

# **Performance and Mediation: A Historical View of Traditional Music and Dance Presented in the Festivals of Pacific Arts 1972-2000**

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This paper overviews the external and internal historical changes of the Festivals of Pacific Arts (1972-2000) in order to determine how they developed the introduction of the most advanced technological mediation such as lighting, sound-amplification equipment and audio-visual recording. This development relates to tourism, since from its inception the intention was to boost this industry. Technologically-mediated sound was partially a means to access a cultural strategy. When establishing a “Pacific identity”, the issue of how to disseminate the tremendously divergent voices of performers naturally needed to be addressed.

**Keywords: technological mediation, traditional music and dance, tourism, cultural strategy, identity**

## **Introduction**

### **Overview of the Festivals (1972-2000)**

### **Discussions on the Festivals**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Korean film director, Chang-tong I, states that a preferred form of globalization would be “a situation that is not dominated by a specific voice, as in the case of Hollywood’s international reach, but one in which people throughout the world can listen to each other’s small voices” (I 2002).<sup>1</sup> The Festival of Pacific Arts<sup>2</sup> is organized

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<sup>1</sup> The main subject of this column, which was placed on the front page of a Japanese newspaper on January 1st, 2002, was to criticize a Hollywood film, which shows bias of the United States of America against Arabs after September 11th, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> After the word “South” was removed in 1985, the name of this Festival, as written in

by, and aimed at, peoples of the Pacific for the purpose of recognizing themselves “as members of a single identity” as “Pacific Islanders”, by bringing together their divergent cultural inheritances (Betham 1972). It has provided an opportunity for attendees to experience each others’ “small voices” through music, dance and other cultural forms. The idea of the Festival of Pacific Arts was first proposed in 1965 by SPC (South Pacific Commission),<sup>3</sup> which Australia, France, New Zealand, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States of America founded in 1947 under the Canberra Agreement (SPC 2000). In 1972, the first Festival, named the “South Pacific Arts Festival” was realized in Suva, Fiji. This has been followed by Festivals held in different countries<sup>4</sup> every four years: New Zealand (Rotorua, 1976), Papua New Guinea (mainly Port Moresby, 1980), Tahiti (1985; which replaced New Caledonia, formerly scheduled for 1984), Australia (Townsville, 1988), the Cook Islands (Rarotonga, 1992), Western Samoa<sup>5</sup> (Apia, 1996) and New Caledonia (mainly Nouméa 2000).

These Festivals held in different countries have been notable – as Barbara B. Smith, one of the few people who have observed all the Festivals to date, points out – as the host was “able to present more of its groups and a broader spectrum of its arts than it could afford to send in a delegation overseas” (Smith 1993:3). And for people in large countries such as Australia and Papua New Guinea, the Festival has not only been an occasion for seeing divergent cultures in the Pacific, but also to see performances by unknown groups within their own countries. A handful of articles have been published that survey past Festivals,<sup>6</sup> and some articles focus on a particular Festival, especially the 6<sup>th</sup> Festival (e.g., Stevenson 1993, 1999; Kauraka 1993; Moulin 1993; Lewis-Harris 1994; Tanahashi 1997). It was not until ethnomusicologists began to enthusiastically engage in discussions of cultural identity that they began to take special notice of festivals. This article addresses the past eight Festivals of Pacific Arts, analyzing basic data, referring to topics concerned with the traditional dance performances, and discussing technological mediation, such as microphones and speakers, which enabled the participating performers to project their Pacific identity.

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English, varies among festival organizers and writers, and includes “the Festival of Pacific Arts,” “the Pacific Festival of Arts” and “the Pacific Arts Festival”. In this article, “the Festival of Pacific Arts” or “the Festival” in its shortened form, are used.

<sup>3</sup> The name changed to Secretariat of the Pacific Community in 1998, however, both of them are commonly called SPC (Yamamoto 2001:3).

<sup>4</sup> In this article, the word “country” is used for independent areas as well as for nations.

<sup>5</sup> In 1998 the name of the country was changed to Samoa.

<sup>6</sup> Yamamoto (2000), Kaeppler (1998) and Smith (1993) (the latter two are concerned only with the 1st through 6th Festivals).

### OVERVIEW OF THE FESTIVALS (1972-2000)

The following chart summarises the past Festivals with regard to 1) participating countries; 2) venues; 3) number of delegations/performers; 4) estimated crowd sizes and; 5) themes (Chart). The Festivals were too large and dispersed for a single person to observe all the events, and it is doubtful that reliable data exists on the total numbers of attendees. While the souvenir programs list names of participating countries, some have cancelled at the last minute. Some Festival Organization Committees recorded estimated numbers in the delegations; however, further investigations are required to tally the precise numbers. Although these problems remain, it is apparent that some changes in the nature and composition of Festivals have taken place during their history. For sources of data and additional notes, see below (Notes to Chart).

#### The Participating Countries

The number of participating countries increased from 18 at the first Festival to 27 at the eighth Festival, although it decreased in the fourth Festival, which was postponed and the host country changed. The countries that participated in the first Festival participated in most Festivals (the exceptions are the absence of American Samoa in the second; Fiji in the third; Kiribati in the fourth, fifth and sixth; Niue in the fourth; Norfolk Island in the fourth, fifth and sixth; Pitcairn Island in the fourth and seventh and Vanuatu in the fourth).

Participation is essentially determined by financial support. In the first Festival, participants from Fiji (the host country) numbered approximately 2,000 (Ministry of Labour, Suva, Fiji 1972:6). At the second Festival, Fiji's Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, declared that "Pacific peoples should overcome any financial obstacles to promote future festivals"; however, Fiji was absent from the third Festival (Cornell & Cornell 1980a:17-18) because of tremendous typhoon damage shortly before the event (Barbara B Smith, February 2002, per. com.). It cannot be overlooked that the economy of an island society is often crucially influenced by ecological conditions and geographical distance, which determine the cost of transportation to and from Festivals.

Political situations also determine participation and/or presentation. Tahiti & the Society Islands, for example, abandoned their plans to participate in the first Festival due to the furore in other island countries over the atomic bomb tests on Mururoa Atoll (Barbara B Smith, February 2002, per. com.). In the 8<sup>th</sup> Festival, Solomon Islanders were not present due to the critical situation in their country (Ammann 2000:36). Political situations also influence the selection and/or cancellation of hosts. The then-newly independent countries of Fiji and Papua New Guinea were selected as early hosts, while political upheaval in New Caledonia resulted in the cancellation of its mandate to host of the fourth Festival.

Chart: Overview of the Festivals of Pacific Arts (1972-2000)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Suva, Fiji 1972 (May 6 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> )	2 <sup>nd</sup> Rotorua, NZ 1976 (Mar. 6 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> )	3 <sup>rd</sup> PNG 1980 (June 30 <sup>th</sup> -Jul. 12 <sup>th</sup> )	4 <sup>th</sup> Tahiti 1985 (Jul. 1 <sup>st</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> )	5 <sup>th</sup> Townsville, Australia 1988 (Aug. 15 <sup>th</sup> -25 <sup>th</sup> )	6 <sup>th</sup> Rarotonga, Cook Is. 1992 (Oct. 17 <sup>th</sup> -27 <sup>th</sup> )	7 <sup>th</sup> Apia, W-Samoa 1996 (Sep. 8 <sup>th</sup> -23 <sup>rd</sup> )	8 <sup>th</sup> New Caledonia 2000 (Oct. 23 <sup>rd</sup> -Nov. 3 <sup>rd</sup> )	
	<b>Total: 18<sup>(1)</sup></b> Australia [Micronesia] Gilbert & Ellice Is. Nauru [Melanesia] Fiji New Caledonia New Hebrides Guinea Solomon Islands [Polynesia] American Samoa Cook Islands [Gilbert & Ellice Is.] New Zealand Niue Norfolk Island Picarain Island Tokelau Tonga Wallis & Futuna Western Samoa	<b>Total: 22<sup>(2)</sup></b> Australia [Micronesia] Gilbert Islands Guam Nauru [Melanesia] Fiji New Caledonia New Hebrides PNG [Papua and New Guinea] Solomon Islands [Polynesia] Cook Islands Eastern Islands <sup>(5)</sup> French Polynesia Hawaii New Zealand Niue Norfolk Island Picarain Island Tokelau Tonga Turvalu [Ellice Is.] Wallis & Futuna Western Samoa	<b>Total: 26<sup>(1)</sup></b> Australia [Micronesia] F.S.M. Guam Kiribati Nauru [Gilbert Is.] Marshall Islands Nauru N-Mariana Is. Palau [Melanesia] Fiji New Caledonia PNG Solomon Islands [New Hebrides] PNG American Samoa Cook Islands French Polynesia Hawaii New Zealand [Easter Is.] Tonga Turvalu Wallis & Futuna Western Samoa	<b>Total: 20<sup>(6)</sup></b> Australia [Micronesia] F.S.M. Guam Nauru N-Mariana Is. [Melanesia] Fiji New Caledonia PNG Solomon Islands [Polynesia] American Samoa Cook Islands French Polynesia Hawaii New Zealand Tokelau Tonga Turvalu Wallis & Futuna Western Samoa	<b>Total: 23<sup>(8)</sup></b> Australia [Micronesia] F.S.M. Guam Marshall Islands Nauru [Melanesia] Fiji New Caledonia PNG Solomon Islands [New Hebrides] PNG American Samoa Cook Islands French Polynesia Hawaii Niue Picarain Island Tonga Turvalu Wallis & Futuna, Western Samoa Plus 2 countries	<b>Total: 25<sup>(1)</sup></b> Australia [Micronesia] Guam Marshall Islands Nauru N-Mariana Is. Palau [Melanesia] Fiji New Caledonia PNG Solomon Islands Vanuatu [Polynesia] American Samoa Cook Islands French Polynesia Hawaii New Zealand Niue Norfolk Island Picarain Island Rapa Nui Tokelau Tonga Turvalu Wallis & Futuna Western Samoa	<b>Total: 27<sup>(28)</sup></b> Australia [Micronesia] F.S.M. Guam Kiribati Nauru N-Mariana Is. Palau [Melanesia] Fiji New Caledonia PNG Solomon Islands Vanuatu [Polynesia] American Samoa Cook Islands French Polynesia Hawaii New Zealand Niue Norfolk Island Picarain Island Rapa Nui Tokelau Tonga Turvalu Wallis & Futuna Samoa [Western Samoa]	<b>Total: 26<sup>(26)</sup></b> Australia [Micronesia] F.S.M. Guam Kiribati Marshall Islands Nauru N-Mariana Is. Palau [Melanesia] Fiji New Caledonia PNG Solomon Islands Vanuatu [Polynesia] American Samoa Cook Islands French Polynesia Hawaii New Zealand Niue Norfolk Island Picarain Island Rapa Nui Tokelau Tonga Turvalu Wallis & Futuna Western Samoa	<b>Total: 14<sup>(29)</sup></b> (Nouméa; 6 for dance and music)  More than 2,400 <sup>(29)</sup>  11,000 (opening ceremony) <sup>(30)</sup>  "Paroles d'hier, d'aujourd'hui, Paroles de demain" [Pacific cultures on the move together] <sup>(31)</sup>
<b>Participating countries</b>									
<b>Venues</b>	<b>7<sup>(2)</sup></b>	<b>10</b> (3 outdoor, 7 indoor) <sup>(8)</sup>	<b>38</b> (Port Moresby; 15 for song & dance) + other area <sup>(2)</sup>	<b>8<sup>(6)</sup></b>	<b>13<sup>(9)</sup></b> (6 for dance & music)	<b>10<sup>(22)</sup></b>	<b>14<sup>(27)</sup></b> (6 for performing arts)	<b>14<sup>(29)</sup></b>	
<b>Number of delegations /performers</b>	3,044 (approx.; incl. 2,000 Fijians) <sup>(4)</sup>	1,200 (incl. New Zealand) <sup>(9)</sup>	2,000 <sup>(13)</sup> (excl. 400 provincial & 1,000 Central Province) <sup>(4)</sup>	1,800 (Australia 300, PNG 250) <sup>(16)</sup>	1,500 (incl. Cook's) <sup>(25)</sup>	3,000 (opening ceremony; incl. the performers) <sup>(24)</sup>	More than 2,400 <sup>(29)</sup>	More than 2,400 <sup>(29)</sup>	
<b>Estimated crowds</b>	At least 8,000 at the closing <sup>(4)</sup>	More than 2,000 at lunchtime on Mar. 9 <sup>(6)</sup>	10,000 ("Tahiti night") <sup>(13)</sup>	9,000 (closing ceremony) <sup>(18)</sup>	not found <sup>(20)</sup>	not found <sup>(25)</sup>	11,000 (opening ceremony) <sup>(30)</sup>	11,000 (opening ceremony) <sup>(30)</sup>	
<b>Theme</b>	none <sup>(5)</sup>	none <sup>(0)</sup>	"Celebration of Pacific Awareness" <sup>(15)</sup>	not found <sup>(17)</sup>	not found <sup>(20)</sup>	"vaka [canoe]" <sup>(25)</sup>	"Tala measina [unveiled treasures]" <sup>(26)</sup>	"Paroles d'hier, d'aujourd'hui, Paroles de demain" [Pacific cultures on the move together] <sup>(31)</sup>	

### Notes to Chart

- 1) Ministry of Labour, Suva, Fiji 1972:6.
- 2) Fiji Museum, Main Civic Auditorium, Lower Civic Auditorium, Suva Grammar School Hall, Albert Park, Phoenix Theatre, The Playhouse Suva. The exhibitions were held in various centres in Suva (Ministry of Labour, Suva, Fiji 1972:20-21).
- 3) *The Fiji Times*, May 8, 1972.
- 4) Participants from other countries are calculated as follows: Tonga (400), PNG (20), Gilbert & Ellice Islands (75), New Caledonia (100), Cook Islands (35), Solomon Islands (73), Niue (38), Western Samoa (50), American Samoa (40), New Hebrides (31), Nauru (5), Australia (40 [Aborigines 18, Old Tote Theatre Company 22]), New Zealand (137 [Maori 42, Dorian Singers 50, Auckland Symphonia 45]) (Ministry of Labour, Suva, Fiji 1972:6).
- 5) Stevenson mentions that “each festival has its own theme” (Stevenson 1999:31) but I did not find any mention of a theme for the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Festivals in the material available to me. However, it seems useful to understand the atmosphere of each Festival by referring to the comments by the 8th Festival’s Organizing Committee that “this fascinating and moving event was an opportunity to reveal the cultural wealth of the Pacific world” (“Previous Festivals”, New Caledonia, Organizing Committee of the Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts, 2000a).
- 6) New Zealand, Festival Committee 1976:3.
- 7) Because of inadequate economic support, the Tongan delegation to the New Zealand (2<sup>nd</sup>) and Townsville (5<sup>th</sup>) Festivals were residents of New Zealand (Cornell & Cornell 1980a:17).
- 8) 3 outdoor venues: Rotorua International Stadium, Soundshell Compound, Arts and Crafts Institute; 7 indoor venues: Civic Theatre, Soundshell Auditorium, 3 halls of the Rotorua Maori Cultural Centre, St Luke’s Community Centre (New Zealand, Festival Committee 1976:9).
- 9) *New Zealand Herald*, March 10, 1976.
- 10) The Organizing Committee of the 8th Festival commented that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Festival “highlighted the problems inherent in cultural change, the development process and the emergence of a Pacific identity” (“Previous Festivals”, New Caledonia, Organizing Committee of the Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts, 2000a).
- 11) Papua New Guinea, Festival Committee 1980. According to Cornell & Cornell (1980a:17), 21 countries (including PNG) presented dance performances.
- 12) In Port Moresby, Boroko East Horseshoe, Waigani Market Horseshoe, Gerehu Horseshoe, UPNG Forum, Murray Barracks Hall, Museum Amphitheatre, Konedobu Cultural Centre, Tabari Place, Hubert Murray Stadium, Waigani Offices Horseshoe, Tokarara Horseshoe, Koki Horseshoe, Kaugere Horseshoe, Gordons Market Horseshoe and Ela Beach Oval were used for dance performances. Simultaneously the Festival started in main provincial centres (Central Province, Lae, Rabaul, Goroka, Mount Hagen, Madang, Alotau and Wewak) (Papua New Guinea, Festival Committee 1980:48-49).
- 13) Cornell & Cornell (1980a:17).
- 14) Papua New Guinea, Festival Committee 1980:53.
- 15) Papua New Guinea, Festival Committee 1980:4.
- 16) Papeete proper: Vaiete Square, Grand Theatre OTAC, Little Theatre OTAC; Taane:

- Craftmen's Village, Salle Polyvalente; outside of town: Venus Point, Museum of Tahiti, Moorea [another island] (The schedule leaflet handed out during the Festival Tahiti, n.d.). Except for the two OTAC theaters and Salle Polyvalente, all were outdoor venues, and the groups also traveled out to Bora Bora. (Jane Moulin Freeman, April 2002, per. com.<sup>7</sup>).
- 17) "This event were [was] a poignant reminder of how keenly the region aspires to peace and prosperity" ("Previous Festivals," New Caledonia, Organizing Committee of the Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts, 2000a).
  - 18) Myers 1989.
  - 19) Rock Pool, Queens Park, Flinders Mall, Craft Village, Magnetic Island Alma Bay, Sound Shell were used for dance and music (Australia, Festival Committee 1988).
  - 20) According to the Organizing Committee of the 8<sup>th</sup> Festival, this Festival "addressed the theme of the difficulties inherent in arts and performances intended for audiences of varying cultural origins and of the influence of Western culture and values on those cultural events themselves" ("Previous Festivals," New Caledonia, Organizing Committee of the Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts, 2000b).
  - 21) The covering note, Cook Islands, Ministry of Cultural Development, n.d.
  - 22) Auditorium, Takamoa, Raemaru Park, Civic Centre, Rarotongan, Tamure, Te Punanga Nui, St Joseph's, Vaka Village, Banana Court (*Cook Islands News*, October 20, 1992).
  - 23) Lewis-Harris 1993:12.
  - 24) Sword 1992.
  - 25) Stevenson 1999:31.
  - 26) Western Samoa, Office of the 7<sup>th</sup> Pacific Festival of Arts 1996b:33-39.
  - 27) Apia Park & National Sports Arena, Government Square, The Festival Village, National Cultural Centre, Lepea Village, [Marist-St Joseph's Rugby Park], Malua Fou College.
  - 28) 27 countries were expected to participate; however, Marshall Islands was absent.
  - 29) Numa Daly Stadium, Tjibaou Cultural Centre, Rivière Salée Stadium, Théâtre de l'île, SPC, Bernheim Library, New Caledonia Music School Auditorium, Place des cocotiers, Festival Village (Anse Vata); also in Koné, Lifou, Mont-Dore and Poindimié (New Caledonia, Official Web Site of Organizing Committee of the Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts 2000), plus Le Petite Theatre (Jane Freeman Moulin, April 2002, per. com.).
  - 30) *Les Nouvelles Caledoniennes* 2000, October 25.
  - 31) New Caledonia, Organizing Committee of the Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts 2000b.

## Venues

Generally, between six and ten venues were selected for dance and music performances at each Festival, the exception being the third Festival (where there were 15 venues). The characteristics of the venues varied. For some Festivals, a temporary stage and/or a new auditorium were built, adding to pre-existing venues including open spaces (outdoors). For example, the Ministry of Cultural Development in the Cook Islands took the Festival as an opportunity to develop tourism, and constructed the National Cultural Centre (Tanahashi 1997:574-575). Accessibility for both

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<sup>7</sup> per.com.=personal communication

performers and audience is a prime consideration in selecting a venue, but facilities for performances and performers also need to be considered. In the third Festival, for instance, inadequate arrangement of the performers' transportation caused the cancellation of the Solomon Islanders' "Island Night" (Cornell & Cornell 1980a:18), and multiple schedule changes in the seventh and eighth Festivals were also caused by inadequate arrangements for performers' transportation.

### **Numbers of Delegations/Performers**

The number and nature of delegations has varied due to the funding available in each country and the capacity of the host country to provide the basic requirements of accommodation and food for the delegations (free) and for attendees (at tourist rates). The costs for travel to, and basic living costs at, Festival's were covered for most performers, but they received no fee for their performances. American Samoa sent only four people in its delegation to the third Festival (Cornell & Cornell 1980b:15), while at the eighth Festival about 40 dancers, six instrumentalists, four officials and Miss American Samoa performed on the evening of October 25 (Koide 2000). At the third Festival, the Tongan dance troupe was comprised of Tongans resident in Australia who, it was perceived, "did not fully reveal the richness of Tongan folklore" (Cornell & Cornell 1980a:17), while at the seventh Festival, the Tongan College Group staged graceful dances performed by twelve male dancers (with *paki* [a flat blade with a cylindrical handle] at the standing dance) and about fifteen female dancers accompanied by ten musicians (including *nufa* [membrane drum] and guitar players) at the gymnasium in Apia Park.<sup>8</sup>

### **Estimated Crowds**

Many newspapers reported the number of people attending the opening and closing ceremonies because the venue capacity and number of tickets sold provided an approximate figure. At the Festivals held in developed tourist locations such as New Caledonia, it is difficult to distinguish between an ordinary tourist and Festival enthusiast, while the Cook Islands event appears to have been patronized by the latter. Most of the thousands of attendees at the third Festival were local people (Cornell & Cornell 1980a:17). The nature of these crowds reflected the global position of the host country.

### **Themes of the Festivals**

The notion of each Festival having a theme was first proposed for the third Festival; however, no mention of a theme for the fourth and fifth Festivals was found in the materials available to me. The selection of theme seems to be left to each Festival Committee.

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<sup>8</sup> Number of performers as counted on the videotape and recorded by the author (Konishi 1996). The Tongan terms conform to Kaeppler (1998e:790).

## Summary

To summarize, changes in the number of participating countries and venues, the size of delegations and crowds, and the selection of themes of past Festivals has reflected economic, ecological and political situations in the Pacific region, “in the never-ending processes of negotiating and renegotiating relationships of prestige, power and leadership in the international affairs of Oceania” (Smith 1993:3-4). In other words, each Festival comprised and represented different Pacific identities changing in a global context.

## DISCUSSIONS ON THE FESTIVALS

In this chapter, each Festival is discussed according to topics raised in various articles. These illuminate issues of the manner in which Festival hosts and participants represented (or failed to represent) the Pacific identity concerned with dance.

### **The Hibiscus Festival in Fiji as Pre-South Pacific Festival of Arts**

Fiji, then a newly independent nation, was eminently suited to be the first host country of the South Pacific Festival of Arts, held from 6-20 May 1972 in Suva. In addition, Fiji, which had held a national festival (called the Hibiscus Festival) in Suva since 1956 and similar events in other towns, had the executive capability to organize an international festival for Pacific people. In 1971, “Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara regarded these festivals as among the attractions that brought visitors to Fiji and boosted the tourist industry,” and on 1 December 1972, the deputy speaker in Parliament spoke with slight irritation of “festival mania” (Bossen 2000: 138-139).

The Hibiscus Festival, which took its inspiration from the Aloha Festival in Hawai'i, aimed to prolong the tourist season and to provide entertainment for the new urban people of Suva. The organizer was the Suva branch of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, consisting of business managers from trade, tourism, banking, government employees and the Fiji Visitors Bureau. Fiji seems to have expected further development of international tourism by holding the first Festival.

Regular eight-day events at the Hibiscus Festival have, since 1960, included an opening parade (by a youth organization), joyrides (such as a ferris wheel and a merry-go-round in Albert Park), variety shows (such as baby shows and fashion shows around the town centre), the Miss Hibiscus contest, and a procession of floats. Most notable have been the “ethnic nights” of dancing and singing by each ethnic group of indigenous Fijians, Indo-Fijians, Chinese, and sometimes Pacific Islanders (Bossen 2000:124-126), which have acknowledged “the existence of different ethnic groups and a reinforcement of their separations” (Bossen 2000:143). This has provided a model of multicultural presentation of traditional dance in a festival.



### **The First South Pacific Festival of Arts in Fiji (1972)**

The first Festival in Fiji included not only “the traditional arts” but also “variety concerts” and “musical concerts.” The programme included a brass band concert (by high school students in Fiji), pop concerts (featuring artists from the Solomon Islands, Australia, Western and American Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga, and Fiji), drama presentations (from Papua-New Guinea, New Caledonia and Fiji), and film screenings. Tickets to events cost from 50 cents to three dollars. The impressive Opening Ceremony was held in the evening at the huge Albert Park with what was, at that time, the most technologically advanced lighting available anywhere (brought in from Australia for the Festival). Formal Island protocol was also included, and every representative of every Fijian ethnic group as well as all official visiting delegations were present. A selection of large performing groups both from Fiji and from visiting delegations performed music and dance (*The Fiji Times*, May 10, 1972). Since then, Fiji’s overseas delegations have included indigenous Fijians, Polynesian Rotumans, Micronesian Banabans, and Indian and/or Chinese performances (Smith 1993:4).

The aims of the Hibiscus Festival (to develop tourism) and of the first Festival (“to prevent the traditional arts from succumbing to the sameness that exists in much of our society, or being swamped by commercialism, or cheapened to provide facile entertainment for tourists” (Fiji, The South Pacific Festival Committee 1972:4) appear, to some extent, to have been opposed. However, both were directed to preserve “ancient (indigenous Fijian [and the South Pacific for the latter]) traditions and arts” (Bossen 2000:137). Thus, the first Festival integrated the conflicting agendas of organisations such as government agencies, colonial powers and tourism offices, enabling them to work “together to create an institution (the festival) deemed valuable to all parties” (Stevenson 1998:29-30).

The first Festival seems to have been successful in enabling people to feel a Pacific identity, and “at least 8,000 spectators rushed to join the performers in dancing and singing and turned the floodlit stage area into a scene of revelry” (Ministry of Labour, Suva, Fiji 1972:1). Simultaneously, some indigenous people may have reinforced stereotypic and false understandings of others (Kaepler 1998a:53),<sup>9</sup> as well as those of some curious tourists who expected exoticism.

### **The Second South Pacific Festival of Arts in Rotorua, New Zealand (1976)**

The second Festival was held in Rotorua, the birthplace of Maori tourism in New Zealand (Yamamoto 2000:4). Easter Island, French Polynesia, Guam and Hawai’i participated, in addition to the participating countries from the previous Festival (New Zealand, The Festival Committee 1976:3). Among these, invitations to Hawai’i and Easter Island, both of which had developed tourism, were notable. The non-

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<sup>9</sup> Even at the 6th festival in Rarotonga, Julia White of New Zealand reported “how rude some Cook Islanders were to the bare-breasted PNG dancers” (Kauraka 1993:26).

commercial styles of dance and music in Hawai'i that had been revived under the "Hawaiian Renaissance" movement of the 1970s seemed to support the Festival's purpose to "re-establish much that is in danger of being lost" (The South Pacific Festival committee 1972:4). In Easter Island, the 1970s was a period in which performers were organizing small performing groups to entertain the influx of tourists, primarily from Chile, that followed the opening of the airport in 1967. Although these groups were adapting elements of other Polynesian and Latin American styles to appeal to their new audiences, the performing group sent to the Festival in Rotorua presented their traditional dance (Barbara B. Smith, June 2002, per. com.).

In this Festival, engagement between TV2 (South Pacific Television Cooperation) and the Archives of Maori and Pacific Music at the University of Auckland (established in 1970) was made. The founding Head, Mervyn McLean (retired 1992), conceived the Archives "as a national body which would serve the interests of the Maori people and of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, besides promoting research into Maori and Pacific music" (Moyle 2001).<sup>10</sup> The TV2 producer, Graeme Hodgson, enthusiastically organized a team that went on a tour of Rarotonga (Cook Islands), Suva, Nadi (Fiji), Vila, Aoba (Vanuatu) and Apia (Western Samoa) to film preparations and rehearsals a month prior to the Festival. The recordings were broadcast during the actual festival as four half-hour programmes interspersed with Festival coverage. TV2 presented a copy of the "rushes" shot of the Festival to the Archives (Crowe 1976).<sup>11</sup>

### **The Third South Pacific Festival of Arts in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea (1980)**

The organizers of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Festival were enthusiastic about the independence of Papua New Guinea in 1975. Stephen Ogaji Tago, M.P., the Minister for Culture, Science, and Tourism, declared that "Most of us are now our own political masters," and that "It is now our responsibility to educate the outsider and show him our true cultural ways" (Tago 1980:4-5). Director, Mali Voi insisted that "a festival that has no philosophy has no reason for existence," and the theme, "Celebration of Pacific Awareness" was proposed. This aimed "to share joy, bringing to as many people as possible an enhanced understanding of the common heritage and potential of the peoples of the Pacific" (Voi 1980:12). According to the organizers' notion that "South Pacific" in Festival context has a cultural rather than a geographical meaning (Wari

<sup>10</sup> The Archive was planned following a meeting with representatives of the Maori Affairs Department (now Ministry for Maori Development), New Zealand Broadcasting Service (now Radio New Zealand), the Dominion Museum (now Te Papa), Otago University, University of Auckland and the University of Waikato in 1965. The holdings in 2001 include more than 5,000 reel tapes, 1,100 audio cassettes, 600 video cassettes and over 500 commercial discs of both commercial and field recordings of vocal and instrumental music, folk tales, oral history and interviews (Moyle 2001).

<sup>11</sup> BBC TV also made a one-hour documentary for UK viewers, although the preservation of a copy for the Archive was prevented by the British Union regulations (Crowe 1976:33).

1980:10), the group of participating countries was extended to Micronesians whose home islands lie north of the equator (Federated States of Micronesia, Palau, Northern Mariana Islands and Marshall Islands), while Fiji, American Samoa and Tonga were absent, due to financial difficulties (Cornell & Cornell 1980b:15-17).

Owing to the organizers' policy that "performers must not be separated from their audiences," at least 80 percent of dances were performed free of charge in outdoor spaces (Voi 1980:12). Besides main venues in Port Moresby, the Festival was also held in a number of main provincial centres (Central Province, Lae, Rabaul, Goroka, Mount Hagen, Madang, Alotau and Wewak) (Dennett 1980). Thus, the new nation state situated the Festival as a national event. These attempts were partly based on the regional shows or festivals held since 1952 that were produced "to enable enemies to gather peacefully, easing and hastening governmental operations."<sup>12</sup> One of the major attractions is that admission to these dance competitions is free (Niles 1998).

Throughout the third Festival, a polished "Tahiti Night," presented by a large number of performers and including two professional dance groups, attracted the largest crowds. This was a strong contrast to a Tuvaluan dance by 32 performers that "differed very little from an evening in their own *maneapa* [public meeting house]" (Cornell & Cornell 1980a:17-18). The Tahitian performance stimulated some islanders to present their dances as entertainment in Polynesian floor shows to attract tourists (Kaepler 1998a:54). There was criticism that it was difficult to understand dance performances with songs in local languages without any explanation (Kaepler 1998b:58) and that the programme was too strenuous for smaller groups (Cornell & Cornell 1980a:18).

#### **The Fourth Pacific Festival of Arts in Tahiti (1985)**

The fourth Festival, held in Tahiti in 1985, replaced the Festival planned for New Caledonia in 1984 but cancelled due to political unrest (Kaepler 1998b:58). During the one-year period of preparation, there was some disagreement among Tahitian people about holding it too close to, overlapping with, and/or in conjunction with the big annual Tahitian festival called *heiva*<sup>13</sup> (Barbara B. Smith, February 2002, per. com.).

Daytime venues for music and dance were generally at the Craftsmen's Village, at the Museum, and at Venus Point. The OTAC (Office Territorial D'Action Culturelle) theatres were mainly used for theatrical presentations. Salle Polyvalente (built

<sup>12</sup> In the 1990s, they were organized in most provincial centres every year or two (Niles 1998).

<sup>13</sup> This was established in 1881 at the inauguration of the Fête National, which commemorated the storming of the Bastille, 14th July 1789. This festival includes folkloric competitions of Tahitian choral singing (since 1881) and dance competition (since 1892) (Stillman 2001:61). In the mid- 1980s, this was popularly called *tiruai* but also referred to as the "July Fête" and "Tahiti's International Autonomy Day" in some publications in 1985 (Barbara B. Smith, February, 2002, per. com.) but renamed *heiva* on the establishment of internal autonomy in 1985 (Stillman 2001:61).

especially for the Festival) had evening events, but these were much smaller in terms of numbers of attendees than those held at Vaiete Square, which were “formal” evening presentations (Jane Freeman Moulin, April 2002, per. com.). Vaiete Square, a large facility and site for the *heiva*, provided a new experience for some Pacific people with its huge performing area and facilities for having their performances illuminated by a technologically advanced lighting system (Barbara B. Smith, February 2002, per. com.).

The name *heiva* is derived from the formal entertainment presented by professional travelling musicians and actors belonging to a cult (the *arioi* society) including singing, dancing and dramatic enactment in public, prior to Christianity (Stillman 2001:61). *Heiva* has played a significant role in the genesis of a Tahitian identity, and its competitive nature is “achieving and preserving status” (Stevenson 1998). Kaeppler observes that “more delegations made their performances in a narrative theatrical manner” in contrast to the previous Festivals in which their presentations consisted of “a succession of dances not linked by a plot” (Kaeppler 1998b:58).

#### **The Fifth Pacific Festival of Arts in Townsville, Australia (1988)**

Townsville, on the mid-north coast of Queensland, was a suitable site for the Festival, as forty thousand “South Sea Islanders” (the descendants of Melanesian workers brought to work in the sugar industry in the mid-to-late nineteenth century) reside in the vicinity. Despite this, the interest of white Australians in Pacific Islanders was limited (Jolly 2001:424);<sup>14</sup> however, evidence suggests that as the Festival drew to a close, the population of Townsville began to realize the value and success of the Festival (Myers 1989:59). The Festival’s objectives “to maximize cultural exchange between the Australian and Pacific participants and to increase the general public’s awareness and understanding of these indigenous cultures” (Lewis-Harris 1994:10; Kaeppler 1989), was accomplished to some degree, but the Festival ultimately had little impact on Australian regional and national culture (Philip Hayward, May 2002, per. com.).

In the fifth Festival, Australian indigenous people were conspicuous by their presence. Most members of the Board and Committee of this Festival were of Aboriginal descent. Three hundred indigenous performing groups from areas such as Balgo and Turkey Creek (Western Australia) and from Cherbourg (southern Queensland) gathered for the Festival. Groups of Pitjantjatjara, Mornington Islanders, Wakka Wakka, Koranga, Warmun (Turkey Creek), Balgo, Ramingining, Kowanyama and a group of Torres Strait Islanders (from Mackay Island called Zuber Ekerp), who used a 300-year-old drum, were included. They stayed in student residence halls at James Cook University and at a “tent city” on land owned by the Seventh Day

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<sup>14</sup> However, it was not until 1994 that they “won recognition as a minority, distinct from indigenous Australians, Aboriginals, and Torres Strait Islanders” (Jolly 2001:424).

Adventist Church. Most notable is that the community of Pitjantjatjara people from the Tjurma Homeland took their own media to record the event for their local television station in Alice Springs (Myers 1989:60-61). The local people were observing, no longer merely observed.

The location and historical relationship between Townsville and the Melanesian islands may have been the cause of a larger number of delegations from the Solomon Islands (four groups) and Papua New Guinea (250 performers). The latter included a group from West Sepik who had never gone outside their village, and people from the Trobriand Islands. One notable dance was the Marshallese *Jobwe*, the recreated stick dance accompanied by the chant-leader's voice through a microphone attached to his stick (Myers 1989:60-61). With regard to facilities, the situation was difficult for dancers who stayed at the "tent city"; they risked getting wet from the rain due to the considerable distance to their toilets and showers. Twilight performances on a stage at the Rock Pool, situated at the edge of the sea, were also problematic since it was too cold to change costumes. Performances at the Opening Ceremony were given to a small and select group of VIPs, and there was no provision made for a general audience at all (Myers 1989:60).

### **The Sixth Pacific Festival of Arts in Rarotonga, Cook Islands (1992)**

The sixth Festival in Rarotonga, which had "the fastest-growing tourist business in the Island Pacific" in the 1980s (Linnekin 1997:230), met the tourists' requirement of "high standards for service and accommodation, and a sense of personal safety" (Linnekin 1997:228),<sup>15</sup> supported by great efforts of the island community. For example, More Rua planted hundreds of *pawpaw* trees for feeding delegations and *mu ti* for costumes for the Festival (Kauraka 1993:25). The theme "*vaka* [seafaring]" may have captured the imagination of local people and participants, promoting a re-association with distant kin. Tahiti offered "lighting equipment for the Cultural Centre auditorium, technicians to work on them" (Takau 1992; Stevenson 1999:32). Special *haka* performances by Maori and Cook Islanders were a notable attraction. Thus, this Festival could be subtitled "the Pacific Islands Cultural Identity Festival, with cultural identity being defined as identification with one's social and possible familial group through shared values, belief systems, ceremonies and art styles which are part of the person's cultural heritage" (Lewis-Harris 1994:10).

The Prime Minister, Sir Geoffrey Henry, addressed the Closing Ceremony with some satisfaction, stating "make this, the 6<sup>th</sup> Festival of Pacific Arts, the beginning of a statement, of a declaration to ourselves, to our people and to the world that the Pacific... was and must remain ours and that we are the Pacific" (Terei 1992b). On the other hand, the Festival had a negative impact on the economy and ecology of the

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<sup>15</sup> An Australian visual artist told me about her memory of the 6th Festival with its warm hospitality, beautiful venues and comfortable accommodation in Rarotonga when we met again at the 7th Festival in Apia (September 1996, per. com. with Vivienne Binnes).

island. The National Cultural Centre, which consisted of a museum, a library, an auditorium and several offices, cost \$11 million (Kauraka 1993:27). The Water Supply Department, faced with critically low levels of water, developed the water conservation campaign "Off the Tap" before the Festival (Dreaver 1992). Wigmore Farms produced a huge surplus of vegetables under the order of the Festival Catering Co-director, and had to sell them at very low prices at the market (Terei 1992a). Seating, food wrappers, and bottles were also scattered all over the Avarua area by the end of the Festival (Terei 1992b).

The Prime Minister restricted the number of foreign film crews "providing more access to the events by local visitors and the Pacific Islands crews," and arranged for live telecasts for the local population (Lewis-Harris 1994:10). After the Festival, the Ministry of Cultural Development produced a 50-minute commercial video (The Cook Islands Ministry of Cultural Development 1992) and cassette tapes (Kauraka 1993:27) to compensate for the ban on taping Festival performances in the Cook Islands auditorium (Lewis-Harris 1994:13). This was an exercise to protect the copyright of performers, which was an important issue at the Pacific Arts Symposium held during the Festival (Lewis-Harris 1994:14-17).

### **The Seventh Pacific Festival of Arts in Apia, Western Samoa (1996)**

The Organizing Committee expected the Festival to bring "direct benefits from tourists" and "increased economic activities during the Festival" (Western Samoa, Ministry of Youth Sports & Cultural Affairs 1995:7) and also realized the cost problems involved (ibid.:3-4). To cut costs, performing arts were presented at existing venues or on a temporary stage. Unexpectedly, performances were inserted into everyday Island life. For example, at lunchtime, tourists and local people stopped to see dances on the temporary stage built in front of the Government Building, which was close to the Festival Village. At the venue in Lepea Village, which was the community's open space with a lawn, villagers watched performances making themselves at home. While Apia Park Gymnasium did not offer good audience sightlines, the Western Samoan and Hawaiian performers enthusiastically cheered to their fellow group members by singing while seated in the cheering sections before their performances.

Samoan people showed their pride and hospitality throughout the Festival. At the Grand Opening Ceremony at Apia Park Stadium,<sup>16</sup> the name "Western Samoa" was repeated again and again,<sup>17</sup> while delegations were limited to a three-minute performance (Western Samoa, Office of the 7<sup>th</sup> Pacific Festival of Arts 1996:5). The ceremony lasted almost two hours and included a chorus of the Samoan national

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<sup>16</sup> The reference data of the following description of the Grand Opening Ceremony is Koide (1996).

<sup>17</sup> The author observed that the Head of State, Malietoa Anumafili II, Prime Minister, Honourable Tofilau Dr. Eti Alesana and master of ceremonies repeated the name.

anthem, a parade of the delegations, and a raising ceremony for the Festival's flag. The Western Samoa Police brass band<sup>18</sup> provided the music, except for the accompaniment of a pop band to the Festival theme song, "Come celebrate our unity [*Tala measina*]"<sup>19</sup> during the flag-raising ceremony. After this, two-thousand Samoan children performed a newly-created dramatic dance on the origins of Samoa that consisted of gymnastics and some traditional movements, accompanied by a chorus with a lead vocal and an amplified synthesizer. After this, the children performed a traditional dance, *sasa*, which proved the high quality of education of performing arts in Western Samoa.

One confusing performance was the Cinderella dance by "Miss Samoa" and a "prince" in front of a mass of children in the Samoan cultural segment of the Closing Ceremony. Was this a representation of a paradoxical nation which imported an international ideology for national ends (Bossen 2000:129; Löfgren 1989:8)? This performance, however, is reminiscent of the Miss Hibiscus' procession of floats (Bossen 2000:126), the climax of the Hibiscus Festival in Fiji.

### **The Eighth Pacific Festival of Arts in Nouméa, New Caledonia (2000)**

In 1998, New Caledonia, the host of the eighth Festival, had become an "overseas country" of the French Republic by signing the Accords de Nouméa. This was an agreement "to recognize the legitimacy of the Kanak [indigenous] people's aspirations and to establish a new interim political status for a further period of fifteen to twenty years, following which a new referendum on independence is to be held" (Rio & Kasarhérou 2000:6). Accordingly, the Festival was expected to enable "Kanak men and women [to] express themselves directly as much as possible" and "share this expression with our Pacific neighbors" (Rio & Kasarhérou 2000:4), in order to atone for the cancellation of the fourth Festival.

The Festival theme, "words of the past, words of the present and the words of the future [*paroles de hier, paroles d'aujourd'hui, paroles de demain*]", was defined with reference to J-M. Tjibaou's words, "our identity lies ahead of us" (New Caledonia, Organizing Committee of the Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts 2000a). Supported by SPC in Nouméa, the Festival Organization produced the beautifully-designed official web homepage both in English and French as a substitute for a souvenir guidebook. The opening spectacle was produced by Aboriginal choreographer, Raymond D. Blanco, accompanied by contemporary music by Kanak musician Hervé Lecren, and written for 500 New Caledonian children with twenty young assistants (New Caledonia, Organizing Committee of the Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts 2000b).

<sup>18</sup> The brass band had been taken to Oceania by British and part-European migrants during the late 1800s (Kaeppler 1998c), and is widespread mainly in British Colonies and Tonga (Kaeppler 1998d). Because delegations such as French Polynesia were not always familiar with the brass band (Kaeppler 1998c), the entrance march was a strange combination.

<sup>19</sup> Because the machine copy of the notation is of poor quality, some words and music are illegible. Those that can be read include Ryan and Fauolegogo S. Patu.

Although postponed due to bad weather (rescheduled later in the week), the Opening Ceremony demonstrated the future of Pacific identity.

Throughout this Festival, the organizers' inadequate arrangements were conspicuous. Frequent last-minute changes in the programme resulted from lack of transportation for performers, and inaccurate information was commonplace. Since even the stage staff did not know who would be the next performers (i.e. a popular music band or a traditional dance group), it took considerable time to arrange stage equipment. The construction of the venue was not comfortable: there was no shelter from rain for the audience, who were seated on wet soil around the stage or suffered from a cloud of dust raised by the powerful performance by Maori after a period of sunshine. Also the backstage area had been constructed without rain cover and featured ugly and temporary scaffolding poles covered with black plastic sheets. Lighting for a night stage was only installed a few days after the opening of the stage.

### **Summary of Past Festivals**

The Organization Committee of each host country of past Festivals had both struggled with and made use of their economical, ecological and political situations. Expectations of holding the Festival for promotion of tourism for economic development, building prestige in the eyes of other Pacific countries, and maintaining indigenous identity inside the host country, seemed to be partly accomplished, but not completely. An essential change concerned with dance presentations observed in past eight Festivals was the Pacific peoples' engagement with the media: to obtain the right to watch and keep their performances to themselves. The introduction of technological mediation through sound-amplification equipment empowered their "small voices."

### **PERFORMANCE AND TECHNOLOGICALLY-MEDIATED SOUNDS AND PERFORMANCE IN THE FESTIVALS**

The nature of massed voices, a feature of Pacific dances, differs with respect to production and diffusion when such a huge sound is sucked into microphones and diffused through speakers set over a person's head, masking voices of the individual with its power. At a village performance in Vanuatu, for example, hundreds to thousands of people form a circle to produce the voice and rhythm. Male dancers in Tuvalu gather and sing, facing toward the centre of a circle. Caroline Islanders in Micronesia often form a line to produce a synchronized voice. Although these dance formations vary, the dancers themselves determine the volume, direction and effect of the sound with their voice apparatus and body movements. However, poor microphones and amplification, at least in the recent Festivals, have often distorted the voices of traditional dance presentations.<sup>20</sup> In the case of the American Samoan

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<sup>20</sup> During the 8th Festival, amplified sound was a topic of discussion among some members of the Study Group on Musics of Oceania, the International Council for Traditional Music.



presentation on the stage of Festival Village in the eighth Festival, only a few of the 40 dancers' voices were amplified, to the detriment of the performance.

The introduction of technical mediation to the traditional dance performance in the Festivals has gone with the flow of the historical development of music technology. The highpoint of developments in music technology came in the late 1960s and early 1970s when the first Festival was planned and realized. This demanded new skills and contributions from engineers and musicians, together with a musical focus on the hi-fi stereo LP, and required a high level of investment of personal time and money. As a result, "new instrument design, use of microtechnology to produce cheap, portable recording and mixing equipment, transfer of studio 'effects' (like phrasing, filtering and echo devices) into forms suitable for use in live performance was provided" (Middleton 1990:87).

Well-designed, technologically-mediated sound can reach a large number of people with its powerful amplification capability and sound quality. This eases the gap between the sound volume of several to a hundred performers and of various sound qualities on a stage. In fact, music technology to amplify the guitar began "in response to guitarists' demands for their solos to be heard through the sound of big bands" (Middleton 1990:90). In addition, sound through speakers, which had spread globally by the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, is familiar to most Pacific people and tourists gathered at the Festivals. The happy ending of the Closing Ceremony in the fifth Festival, manifested when all the participants dancing together to a popular music track played through speakers, was created not only by the musical style but also by the amplified sound quality that was familiar to them.

In this way, technologically-mediated sound provided a means of accessing a cultural strategy for establishing a contemporary "Pacific identity." This strategy was successfully used for the entry of delegations at the Opening Ceremony of the eighth Festival, instead of the police band-accompanied parade of the seventh Festival. The composed music of Hervé Lecren, in conjunction with Australian composer Romano Crivici, was a kind of collage of naturally-occurring sounds and voices recorded on the Isle de Pines. A group of delegates entered either singing or not singing their songs, accompanied by this background music.

Technologically-mediated performance requires collaboration between dancers (and/or musicians), producer and sound engineer, aside from the requirements of studio recording. The polished Tahitian performance "spectacles" are collaborative productions, which may entail "pressure towards collaborative, 'constructed' manipulation of sound materials in the studio production process" (Middleton 1990:65). The aesthetic value is determined by how successfully they collaborate as well as how competently they dance. The Tahitian Spectacle introduced a new standard of cultural value to the Festival. It should be mentioned that this is closely related to commercialism, as "spectacle" has been used by Henri Lefebvre to mean "reality as a permanent theatre of consumer products and images" (Middleton 1990:68). Tahitians effectively made use of this as their cultural strategy in the

Festival. However, the issue of providing an effective technologically—mediated sound production to traditional dance groups of various size and performing style remains.

### CONCLUSION

The Pacific Festival of Arts, intended to establish a Pacific identity, has negotiated problems of authentic vs. tourist performances from the beginning of its history. Past Festivals have varied with regard to participant countries, venues, delegations, crowds, and in selection of themes reflecting the economical, ecological and socio-political situations in the Pacific. The cultural policies of politicians and governmental officials determine which cultural values, events, and arts in the Festival are spotlighted (Stevensen 1999:30), and also how to spotlight them depending on “not simply a question of cultural difference, but global position” (Friedman 1990:324) of a country. Thus, technological mediation developed along with commercialism and the Festival was introduced to articulate self-identification, cultural strategy, and tourism. As a result, a new standard of presenting cultural values, accomplished by the cooperation of technicians and performers and derived from popular music practices, has arisen. There is no need to deplore the loss of an authentic traditional dance performance, which was chimeric in Festival context. Rather, it should be considered how to disseminate and listen to the small yet massive voices produced naturally by Pacific people in performance, with (or without) technological mediation, in expressing their Pacific identity.

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