

The Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts: Representation and Identity

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This paper presents a short overview of the history of the Festival of Pacific Arts and examines the eighth Festival in its politico-social situation in the host country, in comparison with other Festivals. Then it proceeds to analyze the representation of some delegations. In the end, the author concludes that each Festival has a face of its own. The situation of the host country is a strong factor in the determination of the nature of the Festival, and it is important to analyze the Festival in the context of the society or nation. As well as the Festival itself, each delegation to the Festival has its own representation and should be analyzed in the context of the society or nation.

Keywords: Festival of Pacific Arts, SPC, cultural policy, performing arts, identity, nation building, New Caledonia

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to analyze the representation and identity apparent in the eighth Festival of Pacific Arts held in Noumea, New Caledonia, October 23 to November 3, 2000. The Festival of Pacific Arts was initiated by the newly independent Fiji through its invitation to other Pacific Nations and Regions to Suva for the exchange of Arts in 1972. The administrative function of the Festival was taken over by the Pacific Art Council which is established within SPC, the former South Pacific Commission, and is present Secretariat of the Pacific Community. Pacific Arts in the Festival includes almost all kinds of art activities in the Pacific from the traditional to the modern such as 1) performing arts: traditional song and dance, contemporary music and dance, drama, fashion shows, opera, and films; 2)

exhibitions: modern art, books, photography, artifacts, and postage stamps; 3) festival village: informal cultural performances, tattooing, carving, and craft-making, traditional cooking and tasting, and souvenirs. However, the main delegations are largely composed of dancers and singers who perform traditional arts.

Every Festival is organized on the same principle but the function and meaning of the Festival for each host country are different, as are those for the participating delegations are different. Here the author first describes the history of the Festival before analyzing the eighth Festival.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FESTIVAL OF PACIFIC ARTS

At the South Pacific Conference of 1965, representatives discussed the idea of an arts festival as a way to:

- a) conserve and develop the various art forms of the Pacific
- b) prevent the loss of traditional arts through outside cultural influences
- c) provide an occasion for the region to mix in a friendly atmosphere

(Western Samoa, National Festival Committee 1996a: 48).

A festival of traditional arts was the common wish of the political leaders of Pacific island nations that had recently gained independence or were on the way to gaining it. However, in 1972, before the South Pacific Art Festival Council was organized, the initiative was taken by Fiji, which had just become independent, to invite all the countries for the first Festival of Pacific Arts. Later, in 1975, the Workshop to establish the South Pacific Arts Festival Council was held in Noumea, in order to discuss the situation of traditional arts in each country. In 1977, the first meeting of the South Pacific Arts Festival Council was held in Alofi, the capital of Niue, a year after the second Festival was held in Rotorua, New Zealand. This council changed its name to the Pacific Art Council after the third Festival in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. The council started to be concerned with more than the planning of the Festival every four years. It also became the place to discuss and exchange information on cultural development, such as cultural conservation planning and the establishment of authorship laws for each country. The Pacific Art Council was under the supervision of the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (formerly the South Pacific Commission).¹

Fifteen countries participated in the first Festival of Pacific Arts in Suva: Australia, Nauru, American Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, Solomon Islands, New Caledonia,

¹ The South Pacific Commission (SPC) was first founded in 1947 by the metropolitan powers in the Pacific in order to develop the region. After Micronesian countries joined the organization, it decided to omit 'South' from its name and in early 1998 it adopted the name "Secretariat of Pacific Community." The abbreviated form is still SPC.

Cook Islands, New Zealand, Tokelau Islands, Western Samoa,² New Hebrides,³ Norfolk Island, Papua New Guinea, and Tahiti. Among these, Western Samoa, Fiji, and Tonga were the only independent countries in the South Pacific at that time. Besides these, there were the protectors of these countries: New Zealand and Australia. Since then, the Festival has been held every four years by one of the participating countries.

SPC was the organization founded by the metropolitan powers that dominated in the region in order to establish political and economic development for the future independence of the island groups in the Pacific. Until recently, it has not been eager to develop cultural policy. Until the cultural advisor's post was created in 1996, the Festival had been organized in turn by officers in SPC.⁴ Although the Pacific Art Council is an independent body, it depends on SPC for the financial assistance and advices not only because of the council meeting but of the Festival itself.

The venue and the years of the Festivals are as follows:

The first	1972	Suva, Fiji
The second	1976	Rotorua, New Zealand
The third	1980	Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea
(The fourth)	1984	Noumea, New Caledonia cancelled)
The fourth	1985	Papeete, French Polynesia
The fifth	1988	Townsville, Australia
The sixth	1992	Avarua, The Cook Islands
The seventh	1996	Apia, Western Samoa
The eighth	2000	Noumea, New Caledonia
The ninth	2004	Koror, Palau

Rotorua is the original place where Maori tourism started and it is well known for various Maori cultural activities. In the second Festival, a performing group of Te Arawa Tribe danced (New Zealand Festival Committee 1976: 10). Although school buildings are used to host the delegations in most cases, *marae*⁵ were used to house the delegations and the kitchen of *marae* took care of food for delegations in New Zealand. After the Festival, many delegations dispersed throughout New Zealand to perform in various places, using *marae* for the center of performance. The third Festival was held in Port Moresby, the capital of the new nation of Papua New Guinea, which had been independent for five years. The fourth Festival was originally planned to take place in Noumea, New Caledonia. But it was cancelled one month

² Western Samoa changed its name to Samoa in 1997. Here I have generally used the former name as it was Western Samoa when it hosted the seventh Festival in 1996.

³ It became Vanuatu when it achieved its independence in 1977.

⁴ Personal communication with Cultural Advisor in 1999, Yves Corbel.

⁵ Meeting houses specific to Maori tribal organization.

before the scheduled date because the internal racial conflict became too tense to allow an international event. In place of this planned Festival, the fourth Festival took place in Papeete, French Polynesia the following year. Since the preparations had been almost completed and an official program for the Festival had been printed (Nouvelle Calédonie, l'Office culturel scientifique et technique Kanak 1984), it was a pity that the Festival was not realized.

In an article by Simons, the fifth Festival in Townsville in Australia is described in detail (1989: 299-310). The reason Townsville was chosen for the venue in Australia is that many laborers from the Pacific Islands, either through indenture or by blackbirding, used to work on sugarcane plantations there (Simons 1989: 301). Some of them married Aboriginal women and remained there (Evatt Foundation 1991).

The sixth Festival in the Cook Islands is reported by Tanahashi (1997a; 1997b). Rarotonga, the venue of the Festival, with a population of less than ten thousand, is a small island one may go around within half a day by bicycle. It had been pointed out long before the Festival took place that the great number of guests arriving in comparison to the island population might cause a significant problem.⁶ The Cook Islands government had a financial crisis after the Festival and it was said that the Festival was to blame. Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that the Canoe Pageant, held under the general theme of the Festival "Navigation and Seafaring Pacific Islanders" (Cook Islands Government 1992) may, as Tanahashi suggests, have attracted Cook Islanders to the so-called traditional culture and their own identity (1997a). Two seafarer canoes for the Canoe Pageant were built in separate private projects and the government also built a canoe after the Festival.

The Organizing Committee of the seventh Festival in Apia learned from a lesson of the Cook Islands government and so the Western Samoan Government was cautious in expending resources for the Festival. The Western Samoan Government published neither an official photo album nor an official video program and was able to produce the Festival within relatively a reasonable budget. The only new building built for the Festival was the National Cultural Centre⁷ located next to the former New Market on the Beach Road. In general, existing facilities were utilized.

The eighth Festival was held between October 23 and November 3, 2000 in Noumea, New Caledonia.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NEW CALEDONIA AND THE FESTIVAL OF PACIFIC ARTS

The total population of New Caledonia is about 200,000: the Kanak occupy 41% of it; the Europeans 31%; the Polynesians (from Wallis and from Tahiti) 20%; and the Asians (mostly from Indonesia and Vietnam) 4%; while the remaining 9% define

⁶ The delegations alone from each country number around two thousand besides the tourists, while the population of Rarotonga Island, where Avarua is located, is less than ten thousand.

⁷ The Centre is a multi-purpose building with an exhibition hall and several meeting rooms. It hosted the Pacific Writers' Conference, and the Exhibition of the Modern Arts.

themselves as Caledonian (Bensa 2000: 11).⁸ The economy of New Caledonia mainly depends on the nickel production. Many workers who immigrate for mining are from French Polynesia and the French territory of Wallis and Futuna. Many sojourners have finally settled there and so the ethnic communities are blooming. Although New Caledonia has other mining resources, only nickel is subject to development at the moment. Tourism is not yet developed enough. Thus, the revenue from the French military station is still important in supplementing the economy. Increasing agricultural production, which seems favorable for exports in the future, is still mainly for local consumption. Economic development other than nickel production is needed (Douglas and Douglas 1994: 420-421).

The Kanak, was the largest demographic, although totalling not more than half of the total population. As an indigenous population they lacked political power under colonialism. The Kanak movement for independence came at its height in the 1980s. In 1984, the confrontation between the Kanak and French residents became heated and several violent incidents occurred. When Kanak activists damaged ballot boxes and ballot sheets, several were assaulted and murdered. The situation in Noumea was anarchy for a while. The fourth Festival of Pacific Arts was scheduled to take place in December 1984, and preparations had been made up to that point. At the last minute, the Festival was abandoned because it seemed impossible to hold it without trouble.

Later, New Caledonia recovered its peace and gained more and more of its autonomy as a French overseas territory. Consensus through referendums, the Matignon Accords in 1988 and the Noumea Accords in 1998, brought the peaceful atmosphere and the normalcy in New Caledonia. The Noumea Accords even allow for independence by referendum within 15 to 20 years. In the pacifying process, the Kanak or indigenous culture and human rights have been considered much more than before.

Nevertheless, in reality the Kanak people are still marginalized in the society of New Caledonia. Noumea is a French city and the Kanak feel alienated in the city. Jean-Marie Tjibaou's words, "Let's go to Noumea!" probably still explain the situation in which the Kanak are placed. Most of the Kanak feel themselves out of place in Noumea and do not share the idea that they are active citizens of the country. In this sense, bringing in the Festival of Pacific Arts was an important endeavor for the Kanak in New Caledonia.

The initiative for the Festival was taken by l'Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak, a national corporation established in 1988 based on the Matignon Accords. The agency's long-cherished hope since its establishment was to bring in the Festival of Pacific Arts. The secretary-general of the Centre Culturel Tjibaou and the administrator of the eighth Festival of Pacific Arts, Jean-Pierre Deteix, explained that

⁸ The numbers shown by Bensa are not consistent in detail and the totals do not add up to 100 percent. I thought that the report did not require detailed numbers here, so I rounded up from the decimal point.

the competition among the prospective countries was very tense at the sixth Festival in Rarotonga in 1992. New Caledonia competed against Hawaii in the final stage and the latter was kind enough to give way to New Caledonia after a long and serious discussion.

It had not been decided which country would host the ninth Festival in 2004, and the final decision was actually made during the 2000 Festival. There is usually more than one intended countries entering a competition for the Festival. According to the SPC publication regarding the meetings of the Pacific Arts Council, there was a discussion about which country should take over the fourth Festival that had been cancelled by the New Caledonia government. At the same meeting, the fifth Festival was also discussed. Australia and the Cook Islands were the countries that offered to host. Finally the Cook Islands agreed to give way to Australia, provided that the Cooks were given a chance to hold the sixth Festival in 1992. Therefore, it was decided that the fifth Festival was to be held at Townsville in Australia in 1988, and the sixth Festival was to be held at Avarua, the Cook Islands in 1992 (SPC 1985: 17-18).

For the seventh Festival, in the Council Meeting held in October 1987, Western Samoa (present Samoa) and Chile (Easter Island=Rapanui) competed to be the host. It was decided that the decision was to be made at the meeting scheduled for the next year (SPC 1987: 23-24). It seems the Council decided that Western Samoa should host the seventh Festival, although the record of the meeting is not available. At the Art Council meeting during the sixth Festival, there was discussion of the eighth Festival in 2000. Tonga, Chile (Easter Island), Palau, the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, and New Caledonia applied for it first. American Samoa was also interested. In the process of discussion, a strong competitor, Hawaii, declined and New Caledonia finally attained the hosting of the eighth Festival (SPC 1992: 5-7).

It was l'Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak (ADCK: the Development Agency of the Kanak Culture) that represented New Caledonia in the overseas Festivals and Council meetings. According to an interview,⁹ the major goals of ADCK in inviting the Festival were as follows:

- 1) To make up for the failure to hold the fourth Festival in the past.
- 2) To show the people in Noumea that New Caledonia belongs to the Pacific Community and to show the presence of the Kanak within the domestic situation.
- 3) To show overseas people that New Caledonia is not a colony anymore.

Le Comité Organisateur du Festival des Arts du Pacifique (COFAP: the Organizing Committee of the Festival of Pacific Arts) was organized in ADCK and SPC gave it full support. The French Government and the European Union gave

⁹ An interview by the author with Jean-Pierre Deteix, the administrator of the Festival Committee took place in March, 2001.

significant financial assistance to assist in the realization of the Festival. Nevertheless, COFAP did not have enough financial backing. Other government offices were not quite cooperative with the Festival Committee, probably because the system to achieve cooperation was not sufficiently structured. The business sector in Noumea was skeptical of the event as a business opportunity and COFAP was not able to collect enough donations from it, although finally the event proved to be very successful.

The establishment of the Tjibaou Culture Centre was not a direct factor, but no doubt it was related to the hosting of the Festival. The Centre was completed in 1998. Jean-Marie Tjibaou was the leader of the Kanak indigenous movement, and he was also a thinker who made an appeal to the people regarding the importance of the Kanak identity and their cultural activities (Bensa and Wittersheim 1998). He made a plan for a cultural center in Noumea in 1988, and it was accepted as a project by the French government. L'Agence de développement de la culture Kanak is a public corporation established in 1988 in the Matignon-Oudinot Accords for the development and promotion of Kanak culture. The agency has been responsible for the Centre project since 1990. Renzo Piano, a famous architect who designed the Kansai International Airport, also planned the Centre. Piano often visited the Kanak representatives to discuss a detailed plan of the interior of the building (Bensa 2000: 1). The facility compares favorably similar cultural centers in developed countries. The Centre covers not only New Caledonia but also the whole Pacific in its perspective, and comprises the functions of museum, art gallery, hall, and theater. It also runs cultural and educational activities of its own. According to ADCK, the main objectives of the Centre are: to enhance the Kanak cultural heritage in all its forms, archaeological, ethnographic and linguistic; to encourage contemporary forms of Kanak culture; to promote cultural exchange, especially within the South Pacific region; and to define and conduct research programs of value to Kanak culture (l'Agence de Développement de la culture Kanak n.d.).

Regretfully, Tjibaou, the indigenous leader who made a plan for the Centre, was assassinated when the movement split in 1989. Nevertheless, he still has a great influence on the society since he has been, so to speak, enshrined both by the French government and by the Kanak people.¹⁰ The cultural center which he first planned was named after him and his widow, Marie-Claude Tjibaou, heads the board of ADCK where she is very busy with her official duties.

The Culture Centre, the symbol of the reconciliation of the Kanak and the French or the French Government, was completed in 1998 and was able to accommodate

¹⁰ The "deification" of Tjibaou reminds the author of Martin Luther King Jr.. Both men are tragic heroes who are respected both by the majority in their society as well as the minority. Their names are remembered in public facilities. In the case of King, many streets are named after him and his birthday is a public holiday in many states in the United States. Both of them are symbols of reconciliation.

quite a few Festival events. It had already started cultural exchange programs before the Festival.¹¹

THE OUTLINE OF THE EIGHTH FESTIVAL

In this section, I will outline the eighth Festival, as I observed it.

ADCK, which was to host the Festival, did not have enough funds and, when I visited in September 1999, I found Jacques Boengkih, a consultant of ADCK, working on the general planning of the Festival by himself. It was only May 2000 when the secretariat of the committee was set up and November 3, the closing day for the Festival, was the last working day for those who were temporarily employed by the committee. Living costs are great and therefore wages are high in Noumea. ADCK, the organizer of the executive committee, did not seem to have gained much support from other departments of the government, unlike the case of Western Samoa. Generally, the New Caledonians, as well as the Kanak people, had been indifferent prior to the Festival.

The theme of the eighth Festival was "Paroles d'hier, Paroles d'aujourd'hui, Paroles de demain." The literal translation is, "Words of yesterday, Words of today, Words of tomorrow," but "paroles" has a more elaborate meaning than merely "words." Because the literal translation cannot convey the full implication, another English phrase, "Pacific cultures on the move together," was added to the agenda. It was held between Monday, October 23 and Friday, November 3, 2000. The delegates were from twenty-four countries and areas: American Samoa, Australia, the Cook Islands, Easter Island (Rapanui), the Federated States of Micronesia, the Fiji Islands, French Polynesia, Guam, Hawaii, the Kingdom of Tonga, Kilibati, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand/Aotearoa, Niue, Norfolk Island, the Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tokelau, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Wallis and Futuna. The Solomon Islands, who participated in the last Festival, was unable to come because of the domestic trouble.¹² The Marshall Islands decided not to come at

¹¹ The first Half Year 2000 Program provided some events for overseas artists such as the exhibition of contemporary art combined with music and poetry by Alain Joule, the exhibition of contemporary Oceanian Tapa by ten Pacific artists, and soul and funk music by Koha, a group of young Maori musicians. Other events included the exhibition of photographs of daily life in the Kanak world by Patrick Mesmer and the Images of the South Seas "re-creation" and documentary exhibition of the South Pacific seen through European eyes.

¹² Since late 1998, in Guadalcanal Island, especially in the city of Honiata, the ethnic tension has been heightened between the Guadalcanalians and the people from the other islands, especially the Malaitans including the Aleale, and violent confrontations have disrupted normal life in Guadalcanal. In June 1999, the government declared a state of emergency. Fiji and the Commonwealth intervened and the Honiata Accords were concluded. Peace was being restored at the time of the eighth Festival (Field 1999; Pacific Islands Report 1999, 2000). The Solomon Islands delegation for the seventh Festival was comprised of the Aleale pan pipers and the Tikopian dancing team, both of whom perform for tourists on Guadalcanal Island,

the last minute because of financial problems. The Marshalls did not come for the seventh Festival either. Of the member countries, Pitcairn Island did not come. Among those who did not come to the seventh Festival, Vanuatu and Nauru participated, although Nauru did not bring their dance team. Besides the dance troupes, which were the center of the activities, the delegates included theatre groups, artisans, sculptors, writers, and musicians.

On the first day (Monday, October 23), only the opening celebration was scheduled in the evening. Only the closing ceremony was also scheduled on the afternoon of the last day (Friday, November 3). The other programs were scheduled between October 24 (Tuesday) and November 2 (Thursday). The venues were mostly in Noumea, but there were local venues as well, between October 25 and 28-30: one in Koné in the North, another in Poindimié in the South of Grand Terre Island and a third in Lifou in the Royalty Islands.¹³

The center of the venues in Noumea was the Cultural Village (le Village Culturelle). It was set up in the former SPC site at the junction of the road coming from the city of Noumea and the Beach Road in Anse Vata, the tourist destination. It was also a few minutes walk from the new SPC building. There were a number of temporary huts constructed for each delegation to exhibit and sell cultural objects and handicrafts, while on a stage on the other side various groups performed. The artisans, tattoo artists and carvers demonstrated their techniques. At lunch time, each group cooked food from their traditional cuisine and gave out samples (Photo 9, p. ii). Besides these activities, the Festival Committee organized shops selling books on the Pacific, souvenirs T-shirts and caps, and Pacific stamps. They also sold theatre tickets for plays in the evening. The other sites for dance performances were the courtyard of the new SPC building, the courtyard of the Bernheim Library, the Kiosque of the Place Cocoté, and the Rivière Salle Stadium. Modern music performances were also held at the Cultural Village and the Kiosque. While the performances were only held during the day at the other sites, these were also scheduled during the evening until ten o'clock at the cultural village, and were often extended until twelve o'clock midnight due to the excitement of the dancing and singing performances.

On the morning of Tuesday the 24th, after the scheduled opening celebration, the arrival of the sailing canoes at Anse Vata Bay in the morning was planned, followed by the traditional welcome ceremony at the Village. However, the opening celebration was postponed to the 26th (Thursday) because of bad weather.

Three canoes, one from New Zealand, another from Vanuatu and the other from the Cook Islands, were scheduled to come, but only the last one was able to come in time. At about seven o'clock, as soon as the Cooks' canoe burst into sight, all the delegations on the beach of Anse Vata started to welcome them with dancing and singing (See Photo 1, p. i). The most expressive team was, of course, the one from

although they were migrants there.

¹³ The observation of the local venues was not possible for several reasons.

the Cook Islands. The team performed the formal welcoming ceremony in the Cook style.

Then the opening ceremony of the Cultural Village took place. On the afternoon of the same day, there was the Souvenir Exchanging Ceremony. Some performers from each delegation gave a small performance, presenting a special souvenir from their country to the New Caledonian chiefs representing each part of the country, who then gave them souvenirs from New Caledonia (a loin cloth and a pack of cigarettes) in return. The ceremony started at three o'clock and ended after sunset.

The routine program began on the next day, the 25th. The exhibition sites were as follows: the Bernheim Library (Exhibition of Australian Photography); the Tjibaou Cultural Centre (the 4th Biennale, Noumea-Pacifique Art Exhibition – paintings, sculpture, drawings, ceramics, weaving, etchings, photos, videos, installations and performances); the Noumea Maritime Museum (the Exhibition of Modern Art and Canoes); the FOL Community Centre (the Exhibition of Modern Art), the Musée de la Ville (the Exhibition of photos, visual arts, and sculptures); and the Cultural Village (the Philately and Internet Exhibition, book exhibition and sales). In addition to these free events, the theatre and modern dance performances charging an admission fee were held in the evenings. The plays, modern dance, and opera were held in the outdoor and indoor theatres of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, the Théâtre de Pache, the Théâtre de l'Ile, FOL Centre, and the Territorial Music School. Many theatres from Melanesia participated. Two modern dance teams also performed. The admission fees were 1,000FP per person, except for the Tahitian Spectacular held in the outdoor theatre of the Tjibaou Culture Centre, where the fee was 2,000FP. The opening celebration also charged an admission fee of 4,000FP or less. These admission fees were to generate income for the Committee to supplement the total budget of the Festival.

It has been a rule that the host country provides accommodation, food, and domestic travel expenses for delegations, while round trip tickets are provided by the delegations themselves. In New Caledonia, the school dormitories were used for housing, as they had been with other festivals. It was first planned that the food should be cooked in the kitchens of the dormitories, but a permission was never given and instead the catering services provided food for the delegation. Chartered bus services provided most domestic travel. Because of the economy in Noumea, it was difficult for the delegations to stay without an allowance provided by their own countries. It was also up to each country to provide the artists with some kind of remuneration. There were countries that made their delegation leaders and administration officers stay in hotels at their own expense. On the other hand, some members of a delegation were worried that they were provided with only US\$200 for a two-week stay in Noumea.

Most of the delegations had a hard time deciding their own schedule, because they were struggling to the last minute to find funds to bring them to the Festival. The author met the Hawaiian delegation in transit at the Sydney Airport. They said that

they could not get tickets for the shortest route by the time when they were funded for their travel fees. It was really difficult for the committee to estimate the size of the delegation and their actual schedule and so the committee was unable to plan appropriately.

Besides the performances, there were seminars and workshops, a fashion show, and cinemas. On the afternoon of the last day, November 3, the closing ceremony was held in the Village, where the Festival flag was passed to the next host, the delegation from Belau. In the end, all the delegations paraded, stopping at important spots to give small performances of singing and dancing. At the terminal point of the parade, a stage had been erected and each delegation offered a final performance on it. Then everybody joined in disco dancing to the Kaneka music, the band music in the New Caledonian style. Everyone was unwilling to say farewell.

THE FEATURES OF THE EIGHTH FESTIVAL

Each Festival is formed according to the same rules and structure. Nevertheless, each Festival has its own features, according to the intention of the host, the traditions of the host, the geography of the town and the venues, the budget, the organization of the government and, above all, the sociological and historical framework of the society. I will explain the features of the eighth Festival in comparison with the seventh Festival of 1996.

The extensive size and the complex structure of Noumea had a great effect on the eighth Festival. Since the venues were scattered throughout the city, the overall effect of the Festival on the society was lessened. During the seventh Festival, it was difficult not to notice the existence of the Festival in Apia, the capital of Western Samoa, and the people talked of the Festival all the time. In the city center of Noumea, an enclave of European business in the Pacific, the Festival did not seem to be the center of the residents' attention. Nevertheless, there was marked excitement in the Cultural Village in Anse Vata and in the courtyard of the SPC site. Both audiences who came to watch the performance of the delegations were most enthusiastic spectators.

In the seventh Festival, the main audience was Samoan, although it also included many European tourists. On the other hand, in the Festival in Noumea, the audience was mostly the local European population, in the beginning. The performers were Pacific Islanders, while the audience was European, just as at the international tourist sites like Waikiki or Papeete. It was just such an audience at the performance of traditional dancing in the courtyard of Bernheim Library on the 25th of October. The white residents and tourists came into the center of the court and watched the events, while Kanak people looked in from the outside the Library, through the fence. And there were only a few Kanak at most of the events requiring admission. The events of the seventh Festival were all free and the entertainments were open to all the Samoans, rich or poor. This was the most impressive part of the seventh Festival. The author

thought it realized one element of real Festival spirit: 'Cultural exchange between the Pacific peoples.'¹⁴

On the other hand, the Cultural Village of the eighth Festival attracted more and more Kanak audiences and achieved a peak in its attendance in the second week of the Festival. The Organizing Committee released the information that ten thousand people on average visited the Cultural Village every day, and twenty thousand visited the closing ceremony.

The composition of the audience reflects the social position of the Kanak in this society. Although the Kanak are the largest population in New Caledonia, they are still under-represented in Noumea.

This social structure is important in the analysis of the results of the Festival. The administrator of the Organizing Committee of the Festival of Pacific Arts, Deteix, told the author in an interview that the most important result of the Festival was that the people in New Caledonia felt that they belong to the Pacific. In answering the question of why they wanted to hold the Festival, he said:

"They know about Tahiti, Australia a little bit, same as New Zealand, Vanuatu, Fiji, because of the distance and travel cost, since there are cheap package tours. But they should know something about Papua New Guinea and the Solomons because it is very rare that someone goes there. They also do not know anything about Samoa, Tonga, or Micronesia, Rarotonga, because they are always looking at France, Europe. We wanted to host the Festival to show New Caledonia our own identity. ...(...)... And secondly, we wanted to host the Festival to show people New Caledonia's own identity. We have been building our identity here, *citoyenneté Caledonienne*, the feeling of belonging to a country named New Caledonia that is located in the South Pacific. We are encouraging the feeling of belonging to this country." (Interview by the author, March 2001)

He told the author that it was a significant achievement that the Festival was successful in attracting people in the Pacific. At least young people became able to distinguish different Pacific cultural traits and also became interested in each of them.

Another key quality of this Festival is that it had definite ideas regarding the presentation of culture. Festival leaders in New Caledonia chose to show the present

¹⁴ Here, the comments on the seventh Festival are referred from another paper by the same author.

"These performances required no admission fees. If the Festival committee had wanted to earn income from the performances, it might not have been impossible. But if they made it so, all the audiences might be tourists, and they may not realize the cultural exchange of the Pacific peoples. So, all the events were free and the finance was provided by the host country, the Secretary to the Pacific Community and other funds from the international organizations." (Yamamoto 2000a: 190).

Pacific culture and present Pacific way of living as they really are, rather than to present the preserved culture of heritage. The Director of ADCK (l'Agence de Developpement de la Culture Kanak), Octave Togna, repeatedly stated that culture is a living thing and takes different forms at different times. The following is an extract of his interview by the local paper, *Hebdo*:

"The modernity may crush our small societies, only dusts in front of billions of human beings... Our challenge, is to know how, to start from our traditional past to try to absorb the most elements of the modernity and somehow to follow its movement.

"The question is how better we will give our children the necessary tools to construct proper vision of things.... When we presented the theme of the Festival to the Council of the Pacific Arts, councilors did not feel like to accept. In explaining my idea, I referred to the phrase of Jean-Marie Tjibaou, who said, "Our identity is ahead of us." Some people were shocked, as they thought this phrase was to negate their quest for the past. When one seeks for the past, the one will find something distinctive. The true question is to know, starting from this, how we will be able to construct our identity in today's world in which we live. So, it is not to negate the past. This is a fundamental question for us all. Here we have our chief systems, and we have our clans, and all these are to be evolved as well." (Jeanjean 2/11/2000: 17, translation by the author).

He also remarked at the closing ceremony on November 3, 2000, that culture is always changing and that we need not to be afraid of that fact. In this, he follows the lead of Jean-Marie Tjibaou. The phrase, "Our identity is ahead of us" is often quoted by the leaders of New Caledonia.

The idea is relevant to the policy of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, and it is also greatly affected by the French perspective on creating culture. Tjibaou Cultural Centre is eager to exhibit not only traditional Pacific artwork, but also contemporary creative art by Pacific Islanders. Among the events scheduled at the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, besides the Festival, one may find jazz fusion performances, an exhibition of contemporary arts, a photographic exhibition of the Kanak, and a modern dance performance by Kanak entertainers.

The concept of the Centre is to welcome and encourage the production of creative performances. Wassin and Nyian, two modern dance groups from New Caledonia performed during the Festival. Nyian performed especially fine dancing. The Centre held the Biennale d'Art Contemporain de Nouméa starting Oct 26, 2000 until Feb 28, 2001, which overlapped with the Festival venue (Photo 2, p. i). The Centre's concept of art is reflected by the particular attitudes toward creative art and culture in France. At the same time, the concept is important in New Caledonia for constructing an integrated identity for the Kanak, since this group contains diverse cultures and many language groups.

This concept of creative culture is often referred to in the speeches of Octave Togna. For the modern Kanak, keeping tradition does not mean going back to an old way of life without electricity. To be Kanak does not mean to hold to the old ways of life. It is important to update the Kanak way of life to an appropriate modern life. The administrator of the COFAP (Organizing Committee of the eighth Festival of Pacific Arts), Jean-Pierre Deteix, also referred to the phrase by Tjibaou: "Our identity is in front of us," in his interview. Yves Corbel, who had been Cultural Affairs advisor and arranged the eighth Festival, expressed his personal opinion that in the future, he is in favor of the development of the Pacific peoples' creative abilities and power at the Festival, and confident in their ability to express themselves.

Nevertheless, the concept of the COFAP on Pacific arts is not necessarily understood by every delegation. As Deteix pointed out, there were many delegations who thought the Festival was designed for the conservation of traditional culture. The contemporary art performances did not attain full attention, except the Tahitian performance of dancing and singing (Photo 5 and 6, p. ii). Most creative art performances required admission and some of the tickets were left unsold. Deteix observed at the Maori modern dancing venue that some of the audience left when they found that the performance was not traditional dancing. To him, the performance was wonderful. To many tourist audiences, however, Pacific arts means exactly traditional song and dance performances and no more. They came for exotic song and dance and not for the "arts."

The attitude of most tourists was that they were there for the tourism attractions and not to appreciate the "arts." Many of them took photos and videos of the performances.¹⁵ Unfortunately, somebody always used flashbulbs to photograph the performers on stage, which annoyed other audience members. Except for the performances at the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, the exhibitions of visual art in the museums in downtown Noumea were not successful enough in attracting visitors. The author loved one of the paintings from Tahiti at the exhibition of FOL Community Centre enough to buy it. When she asked one of the officers from French Polynesia after the exhibition was finished, they said that they had sold only one painting.

At the seventh Festival in Western Samoa, many overseas Samoans came home to take an active part. They stayed with their relatives while they participated in the festival activities. A friend of mine, a second-generation Samoan migrant photographer from New Zealand, was given a travel allowance from a publisher to tour around the Pacific, and she stopped at Apia on the way during the Festival. She

¹⁵ The organizing committee for the eighth Festival tried to control all the copyrights, to protect every performer in the Festival. But it was difficult to control all of them, because each idea of copyright was different from the others. For example, in the case of the Tahitian dance troupe, each copyright of their dance numbers belonged to the choreographer, and the Tahitian government did not have any copyright. Instead, the government and the choreographer signed a detailed contract that determined how many times the dance troupe were able to perform. Therefore, the Tahitian government was unable to give up the copyright to the committee.

brought her own photo items to the Festival photo exhibition venue and her pieces were accepted on the spot. She displayed them herself. There were quite a few participations like this. This was not the case at the eighth Festival. Rather, we often saw the members of the delegations from Tahiti, Wallis and Futuna welcomed by migrant friends and relations from their home country now working in New Caledonia.

At the seventh Festival, there were several events not mentioned in the formal festival program, such as the popular music shows held in hotels and clubs. While the Festival program provided free events at the seventh Festival, these shows required admission and were mostly for the tourist night life. The author understood that these groups came to perform at the popular music events in the formal program, and at the same time performed at hotels and clubs so that they could recover their travel costs. There were some groups, like Pacific Sisters, who did not perform in the formal program, but only appeared on a commercial basis.¹⁶ In the case of the Festival at Noumea, programs with a required admission were already planned in the Festival and there were no such shows of professional performers at hotels and clubs.

NATIONAL CULTURE AND REPRESENTATION

Each delegation has the background of its political and cultural environment at home. The social structure, the ethnic relations, the gender relations, and the relationship of the national and local governments of the home country might have some effect on the formation of the delegation and the details of the program. On the other hand, all these factors were not always, nor necessarily, at work. Researchers tend to read too much into such things. In some cases, a program happens as it does simply by coincidence, or through considerations of budget.

The research members have made detailed case studies. In this paper, the author gives only a rough sketch of interesting trends in the three multi-ethnic societies in the Pacific: New Zealand, Australia, and Fiji.

New Zealand and Australia are both developed countries composed of a majority of migrants and a smaller group of indigenous peoples. Both joined SPC as metropolitan powers. They both always send large delegations to Festivals of Pacific Arts and they even hosted, respectively, the second and the fifth Festivals.

In New Zealand, the indigenous population of the Maori occupies 14.5% of the total population (1996 Census, webpage of New Zealand Statistics). In the first Festival in Fiji, Auckland Symphonia (an orchestra), Festival Choir, and Dorian Singers (an oratorio) participated and performed, as well as a Maori dance troupe (Fiji Festival Committee 1972: 17, 23, 25). In the second Festival at Rotorua, there was an

¹⁶ According to the Polynesian Airlines in flight magazine, *Polynesia*, Pacific Sisters, a singing and dancing entertainment group based in Auckland, was visiting Western Samoa and performed in a hotel (Polynesian Airlines 1996, Sept-Nov.: 5).

electronic music performance in the program (New Zealand, Festival Committee 1976: attached leaf). The video taken by New Zealand National Broadcasting¹⁷ (the original is preserved in the audiovisual archive, Anthropology Department, Auckland University) shows examples of contemporary music. It seems that this electronic music is defined as contemporary music. There seemed to be some non-indigenous performances like this in the second Festival, although there was also considerable presentation of Maori traditional songs and dancing, since Te Arawa tribe was the main organizer of the Festival at Rotorua. In the third Festival at Port Moresby, there was a presentation of modern dancing and singing by the Loose Dance Troupe from New Zealand (Pacific Islands Monthly 1980: 17). The TV program made by New Zealand National Broadcasting shows a Kiwi performer of the troupe who, answering the questions of the interviewer, commented that he felt happy that there were many encounters among the peoples in the Festival and that they were known to the people in the Pacific.

There were some efforts to represent multi-cultural New Zealand, including not only the Maori but the Kiwi as well in the first two or three Festivals. But the recent trend is that the Maori represent New Zealand. At the Festival in Rotorua (the second festival), the initiative was taken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Maori Affairs, and the Department of Internal Affairs (New Zealand, Festival Committee, n.d.). After the second Festival, New Zealand was represented in different council meetings and festivals by different departments, such as New Zealand Planning Council, Department of Maori Affairs, New Zealand Council for Maori Arts, and New Zealand Council for Maori and South Pacific Arts. Since the early '90s, the representing body of New Zealand in the Pacific Arts Council has been the Arts Council of New Zealand/Toi Aotearoa. The performances of the New Zealand delegation have been almost the same. In men's *haka* (war dance), the performers stick out their tongues in a specific way while they twirl their clubs as if it is martial arts. There are also well-known stick dancing in which women throw and get each other's short sticks in rhythmical movements and poi dancing in which women fling balls with strings. These are surely Polynesian songs and dances with an original New Zealand flavor in their costumes and movements.

An officer from the New Zealand Arts Council explained that the amateur group who wins first place in the traditional dancing contest is to be dispatched to represent New Zealand formally at overseas official events and is to perform on certain national occasions for two years. The delegation of traditional singing and dancing was the winning team in the contest held in February, 2000. The delegation was a little

¹⁷ New Zealand Public Broadcasting made a project of introducing Pacific countries at the Festival they had in New Zealand in the programs they produced. The film was to focus on the preparation for the Festival of Pacific Arts in each country and the film crew took precious shots around the Pacific. Some films before editing were donated to the present audio-visual collection of the Department of Anthropology, Auckland University.

different that the author observed on a tourist occasion in New Zealand. The delegation projected the image and the character of warriors (Photo 3 and 4, p. i). First of all, their costumes were different from what they used to be. The men were almost naked, dressed only in loincloths made of woven fiber that looked like a small apron in front and with a G-string in the back. There were only a few who had their body genuinely tattooed, but most of them had fake tattoos on their thighs as well as on their faces. They also wore cloaks made of organic fiber on their shoulders. Women wore one-piece outfits of off-white coarse linen (traditionally woven) to which black and brown tufts were attached. They also wore feather headdresses and had tattoo-like face-painting under their lips, which were painted black.¹⁸ In short, both the men and women looked totally different in their new costumes. The author soon noticed that their facial expressions were also different from those in the tourist attractions; they had serious expressions, were unsmiling and had their eyes wide open. Shooting a video of a delegation from another country in the opening ceremony, the author was frightened to find the Maori dancers running behind her, because the group looked like a Maori band of warriors in old days sneaking up silently in ambush. It seems that they had found out about such costumes through ethnological research, since no such costume is apparent in the Maori popular representation today. It seems to have been adopted in the quest for authenticity. The warrior-like image of the Maori was also conspicuous in another team in the delegation, Ope Taua, who were from the school of Maori martial arts. The delegation totaled 150 members including traditional carvers, weavers, tattoo artists, modern artists, actors, novelists, clay-workers, and film-makers. (New Zealand, Arts Council 2000).

It was worth noticing that sixteen Pacific Island immigrants were included in the New Zealand delegation in 2000. They were mostly modern creative artists. This new trend shows that the Pacific Islanders have attained New Zealand "citizenship" in the end (New Zealand, Arts Council 2000: 26).

On the other hand, the Australian delegation was composed of only Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. The Aborigines and the Torres Strait Islanders comprise 2.1% of the whole Australian population (the Census of 1996, Australia Now, Australian Bureau of Statistics website). Although the Aborigines and the Torres Strait Islanders were ignored in the society and barred from civil rights until the 60s, the restoration of their rights is conspicuous within the ongoing global indigenous peoples' movements. It is well known that some dramatic performances of symbolic reconciliation were performed in the opening ceremony of the Sydney Olympic Games.

¹⁸ When the Maori dance for tourists in New Zealand, women usually wear a thick linen top with geometrical patterns and grass skirts made of black flax. Men wear black swim suits with grass skirts a little shorter than the women's. Since men's bare bottoms are to be thought obscene in Western culture, the male costume for the tourist show reflects this Western perspective. The women usually smile when dressed in the costume described above.

The first Australian delegation included Old Tote Theatre (Fiji, Festival Committee 1972: 27, 29) and the third delegation brought the popular Oz Circus (Pacific Islands Monthly 1980: 17). But it seems that the following delegations did not include such European artists. The liaison office has been the Australia Council for the Arts. In the last ten years the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Arts Board has taken up the main task.

The delegation of 2000 seemed to be selected from the general Aboriginal arts community and included modern creative arts rather than the strictly traditional Aboriginal culture. It seemed that urban Aborigines had given way to their rural counterparts in representing Aboriginal culture in the past, since urban Aborigines had been thought to be not as authentic as rural Aborigines. The 2000 delegation, however, tried to include many urban mixed-Aborigines. The Australian Photography Exhibition held on the second floor of the Bernheim Library endeavored to show ordinary Aborigines who live in urban area leading a modern life. The symbolic opening of the Exhibition was held with the singing of a pop song and a rap by two Aboriginal female singers respectively (Photo 8, p. ii). The delegation consisted of various Aborigines such as an old woman in a wheel-chair and children as well. On the other hand, it seemed to the author that the traditional singing and dancing in the Cultural Village were rather poor performances compared with similar events on other occasions. The exhibition of visual art, film, and video was excellent and sophisticated. The delegation of 2000 included artists in the broadest category (Australia Council for the Arts 2000: 52-53).

Before finishing, I should write about Fiji. The third coup d'état in Fiji happened in March 2000. In Fiji, the descendants of the Indian indentured laborers who came to work on the sugar cane plantations during the British colonial era comprises almost half of the present total population. After independence in 1970, while the upper-middle class Indian Fijians had significant success in their business in spite of the restrictions of the land-tenure, Ethnic Fijian chiefs retained the political leadership. Thus the symbiosis of different ethnic groups seemed to be maintained. Fiji once had a reputation as a paradise of racial harmony despite of its difficult historical background.

When Indian Fijian politicians came into parliament and the Labour Party was successful in 1987, a coalition cabinet was formed that included many Indian Fijian ministers, despite the Ethnic Fijian Prime Minister. Shortly following, there was a coup d'état by indigenous (military) Fijians. A new constitution was made to guarantee Ethnic Fijian dominance, restricting the position of Prime Minister to Ethnic Fijians and realizing racial quotas that were more advantageous for them than before. Then, the out-migration of rich Indian Fijians began. Fiji was also accused by developed countries of ignoring human rights. In 1997, the new constitution was adopted in which the racial quota was less strict and the racial restriction for the Prime Minister was abandoned. Two years later in 1999, in the first election under the new constitution, the first Indian Prime Minister was chosen (Yamamoto 2000b: i-ii;

Toyoda 2000: 257-258).

While the counter movement against the new Prime Minister, who had started a rapid land reform policy, was heightened in May 19, 2000, the third coup happened. Armed citizens took the Prime Minister, some ministers, and members of the parliament hostages within the parliament building and demanded that the constitution should be favorable for indigenous Fijians. In the end, when the coup failed, the hostage Prime Minister had already been relieved of his office and he was unable to return to his previous appointment.

The coup was damaging to Fijian racial harmony. So it was a surprise to the audience that the Fijian delegation included four different racial groups – the ethnic Fijian, the Indian Fijian, the Chinese Fijian and the Rotuman Fijian – and each group performed respective traditional singing and dancing, and then finally performed an item which combined all the groups' dances and songs together in a performance to symbolize harmony. The ethnic ratio of the Fijian population (estimated) in 1992 was: 49.4% Ethnic Fijian, 45.7% Indian, and 5.0% other. The largest group of other ethnicities is European-mixed, followed by Rotuman, Chinese, and European (Douglas and Douglas 1994: 163). Rotuma is a Polynesian island located in the North, 390km away from the main island of Viti Levu. It was colonized by the British as a part of Fiji.¹⁹ Although it is said to be a multi-ethnic society, Fiji mostly consists of two major ethnic groups, since 95% of its population is composed of the Ethnic Fijians and the Indian Fijians and the other ethnic groups are inconspicuous. The delegation was organized by the Ministry of Women and Culture and the Fiji Arts Council (SPC 2000: 17) and was represented by two female leaders. The Fijian group was the only male and female mixed one and the rest were female only groups. An anonymous journalist from Fiji told the author that male performers of other racial and ethnic groups did not want to join the delegation at the time. Multi-cultural delegations of this type have often been organized in Fiji. Some people who have seen the performances of such a delegation said that each different group performs separately in turn and nothing more. The author has actually seen the Chinese ribbon dance and fan dance several times in Festival photo books. The dancers, whether Indian or Rotuman, wear their respective ethnic markers. In a way, their dancing is very mannered. But this time, after each group danced in turn, all the dancing groups danced together to the same melody – which seemed to be Fijian modern dance music – but in the different movements of respective specific dancing traditions (Photo 7, p. ii). At that time, the Indian female dancers wore saris made of material printed with

¹⁹ Besides the above, the former residents of Banaba Island, which is located between Nauru Island and the Kiribati, were transferred to the small island of Rabi in the east of Vanua Levu Island of Fiji in its colonial history. Because of the phosphate mining, it became to be impossible to live on Banaba Island. Banabans (the Rabi) often came as members of a delegation until the fifth Festival, but the author has not confirmed their participation after the sixth Festival.

the Fijian bark cloth pattern.

Their performances reminded the author of the Fijian delegation in the opening ceremony. Each group wore specific costume and danced together following their respective traditional styles. Distressingly, on the morning of November the 3rd 2000, we received a report that the portion of the military power that had supported the coup had staged a revolt on the previous day. Although the uprising was suppressed, we could easily tell that it would be a long process to attain a mature, integrated multi-cultural society. Still, a Fijian journalist explained that there was a plan by the Ministry of Women and Culture to achieve a budget for the mixed dancing group to give performances all around Fiji.

This politico-cultural move should not be evaluated or presumed to be intended to cover up the facts. There were different movements in the Fijian society. There were some indigenous Fijians who wanted to shut out Indian citizens' activities, while there were also Ethnic Fijians who wanted to realize a peaceful multi-cultural society.

CONCLUSION

In concluding this article, I will report some of my findings.

First, each Festival is different from the others, depending on the situation of the host country. The different interest groups and different ideas influence the outcome. One must consider if there are overseas migrants. Or, how is the relationship with the ex-suzerain country?, and so on. The seventh Festival, held in Western Samoa (now Samoa), had a conspicuous transnational participation of Samoans, because overseas migrants are integrated into the present (Western) Samoan country as a whole. Remittances from its emigrants support a great proportion of the whole Samoan national economy, while there is much communication and visiting between the emigrant communities and their homelands. Church organizations in the homelands often have their branches in overseas communities. The Samoan world is made of such networks. Those Samoan emigrants – painters, sculptors, novelists, photographers, pop musicians, and even just emigrants – came home and cooperated for the Festival.

On the other hand, in the case of the eighth Festival in New Caledonia, the political situation was a major factor in the Festival. The Kanak culture was important, since their contribution to the Pacific Arts was the main gateway to the Festival. But the dominant power of New Caledonia was French and the funds for the Festival came mostly from the French Government and the European Union. Admission fees for some modern performance occasions were necessary to supplement the funds, because of the much higher prices in New Caledonia than in other places in the Pacific. There was another conspicuous point in the eighth Festival: the creation of arts was emphasized. This was probably related to the French cultural background in New Caledonia. In a way, the situation of the host country is the strongest factor in the determination of the nature of the Festival.

Along the same lines, the concept of a delegation, in terms of genre of arts, personnel, performance items, group organization, is decided by the domestic situation of each country rather than international relations. The cases of New Zealand, Australia, and Fiji analyzed in the previous section demonstrate this. Thus, each delegation should be studied with the information of the country's domestic situation and its historical formation in mind.

Nevertheless, the Festival's international interface is also important for its results. The people who participated in the Festival as members of a delegation felt honored to have this precious experience of their own. They often remember the wonderful style of arts they encountered in the Festival, and which are not irrelevant to their own art tradition. One of these artists might produce something based on an idea adapted from or mixed with the artistic styles of other groups: shapes, colors, costumes, movements, and the like, of the different Pacific arts. In this way, cultural exchange has been successfully achieved.

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