency to place the Pacific on the margins of world history, through his incredulous description of the *Atlas of World History* (2003, rev. ed. 2010), which fails in any of the hundreds of maps contained to either centre the Pacific or even include the whole Pacific Ocean.²⁶ Through this example, Salesa points out that most world histories marginalise and minimise Oceania, stating that these “representations are both powerfully silent and uninterested in Oceania.”²⁷ The recognition of historical silences is not new, but silences still exist and have great impact not just on the historical narratives but also on the peoples and stories they are about.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s groundbreaking *Silencing the Past* seeks to discuss how history works. He states, “for what history is changes with time and place or, better said, history reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives. What matters most are the process and conditions of production of such narratives.”²⁸ Within this process there are four distinct points: the making of sources; the making of archives; the making of narratives; and the making of history. This unique process has within it “bundles of silences.”²⁹ Trouillot’s work is significant for Indigenous peoples in illustrating that colonial ideologies of Western powers silenced histories because they did not align with the Western hierarchy of humanity that originated with the Enlightenment; it is about power and the utilisation of it through the processes of history.³⁰ Even though we are now far from the Enlightenment, these ideas framed the colonial structures we still live in and impact the way our pasts are seen, told, and perpetuated.

In Aotearoa, this has in recent years been a key point of discussion in terms of the history curriculum in secondary schools. It was highlighted in the findings of a Māori affairs select committee in 2018, which noted the continued teaching of colonial racist histories.³¹ The recognition of the connection between history and colonialism was fundamental in Aotearoa to the movements of the 1970s and 1980s that traced colonial empire building to violence and dispossession and saw its impacts through systemic issues that continued to harm Indigenous peoples.³² Some parts of the discipline of history have moved towards recognising colonisation

as a continued phenomenon that is entrenched not only in structures but in culture. The current movement to shift the history curriculum shows that the fight for non-European narratives to be *heard* in history in Aotearoa is still being realised. The recognition of the place Pacific peoples occupy in the history of Aotearoa is part of the argument to shift away from colonial-framed historical discourses, and these histories need to be heard and taught because we are also part of New Zealand's colonial past, albeit in a different way.

As historians, we must think about the ongoing impact of being cast in the margins of one's own histories. Historical narratives that do not centre Pacific peoples perpetuate these historical silences and continue to tell a history based on the actions of colonisers in the Pacific. That is not to say that all Pacific histories are like this. But many of the narratives are still driven by the priorities of Pālāgi in this space, continuing to push Pacific peoples to the margins, and causing harm to our communities. Colonial histories cause harm through perpetuating narratives steeped in racism and bias. This was emphasised for me in a recent course I taught that focused on the impact of New Zealand's empire on Pacific peoples, where the majority of the 110-strong student body had no idea that New Zealand had an empire in the Pacific.³³ A student commented at the end of this course that it had shifted their unconscious biases about Pacific peoples, many of which had been engrained by the silences in our historical narratives about New Zealand not only as a settler-colony but also as a coloniser.

Pacific Ways of Telling History

For Pacific peoples, history is not an unconnected objective account of the past; it is the opposite. The connections we have with the past determine for us the place that we have in the present. Our gafa or whakapapa guides us on our path in a way that is observed by many non-Western cultures, blurring the lines between our past, our present, and our future. Additionally, Salesa points out that the practice of history in the Pacific is distinctive, including the way we teach, write, research, and engage communally.³⁴ Not only are our concepts of time unique and diverse, but the values that guide Pacific peoples based on our ideas of community and relationships make the way we think about, practice, and conceive of history different. This uniqueness marks Pacific ways of telling and practicing history as distinct from traditional Western history, and the distinctiveness and potential of this going forward needs to be recognised by those who write and teach about the history of the Pacific.

One of the most influential pieces of writing I have read for my own development, as a teacher and historian, is a written account of the opening address for the History Teacher's Workshop in Fiji in 1996 given by the late Teresia Teaiwa.³⁵ In this address, Teaiwa links the Pacific conception of walking into the past with the future behind us as a way to think about history that teaches us responsibility: *to be good ancestors*. Teaiwa wrote/said, "the western linear construction of time which is always leaving the past behind, always moving into the future, almost colonising the future, can wreak great psychic and environmental damage."³⁶ Contemporary to this address were calls from history teachers in the Pacific to teach European history so their students would understand global contexts, but Teaiwa instead appealed to the gathered history teachers to tell Pacific stories with the methods of history that are traditional to the Pacific.³⁷

Tattooing, tapa designs, rock drawings, and even place names, these were Pacific Islanders' ways of writing History. Colonialism has made us illiterate in our own History. But we can learn to read again.³⁸

This is an uncomfortable space for many of us who have learnt our trade analysing history through the written word. But failure to see these mediums as valid, and to see analysis of them

as important methods of history, leaves a large part of history untold. While oral histories are now a largely accepted form of historical transmission, written history is still often used to drive analysis while oral and non-written forms usually get relegated to a supporting role. But this hierarchy simply perpetuates old historical ideas of whose history is accurate and what counts as historical evidence. I understand there is a certain difficulty here for historians, especially those who study the distant past: where does this information come from? The answer is from Pacific peoples. The histories gathered so far from Pacific peoples are only a drop in the ocean of what is possible. But the key point here is that Pacific stories and ways of telling history need to be at the centre driving the historical narratives as evidence. I am not suggesting that we disregard written histories, not at all. But Pacific peoples and the way we have told history for generations should be prioritised by those who study the Pacific.

Haunani-Kay Trask, in her *From a Native Daughter*, speaks of sitting on a panel and citing a Native Hawaiian song as evidence of opposition to American annexation of Hawai‘i. The song was dismissed by a Pālāgi panel member who claimed it was not evidence. When she followed this up with a story she had been told by her grandmother, of the reaction in Hawai‘i to the American overthrow of the monarchy, Trask was again told this was not historical evidence.³⁹ This is a powerful story of an academic dismissal of Indigenous historical evidence. Attitudes to oral histories and Indigenous evidence such as songs has largely changed, and at this point in the late 1990s the disciplinary position of Pacific history had long advocated for incorporation of these sources. But for me, this story speaks not only to the dismissal of this historical evidence, but the importance placed on these stories to shift key historical narratives. Trask’s evidence was given in support of the thesis that there was Indigenous Hawaiian opposition to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893. This thesis was dismissed in some contemporary academic discourses at the time but has subsequently been widely endorsed. Not only should Pacific ways of telling history be seen as vital historical evidence, but they should also be given priority and centred in historical analysis, not just considered on the periphery. Only then can we recognise the distinctive and unique roles that Pacific voices have to inform and shift historical narratives to reflect the experiences of Pacific peoples.

Pacific Historians Driving the Narratives

Pacific history needs more historians of Pacific ancestry. But there also needs to be understanding of the cost that the absence of Indigenous Pacific historians has, particularly amongst non-Pacific peoples who write about the Pacific. The acclaimed Samoan writer Mauaiva Albert Wendt said it best when he stated:

Pacific Islanders should write their own histories, their own versions of their history. Histories written by outsiders, no matter how fair they’ve been, are still views of foreigners, still views of other people about us. In many ways, those histories have imposed on us views of ourselves that have added to our colonization. We should write our own histories in order to be free of those histories written about us, those images created by other people about us, not only in history books, but in fictions they’ve written about us.⁴⁰

This is the point. No matter the intentions, perspectives, exposure to Indigenous communities, or allyship of Pālāgi, they are still not writing from the perspective of a Pacific person. Our worldviews are infused and influenced by many things, especially in the diaspora, but our cultural values and positionalities guide us in unique ways. Non-Pacific historians who talk about history in the Pacific decide what stories to tell and how to tell them, perpetuating these silences in Pacific history framed by the echoes of the colonial ideologies that first motivated these discussions. Trask explains this when she states:

The history of indigenous people cannot be written from within Western culture. Such a story is merely the West's story of itself. Our story remains unwritten. It rests within the culture, which is inseparable from the land. To know this is to know our history. To write this is to write of the land and the people who are born from her.⁴¹

This is significant for Pacific peoples since our knowledges have long been under assault. Colonisation systematically attacked our knowledges as inferior to the knowledges introduced with the arrival of Europeans.⁴² This idea is still infused in our societies and perpetuated in current practices of history.

Trask was not suggesting here that non-Pacific peoples should not do Pacific history, just as I am not suggesting that non-Pacific people cannot study, write about, or teach Pacific history.⁴³ The low number of Pacific historians with ancestral ties to the Pacific means this would be disastrous. Non-Pacific historians have a part to play, but first there needs to be acknowledgement that this is an issue and an effort to *name it*. Who should write Pacific history is an issue that has been raised repeatedly in the discipline of Pacific history, but despite this, non-Pacific peoples writing/teaching Pacific history seem to see this as resolved, or do not think acknowledgement of this issue, nor statement of their positionality, necessary.⁴⁴ Who is writing and teaching these histories matters, and we need to start acknowledging that and creating a mechanism through which non-Pacific peoples can claim their positionalities as historians and people with diverse perspectives.

The discussion on who should write Pacific history has incited claims of setting insider/outsider dichotomies in the practice of Pacific history.⁴⁵ But these arguments are defensive stances from those who do not understand the central place of history for Pacific peoples or the impact colonial narratives have on our people. As I am writing this we are near the end of the semester and I have had a Pacific student approach me to talk about the impact my stage one undergraduate course on Pacific history has had on them, where karakia, dances, songs, material cultures, and oral histories are centred as valid ways of telling history. They spoke about how this class has fired their desire to listen to the storytelling of our elders, to remember our histories because otherwise they will be forgotten, recognising that the loss of these stories will be devastating. Colonisation taught us that we were less than the Pālāgi in every way, and the continued colonial structures we live under perpetuate this image. Reclaiming history and sharing with our young people the excellence of Pacific pasts is vital for our future.

Where are the Pacific Voices in Pacific History?

The experiences I began this paper with—the conference on Aotearoa and the Pacific with few Pacific attendees and the expert reviewer who questioned whether there was a lack of Pacific voices—show that the absence of Pacific voices in Pacific history is not widely recognised as a concern. However, in order to understand and acknowledge this as an issue, it is necessary to show first through evidence that this issue exists.

Pacific Peoples are Not Driving the Published Narratives

In order to analyse the dearth of Pacific peoples driving the narratives of Pacific history, I undertook an analysis of the longest-standing Pacific history journal in Australasia, the *Journal of Pacific History* (JPH). The JPH was established in 1966, from within the first academic entity focused on Pacific history at ANU, and is important because it is the journal of record tracing the developments of Pacific history as an academic discipline. JPH is far and away the best-known Pacific history journal, both in Australasia and the Pacific region. I surveyed the articles published between 2015 and 2020 (volumes 50–55), including only those articles

designated “articles” generally, together with those designated “articles” in the narratives and documents category.⁴⁶ Based on these parameters, the number of articles surveyed is 95. Of these, 20 are co-authored and 75 are single authored, with a total of 119 contributors to these articles. Of these 119 contributors, I was able to identify 7 Indigenous Pacific authors (see Figure 1).⁴⁷

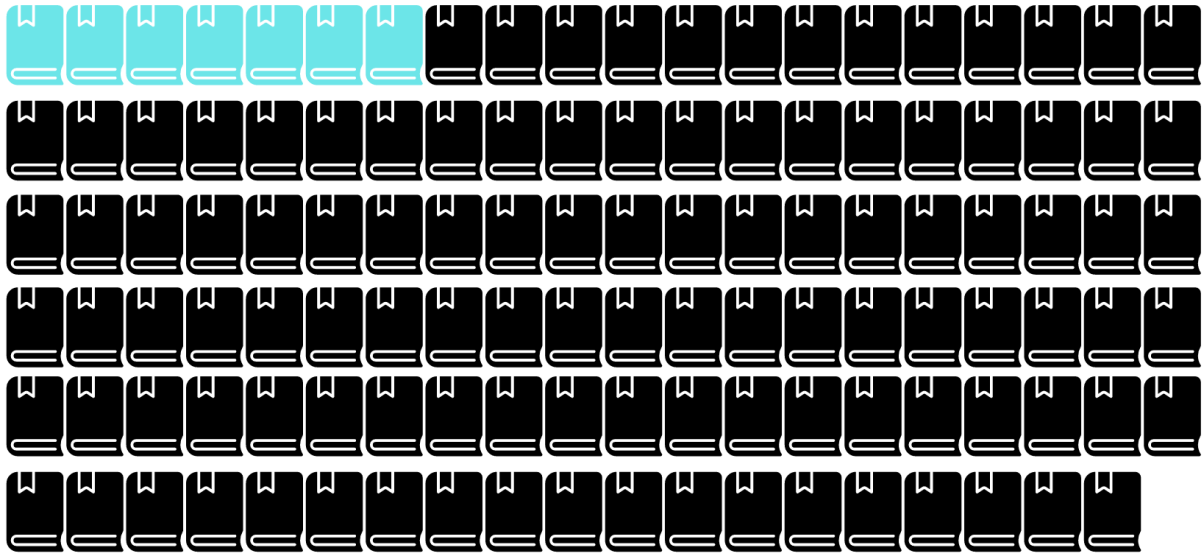


Figure 1. Visual Representation of the Ratio of Pacific Authors (Aqua Figures) to Non-Pacific Authors (Black Figures) in the *Journal of Pacific History*, 2015–2020

Of those who have Indigenous Pacific ancestry, there are 3 Papuans, 2 Samoans, 1 Hawaiian, and 1 Māori.⁴⁸ Only 1 of 119 authors included a substantial positionality statement that detailed their ancestral connection to the Pacific and what that meant in terms of perspective and approach.⁴⁹

Of additional interest is the geographic locations from which this scholarship comes. Of the authors who contributed to articles in this survey, 53.8 percent are from universities located in Australia, and 12.6 percent are from New Zealand. If we exclude New Zealand as a Pacific nation, there are only 17 authors from the 119 surveyed who come from universities in the Pacific (in Fiji, French Polynesia, Hawai‘i, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Sāmoa, Tonga). The majority of these authors are also not Indigenous to the Pacific. It is concerning that only 14.3 percent of authors who have contributed to JPH in this period are from universities located within the Pacific (see Figure 2). This number would be even lower if we were to treat Hawaiian universities as belonging to the group of United States universities; doing so would move the number to only 11 out of 119 (9.2 percent).

<i>University Location</i>	Number of Universities from Which the Authors Come	Number of Authors
<i>Australia</i>	20	64
<i>Canada</i>	1	1
<i>Fiji</i>	1	2
<i>French Polynesia</i>	1	2
<i>Germany</i>	1	2
<i>Hawai‘i</i>	2*	6
<i>Netherlands</i>	1	1
<i>New Caledonia</i>	1	1
<i>New Zealand</i>	4	15
<i>Norway</i>	1	1
<i>Papua New Guinea</i>	3	4
<i>Sāmoa</i>	1	1
<i>South Korea</i>	1	2
<i>Tonga</i>	1	1
<i>United Kingdom</i>	4	4
<i>United States</i>	6	9
<i>Misc. **</i>	3	3

* Including the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and Hilo.

** “Misc.” refers to independent researchers.

Figure 2. Table Mapping University Locations to Authors, 2015–2020

This raises multiple questions: why are historians with Indigenous ties to the Pacific not submitting to the JPH? How many are there and where are they publishing? Undoubtedly, these numbers reflect the changing position of history over the last 50 years, and more widely the decline of the humanities in higher education, that means there are limited resources and opportunities for university historians. Additionally, this should also be considered with the growing influence of Pacific studies and other Indigenous-based interdisciplinary academic entities that offer alternate homes for history. Simultaneously, growing transnational networks of Indigenous scholars and scholarship mean that there are increasingly other opportunities for Indigenous historians to publish their work. Nevertheless, this data shows that Pacific peoples are not publishing in the JPH and that, to date, it is largely a journal for those writing about the Pacific, not for those of the Pacific.

Pacific History in Tertiary Education in Aotearoa

A survey of the websites from the 8 universities in Aotearoa shows that there are limited courses available specifically on Pacific history. Keeping in mind university websites are not always easy to navigate and gain specific information from, the data shows that Pacific history has more than one disciplinary location, and, if it is taught at all, can be found in both history and Pacific studies. The only courses included in this tally were undergraduate courses taught or scheduled to be taught in 2020, 2021, or 2022. The results of this survey can be found in Figure 3.

<i>University</i>	<i>Total UG Courses That Include Pacific History in a Substantial Way</i>	<i>Taught from a History Department or Discipline</i>	<i>Taught from a Pacific-focused Department or Discipline</i>
<i>University of Auckland</i>	2	1*	1
<i>AUT</i>	1	1	0
<i>Lincoln</i>	0	0	0
<i>Massey University</i>	0	0	0
<i>Victoria University of Wellington</i>	5	3	2
<i>University of Canterbury</i>	0	0	0
<i>University of Otago</i>	2	1	1
<i>Waikato University</i>	2	1	1

*Taught by a lecturer in Pacific Studies

Figure 3. Courses with a Pacific History Focus in Tertiary Education

In total, at universities in Aotearoa, ten courses are being taught that focus substantially on the history of the Pacific. These courses are taught by seven academic staff members across these universities, four of whom, according to the available online data, have ancestral connections to the Pacific.⁵⁰ Considering the growing number of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa and the changing NCEA curricula, this has significant implications for developing future Pacific postgraduates, teachers, and historians. The need to create a pipeline of Pacific educators to respond to the developing subject-specific needs in secondary education is entwined with the availability of courses on Pacific history and academic capacity at the tertiary level. The ability for this issue to be addressed is limited by the serious underrepresentation of Pacific permanent academic staff in Aotearoa universities, illustrated clearly by Naepi et. al.⁵¹ The recognised institutional barriers that block the traditional “pipeline” through academia for Pacific academics will be problematic, as the need for teachers who can teach Pacific history, and, according to Salesa, teach Pacific students, increases substantially.⁵² If we consider these systemic issues of the pipeline against the backdrop of the declining humanities and the diverse opportunities offered by Indigenous-focused interdisciplinary departments, then the lack of Pacific students, postgraduates, teachers, and academics becomes even more concerning.

Currently, four of the seven academics teaching these courses have Pacific ancestry, according to the available online data. Research in Aotearoa has proven that Pacific students respond to having Pacific teachers, role models, support staff, and leaders within educational spaces.⁵³ If we think about this alongside a growing Pacific demographic in Aotearoa and the pipeline barriers already discussed, then priority needs to be given to developing pathways for Pacific peoples through universities to train as historians and academics to fill this growing need. Key to this are the students who will be taught in these institutions. The demographics of the student body sitting in our Pacific history lectures are diverse, depending on location and institution, so it is difficult to make definitive statements here, but in many places the demographics will be largely non-Pacific. Anecdotally, however, my own Pacific history classes are typically made up of both Pacific studies and history students, with Pacific students comprising at least

50 percent of the class, sometimes more. While, unfortunately, I cannot be more specific than this, data on the number of Pacific students taking history in tertiary education is accessible, although only the University of Auckland will be used in this case as an example, since it had the largest number of students in history between 2012 and 2018.⁵⁴ According to the Education Counts data, the number of students taking history in an undergraduate bachelor degree-level course at the University of Auckland decreased by 27.9 percent between 2012 and 2018.⁵⁵ In this same period, the number of Pacific students decreased by 16.6 percent, as compared to the number of European students, which declined by 33 percent, and the number of Māori students, which declined by 28.6 percent. However, the proportion of Pacific students taking history compared to the total student numbers increased from 12 percent in 2012 to 14 percent in 2018 at the undergraduate level, although there are no recorded doctoral Pacific students in this same period. This is significant data that shows that although the overall number of students at the University of Auckland who are taking history is declining, the proportion of Pacific students in this overall number has increased over this period. This has implications for who teaches Pacific history in universities in Aotearoa.

Centring Pacific Peoples’ Voices in Published Narratives

This survey of articles in the JPH (2015–2020) was undertaken to understand the prevalence of Pacific voices, specifically through oral and written evidence from Pacific peoples or inclusion of traditional methods of transmitting history, such as material cultures. A process of analysis was established that reviewed (a) the abstract, (b) the citations and connected text, and (c) all quotations.⁵⁶ Parameters were put in place: citations from Indigenous Pacific academics were not included⁵⁷; legislation and policy from Pacific governments and regional bodies were not included; Pacific voices needed to be quoted and not just talked about; and the evidence cited needed to be in the body of the article and not relegated to the footnotes. This method of analysis was used because the point here was to look not simply at the use of Pacific methods of history, but rather at whether they were used to centre Pacific peoples and drive the narratives.

Using this method, it was found that between 2015 and 2020, 44.2 percent of the articles published in the JPH do not include Pacific voices, and 54.7 percent include them to varying degrees.⁵⁸ In order to decide how centred Pacific voices were in the narrative, a measure of frequency was developed. Figure 4 is a visual representation of this process that assessed how often Pacific voices were used: once (7.3 percent); less than five times (18.9 percent); or in five or more instances (28.4 percent).



Figure 4. Measure of the Prevalence of Pacific Voices in the 54.7 Percent of Articles Surveyed That Include Them

The *y-axis* indicates the number of times Pacific voices were used in an article. The *x-axis* indicates the percentage of journal articles using that number of Pacific voices. The aqua bar indicates those articles in which the Pacific voices drove the narrative.

Of the 28.4 percent of articles that included Pacific voices in five or more instances, only 13 (13.7 percent overall) of these authors chose to centre this evidence in a manner and frequency that *drove the narrative*. This means that Pacific ways of telling history and Pacific voices were used to determine the analysis, and did not merely provide peripheral evidence to supplement Pālāgi ways of telling history.⁵⁹ Oral or written evidence from Pacific peoples far outweighed examples where material culture was used as evidence, which were few. But what does this mean to Pacific peoples? This shows that despite the claims and stated positions of Pacific historians and the discipline as a whole, we are not seeing substantive change, either in the past or more recently.

Why Is This Important?

The data above clearly illustrates an absence of Pacific voices in the scholarship, which has significant implications for Pacific history in Aotearoa and for Pacific peoples. As I have already discussed, history for Pacific peoples is connected to who we are in the present. When you meet a Pacific person, they commonly ask where you are from. This is an effort to recognise a connection, not only to a place of origin but to your people, your gafa, your ancestors. When a Samoan tulafale stands to speak, history is embedded in what they say: the gafa of who they speak for and to are key parts of the oratory. A Samoan child raised in fa‘a Sāmoa will be able to recite their gafa, to connect to their past and know the stories of their ancestors. These are ways history is embedded into the present for Samoan people, and there are examples in many Pacific cultures that link history in this way to the present. This means that who is telling our histories and the way they are telling them are important, especially in terms of connection and belonging.

The connection between history and identity has been widely recognised.⁶⁰ Knowledge of history contributes to the construction of identities in significant ways, especially for Indigenous youth. Research has linked historical understandings and cultural identity as important components of identity development for Indigenous youth in relation to the influences of the dominant society and to perpetuated stereotypes of Indigenous peoples.⁶¹ This is even more significant for ethnic minority youth who face racism, discrimination, or prejudice.⁶² Understanding your history creates connections between peoples of the same group, but also provides “a sense of collective meaning-making about who they are, where they came from, and what future direction they should take.”⁶³ As Wexler argues, historical understanding and cultural connection adds perspective for Indigenous youth that “transcends the self, incorporates a larger temporal and social dimension to individual experiences, and offers young people a collective pathway forward.”⁶⁴ Understanding both individual and collective history has transformative potential and directly impacts a person’s sense of identity.

The link between identity and wellbeing is well recognised and makes the need to connect to history more important.⁶⁵ Engagement and connection to culture are seen as positive components of wellbeing, with Manuela and Sibley arguing that the Pacific experience is one where “ethnic identity of selfhood, culture and religion is inherently linked with evaluations of the subjective wellbeing of family and broader social groups.”⁶⁶ The Pacific identity and wellbeing scale developed by Manuela and Sibley shows belonging and connectedness are important markers of wellbeing, with sense of belonging a central tenet of ethnic identity.⁶⁷ Cultural capital has been proven to be significant in the wellbeing of Pacific youth in Aotearoa,

specifically language, acceptance, pride in identity, and Pacific values.⁶⁸ Knowing the history of your aiga and community contributes to these markers of cultural capital and wellbeing.

History is central to the wellbeing of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa. The Fonofale model of health for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa acknowledges and represents Pacific perspectives of wellbeing and includes multiple individual components represented through the image of the Samoan fale. This model includes history in three separate places. First, history is evident in the foundation or the floor of the fale, *the family* in the Fonofale model, but it is more than this: “the history or gafa or genealogy is in the foundation/floor/family which ties them to the titles, lands, motu/island, sea and to the Gods of the Pacific as well as to other cultures . . . located here.”⁶⁹ According to Pulotu-Endemann, history can also be found in the spiritual pou that speaks to the *belief system of an individual*, and in the wider frame of the Fonofale model as *time*. This model underlines the importance of connection for Pacific peoples in the diaspora who have migrated from their island homelands. While it is recognised that Pacific peoples born in Aotearoa have developed a distinct type of identity as children of migrants, “which is different from that of their parents and from that of non-Pacific Islands New Zealanders,”⁷⁰ connections to Pacific pasts are vital links to who Pacific peoples are even in the diaspora.⁷¹

Recognition of historical trauma is a topic of difficulty as a Pacific person in a settler-colony where the stories of tangata whenua are often ignored, denied, or treated with racist prejudices. The loss of land and indiscriminate slaughter experienced by Māori has seeded historical trauma through generations and is still a heavy weight today.⁷² While the historical trauma of Māori cannot be understated, the treatment of Pacific peoples by the New Zealand government as a colonial power in the Pacific alongside the treatment of Pacific peoples in New Zealand born from this colonisation and the labour migration policies from the 1950s mean that there is a type of collective trauma still felt by Pacific peoples today. The recent apology issued by the New Zealand Government for the dawn raids in the 1970s demonstrates the intergenerational impact of these policies and the scar they have made on Pacific peoples in New Zealand.⁷³ Similarly, an apology made to the People of Sāmoa in 2002 by prime minister Helen Clark is clear evidence of the impact New Zealand’s early colonial actions had on the Pacific, which were both brutal and fatal.⁷⁴ While these experiences of trauma are markedly different, both experiences have had intergenerational impact for Pacific peoples. The impacts of this intergenerational harm are important to recognise to understand current contexts, especially in the recognised impact this has on health and wellbeing.⁷⁵ In order to understand the current contexts for Pacific peoples in Aotearoa and how we fit, it is important to understand our historical relationships. As a side note, this is also important for non-Pacific peoples in Aotearoa to understand how we connect to each other. As I am writing this, it has just been announced that Pacific studies will now be a subject in NCEA. At the same time, the NCEA history curriculum is being reset to centre historical narratives beyond those that prioritise Pākehā. These are steps that hold promise if they mean inclusion of Indigenous-centred narratives, but this requires real prioritisation of Indigenous voices, Māori first but also for the increasing population of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa.⁷⁶

Pacific voices driving the narratives in Pacific history is important for empowering our communities. Greg Dening, as a historian of the Pacific, recognised the liberating power of history, but as Linda Tuhiwai-Smith has demonstrated, for Indigenous peoples, reclaiming history is more than that.⁷⁷ She argues that history in a traditional sense as a Western-centric narrative creates and maintains dynamics of power and domination that “others” and marginalises Indigenous peoples. Tuhiwai-Smith sees the answer in reclaiming histories through “the intersection of indigenous approaches to the past, of the modernist history project

itself and of the resistance strategies which have been employed.”⁷⁸ Revisioning and reclaiming of history by Indigenous communities has the potential to give new meaning to community and to be transformative in terms of shaping future directions.⁷⁹ In order for historical understanding to have this transformative power, a shift beyond the centring of Pālāgi ways of telling history has to be not only planned but a priority. This is the only way Pacific peoples will truly be able to see ourselves within our own histories.

Where Do We Start?

While this article argues for an urgent shift in the way we practice Pacific history, in conclusion I want to highlight key changes that can be made now by those who write and teach about the Pacific. The larger shift to centre Pacific peoples and histories in the discipline of history is the goal but there are steps we can make now to support a change towards centring Pacific voices.

The first is incorporating positionality statements. Who is writing or teaching Pacific history matters in terms of understanding, connection, perspective, and priorities. There has been recognition by historians of the Pacific that the personalities of those who do this history cannot be separated from their work, but this has not actively translated into general recognition or practice.⁸⁰ I know this is a very “social science” approach, but historians need to acknowledge that who you are matters and this is a simple way to show recognition of this. I also discuss my positionality in the lecture theatre in order to show my subjectivity and intimate connection to the subject matter, which is significant for the way I interpret and frame historical discussions.

The second is stating clearly in research and teaching how Pacific ways of telling history have been incorporated, as well as when they have not. Only a few of the articles surveyed discussed the absence or sparse use of Pacific historical evidence in their analysis, but as a Pacific person reading about the Pacific, an admission of the issue and effort to name it adds a level of cultural awareness and respect that is important for Pacific peoples.

The third way is by discussing this issue, not as one that excludes Pālāgi writing or teaching, but as one that seeks to prioritise Pacific ways of knowing and being for the benefit of Pacific peoples. This means elevating and centring Pacific voices, and shifting away from the objective and disconnected ways that the history of the Pacific is thought about, because it is not for us. The personal connections of Pacific peoples to our history needs to be seen in terms of recognition of place, belonging, and identity, for all Pacific peoples in Aotearoa but especially for our youth.

Our vision of the future centres the past, and for me as a PECA this is the future I am working towards for Pacific history in Aotearoa. For me, this is where I start as a historian, a researcher, a teacher, and as a Pacific person.

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¹ Greg Denning, “History ‘in’ the Pacific,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 1, no. 1 (1989): 138–39.

² Albert Wendt, “Guardians and Wards: A Study of the Origins, Causes, and the First Two Years of the Mau in Western Samoa” (PhD dissertation, Victoria University, 1965). This colonial framing of “guardian” and the “ward” can be seen clearly in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, *United States Supreme Court*, 30 U.S. 2 (1831): “They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases; meanwhile, they

are in a state of pupilage. Their relations to the United States resemble that of a ward to his guardian. They look to our Government for protection, rely upon its kindness and its power, appeal to it for relief to their wants, and address the President as their Great Father.”

³ Denning’s impact on the history of the Pacific is clear through his obituaries: Bronwen Douglas, “Greg Denning: Way-finder in the Presents of the Past,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 43, no. 3 (2008): 383–89; Rhys Issac, “Greg Denning 1931–2008 ANZASA Member and Great Friend a Tribute,” *Australasian Journal of American Studies* (2008): 164–66; Tom Griffiths, “Greg Denning (1931–2008),” *History Workshop Journal* 67, no. 1 (2009): 292–96; Margaret Jolly, “The Audacity of Hope in the Pacific: A Personal Tribute to Greg Denning and Epeli Hau’ofa (Obituary),” *PacifiCurrents: eJournal of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Pacific Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 28–32.

⁴ For example, see: Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012): 81; Shannon Sullivan, “White Ignorance and Colonial Oppression,” in *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, ed. Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 153–72; Jennifer Henderson and Pauline Wakeham, “Colonial Reckoning, National Reconciliation?: Aboriginal Peoples and the Culture of Redress in Canada,” *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 35, no. 1 (2009): 1–26; Liana MacDonald, “Whose Story Counts? Staking a Claim for Diverse Bicultural Narratives in New Zealand Secondary Schools,” *Race Ethnicity and Education* (2020): 1–18.

⁵ Hereafter Aotearoa unless discussing New Zealand as a colonial power.

⁶ There are many examples for this, but most recently this can be seen in the push to restructure the NCEA curriculum in secondary schools in Aotearoa: Jessica Long, “New Zealand’s School-taught Colonial History is Racist and Needs Changing, Say Teachers,” *Stuff*, 20 September 2018, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/107206925/new-zealands-schooltaught-colonial-history-is-racist-and-needs-changing--say-teachers>.

⁷ For example: Patrick Thomsen et al., “In Our Own Words: Pacific Early Career Academics (PECA) and Pacific Knowledges in Higher Education Pedagogical Praxis,” *Higher Education Research and Development* 40, no. 1 (2021): 49–62; Aiono Manu Fa’aea and Sonia Fonua, “Se’i Lua’i Lou le Ulu Taumamao: Privileging Pacific Notions of Success in Higher Education,” *Higher Education Research and Development* (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2021.1937954>.

⁸ Salesa notes that in global narratives there is no move to rectify the tendency to ignore Oceania such as there has been with other Indigenous peoples within the conception of global history: Damon Ieremia Salesa, “The World from Oceania,” in *A Companion to World History*, ed. Douglas Northrup (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012): 395.

⁹ Salesa, “The World from Oceania,” 399.

¹⁰ This is a direct quote from a blind expert reviewer for a Marsden Fast-Start full proposal.

¹¹ Analysing the state of Pacific history and exploring hopes for new directions is not new. See, for example, Max Quanchi, “Pacific History—The Long View,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 46, no. 2 (2011): 251–56, and Bronwen Douglas, “Pasts, Presents and Possibilities of Pacific History and Pacific Studies: As Seen by a Historian from Canberra,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 50, no. 2 (2015): 224–28.

¹² For example: Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta’isi Efi, “The Riddle in Samoan History: The Relevance of Language, Names, Honorifics, Genealogy, Ritual and Chant to Historical Analysis,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 29, no.1 (1994): 66–79; Damon Salesa, “The Pacific in Indigenous Time,” in *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*, ed. David Armitage and Alison Bashford (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 31–52; Tracey Banivanua Mar, *Decolonisation and the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

¹³ NCEA is the National Certificate of Educational Achievement, the New Zealand qualifications for senior secondary school students.

¹⁴ See Stewart Firth, “Future Directions for Pacific Studies,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 15, no.1 (2003): 139–48, and Terence Wesley-Smith, “Rethinking Pacific Studies Twenty Years On,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 28, no. 1 (2016): 153–69.

¹⁵ It is important to note as a Pacific author writing about Pacific peoples I will occasionally use “we” and “our” in discussions.

¹⁶ Niel Gunson, “An Introduction to Pacific History,” in *Pacific Islands History: Journeys and transformations*, ed. Brij V. Lal (Canberra, 1992), 1–13. This early argument for the agency of Pacific peoples was in part a reaction against the “fatal impact” argument of historians such as Alan Moorhead: David Hanlon, “‘Beyond’ the English Method of Tattooing: Decentering the Practice of History in Oceania,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 15, no.1 (2003): 19–40.

¹⁷ James Wightman Davidson, “History, Art or Game? A Comment on ‘The Purity of Historical Method,’” *New Zealand Journal of History* 5 (1971): 115–20; James Wightman Davidson, “Understanding Pacific History. The Participant as Historian,” in *The Feel of Truth: Essays in New Zealand and Pacific History*, ed. Peter Munz (Wellington, 1969), 27–40.

¹⁸ Davidson, “History, Art or Game?,” 118. Davidson acted as advisor in the constitutional discussions on independence in Western Sāmoa (1949–1962) but was also involved in the constitutional developments of the Cook Islands (from 1963); Nauru (from 1967); Micronesia (from 1967); and Papua New Guinea (1973): Donald Denoon, “Davidson, James Wightman (Jim) (1915–1973),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, v. 13 (Melbourne University Press, 1993).

¹⁹ Gunson, “An Introduction to Pacific History,” 1–13; Robert Langdon, “Harry Maude: Shy Proconsul, Dedicated Pacific Historian,” in *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H. E. Maude*, ed. Niel Gunson (Melbourne, 1978), 1–21. Maude also had experience within the Pacific as a colonial official, acting as British resident commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (1946–1949).

²⁰ Hanlon, “‘Beyond’ the English Method of Tattooing,” 23.

²¹ Gunson, “An Introduction to Pacific History,” 9–10.

²² Denning, “History ‘in’ the Pacific,” 137.

²³ Hanlon, “‘Beyond’ the English Method of Tattooing.”

²⁴ ‘Epeli Hau‘ofa, “Pasts to Remember,” in *We are the Ocean* (University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 61–62.

²⁵ Hanlon, “‘Beyond’ the English Method of Tattooing,” 28–29.

²⁶ Salesa, “The World from Oceania,” 391.

²⁷ Salesa, “The World from Oceania,” 392.

²⁸ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 25.

²⁹ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 27.

³⁰ Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 74.

³¹ Long, “New Zealand’s School-taught Colonial History is Racist.”

³² As pointed out by Tony Ballantyne, a discussion that was highlighted significantly by Donna Awatere’s *Maori Sovereignty* in 1984: Donna Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty* (Broadsheet, 1984); Tony Ballantyne, “Culture and Colonization: Revisiting the Place of Writing in Colonial New Zealand,” *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 9 (2010): 1–21.

³³ Damon Salesa, “New Zealand’s Pacific,” in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. Giselle Byrnes (Oxford University Press, 2009), 149–72.

³⁴ Salesa, “The World from Oceania,” 397.

³⁵ Teresia Teaiwa, “Learning . . . To Love It!: Some Thoughts on Teaching History,” opening address at the history teachers’ workshop sponsored by TTPF and Fiji Ministry of Education and Education Curriculum Unit, in *Directions: A Journal of Educational Studies* (Suva: 1996).

³⁶ Teaiwa, “Learning . . . To Love It!,” 49. See also: Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desire: How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992): 22–23; Tipene O’Regan, “Who Owns the Past? Change in Maori Perceptions of the Past,” in *Te Ao Marama—Reading Aotearoa: Maori Writers Speak Out*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed Publishers, 1993), 337–40; Hau‘ofa, “Pasts to Remember,” 66–68.

³⁷ Max Quanchi, “Pacific History on the Rim: What Should Students Learn?” *Journal of Pacific Studies* 20 (1996): 79.

³⁸ Teaiwa, “Learning . . . To Love It!,” 50.

³⁹ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*, revised edition (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 119–20.

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- ⁴⁰ Albert Wendt, "An Interview with Albert Wendt," *The Contemporary Pacific* 5, no. 1 (1993): 117.
- ⁴¹ Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 120–21.
- ⁴² See: Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (1994): 148–61; Robert Nicole, *The Word, the Pen, and the Pistol: Literature and Power in Tahiti* (SUNY Press, 2001); Konai Helu Thaman, "Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education," *The Contemporary Pacific* 15, no. 1 (2003): 1–17; Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Beyond Abyssal Thinking: From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledges," *Binghamton University Review* 30, no. 1 (2007): 45–89; Marcia Leenen-Young and Sereana Naepi, "Gathering Pandanus Leaves: Colonization, Internationalization and the Pacific," *Journal of International Students* 11, no. S1 (2021): 15–31.
- ⁴³ Salesa, "The Pacific in Indigenous Time," 38–39.
- ⁴⁴ For example: Doug Munro, "Who 'Owns' Pacific History? Reflections on the Insider/Outsider Dichotomy," *The Journal of Pacific History* 29, no. 2 (1994): 232–37. See also Vilsoni Hereniko, "Indigenous Knowledge and Academic Imperialism," in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake history*, ed. Robert Borofsky (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 62–77.
- ⁴⁵ For discussion around this issue, see: Nicholas Thomas, "Partial Texts: Representation, Colonialism and Agency in Pacific History," *The Journal of Pacific History* 25, no. 2 (1990): 139–58; Munro, "Who 'Owns' Pacific History?"; Doug Munro, "Pacific Islands History in the Vernacular-Practical and Ethical Considerations," *New Zealand Journal of History* 29, no. 1 (1995): 83–96.
- ⁴⁶ I excluded any article designated in "Pacific Currents" due to their contemporary nature. Any writing in the narratives and documents sections not designated an "article" was also excluded. The explanations and delegations of these categories were accessed via Taylor and Francis Online: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cjph20/current>.
- ⁴⁷ There was a method of identification here based on self-identification, positionality statements, or affiliations. This was analysed through: (1) associated university staff pages; (2) research websites such as www.academia.edu and www.researchgate.net; (3) affiliations to ethnic-based organisations; (4) wider online presence; and (5) personal connections. There were no judgements made on physical appearance. Admittedly, this was an online process that has potential flaws, but was based on a common awareness by Indigenous and Pacific academics that positionality should be stated.
- ⁴⁸ Mixed ethnicities have not been considered here based on holistic Pacific ideas of Indigenous belonging. Māori are considered part of the Pacific in this estimation as teina of our Pacific ancestors.
- ⁴⁹ On the importance of positionality, see Brian Bourke, "Positionality: Reflecting on the Research Process," *The Qualitative Report* 19, no. 33 (2014): 1–9.
- ⁵⁰ Again, this was concluded through (1) associated university staff pages; (2) research websites such as www.academia.edu and www.researchgate.net; (3) affiliations to ethnic-based organisations; (4) wider online presence; and (5) personal connections.
- ⁵¹ Sereana Naepi et al., "The Pakaru 'Pipeline': Māori and Pasifika Pathways within the Academy," *The New Zealand Annual Review of Education* 24 (2020): 142–59.
- ⁵² Damon Salesa, *Island Time: New Zealand's Pacific Futures* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2017).
- ⁵³ For example, Cherie Chu, Ivy Samala Abella, and Seann Paurini, *Educational Practices that Benefit Pacific Learners in Tertiary Education* (Ako Aotearoa, 2013), and Reremoana Theodore et al., "Equity in New Zealand University Graduate Outcomes: Māori and Pacific Graduates," *Higher Education Research and Development* 37, no. 1 (2018): 206–21.
- ⁵⁴ The University of Auckland between 2012 and 2018 had between 32.4 and 35.4 percent of the total undergraduate history student numbers in Aotearoa. Data on Pacific Studies student numbers is not yet accessible.
- ⁵⁵ Ministry of Education, *Education Counts*, 2018.
- ⁵⁶ This process was intended as a survey of the articles, not a deep reading. Due to this there must be some allowance for a potential margin of error.

⁵⁷ Citation practice is powerful in academia and shows patterns of authority. While the parameters of this study did not include citation, there is intention to explore this in the future, especially considering the visioning of citation as expression of intergenerational relationships and whanaungatanga recently explored by Burgess, Cormack and Reid: Hana Burgess, Donna Cormack, and Papaarangi Reid, “Calling Forth our Pasts, Citing our Futures: An Envisioning of a Kaupapa Māori Citational Practice,” *MAI Journal* 10, no. 1 (2021): 57–67.

⁵⁸ One article has been exempted from this, as it is framed within Māori tikanga but does not include Pacific voices.

⁵⁹ It is important to note that of these 13 articles, 5 were from the *Journal of Pacific History* special issue 55.2 (2020), on The legacy of Bernard Narokobi and the Melanesian way, which centred his own writings. Some were also written by close associates of Bernard Narokobi.

⁶⁰ For example, see: David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Michael Herzfeld, *A Place in History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Hereniko, “Indigenous Knowledge and Academic Imperialism”; Sa’iliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor, “Oral Traditions, Cultural Significance of Storytelling, and Samoan Understandings of Place or Fanua,” *Journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association* 7, no. 1 (2020): 121–51.

⁶¹ Lori L. Jervis et al., “Historical Consciousness Among Two American Indian Tribes,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 50 (2006): 526–49.

⁶² W. David Wakefield and Cynthia Hudley, “Ethnic and Racial Identity and Adolescent Well-being,” *Theory into Practice* 46 (2007): 147–54; Les B. Whitbeck et al., “Conceptualizing and Measuring Historical Trauma Among American Indian People,” *American Journal of Community Psychology* 33 (2004): 119–30; Lisa Wexler, “The Importance of Identity, History, and Culture in the Wellbeing of Indigenous Youth,” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 2 (2009): 267–76.

⁶³ Wexler, “The Importance of Identity,” 269.

⁶⁴ Wexler, “The Importance of Identity,” 272.

⁶⁵ Melani Anae, “Fofoa-i-vao-‘ese: The Identity Journeys of NZ-born Samoans” (PhD dissertation, University of Auckland, 1998); Kupa Kupa, “Te Vaka Atafaga: A Tokelau Assessment Model for Supporting Holistic Mental Health Practice with Tokelau People in Aotearoa, New Zealand,” *Pacific Health Dialog* 15 (2009): 156–63; Jean S. Phinney, “Ethnic Identity and Self-esteem: A Review and Integration,” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 13 (1991): 193–208.

⁶⁶ Sam Manuela and Chris G. Sibley, “The Pacific Identity and Wellbeing Scale (PIWBS): A Culturally-appropriate Self-report Measure for Pacific Peoples in New Zealand,” *Social Indicators Research* 112, no. 1 (2013): 83–103.

⁶⁷ Manuela, “The Pacific Identity and Wellbeing Scale.”

⁶⁸ Karlo Mila-Schaaf et al., *A Health Profile of Pacific Youth: Findings of Youth 2000. A National Secondary School Youth Health Survey* (Auckland: University of Auckland, 2008).

⁶⁹ Fuimaono Karl Pulotu-Endemann, “Fonofale Model,” in *Workshop on Pacific Health Promotion Models: A Partnership Between the Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand and Pasifika* (Massey University: Wellington, September 2009).

⁷⁰ Cluny Macpherson, “Pacific Islands Identity and Community,” in *Nga Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, ed. Paul Spoonley, David Pearson, and Cluny Macpherson (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1996), 124–43. See also Melani Anae, “The New Vikings of the Sunrise: New Zealand-born in the Information Age,” in *Tagata o te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Paul Spoonley, Cluny Macpherson, and Melani Anae (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2008): 89–101.

⁷¹ Ilana Gershon, “Viewing Diasporas from the Pacific: What Pacific Ethnographies Offer Pacific Diaspora Studies,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 19, no. 2 (2007): 474–502; Karlo Mila-Schaaf, “Polycultural Capital and the Pasifika Second Generation: Negotiating Identities in Diasporic Spaces (PhD dissertation, Massey University, 2010).

⁷² Leonie Pihama et al., “Positioning Historical Trauma Theory within Aotearoa New Zealand,” *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 10, no. 3 (2014): 248–62.

⁷³ “Government Offers Formal Apology for Dawn Raids,” 1 August 2021,

<https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/government-offers-formal-apology-dawn-raids>.

⁷⁴ The reference here is to the 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic which killed 22–25 percent of the population of Sāmoa and to the New Zealand Administration in Sāmoa’s treatment of the Mau Movement, specifically Black Saturday which led to the death of a number of Samoan people; Helen Clark, “Speech at Samoa’s 50th Independence Day Celebrations” (speech, Apia, Sāmoa, 4 June 2002), *NZ Herald*, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/full-text-helen-clarks-apology-to-samoa/65TV2LDV6S7HHIYRDCFSC5YOZI/>.

⁷⁵ Nathaniel Vincent Mohatt et al., “Historical Trauma as Public Narrative: A Conceptual Review of How History Impacts Present-day Health,” *Social Science and Medicine* 106 (2014): 128–36.

⁷⁶ Salesa, *Island Time*.

⁷⁷ Dening, “History ‘in’ the Pacific,” 137; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 81.

⁷⁸ Tuhiwai-Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 35.

⁷⁹ Joane Nagel, “Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture,” *Social Problems* 41, no. 1 (1994): 152–76.

⁸⁰ “Historians, we felt, cannot be separated from their works, and a full consideration of historiography cannot escape discussion of personalities”: Brij V. Lal, “Introduction,” in *Pacific Islands History: Journeys and Transformations*, ed. Brij V. Lal (Canberra, 1992), ix.