



MONASH University

Archives of Indigenous Cultural Centres of the Oceanic Region

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Abstract

Borne from the social upheaval and activism of the 1960s and 1970s, Indigenous cultural centres are multi-purpose institutions that play an important role in the continuation, celebration and support of Indigenous cultures around the world. Using a case study approach in the context of participatory action research, I considered how cultural practitioners understand and engage with the archive in the process of doing their work. The primary goal of this research was identified by my participatory action research community partner, the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre of Western Australia. The three case studies investigated were the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Cultural Centre in Western Australia, Polynesian Cultural Centre in Hawaii and the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta in Vanuatu. Bourdieu's practice theory was adopted as the theoretical framework, allowing for an emphasis on what cultural practitioners working within Indigenous cultural centres actually *do* as opposed to being a heavily theoretical study somewhat removed from practice.

Semi-structured interviews conducted with cultural practitioners working within each of the aforementioned organisations formed the basis of the data collection, and analysis of the interviews led to the identification of authority, sustainability and authenticity as three common areas of concern which proved to be consistent with themes identified within existing literature. This study considers how each of the three case study organisations navigate the challenges and opportunities presented by the themes of authority, sustainability and authenticity, and in doing so provides useful insights for other Indigenous cultural centres.

By asking participants how they understand the archive rather than imposing my own definition upon them, this study contributes to existing literature related to decolonising the archive and extending the traditional concerns of the archival profession to better reflect the complexities and nuances of Indigenous cultures. Analysis of the participant interviews led to the identification of four interrelated components of the archive that the participants engaged with through the course of their work: Person-as-Archive, Country-as-Archive, Ceremony-as-Archive and Record-as-Archive. Person-as-Archive encompasses intangible cultural knowledge held by individuals as well as the tangible knowledge represented by the individuals' physical form. Country-as-Archive refers to how features of the land serve as memory devices, tied as they are to creation stories, responsibilities of care and memories of past interactions. Ceremony-as-Archive refers to the practicing of culture; examples include speaking of Indigenous language, dancing, exchanging stories and initiations. Finally,

Record-as-Archive encompasses tangible and digital representations of knowledge including objects of material culture, contemporary business records, paintings, photographs and audio-visual recordings in both tangible and digital forms.

Within this study, I argue that any efforts within the archival profession to engage with Indigenous communities should take into account these interrelated components of the archive. For instance, any plans to repatriate Records-as-Archive to communities needs to be accompanied by initiatives and programs of community engagement, which assist with reincorporating the knowledge represented within the Records-as-Archive into knowledge held by People-as-Archive with the intention of returning that knowledge to Ceremony-as-Archive practiced on Country-as-Archive. The findings of this study provide practical insights that will be of interest to cultural practitioners working within postcolonial organisations such as Indigenous cultural centres as well as to the broader archival profession itself.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Chapter Introduction

This participatory action research (PAR) project considers the nature, role and use of the archive within three Indigenous cultural centres of the Oceanic region through the use of case studies. This research contributes to existing knowledge through a consideration of how cultural practitioners working within Indigenous cultural centres understand and engage with their archive in order to support their organisational goals. In doing so, this research will provide guidance to other Indigenous cultural centres as they come to terms with, and engage with, their own archive.

In the process, this thesis also extends the traditional concerns of the archival profession to better reflect the complexities and nuances of Indigenous cultures, particularly where they intersect with Indigenous cultural centres. In accordance with PAR methodology best practice (Reason, 1998), the primary goal was identified by my community partner - the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre (KALACC) of Western Australia.

As I am engaging in decolonising research within a constructionist paradigm and adopting the method of autoethnography, I introduce myself within this chapter and use first-person as one of several measures undertaken to make my role and influence in the research more transparent. In this chapter I also provide an introduction to the research undertaken, my PAR community partner, research objectives, research questions, and the methodological decisions made.

1.2 My Positionality and Background

My name is Annelie Mercia de Villiers and I am a white settler living and working on the unceded lands of the Wadawurrung and Boon Wurrung and Wurundjeri peoples, respectively. I am a South African Afrikaans woman, born the year that President de Klerk

started to repeal much of the legislation that provided the basis of apartheid. Growing up in Post-Apartheid South Africa has indelibly and undeniably influenced my thinking and informed the first decade of my life.

I grew up understanding that ‘the state’ is not just part of the background infrastructure, but can transform in an unrecognisable way in a short period, impacting every aspect of your family’s life. Since immigrating to Australia, I have witnessed the economic and social regression of South Africa, to the point where friends and family members face water and electricity shortages every day (Baker, 2018; Daniel, 2021). This sense of political instability has resulted in an urgent and driving interest in activism and social justice in the country I now live.

In 2014, I started working as an Assistant Research Archivist at the eScholarship Research Centre, University of Melbourne which connected me with three Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations. The organisation that I developed the closest ties with was KALACC and when I first started considering embarking upon a PhD project I contacted them to see whether there was any interest and/or capacity from their end to partner with me.

Remember

It is more than
Local made global
Or
Global made local

It is more than
‘knowing’ colonialism
And
‘giving voice’ to silenced subalterns

It is
Seeing yourself as colonizer
Colonized.
It is
More.

(Cary, 2004, p. 81)

I acknowledge that I am part of a 'reconciling' settler-colonial state, and as part of this system I am both colonised and coloniser. I am an outsider to the community represented by KALACC and also to the Indigenous archivists who have contributed so much to this field and discipline for the benefit of their own communities. I acknowledge my white privilege and that as a white coloniser I may unconsciously contribute to the system that oppresses so many. The process of journaling which forms the core of the autoethnographic method helped me to identify and reflect upon these instances and what measures I need to put in place to rectify them and prevent them from reoccurring.

"Decolonization does not simply suggest that we refrain from becoming spectators to the knowledge we produce; it demands it" (Sium et al., 2012, p. VIII).

Autoethnography forms an essential part of this research process and while the results of my reflections may only appear in a few instances in this thesis, the practice of autoethnography and the insights which result form the basis of this research.

1.3 The PAR Community Partner

The primary goal of this research was negotiated with my community partner, the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre (KALACC). Having worked with KALACC in a research capacity (as a research assistant on two successive Australian Research Council-funded projects) since 2014, I approached them prior to commencing a PhD research degree in 2017 to discuss whether they would be interested in partnering with me and, if so, whether there was an area of need they identified as being one I could assist with.

KALACC is the peak cultural body of the over 30 language groups of the Kimberley region of Western Australia (Davey et al., 2020) and as such is mandated to support the cultural activities of the region's language groups. KALACC's objectives are:

1. *To recognise, and to encourage the recognition in the wider Australian society of, the existence of individual Aboriginal tribal groups which claims rights of exclusive or joint ownership of, and control over, their own traditional forms of cultural expression, including songs, dances, ceremonies and cultural heritage;*

- 2. To encourage and promote the rescue, maintenance and development of the traditional forms of Aboriginal cultural expression, including songs, dance, ceremonies and related activities of their people;*
- 3. To help provide instruction for young Aboriginal people in the traditional arts, ceremonies, and related activities of their people;*
- 4. To organise performances, tours, exhibitions and other demonstrations of traditional forms of Aboriginal cultural expression;*
- 5. To provide protection and education for Aboriginal groups and individuals in matters pertaining to copyright and cultural heritage matters;*
- 6. To promote acknowledgement of and respect for Aboriginal culture within the greater community (KALACC, n.d.)*

In 2016, while putting together a funding application for building renovations, KALACC initially allocated space within the floorplan for a small library, archive, and storage space for their objects and an exhibition space for their art. During conversations which occurred prior to this research degree's commencement, it was noted by KALACC Coordinator Wes Morris that this seemed a very Western design and that he would like to know more about what other Indigenous cultural centres were doing in the management of their archives (here including physical and digital materials).

In addition, one of KALACC's longtime affiliated researchers, Steve Kinnane, noted that they wanted to leverage KALACC's collections and cultural knowledge in such a way as to be viewed as the authority on their own cultures - so that researchers and industry would need to approach KALACC to gain access to community knowledge, as opposed to visiting external sources which may lead to an inaccurate and problematic interpretation of the cultures which KALACC represents. Steve Kinnane noted being particularly interested in two programs run by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (Bislama: Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta); a research permit system for any international researchers conducting research on Indigenous culture, and the Fieldworker Programme which involves a network of volunteers conducting research on a given topic and reporting their results during annual workshops.

Through these conversations, we established that KALACC was interested in understanding how other Indigenous cultural centres were engaging with both intangible and tangible forms of cultural knowledge and that I therefore needed to apply a decolonised understanding of 'the archive' as being a metaphor which included all forms living expression, and move away from the traditional Western

“...collecting archive model, which disembeds records from their living contexts and preserves them for future access in custodial, institutional settings, characterizing it as a continuing colonization of knowledge structures for Indigenous Australians” (McKemmish et al., 2019, p. 281).

Through a number of conversations over a period of six months, it was decided that ‘the action’ KALACC desired was the development of a report and a set of recommendations which could help guide KALACC’s engagement with their own archive, and it was Steve Kinnane’s suggestion that this set of recommendations be based upon field-visits to other Indigenous cultural centres of the Oceanic region. Through a memorandum of understanding these terms of engagement were formalised during a KALACC board meeting in early 2018.

Shortly thereafter, I successfully applied for a research grant from the International Council on Archives’ (ICA) Programme Commission, which helped fund the fieldwork undertaken for this project. As part of the grant, the ICA also committed to publishing the resulting report on their website in English, Spanish and French in order to make it more accessible.

Further information about my relationship with KALACC and the application of PAR methodology is provided in Chapter 3: Methodology and a reflection on the process is included in Chapter 7: Results and Discussion.

1.4 Decolonising the Archive

Spearheaded by Indigenous activists, thinkers and scholars, efforts to decolonise Western understandings of the archive have gained increasing momentum over the past few decades. Bolstered by important strides in the recognition of Indigenous human rights worldwide through instruments such as the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UN, 2007), there is increasing recognition within archival literature of the need to support, preserve and promote Indigenous knowledges (McKemmish et al., 2012).

Dedicated monographs such as *Indigenous Notions of Ownership and Libraries, Archives and Museums* (Callison et al., 2016) are a mark of the shared awareness among the information and heritage sectors for a joint need to better understand and respect Indigenous ways of knowing. These interdisciplinary efforts are particularly important given that the Western propensity for dividing knowledges amongst disciplines is at odds with the

holistic worldview shared by many Indigenous cultures (Nakata, 2007). Activists across the information and heritage sectors have produced important tools for their national professional associations. A review of the literature reveals that these efforts have predominantly taken place in 'reconciling' settler-colonial regions such as North America, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia.

These efforts have in turn inspired and been inspired by parallel movements in archival theory, a shift from institutional focus to community (Cook, 2013), a growing awareness of the affect of archives (Cifor & Gilliland, 2016; Russell, 2018), a growing awareness of the relationship between the archive and collective memory (Jacobsen et al., 2013), and the silences and imagined records within an archive (Gilliland & Caswell, 2016). These movements have contributed to the development of a more holistic understanding of 'the archive' as a metaphor encompassing "almost any kind of memory, collection or accumulation", necessitating a reconceptualization of the role of the archive across disciplines and bodies of theory (Dever, 2018, back cover).

However, despite these efforts, the archival profession has received criticism for being slow to introduce the necessary accompanying actions to shift the traditional Western colonial practices to make room for Indigenous worldviews (Ngoepe, 2019; Gilliland & Caswell, 2016) and while these movements have started to influence mainstream archival research, it has not yet shifted the definitions of records in – for example – international standards related to recordkeeping and archival systems (Gilliland & Caswell, 2016). For instance, the international standard dedicated to records management defines records as "information created, received, and maintained as evidence and as an asset by an organization or person, in pursuit of legal obligations or in the transaction of business" (ISO 15489-1, 2016). Suggesting that to date, "dominant strands of archival theory and practice both maintain an unreflexive preoccupation with the actual, the instantiated, the accessible and the deployable – that is, with records that have presence, established evidentiary capacity, and identifiable users and uses" (Gilliland & Caswell, 2016, p. 55).

The continued reluctance to move beyond a preference for physical records as having higher evidentiary value is particularly problematic given that records, far from representing a complete and accurate accounting of past events, present only "a sliver of a sliver of a sliver" of the past (Harris, 2002, p. 65). Promisingly, however, there have been important steps taken by archival associations of settler colonial states in recent years; after "a decade of debate and some controversy", the Society of American Archivists (SAA) endorsed the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* in 2018 (Ghaddar & Caswell, 2019, p. 74) at which point they said:

“The SAA Council acknowledges that endorsement of these Protocols is long overdue. We regret and apologize that SAA did not take action to endorse the Protocols sooner and engage in more appropriate discussion.” (SAA, 2018).

These shifts within the archival professional bodies indicate a “heightened concern about social justice in our field, and increasing interest in moving beyond liberal understandings of diversity and multiculturalism towards more critical and transformative theories and practices” (Ghaddar & Caswell, 2019, p. 74). Whilst the potential of the archive to support Indigenous priorities has been well established and some progress has been made, a seismic shift of our understanding of the archive, existing power structures, systems, people and processes will be required (McKemmish et al., 2011; Ghaddar & Caswell, 2019).

However, the capacity of many archival organisations to make this fundamental transformation is limited by their Western colonial legacies and role in the ongoing system of colonisation (here ‘system’ refers to the all-encompassing context and mechanisms of a settler colonial state) (Ngoepe, 2019; Manyanga & Chirikure, 2017). The fundamental inability of colonial state-controlled archival institutions to centre local Indigenous communities, and the resultant ongoing colonisation, has resulted in increased recognition of the need to centre local communities and their knowledges *outside* of these institutions as a means of decolonising the archive (Manyanga & Chirikure, 2017). One way in which to do so is through the establishment of community archives within Indigenous-controlled organisations (Flinn et al., 2009).

This research aimed to consider how the expansive perception of ‘the archive’ as a metaphor which includes all forms of knowledge can be brought to bear in the context of Indigenous cultural centres.

1.5 Indigenous Cultural Centres

Indigenous cultural centres are multi-purpose institutions with the aim of supporting the continuation and preservation of Indigenous cultural knowledges and are tools for, and sites of, the continual making and remaking of Indigenous cultures (Stanley, 2008). Whilst each Indigenous cultural centre plays an essential role in supporting cultures, the ways in which they do so vary. Depending upon the priorities of their community, as well as their

political, social and economic context, each Indigenous cultural centre serves to different degrees as a social enterprise, a means of regional development, a community representative, and/or a cultural tourism driver (Stanley, 2004).

The cultural heritage material and records of Indigenous communities is essential to the ongoing maintenance and practice of Indigenous culture which, in turn, has been identified as a determinant in Indigenous community health and wellbeing (Carson et al., 2020). In addition, from a socioeconomic perspective cultural heritage offers a means through which Indigenous communities can share their culture in a sustainable manner through regional development with the attraction of cultural tourism, creative industries, and business and research partnerships (Altman, 2005).

Indigenous cultural centres - particularly those based in settler-colonial states - exist in a negotiated space between different (at times contradictory, at times complementary) cultural, regulatory and knowledge systems (Stanley, 2004; Stanley 2008). In navigating this complex space, Indigenous cultural centres vary widely in terms of their governance, funding model, level of community self-determination, and approach to Indigenous tangible and intangible forms of knowledge. Of the three Indigenous cultural centres under consideration through this research, one is enacted by an independent Indigenous government and reliant upon state funding, one is owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints while managed by Indigenous staff and reliant upon tourism funding, and one is wholly community owned and reliant upon philanthropic, state and research funding. Each of these organisations is unique - not least in terms of their governance, priorities, relationship with community, types of heritage, and funding structures - but all identify as being Indigenous cultural centres aiming to support the cultural practices of their communities.

Nick Stanley (2008, p. 13-14) suggests that there are three themes commonly found in Indigenous cultural centres:

- Tradition: The pride in and celebration of Indigenous culture.
- External recognition: Advocating for increased recognition of a community's culture, and the cultural centre as an authority on that culture.
- Cultural renewal: A future-focussed perspective of the organisation's activities and collections with an aim toward supporting the living culture of an Indigenous community.

Whilst Indigenous cultural centres are often considered from a museological perspective within the literature, it is this final point which differentiates Indigenous cultural

centres most clearly from Western museums (Stanley, 2008; Bolton, 2008). Museums showcase ancient cultures which they don't necessarily aim to support or revitalise, while Indigenous cultural centres aim to actively support individual and community memory systems and connect them back into collective memory systems which translate into cultural activities of that community *today* (Stanley, 2008). For instance, when discussing the KALACC's audio-visual materials in 2017, a KALACC board member emphatically stated that "Heritage' is for white people, this is our culture" – clearly indicating a need to reframe considerations of the archive from being remnants of a nostalgic past to having a sense of immediacy – being signifiers of a culture which is vital to a community's wellbeing in the present.

1.6 The Research Questions

I conducted a review of literature related to decolonising the archive as well as Indigenous cultural centres. Relevant literature predominantly spanned the disciplines of Indigenous studies, museology, and archival science and a review of existing literature enabled me to identify gaps and formulate research questions. The following research questions were formulated:

- **How do community members understand the archive and its role within each cultural centre case study?**
- **How are community members currently engaging with their archive?**
- **What are the future priorities and potentialities of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres?**

1.7 The Methodological Design

This section briefly outlines the methodological design I adopted in order to address the research questions listed above. More detail about the research design is provided in Chapter 3: Methodology.

This research is conducted within the social constructionist paradigm and adopts Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory as its theoretical framework. I did not employ overtly critical paradigms and theories such as critical theory and critical race theory. This decision was made because the priority of the PAR community partner was to learn *how* other Indigenous cultural centres manage and engage with their archives, and a limitation of critical models are that they emphasise a consideration of Foucauldian concepts of power and knowledge at the expense of the day-to-day activities of those working within cultural institutions (McCarthy, 2016).

The social constructionist paradigm perceives all research as political activity and as being politically and socially constructed (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Throughout this thesis, the use of the first-person was employed as a tool to avoid producing knowledge unthinkingly and to remind the reader that the results aren't some neutral 'truth' devoid of unconscious bias. To this end, I also introduced myself at the outset of the thesis in an effort to make my positionality and influence on this research more transparent.

Practice theory is a theoretical framework most commonly associated with French theorist and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's practice theory (1977) combines elements of both structuralism (which emphasises the role of societal structures over individual agency) and post-modernism and existentialism (which emphasises the agency of the individual) (Power, 1999). Bourdieu's practice theory enables a consideration of how societal structures and individual agency interact based upon a consideration of people's behaviour.

Through case studies of three Indigenous cultural centres, I considered how participants understand and engage with the archive, as well as how they would like to utilise it in future. The first case study considered KALACC itself. The second case study considered the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (Bislama: Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta) which is a government legislated body which runs post-independent Vanuatu's National Museum, Archive and Library (among others). The third and final case study considered the Polynesian Cultural Centre which is a not-for-profit tourism organisation based in Hawaii, owned by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church) and managed by Indigenous members of the LDS Church.

Chapter 3: Methodology provides further detail regarding the epistemological and methodological decisions made, down to the specific methods adopted to address the research questions. A particularly important method employed throughout this research was the use of auto-ethnography as a means of engaging in critical reflexivity. Auto-ethnography is important in decolonising research as "decolonisation is a process that requires the

positioning of oneself in history and the recognition of ideas and assumptions that have informed one's worldview" (Sherwood et al., 2011, p. 194). Critical reflexivity is required of researchers engaging in decolonising research and decolonising of the self, as well as being a fundamental part of action research methodology (Fredericks & Adams, 2011).

1.8 Chapter Summary and Overall Thesis Structure

In this introductory chapter you have been introduced to myself, my community partner and the motivations behind the project's goals. This chapter also provided an introduction to literature related to decolonised understandings of the archive and Indigenous cultural centres before outlining my research questions and research methodology.

Chapter 2: Literature Review discusses existing literature related to the decolonisation of the archive before considering the development of Indigenous cultural centres within the context of Indigenous human rights advances and increasing recognition of the need to protect intangible cultural heritage. Reviewing existing literature related to Indigenous cultural centres led to the identification of three recurring themes; 'authority', 'sustainability' and 'authenticity'. Chapter 2 explains how a review of the literature culminated in the identification of the existing gaps in current knowledge, leading to the formulation of the research questions.

In Chapter 3: Methodology, I explain the epistemological and methodological choices made for this research, and how the paradigm, theoretical framework, methodology and individual methods worked together to address the research questions.

The case studies considering the nature and role of the archive within KALACC, the Polynesian Cultural Centre and the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta are discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 respectively. Following a consideration of each of these organisations through the perspectives of individual participants, Chapter 7 considers cross-organisational themes and findings and the resultant identification of the following aspects of the archive: Person-as-Archive, Country-as-Archive, Ceremony-as-Archive and Record-as-Archive.

Chapter 8: Conclusion summarises the research findings and brings the thesis to a conclusion with a reflection of my own role, contributions to existing knowledge, the limitations of this research and opportunities for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter reviews existing literature related to the decolonisation of the archive as well as literature related to Indigenous cultural centres. As explained in Chapter 1: Introduction, KALACC, which is this PAR project's community partner, wished to know how other Indigenous cultural centres in the Oceanic region manage and use their archive. I therefore conducted a review of relevant literature, which in this case spanned the disciplines of Indigenous studies, museology and archival science, in order to identify gaps in current literature and formulate the research questions. At the outset of this chapter I explore literature related to decolonisation itself, before qualifying what definition of the term I adopted to inform this research.

The development of Indigenous cultural centres occurred alongside increased recognition of Indigenous human rights, particularly with regard to traditional knowledges, increased recognition and protection of intangible cultural heritage globally, and the so-called 'new museum' movement which involved calls for democratisation and increased community engagement among museums. Following its exploration of the term 'decolonisation', this literature review explores these broader movements as a means of contextualising the development of Indigenous cultural centres. Next, I go on to consider literature related to the decolonisation of the archive and arguments related to broadening our definition of records to include ephemera and intangible cultural heritage.

A review of the literature finds that Australian Indigenous cultural centres have been relatively underrepresented in comparison to those located in the rest of the Pacific region. I also identify that literature considering Indigenous cultural centres commonly features three main areas of concern; authority, sustainability and authenticity. Through the literature review, I identified no existing literature related to the nature and role of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres. I also established that much of the existing literature adopts Foucauldian dichotomies of good/bad, which distracts from what cultural practitioners actually *do* (McCarthy, 2016). At the conclusion of this chapter I propose the use of

Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory as an appropriate theoretical framework for this research, and justify the choice through the use of examples.

2.2 Decolonisation

When embarking on so-called decolonising research, it is necessary to interrogate what the term means to you and to actively insert the ethos of decolonisation into every aspect of the research process, otherwise you risk perpetuating existing power imbalances (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Fredericks & Adams, 2011). The term decolonisation has "a long history dating back to the anti-colonial struggles of the 1950s" and is used "to signal ongoing efforts to 'undo' the legacies of colonialism" (Jansen, 2019, p. 1). Initially a term used primarily by activists, decolonisation as a term is now being adopted so widely as to have been rendered a metaphor:

"One trend we have noticed, with growing apprehension, is the ease with which the language of decolonisation has been superficially adopted into education and other social sciences, supplanting prior ways of talking about social justice, critical methodologies, or approaches which decenter settler perspectives." (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 2).

The liberal use of the term decolonisation by various bodies without taking the accompanying action has caused much frustration, particularly among those who view this as an intentional strategy to avoid taking action and to maintain the status quo:

"The present 'chatter' and 'clutter' of decolonising talk within the academy - decolonising this, decolonising that - is intended to turn decolonisation into a metaphor and, thus, an ideological strategy to maintain epistemological orientations and justify existing positions." (Keet, 2019, p. 205).

The decolonisation of research has received a lot of attention within the literature and considers every aspect of the research process - from epistemologies and ontologies (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) through to specific methodologies and methods (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Fredericks & Adams, 2011). In order to avoid unthinkingly perpetuating existing power imbalances, it is necessary to actively question your own assumptions and worldview and the very structures within which you operate (Sherwood, 2011). When I use the term decolonisation or refer to doing decolonising research throughout this thesis, I am referring

to this process of questioning, of engaging in reflexive practice and of centering Indigenous views. Details related to how I incorporated the principles of decolonisation into this research is located in Chapter 3: Methodology.

2.3 Recognition of Indigenous Human Rights and Intangible Cultural Heritage

International interest in cultural heritage and its preservation increased in the aftermath of World War II, during which time many significant cultural sites and objects were destroyed (Bonn et al., 2016). This growing interest led to the establishment of the *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (1954); the *Convention on Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* (1970), and; the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972). The latter is considered particularly important in the development of international tools for the protection of Indigenous culture as it, for the first time, linked the protection of culture with the protection of the natural environment (UNESCO, 1972).

These initial efforts focussed almost exclusively upon the preservation of *tangible* cultural heritage and despite growing recognition of the need to preserve intangible expressions of culture, “preservation of these immaterial forms was slower to draw the level of attention, and commitment of resources, that preservation of tangible heritage received” (Bonn et al., 2017, p. 2). Pioneering efforts to try to preserve intangible cultural heritage were often initiated by, with or on behalf of Indigenous communities worldwide (Bonn et al., 2016; Bonn et al., 2017).

The 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies and the resulting *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies* (1982) is considered a watershed moment in the recognition and preservation of intangible cultural heritage. The definition of the cultural heritage of a people was expanded to include:

“... both tangible and intangible works through which the creativity of that people finds expression: languages, rites, beliefs, historic places and monuments, literature, works of art, archives and libraries” (UNESCO, 1982, principle 23).

During the same conference, the attendees called for increased protection of intangible heritage, leading to the *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* (1989). These frameworks for the preservation of intangible cultural heritage continued to develop until, in 2001, the UNESCO Director-General called for stronger intellectual property regulations worldwide as they provided inadequate protection of intangible heritage (see Abeita, 2001). In the same report, the UNESCO Director General recommended the adoption of basic principles, including the following which are of greatest relevance:

- (a) that intangible cultural heritage be fundamentally safeguarded through creativity and enactment by the agents of the communities that produce and maintain it;*
- (b) that the loss of intangible cultural heritage can only be prevented by ensuring that the meanings, enabling conditions and skills involved in its creation, enactment and transmission can be reproduced;*
- (c) that any instrument dealing with intangible cultural heritage facilitate, encourage and protect the right and capacity of communities to continue to enact their intangible cultural heritage through developing their own approaches to manage and sustain it;*
- (d) that sharing one's culture and having a cultural dialogue foster greater overall creativity as long as recognition and equitable exchanges are ensured (Abeita, 2001, p. 5-6).*

In 2003, UNESCO adopted the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* in which intangible cultural heritage was defined as:

"... the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2).

Whilst not all nation-states have ratified the afore-mentioned conventions, through the developments outlined above, the international community has slowly come to recognise that tangible and intangible cultural heritage are indelibly reliant upon one another, and that the preservation of every aspect of cultural heritage is essential to the preservation of a people's history, culture and identity. However, different types of material culture have distinctions with regards to their management, protection, programs and approaches and align more naturally with different disciplines and professions, often resulting in a

fragmentation of Indigenous material culture within organisations and/or communities (Nakata, 2007).

Indigenous knowledge systems are dynamic, living, complex and developed over many generations by societies in close interaction with their natural environment (UNESCO, 2018). Improving our understanding of these complex and highly localised knowledge systems is essential to sustainable, respectful and appropriate development (UNESCO, 2018). Literature related to decolonising the archive stresses the need to de-emphasise the written record and to embrace Indigenous views of the holistic and living archive, or embracing the concept of the archive as a metaphor which encompasses all forms of knowledge (Dever, 2018).

Within the traditional Western archival sector, our professional roles necessitate focussing upon the tangible aspects of cultural heritage, oftentimes engaging directly with intangible cultural heritage only through short-term special engagement or documentation programs (Bonn et al., 2016; Bonn et al., 2017). As of 2017, within the context of North America, “the museum community has had significant involvement in attempting to preserve [intangible cultural heritage], libraries and archives have not demonstrated a great deal of interest in intangible heritage’s preservation” (Bonn et al., 2017, p. 5). Some in the library and archive fields may take exception to this statement – however the authors were referring to the lack of a *coordinated* and *long term* approach to the preservation of intangible cultural heritage among library and archive organisations, with key exceptions being Indigenous-focussed library and archive organisations.

“Given the importance of intangible heritage to the cultural and scholarly record, we believe that a more significant research program regarding libraries’ and archives’ contributions to the preservation of intangible heritage would be of benefit to both the scholarly community and to the cultures that are the subjects of study for that community” (Bonn et al., 2017, p. 6).

2.4 Indigenous Human Rights and the Archive

“The field of archiving and record keeping [...] has significant human rights implications for Indigenous peoples” – Mick Gooda, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner (Gooda, 2010, para. 10).

Within the Australian context, the introduction of Western cultural values to Indigenous communities dates back to 1788 when the first fleet of convict settlers arrived, initiating the systematic “appropriation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures, voices and decision-making powers” (Gooda, 2010, para. 11). Since that time, Western colonial culture has determined who is heard and in what ways, resulting in the silencing of the non-dominant cultures, and contributing to contrasting narratives and communities that did not benefit from coming into contact with Western culture (Faulkhead, 2009). This included Indigenous communities who did not share all Western cultural values and resulted in a harmful colonial legacy which continues to this day (Dockery, 2010).

Social Justice Commissioner Mick Gooda argued that this appropriation of Indigenous agency is mirrored within the archive through the rendering of Indigenous communities and individuals as passive subjects within records “with no ownership in the record” (Gooda, 2010, para. 12). According to Gooda, one example of this continuing legacy is the protection under Western colonial law of the creators of records rather than over the subjects of those same records, whose rights are limited:

“For example, in a video capturing a ceremonial dance the interests of the recorder will be protected but not the dancers... this has significant implications for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, our culture and knowledge is tied into dances, songs and stories yet we find it difficult to exert control over records that capture these important forms of cultural expression” (Gooda, 2010, para. 12-13).

This is further compounded “by the historical fact that we have been intensively observed, recorded, measured and categorised since colonisation. This has had painful impacts” (Gooda, 2010, para. 14). It is generally understood that what is contained within Western archival collections are:

“the results of the surveillance of Indigenous people and their cultures. In short, these were archival texts within which Indigenous people were the object (and subject) of the gaze of colonial authorities and ‘experts,’ and from which Indigenous knowledge, perspectives and voice were excluded” (Russell, 2004, p. 1).

Descriptions of ancestors being dissected, surveilled and studied, the on-going denial of agency in deciding what could be captured and, subsequently, what could be done with

that information has resulted in many evocations of the archive as a prison, as in Indigenous poet Jeanine Leane's poem *Cardboard Incarceration* (2018, p. 3, original emphasis);

We are the inmates incarcerated within
cardboard cells where every neatly dotted *i*,
and symmetrically crossed *t* screams out:

*Read this Black angst against
these white pages.*

These concerns are not limited to historical archival collections but include the ongoing recordkeeping and bureaucratic practices of Australia, as is demonstrated by Aboriginal activist Kevin Gilbert who stated that "[the] real horror story of Aboriginal Australia today is locked in police files and child welfare reports" (Gilbert, 1977, p. 2).

This is considered to be the result of a "cultural divide caused by the non-recognition of the knowledge system of one culture which co-exists within a country being governed by socio-legal traditions underpinned by a different knowledge system" (Faulkhead, 2009, p. 61) because within the Western world, governance, legal processes and learning is facilitated largely through written documentation. The non-recognition of the Indigenous knowledge system within the Australian governance structures has an ongoing legacy within the court system (Faulkhead, 2009, p. 61):

"Preferencing text allows oral knowledge to be questioned resulting in a dichotomy between text and orality - a dichotomy that can impact upon cultures and communities where oral memory is a major source of knowledge storage and transmission" (Faulkhead, 2009, p. 60).

These regulatory and bureaucratic systems introduced through colonisation resulted in Indigenous cultural knowledge being contained within archives that are 'protected' through Western legal structures, "[impeding] our peoples' ready access to these records and repositories of culture and denied our structures of ownership, control and regulation" (Gooda, 2020, para. 17).

In their seminal paper, Martin Nakata and Marcia Langton (2006, p. 4) challenged the archival and recordkeeping fields to balance Indigenous and Western knowledge systems through the:

“[development] of a set of practices that recognise the entanglement of the two traditions as they move forward together in a somewhat problematic tension... it must be about the authority of Indigenous people to determine how and under what conditions they want to manage their knowledge and cultural materials... At every level it must be about developing trust and good working relations between Indigenous people and collecting institutions.”

In 2010, Mick Gooda suggested that human rights standards such as *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* are useful tools which should be utilised in guiding discussions and reforms within the archival field and meeting the challenge set by Nakata and Langton (Gooda, 2010).

Efforts to decolonise Western understandings of the archive have gained increasing momentum over the past few decades, bolstered by important strides in the recognition of Indigenous human rights worldwide through instruments such as the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UN, 2007). Indigenous archivists and their allies have been instrumental in the development of protocols, publications and conferences within the archival sector dedicated to the decolonisation of Indigenous archives. In addition to regularly publishing peer-reviewed articles considering different aspects and use cases of decolonising efforts in the archives, the archival academic journals of settler colonial states (with the exception of Canada’s *Archivaria*) have devoted issues to Indigenous archiving in recent years, e.g. *Archival Science* (June 2012; June 2019), *Archives and Manuscripts* (Issue 1 2019), and *Archifacts* (Issues 1 & 2, 2018).

These efforts have resulted in an increased recognition of archives as being more than tangible records and of needing to make room for other ways of knowing (Russell, 2005). There are a number of major national documents and principles which guide the manner in which collecting institutions engage with Indigenous Australian communities. Namely these are:

- *The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Protocols for Libraries, Archives and Information Services* (commonly referred to as the ATSILIRN protocols) (2012);
- *The Trust and Technology Statement of Principles* (2009);

- The National and State Libraries Australasia's *Working with Community* guidelines (2013), and;
- The International Council on Archives' *Tandanya - Adelaide Declaration* (2019).

Thorpe and Galassi (2014) argue that when considered together, these resources provide insight into the relationships between Indigenous Australian communities and the archival and library sectors.

Whilst the potential of the archive to support Indigenous priorities has been well established, a monumental shift in our understandings and definitions of the archive, and the subsequent transformation of our systems, people and processes will be required (McKemmish et al., 2012). The capacity of institutional archival organisations to make this fundamental transformation is limited by their Western colonial legacies and role in the ongoing system of colonisation. In recognition that archival institutions in settler-colonial states are limited by the colonial principles upon which they were founded, many scholars and community members have argued that the best way to decolonise the archive in the present climate is to support Indigenous community-controlled organisations to maintain their own archives (Flinn et al., 2009; McCracken, 2015).

While human rights frameworks like *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) have been used to support calls for decolonisation efforts (McKemmish et al., 2012; Gooda 2010), human rights frameworks themselves can be problematic. One reason human rights frameworks have been deemed problematic, particularly within Indigenous contexts, is that they tend to be very individual-focussed rather than community-focussed (Ghaddar & Caswell, 2019). Furthermore, these frameworks are not one-size-fits-all and depending on the community, may not be relevant, and forcing something upon a community just because they have a right to have it goes against the ethos of that right being developed in the first place (Ghaddar & Caswell, 2019). In their seminal paper, Caswell and Cifor (2016) suggest that embracing the notion of 'radical empathy' within the archive would enable us to better engage with the original ethos behind rights. Radical empathy when brought to bear upon the decolonisation of archives means going:

"... beyond liberal normative understandings of diversity and social justice as inclusion, representation or recognition towards more critical theories and practices that seek remedies necessitating social transformation rather than accommodation or incorporation" (Ghaddar & Caswell, 2019, p. 72, original emphasis)

Furthermore, Ghaddar and Caswell (2019, p. 72) argue that archival work which embraces radical empathy “reflects on and is transparent about the assumptions and positionalities of those producing and disseminating knowledge.”

2.5 The New Museum Movement

In the latter half of the 20th Century, museums had come to be “regarded by many scholars and cultural critics as, if not extinct, then certainly archaic institutions far from the cutting edge of cultural innovation” (Healy & Witcomb, 2006, p. 1). Over the last three decades however, the ‘new museum’ phenomenon has seen a resurgence of museum and cultural centre expansion and development which coincided with a growing awareness of the plurality of the communities they are situated within (Trinca & Wehner, 2006; Healy & Message, 2004; Healy & Witcomb, 2006).

“Nowhere is this more striking than in the South Pacific where large, new or significantly expanded public museums and cultural centres have opened since the 1990s” (Healy & Witcomb, 2006, p. 1).

The ‘new museology’ movement is difficult to define, and is generally characterised by a general dissatisfaction with ‘old museology’ and therefore has at its core a critical approach to museological practices and institutions (Trinca & Wehner, 2006). The resulting swathe of new museums were more dynamic and redefined its relationship with community, however they could only move so far as they carry the weight of colonial museological and administrative legacies (Tissandier, 2006; Onciul, 2015). Since the 1990s, museological literature presented inclusion of Indigenous communities in their own representations within museums as a solution to ongoing colonisation rather than the development of a new type of relationship with its own complexities, opportunities and challenges (Onciul, 2015). To put it another way, these museums engaged with decolonisation at a superficial level through engagement and tokenistic collaboration, without engaging with the deeper, more radical shifts required of decolonisation (Onciul, 2015). One example of this is the repatriation of digital photographs of objects to originating communities, rather than the material object itself (Onciul, 2015). Only more recently have these relationships been critically engaged with in the literature:

“Understanding the current limits of engagement and restrictions to museum indigenisation may enable collaborative efforts to be strategically utilised to work

within and go beyond current boundaries and facilitate reciprocities that can begin to decolonise relations and enrich both museums and communities. The research illustrates that sharing power is neither simple nor conclusive, but a complex and unpredictable first step in building new relationships between museums and Indigenous communities.” (Onciul, 2015, p. 2).

In 2015, Onciul argued that previous literature considering relationships between museums and communities tends to have a curatorial or academic rather than community focus and “its difficulties and complexities understated” (Onciul, 2015). For these reasons, and more, the new museum movement was not going far enough to meet the needs of Indigenous groups who wanted to revolutionise - or create their own - cultural institutions, and these groups were more likely to adopt the alternative term ‘cultural centre’ (Stanley, 2008).

The adapted museological practices of these Indigenous cultural centres resulted from “a half-century of decolonisation, the emergence of postcolonial nations and the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s” (Healy & Witcomb, 2006, p. 2). New museums and Indigenous cultural centres therefore have some overlap, and have been considered side-by-side in publications fittingly titled *South Pacific Museums: Experiments in Culture* (Healy & Witcomb, 2006) and *The Future of Indigenous Museums: Perspectives from the Southwest Pacific* (Stanley, 2008).

Cultural centres did not replace the role and function of new museums however, and in fact in many places both exist and are seen to serve different purposes. For example, “the two main cultural institutions dealing with Kanak culture” in New Caledonia are the Museum of New Caledonia and the Centre Culturel Tjibaou, which “offer radically different forms of interpretation” despite both presenting Kanak culture (Tissandier, 2006, p. 3.1). The Museum of New Caledonia presents anthropological collections of material culture which serve as a static, point in time account of pre-colonial Kanak culture. In contrast, the Tjibaou Cultural Centre aims to preserve and promote Kanak heritage whilst also fostering contemporary expression of Kanak culture, supporting cultural exchange and designing research programs (Tissandier, 2006). The goal of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre is to “present a culture that all Kanaks may recognise as theirs and which is also recognised as such from the outside” (Tissandier, 2006, p. 3.3).

However, as both of these organisations were established by the French Government (as New Caledonia is a French overseas territory), they have been criticised by local Kanak peoples who felt a lack of ownership over not just the Museum of New Caledonia but also

the newer Tjibaou Cultural Centre (Tissandier, 2006; Message, 2006). With regards to the Museum of New Caledonia:

“... the issue of Kanak objects being part of museum collections is still a sensitive one, tied as it is to colonialism and the loss of culture. Going to the museum is something most [Kanak] people consider with caution and some hesitancy. As elsewhere, the relationship between indigenous people from a primarily oral culture and ‘mute’ museum objects does not flow seamlessly” (Tissandier, 2006, p. 3.3).

In order to strengthen ties between Kanak communities and the Museum of New Caledonia, Kanak tour guides were hired to guide visiting tourists around the collections. Kanak critics of the Tjibaou Cultural Centre also expressed a lack of ownership over the organisation; “I have the impression that ethnologists from Paris have come here to teach us about our culture” (Nidoish Naisseline as quoted in Message, 2006). This sense of disconnect may stem from the earliest stages of Tjibaou Cultural Centre’s conception, when the centre was designed by a French architect rather than a community member and the process did not allow for community consultation (Message, 2006).

New museums have strategically utilised innovative and symbolic architecture to aestheticise and communicate their distinction from ‘old museums’ to the external community (McCarthy, 2018). When convened to build the museum of the postcolonial New Zealand (eventually resulting in Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa), the project development team stated that the “forbidding monumentality of the traditional museum has no place in the life of a modern Pacific nation, aware and proud of its identity, nurturing and caring of its diverse cultures” (Project Development Team, 1985, p. 11 as cited in Williams, 2006, pg. 2). The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, which aimed to symbolise biculturalism was actually built as two halves of a whole – one Pakeha (non-Māori) and the other Māori - with a central wedge in-between with an exhibition dedicated to the Treaty of Waitangi (which itself is housed elsewhere) and the museum also contains a “culturally functioning marae (ceremonial meeting space)” (Williams, 2006, p. 2.10; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2016).

Indigenous cultural centres also commonly draw upon cultural symbolism in their architectural design (Pieris et al., 2014; Pieris, 2016; McGaw & Pieris, 2014). The architecture typically aims to enhance the flow of cultural information and knowledge in a culturally sensitive manner (e.g. use of round rooms instead of squares for meeting spaces, outdoor meeting spaces that allow for fire and cultural activities such as dance (Mowanjum Cultural Centre and Brambuk Cultural Centre), allowing for more organic movement and learning than Western institutions (Spark, 2002). Heterogenic space allows you to wander

around, create your own experience, engage more of one's senses, whereas enclavic space is the curated linear journey that we commonly associate with 'old museums'. Spark (2002) argues that the use of heterogenic space in architectural design can enhance the learning experience of tourists visiting Indigenous cultural centres, as heterogenic space is thought to be more effective for disrupting dominant ideas.

The architecture of Indigenous cultural centres seeks to emphasise the natural environment of the Indigenous communities they represent (Pieris et al., 2014; Pieris, 2016; McGaw & Pieris, 2014) and the open-air design is a popular choice across the Pacific (Stanley, 2008). The open-air cultural centre design allows the natural environment to feature and also allows for Indigenous styles of building to be displayed. An example of this is New Caledonia's Tjibaou Cultural Centre, which is composed of ten wooden buildings that symbolise traditional Kanak ceremonial huts, and are connected by covered walkways which meander through the natural environment (Message, 2006; Toussandier, 2006).

As part of the new museum movement, the new museums and Indigenous cultural centres of the Oceanic region have sought to redefine their relationships with Indigenous communities (Terri Janke and Co., 2019), and have done so in different ways, to different degrees of success (Message, 2006). These new relationships have sought to move beyond tokenistic consultancy to increased agency and can be reflected in the governance structure of these organisations (Williams, 2006). For example, The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, was built to exemplify bi-culturalism and this has been reflected throughout the organisation, from the architecture of the physical space through to the establishment of two separate management structures, one for the pakeha (non-Māori) half and the other for the Māori half (Williams, 2006).

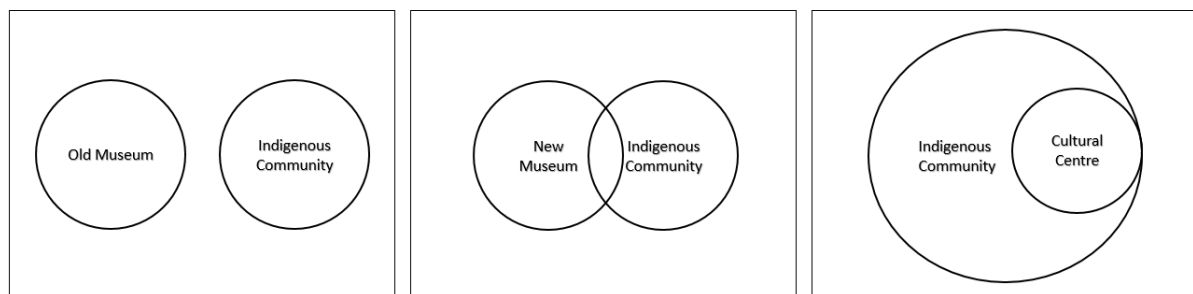


Figure 1. Old museums, new museums and Indigenous controlled cultural centres' relationships with the Indigenous communities they represent.

The figure above is a simplified representation of the relationships between Indigenous communities with old museums, new museums and Indigenous cultural centres, respectively. In reality, the nature of the relationships between Indigenous communities and these organisations is complex and unique (McCarthy, 2007; Peers and Brown, 2003; Onciul, 2015). New museums, despite seeking to identify with postmodern, post-colonial museological approaches, may instead be undermining the Indigenous communities they aim to engage with if they don't move beyond tokenistic engagement:

“National and international mediascapes are exploited by nation-states to pacify separatists or even the potential fissiparousness of all ideas of difference. Typically, contemporary nation-states do this by exercising taxonomic control over difference, by creating various kinds of international spectacles to domesticate difference and by seducing small groups with the fantasy of self-display on some sort of global and cosmopolitan state” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 39 as cited in Williams, 2006, p. 2.13)

Lissant Bolton argues that “indigenous interests in museums can best be summarised in terms of contemporaneity.” She explains that “where Aborigines and Melanesians have this interest, their interest is in using the collections, and the institutions to address contemporary issues” (Bolton, 2001, p. 230-231). For example, when images of historic weaving were shown to contemporary weavers on Ambae, Vanuatu, the women took an instrumental and practical cultural interest in the photos, as opposed to a museological interest (Bolton 1997, p. 27).

Traditionally, the curatorial principles of natural history and anthropological museums have sought to convey “objective and dispassionate information [which] ideally allows visitors to reach their own conclusions” (Williams, 2006, p. 2.9). Conversely, the curatorial principles of art museums “are concerned not only with supplying information, but with aesthetics and conveying abstract interpretive frameworks” (Williams, 2006, p. 2.9). Within the new museum movement, particularly in the display of Indigenous cultures, the traditional distinction in curatorial practices have collapsed to the dismay of some.

For instance, in reviewing Melbourne Museum's Bunjilaka Aboriginal Centre, Peter Timms argued that the gallery displayed an “unashamedly biased presentation that makes few claims to objectivity”, due in part to the intermingling of art and artefact (as cited in Williams, 2006). Peter Timm's view indicates that some within the museological field still view their curatorial practices as being unbiased and based on fact - that they are presenting truth. An acknowledgement of the politic inherently involved in the curation and sharing of any type of information exchange (which also conveys ideology through both content and form) is missing from this view.

The Western distinction between ‘artefact’ and ‘art’ sits uneasily within Indigenous cultures (DeBlock, 2018) and the so-called ‘objective’ curatorial style doesn’t acknowledge the continuing spiritual lives of Indigenous material culture (Williams, 2006). Within cultural heritage organisations, conceiving all Indigenous objects – whether considered utilitarian, cultural or aesthetic – as “[encapsulating] a whole world view plays a vital role in rejecting structuralist anthropological categories, which may be charged with artificially disconnecting, say, spirituality from war or kinship from carving” (Williams, 2006, p. 2.9).

While it is necessary to acknowledge the strides which museums have made with regards to supporting Indigenous cultures (see in particular the *First Peoples: A Roadmap for Enhancing Indigenous Engagement in Museums and Galleries* (2019)), there remains a strong distinction between Indigenous cultural centres and museums

2.6 Indigenous Cultural Centres

Indigenous cultural centres present and support the Indigenous cultures of their communities and combine elements of museums, galleries, community centres, and sometimes, memorials (McGaw & Pieris, 2014). By their nature, Indigenous cultural centres are engaged with identity politics and have been utilised as devices by nation states to help influence an identity narrative which supports the priorities of that nation state (Message, 2006). Indigenous cultural centres are tools for, and sites of, the continual making and remaking of Indigenous cultures and while each Indigenous cultural centre plays an essential role in supporting culture, the ways in which they do so vary (Stanley 2004; Stanley 2008). Depending upon the priorities of their community, as well as their political, social and economic context, each cultural centre serves to different degrees as a social enterprise, a means of regional development, and/or a cultural tourism driver (Stanley, 2008).

The practice of Indigenous culture has been identified as a determinant in Indigenous community health and wellbeing (Carson et al., 2020), and Indigenous cultural centres’ role in promoting and supporting ongoing practice and maintenance of Indigenous cultures has been recommended for improving mental health outcomes of younger generations in particular (Fogliani, 2019). From a socioeconomic perspective cultural heritage resources and the practicing of culture offer a means through which Indigenous communities can engage with regional development through the attraction of cultural tourism, creative industries, and business and research partnerships (Altman, 2005).

Indigenous cultural centres exist in a negotiated space between different (at times contradictory, at times complementary) cultural, regulatory and knowledge systems and are situated in the:

“complex field of heritage, where national economies meet global tourism, [...] where indigeneity articulates colonialism, where exhibitionary technologies and pedagogies meet entertainment, where histories are fought over, where local identities intersect with academic and popular knowledge, where objects and provenance are displayed and contested, where remembering and forgetting dance their endless dance.”

(Healy & Witcomb, 2006, p. 1).

Due in part to navigating this complex space, Indigenous cultural centres vary widely in terms of their governance, funding model, level of community self-determination, and approach to Indigenous tangible and intangible knowledge. This PAR project considers three very different Indigenous cultural centres: the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta is enacted by an independent Indigenous government and is reliant upon state funding; the Polynesian Cultural Centre is a not-for-profit tourism organisation owned by the The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and managed by Indigenous staff; and KALACC is a community-owned organisation reliant upon philanthropic, state and research funding. Each of these organisations is unique - not least in terms of their governance, priorities, relationship with community and funding structures - but all identify as being Indigenous cultural centres aiming to support the Indigenous practices of their communities.

Nick Stanley (2008, p. 13-14) suggests that there are three themes commonly found in Indigenous cultural centres:

- Tradition: The pride in and celebration of Indigenous culture.
- External recognition: Increasing external recognition of a community's culture and the cultural centre itself as an authority on that culture.
- Cultural renewal: A forward-looking perspective with regards to the cultural centres' activities and collections with an aim to support the living culture of an Indigenous community.

Although often considered through a museological lens, it is this final point which historically differentiates Indigenous cultural centres from Western Colonial framed museums; museums that showcase ancient cultures which they *don't necessarily aim to support or revitalise*, while Indigenous cultural centres actively aim to support individual and

community memory systems and connect them back into collective memory systems which translate into cultural activities of that community today (Stanley, 2008).

2.7 Indigenous Cultural Centres in the Oceanic Region

Having defined Indigenous cultural centres, in the following section I explore literature related to Indigenous cultural centres within the Oceanic region. The Oceanic region is a vast geographic region which encompasses Australia, New Zealand and the islands of the Pacific Ocean. While it is important to note that the development of these cultural groupings are contested (Lawson, 2013; Tcherkézoff, 2003), the Pacific Islands are generally considered to encompass three cultural regions, referred to as Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia respectively. While acknowledging that these groupings are contested, they are still widely adopted, and I apply this terminology within this thesis.



Figure 2. “Regions of Oceania” by Tintazul is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0

Whilst in this section I will be exploring the overall trends related to Indigenous cultural centres across the Oceanic region, I do wish to emphasise that there are levels of granularity and specificity that I will be unable to address. Within the literature, Indigenous

cultural centres located on the Pacific Islands have been considered very differently to those located within Australia. I will therefore consider the literature related to the Pacific Islands first, before considering literature related to Indigenous cultural centres in the Australian context.

The challenges faced by Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands are unique in the sense that they are “an extremely small population dispersed over the largest region on the globe” and the resultant logistical and economic challenges this presents argues in favour of “diversification into the realm of culture as a sustainable commodity in an otherwise restricted environment” (Stanley, 2008, p. 2). The first example of what we may today recognise as an open-air museum displaying Indigenous culture was established by Richard Thurnwald who settled in Buin, Papua New Guinea in 1908 (Melk-Koch, 2000).

Richard Thurnwald was a sociologist and psychologist tasked with collecting material culture from Papua New Guinea for the Berlin museum, along with recording information relevant to the material objects’ creation and use (Melk-Koch, 2000). As there is no indication of Indigenous involvement in the establishment of Thurnwald’s museum, I do not refer to it as an Indigenous museum:

“The Buin open-air museum fails to qualify as an indigenous example for the simple but fundamental reason that there was presumably little if any indigenous agency involved in its construction” (Stanley, 2008, p. 4).

However, as the first example of an open-air display of Indigenous cultures (Melk-Koch, 2000), a model which still is a popular choice in the Pacific today (Stanley, 2008), it still warrants a mention in any summation of the development of Indigenous cultural centres. In establishing his centre, Thurnwald was adapting a model of open-air museums that had recently emerged in Europe for presenting Indigenous culture and his “museum consist[ed] of models of houses from different parts of the colony, furnished with true Indigenous items” (Melk-Koch, 2000, p. 59-60). According to Melk-Koch, locals of Buin “flocked” to see the exhibits and “paid an entrance fee in natural products” (2000, p. 60).

Within the Pacific region, the development of Indigenous cultural centres gained momentum alongside the new museum movement and the increased recognition of Indigenous rights from the 1960s and 1970s onward, culminating in their peak popularity during the 1980s and 1990s, bolstered by the Pacific region’s independence movement (Healy & Witcomb, 2006).

According to Stanley (2008, p.2), the following bodies supported the development of Indigenous cultural centres in the Pacific:

- The Australian South Pacific Cultures Fund “which has assisted in the building of cultural centres throughout the region”,
- The Tourism Council of the South Pacific (1990) “has also played a significant role, commissioning reports on economic diversification through the tourist industry”,
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) through its Pacific Office, and
- Pacific Islands Museums Association.

There have been two major publications which sought to explore the role and activities of Indigenous cultural centres across the Pacific; *Museums and Cultural Centres in the Pacific* by Soi Eoe and Pamela Swadling (1991), and *The Future of Indigenous Museums: Perspectives from the Southwest Pacific*, edited by Nick Stanley (2008). Eoe and Swadling’s study is composed of contributions from nearly 40 different locations across the Pacific and Nick Stanley’s (2008) compendium is composed of 13 chapters considering different locations across the Southwest Pacific.

Rather than the anthropological and museological lenses through which most literature related to cultural centres in the Pacific region are written, literature related to Australian Indigenous cultural centres are predominantly within the fields of tourism (Spark, 2002), development (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2012; Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2014) and architecture (Potter, 2012; McGaw & Pieris, 2014; Pieris et al., 2014; Pieris, 2016), with only one article considering Indigenous cultural centres of Australia from a museological perspective (Christen, 2007).

The most comprehensive survey of Australian cultural centres appears in Anoma Pieris’ *Indigenous cultural centers and museums: An illustrated international survey* (2016), within which 32 of the 41 cultural centres considered are Indigenous Australian organisations. However, Pieris’ (2016) compendium considers cultural centres through the discipline of architecture and as a result is of interest to this research, but less directly relevant than the works of Stanley (2004 & 2008), Eoe & Swadling (1991), Spark (2002) and Christen (2007).

The establishment of Indigenous cultural centres and art centres occurred as part of an Indigenous “cultural resurgence” which took place within Australia from the 1970s (Jones

& Birdsall-Jones, 2014, p. 296). A review of the literature found that whilst Indigenous art centres are well-represented within the literature, and have in fact been considered through an archival lens (Jorgensen & McLean, 2017), Indigenous “cultural centres have received little attention from researchers” (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2014, p. 297) which is problematic seeing as “Aboriginal cultural centres open up opportunities for larger and more diverse alliances, and therefore new opportunities for Aboriginal people’s participation, activism and expression” (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2014, p. 296).

Christen (2007) identified one reason why Indigenous cultural centres present such a challenge to scholars:

“While all the hallmarks of cultural tourism and museum displays can be ticked off a check list, what can not be so easily accounted for (either economically or culturally) is the behind-the-scenes work that marks another set of community goals: caring for country, maintaining social ties, teaching language, and preserving cultural and historical artifacts and memories” (2007, p. 106).

It is this limited attention within the literature on the ‘behind-the-scenes’ work of Indigenous cultural centres which this research project addresses through its consideration of the understanding and use of the archive within three organisations.

With the exception of Nick Stanley’s publications (1998, 2004, 2008), much of the existing literature relating to Indigenous cultural centres of Australia and the Pacific are highly localised case studies considering tourism (Spark, 2002), development (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2012; Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2014), architecture (Potter, 2012; McGaw & Pieris, 2014; Pieris et al., 2014; Pieris, 2016), museology (Christen, 2007), and anthropology (Bolton, 2008). In trying to understand what these localised case studies had in common, I identified a preoccupation with three interrelated concerns. These concerns were; the authority of an Indigenous cultural centre to make its own decisions and to influence others’, the sustainability of the organisations themselves, and finally, how to remain authentic to the organisation’s goals and to the ways in which the community wishes to have their culture represented.

For example, Spark (2002) considered the efficacy of displays at the Brambuk Cultural Centre in Victoria, Australia for educating visiting tourists. When Spark (2002) interviewed staff of the organisation about their displays, the participants reflected that they didn’t feel that they had the authority to decide what was displayed, nor how it was displayed, as they were placed under economic pressure by the Australian Government to become self-sustaining through engagement with tourism, and as a result felt forced to

portray their culture in a manner that was inauthentic to the community's interests. The quote below illustrates the interrelated themes of authority, sustainability and authenticity:

"We tend to think that it's a bit unfair that we have to sort of make more money to be able to pay the wages of the people who give those services, we're always being pressured to from the state, the funding agency, they sort of say well you should be generating and becoming self-sufficient well, not quite, we don't think that's our role quite frankly." - Geoff Clark, Brambuk Cultural Centre chairperson (as cited in Spark, 2002, p. 38).

In the following section I discuss each of the three themes while drawing upon examples from the literature.

2.7.1 Authority

A common preoccupation within literature considering Indigenous cultural centres is the extent to which an organisation has authority to decide how to represent their own cultures (see Spark, 2002 and Message, 2006). In relationship with their broader political, economic and social contexts, Indigenous cultural centres are all dealing with navigating the tensions between representing the 'traditional' and 'contemporary' culture of their communities. Concurrently, nation states are continually working to curate the dominant images and messages of national identity, which can sometimes be at odds with the ways in which an Indigenous community wishes to represent itself:

"Even the smallest community has a strength through cultural identity and we must maintain that. If we do not maintain that we will have a state that builds an artificial identity to suit certain political elites or power groups." - Utula Samana, former Premier of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea (as cited in Schmid, 1993, p. 781)

Nation states (whether independent Indigenous states or colonial powers) have utilised Indigenous cultural centres as a means of reconstructing identity and nationhood (Message, 2006). Claude Patriat states that "'out of all democratic countries, the French nation has taken furthest the assertion of an active political presence in the cultural field' as a way of ensuring its authority" (as quoted in Message, 2006, p. 4.11). Kylie Message cites New Caledonia's Tjibaou Cultural Centre which was opened in 1998 as an example of France's assertion of power through the means of cultural organisations.

As I mentioned previously, the Tjibaou Cultural Centre was designed by a French architect and is composed of ten wooden buildings which represent traditional Kanak ceremonial huts, and the design process has been criticised for its lack of consultation prior to building commencing (Message, 2006). Kylie Message (2006) perceives this architecture as partly a product of France's desire to instate a sense of nationhood that serves the French Government's purpose, one that contributes to the colonial perception "of New Caledonia as a 'small France in the Pacific'" (Caroline Graille 2001 as quoted in Message, 2006, p. 4.13).

"Museums and heritage sites are places that are imbued with power and authority by the societies that build and authorise them. They are both mirrors and shapers of culture, nations and peoples. They are key locations where identity politics and efforts to (re)claim culture and history play out. As authorities on the past, museums are vested with special privileges to authorise histories, with the power to both remember and forget" (Onciul, 2015, p. 3).

Some argue that engaging with a tourism model rather than relying on state-funding may result in greater self-determination. However, either funding model impacts upon an Indigenous cultural centres' authority:

"... it is misguided to think that those who participate in cultural tourism will be leaving government dependence behind in favour of 'self-determination'" - Geoff Clark, Brambuk Cultural Centre chairperson (as cited in Spark, 2002, p. 39).

An Indigenous cultural centres' authority can also be impacted by internal pressures, particularly in the form of competing community interests. This was the case with the Gwoonwardu Mia - Gascoyne Aboriginal Heritage and Cultural Centre located in Carnarvon, Western Australia. Gwoonwardu Mia's architecturally designed, purpose-built facilities were completed in 2005, however two conflicts among the Indigenous family groups of the Carnarvon area prevented the cultural centres' opening until 2009, following the governance model of the organisation being completely overhauled (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2012).

2.7.2 Sustainability

The theme of sustainability is also prevalent within the literature as the financial sustainability of Indigenous cultural centres is not assured, regardless of the financial model they adopt:

“...there are award-winning architecturally designed Indigenous cultural centres that have been abandoned; centres that serve the interests of tourists but fail to nourish the cultural interests of Indigenous stakeholders’ and others that have become successful places for community gathering that fail to generate the funds required to maintain them” (McGaw & Pieris, 2014, p. 1).

Another important point to note in terms of the emphasis upon ‘sustainability’ as a capitalist notion, is that government-funded Indigenous cultural centres have been forced to move into a tourism model against their wishes in order to become ‘sustainable’, requiring compromises to the ways in which they display their own culture:

“We’ve been sort of pressured I suppose to start um using other mechanisms to display culture where you start to get away from y’know, you start turning it into a bit of a Disneyland y’know, light and sound shows that sort of stuff which y’know sure it provides an attraction but then again it’s, there’s a cost associated with that and all of a sudden you’re doing things commercially rather than as a cultural service” - Geoff Clark, Brambuk Cultural Centre chairperson (as cited in Spark, 2002, p. 37).

Indigenous culture centres are in the business of cultural production (DeBlock, 2018) and they require funding for their continued viability, whether they are engaging with the ‘private’, ‘state’ or ‘customary’ components of the market. Altman (2005) described these three components of the Indigenous hybrid economy framework in the following manner:

- Private: The market is conceptualised as the productive private sector. Within regional Indigenous communities, the market “is often very small and might include the retail sector, the arts industry, commercial wildlife harvesting, local entrepreneurial activity and, in some situations, articulation with the mining and tourism sectors” (Altman, 2005, p. 36).
- State: Within Indigenous communities, the state is visible in its many capacities; “as service provider to citizens, as provider of the welfare safety net, as law enforcer and as regulator” (Altman, 2005, p. 37). Often in regional areas, this component is the most visible of the hybrid economy model as the private market is smaller than in urban areas and the customary market is often overlooked and undervalued (Altman, 2005).

- Customary: The customary economy component of the hybrid economy framework is “made up of a range of productive activities that occur outside the market” and “are based on cultural continuities” (Altman, 2005, p. 37). These activities include any cultural practice, ranging from ceremony to hunting and maintenance of oral traditions (Altman, 2005). A “distinctive feature of the customary economy is that it is not monetised; consequently, its value has remained either unquantified or unrecognised in mainstream terms” (Altman, 2005, p. 37).

These three components of the hybrid economy are interlinked and depending upon their funding models, Indigenous cultural centres would engage to a greater and lesser extent with all three. Through engagement with the state economy (through government funding or grants) or the market economy (through tourism or donations), Indigenous cultural centres support the customary economy. When the activities of the customary economy are monetised, for example through presentations of cultural performances, they move from being part of the customary economy to the private economy (Altman, 2005).

For example, the Gwoonwardu Mia - Gascoyne Aboriginal Heritage and Cultural Centre engages with the state economy as it receives government funding for a number of its programs, and engages with the market economy through its engagement with tourism and by renting out its meeting and conference facilities, which are “the most advanced meeting facilities” in the area (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2012, p. 1235). Gwoonwardu Mia also supports the customary economy by making these same facilities free for Indigenous groups to use, serving as a meeting place for the local community and acting as a conduit for cultural initiatives. In its relatively short lifespan, Gwoonwardu Mia “has also led to an Aboriginal art revival in Carnarvon” through its artist-in-residence program (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2012, p. 1235).

What needs to be better understood and recognised is that the customary practices that are supported by Indigenous organisations (like cultural centres) provide flow-on benefits to other components of the market (Altman, 2005; Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2012). One key aspect which is often overlooked because it is so difficult to quantify, is the improvement in the physical and mental wellbeing among Indigenous groups who are supported to continue practicing their own cultures (Altman, 2005). Furthermore, researchers and industry too often leverage Indigenous knowledge for their own gain, without some of those benefits being transferred back to the community that did the customary work of maintaining and looking after that knowledge over countless generations (Altman, 2005).

2.7.3 Authenticity

The third and final concern of authenticity was identified particularly within literature relating to Indigenous cultural centres engaging with tourism. In Indigenous cultural tourism, aspects of culture are commodified and offered to both locals and visitors in exchange for money (Andimarjoko, 2018). This commodification can take the form of charging an entry fee to an event or place, or selling tangible objects related to the culture.

The perceived value of the commodified events or objects are bound up in their perceived level of authenticity (DeBlock, 2018). For example, in Vanuatu it was found that if tourists sensed that a cultural object had been made with the express purpose of being sold, they perceived it as less authentic – and therefore less valuable – than something that was perceived as having been made without the intention of being sold (DeBlock, 2018). Therefore, those pieces of material culture that were created without the intention of being sold are considered more authentic, more valuable and more sought after, contributing to the long history of Indigenous material culture being stolen (DeBlock, 2018).

While tourists' perceptions of authenticity have been considered at length with regard to tangible aspects of culture (e.g. material culture, landscapes and heritage sites), tourists' perceptions of authenticity with regard to the presentation of dynamic, living Indigenous cultures "are understudied" despite being "acknowledged as a driving force that motivates tourists' intention to revisit the destination" (Hsu, 2018, p. 117)

In line with Bourdieu's (1986) argument that social capital is ascribed by others within a network, DeBlock posits that "authenticity and the authentication of people and things is a type of valuation" (2018, p. 15). Further to this point, Andimarjoko (2018, n.p.) argues that within "cultural tourism, authenticity is a relative and negotiable term" wherein "perceived authenticity is more applicable than the traditional, objective authenticity".

An Indigenous cultural centre that engages with tourism therefore has to consider tourists' desire for *perceived* authenticity (which may be different to local Indigenous understandings of traditional cultural authenticity) to deliver something that the tourist perceives as being valuable and therefore worth paying for (Stanley, 1998; DeBlock, 2018). This is further complicated by DeBlock's (2018) finding that tourists' perceptions of authenticity are often coupled with ideas of Indigenous cultures as being static cultures, strongly influenced by their perceptions of pre-colonial culture:

“The authentic native is one imagined by visitors and locals alike. He, and particularly he, is one dressed up in local costume, wearing paraphernalia such as pig tusks and leaf and flower decorations and showing his traditional “nakedness”” (DeBlock, 2018, p. 15-16).

Discussions of ‘authenticity’ within Indigenous cultural centres need to take into account the communities’ own notions of contemporary and traditional Indigeneity and how they wish to represent their culture to the rest of the world.

The following section will propose the use of Bourdieu’s practice theory as an appropriate theoretical framework through which to consider the nature, role and use of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres.

2.8 Bourdieu’s Practice Theory

Much of the literature related to Indigenous archives over the past 20 years embraces the various forms of critical theory and considers Foucauldian concepts of power. Following the publication of Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook’s (eds.) *Archival Science* special issue entitled ‘Archives, records, and power’ in 2002, an explosion of critical archival literature occurred, forming part of what Caswell et al. (2017) later termed ‘critical archival studies’. During this period, we saw archival scholars applying various approaches of critical theory to a consideration of Indigenous archives, including but not limited to: critical race theory (Dunbar, 2006), feminist theory (Luker, 2017), and postcolonialism theory (Bastian, 2013). Together, the literature that forms part of critical archival studies:

“Critically interrogate the role of archives, records and archival actions and practices in bringing about or impeding social justice, in understanding and coming to terms with past wrongs or permitting continued silences, or in empowering historically or contemporarily marginalized and displaced communities.” (Caswell et al., 2017, p. 1).

Reviewing the literature related to Indigenous cultural centres found that much of the existing scholarship also embraces critical theory and Foucauldian concepts of power (Potter, 2012; McGaw & Pieris, 2014). However, as Conal McCarthy argues:

“Foucauldian theories of discourse, representation and power/knowledge restrict academic analysis by focusing on the contest of good/bad ideas at the expense of what people actually do” (McCarthy, 2016, p. 24).

Whilst these considerations of power are of great importance, KALACC wished for this research to be more directly applicable and to have practice-based outcomes. The application of practice theory within the context of museums was noted by Conal McCarthy (2016) as a useful way in which to consider what cultural practitioners actually *do*.

“... theorising practice through practice theory lends a greater sophistication, depth and complexity to the study of cultural heritage in relation to social institutions and particularly non-Western perspectives on arts and heritage” (McCarthy, 2016, p. 24).

To move away from those dichotomies and instead consider what it is that museum staff do, Conal McCarthy (2016) proposed the use of practice theory within museum studies as a means of “[grounding] the phenomenon or object of study in its context amid the swirl of lived social relations” (p. 24). Furthermore, when applied to a recordkeeping research study, Colwell (2020) found that practice theory allowed him to reframe a consideration of records, allowing for records to be viewed as practices as opposed to artefacts. Colwell’s finding was particularly interesting as it suggested that practice theory might be an appropriate theoretical framework through which to decolonise our understanding of the archive. To shift away from the Western colonial preoccupation with instantiated records and instead embrace a decolonised understanding of the archive as being a metaphor which encompasses all forms of knowledge. It is for these two reasons that I decided to apply Bourdieu’s practice theory (1977) as this research study’s theoretical framework.

Practice theory is a theoretical framework most commonly associated with French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu who placed practice theory “at the heart of [his] sociological studies” (Power, 1999, p. 48). The development of practice theory addressed two of Bourdieu’s primary theoretical concerns: firstly, to overcome the dichotomies which dominated in social studies (for example, objective/subjective, structure/agency), and secondly, “to understand the practical logic of everyday life, to understand relations of power, and to develop a reflexive sociology” (Power, 1999, p. 48). To this end, Bourdieu’s (1977) practice theory combines elements of both structuralism (which emphasises the role of societal structures over individual agency) and post-modernism and existentialism (which emphasises the agency of the individual) enabling a consideration of how societal structures and individual behaviour interact through a consideration of people’s behaviour (Power, 1999). Bourdieu’s practice theory (1977) combines elements of both structuralism (which emphasises the role of societal structures over individual agency) and post-modernism and existentialism (which emphasises the agency of the individual) (Power, 1999).

I go into more detail about practice theory and *how* it was applied in Chapter 3: Methodology.

2.9 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse existing literature related to Indigenous cultural centres and their engagement with tangible and intangible Indigenous knowledges. A review of existing literature established that Indigenous cultural centres gained increasing popularity, bolstered by increased recognition of Indigenous human rights, increased protection of intangible culture as well as a transformation of the museological field - commonly referred to as the 'new museum' movement. Within this chapter I outlined each of these developments before providing an introduction to Indigenous cultural centres and the literature related to those established in Australia and across the Pacific.

Currently within the literature, no study was found which explicitly set out to consider the nature, role and use of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres. Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory was chosen as an appropriate framework through which to consider the nature and role of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres as it will enable me to consider what people who work within these organisations actually *do*. In the process, this research will help address the current dearth of literature considering Indigenous cultural centres' 'behind-the-scenes' work (Christen, 2007). In the next chapter, Chapter 3: Methodology, I list the research questions and the methodological framework used to address them.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter sets out the research design adopted for this project and provides justifications for the decisions made. According to Kendall et al. (2011), *how* researchers go about supporting the cause of an Indigenous partner is as important as their research outcomes. Therefore, just as the methodology outlined in this chapter underpinned the research, I encourage you to view this chapter as the foundation of the thesis. This methodology chapter details how the research will meet its primary objective of enhancing current understanding of the nature, role and use of the archive in Indigenous cultural centres.

The chapter begins with a summary of the findings of the literature review, providing context for the research questions which were addressed. I then go on to outline the research design used to address these research questions and provide justifications for the choices made. The constructionist paradigm informed my meta-theoretical assumptions and I adopted participatory action research methodology within the theoretical framework of Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory. For data collection and data analysis I adopted the following methods: case studies, yarning interviews, content analysis and autoethnography.



Figure 3. The epistemological paradigm, theoretical framework, methodology and methods.

3.2 Research Questions

As outlined in Chapter 2: Literature Review, while expanded definitions of the archive are increasingly being explored within archival research literature, international archival standards, systems and processes are still preoccupied with instantiated records (Gilliland & Caswell, 2016) and there exists a continued call for decolonising our understanding of archives. It was found that literature related to both decolonising the archive and Indigenous cultural centres was preoccupied with Foucauldian concepts of power, which can often come at the expense of considering what people actually *do* when working in these spaces (McCarthy, 2016). The literature review also established that existing literature related to Indigenous cultural centres of the Oceanic region primarily focus on the Pacific region, that Australian Indigenous cultural centres are comparatively under-represented within the literature. Kim Christen (2007) argued that one reason why Indigenous cultural centres are

underrepresented within the literature could be because the behind-the-scenes work of these unique organisations have proved to be such a challenge to scholars.

I propose to address these limitations in the current literature through a consideration of how Indigenous cultural practitioners working within Indigenous cultural centres understand and engage with their archive. Gaining an understanding of how practitioners working within Indigenous cultural centres understand and engage with their archive will help to inform further decolonisation efforts within the archival sector.

A consideration of the existing literature led to the identification of limitations in the current literature and in the process, the identification of the research questions which will be addressed. Given the current gaps in existing literature, a consideration of the following research questions will amount to a contribution to knowledge:

- **How do community members understand the archive and its role within each cultural centre case study?**
- **How are community members currently engaging with their archive?**
- **What are the future priorities and potentialities of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres?**

3.3 Meta-Theoretical Assumptions

An understanding of the epistemological underpinnings of a research project is important for understanding its findings (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Since the 1950s, much of the effort aimed at decolonising research targeted research methodologies as opposed to the underpinning worldviews or philosophies (Kendall et al., 2011). However, in recent years, there has been an increasing awareness that conducting more appropriate Indigenous research would involve “an epistemological reframing of knowledge to ensure that Indigenous ways of knowledge are valued” (Kendall et al., 2011, p. 1722).

According to prominent Indigenous researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), conducting culturally-appropriate research with Indigenous communities involves the application of a suitable methodology within a philosophical approach and process of gathering knowledge that suits Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing. For these reasons it was important to select an epistemological framework which enabled me to

consider the dynamic frameworks which informed the individual participants' understanding of, and engagement with, their archive. To that end, this research was conducted within the social constructionist paradigm, an approach which acknowledges that an individuals' worldviews cannot be separated from their socio-cultural context and that 'everyday life' is socially constructed (Andrews, 2012).

The social constructionist paradigm acknowledges that "the researcher's knowledge production, as in the case of all other discourse, is productive - it creates reality at the same time as representing it" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 175). In acknowledgment of the fact that the researcher is part of the research, I aim to be as transparent as practicable in this thesis with regards to my role within, and impact upon, the research. Strategies to make the research more reflexive and transparent include writing in the first person (not hiding the 'self' behind an illusion of impartiality) and engaging in reflection throughout. In recognition of the inherently political aspects of research and the power imbalances ascribed within research processes (Ivori & Venable, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999), where possible and appropriate, this thesis will make transparent the *how* of this research project. Employing the use of accessible terminology and writing in the first person are two ways in which I work against the academic tradition of representing research as authoritative through the use of the "neutral observational language" of a researcher "who is assumed to access empirical data from the independent reality" (Ivori & Venable, 2009, p. 148).

Although Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (1991 [1966]) has received criticism from prominent theoreticians including Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) who argue that its value-free consideration of phenomena (in contrast to, for example, the critical theory paradigm) can render it meaningless. However, social constructionist theory has subsequently been demonstrated to enable a consideration of "power structures as part of objective reality" in addition to "[opening] up a distinct perspective from which to systematically analyse the subjective dimension of power constitution" (Dreher, 2016, p. 53). Berger and Luckmann's (1991) social constructionist paradigm is useful as it outlines an intermingling of objective and social reality and is also preoccupied with the idea of habituation, an important aspect of practice theory [described in Section 3.4].

As the social constructionist theory views researchers as being active co-creators of reality, within this thesis I will make my role in the knowledge production process transparent. This thesis depicts the outcomes of the research as thoughtfully and conscientiously as possible in addition to documenting my personal experience of decolonising my own understanding of research and of the archive. Through the use of

first-person and by resisting the use of inaccessible academic language, this thesis is a subjective representation of *one* reality. My ability to be transparent about the convoluted and messy reality of the research process will be limited by the narrative stylings of a thesis, which is traditionally a linear and formal academic narrative based on Western scholarly traditions.

3.4 Theoretical Framework

As was established in Chapter 2: Literature Review, many important critiques of Indigenous cultural centres and archives exist through the lens of critical theory (Potter, 2012; McGaw & Pieris, 2014; Caswell et al., 2017). Whilst these discussions support decolonising actions, focussing on power structures and the “contest of good/bad” distracts from the reality of practice within institutions (McCarthy, 2016). While practice theory has not yet been specifically applied to consider the archives nor Indigenous cultural centres, Section 2.8 described its previous use within a recordkeeping study and to consider the work of museum practitioners.

The main three constructs of Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory are habitus, field and cultural capital. In brief, habitus is the term used by Bourdieu to describe an individual's skills, habits and ingrained practices, which are a result of the interplay between societal structures and the individual's experiences. An individual's habitus is composed of both primary and secondary habitus. Primary habitus refers to identity formation during childhood which is particularly ingrained (e.g. gender, ethnicity, class) while secondary habitus refers to skills, mindsets and identities acquired later in life (e.g. through engagement with a profession). The former is more durable than the latter and is less easily altered (Bourdieu, 1977).

Field refers to different, interrelated areas of life and society, each with its own rules and structures (Bourdieu, 1977). Two examples of fields which an individual may operate within are work and family. Each field has its own rules which govern individuals' behaviour while acting within it and guide the actions that they can take in particular situations. The extent to which an individual has the power to act in a given field is also influenced by the nature and amount of cultural capital they hold, which is the third major construct within practice theory (Bourdieu, 1977). Cultural capital refers to the ‘assets’ of an individual which signify and determine one's social position. There are three types of cultural capital;

embodied cultural capital, institutionalised cultural capital, and objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977). An individual's accent, beliefs and knowledge are examples of their embodied cultural capital. Forms of institutionalised cultural capital include formal qualifications and job titles which symbolise authority. Objectified cultural capital encompasses an individual's money and material possessions.

Practice theory and the three main concepts of habitus, field and cultural capital formed the core of Bourdieu's sociological studies (Power, 1999). Later, Bourdieu would go on to suggest economic capital and social capital as two further types of capital (1986). Depending upon the field in question:

"...capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility." (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243, original emphasis).

Bourdieu sought to de-emphasise the role of economic capital in determining an individual's social standing and instead stressed 'symbolic capital' as a determinant for social hierarchies and power. Symbolic capital is *not* another form of capital, but rather refers to the additional honour or prestige that occurs when an individual's cultural capital, economic capital or social capital is legitimated by an external, authoritative source. Symbolic capital is:

"the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17).

Practice theory has a long history in sociology but has only recently been applied within museum studies (McCarthy, 2016) and recordkeeping (Colwell, 2020). As far as I can determine, it has not previously been applied within archival studies. Practice theory is useful in decolonising research as it views:

"society as a struggle of symbolic and material forces, in which the "truth" about reality is constructed both from interpretation and from structural necessity imposed by a dominant symbolic structure, which treats its particular version of reality as natural" ("Practice Theory", n.d.).

Practice theory's emphasis upon what people *do*, its resistance to dichotomies, its previous application in decolonising research and the fact that it has not been used within archival science are all reasons why it is the appropriate theoretical framework. A further key reason practice theory has been chosen is to understand the logic of the individual participants' engagement with the archive; the ways in which they define and understand the archive, the ways in which they engage with the archive in its different forms and the motivations behind those practices. The application of practice theory enables a researcher to consider the logic behind an individual's practice, by taking into account not only an individuals' habitus, fields and cultural capital, but also the interrelationships between these three core concepts (Power, 1999).

Practice theory does not come without its own unique challenges however. A particular challenge of the application of practice theory is that "Bourdieu was seldom categorical in his exposition of concepts and analytical devices", which "makes attempts to specify and also apply his constructs challenging" (Lem, 2013, p. 650). This is further compounded by the "interdependence of the constructs that inform his conceptual repertoire, as the disambiguation of one item in Bourdieu's lexicon requires the concurrent decoding of others" (Lem, 2013, p. 650). In order to navigate these layers of complexity, I will explain and make my reasoning transparent as it pertains to the application of practice theory within this thesis, particularly in relation to the identification of habitus, cultural capital, and fields within each of the case studies.

3.5 Research Methodology

The term 'action research' was coined in 1946 when Kurt Lewin was asked to develop "research which [would] help the practitioner", particularly for those practitioners working with minority groups (Lewin, 1946, p. 34). Action research emphasises the production of knowledge that is deemed useful or important by a project partner (Reason, 1998, p. 269) and has become an umbrella term which encompasses "a range of participatory research approaches where one important focus is 'action'" (Williamson, 2013, p. 189).

Action research approaches "[reject] the assertion that a value-free understanding of social relations is either possible or desirable" (Williamson, 2013, p. 191) and takes "its cues – its questions, puzzles and problems – from the perceptions of practitioners within

particular, local contexts” (Argyris & Schön, 1991, p. 86). As the aims of the project are determined with project participants and participating communities in order to help achieve a goal, action research methodology is overtly political (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Action research methodology was suitable in conjunction with the social constructionist paradigm because as a methodology it “can be explained from the perspective of many philosophies” and is suited for application of practice theory as it is “concerned with the study of human actions and social practice” (Oosthuizen, 2002, p. 159). Action research approaches are as diverse as the philosophical assumptions that have been adopted (Iivari & Venable, 2009). According to Cassell and Johnson (2006), one of the five main action research approaches is participatory action research. Participatory action research (PAR) can also be referred to as community-based research, participation research, emancipatory research and action research (Stoecker, 2005; Kendall et al., 2011).

PAR was decided upon as the most appropriate research methodology for two reasons: firstly, the project sought to address a problem identified by a community partner, and secondly, this methodology stresses the development of practical outcomes for the benefit of a community partner – usually practitioners within a minority group (Williamson, 2013). In order to address KALACC’s interest in how other Indigenous cultural centres manage and use their archives, I adopted a variant of PAR methodology which combined the tenets of action research with case study analysis, a method suited to understanding a particular phenomena within organisations.

PAR projects aim to make both a practical contribution to the partner community and a theoretical contribution to social science through joint collaboration (Rapoport, 1970). PAR involves a group of people deciding to work together to address a thematic concern (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). However, differing expectations exist with regard to the principle of participation and the degree of participation required in a PAR project. Some believe that ‘true’ collaborative research “demands that the researcher not be in control of the research process” (Nicholls, 2009, p. 119) and that the community needs to lead the decisions in addition to the data collection and data analysis (Tandon, 1988). Others argue that expecting a community to contribute (often unpaid) hours to a project to satisfy our need for ticking the ‘participatory’ box is again prioritising the researcher and their needs at the expense of the research partners. The reality is that “[researchers] are typically funded to carry out participatory research [while] community participants in participatory research are typically not funded” (Cochran et al., 2008, p. 26).

In a situation where a project has relatively little funding, a researcher can certainly offer that community participants help analyse the data, but it would be counter-productive

(indeed immoral) to expect that they do so. Over time it has become understood that the level of participation of the relevant community group takes place along a continuum and is influenced by a number of factors. Today it is recognised that each implementation of PAR is entirely unique and the terms of participation need to be negotiated and renegotiated throughout (Kendall et al. 2011). PAR methodology therefore involves a high degree of critical reflexivity and the nature and extent of community participation should be made clear on a case-by-case basis.

3.5.1 Application of PAR in this Project

As explained in Chapter 1: Introduction, my research partner for this PAR project is KALACC. I have worked with KALACC in a research capacity since 2014 as a research assistant on two successive Australian Research Council funded projects. When I first decided to embark on a PhD research project, I reached out to KALACC to ask whether they might be interested in partnering with me. The practical outcome of this PAR research project was decided in consultation with KALACC and takes the form of a report about the management of cultural collections and archives within Indigenous cultural centres in the Oceanic region.

It is essential that the role of the researcher be critiqued, particularly in externally-led research initiatives (Williamson, 2013; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). Jørgensen & Phillips (2002, p. 199) state that equality between researchers and participants “can never be total” as “it is the researcher who coordinates the whole process and who gains any academic prestige which the project brings”. It is problematic to mask this imbalance of power, hence why details related to the strengths and weaknesses of the participatory approach are made explicit in this thesis.

“An important development that is becoming more common in Australia in recent years is the negotiated Indigenous research agreement. Such agreements are a logical extension of [PAR], but are based firmly on the notion of community ownership of research” (Kendall et al., 2011, p. 1725).

The terms of KALACC’s engagement in this project started to be negotiated prior to the project’s commencement and continued for over a year. Through a memorandum of understanding (MOU) these terms of engagement were formalised during a KALACC board meeting in early 2018. The MOU outlined the expectations and requirements on the part of

both myself and KALACC as partners in this research [Appendix A]. Please note that while the original agreement also included the development of a set of recommendations specifically for KALACC, in 2017-2018 another researcher engaging with KALACC undertook a systematic survey of KALACC's cultural material and records resulting in this requirement no longer being necessary (Section 4.6 provides further information about this).

With KALACC's approval I sought and secured a research grant from the International Council on Archives to help fund the fieldwork and provide some compensation to the participating Indigenous cultural centres. Following this, I conducted case study fieldwork in two other Indigenous cultural centres in the Oceanic region to gain an understanding of how other Indigenous cultural centres understand and engage with their archive.

The realities of partnering with a resource-strapped organisation that already engages with many other researchers, together with the geographical distances between myself and the community, presented a significant challenge to achieving the 'ideal' of PAR. However, as long as the relationship with KALACC is centred within the research project, it has the potential to meet Linda Tuhiwai Smith's definition of 'Indigenous methodologies' as "[tending] to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviours as an integral part of methodology" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 15). I included a reflection about the application of PAR and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic upon this research in Chapter 7: Results and Discussion.

3.6 Research Methods

PAR methodology "[draws] on the research methods of phenomenology, ethnography and case study" (McTaggart, 1991, p. 177). The following section describes the qualitative methods of data collection and analysis that will be utilised in this project.

3.6.1 Case Studies

Case studies are applied "to investigate and understand complex issues in real world settings" (Harrison et al., 2017). This research set out to consider how Indigenous cultural

centres within the Oceanic region understand and engage with their archive, and case studies were identified as an appropriate method to use as they “[focus] on a single setting or unit that is spatially and temporally bounded” (Løkke & Sørensen, 2014, p. 66).

Indigenous cultural centres across the Oceanic region that have achieved a measure of sustainability and would potentially be of interest to KALACC were identified through the literature review and through informal consultations with KALACC. KALACC staff and board members were asked through informal consultations whether there were any particular cultural centres - internationally and domestically - that they would be interested in learning more about.

The Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta was mentioned by Steven Kinnane and the Polynesian Cultural Centre was identified by myself through a review of the literature. KALACC staff were interested in learning about how archives are managed within Māori Marae and I approached several (one in person) but unfortunately was unable ultimately to secure a Marae interested in participating.

Identifying the domestic cultural centres that might potentially be included in the study involved completing a systematic survey to identify Australian organisations that describe themselves as being Indigenous cultural centres. The reason this process was limited to Australia was because I sought to be as comprehensive as possible and conducted a systematic review of an Australian Government database. To ensure its comprehensiveness, the survey involved systematically searching through the register of Indigenous Corporations and Prescribed Body Corporates and finally conducting a keyword search through Google to ensure that no organisations had been missed. The survey identified the number of cultural centres, where they are located, and what features they have (physical space, programs, online presence, etc.).

The funding for this project included compensation for each individual participant, room rental and administration fees for participating organisations, but included no funding for domestic travel or accommodation. Therefore the survey included a note from myself with regards to which cultural centres would be practicable for me to visit (e.g. I have access to free accommodation in the area). Once the survey was completed, I had a discussion with KALACC Coordinator Wes Morris as to whether he had a particular interest in learning about any of the Indigenous Australian cultural centres identified.

The decisions regarding which domestic cultural centres to invite to be part of the preliminary data collection for this project were made with the KALACC Coordinator. Joint decision making within a PAR framework has been shown to increase the buy-in of the staff

of that organisation for the action that results, therefore increasing the impact of a research project (Fredericks et al., 2011).

Within the resource constraints applicable to me I could have included cultural centres of particular interest to KALACC, however upon reviewing the completed list of 42 identified cultural centres, Wes Morris indicated that none were of immediate interest to KALACC and that the decision should be made at my discretion.



Figure 4. Australia's 42 domestic Indigenous cultural centres, visualised using Google's My Maps.

I ultimately decided to approach the Brambuk Cultural Centre in the Grampians and the Narana Aboriginal Cultural Centre in Geelong. Ultimately, time constraints and the impact of COVID-19 limited my capacity to include them as case studies in this research project.

The three organisations considered as case studies were: KALACC, the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta and the Polynesian Cultural Centre. Case studies have successfully been applied within the practice theory framework (Power, 1999), as:

“Bourdieu’s model of practice suggests a three-step approach to any sociological study: analysis of (a) the particular field in relation to the broader field of power; (b) the structure of objective relations between the different positions within the field; and (c) the habitus (notably the class habitus) agents bring to their positions in the field and the social trajectory of those positions” (Power, 1999, p. 51 paraphrasing Swartz, 1997).

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 outline the case studies of the three organisations respectively and include identification of habitus, cultural capital and fields.

3.6.2 Yarning Interviews

As part of the data collection for this study, yarning style interviews were conducted with subject matter experts and staff and board members of cultural centres. Yarning is “an Indigenous cultural form of conversation” which has increasingly been recognised as a rigorous and credible method for data gathering in Indigenous research (Bessarab & Ng’andu, 2010, p. 37). Yarning can be employed within semi-structured in-depth interviews (Bessarab & Ng’andu, 2010), and is considered a method which can be employed successfully in action research methodologies (Fredericks et al., 2011).

Bessarab and Ng’andu (2010, p. 40-41) identified four different types of yarning: social yarning, therapeutic yarning, research topic yarning and collaborative yarning. Research topic yarning is a process that involves:

“...both the researcher and participant [journeying] together visiting places and topics of interest relevant to the research study” (Bessarab & Ng’andu, 2010, p. 38).

Yarning allows for a more conversational style of interview which has been found to “[result] in a mutually negotiated and contextually based interview which [is] conducive to both researcher and participant”, with the added benefit of making interviewees more comfortable, allowing for more in-depth responses (Bessarab & Ng’andu, 2010, p. 37).

Within Indigenous research projects, yarning “assists in decolonising, repositioning and supporting Indigenous knowledges and research methods” (Fredericks et al., 2011, p. 13) and is considered a more culturally safe method of engaging with Indigenous research participants (Bessarab & Ng’andu, 2010). Whilst yarning is now increasingly recognised as a legitimate tool for data collection, the challenge remains “to mediate both the cultural conventions and expectations [of the Indigenous community] and those conventions and expectations of the academy” (Martin, 2008, p. 21).

These yarning interviews enabled me to gather in-depth reflections on the nature, role and use of the archive within cultural centres from those best placed to comment thoughtfully on this. Analysis of the interviewees’ responses took into consideration the dialogical context in which the responses were given (for example, the questions asked of the interviewees) and the manner in which they were given (for example, tone and emphasis).

For Indigenous participants in this project, potentially negative consequences could have resulted due to what they say during an interview. This is particularly true in Australia given that in “the small context of many Indigenous communities... and their complex internal structures... research participants can be easily identified and socially ostracized” (Kendall et al., 2011, p. 1721). Furthermore, many individual participants in this project would be reflecting on the cultural centre which employs them, and therefore interviews can potentially impact upon their relationship with their employer.

For these reasons each individual participant’s transcribed interview was returned to them prior to analysis and they were given the opportunity to amend or withdraw any statements made. In the consent form provided prior to every interview, staff of cultural centres were asked if they would be happy to have their interview deposited at their cultural centre following the completion of the research. They were given the opportunity to change their answer on that option following a review of their transcript.

Yarning interviews were also conducted with subject matter experts Dr. Nick Stanley and Dr. Jane Anderson and while their insights were absolutely invaluable and much appreciated, I did attempt to centre the views and experiences of those working within Indigenous cultural centres as a means of subverting traditional hierarchies within the academy. Dr. Lissant Bolton was an exception here as while she works primarily as an anthropologist and curator at the British Museum, she also works closely with the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta and played an important role in supporting the establishment of its women’s Fieldworker Network.

3.6.3 Autoethnography

“Autoethnography is an emerging qualitative research method that allows the author to write in a highly personalized style, drawing on his or her experience to extend understanding about a societal phenomenon” (Wall, 2006, p. 146).

Throughout the research process I engaged in autoethnography for two crucial reasons: the first was to support the reflexivity required of researchers engaging in decolonising research and decolonising of the self, and the second was that reflection is an essential step in action research methodology (Fredericks & Adams, 2011). Both of these reasons for engaging in reflective practice and the different requirements of each are outlined below.

Decolonising methodologies, including PAR, aim to disrupt and alter existing power relations for the benefit of Indigenous communities. These methodologies involve disrupting the traditional concept of ‘researchers’ and ‘community’, regarding this as a false dichotomy within a research relationship. Such false dichotomies have the effect of silencing a range of different types of relationships that can result through collaborative research efforts, and also assume homogeneity among ‘researchers’ and ‘community’ which quite simply does not exist.

Reflective practice through auto-ethnography is important in research that aims to decolonise as “decolonisation is a process that requires the positioning of oneself in history and the recognition of ideas and assumptions that have informed one’s worldview” (Sherwood et al., 2011, p. 194). To this end I introduced my positionality in Chapter 1: Introduction and include a reflection in Chapter 7: Results and Discussion.

Consciously moving away from this false dichotomy involves acknowledging that different types of collaborative research relationships result due to personal, political and collective factors, some of which are beyond the control of the parties involved. It also involves acknowledging the “internal plurality, dissension and contestation over values and ongoing changes in practices in virtually all communities” (Narayan, 1998, p. 46 as quoted in Nicholls, 2009).

KALACC is an organisation that represents the interests of the over 30 language groups of the Kimberley Region of Western Australia. While democratically elected

representatives of these groups determine KALACC's efforts through their respective board positions, the organisation is not itself homogenous and does not represent a homogenous community. The relationship between myself and 'KALACC' is therefore different depending upon whose opinion is asked – "what this means for those attempting counter colonial research is that we cannot rely on a 'first person' application of reflexivity to situate knowledge" (Nicholls, 2009, p. 118):

"Researchers need to engage with reflexive evaluation of collective and negotiated design, data collection and data analysis to consider the interpersonal and collective dynamics during the research process, and any effects that the research may potentially have into the future. Additional political and relational layers of reflexivity are essential for a researcher to critically evaluate empowerment and participation in a counter-colonial context. This enables rigorous evaluation of the 'messiness' that emerges in collaborative efforts: such as revelations of irreconcilable alterity [...]; and an ability to acknowledge 'internal conflicts and contradictions'" (Nicholls, 2009, p. 118-119).

Engaging in critical reflexivity involves ongoing reflection and being willing to alter course as required and it is important within PAR methodology to engage in the cycles of action-reflection carefully and systematically (McTaggart, 1991). Reflection is a necessary part of action research methodology in order to learn from the effects of change, and make any necessary adjustments.

As PAR is "both a process of change (the action) and a process of learning (the research)" (Visser, 2007, p. 115 as cited in Williamson, 2013) it involves "collecting and analyzing [the] researcher's own judgments, reactions, and impressions about what is going on" (McTaggart, 1991, p. 177). PAR acknowledges that collaborative research not only changes a situation, but also can have a profound affect on a researcher (Williamson, 2013; McTaggart, 1991).

"For non-Indigenous Australians to achieve the level of intercultural engagement required to make the necessary paradigmatic shifts in research practice, a process of decolonization... must be undertaken." (Kendall et al., 2011, p. 1722).

The transformation which is brought about through this project was not limited to KALACC and myself. While I acknowledge that the effects which result from any research project can never be fully understood, quantified or communicated, what I could attempt to capture was the transformative effect the project had upon me, and autoethnography is a common method through which this can be achieved.

3.6.4 Qualitative Content Analysis

Within each case study, transcribed interviews were analysed for the three main constructs of Bourdieu's practice theory; habitus, field and cultural capital. The data from yarning interviews gathered through this project were analysed using content analysis processes and techniques. Content analysis involves interpreting meaning from textual data through a subjective analytical process of coding and categorisation for the identification of themes and patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

In the process of coding an interview transcript, a researcher needs to break it up to an appropriate level of granularity, then reflect on the meaning of a passage or sentence, then assign a code to it:

"In qualitative data analysis, a code is a researcher-generated construct that symbolizes and thus attributes interpreted meaning to each individual datum for later purposes of pattern detection, categorization, theory building, and other analytic processes" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 4).

Coding is the link between the data that has been collected and the explanation that has been assigned to it by the researcher through a process of systematic analysis, providing a link "from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea" (Richards & Morse, 2007, p. 137 as cited in Saldaña, 2013). Coding is a cyclical process, for example in each subsequent cycle, the granularity of each individual datum may go from greater to lesser levels of granularity.

There are three distinct approaches to qualitative content analysis: conventional, directed or summative (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The main difference between the approaches is their approach to coding (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In conventional content analysis, coding categories are derived directly from the text data. With a directed approach, analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes. A summative content analysis involves counting and comparisons, usually of words or content, followed by the interpretation of the underlying context.

The choice of content analysis approach is determined by the meta-theoretical interests of a researcher as well as the research questions being considered (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Conventional content analysis is useful when considering a particular

phenomenon where existing theory and literature is limited (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In conventional content analysis, “[researchers] avoid using preconceived categories, [...] instead allowing the categories and names for categories to flow from the data” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1279).

Within this thesis, the first iteration of analysis involved conventional content analysis as a means of exploring the data. Following this, the directed approach to qualitative content analysis was employed as the most useful for deductively testing practice theory within the context of Indigenous cultural centres. For both the directed and conventional content analysis, I utilised the qualitative data analysis software Nvivo. Coding was used for interviews with subject matter experts and with the staff and board members of the three participating Indigenous cultural centres.

It is important at this stage to note that content analysis has been criticised as problematic when applied to Indigenous research as fragmenting knowledge is at odds with holistic Indigenous ways of knowing (Simonds & Christopher, 2013).

“...analysis from a western perspective breaks everything down to look at it. So you are breaking it down into its smallest pieces and then looking at those small pieces. And if we are saying that an Indigenous methodology includes all of these relationships, if you are breaking things down into their smallest pieces, you are destroying all the relationships around it” (Wilson, 2008, p. 119).

The removal of contextual relationships through the fragmentation of interviews is compounded by the traditional Western academic practice of anonymising interviews. This combination “can be an aggressive action from an Indigenous perspective because it severs the relationship between the learner and storyteller” (Simonds & Christopher, 2013, p. 2189).

I will address these concerns by naming the participants within this thesis (granted they gave permission for me to do so in their consent forms) and by not quoting segments of interviews without providing context.

3.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter set out the research design adopted for this project along with justifications for the decisions made. Within this chapter I explained why the constructivist paradigm was an appropriate lens through which to consider this research topic before

explaining Bourdieu's practice theory further. I also provided more detail about my relationship with KALACC and explained that as the level of community involvement differs across each PAR project, that it is necessary to be transparent.

The specific research methods of autoethnography, yarning interviews, case studies and content analysis were also discussed. The method of autoethnography enabled me to engage with critical reflexivity which is an essential component of both PAR methodology and decolonising research. I utilised content analysis in order to identify themes as well as to identify Bourdieu's main concepts of field, habitus and cultural capital within each interview transcript. Yarning-style interviews were adopted for this project as they are considered to be more culturally appropriate when working with Indigenous communities, and are rapidly gaining more recognition within Western academia as a legitimate method of data collection.

Within this chapter I also provided insight into how the three participating Indigenous cultural centres were chosen. Each of these case studies helped illuminate how Indigenous cultural centres of the Oceanic region understand and engage with their archive and the next three chapters are dedicated to these case studies, starting with Chapter 4: Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre.

Chapter 4: Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Cultural Centre Case Study

4.1 Chapter Introduction

In addition to being the community partner on this participatory action research study, the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre (KALACC) was also considered as one of the study's three case studies. As KALACC was the community partner, and I had worked with them in various roles since 2014, this case study was both the easiest and the most challenging to write. Undertaking this case study required close analysis of my impressions of the organisation, as to where these impressions had come from (the data or my prior observations) and whether these impressions were reinforced or contradicted by the points of view of the five KALACC staff members interviewed.

Within this chapter, I provide a brief background of the Kimberley region of Western Australia, both pre- and post-colonisation. Although brief, this introduction to the different language groups of the Kimberley and the impact of colonisation on the Indigenous communities and cultures of the Kimberley region provides context which is important for understanding the motivation and role of KALACC. Having introduced the history and motivations behind the establishment of KALACC, this case study goes on to describe through a strengths-based perspective the organisation itself, before presenting the analysis of KALACC staff member interviews through the application of practice theory's main constructs (habitus, fields and cultural capital). Finally, the chapter concludes with the nature of the archive as described by the five interviewees, how they engage with it, and the role they envision the archive playing in supporting future cultural practice.

Please note that while academic literature exists about this organisation, within each of these three case studies, the organisation is considered through the views of the participants and publications authored by the organisation. Where deemed important, considerations of how these results may contradict or corroborate existing literature is included in Chapter 7: Results and Discussion.

4.2 Indigenous Communities of the Kimberley Region

4.2.1 Pre-Colonisation

The Kimberley region is located in the northernmost point of Western Australia. The area of the region is 423,517 km², which is about three times the size of England (The Department of Primary Industries and Regional Development, n.d.).

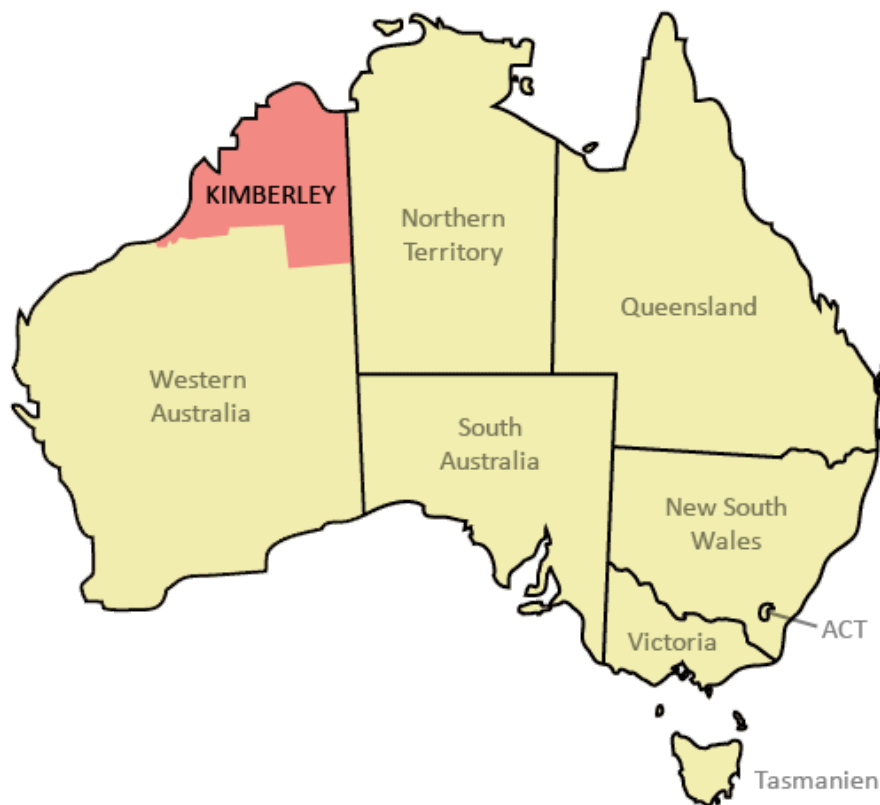


Figure 5. “Location of the Kimberley region in Australia” by Brisbane is licensed under CC BY 3.0.

Indigenous lore states that Aboriginal Australian people have *a/ways* lived on and taken care of Country. To date, Western science has confirmed that Indigenous occupation dates back over 50,000 years (Veth et al., 2019), however Western methods of

archaeological dating are limited by current technology and these timeframes are expected to be much longer as dating capabilities advance (Griffiths, 2018).

Pre-colonisation, the Kimberley region was home to an estimated 55 languages, each belonging to a different language group (commonly referred to as 'mobs' and less often as 'tribes') (McGregor, 2004). It is worth noting that these numbers tend to vary across texts depending upon authors' definitions of a dialect versus a language (McGregor, 2004). These language groups engaged in trade and cultural practices with one another. In fact, trade relationships existed between language groups of the Kimberley and places as distant as the southernmost region of South Australia:

"Long before the arrival of Europeans, Aboriginal people along the west Kimberley coast collected the large, luminous pearl shell (Pinctada maxima) for use in rituals and ceremonies. It is the most widely distributed item in Aboriginal Australia, traded across two-thirds of the continent." (The Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment, 2011).

Trade was not limited to the exchange of goods either:

"For Aboriginal people, trade wasn't just associated with physical objects but included songs, dances and art, stories, rituals and ceremonies. These connected the people to the land and sky and animals." - Wayne Barker, KALACC (AIATSIS, 'Featured Grant Projects', n.d.).

The Kimberley is a large region of immense biological diversity, spanning from coast to desert and encompassing significant mountain ranges, freshwater rivers and lakes (The Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment, 2011). Like all traditional knowledge, the Kimberley Aboriginal culture was formed over many generations in close relationship with the land (UNESCO, 2018), and cultural traditions came to vary depending upon the challenges and opportunities that each geographic region presented (La Fontaine & KALACC, 2006). Underpinning Aboriginal Australian culture is the notion of Customary Law, which governs all aspects of culture:

"Customary Law is an all-encompassing reality. There are the secret-sacred aspects, men's business or women's business; then there's the broader protocol and reciprocity that applies under the kinship structures and systems; and then there's the protocols of behaviour in relation to people and country, and people outside of your own group, and the respect and recognition you provide to others for where they belong and how they conduct their affairs and their business. There are many

obligations and responsibilities and structures of accountability in Customary Law.” - Pat Dodson, Yawuru (as quoted in La Fontaine & KALACC, 2006, p. 15).

Fundamental aspects of Customary Law are shared across all Kimberley language groups, however some elements are unique to different regions;

“[As] Law arises from the land, it is also marked by great cultural diversity, from desert regions to saltwater country, from mountains to river and rangelands” (La Fontaine & KALACC, 2006, p. 15).

4.2.2 Post-Colonisation

“Kimberley Aboriginal people have undergone rapid and significant changes since European colonisation but we have resisted, survived and adapted” (Kimberley Land Council, n.d.).

The earliest recorded encounter between Aboriginal Australians of the Kimberley region and Western Europeans dates back to Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1644 (Kimberley Society, n.d.). However, evidence exists that the Makassans from modern day Indonesia had engaged in trade with Aboriginal Australia prior to this date (Kimberley Society, n.d.). Australia's first European 'settlers' arrived on the opposite coast in the form of a penal colony in 1788, and it wasn't until 1864-1865 that the first (ultimately unsuccessful) attempt to establish a pastoral colony in the Kimberley occurred. Following this attempt, it was nearly another twenty years before the Kimberley was parcelled for settlement, with thousands of cattle arriving overland between 1882 and 1885 (Smith, 2000). During this same period, the pearling industry was established on the Western coast of the Kimberley in 1882 due to the presence of highly valued pearl shells along that coastline (Kimberley Society, n.d.).

Although there are recorded accounts of violent encounters between Aboriginal peoples of the Kimberley and Europeans from earliest known contact, it was the presence of these pastoralists and their stock that heralded the start of the 'killing times', a period of Indigenous resistance and violent settler suppressions (Smith, 2000). Despite evidence and the existence of documentation of these events, these colonial encounters (at times also referred to as the 'frontier wars') are not widely acknowledged or understood (Smith, 2000), with even instances of mass fatalities only recently being consolidated and communicated by

historians through the *Colonial Frontier Massacres Project* (Centre For 21st Century Humanities, The University of Newcastle, 2019). Many of these violent encounters were justified by settlers as retribution for Aboriginal people killing livestock, and particularly violent instances of retribution occurred if any settler was killed by an Aboriginal person, eventually resulting in a resistance movement within the Kimberley led by Jundamarra from 1894 to 1897 (Pedersen & Woorunmurra, 2000; Pederson, n.d.).

The colonisation of the Kimberley was marked with atrocities and inhumane treatment of the region's Indigenous peoples, with many language groups forcibly moved from the Country they were custodians of to make way for the pastoralists (Pedersen & Woorunmurra, 2000; Pederson, n.d.). From the 1910s to the 1970s, during what is called The Stolen Generations, Aboriginal children of mixed-race parentage were forcibly removed from their families under assimilation policies including the *White Australia Policy* (Wilson & Wilkie, 1997). Practicing of culture including speaking language was prohibited amongst these children, and the impact of these assimilation policies are still reverberating through the community today (Fogliani, 2019). The Indigenous peoples of Australia were only recognised as citizens of Australia following the 1967 referendum, however the colonisation of Indigenous cultures within Australia did not stop at that point, and continue in various guises to this day (Gregoire, 2019).

Today the population of the Kimberley is composed of 43% Indigenous peoples (WA Country Health Service, 2016), and the area is sparsely populated with 0.1 people per square kilometer, requiring coordination and resourcing to gather people together. Shorter life-spans of Indigenous populations in comparison to the Settler population has resulted in "the Aboriginal people within the Kimberley [having] a comparatively younger age structure, with almost 50% under 20 years old" (WA Country Health Service, 2016). The under-representation of Elders within the Indigenous population of the Kimberley has resulted in intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge from Elders to youth being more essential and time-sensitive than ever.

Despite the impact of colonisation, cultural knowledge remains strong in many of the Indigenous peoples of the Kimberley, some of whom emerged from the desert as recently as the 1960s having never previously encountered a Settler:

"The Kimberley is such a rich place, and history is so recent that there are people on our board and in KALACC's membership who talk about first contact. People who walked off the desert who can tell you what life was like as a teenager growing up in the bush. And that's really important for Australia's national identity, to be more well-known and talked about. I think that although it's distinctly about an Aboriginal

history, it should also be a proud Australian history” - Wayne Bergmann, Nyikina, (New Legend, 2006, dust jacket).

However, the impact of colonisation upon intergenerational knowledge transfer was significant and support of culture continues to be recognised as being of paramount importance in order to strengthen culture and, in turn, improve communities’ health and wellbeing (Fogliani, 2019). In recognition of the need for regional bodies to help represent the diverse perspectives, experiences and needs of the over 30 language groups of the Kimberley, Aboriginal Elders established the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre, the Kimberley Land Council and the Kimberley Language Resource Centre in the late 1970s- early 1980s. In recognition of the value of Indigenous storytelling and the need for their unique voices to be disseminated, these same Indigenous leaders also established a publishing house, Magabala Books, which is still a significant source of Indigenous publications today.

4.3 Introducing the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre

The Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre (KALACC) was established by the Aboriginal leaders of the Kimberley region of Western Australia in 1984. While there are many other community-led organisations within the Kimberley region, KALACC is the only regional cultural centre that represents the cultural interests of the Kimberley as a whole (Davey et al., 2020). KALACC’s primary mission is:

“to assist and promote the ceremonies, songs and dance of Kimberley Aboriginal people, to encourage and strengthen their social, cultural and legal values and ensure their traditions a place in Australian society” (‘History @ KALACC’, n.d.).

For KALACC’s Festival and Cultural Events Coordinator, Wayne Barker, this means securing “wells” of cultural knowledge by supporting the people who hold that knowledge as they engage in intergenerational knowledge transfer:

“Our key principle under KALACC is to secure the wells - to secure the traditional owner knowledge laws and customs and practices that underpins our identity, underpins our relationship to land, our relationship to our society and our relationship

to our neighbours. The cultural fabric and structure of this... what we call culture. [...]
So we concentrate our work mainly around this intergenerational knowledge transfer”
 - Wayne Barker (Australian Council, 2020).



Figure 6. KALACC office in Fitzroy Crossing, Western Australia. Photographed by Annelie de Villiers, 2018.

KALACC represents the cultural interests of the more than 30 language groups of the Kimberley region of Western Australia. These language groups have been grouped into five cultural blocs by the community themselves through a complex and dynamic consideration of language and cultural similarities:

“The Kimberley is made up of five different cultural blocs, but within each cultural bloc there’s about five or six different tribal groups but they all share the same ceremonies. They’re far apart, you know, so to bring them together we just provide a little bit of funding for them to get together. When KALACC has the cultural festivals we try and bring everybody in together. All the people from different cultural blocs and they interact and there’s always a separate men and women’s meeting where an Elder from different cultural blocs can all get together and interact and pass on knowledge and even simple socialising” - Neil Carter.

The main KALACC office is located in Fitzroy Crossing, Western Australia and is composed of a multi-purpose building and two sea containers which act as keeping places for repatriated ancestral remains and cultural objects. It is the aim of KALACC to have a sea container in each of the five cultural blocs of the Kimberley to hold the returned ancestors and material culture belonging to that region.

KALACC's activities fall under five key categories:

1. *Law Time – Ceremonies, Tradition, Repatriation activities and the maintenance of Authentic Kimberley Aboriginal Culture*
2. *Cross Generational Programs, especially the Yiriman Project*
3. *Cultural Performance (from major Festivals to small, local events)*
4. *Cultural Employment (pathways in creative industries and in the cultural economy)*
5. *Cultural Governance, Cultural Awareness and Advocacy (Promoting Indigenous culture to community and government and strengthening culturally based leadership)*
(‘Culture & Traditions @ KALACC’, n.d.)

Major initiatives of KALACC that were of particular interest to this study included their intergenerational knowledge transfer initiatives, the recent digitisation of their audio-visual materials and their proposed TradeRoutes project. KALACC's intergenerational knowledge transfer initiatives include the Yiriman Project, which involves Aboriginal Elders and cultural mentors taking at-risk youth of the Fitzroy Valley on week-long trips out onto Country in order to reconnect with culture and to strengthen their self-identity and self-esteem (‘Yiriman Project’, n.d.). It also involves what they refer to as the Red Shirt and Yellow Shirt programs through which young adults are asked to pledge themselves to their culture and to becoming future cultural leaders. To learn about these aspects of KALACC's activities, four KALACC staff members and one KALACC board member were interviewed to discuss their understanding of the archive and the role it plays within their cultural centre.

4.4 Governance at KALACC

Like any Aboriginal Australian community organisation, KALACC's governance model needs to comply with two frameworks of law; the Eurocentric Australian legislation and Aboriginal customary law. As a registered Aboriginal Corporation, KALACC's “rule book can accommodate Aboriginal [...] customs and traditions” (‘About CATSI Act Corporations’, n.d.).

The board members are elected during KALACC's annual general meetings and, while there is no rule that mandates this, care is taken to nominate a male and female

representative to represent each of the five cultural blocs ('Governance @ KALACC', n.d.). The KALACC board is composed of twelve Indigenous community representatives, who meet at least four times each year. During formal board meetings, the KALACC Coordinator reports to the board and strategic objectives are decided upon. Following the formal proceedings, the male and female board members separate in order to discuss men's and women's cultural business respectively.

KALACC's governance model is recognised as best practice ('Indigenous Governance Toolkit', n.d.) and while "there are many reasons why KALACC believes its governance model works so well, [...] at its core is the fact that they have a very clear sense of who they are and what they do" ('Indigenous Governance Toolkit', n.d.). In addition to KALACC's twelve elected board members, there are also six Elders who serve as special cultural advisors. As KALACC's Heritage and Repatriation Officer, Neil Carter explains:

"The Elders that we have with KALACC, some of them are lifelong members because they are regarded as special cultural advisers. We draw upon them constantly for cultural support and information. Their knowledge of the Kimberley Aboriginal culture is embedded in their whole lifestyle and how they live. So they are there, available for us to draw upon as cultural advisers and using their knowledge to be recorded, maintained and to be kept and to be passed on" - Neil Carter.

Whilst overarching strategic directions are agreed upon during formal board meetings, the KALACC office in Fitzroy Crossing is a regular stopping place for many board members and special cultural advisors who drop in for coffee or a lift, offering invaluable opportunities for informal discussion. These impromptu meetings help to ensure greater cohesion between KALACC's board members and staff members and provide opportunities to discuss aspects of culture and culturally-appropriate practices. In addition to ensuring that organisational activities remain aligned with strategic objectives and cultural protocols, these conversations foster inter-generational knowledge exchange as most KALACC staff are themselves Aboriginal Australians of the Kimberley region.

4.5 KALACC Partnerships

KALACC works in partnership with two other regional bodies, which were established by many of the same Aboriginal Elders in the late 1980s-early 1990s; the Kimberley Land

Council and the Kimberley Language Resource Centre. The Kimberley Land Council and the Kimberley Language Resource Centre pursue land rights and language programs respectively, whilst KALACC supports cultural practice. Collaboration and joint projects between the three organisations are discussed in an official capacity during their annual general meetings, which are held on three consecutive days in the same location each year.

However, as many of the same Elders serve, or have served, on the boards of each of these organisations, informal discussions regarding the strategic directions and activities of each are common. Collaboration between the three organisations is particularly important given the holistic perspective shared among Aboriginal Australian communities of country, language and culture as being inseparable (Salmon et al., 2018).

4.6 Collections Held by KALACC

KALACC holds a range of materials, including but not limited to audio-visual material, photographs, physical and digital records related to its governance and business functions, and material culture returned through KALACC's repatriation program. The storage and maintenance of each type of material differs depending upon the level of priority assigned to it, as well as the organisation's capacity and availability of resourcing.

Please note that while KALACC currently houses the physical remains of a number of Aboriginal ancestors repatriated to the Kimberley, and I have previously had permission to write about them within the context of other research projects (McCarthy et al., 2020), I will not describe them in detail within this case study out of respect for the community's views.

4.6.1 Audio-Visual Collection

KALACC's audio-visual collections (both analog and digital) date back over the course of the organisation's history. The majority of the recorded content relates to KALACC's meetings and the cultural activities they support, for instance the cultural demonstrations hosted by KALACC at their major biannual cultural festivals. In several cases, the audio-visual collection also includes interviews with Elders as they share important cultural knowledge.

In the previous section I mentioned that KALACC's storage and maintenance of each type of material depends upon the level of priority assigned to it in addition to available resourcing. For KALACC, many of the initiatives related to their collections were the result of short-term projects involving external parties. The digitisation of KALACC's audio-visual materials is a good example of this.

During 2017-2018, a Preliminary Collection Documentation and Preservation Needs Assessment was led by Dr. Lyndon Ormond-Parker, who considered the preservation needs of KALACC's paper, photographic and audio-visual material. At this time;

"A priority recommendation arising from the Preservation Needs Assessment was the digitisation of the audiovisual material, which along with the photographic material, was identified as most vulnerable to physical degradation resulting in loss of content and important cultural memory" (Ormond-Parker et al., 2020, para. 2).

KALACC's audio-visual materials were composed of a range of formats, from magnetic tapes to external hard drives, and stored within filing cabinets and cupboards within the KALACC building. Concerns regarding the long-term preservation of these materials ultimately resulted in KALACC engaging in a research project with Dr. Lyndon Ormond-Parker and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) from 2018-2019 to digitise these materials, and have the original copies stored at AIATSIS for long-term preservation.

During a board meeting in 2019, I had the privilege of being present when AIATSIS representatives presented KALACC with an external hard drive containing the entire digitised audio-visual collection. Later that week, I witnessed a senior cultural boss watching a cultural performance from several decades ago, reminiscing with KALACC staff about the individuals in the recording and singing along to the performance.

4.6.2 Photographic Collection

KALACC has an extensive photographic collection capturing cultural activities of Aboriginal communities of the Kimberley region since the 1980s. As already stated above, the Preliminary Collection Documentation and Preservation Needs Assessment led by Dr. Ormond-Parker in 2017-2018 established that both KALACC's audio-visual and photographic materials were considered to have the highest risk of physical degradation

(Ormond-Parker et al., 2020). While the audio-visual materials were subsequently digitised, the bulk of the physical photographic materials were brought together into one filing cabinet and were awaiting digitisation.

KALACC's collection of digital photographs are divided by photographer and event, and stored within folder structures within the organisation's shared drive. The majority of individual photos do not have metadata attached to them; instead the context is derived from the folders' names.

4.6.3 Collection of Material Culture

As the peak Aboriginal cultural organisation of the Kimberley region (Davey et al., 2020), KALACC commonly facilitates the repatriation of material culture from external institutions and individuals. Determining the provenance of material objects can require insight from community Elders, anthropologists and/or historians who consult historical documentation.

Repatriated collections are stored securely at KALACC - which is physically located in the Central cultural bloc - as well as in secured shipping containers on the Western and Southern cultural blocs. Eventually, the aim is to have secure shipping containers on the Eastern and Northern cultural blocs too, so that materials and ancestral remains can be returned to their own Country. Until such time, they will remain at KALACC as explained by KALACC's Heritage and Repatriation Officer, Neil Carter:

"We've still got objects [at KALACC] that belong to other communities that don't have safe keeping places. So until we get the keeping places for those communities, those remains are kept in KALACC and they consider KALACC as a safe place to house the objects before they find their own secure place to keep their objects." - Neil Carter

Neil Carter went on to explain that some of the material culture housed by KALACC are known as secret-sacred objects, objects of immense cultural power that are only allowed to be seen or spoken about by initiated men. In addition to being an important step toward reconciliation, the repatriation of these secret-sacred objects to their rightful place also

presents an opportunity for cultural revitalisation as the objects themselves represent different cultural practices:

“Some of the ceremonies and the dances that were performed years ago were stopped when those items were stolen and taken away and removed from their possession. So they didn’t have those items to continue one particular dance or one story. So once they get them back, it’s sort of like, right it’s a revival, we’ve got this object back. It’s like things that you have in a church like the chalices and the cross and all that in the church that represent this and that. These objects were used in ceremony to represent different ceremonies.” - Neil Carter.

The provenance of repatriated secret-sacred objects are decided by Elders who can identify where the objects originated from through the ceremonies they represent, as well as the materials and methods used in their creation. The objects provide an opportunity for intergenerational knowledge transfer and also serve as mnemonic devices:

“Yes well the objects that we have had returned, they are used by the elders once they are returned back to the community as a teaching tool to pass on cultural knowledge and cultural stories, performances. Because each of the objects are used in different cultural ceremonies. An elder can pick this object saying that this tells a story of how you can look after country and sing for rain to come through and revive the country. That object there is for rain dances and this one here is for the protection of the animals in your country, like the kangaroos and how you can understand and protect them on the country.” - Neil Carter.

4.6.4 Administrative Records

KALACC holds administrative records related to its business and cultural operations over time. These records are in both digital and physical formats and range from minutes of annual general meetings through to copies of historical records, which were repatriated with ancestral remains and material culture. The physical administrative material is organised into folders and boxes with a numerical recordkeeping system in evidence, while digital records are stored in folder structures within the shared drive on an external server.

Records relating to repatriated ancestors and cultural objects are held within the office of KALACC's Heritage and Repatriation Officer, Neil Carter, or in the shipping containers with the repatriated ancestors and cultural objects themselves.

4.7 KALACC: Through A Practice Theory Framework

As outlined in Chapter 3: Methodology, Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory is being used as a theoretical framework through which to consider the three cultural centre case studies. Four KALACC staff and one board member were interviewed between August 2018 and December 2019. The roughly hour-long, semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed with permission. The transcribed interviews were analysed through the lens of practice theory's three main constructs; habitus, field and cultural capital (as explained in Section 3.4). The three constructs are interrelated and together influence an individual's practice, but as the main unit of analysis in this research is the organisation rather than the individual, the concepts of field and cultural capital, rather than habitus, received greater attention. As such, while I consider habitus briefly, the following sections will place greater emphasis on the concepts of cultural capital and field.

4.7.1 Habitus

Bourdieu's concept of habitus considers an individual's beliefs, perceptions and habitual behaviours as something which has developed in interaction with external influences and structures over time. As the basic unit of analysis is the organisation as opposed to the participating individuals, I didn't ask the individual participants to divulge personal details about themselves beyond what is summarised in the table below. The information participants provided did inform my analysis, but received less of a focus than field and cultural capital.

The table below provides a summary of the participants, their job title, the length of their involvement at KALACC and their cultural identity. I wish to convey that I am aware that a table of this nature is reductive, and certainly does not reflect the complexity of identity. Further, please note that the information included in the table below reflects what

participants divulged at the time the interviews took place and may not be accurate today. Their length of involvement, or job title may have changed since that time, or they may indeed have left the organisation in the intervening period.

Participant	Position at KALACC	Length of involvement at KALACC	Indigenous nationality
Merle Carter	Chairwoman of the Board	32 years	Miriuwong / Gajerrong
Wes Morris	Coordinator	14 years	Non-Indigenous
Wayne Barker	Festival and Cultural Events Coordinator	8 years	Jabirr Jabirr / Ngumbarl
Neil Carter	Heritage and Repatriation Officer	14 years	Gooniyandi / Kidji
Ari Schipf	Casual, PhD Candidate	2 years	Non-Indigenous

Table 1. The KALACC participants.

4.7.2 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is “the cultural knowledge that serves as currency that helps us navigate culture and alters our experiences and the opportunities available to us” (Sociology Live, 2015). According to Bourdieu (1977), cultural capital comes in three forms - embodied,

objectified, and institutionalised. Examples of embodied cultural capital are an individual's knowledge, while money is an example of objectified cultural capital, and institutionalised cultural capital includes job titles or qualifications which symbolise cultural competence as well as authority. Within the interviews there exists a tension between Aboriginal value systems and Western value systems:

“It is important to distinguish here the idea of Aboriginal ‘cultural authority’, which is very different from Western understandings of ‘authority’” (KALACC, 2021a, p. 3)

For instance, within the interviews, embodied cultural capital (e.g. cultural knowledge) was viewed as much more valuable than objectified cultural capital (e.g. objects or money). Where objects were spoken about as being highly valued, it was clear that they were of importance for their role in stimulating certain cultural practices or representing cultural knowledge. In Aboriginal communities, “knowledge and religious control, rather than material possessions, determine power and authority” (Brock, 2001, p. 5). The forms of cultural capital identified with the KALACC interviews are discussed below in order of prevalence.

4.7.2.1 Embodied

Embodied cultural capital was valued most highly among KALACC interviewees, and was most evident when participants spoke about Elders who hold significant cultural knowledge and can speak their native languages. The more cultural knowledge held by these individuals the higher their perceived status. This form of cultural capital was usually mentioned in association with Elders, however it also extended to a lesser extent to the individual(s) identified by an Elder as being the one they're passing knowledge on to. For the curious, I would recommend watching the documentary *Putuparri and the Rainmakers* (2015) which centres around KALACC staff member Tom Lawford who was in this scenario.

However, embodied Indigenous cultural knowledge isn't as highly valued in Western value systems as they are in Aboriginal Australian value systems unless it can be expressed and 'proven', particularly within political/legal contexts:

“So this is the irony as Aboriginal people are forced into a homogenised political position, leaning on and reaching back into archives and documentations to uphold their legal cultural status - because you can't get status without knowledge and you

can't have knowledge unless you can spout it - stand in front of people and say blah blah blah or you participate in rituals and ceremonies both ancient and invented. These things all come to a point where you've got to be able to rationalise it and argue the truism on the basis of evidence. We've become an evidence-focussed people." - Wayne Barker.

4.7.2.2 Institutionalised

Institutionalised cultural capital was present in the form of the title of position of individuals within KALACC, or within their particular language group (e.g. Elder, Special Cultural Advisor, Staff Member, Board Member). Western qualifications and degrees did not play a role except in one discussion about the Kimberley Language Resource Centre, where a government grant stipulated that the organisation had to have a qualified linguist attached to it in order to be eligible for funding, and KALACC board member Merle Carter spoke of her frustration that Elders are not recognised as cultural specialists by Western structures.

Within the Kimberley Aboriginal community, Elders are considered to be the holders of Law and Culture, but it was felt that they aren't afforded the respect due to them within non-Indigenous spaces. To that end, KALACC has called for "a bicameral system of governance be established for Kimberley regional representation" as "[such] a system would locate the senior cultural custodians in a role akin to a Senate or house of review, i.e. having an oversight function" (KALACC, 2021, p. 15).

4.7.2.3 Objectified

Objectified cultural capital was present in the interviews mainly through discussions of highly valued cultural objects (such as the secret-sacred) and discussions related to KALACC's funding - or the lack thereof. As only initiated men are allowed to view or discuss the secret-sacred objects, the ability to do so is a signifier of higher standing within Kimberley Aboriginal society. The availability of funding influences to what extent KALACC is able to pursue its objectives, which is further complicated by the fact that much of KALACC's funding is provided for specific projects and therefore accompanied by externally-imposed requirements and timeframes.

4.7.3 Fields

Bourdieu (1977) argued that the social world was constructed of a system of interrelated fields, all of which have their own dynamic sets of logic, structure and forces which govern behaviour. Habitus and cultural capital combined with the governing structures of each field determine the opportunities an individual has to act and the ways in which they can do so. Thematic analysis of the transcribed interviews with five KALACC participants led to the identification of the following six fields:

- Law and Culture
- Indigeneity
- Country
- Gender
- Personal Indigeneity
- External Funders/Partners

In the next section I introduce each identified field, accompanied by quotes from the interviews and where applicable previous interviews recorded in other publications. The fields are listed in order of their prominence within the five transcribed interviews.

4.7.3.1 Law and Culture

Aboriginal law and culture walk hand-in-hand. A simplified way of explaining the relationship between them is to say that ‘culture’ is the doing and the knowledge of cultural practices and language, whilst customary law governs the cultural practices (La Fontaine & KALACC, 2006). “Whilst culture continues to evolve, Law is the unchanging legacy of creative ancestors who formed the world in the Dream-time” (KALACC, 2021). The cultural knowledge and practices of the Kimberley, whilst heavily impacted by Western colonisation, still remain strong, particularly in the Elders and cultural leaders. Community leaders argue that the negative legacy and ongoing inter-generational trauma brought about by

colonisation can only be healed through greater engagement with culture (Davey et al., 2020).

“Culture underpins all of who we are. It is both what we learn, and the framework for how we live and engage with each other and our surrounds. Culture constructs our society and identities, our strength, self-worth and resilience, and in times of great sadness – of trauma, loss and grief – culture heals us. The Kimberley region is home to 30 distinct Aboriginal groups that practices culture in diverse and vibrant ways. Our traditions and languages that connect us to Country and each other come from a deep lineage of ancestral knowledge and strength.” - June Oscar, Bunuba woman and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner (Davey et al, 2020, ‘Foreword’).

All five interviewees emphasised the potential of culture for healing problems faced by Kimberley communities today. These problems are significant and daunting. Among the Aboriginal population of the Kimberley, “the age-adjusted rate of suicide is more than six times the national average” (WA Primary Health Alliance, n.d., p. 1). Following expert advice from researchers and coronial inquests (Fogliani, 2019), there is now greater recognition of the importance of culture for improving the mental health of the Aboriginal community of the Kimberley. To that end, KALACC’s work on the Yiriman Project has been lauded as a great example of what cultural immersion can do for at-risk youths (Fogliani, 2019) and in recognition of the importance of culture in improving community well-being, KALACC has also been included in the Kimberley Aboriginal Suicide Prevention Trial (WA Primary Health Alliance, n.d.).

4.7.3.2 Indigeneity

The interviewees also commonly reflected upon the field of Indigeneity (please note that this field refers to Indigeneity in a general sense, with ‘Personal Indigeneity’ being explored as a separate field in Section 4.7.3.5). The field of Indigeneity was reflected upon most commonly in terms of the tensions which arise when trying to navigate two different fields; the non-Indigenous and the Indigenous:

“On one hand maintaining their ancient heritage that gives them their identity, that makes them different to all of those who have migrated to this country, and then on the other hand to be able to embrace the education and the society that has been

imposed upon us to be able to fit in and talk the language and communicate and integrate and operate within a Western system of law and policy.” - Wayne Barker

Participants reflected that the onus was placed on the individual to adapt to Western legal structures, as opposed to those structures being inclusive of Australia’s Indigenous peoples. Examples cited included Royal Commissions, enquiries and legislation - particularly the *Native Title Act 1993*, which requires that Aboriginal Australians ‘prove’ the authenticity of their Indigenous identity, knowledge and ongoing connection to Country (Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2005). So the burden of navigating and being part of Australian society whilst maintaining Indigenous cultures is placed upon Indigenous communities who are already wrestling with the ongoing effects of the colonial legacy;

“So the individual journey of Aboriginal men and women of today, faced with multiple complexities of trying to deal with managing communities, responding to the dysfunction that’s current as we transition from a .. if you like a disempowered people because we were controlled in reserves and run by missionaries and everyone else, [...] Still feeling the residue of being the largest incarcerated group in the world per head per capita, still feeling the effects of suicide and self-harm as the trauma tends to percolate through the generations in modern times. So these challenges that faces us, is both real and not really understood or even imagined by non-Indigenous people who don’t have to do that.” - Wayne Barker.

KALACC plays an important role in assisting Aboriginal communities of the Kimberley region with their ongoing cultural maintenance within this challenging context, in turn contributing to community wellbeing (Fogliani, 2019).

4.7.3.3 Country

Within the Aboriginal Australian context, Country is viewed as kin; it cares for you and you care for it with principles of love, respect and reciprocity. As explained in Section 4.2.1, some aspects of customary law emerged from Country and can be unique to the language group that is its custodian. Country therefore has an important role in *teaching* law:

“A person’s own country is just like a mother.” Joe Brown, Walmajarri, 1994 (as quoted in La Fontaine & KALACC, 2006, p. 15).

Caring for Country is a central tenet of Indigenous culture, however Western laws have enabled the forced removal of Indigenous peoples from their Country since colonisation began, and is still ongoing in various guises today - most recently within the Kimberley through the forced closures of 150 remote Aboriginal communities (Gregoire, 2019). The *Native Title Act 1993* introduced procedures through which native title claims could be mediated. Recognition of native title enables language groups' rights to land access and sometimes the right to live on the land.

The onus is placed on native title applicants to provide evidence to a non-Indigenous judiciary system's satisfaction that they've had continuous connection to Country since colonisation [note that within the Kimberley region, the records related to these processes are held by the Kimberley Land Council]. The fact that the burden of providing proof falls upon the applicants has received criticism from parties including the United Nations' Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which recommended reviewing the level of proof required by the courts, "bearing in mind the nature of the relationship of Indigenous peoples to their land" (2005).

However as Wayne Barker points out, this highly-criticised process does provide a benefit:

"The effort of recording anthropological or research material that was required by the courts in the litigation process was both a negative and a positive outcome. So in a positive way it allowed us to robustly test and see what was recorded, who recorded it, when it was recorded and traditional owners would take from that what they wanted or what they would and look it has led to multiple instances where people clashed over the authenticity of knowledge, the correctness of the knowledge, the cultural hierarchy... and so it was basically a sense of turning the mirror to yourself, so both a positive and a negative result over some twenty years." - Wayne Barker.

4.7.3.4 Gender

Aboriginal Australian law, culture and country are gendered, and the field of gender was apparent within the KALACC interviews.

"Unlike western societies, where gender has been a marker of empowerment (male) and subordination (female), gender in Aboriginal societies defines different fields of

influence and empowerment. This gender-specific authority is protected by maintaining a separation between male and female spheres” (Brock, 2001, p. 5).

Referred to as ‘men’s business’ and ‘women’s business’ respectively, KALACC’s board meetings and annual general meetings are organised in such a way that general business can be discussed with everyone first, before the men and women separate in order to discuss issues pertaining to their respective spheres of authority. In 2016, the Aboriginal women of the Kimberley called for KALACC to introduce more programs to support their interests and activities. Interviewee Ari Schipf assisted in the organisation of the initial women’s business bush camps (the first of which I also had the opportunity to attend), during which time Elders and younger women shared concerns and outlined their wishes going forward.

Where KALACC initiatives involve both men’s business and women’s business, meetings about customary law and culture between cultural bosses are required to discuss the most appropriate ways in which to negotiate the sensitivities presented. An example of this is KALACC’s current initiative to revive the Julurru Junba, a ceremony of song and dance which spanned language groups from Western Australia across into the Northern Territory. Involving both men’s and women’s business and the added complication of many different language groups, these negotiations take time, particularly as parts of the ceremony are considered dangerous. Interview participant Ari Schipf reflected on asking about the Julurru Junba and the revival process:

“So I had to ask the question and that’s when I realised it’s still to be negotiated culturally and in-house. What I mean by in-house is in amongst those cultural bosses. Men, women. That still needs to be sorted out because they have to decide which parts of the junba they will share. That’s not been decided.” - Ari Schipf.

4.7.3.5 Personal Indigeneity

As mentioned in Section 4.7.3.2, every day individual Aboriginal Australians need to navigate two worlds - that of their traditional cultures and Western society - carrying with them a legacy of strength and culture as well as the ongoing legacy of past community traumas. This field of ‘Personal Indigeneity’ considered the opportunities and challenges faced as Indigenous participants practice and learn about their culture. The reality of living

within both a non-Indigenous Western society and Indigenous society is that there is less time and opportunity for organic intergenerational knowledge transfer:

“So the transfer in terms of how it was traditionally done are no longer supported and times have changed and people have other obligations in terms of their day to day lives. The dominant bureaucratic system that they are all subject to doesn't allow for the traditional transfer of oral use. What the women were saying is “well we practiced it every day. It was every day when we were on country. We were with our family every day but now we're stuck in schools. Our classroom was the bush but now we're not. We're stuck in classrooms and kids are stuck in classrooms.” So that narrows even the timeframe in terms of a linear time. They don't have it.” - Ari Schipf

Having less time to organically absorb culture does mean that community members need to seek out opportunities for education, opportunities which KALACC sets out to provide. KALACC Coordinator Wes Morris reflected that the community members who engage with KALACC are generally those who have the interest or the support to be more involved in learning culture.

4.7.3.6 External Funders/Partners

As a not-for-profit community organisation, KALACC is heavily reliant upon external sources of funding. Engaging with external funders/partners such as government bodies, philanthropists and researchers requires compromise on the part of KALACC in order to marry community objectives with the objectives, reporting requirements and timelines of the external partners.

One example of this is the Julurru Junba which is an important cultural ceremony involving language groups across Western Australia into the Northern Territory. The new Western Australian Museum (WA Museum) sought to include an exhibition about Julurru Junba and while community members agreed that this was an important ceremony to include in principle, the practicalities and cultural sensitivities did not allow for tight deadlines:

“But I think part of the WA Museum opened up that door in terms of consultation because they want to include [the Junba] in the new museum next year. So I had to ask the question and that's when I realised it's still to be negotiated culturally and

in-house. So it was practiced but there was a lot of pressure to get something down quickly and my understanding is [it] still needs to be sorted out because they have to decide which parts of the junba they will share.” - Ari Schipf.

The nature of this financial model is that many funders are interested in funding particular projects, within limited timeframes, rather than necessarily assisting with the long-term day-to-day operational costs of the organisation. An important exception is the nearly AUD\$1.5 million granted to KALACC by the Australian Council for the Arts to help cover its operating costs from 2020-2024.

4.7.4 Practice within KALACC

Bourdieu’s (1977) practice theory views practice as an interplay between an individual’s habitus and cultural capital, and the rules and structures of field they are operating within. The cultural practitioners of KALACC are either Indigenous community members themselves or - in the case of Wes Morris and Ari Schipf - have long experience working with Indigenous communities. Whilst organisational objectives are set by the KALACC board and supported by Kimberley Elders, the KALACC staff who participated in this project spoke of a degree of autonomy with regards to the manner in which they do their jobs. The organisational objectives are at the fore-front of KALACC initiatives, however they aren’t prescriptive with regards to the way in which the work is carried out, allowing for community consultation to take the lead, as opposed to needing to complete a proforma task each time.

This is essential given that the interests and priorities of each community would vary across the over 30 different language groups. Among KALACC staff, there is a shared understanding of the need to consult with Elders of different language groups as to how they wish to engage in cultural activities. KALACC Heritage and Repatriation Officer Neil Carter pointed out that even through engagement in these discussions, communities are practicing culture. He cited as an example two KALACC-facilitated domestic repatriations of material culture which looked entirely different due to the priorities of the communities involved:

“For instance when I went down to the Bardi mob they went into the museum and packaged the materials themselves. Then they didn’t want the materials to be put in the normal luggage on the plane, so we had a separate plane bring them back. Then we drove and the boxes of the objects were unloaded at night at the Broome Airport

through a side back gate and we packed them in the cars, two carriers and drove the materials, the boxes of objects back up to One Arm Point. We got there at night and then they drove around, not through the community but around the community to their law ground or the ceremony ground and they put the objects in their keeping place which is a couple of sea containers on their ceremony ground.” - Neil Carter.

Whereas for another community, Neil explains that due to their different circumstances:

“With the ones that came back from Perth they were driven back, they were brought back and put in the sea containers in Fitzroy Crossing. So a few communities didn’t want to take the material back to their own community because they didn’t have a secure place to keep them. So they left them in KALACC and KALACC provided the sea containers as keeping places for the One Arm Point people and the Karajarri people. Now they’ve taken their sacred objects back to their communities and placed them in their keeping places.” - Neil Carter.

This ability to consult and take time to come to decisions appeared from the interviews to be limited more by external project funding and deadlines than by internal KALACC management, which suggests again some friction between the fields of Indigeneity and External Funders/Partners.

4.8 Understanding of the Archive and its Role in Practice at KALACC

When asked about what the archive meant to them, the KALACC interviewees without exception spoke of the fundamental role which the Kimberley Aboriginal Elders play as knowledge holders, leaders and teachers of customary law and culture. KALACC commonly refers to the Kimberley Elders as ‘cultural libraries’ (see KALACC, 2021a) and aims to centre the Elders’ authority and views at all times. This is evident in everything from the Elders’ inclusion as Special Cultural Advisors through to KALACC’s initiative during COVID-19 calling for young people to interview their Elders to learn about culture (Australian Council for the Arts, n.d.).

With an emphasis upon securing the ‘living libraries’ of the Aboriginal Kimberley region through the support of Elders and other significant cultural knowledge holders, KALACC seizes every opportunity to make its resources go as far as possible in facilitating inter-generational knowledge transfer. For instance, during each annual general meeting, KALACC and its partners the Kimberley Land Council and the Kimberley Language Resource Centre pool their resources in order to help fund the attendance of as many Elders as possible. These joint annual general meetings run for 3-4 days each year and it is not uncommon for entire family groups to attend the meetings.

As mentioned in Section 4.3, the AGMs are an important forum for discussion of community priorities and for organisations to report back on their year’s activities, however they also present an opportunity for intergenerational knowledge transfer through informal gatherings around campfires and meals. Each evening, different language groups present cultural performances to one another with dancers and singers provided with a small stipend by KALACC in order to help cover any costs incurred or loss of income from attending the meeting.

The award-winning Yiriman Project which is administered through KALACC was also cited as an important opportunity for intergenerational knowledge transfer. The Yiriman Project has been recognised for its efficacy in helping at-risk youth through the fostering of a stronger sense of Indigenous identity and connection to culture and country (Fogliani, 2019). The Yiriman Project’s motto is ‘Building Stories in our Young People’ and involves at-risk male youths from the Fitzroy Valley in the central Kimberley going out on Country on 6-week camel trips with Elders with the aim of “trying to build that story, and it’s not just telling stories of mythology, it’s telling stories of themselves and how they relate culturally to the land, to the place, to the people, to the Elders and these Old Men.” The broader Kimberley community have asked for the project to be expanded to include the entire region and to include female youths as well, and this call has been chorused by a Western Australian State Coroner who considered it key to youth suicide-prevention within the region (Fogliani, 2019).

Following a discussion about the central place occupied by knowledge holders, several interviewees then went on to discuss the complementary role which physical and digital records can play in supporting law and culture. For these individuals, the ‘Western archive’ is composed of physical and digital records held either by the organisation itself or externally. The ‘Western archive’ is considered to sit alongside community-held knowledge and it is something to be engaged with for a purpose - as a means to achieving KALACC’s goals:

“Yeah so KALACC has - we are not an academic organisation. Yes we undertake research tasks, but wherever we undertake research tasks it's always for a reason. So our mission relates to the maintenance and promotion of culture and so that's why we exist as an organisation to do and to promote. And within that remit, within our mission, having access to that archival material it sits alongside the memories and the knowledge of the living custodians. And together these things enable us and empower us. If you don't have the good information, if you don't have the knowledge to start with, then the project is not going to be a good project.” - Wes Morris.

As illustrated by the quote above, KALACC's interest as pertaining to Western archives is not the possession of it, but rather how it can be utilised to help achieve community objectives. The Trade Routes project discussed in the next section further illustrates this point.

Aboriginal Australian archivists have argued that records created by external parties about an Aboriginal community contain elements of traditional cultural knowledge (Russell, 2005) and that records related to a community still form part of that community's archive even when held by external institutions (Thorpe, 2010).

KALACC's Festival and Cultural Events Coordinator, Wayne Barker, in particular reflects on the role of the archive in supporting the cultural priorities of the organisation. In a context where KALACC is “combatting the rapid loss of people with first-hand knowledge if you like, people who have in their oral arsenal the knowledge to uphold without question the cultural knowledge and practice with its full integrity intact”, they've increasingly had to lean toward external archives in order to “shore up” the integrity of knowledge related to rituals and ceremonies (Wayne Barker).

KALACC has had some records repatriated to them from organisations such as AIATSIS, however the participants emphasised that holding the material isn't enough, it needs to be *utilised* in such a way as to support cultural knowledge and cultural practice.

“... we have to lean towards those historians and academics and researchers, including those from the church, who've captured our language that have captured our stories, that've captured our rituals and our ceremonies, captured our cultural artefacts that we're returning back from museums and other collections [...]. We use this material to revitalise, re-energise, reconnect these men and women who have lost their focus or their place in the cultural space.” - Wayne Barker.

As such, whilst KALACC does consult external archives as a means for supporting cultural revitalisation efforts, they don't have an emphasis upon having those recorded materials returned to them, rather they place an emphasis upon how they can *use* the knowledge represented within the records.

4.9 Future Potentiality of the Archive within KALACC

There are two major KALACC initiatives which were highlighted within the interviews as opportunities for supporting culture in the near future. I include these two as a means of illustrating the different ways in which KALACC is engaging with both their 'living libraries' [the Elders] and what they referred to as the 'Western archive'.

The first is KALACC's Red Shirt / Yellow Shirt Project which was set up to help further intergenerational knowledge transfer and to encourage younger adults to commit to being future Indigenous cultural leaders. Wearing the Red Shirt [male] or Yellow Shirt [female] signifies that the wearer is committed to learning cultural knowledge from their Elders and a willingness to 'step up' as the next generation of cultural leaders. Wayne Barker helped initiate this project after asking himself:

"... how do we build their capacity to be able to speak authoritatively to all of these different agencies that come to their communities but based on what they carry with them which is their legacy, which is the legacy left to them by their Elders. They are now the new leaders of our communities, they're the cultural spokesman, they're the ones leading ceremonies, they're the ones leading the cultural resurgence that we've been trying to do under KALACC." - Wayne Barker.

The quote above illustrates Wayne Barker's view that greater knowledge of Indigenous culture imbues individuals with more *authority* to act and to influence external agencies. At the same time, the Red Shirt / Yellow Shirt Project seeks to address two of KALACC's main concerns; the loss of cultural knowledge as Elders pass away and reticence among the younger adults about stepping up into a cultural leadership space.

"So we're putting a great deal of effort around this because if we can't galvanise these guys and make them deliver, then what is the future for cultural practice and cultural vibrancy in our communities? It's just not going to be there because these are the operators in the cultural and community governance space." - Wayne Barker.

The second initiative which was emphasised by the interviewees as an exciting initiative was the Following the Trade Routes project, which illustrates KALACC's interest in actively engaging with the 'Western archive' as a means of supporting cultural initiatives. As mentioned previously, the pre-colonial Kimberley Aboriginal communities engaged in extensive trade relationships which involved the exchange of not only goods but also ceremony and culture (AIATSIS, 'Featured Grant Projects', n.d.). Pearl shell from the Kimberley region was traded as far as southern South Australia (Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment, 2011) and the Following the Trade Routes project "aims to create new understanding of cultural economies and trade routes that shaped Aboriginal societies across Australia, and to explore how such knowledge informs society today" (AIATSIS, 'Featured Grant Projects', n.d.).

The project will involve researchers travelling along the pre-colonial trading routes, in the process gathering traditional knowledge from community Elders, and connecting the evidence gathered from Indigenous communities along the route with existing historical documentation:

"Through this network of Indigenous researchers and cultural custodians, in partnership with other scholars, we will create new connections between living and archival knowledge of Indigenous trade in the Kimberley and Desert Regions. The project will support the revitalisation of Indigenous cultural exchange and trade practices; it will strengthen Indigenous exchange networks and cultural authority; and it will promote greater awareness of this part of Australia's history, economy and society." - Wayne Barker (AIATSIS, 'Featured Grant Projects', n.d.).

4.10 Chapter Summary

Within this chapter I presented a case study which considered KALACC through the framework of Bourdieu's practice theory (1977). After briefly discussing the history of the Kimberley region and the motivations behind the establishment of KALACC, I introduced the organisation itself. Four KALACC staff members and one KALACC board member were interviewed and the transcriptions underwent a process of content analysis and a consideration of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, cultural capital and field.

The chapter concluded with a discussion of practice within the organisation and a consideration of how the interviewees understand 'the archive' and the future potential which they hope the archive can play within the organisation. Of particular interest was the disconnect between the way in which embodied cultural capital is valued within the Kimberley Indigenous community versus the wider non-Indigenous community. For example, the respect afforded to Elders within the Kimberley Aboriginal community because of their extensive Indigenous cultural knowledge is not recognised to the same extent within the non-Indigenous Australian community. Further analysis of this and other major findings across the three case studies will be presented in Chapter 7: Results and Discussion.

Chapter 5: Polynesian Cultural Centre Case Study

5.1 Chapter Introduction

Within this chapter I describe the Polynesian Cultural Centre which was the object of the second case study undertaken for this research project. I begin by providing a brief background of the Polynesian nations - both pre- and post-European contact - before describing the role of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS Church) within the region. This background will provide context for the establishment and evolution of the Polynesian Cultural Centre (PCC) into what it is today.

Having first introduced the history and motivations behind the establishment of PCC, this case study goes on to describe through a strengths-based perspective the organisation itself before presenting the analysis of PCC staff member interviews through the application of practice theory and its main constructs (habitus, fields and cultural capital). Having identified the habitus, cultural capital and fields through content analysis, I consider how the interplay between these constructs influences the practice of PCC interviewees. Finally, the chapter concludes with the nature of the archive as described by the eight PCC interviewees, how they engage with it, and the role they envision the archive playing in supporting future cultural practice.

The PCC case study provides insight into how a tourism-based Indigenous cultural centre that is owned by the LDS Church but managed by Indigenous Polynesians practices culture and views and engages with their archive.

5.2 Indigenous Polynesian Cultures

5.2.1 Pre-European Contact

Polynesian culture is “the beliefs and practices of the indigenous peoples of the ethnogeographic group of Pacific islands known as Polynesia (from Greek poly ‘many’ and nēsoi ‘islands’)” (Suggs, n.d., para 1). Polynesia is a cultural region the size of North America, and is located in the Pacific Ocean. Polynesia spans from Hawaii, down to New Zealand (Aotearoa) in the West and across to Easter Island (Rapa Nui) in the East (Wilmshurst et al., 2010).

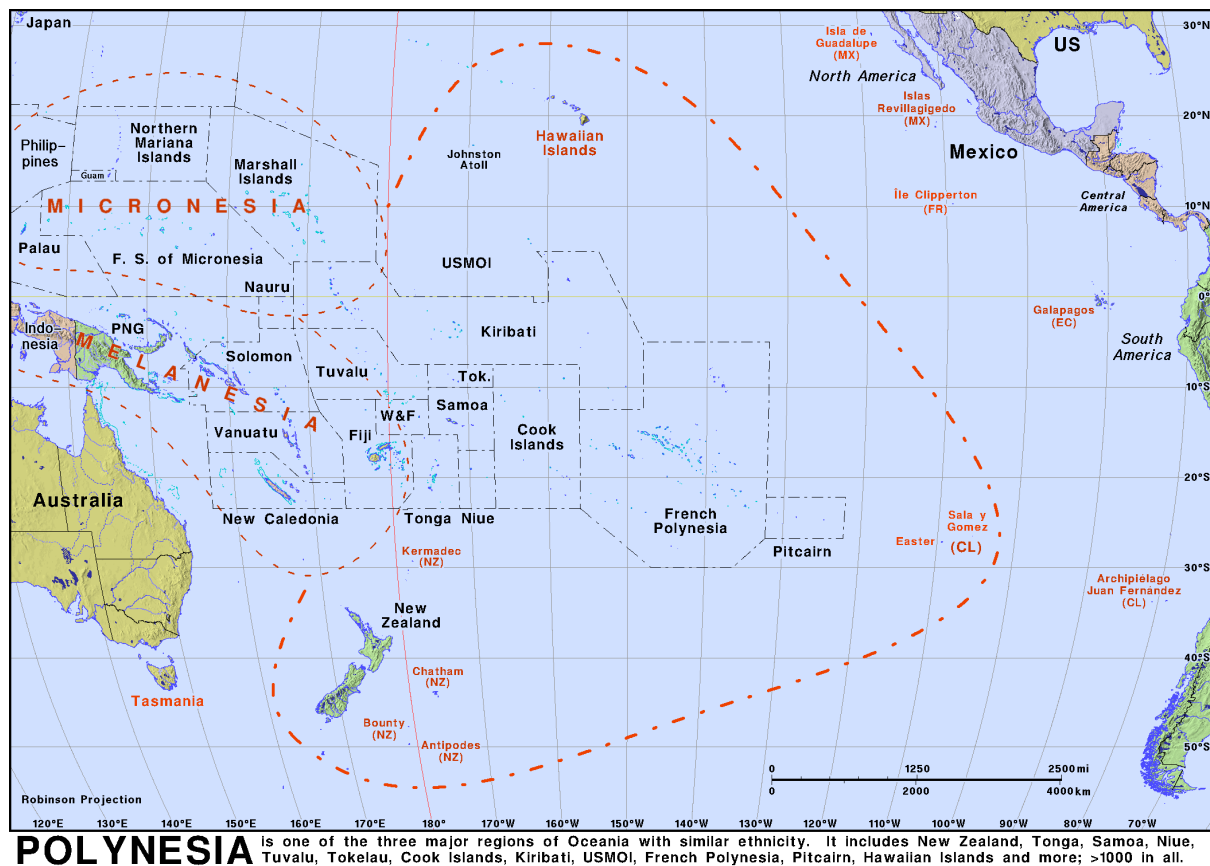


Figure 7. “The Polynesian Region” by PAT. Licensed as public domain.

Although still debated, following genomic testing it is now thought that the first Polynesian ancestors voyaged from Maritime Southeast Asia and landed on the western islands of Polynesia (including Samoa and Tonga) some 2,000-3,000 years ago (Gibbons, 2016). Referred to as “the last and greatest story of human migration” (Finney et al., 2007, backcover), the Polynesian peoples largely relied upon the stars, swells and tides in order to navigate the thousands of kilometers they could cover in their double-canoes and outriggers

(Clark, 2000). The islands of the Polynesian region were largely inhospitable, requiring that livestock and edible plants also be brought along for subsistence (Suggs, n.d.).

As the Polynesian peoples slowly migrated across to islands in the East, the Polynesians took with them their language, culture and oral traditions. Following 1,000 years of language and cultural development on their respective islands, the Polynesian nations developed unique identities despite sharing many characteristics. The approximately 35 Polynesian languages still share strong commonalities (Clark, 2005), and the oral traditions of Polynesian cultures are still strongly related:

“A marriage between a Skyfather and Earthmother, from who are born the gods of nature, sun, moon, planets, stars and all life, is the most common theme in Polynesian creation traditions.” (Taonui, 2006, p. 22).

5.2.2 Post-European Contact

The earliest recorded contact between European explorers and Polynesians took place in 1595 when Spanish navigator Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira came across what are now known as the Marquesas Islands of French Polynesia (Spate, 2004). Captain James Cook in particular sought to explore as much of the region as possible between 1768 and 1771, and did so with assistance from Tupaia, a Polynesian high priest and navigator, who joined the HMS Endeavour in 1769 until his death in 1770 (Salmond & Rowlands, n.d.). Major cultural change within Polynesia did not occur, however, until the first missionaries began to arrive in the late 1700s and early 1800s (Suggs et al., 2020).

“The introduction of Christianity during colonisation had a significant impact on Polynesian creation traditions as Polynesians incorporated new Christian ideas into their ancient traditions. This incorporation particularly included the idea of a monotheistic Supreme Being and themes from Genesis about the creation of the earth and human life.” (Taonui, 2006, p. 26).

In 1840, Britain annexed New Zealand through the Treaty of Waitangi and “other colonial powers that laid claim to various parts of Polynesia included France, Germany, New Zealand, the United States, and Chile” (Suggs et al., 2020, para 4). Following World War II, the call for independence among Polynesian nations increased and Samoa became the first to gain independence in 1962 (West & Foster, 2020). Due in part to external pressure from

the United Nations, most Polynesian nations gained independence by 1980 as part of a period of rapid political change (West & Foster, 2020).

5.2.3 Polynesia and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS Church) - popularly referred to as the Mormon Church - has had a long history within the Oceanic region, particularly among the Polynesian Islands. The LDS Church's missionary history within the Oceanic region dates back to the 1850s (Morris, 2015) and as of 2018, nine of the top ten countries in terms of the percentage of Mormon population were located within the Oceanic region (LDS Living Staff, 2018). The following table lists the countries in order of the percentage of the overall population that are members of the LDS Church as well as their geographic/cultural region:

Country	% Mormon Population	Region
Tonga	60.88%	Polynesia
Samoa	40.2%	Polynesia
American Samoa	31.72%	Polynesia
Cook Islands	19.84%	Polynesia
Niue	18.76%	Polynesia
Kiribati	18.21%	Micronesia

Marshall Islands	10.15%	Micronesia
French Polynesia	9.56%	Polynesia
The Federal States of Micronesia	5.97%	Micronesia
Chile	3.32%	South America

Table 2. Top ten countries in terms of Mormon population. Statistics sourced from LDS Living Staff, 2018.

As is evidenced by the table above, the top five countries in terms of proportion of Mormons per capita are all Polynesian nations (LDS Living Staff, 2018).

The relationship between the LDS Church and Hawaii dates back to 1850 when the first ten LDS Church missionaries arrived in Honolulu ('History', BYU-Hawaii, n.d.). In 1915, the Temple Site was dedicated in La'ie, which is a small town 56km north of Honolulu. In 1921, during an around-the-world inspection of LDS Church missions, senior church member David O. McKay visited a primary school within La'ie and while watching a flag raising ceremony, saw a vision of La'ie becoming "the Church's spiritual and educational center in the Pacific" ('History', BYU-Hawaii, n.d.). It was this vision which prompted McKay to set the wheels in motion for the establishment of an LDS Church University in La'ie when he became president of the LDS Church in 1951. It was another few years before the first iteration of BYU-Hawaii (then called Church College of Hawaii) was established in 1955.

"The vision of this school was because when the church was growing in the Pacific Islands and so forth, it became apparent that there wasn't a lot of opportunity for them to support themselves, temporarily. So, the school was created to provide them with higher learning opportunities, so that they could be able to better sustain themselves, and be leaders, and support their communities and so forth. So, with

that in mind, they come here to gain an education that they could not otherwise receive, and then they return to their homelands” - President Alfred Grace.

By 1958, BYU-Hawaii had 1,200 students enrolled, most of whom were international students attending on church scholarships. These students required a means of employment through which to support themselves;

“[BYU-Hawaii] was created, and then all of these students were coming in from Polynesian and Pacific Rim, and they are foreign students, so they can’t work anywhere outside of the campus. So, they were dependent, therefore, on funding from their families and their home and what have you, and that was entirely inadequate to cover their costs of their schooling here in the United States. So, the cultural centre [...] would be a place where these students could work, they could learn about their own cultures, but also they could learn specific skill sets, they could learn to become more employable” - President Alfred Grace.

5.3 Introducing the Polynesian Cultural Centre

The LDS Church established PCC in La’ie, Hawaii in 1963. PCC was built by LDS Church labour missionaries (one of whom was interviewed for this project) on land owned by the adjacent Brigham Young University-Hawaii (BYU-Hawaii).

“They called missionaries from the Pacific, some from Tonga, some from Samoa, some from New Zealand, the Māori people and then they had local Hawaiian people so we can build the centre. [...]. I was only 21 when I came. So by early 1962 we started the centre. I was actually the one that started it because I took my machine over there and clear the land and get everything ready so we can start the layout the villages and the buildings. So I was there for about a couple of months, get everything ready, then we start the outer villages and then start building.” - Sione Tuione Pulotu.

In the months prior to PCC’s opening, Sione Tuione Pulotu recalls not being satisfied with how PCC’s Tongan Village was portraying the Tongan culture:

“In July 1963 we decided, the Tongan missionaries, that we were not happy with our village. The way it was designed and the way it was built. So we asked the boss [...]

"can we build a real Tongan structure for our village?" and he say "how you gonna build that?" and I say "We are gonna bring somebody from Tonga that knows how to do that and we are going to build it". This was only 4 months before dedication. So he say "you guys think you can do it in this time, I mean because you cannot leave your job.. regular.. what you are doing during the day to go do that, you have to do it after hours". - Sione Tuione Pulotu.

The Tongan labour missionaries proceeded to send for two cultural specialists from Tonga, and with their help built the Tongan Village's 'Queen's House' which still stands today.

Described as an "unusual educational/business symbiotic relationship", the adjoining BYU-Hawaii and PCC operate in partnership ('BYU-Hawaii & PCC', n.d.). BYU-Hawaii provides PCC with staff power and PCC funnels profits into further scholarships for BYU-Hawaii ('BYU-Hawaii & PCC', n.d.).



Figure 8. The Polynesian Cultural Centre, Annelie de Villiers, 2018.

The aim for these young adults is to provide them with a Western university education at BYU-Hawaii, while also providing them with employment experience at PCC where they may be employed as cultural performers, in hospitality or tourism to provide for the nearly one million tourists who go through PCC each year. As PCC's President Grace

explains, the 3-4 years' worth of employment history on their students' resumes is what can set them above other recent graduates from more well-known universities:

“So, my vision is that when they return home, they’ll return home with a degree. Quite frankly, though, [...] at that point, they don’t have much of an edge at all over any other applicant who the employer is more familiar with their institution of learning and so forth, so what we like to add to that is a resume [...] that basically tracks the employee’s history for three to four years.” - President Alfred Grace

Each year over 700 BYU-Hawaii students work at PCC, with more than 500 of those being participants in BYU-Hawaii’s financial aid program, referred to as the International Work Opportunity Return-ability Kuleana (I-WORK). I-WORK is a financial aid program intended to assist LDS Church students who would not otherwise have the opportunity to gain a tertiary education (‘I-WORK’, n.d.). I-WORK is offered only to LDS Church members from the University’s target region of the Pacific Rim and the Far East (‘I-WORK’, n.d.). Under the program, recipients attend BYU-Hawaii and gain a tertiary education, with 50% of their fees covered by a grant, and the remaining 50% by a ‘forgivable loan’. This forgivable loan is worked off by the student through part time employment (20 hours per week) at either BYU-Hawaii or the PCC (‘I-WORK’, n.d.).

Since its inception, PCC has provided “nearly \$178 million in total financial support to BYU–Hawaii and its students” through initiatives like I-WORK (‘BYU-Hawaii & PCC’, n.d.). As of 2018, when the interviews for this study took place, the organisation was visited by an average of nearly 1 million tourists each year, had a revenue of USD\$69 million and 1,500 staff. Of the 1,500 staff, roughly half were students of BYU-Hawaii and there were roughly 260 full time staff. The majority of the PCC management team was composed of Indigenous Polynesians who were also members of the LDS Church, many of whom attended BYU-Hawaii themselves. As PCC is engaged in tourism, the impact of the COVID-19 global pandemic caused a significant loss of income, resulting in an estimated 30% of job cuts among its full-time staff (Peterkin, 2020).

PCC is an open-air tourist attraction arranged along a man-made river dug by Sione Tuione Pulotu and his fellow labour missionaries. This river is designed to represent the proud sea-faring tradition of the Polynesian peoples and tourists can be ferried in canoes along the river between the six ‘island villages’. Each island village represents a different Polynesian nation; Tonga, Tahiti, Samoa, Aotearoa (New Zealand), Fiji, and Hawaii. Each island village is run by a manager from that respective nation who has relative autonomy in terms of what is demonstrated to tourists at different times. The villages predominantly aim

to display pre-colonial Indigenous culture, however more contemporary cultural performances are not uncommon.

PCC's Director Delsa Moe emphasised that terminology like 'living museum' is not appropriate for the centre, stressing that PCC is a dynamic organisation that represents dynamic cultures:

"... we try not to refer to ourselves as a 'living museum' because museum kinda has you know.. it's very passive and we don't.. we want people to know, no you're not just going to come look at some dead things [...] So we stay with cultural centre. [...] When you come to these villages you can try some of these crafts, you're going to be learning this and we've got displays and you know natives that you can talk to, to ask questions about, so that there's all this dialogue going on. Interchange." - Delsa Moe.

And it is not just the cultural presentations which are dynamic in nature, what is presented is likely to change often also:

"[...] by having the cultural centre the way we have it here, where it's very dynamic, we can make changes you know whenever we want." - Delsa Moe.

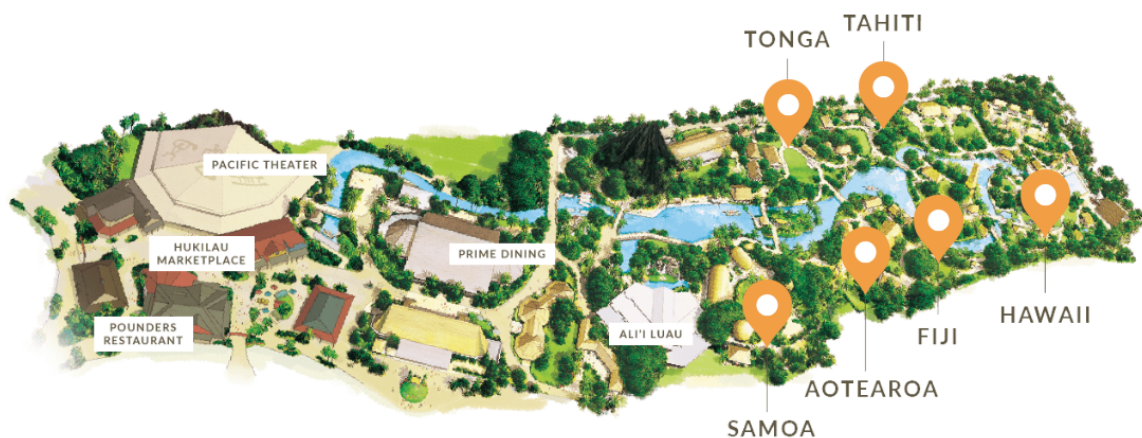


Figure 9. Layout of the Polynesian Cultural Centre. Shared with permission from PCC's Marketing Office.

Following a Hawaiian lū'au buffet for dinner, major performances are held each night in the Pacific Theatre. Ticket holders have free readmission to PCC for three days as there is too much to see and do at PCC in one day. Unless working in ticket sales, as guides or in

hospitality, students from BYU-Hawaii represent their cultures within each of the villages. For example, when I visited the Hawaiian Island Village in 2018, 12 of the 15 students working within the village were native Hawaiian and these students were supported and managed by three full-time Indigenous Hawaiian cultural specialists.

The mission statement of PCC is as follows:

“The Polynesian Cultural Centre is a unique treasure created to support education by sharing with the world the cultures, diversity and spirit of the nations of Polynesia. In accomplishing this we will:

- *Preserve and portray the cultures, arts and crafts of Polynesia.*
- *Contribute to the educational development and growth of all people at Brigham Young University-Hawaii and the Polynesian Cultural Centre.*
- *Demonstrate and radiate a spirit of love and service which will contribute to the betterment, uplifting and blessing of all who visit this special place.”* (PCC, ‘PCC Home Page’, n.d.).

Within the framework of the PCC case study, I considered the participants’ understanding and use of the archive from the perspectives of six senior staff, a semi-retired cultural consultant and one LDS Church missionary. The PCC was a useful case study for its engagement of Polynesian youth and its engagement with tourism. The PCC model provides unique opportunities for the engagement of youth in their Indigenous culture, its support of intergenerational knowledge transfer, and the education of the broader community. Engagement with the tourism sector is not without its own unique challenges however, with cultural knowledge needing to be presented in an entertaining and educational manner to meet tourists’ ever-evolving expectations.

5.4 Governance at PCC

PCC is a United States 501(c)(3) charitable organisation and so is governed by a board of directors, which in this case is composed of three voting members and four non-voting members. The board has the authority to hire and fire the officers of the company and helps to ensure that PCC fulfils its not-for-profit status obligations. President and CEO Alfred Grace explained that it wasn’t the role of the board to have opinions on what the PCC

displays from a cultural standpoint, but rather to support PCC from a fiscal and legal perspective:

“The board assists in making sure we are able to be – to remain financially viable, because we receive – we try and be self-sustaining as much as we can, and with every not for profit, we have to make up a good part of that with donations.” - President Alfred Grace.

While the PCC’s board of directors has oversight over the organisations’ overall strategies and long-term objectives, in terms of *how* the various Indigenous cultures of Polynesia are portrayed within the PCC - they have limited say:

“As far as the cultural aspect goes, the board doesn’t get involved in that at all, yeah, they mainly help make sure that we are being operated as an entity, correctly, that we are complying with the laws and ordinances of the land, that we are following correct procedures and principles and so forth. Then, they will come and give suggestions on how we might be able to enrich, I guess, experience and so forth, but as far as the cultures go, I’ve been dealing with the board here at PCC since – gosh, 1991 I think – and in all that time, the board has never, never dictated how the culture should be presented, ever. They’ve always known their place.” - President Alfred Grace.

PCC’s day-to-day operations are led by the seven-person President’s Council which counts among its members the President (CEO), the COO/CFO, the VP of Cultural Presentations, the VP of Food and Beverage, the VP of Facilities Management, the VP of Human Resources and finally the Executive Vice President and Chief Marketing Officer (Foley, 2019). As of 2019, these individuals “cumulatively [tallied] an impressive 150-plus years of experience at the Center” and “five represent the cultures of Tonga, Samoa, Aotearoa and Fiji” (Foley, 2019, para. 1).

5.5 Collections at PCC

PCC holds a range of materials, including but not limited to, records generated through its business activities, objects returned by descendents of missionaries to the islands, and photos and audio-visual materials dating back to before PCC’s establishment. The storage and maintenance of each type of material differs depending upon the level of priority assigned to it as well as the organisations’ capacity and availability of resourcing.

5.5.1 Physical and Digital Records

PCC holds physical and digital records dating back to prior to its establishment. Some of these materials are significant not only to the history of the organisation, but also significant to the nations' whose cultures it represents. For instance, many records were created during a visit from Tonga's King and Queen in 2016, during which time they declared PCC's Tongan Village a space at which Tongans can conduct culturally significant activities and ceremonies (Foley, 2016).

PCC used to have a historian who had been involved with the organisation throughout its entire history, this individual unfortunately passed away shortly before my visit in November 2018. "He had an office up here just wall to wall with flowcharts and timelines and photos and he could recount the entire history from the beginning to the end of the Cultural Centre and all the people involved" (Seth Casey). At the time of my visit, the contents of this office was being indexed by Sister SueAnn Long and other missionaries:

"Just from a physical archive point of view – it's interesting, because we've just been going through this quite a bit, where we have – our historian, the PCC's historian, he just passed away a couple of months ago, and so we have this massive amount of information, so we're saying, this needs to be archived correctly for future generations." - President Alfred Grace.

PCC also has a separate recordkeeping system in place for the more recent business records produced through their everyday operations, however the participants didn't go into any more detail than just to mention that it is "just like any other organisation" (Delsa Moe).

5.5.2 Cultural Objects

Within each of PCC's villages there are buildings built to replicate the traditional building style of that particular island, with displays of the less fragile and less valuable objects typically used by those communities displayed within. Some of these objects are used within cultural performances, for example, the use of a traditional rain stick during a musical performance. PCC has also been the recipient of repatriated materials, usually

returned by the descendents of LDS Church missionaries who spent time on Polynesian Islands:

"...all the time I'm getting.. I'm being contacted by families who "ooh my grand.. my grandpa passed away and well he was a missionary in Tonga, when they left they gave them all these gifts, we don't know what to do with them, we want to donate them to the cultural centre, you know, can we do that?" - Delsa Moe.

The more fragile or historically significant of these objects are stored in Delsa Moe's office or in the archive of BYU-Hawaii for safekeeping:

"...there are some things that are so valuable, we don't even keep it at the cultural centre, we turn it over to BYU archives. We say "can you please you know preserve this for us?" - Delsa Moe.

These objects are drawn upon for special occasions such as anniversaries or for dignitaries' visits. For instance, an old Kiwi feather cloak (kahu kiwi) was placed on display within the Aotearoa Village during PCC's 50th anniversary.

5.5.3 Audio-Visual Collections

The PCC's audio-visual material was stored within a "poorly ventilated room" (Seth Casey), and numbered around 2,700 items of various audio-visual formats when indexed in early 2010s. A few years earlier, Kealii Haverly was asked to compile a video of PCC's history for its 50th anniversary celebrations and given the key to the room full of audio-visual material, some of which he found to be in stages of decay:

"You had videos tagged...you had videos completely unlabelled. You had videos that were tagged from 1962, 1963, 1964, all the beginnings of the centre. Then you literally had a history of the evolution of video in this room from one-inch reel-to-reel all the way through to mini-DV. [...] Every type of beta cam format that ever existed was in the room. So, that was scary to have that and also, to see that nothing was actively happening and there was no active future for any of that footage." - Kealii Haverley.

Because of the lack of ventilation, the items "had accumulated a lot of mould" (Seth Casey). Inventory found 2,700 audio-visual records within that room, and the quote Kealii

Haverly received for digitising these materials was USD\$120 per item. Kealii became emotional when describing the struggle he experienced trying to ensure the digitisation of these materials:

"I use the word 'tragic' a lot because it was. It was a tragic process because we knew that the videos were breaking down. The reel-to-reels, they were actively deteriorating and I say this, and it is not a joke that it kept me up at night because every day, I knew we were losing our past and it was a painful time." - Kealii Haverly.

Kealii Haverly approached the LDS Church, Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah and BYU-Hawaii but was unable to secure funding. PCC was unable to fund the digitisation of these materials as it would be such a costly exercise and was not considered core business. For Kealii Haverly, when faced with 2,700 audio-visual records (some decaying) and 167,000 physical copies of photos and no internal resourcing beyond the provision of one full-time missionary working on a voluntary basis, he felt he had to turn to his religion in order to find a solution:

"The sad truth behind all of this is that there wasn't an internally generated solution. It was really a plea to a higher being, our God, our father in heaven to say, "We need a solution because we know it's extremely invaluable, and so we need this solution." So, we get a phone call and it's some random bunch of people down at our facilities maintenance area saying, "Hey, we're doing something with facilities maintenance records and we have this girl here..." - Kealii Haverly.

That individual turned out to work for the LDS' Church History Library, who it transpired had the remit and financing to digitise both the audio-visual and photo collections free of charge. Following more than a year's work on the part of missionary SueAnn Long to index and add metadata for the audio-visual materials, they were sent to Utah to be digitised. As of November 2018, the materials were still in the process of being cleaned and preserved prior to digitisation commencing.

5.5.4 Photography Collection

The PCC's photography collection contains photos dating back to before it's establishment, and includes "photos of everyone who worked here and visited, you know, and Elvis Presley when he came, and all these kinds of things" (President Alfred Grace). The

more historically significant of these photos were held within the PCC historian's office, and others were stored within the BYU-Hawaii's archive. A large portion of the photographs were actually still held by the photographer who was engaged by PCC for a long period of time.

Around 2015, the photographer who covered much of the PCC's activities ended his long-term agreement with PCC and they inherited 167,000 photos from him, the vast majority of which had been printed on archival quality photo paper and categorised in envelopes sorted by type of event. Missionary SueAnn Long volunteered full time for nearly two years helping with indexing and trying to digitise both the audio-visual materials and these photos. The photographer's collection was sent to the LDS' Church History Library for digitisation just after the audio-visual collection which was described in the previous section.

5.6 The Polynesian Cultural Centre: Through a Practice Theory Framework

Within this case study, PCC is considered through the theoretical framework of Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory and its main concepts of habitus, cultural capital and field. All eight of the PCC interviews were conducted in-person between 6-13 November 2018. The hour-long, semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed with permission. All but one of these interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis, the last was conducted with two participants (Kealii Haverly and SueAnn Long) at the same time.

Interview transcripts were returned to the participants and they were invited to make any amendments at that time. Interviewees were also given the option within their consent forms to have their interview transcripts lodged at PCC following the conclusion of this study.

5.6.1 Habitus

The table below provides an overview of the participants, their positions within PCC, the length of their involvement at PCC and BYU-Hawaii (where applicable), whether they self-identify as Indigenous and/or as members of the LDS Church. This table is used in order to assist in contextualising the information gathered for the purposes of this study. At the

outset of each interview, the participant was asked to introduce themselves and describe their relationship with the PCC. Every interviewee was a member of the LDS Church and all but one was Indigenous Polynesian.

As mentioned during the previous case study, a larger emphasis is placed upon the concepts of field and cultural capital within this study as the organisation rather than the individuals are the focus of this research. Please also note that the information included in the table below reflects what participants reported in November 2018 and some aspects are likely to be out of date.

Participant	Position at PCC	Length of involvement at PCC/ BYU-Hawaii	Studied at BYU-Hawaii	Member of LDS Church	Indigenous nationality
Alfred Grace	President and Chief Executive Officer	32 years	Yes	Yes	Māori
Delsa Moe	Vice President of Cultural Presentations	40 years	Yes	Yes	Samoan
Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau	Island Manager and Cultural Specialist (Tonga)	14 years	Yes	Yes	Tongan
Terry Panee	Assistant Island Manager (Hawaii)	21 years	Yes	Yes	Hawaiian
Seth Casey	Marketing Manager	15 years	No	Yes	Hawaiian
Sione Tuione Pulotu	Cultural Specialist (Master Carver)	58 years	No	Yes	Tongan
Kealii Haverley	Head of Ticketing Sales	17 years	Yes	Yes	Hawaiian

	Division				
SueAnn Long	Missionary	1.5 years	No	Yes	Non-Indigenous

Table 3. The PCC participants.

5.6.2 Cultural Capital

The transcribed interviews with the eight PCC staff members were analysed for Bourdieu's (1977) forms of social capital; institutionalised, embodied and objectified. Each form of cultural capital is identified and briefly discussed alongside quotes from the interviews below.

5.6.2.1 Embodied

Embodied cultural capital was the most prevalent within the PCC interviews and appeared in three ways; the first was the extent of an individual's organisational knowledge/memory, the second was the extent of an individual's Indigenous cultural knowledge, and the third was their status as members of the LDS Church. I initially confused the first form of embodied cultural capital for institutionalised cultural capital because Western university education and job titles were referred to, however these were mentioned in vague terms, not necessarily listed by name, and they were usually referred to as a means of demonstrating amount of organisational knowledge/memory, primarily through demonstrating the individual's length of involvement with PCC and BYU-Hawaii. Delsa Moe's description of her involvement with PCC and BYU-Hawaii was typical of how participants' introduced themselves at the outset of each interview;

"This is my fortieth year working here. I came as a student, attending university at BYU-Hawaii, and I worked in the Māori Village temporarily and then I transferred to the shows and I worked all the shows they had back then. And when I graduated

from college I was offered full time employment, and I've worked in several managerial positions all across the centre; manager guest services, theatre, reservations, in sales, office and then I was promoted to director over cultural presentations and then when my boss retired two years ago I've been vice president of cultural presentations.” - Delsa Moe.

Sione Tuione Pulotu explained that whilst he has been at PCC since before its establishment, he hadn't gone through much formal education - at BYU-Hawaii or elsewhere - as he is instead “on the action side of the thing”:

“I have accumulated knowledge of .. all these things. I can do all [Polynesian's] stuff. I can build their buildings and the way exactly they were built. [...] I know all the different thatching materials.. you know goes over the building the top. I know all the varieties of different materials to be used and how to be used and I know how to put on the structure the way they built. Um I have built two Hawaiian villages here in Hawaii and in fact there may be one or two more guys that can do what I can. [...] So like my canoes.. I know my canoes and I know how to build them. And I know how to sail them.” - Sione Tuione Pulotu.

Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau reflects on the increased sense of self which the relationship between BYU-Hawaii and PCC afforded him:

“I'm a product of [the BYU-Hawaii/PCC relationship] and seeing what it's done for me, I don't know if I would've had that opportunity anywhere else. [...] Where it affords any students such as myself that opportunity to for one, find a means for an education as well.. but I think what it's done for me more so is knowing more who I am, a better perspective on my cultural identity. And I guess I think that gives us more power and ability, knowing who we are.” - Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau.

According to Bourdieu's (1986) conception of cultural capital, an individual's religious beliefs form part of their embodied cultural capital. Every PCC interview participant described themselves as being a member of the LDS Church, and references to religious beliefs were evident throughout their interviews. For instance, Kealii Haverly spoke of praying for guidance when an internal solution for the degrading audio-visual materials could not be found, and Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau spoke of his position at PCC having been the result of divine intervention. In both instances, the participants demonstrate a belief in the power of their religious affiliation.

5.6.2.2 Institutionalised

Forms of institutionalised cultural capital were most apparent when individuals discussed their job titles and what the job title empowered them to do/prevented them from doing. A great example was the relationship between PCC's upper management versus the management of each island village.

Whilst PCC's upper management have oversight and responsibility over the day-to-day operations of the organisation as a whole (in terms of the management of facilities and scheduling, etc.) it was the managers within each village who determined with relative autonomy how their culture would be represented during their performances:

"I tweaked [our village's presentations] not only to be as authentic as possible, but more entertaining as well. So yeah there [were] quite a few reformations I made when I became manager of the village." - Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau

PCC's village managers have a large amount of institutionalised cultural capital, some of it a legacy of the time when they used to be referred to as 'Chiefs' of the villages and actual Indigenous chiefs used to be recruited from the Pacific Islands to fulfill the role:

"It used to be Island Chief, and these chiefs were literally recruited from the islands. And so they would come and serve as the chief, and they were literally chiefs in the cultural sense um but ah but that had stopped I think in the .. early 90s I think it was."
- Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau.

5.6.2.3 Objectified

The objectified form of cultural capital was present when participants spoke of funding and how it was spent within PCC. As PCC is a not-for-profit with proceeds going toward scholarships for BYU-Hawaii students, any funding spent at PCC beyond what was considered core business was perceived as taking away scholarships. One example of this was when Kealii Haverly reflected on PCC's inability to divert funding toward the preservation and digitisation of their decaying audio-visual materials:

“We're a non-profit and we're putting thousands of kids through school. Every dollar we make is to put kids through school and as important as our history is, it's secondary. So, for us to throw any resources at this was money taken away from our mission and for historians, that is a tragic thing to say itself. It's just painful to say, but it's the truth.” - Kealii Haverly.

This is further complicated by PCC's struggle to remain sustainable despite large amounts of donations from the LDS Church and other sources:

“... for many, many years, we have not been self-sustaining. We've had to live off either cash reserves, or we've received funding from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, or other donors, which actually, for a not for profit, is part of being self-sustaining. [...] but the vast amount of the revenue generated here has been through ticket sales. So, our primary goal in being self-reliant is to continue to be able to have a lot of visitors come to the PCC, and as costs of doing business increase, as they do here in Hawaii all the time, have a good enough experience, where we can increase our ticket prices, and yet retain a significantly high value position for our guests and so forth.” - President Alfred Grace.

So given this complicated financial position, how does PCC decide what to spend money on?

“I like to do 'good fit' tests. So, there are numerous ideas and opportunities that present themselves, but I like to make sure, and we like to make sure, that they are a good fit with our mission, and with our not for profit status and so forth. [...] Example, there has been discussions in the past about making this a Pacific Cultural Centre, and adding in different – not just Polynesian, but Melanesian and Micronesian and perhaps even south Asian cultures, as well, Pacific Rim cultures. That's a very different undertaking from an entity that was created to preserve and perpetuate the arts, crafts and culture of Polynesia. So, because that is a significant break from our mission and our not-for-profit status, we've chosen that it's not a good fit, we don't do it.” - President Alfred Grace.

5.6.3 Field

The identification of fields was achieved through a thematic analysis of transcribed interviews. The types of phrases which are typical of different fields coming into direct contact are; *“We couldn’t do the whole ceremony because the tourists would get bored”* (Delsa Moe) and *“I learn from my family and apply it here at the PCC and vice versa”* (Terry Panee). The different fields were therefore identified almost through their relationships with each other, whether they are coming into conflict (as in the first example above), or complementary (as in the second example above). Content analysis of the transcribed interviews with eight PCC participants lead to the identification of the following six fields:

- BYU-Hawaii
- The LDS Church
- Indigeneity
- Tourism
- Personal Indigenous Culture
- Family

In the next section I will briefly define each field before making some observations in terms of the relationships between fields. The fields are listed in order of their prominence within the eight transcribed interviews.

5.6.3.1 BYU-Hawaii

Five of the eight participants attended BYU-Hawaii for some part of their formal education and at least one went on to teach subjects there later in life. Terry Panee argues that the education offered through BYU-Hawaii can be complemented through the activities of PCC. For example, while studying the Hawaiian language at BYU-Hawaii, Terry Panee worked in the Hawaiian Village alongside his teacher, allowing for the education to be reinforced beyond the classroom:

“... although I heard [Hawaiian] you know at home and things. I never really learned it until I actually learned my language here at Brigham Young University–Hawaii. I took a couple of classes and things. My teacher at the time was also an employee here at the cultural centre in the Hawaiian village and so meant I worked with him. You know

it was a lot better for me, because I had his tutoring not only in class but outside of class at work as well. So it really helped solidify a lot of the things.” - Terry Panee.

Panee continued to work his way through the ranks at PCC and eventually became the manager of the Hawaiian Village and is teaching Hawaiian language classes at BYU-Hawaii. This is not an unusual case. In fact, of BYU's “Polynesian language instructors, most of them are employees at PCC as well” (Terry Panee). The formal language studies at BYU-Hawaii are reinforced during shifts at PCC, where Panee insists on the language being spoken among the employees and students who work within the Hawaiian Village. The majority of these students are Hawaiian themselves and are being encouraged to actively develop their *Personal Indigenous Culture* in two very different ways; through both formal and informal education:

“Now there are some things that we just know are important to do, so even though we can't sell it as a commodity, we practice and we perpetuate it anyways so that .. just so that our Polynesian students know, and can keep it alive. So one would be like language. Nobody walks in and says “hey... I'll pay you \$5 to speak Hawaiian to me”. But it's important for self-identity. [...] in the Tahitian village, the Tahitian manager says as part of their training she has them, everybody, whether you are Tahitian or not, everybody is required to learn to speak Tahitian.” - Delsa Moe.

5.6.3.2 The LDS Church

While it is important to note that the LDS Church's involvement in La'ie has been criticised by some (Webb, 1993; Aikau, 2012), each of the eight interviewees identified as being members of the LDS Church and spoke in positive terms about the Church and their religion and the experiences they have had through the Church and its extensions; BYU-Hawaii and PCC.

President Alfred Grace explained that while the PCC is representing the Indigenous cultures of Polynesia, the “presiding culture” is the Church:

“So, the Polynesian Cultural Centre is owned and operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and one way to look at it is that while there are many cultures at the Polynesian Cultural Centre, the presiding culture is the church. That means we choose not to portray some parts of our culture, just as anybody does,

choose to portray parts of our culture that may not be considered in harmony with what we would call teachings of the church.” - President Alfred Grace.

The quote above demonstrates tensions between the fields of *The LDS Church*, *Indigeneity* and *Tourism*, i.e. the tension between portraying traditional Indigenous Polynesian cultures ‘authentically’ whilst educating and entertaining visiting tourists and also representing the principles and ethics of the Church:

“So, for example, we don’t actually have a kava ceremony at the Polynesian Cultural Centre. Kava ceremonies are very, very common in Fiji and Tonga and Samoa, but in the Polynesian Cultural Centre, we chose not to, because in our communities, even here in these communities and what have you, often times, kava ceremonies are represented as being a place where people will spend tremendous amounts of time, without taking care of their responsibilities to their families, going to work or something like that. So, we prefer not to represent that. In and of itself, the kava ceremony is wonderful, and appropriate, but it’s also something that we see in many of our cultures that can be taken to a limit that, for many, would seem extreme. So, that’s a guideline.” - President Alfred Grace.

Kava is a drink derived from a plant root with relaxant and mild hallucinogenic properties and which continues to be used in Polynesian ceremonies and social life (Singh, 2009). Drinking Kava is not portrayed at PCC as it is at odds with LDS Church principles of no drugs or alcohol. A further example President Grace offered was the alterations to costumes of ‘traditional’ Polynesian dress worn by PCC students to cover the breasts and midriffs of females in the interest of modesty.

5.6.3.3 Indigeneity

The field of *Indigeneity* is used within this case study to denote the identification of the Indigenous participants (and PCC itself) as being members of the worldwide Indigenous community. This field is differentiated from the field of *Personal Indigenous Culture* as the interview participants could speak to their experiences as being part of the broader Indigenous community, and then speak to their own experiences in terms of their personal journey in their specific cultural identity.

President Alfred Grace feels a responsibility to support other Indigenous communities who wish to preserve their traditional cultures through the use of cultural centres:

"[Our] mission says to preserve and portray the cultures, arts and crafts of Polynesia, but by extension of that, we're very interested in supporting the preservation of any culture. That's why we have three sister relationships with cultural centres in China." - President Alfred Grace.

Visiting PCC can prompt other Indigenous peoples to be more interested in learning their own Indigenous culture:

"I found that we get people from different cultures come.. and I really appreciate that. "In my culture we do this and stuff like that." And so.. they they kinda reflect on their own heritage and culture." - Terry Panee.

It also presents an opportunity for other minority Indigenous groups to learn from the cultural practitioners at PCC. For instance, when a group of Indigenous people from Taiwan came to visit, they came to see how PCC was perpetuating Polynesian culture particularly in circumstances where there is heavy influence from the external world:

"They came through and .. they came to ask questions about the different cultures and so we sit down and talk to them and explain things and go "ah yeah we have this" or "no we do something different" [...] You know and they are kinda in the same boat that we are as Hawaiians we make up barely 18-19% of the population, so we're a minority in our own home, and it's the same with them. [...] And so you know then they getting less and less people who actually speak their languages and things like that and.. you know they're kinda losing their culture in that so they're getting swallowed up by everything else inside there. And so they're striving to perpetuate their culture and in a sense, we're doing it here although it's often looked at as commercialised and things like that." - Terry Panee.

In 2016, the Tongan King and Queen declared PCC a Tongan cultural space at which Tongans can practice culture and conduct ceremonies:

"[The Tongan King and Queen] even declared it as [...] a place [...] where all Tongans can come to and hold cultural practices and ceremonies and things like that. [Because] we're always constantly having visiting dignitaries and that they recognise the Tongan village as one of those cultural areas that they have. I guess and they have certain homes and places like that in different parts of the world. I think there is one in New Zealand as well." - Tevita Alimoti Tauneopeau.

As Indigenous peoples, the PCC has to comply with Indigenous cultural expectations and this is particularly evident when prominent Polynesian chiefs or dignitaries visit and the PCC “will always do a separate ceremony just for them” (Delsa Moe):

“When we have a visiting Māori group that comes, we try to bring them in before hours, so we can do the proper cultural welcome for them. And that's the one that might take an hour you know, because you've gotta.. we've gotta do our speech of welcome, go through all of our genealogy, then we turn the time to them, they go through their speech and their acknowledgement, their tie-in. And that can be very long and boring for those who don't understand and listen, but it's a culturally appropriate, and we know how to do it. And we can't .. we can't progress in our welcome without going through those cultural protocols.” - Delsa Moe.

These culturally appropriate practices must occur even when the fields of *Indigeneity* and *Tourism* are in conflict:

“Sometimes we're caught off guard [...] and we're surprised to find out "hey there's this big chief here from Samoa.” Ok, so now he's seated amongst all the guests, all the visitors, but we cannot, it is culturally inappropriate for us to just do our regular performance for the tourists as if he's a regular tourist. So what we do is, they'll welcome everybody and then they'll say, "we have a special visitor here from the islands, we have chief so-and-so visiting all the way from Samoa, it is appropriate in our culture that we acknowledge him the cultural way. So ladies and gentleman, if you'll just please be patient with us while we do this special speech of welcome and this is what we really do in the islands if you were to come to Samoa.” And then they'll speak Samoan and do the proper protocols and welcome him as a proper chief.” - Delsa Moe.

5.6.3.4 Tourism

The field of *Tourism* was prominent within the case study, which was to be expected as it is the business model within which PCC operates. PCC is a registered charity which does receive donations, however the biggest source of revenue is through ticket sales. PCC interviewees have found that the expectations and behaviours of tourists have changed significantly over the past 30 years. Desla Moe attributed these changes to the introduction

of the Internet and the increasing proportion of young people now traveling more widely.
Today:

“The person travelling to Hawaii is not looking for a contrived plastic experience that could potentially be replicated in Texas or Shanghai or Seoul, Korea. They're looking for an authentic experience with an authentic connection to the place and its people, that has a long-lasting impact.” - Kealii Haverly.

The fields of *Tourism* and *Indigeneity* were often discussed in terms of the intrinsic friction between the two fields. Terry Panee of the Hawaiian village stated that for him, seeking positive feedback from fellow Hawaiians is more important than positive feedback from tourists: “for us that's more so our main goal is to make sure that the Hawaiian people are proud of what we share with everybody else”. Being authentic to Hawaiian perceptions of culture requires that they stray from the tourist conception of Hawaiian culture:

“You know there's a tourist conception of what Hawaii should be and there's a Hawaiian perception of what it is. [...] In Waikiki.. it may be portrayed as this.. or in the movies or whatever, in Hollywood it may be portrayed like this... but really this is how it is. And so that educational part in our presentation is to be .. to be entertaining and educational at the same time.” - Terry Panee.

The most common negative feedback that PCC receives is from tourists reacting to what they perceive as the commercialisation (read: exploitation) of culture:

*“...numerous times I remember being in the village and hearing some guests asking "how do you feel about exploiting culture?" [...] And so I'll; "first of all it's my culture, and I don't think we're exploiting it. **You look at our show, if you take away the microphone so that everyone can hear better and you take away the paved sidewalks so that everybody can walk better, and you take away the lights and all that stuff, it's still a Hawaiian boy singing a Hawaiian song that a Hawaiian girl is dancing to. That's my culture. What am I exploiting?**” - Terry Panee.*

At times over the organisation's history, certain programs introduced by PCC strayed from traditional culture. However cultural specialist Sione Tuione Pulotu indicated that he felt he had agency in correcting course:

“Oh along the way, now and then somebody come out with some idea you know? Ideas that kinda go against the culture [and] started to kinda go heavy on making money and that thing, so they create some program and stuff and some of them kind of go against our traditional culture for our people, like the Tongan, so we had to

remind them that uh they are.. yeah.. of course it's important to make money to keep the people.. the thing going and to pay the people. Very important. But at the same time we have to stay on the goals of the centre, to preserve and to perpetuate the culture.” - Sione Tuione Pulotu.

5.6.3.5 Personal Indigenous Culture

Personal Indigenous culture was identified within the transcripts as often participants would speak to the general Indigenous perspective and then follow up by saying “*But I personally...*”. Phrases such as these signify the existence of two different fields and therefore the fields of *Indigeneity* and *Personal Indigenous culture* were differentiated. This field was also useful for considering the times when participants reflected upon their upbringing.

For example, when asked about where/when he learnt his cultural knowledge, Tevita Alimoti Tauneopeau of Tonga spoke of distinct phases of learning. The first phase occurred during childhood through observation of his father and grandfather who were considered to be very knowledgeable with regards to culture:

“... that's how we were able to experience it, just from them telling stories or just watching them in their roles that they played whenever we had uh special occasions or ceremonies and things like that.” - Tevita Alimoti Tauneopeau.

Later during his studies at BYU-Hawaii, Tevita worked at PCC and realised that “[he] didn't consider [himself] as well-informed and knowledgeable as [he] would have liked”, then returning to Tonga post-graduation with a thirst for knowledge:

“But I think I really didn't get into it, until I was.. after my graduation and went, gone back home. Then with my parents there as well, that's when I really got more interested and really dove into the cultural practices and things like that.” - Tevita Alimoti Tauneopeau.

When asked what he attributed this increased interest to, he said that in part it was due to his engagement with tourists, which:

“...helped increase the desire to know more and to know.. uh to find out answers to many questions that were constantly asked by the people about my culture and so

on. It challenged me to grow even more. Yeah it sparked that interest to learn more and do more. Be able to do more.” - Tevita Alimoti Tauneopeau.

Tevita Alimoti Tauneopeau’s sentiments reflected a positive aspect of the relationship between the fields of *Tourism* and *Personal Indigenous Culture*.

5.6.3.6 Family

Despite not explicitly being asked about their families, the field of *Family* was identified in every interview transcript, and most commonly discussed in two contexts; interviewee’s relationship with the fields of *The LDS Church* and *Personal Indigenous Culture*. A number of the participants had met their spouses through BYU-Hawaii/PCC:

“I met a Tahitian girl who came to school uh and we got married. I’m married to a Tahitian and we have a family.” - Sione Tuione Pulotu.

“... my wife is the manager in the Tahitian village. [...] We were guides in the VIP Guide Department.” - Terry Panee.

As the participants’ families tended to also be members of the LDS Church, the two fields would often be mentioned together:

“My parents were members of the [LDS Church]. So I was born in as a member of the church.” - Sione Tuione Pulotu.

“[My husband] took a teaching position as a professor at [Brigham Young University] in Provo, and that’s where he passed away and I continued. I was working for the church in the fundraising office for BYU Provo, and at BYU Hawaii.” - SueAnn Long.

Participants would often reflect in terms of either teaching or being taught Indigenous culture by/to their family. As mentioned by Tevita Alimoti Tauneopeau in the previous section, he initially learned culture by watching his father and grandfather engage in cultural practices. Terry Panee reflected on how his own personal cultural journey differed from his wife’s despite both having gone through BYU-Hawaii and PCC as young adults. Terry Panee himself remained interested in learning his personal Hawaiian cultural knowledge throughout, whereas his wife found her own interest increasing after having had children and returning to PCC for work later in life:

"[My wife and I] got together and got married and then when I moved to the village [...], when we go to Tahiti I would ask her about all the cultural things that they have over there and she goes "oh I don't know, you've got to ask my dad" because she wasn't really into stuff. Fast forward you know maybe ten years ago, she [...] comes to work [at PCC] part time. Comes in and then next you know she's end up working back in the [Tahitian] village that she used to work when she first came to school over here, and all of the stuff she learnt when she was young, growing up with her grandparents starts to come back and the manager of the Tahitian village, when she would do stuff and take things she would "ooh that's right, that's... how do you know that?" she goes "because that's what our grandparents taught us."" - Terry Panee.

5.7 Practice at PCC

Within the framework of practice theory, Bourdieu conceptualises 'practice' as the action which is borne from the interrelationships between field, cultural capital and habitus at particular points in time (Swartz, 1997). One way in which to discern how much cultural capital an individual has is to consider their ability to act - to have agency - within particular fields. Examples of phrases that were indicative of a participants' ability to act were: *"Within the village we get to decide what the acts are, and then we just need to let the marketing team know if it will impact on scheduling and things like that"* (Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau), or as a contrast; *"I was just getting nowhere because it was considered to not be core business"* (Kealii Haverly).

Examples of practice have been shared throughout this chapter as I defined and explained the habitus, forms of cultural capital, and the fields identified. In this section I emphasise and explore two aspects of practice that were most relevant to my research topic. These two aspects were identified as the practices employed for intergenerational knowledge transfer and those employed for the retention of organisational knowledge.

As PCC's main workforce is composed of BYU-Hawaii students, each semester brings a new batch of employees who need to be trained and inducted into the organisation. The formal induction process involves going through the various buildings, villages and displays within PCC, going through company policies and procedures and watching training videos which are "interviews with a lot of our cultural treasures, you know, our living cultural

ambassadors who have this wealth of knowledge” (Seth Casey). One of these videos, for example, is an interview with:

“... Cy Bridges, who is a retiree, he was the Theatre Director and a very, very famous Kumu Hula or Hula Instructor and he passes on the history of this town of La’ie, what it was before the Cultural Centre was here and why that’s significant and why we need to honour those memories and how it should affect the way we interact with people today.” - Seth Casey.

Additional cultural training is conducted in order to teach new students both cultural knowledge and cultural practices:

“A lot of it too is things that we don’t necessarily portray on the daily basis, but very relevant to what we do and just in case if somebody asks the question, you know that we have the answer for it. And so when we have a weekly meeting, where we do that.” - Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau.

Some students are interested in learning more, which prompted the Village Managers to start offering knowledge enrichment programs. For instance, the making and throwing of fish nets is an activity introduced by the Hawaiian Village for those who wished to learn more cultural knowledge. In the process, senior PCC staff are involved in inter-generational knowledge exchange by:

“passing the knowledge from generation to generation to generation... Because I learnt it from those who were here when I first started and I’m passing it on to the students who are coming through now. And hopefully they’ll take that wherever they go and pass it on to their kids if they have the opportunity.” - Terry Panee.

For Terry Panee, however, the most valuable moments of intergenerational knowledge exchange occurred in the quieter moments between performances:

“... we actually had this one program at the end of the day, the villages pretty much come to a close and they have a kind of ride for those who.. like a.. twilight thing after dinner before the night show [...]. And so when they come through by the village we sit along the waterways and we serenade them [...]. But when the canoes wasn’t there we would sit and we’d talk with those who were there and that was some of the best times, some of the stories that we get out there.” - Terry Panee.

The other area of knowledge exchange that I wished to elaborate on further was PCC’s practices regarding organisational knowledge/memory. PCC tends to rely more on

oral history practices than recordkeeping for the retention of organisational knowledge. President Grace notes that there is risk involved in this approach, particularly as when people leave PCC they generally leave Hawaii altogether:

“It’s risky, but it works – you know, you don’t want a break in it and all of a sudden, you have someone there saying, “well, no one told me about this” [...] because people come and go here, and when they go, they go back to Tahiti, Tonga, Fiji, you know, and so forth. It’s not like they just get another job [locally].” - President Alfred Grace.

In order for the organisational knowledge to be transferred to the incoming senior employees, PCC tries to ensure that there is significant overlap between the roles in order to ensure ample time for the exchange of knowledge:

“When a new full-time employee comes, or a manager, there’s always significant overlap. We try and overlap probably six months to a year, or promote from within, and in some cases, we’ll bring people from the islands back, because we need their cultural expertise. We’ll send our managers home [...] so that they can refresh themselves in the culture and so forth. So, it’s passed on from person to person, in that way, as far as the history is concerned, and then there are written documents on the actual physical structures, just recorded for archival processes, but we don’t access that information to train. The training is done orally, as it always was.” - President Alfred Grace.

5.8 Understanding of the Archive and its Role in Practice at PCC

While PCC has collections of business records, audio-visual materials, photographs and cultural objects, the practices of the PCC reveal an emphasis upon oral methods of knowledge exchange. As the quote below demonstrates, President Alfred Grace differentiates between ‘Western’ archives and oral history, with the latter being perceived as more culturally authentic:

“Physically, the videos, the photos and all of that sort of contemporary Western record-keeping has been held. Oral histories as well - where we have them, but we

don't have a lot - have also been recorded that way, to preserve. In many a way, we are truly authentic when it comes to our oral history, right?" - President Alfred Grace.

When asked, each of the seven Indigenous participants advised that they referred primarily to intangible knowledge holders within the community when learning about their cultures, and then supplemented and supported their knowledge and cultural practices through records - either physical or digital:

"When I first started things a lot of my information came from the older generations, sitting down and talking with them and understanding why.. how they did things.. what they used to do. And some of the stories that they would share, a lot of it is oral and then just my interest in Hawaiian studies, I would read a lot of other things and some of the resources of some of the older Hawaiians that have since gone and things like that." - Terry Panee.

Terry Panee reflected that this dependency on oral history as the primary method of knowledge exchange has been growing increasingly more challenging since the introduction of writing. When challenged on the veracity of Polynesian oral history, Panee would tell them:

"... you know what's different is that people from oral history who have an oral history or an oral society, learn to listen to things the first time. Coz you don't have the chance to write it down, because you can't. So they learn to listen the first time and remember the first time. I say today we're so used to recording things or writing things down because our minds can't do it because we haven't trained ourselves to do that." - Terry Panee.

Those participants who perceived the archive as being composed of both intangible and tangible forms of knowledge engaged in a variety of practices when seeking to further their personal cultural knowledge, usually prompted by a desire to update cultural performances shown at PCC. For instance, the Tongan Village Manager described his main interaction with the archive (beyond learning from Elders) as watching recordings of old Tongan dances and reading composition books of cultural performances:

"...I felt I needed to change one of the numbers we were performing and so I went back into a lot of old compositions .. by my father as well as others. There's a compilation .. a book that I also use.. of different songs and things. [...] I'm constantly doing that, reading and watching videos to help find new ways to share that [cultural] information in a creative and entertaining as well." - Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau.

Beyond consulting video recordings and written accounts of compositions, Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau has also joined online forums as a further resource for learning:

“...there are forums and chats on Facebook in which many - and I am nowhere near their caliber - but these are professors that from New Zealand, Australia and even here in the US - where we get together and share cultural knowledge and information and sort of just you know spark interest within one another and things like that.” - Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau.

When the interviews took place in November 2018, the average length of involvement with BYU-Hawaii/PCC among the seven Indigenous participants was 28 years. Taunoepeau himself had been involved for 14 years and stated that he didn't look to the PCC archives as:

“I feel like I've been part of the whole experience here and kind of have a pretty good idea of what's happening here at the centre. So I feel that in order for me to find something new, find something different, I have to look outside.” - Tevita Alimoti Taunoepeau.

5.9 Future Potential of the Archive within PCC

When asked how they would like to see the archive utilised in future, the first goal identified by PCC participants was internally-focussed and related to how they would like to see PCC's digitised audio-visual and photography collections utilised in future. The other two goals were externally-focussed and centred around how PCC could help contribute to a knowledge resource to support the work of Indigenous cultural centres beyond PCC.

Kealii Haverly and SueAnn Long spoke of their hope that once digitised, PCC's photography and film collections could be loaded onto a platform like Google Photos and shared in order to gather further metadata from PCC/BYU-Hawaii alumni (via methods like tagging, etc.). They envision this being an ideal opportunity to engage with their alumni community between PCC's major anniversary events.

Inspired by their own struggle with indexing and digitising PCC's audio-visual and photography collections, Kealii Haverly and SueAnn Long also hoped to see the development of a guide to support Indigenous cultural centres navigating the same issues

they faced. They mention as examples that they would have appreciated guidance around accessioning, disposal, preservation, indexing, digitisation and suitable content management platforms. Further, Haverly and Long envisioned such a resource pointing toward external entities who could support Indigenous cultural centres in this work:

“So, creating some plans might be of value. Maybe that's a weird thing to say, but just a research path or a resource path for cultural centres. Museums have their own thing, but cultural centres similar to us where funding might be very difficult to come by. Then if there are any international entities who are willing to help out or provide resources at reasonable rates or not. I mean, whatever the resource it's the hard, cold facts of documenting your past.” - Kealii Haverly.

And to not only look at preserving existing records but to also consider what records should be created in order to safeguard organisational and cultural knowledge:

“But to give them some thoughts as to say, “Well, maybe if you have staff who have been here from the very beginning and they're 50, 60, 70 years old, you may want to consider starting to record them or video them and document that in some way.” Most cultural centres, most museums, most cultural attractions have an ability to attract volunteers and the proper management of volunteers I think would be a valuable asset to be able to find the appropriate volunteer with the right skillset to be able to say, “I need this to be considered. Would you be willing to help us with that?”” - Kealii Haverly.

Kealii Haverly recognises that those working in cultural centres might not have the time to consult such a resource often, and that such a resource could be made more accessible through quarterly newsletters saying “Hey, just an update. You're a cultural centre. You've got your plate full, but here are some thoughts as to things to save your history” (Kealii Haverly).

“It's a huge responsibility right, because you're not just saving the history of the cultural centre. You're also sharing stories from the different communities that you're representing and serving, which yes, primarily is BYU. But I mean, you've got stories from prominent Tongans. That's of national significance to Tongans, which is terrifying because it's not your central mission.” - Kealii Haverly.

Along similar lines, President Alfred Grace hoped to one day see the development of a repository which contains case studies of cultural centres such as PCC, illustrating lessons learned so that other organisations can avoid making the same mistakes. He envisioned this

resource as having the potential for supporting other Indigenous communities to establish their own cultural centres. He hoped that:

“someone could establish a repository of all of these different cultural experiences, that people could have access to, so that they could be able to learn from our mistakes – and we’ve made heaps. To learn what we’ve done, what they think is good, what they think isn’t right and so forth, and just have an opportunity to look at basically case studies and what-have-you of different issues, different challenges, different environments that they work in and so forth.” - President Alfred Grace.

President Grace indicated that PCC would be very interested in being involved in such an initiative since they’re “one of the longest-running cultural centres, probably one of the largest, and so [would] like to engage in that.” For President Grace, PCC’s involvement in the development of such a resource would present an “opportunity to have some kind of connection to [other cultural centres], through some kind of resource, through an archival process”. He envisioned that such a resource would enable:

“...any culture in the world – Africa, Asia, eastern Europe or wherever, where if they ever wondered or what have you, there would be an opportunity for them to go to a source that would allow them to access information of, you know, preserving and portraying, or preserving and perpetuating, whichever one you’re doing – it could be the same thing – your cultures, and have that resource, very rich resource, available to them, so that they could utilise it for their own benefit. If nothing else, it might give them hope, to know that it’s been done elsewhere.” - President Alfred Grace.

5.10 Chapter Summary

This case study chapter began by briefly discussing the history of Polynesian cultures both pre- and post-European contact before describing the history of the LDS Church within the Oceanic region, explaining its relevance to the Polynesian cultures in particular. Having introduced the history and motivations behind the establishment of PCC, this case study then went on to describe the organisation itself before presenting the analysis of PCC staff member interviews through the application of practice theory and its main constructs (habitus, fields and cultural capital). Analysing the transcribed interviews through this lens was a useful sense-making exercise and enabled me to consider how

much agency individuals had within the organisation, their practice, what they understand to be the archive, and what they envision as the future potential for the archive.

This case study was of particular interest for the insights it provided into the complexities of an Indigenous cultural centres engaging with tourism as part of its funding model. While existing literature considering engagement with cultural tourism is generally preoccupied with the tensions it presents with regards to cultural authenticity, this case study provides insight into the ways in which engagement with tourism can actually inspire Indigenous cultural practitioners to learn more about their own culture.

Chapter 6: Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta Case Study

6.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter presents the third and final case study considered through this project; the Vanuatu Cultural Centre which was founded in 1955 and is based in Port Vila, Vanuatu (Bislama: Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta) (VKS). Within this chapter, I provide a brief overview of Vanuatu's history spanning from pre-European contact, through its period of being externally administered and its eventual independence. This background will provide important context for understanding the founding and evolution of VKS. Having introduced the history and motivations behind the establishment of VKS, this case study then goes on to describe through a strengths-based perspective the organisation itself before presenting the analysis of VKS participant interviews through the application of practice theory and its main constructs of habitus, cultural capital and fields.

Following the identification and exploration of each of these constructs within the VKS case study, I consider the practice of VKS interviewees as an interplay between the identified forms of habitus, cultural capital and respective fields. The chapter concludes with a consideration of how participants understand the archive and what they would like to see happen with the archive going forward.

6.2 The Indigenous Communities of the Vanuatu Archipelago

6.2.1 Pre-European Contact

What is today referred to as Vanuatu is an archipelago composed of 13 principal islands and roughly 70 smaller islands located in the southwestern Pacific Ocean (Adams &

Foster, 2021). Although still debated, it is thought that roughly 3,000 years ago, Austronesian peoples migrated to Vanuatu and came into contact with the Papuan-speaking people already living there (Gibbons, 2016; Friedlaender et al., 2008). Although the two groups did merge to a large extent, culturally and linguistically there is still a distinction between the Austronesian-language and Papuan-language speaking Melanesians (Friedlaender et al., 2008).

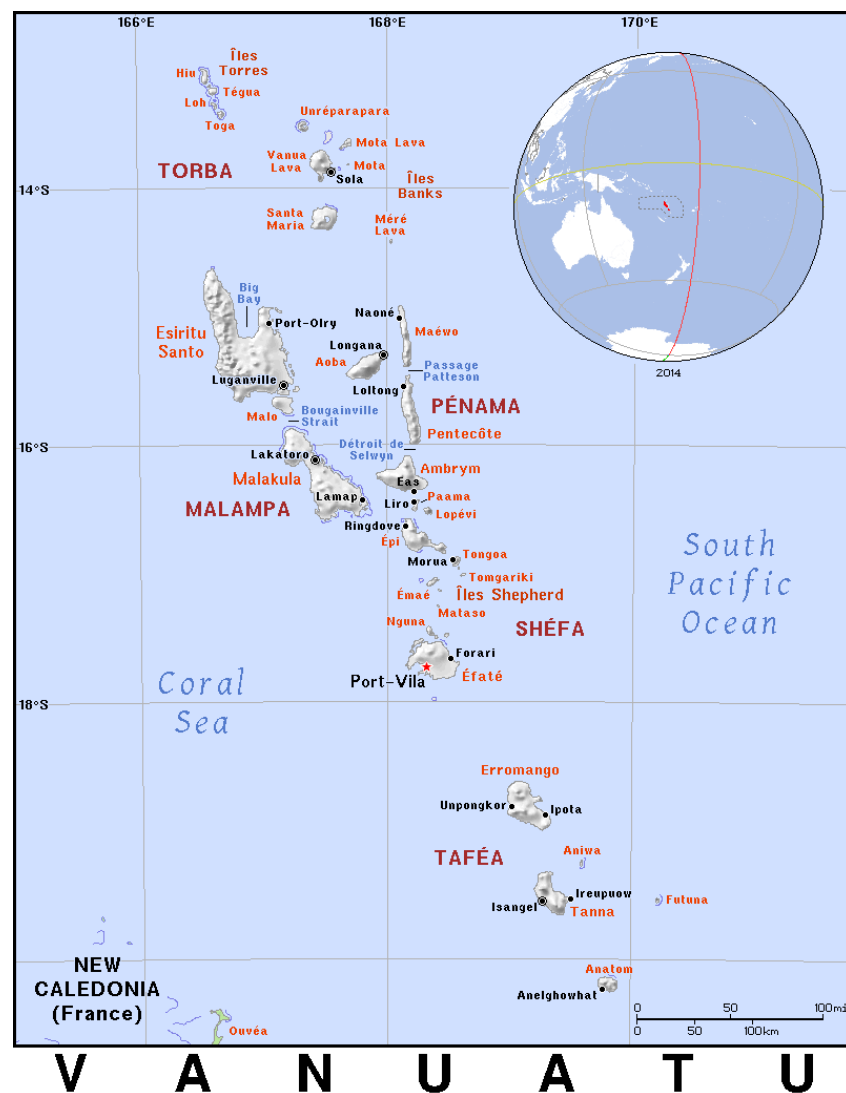


Figure 10. “Vanuatu Archipelago” by PAT, licensed as public domain.

Vanuatu was occupied predominantly by these two groups of Melanesian peoples, however its location between the Melanesian and Polynesian regions of the Pacific, meant it presented a stopping point for both Melanesian and Polynesian seafarers, resulting in some

of the outlier islands of Vanuatu eventually being occupied by Polynesian peoples (Adams & Foster, 2021).

“The geographical location of Vanuatu offered a strategic foothold to colonize New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa and became a preferential transit point for Polynesian exploration. For centuries, it represented a recognized haven and a safe harbor in Melanesian waters” (Ali, 2017, p. 1789).

The peoples of Vanuatu dealt with frequent natural disasters throughout history (Bedford & Spriggs, 2018) and its social structures were “based on a clan structure: Every family was assigned a specific territory and a limited fishing area” (Ali, 2017, p. 1789). This structure contributed to “frequent disputes [...] between families and groups to expand their possessions and to preserve their food stocks, especially during seasonal scarcities” (Ali, 2017, p. 1789).

These clan structures, and the conflict they engendered, was disrupted in the 13th Century AD when a warrior called Roy (or Roi) Mata federated the clans of Vanuatu, and introduced new customs and “conflict resolution mechanisms” (Ali, 2017, p. 1789). These changes had long lasting effects and live on in oral history as a significant period of change (Adams & Foster, 2021).

6.2.2 Post-European Contact

The first recorded European contact occurred in 1606 when Portuguese explorer Pedro Fernández de Queirós landed on the island later known as Espiritu Santu and claimed it as a Spanish territory, however due to internal conflict among the crew and hostility from the local Indigenous people, no colony was established at that time (Ali, 2017). During the rest of the 17th and the 18th Centuries, there were only short visits to the archipelago by Captains Louis Antoine de Bougainville and later James Cook, the latter of whom mapped the archipelago and named it the ‘New Hebrides’ (Ali, 2017). It was the discovery of sandalwood on the islands, in particular, which resulted in European missionaries and traders settling upon the fringes of Vanuatu islands from the 1840s (Adams & Foster, 2021).

The missionary, exploration and economic activities of Europeans impacted the locals’ traditional practices and ways of life (locally referred to as *kastom*) to different

degrees, depending upon the amount of exposure their particular island had to these activities:

“Although colonisation was felt differently in the various islands depending on the level of contact, many islanders gradually changed their social, political, religious and economic practices to suit European models” (Alivizatou, 2012, p. 128).

From the 1840s to 1860s there were high rates of Indigenous peoples of Vanuatu being either tricked or forced into indentured servitude in order to work on plantations in Fiji, New Caledonia or Queensland, Australia. Particularly during the late 1860s when the American Civil War impacted worldwide cotton trade, and:

“the British Crown allowed citizens to establish plantations on Pacific islands and to take advantage of the “blackbirding” slavery scheme. More than half of New Hebridean adult males were induced through trickery and kidnapping to serve as laborers on Fiji plantations and never came back home” (Ali, 2017, p. 1790).

Although the end of the American Civil War heralded a reduced demand for Pacific cotton and the slave trade being outlawed, the number of British and French planters based in Vanuatu grew (Ali, 2017). The return of thousands of Indigenous men and women who had been indentured from the 1860s marked a major cultural shift, and during this time the Indigenous peoples “established new forms of political influence within the network of Protestant (mainly Presbyterian) missions or successfully competed against European traders and planters in the group” (Adams & Foster, 2021, para. 2). This led to the French and British governments seeking to protect the interests of the “mainly British missionaries and mainly French planters” through the establishment of a Joint Naval Commission in 1887 (Adams & Foster, 2021):

“Both colonial empires established a Joint Naval Commission in charge of the Neutral Territory of the New Hebrides, with no authority over aboriginal affairs. The islands became a land without law, where crimes committed by foreigners against local natives enjoyed absolute impunity” (Ali, 2017, p. 1790).

In 1906, the Joint Naval Commission was replaced by the British-French Condominium which aimed to protect their own peoples’ commercial interests by jointly administering the archipelago. Under the new arrangement, British and French commissioners based in Port-Vila “retained responsibility over their own nationals and jointly ruled the indigenous people” (Adams & Foster, 2021).

During the Second World War, Vanuatu became an important strategic location for the Allied forces, and by 1944, “more than 100,000 U.S. soldiers were stationed in Vanuatu” with the result that ni-Vanuatu peoples “became a demographic minority in their own lands” (Ali, 2017, p. 1790). This period marked a significant cultural change within Vanuatu, with increasing anti-colonial sentiments arising. Following the war, local anti-European political movements hinged upon concerns over land ownership. As a result of increasing local and international pressure, the French and English governments agreed to the granting of Vanuatu’s independence in 1977. In 1979, the nation’s constitution was drafted and the first elections were held. The Republic of Vanuatu became an independent nation within the Commonwealth in 1980 (Adams & Foster, 2021).

The Indigenous population of Vanuatu are referred to as ni-Vanuatu and are composed mostly of Melanesian peoples, with a small portion of Polynesians in outlying islands. As of 2016, 99.2% of Vanuatu’s population was Melanesian, with the remaining 0.8% composed of Polynesian, European, Micronesians, Chinese and Vietnamese (Adams & Foster, 2021). Today the majority of ni-Vanuatu peoples “are subsistence agriculturalists, living in small rural villages where activities revolve around the land” (Adams & Foster, 2021). However, it is important to keep in mind that a huge amount of cultural diversity exists:

“because we have 83 islands in Vanuatu and on these islands they have different ways of governing and different ways of culture and totally different things. Our culture, for example, southwest is really different from the northwest. The southwest is really different from the south.” - Kaitip Kamit.

Bislama (a pidgin English) is the most commonly spoken language, alongside English and French. Language barriers unfortunately limited the potential number of participants who could be interviewed for this case study.

6.3 Introducing the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta

In 1955, a colonial-style museum was established in Port Vila on the island of Efate to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the British-French Condominium (Alivizatou, 2012). Initially, this museum was used to house and display the Condominium’s ethnographic collections and local Indigenous peoples rarely visited it (Bolton, 2003). However, Vanuatu’s

independence movement marked a resurgence of interest in *kastom* as a form of national identity and heralded the museum's transformation into the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta (VKS), "one of the most potent institutions of the country" (Alivizatou, 2012, p. 129).

"I think there was a strong feeling that the culture was important in that post-independence era, in a lot of parts of the Pacific; particularly in places where there have been some kind of fight for independence, as opposed to just having independence thrust upon them, like in the Solomons. But I think there was a lot of positivity, really. It's a long time ago, now." - Lissant Bolton.

VKS is a statutory body which is;

"tasked to collect, store, and disseminate information (tangible and intangible) about Vanuatu's cultural heritage to ensure that our rich and diverse cultural heritage is retained for posterity" - VKS Director, Richard Shing (VKS, 'Home', n.d.).

This emphasis on intangible heritage dates to the appointment of Kirk Huffman, a British social anthropologist, as curator in the early 1970s. Huffman "saw the documentation of traditional practices, ceremonies and ways of life as being more important than the preservation and display of material culture" (Alivizatou, 2012, p. 129). Huffman introduced the *Oral Traditions Project* whose "aim was to train local researchers, subsequently called fieldworkers, in ethnographic research methods, including genealogies and dictionary-making, for the documentation of local customary practices" (Alivizatou, 2012, p. 129). Parallel to this aim of preserving *kastom* through documentation, Huffman hoped that the process of researching *kastom* would result in increased interest and the revival of cultural practices among the participants (Bolton, 2003). Now referred to as the VKS' 'Fieldworker Programme', this initiative will be one of the main focuses of this case study, alongside the work of the VKS' National Archives and National Museum of Vanuatu.

VKS itself is governed by the Vanuatu National Cultural Council (the Council) which was enacted through the *Bill for the Vanuatu National Cultural Council Act No. of 1985*. This legislation charged the Council with "[initiating], [encouraging] and [supporting] all matters things or services pertaining to the preservation, protection and development of various aspect of the cultural heritage of Vanuatu and her peoples" and in order to do so empowered the Council to "set up appropriate National Institutions including (but not limited thereto) a National Museum, a National Library and a National Archives" (Regenvanu, 1985).

As of 2019, the VKS was an umbrella organisation under which sat:

- The National Museum of Vanuatu

- The National Film, Sound and Photo Unit
- The Vanuatu Cultural and Historical Site Survey
- The National Archives
- The National Library
- The Public Library
- The Fieldworkers's Programme
- The Tafea Cultural Centre (Lenakel, Tanna)
- The Malekula Cultural Centre
- VKS E-Press

These various bodies were spread across multiple buildings within Port Vila as well as the Tafea Cultural Centre on Tanna and the Malekula Cultural Centre on Malekula. Unfortunately when doing fieldwork in March 2019, I was unable to visit the latter two organisations due to the first having been blown down during Cyclone Pam in 2015, and the second having no staff who spoke fluent English at the time (personal communication with K. Kamit, March, 2019).

As they all fall under the management of the VKS, these different entities can assist one another for special events, one example is upcoming exhibitions. The National Museum curator Kaitip Kamit acts as chairperson of a team which brings together representatives from the different functions of the VKS for pulling together content for exhibitions:

“We created a team, an exhibition team where we have members on the team. They are from each section. I am from the National Museum. There is one from the National Archives, one from the National Film and Sound Unit and one from the National Library, one from the Public Library... they have to go and they exhibit what is in their section. For example, I exhibit what is in the museum and [...] Archives, they exhibit what is in the archives, [...] and the Library exhibits what is only in the library.” - Katip Kamit.

The VKS' functions are so wide and varied that it was necessary to limit the focus of the case study. For the purposes of considering the nature and role of the archive within the cultural centre, it was decided that the most illuminating aspects of the VKS to focus upon would be the Vanuatu National Museum, the Vanuatu National Archives, and the National

Film and Sound Unit (the latter two are located in the same building which is next door to the National Museum) and their relationship with the VKS' notable Fieldworker Programme. To that end, interviews were conducted with the National Archivist, the Museum Curator, the Museum Guide and with academic and long-term collaborator Lissant Bolton who helped establish the female component of the Fieldworker Programme in the early 1990's. Further interviews were unfortunately limited by language barriers and heavy workloads in the week before a new exhibition being opened.

The VKS' Museum, Library and Archive buildings are located on the edge of a large open field [amphitheatre] within Port Vila and at the top edge of the field is a building which represents the traditional chief's house. This large field serves as a gathering place and a lot of the *doing* and *sharing* of culture occurs through festivals, markets and musical events hosted on this open field.

The inside of the Vanuatu National Museum is reminiscent of traditional Western museums in appearance and layout, with objects on display in protective glass cases and largely arranged chronologically and by subject around the space. At the time of my fieldwork, museum tours were provided by master sand drawer Edgar Inge and included demonstrations of sand drawing (Bislama: *sandroing*) in a box of sand in the entrance of the museum building (pictured below). The ni-Vanuatu sand drawing tradition was added to UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008 ('Vanuatu sand drawings', n.d.). The museum also hosts a *kastom* school for youth on Saturdays. Of this school Edgar Inge said that; "We learn traditional drawing, we learn *kastom* dancing, we learn some *kastom* songs and even *kastom* stories and games".

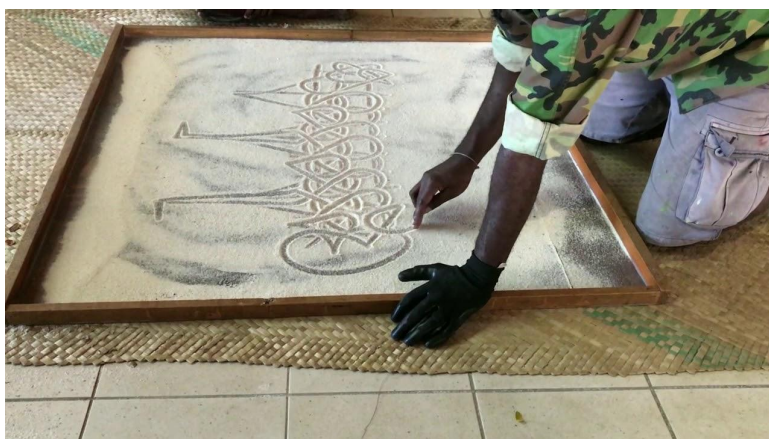


Figure 11. *Sandroing* at Vanuatu National Museum, photo taken by Annelie de Villiers, 2019.

The National Archives and the National Film and Sound Unit are located in the building next door to the National Museum. The National Archives and the National Film and Sound Unit are looked after by the same two employees (one of whom was interviewed for this case study) and the collections themselves are housed in two separate rooms. The National Archives' collection of records are held in one large room which is kept darkened when not in use but unfortunately does not yet have air conditioning. The National Film and Sound Unit collection is kept in an air conditioned room next door.

VKS runs a number of initiatives to support the traditional Indigenous cultures of the Vanuatu archipelago, arguably the most well-known of which is the Fieldworker Programme - sometimes also referred to as the Fieldworkers Network:

"I don't think any cultural centre, they have this. It's called Fieldworkers Network. We have fieldworkers based on every island in Vanuatu. Every island in Vanuatu we have our network on the islands. So for example if we need anything from that island we don't have to fly there and come back for this content. They give us all the information, what we want." - Kaitip Kamit.

The Fieldworker Network involves more than 100 community representatives from across the Vanuatu archipelago working as cultural researchers, "[undertaking] cultural documentation and revitalisation at a scale and scope unparalleled in the Pacific, and perhaps the world" (Centre for Heritage & Museum Studies, 2018). The research work is unpaid, but the costs of participating in the annual workshop are covered by the VKS (Kaitip Kamit). The fieldworkers are brought together to discuss cultural knowledge and to share ideas and support for cultural support among their own communities. The facilitator of the Men's Fieldworker Network from 2011-2017, Jacob Kapere said of the experience:

"When I sat in that workshop and listened to what was being said, it was just like being at university, a university of kastom knowledge" (Fieldworker Network Vanuatu Cultural Centre, 2018).

At the end of each workshop, the fieldworkers are given the next year's topic of research:

"...here at the end of the workshop [...] the coordinator of the fieldworker program gives the fieldworkers their own topic. One topic, not two, or three topics, one topic to go out for one year to do their research, collect the information and present that in their next workshop." - Augustine Tevimule.

Each workshop is recorded and transcribed for long term preservation, with the digital recordings residing within the VKS' National Film, Sound and Photo Unit and the transcribed copies available to the public via the VKS' National Library. However these "weren't widely distributed, because they weren't intended to be for Europeans" (Lissant Bolton). Although the workshops are the most visible result of the Fieldworker Programme, Lissant Bolton reflected that the Programme itself "generated activity in the islands" and while the network as a whole served as "a conduit for information", individual fieldworkers also "started mini arts festivals, or they taught people" (Lissant Bolton).

In the early 1990s, the Fieldworker Network was expanded to include women;

"...the way that Kirk Huffman set up the kastom revival movement was very male oriented, and the fieldworkers themselves said... they themselves explicitly said, "It's a bird with two wings, or it's a canoe and its outrigger. You can't have men without women, really; so we need to have something."" - Lissant Bolton.

Lissant Bolton who had previously assisted the VKS in cataloguing their collections was asked to train the woman who would be coordinating this aspect of the network;

"They needed somebody to train a woman working for them, and in the end they asked me to do that, for no pay, in exchange for doing a PhD. [...] They had sent someone [...] to the University of Western Australia for four years, to study, with a view to coming back and working at the cultural centre and setting up a women's program; and she came back while I was there in my second visit, and she lasted less than a week, I think. At that time, the cultural centre was very rundown, there were rats in the storage, and no biros, and I think after four years at UWA, it was just...[...] So anyway, she left, and then I was there, and then I said to them, which I did believe and do believe, that training has to be infrastructure-specific; it's no good training someone to work in a museum in Europe if you're going to put them in a museum somewhere where none of those facilities apply. So I offered to transfer to Vanuatu." - Lissant Bolton.

In that role, Lissant Bolton trained Jean Tarisesei and she became the Women's Cultural Project Coordinator and acted in that role for about 15 years (Lissant Bolton). Jean Tarisesei and Lissant Bolton ran the women's fieldworker program together throughout that period.

6.4 Governance at VKS

As mentioned previously, the VKS is an umbrella organisation governed by the Vanuatu National Cultural Council which is a “statutory corporation” enacted through the *Bill for the Vanuatu National Cultural Council Act No. of 1985*. The Council itself is composed of a Director and four other officials, one of whom needs to be a representative of the National Council of Chiefs (Bislama: Malvatu Mauri). The National Council of Chiefs is an advisory body of chiefs recognised in the Republic of Vanuatu’s constitution. This advisory body has a dedicated traditional chief’s house located on the edge of the same field around which the VKS’ National Museum, National and Public Library and National Archives and National Film and Sound Unit are located.

6.5 VKS Partnerships

One of the legislative responsibilities of the Council (and therefore the VKS) is “to foster cooperation in matters related to the provision of museums, libraries and archives and international relations between the Council and Governments, organisations and bodies interested therein” (‘Bill for the Vanuatu National Cultural Council Act No. of 1985’, 1985). To this end, the VKS aligns itself with international governments, non-government organisations (NGOs), churches and researchers in order to further its mandated goals. For instance, in 2019 the VKS live-streamed their National Arts Festival using equipment “brought in from Australia & Japan through the support of the French Government through the French Embassy with the Vanuatu Cultural Centre” and have since started providing these live stream services to others as an additional source of income (‘Live Stream Services’, 2021).

6.6 Collections at VKS

Currently within the VKS there is no single catalogue which lists everything held by the VKS’ different functions. This is because each type of collection (objects, digital materials, paper records and library collection) are managed within their respective

organisations using different methods of management as required. I provide an overview of the collections and how they are managed below.

6.6.1 Material Culture

The National Museum has on display an exhibition of material culture, archeological finds and prehistoric shells and fossils. The National Museum's collections of material culture such as the highly significant *Rambaramp* (which incorporate ancestral remains of chiefs) are either on display within the National Museum or held in one of its storage rooms. The collections were catalogued within a database which was accessible to only Kaitip Kamit and the VKS' IT team. This is due to the political and cultural sensitivities inherent to some of the objects listed within the catalogue. The National Museum's curator Kaitip Kamit informed me that the museum holds some sacred objects which can only be seen by fully initiated men of particular communities, which is why he didn't see them ever having an online catalogue (this will be explained further in Section 6.7.3.4).



Figure 12. Storage container of material culture. Taken and shared with permission from Kaitip Kamit. Annelie de Villiers, 2019.

Within the storage rooms at the rear of the museum, some objects are laid out on shelves, while others are nestled in containers on styrofoam and tissue paper (as shown above).

6.6.2 Physical Archival Collection

The VKS National Archive's mission is to 'Preserve the Memory of a Nation' and according to the Chief Archivist, Augustine Tevimule, this means records are kept relating to government, NGOs, churches, and all the way down to family groups of different islands. Depending upon the nature of the records and who deposited them, the access conditions vary:

"Because here, we preserve the memory of the people, so some people, they want their collections to be used in the future. Some they want their own families to have copies of those records that they deposited there. We are not the owners of the information, we are the custodians." - Augustine Tevimule

Within the National Archives, they've written index cards in Microsoft Word for each collection. Digital copies of these listings are stored locally as well as externally for safe keeping. They've also been printed and bound into folders which are located throughout the National Archives, in addition to each box having a copy of its own contents printed out and placed within the box itself. This solution is particularly useful as according to the Chief Archivist, Augustine Tevimule, Port Vila often experiences power outages, and this way they can still access the contents of the archive. The aim at the time of the interviews being conducted was to have these indexes collated into a database:

"We are still on the first step. [...] The first step is that we receive the collections and we index each collections. We didn't have any database yet." - Augustine Tevimule.

Augustine Tevimule says he is very aware of the materials that are yet to be deposited in the National Archives, and emphasised that the building which houses the National Archive was only completed in 2010. "We are still collecting. I would like to save all

the information, the records inside the Archives and other information that is still outside the Archives.”

6.6.3 Audio-Visual and Photographic Collection

The VKS’ National Film, Sound and Photo Unit holds the audio-visual and photographic collections of importance to Vanuatu’s national history. The National Film, Sound and Photo Unit adopted the use of password-protected Microsoft Excel spreadsheets to catalogue their collections because of its ease of use, low cost, ongoing maintenance and ease of exportability (VKS, ‘Film and Audio Studio’, n.d.). Within the catalogues, they record each item’s “Title, Format, ID, name, description and date” (VKS, ‘Film and Audio Studio’, n.d., para. 2).

The VKS’ National Film, Sound and Photo Unit’s collections are stored within an air-conditioned room next to the repository of the National Archives, and Augustine Tevimule and one other staff member work across both the National Archive and the National Film, Sound and Photo Unit (Augustine Tevimule).

6.6.3 Published Works

Published works are held within the VKS’ National Library and/or the Public Library. The main distinction between the two is that the VKS’ National Library is mandated to hold any book published within and about Vanuatu for the public’s reference whilst the Public Library can be borrowed from (Augustine Tevimule). As is stipulated in the VKS’ *Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy* (2004), any research outputs produced by international researchers must be lodged at the VKS’ National Library for reference. Transcriptions of the Fieldworker Programme workshops are also available for reference through the VKS’ National Library.

6.6.4 External Archives

The VKS’ National Archivist, Augustine Tevimule, stated that he’d prefer for external archives to be repatriated to Vanuatu but only where appropriate storage is available and

when enough resourcing is available to do it properly. Records related to the United Kingdom's role in the Condominium were sent to the United Kingdom in the 1970s and:

“stayed there for over twenty-five years. Much to everyone's regret really. The University of Auckland made a bid for them partly through our history department and partly through the British High Commission in Wellington round about the year 2000 to have them returned to New Zealand which would place them in a Pacific location again.” - Stephen Innes (as quoted in Radio New Zealand, 2016, para. 5).

The records were repatriated from England to the University of Auckland in 2002 and the University of Auckland is in the process of working with the National Archives of Vanuatu to eventually repatriate those materials to Vanuatu. Augustine Tevimule pointed out that it's a complicated process with many stakeholders involved:

“We started with the Auckland University and they already sent us the full index of what they have in the university. [...] Those informations [sic], some of the information is church records, so maybe it is information to one day be returned to the churches. Some of the records are from families on the other islands, but maybe in the northern part of Vanuatu, or the Central part, or the Northern Central part. But not for--maybe the family wants the information returned back to--because they own that information, but again, they didn't have the secure building to preserve those information.” - Augustine Tevimule.

Augustine Tevimule has seen the index of the collections, and said “a lot of sensitive things, I can see inside the index are in there” and when asked whether these were sensitive politically or culturally, he replied “both”.

6.7 VKS: Through A Practice Theory Framework

As with the previous two case studies, the VKS interviews were analysed through Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory framework. Three of the four interviews were conducted in Port Vila, Vanuatu, whilst the last with Lissant Bolton was conducted in London. The three interviews with VKS staff members took place in March, 2019, and the interview with Lissant Bolton took place in London in July, 2019. The roughly hour-long, semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed with permission.

6.7.1 Habitus

Whilst in this thesis I don't share details about habitus beyond the table below, what participants shared when introducing themselves at the outset of each interview (summarised in the table) did provide context for analysis of interview transcripts for field and cultural capital. The table below provides an overview of the participants, their positions within VKS, the length of their involvement at VKS and whether or not they were part of the Indigenous population of Vanuatu (Ni-Vanuatu).

Further, please note the information included in the table below reflects what participants reported at the time of their interviews.

Participant	Position at VKS	Length of involvement at VKS	Indigenous
Augustine Tevimule	Chief Archivist	10 years	Ni-Vanuatu
Kaitip Kamit	Museum Curator	13 years	Ni-Vanuatu
Edgar Inge	Museum Guide	14 years	Ni-Vanuatu
Lissant Bolton	Researcher/ Collaborator	28+ years	Non-Indigenous

Table 4. The VKS participants.

6.7.2 Cultural Capital

According to Bourdieu (1972), cultural capital comes in three forms—embodied, objectified, and institutionalised. Below I describe how each of these forms of cultural capital presented within the four interviews undertaken as part of the VKS case study.

6.7.2.1 Embodied

Embodied cultural capital was the most prevalent within the interviews and revolved around two things; the individuals' knowledge of *kastom* and their level of organisational memory and professional knowledge. Both Augustine Tevimule and Kaitip Kamit had received on-the-job training from their predecessors, mentioned the length of time they'd spent in their roles and also referred to their organisational knowledge:

"I've been working here in the form of curator and now I know every object. I know." - Kaitip Kamit.

For Kaitip Kamit, his level of organisational knowledge and his knowledge of *kastom* are related. He explained that he learned about the VKS' material culture collection related to islands other than his own island from the previous curator. However for the objects from Malekula, he's done his own research:

"I learnt from him with the other objects from the other islands, but from Malekula I've been making research on Malekula for three months on Malekula to find out all about the objects. [...] I got the information, most of the information, I go back. I go back home. Take the photo. Go to the village and the tribes, is this yours and they say yes so I say can you give me more information for this, because with me, I only go to my relatives. I know them and they know me and because they know I am working here." - Kaitip Kamit.

In parts of Vanuatu, Indigenous communities engage in 'grade-taking' practices which entails undergoing specific ceremonies or completing specific tasks in order to move up to the next level and achieve higher status (Tryon, 1999). The more knowledge about *kastom* held by these individuals, the higher their perceived status. Kaitip Kamit states that he has been raised to one of the highest levels of *kastom* and speaks of how achieving this level of knowledge and status means that it would be inappropriate for him to engage in competition:

"I don't know with some islands but from my place [Malekula] we believe that kastom is not something to do with competition because, for example, if I made my headdress to go to a ceremony, that's the last [read: highest] part of the kastom. I don't know how to say that but it's the last part. So if I go to competition no one will touch me because it's already the highest rank and highest part of my kastom. So how would you touch me. If you touch me you're wrong because kastom is never touch." - Kaitip Kamit.

For Edgar Inge, being in possession of large amounts of *kastom* knowledge came with a sense of responsibility to teach the younger generations;

"Whatever I know I have to preach it out, so that next new thing will be coming to my brain. If I keep it there like a stock in a stock room somewhere behind my brain, it'll be sleeping deadly there, but I have to pass it on, somehow to keep it on. Keep on looking after it like my stock, but we should pass it on too, so the next generation will have it as their own." - Edgar Inge.

6.7.2.2 Institutionalised

The main way that institutionalised cultural capital featured within the interviews was with regards to the interviewees' job titles and mentions of their access (or lack thereof) to formal Western education. Museum guide Edgar Inge had to leave school in Year 6 in order to help his father on their farm on the Northern part of Vanuatu's Pentecost Island. Edgar Inge explained that his father felt that an education in *kastom* and being a foundation for their family was more important than Western education, and that for him, learning *kastom* opened as many opportunities as a formal Western education would have. Edgar Inge's father told him:

*"Like the people who's been travelling around, you can have that too. **Only if you got to build your culture and one day you can go to Australia, you can go to New Zealand**" and today I'm going around the world. I've been to London, I've been to France, I've been to many, many parts of the world, I've been to Vancouver, I've been to Los Angeles. Many, many - Dubai and all those islands, all those countries I've been to many, many." - Edgar Inge.*

For Augustine Tevimule formal university qualifications were difficult to secure locally:

“I started my library courses, but the Chief Library [...] she left the university, then I left the university too, because I need a tutor up there. But yeah, but there is no local tutors, so I just left the university.” - Augustine Tevimule.

As Lissant Bolton noted, however, it is important for training to be context-specific and be applicable to the available infrastructure, or risk being irrelevant. Lissant Bolton herself had run some UNESCO sponsored training programs within the Pacific previously, in recognition that:

“training has to be infrastructure-specific; it’s no good training someone to work in a museum in Europe if you’re going to put them in a museum somewhere where none of those facilities apply.” - Lissant Bolton.

On-the-job training was highly valued by both the National Archivist and Museum Curator, for instance;

“My name is Augustine Tevimule. I work as the Chief Archivist. I came here in 2010, ‘til now, it’s nearly 10 years. I started as a volunteer for seven months and then became the permanent staff here, Assistant Archivist in 2015. Then I take up the position of the Chief Archivist. So, I don’t have the qualification for the Chief Archivist, but I have the experience for doing the archives work through my volunteering and all these years during the work that I have done in the national archives.” - Augustine Tevimule.

Lissant Bolton is a “professional music curator and social anthropologist” and listed the most formal, Western qualifications;

“... I’ve worked at the British Museum for the last two decades. I also worked at the Australian Museum in Sydney for some years. Through my work and in between, I did a doctorate and a postdoctoral fellowship, so I’ve been in and out of the museum sector. During my period at the Australian Museum, I became involved with a number of different small museums and cultural centres in the Pacific region, and I did some training on... I think it was a UNESCO sponsored course with Pacific museum staff.” - Lissant Bolton.

6.7.2.3 Objectified

Objectified forms of cultural capital appeared in two ways; through mentions of budgetary constraints within their respective VKS functions and through the value ascribed to those of highest levels of *kastom*.

According to the interviewees, the activities of both the National Museum and the National Archives are limited by available funding:

“No, no, we don’t have enough budget here. So, that’s why we--yeah. We fought for our budget and we fought for our budget and we are still fighting. [...] It’s an annual budget, so I would like to increase the budget, because our ceiling now is \$10 million [vatu]. It’s not enough for the whole country.” - Augustine Tevimule.

At the time that the interviews took place, 10 million vatu was the equivalent of just under USD\$90,000. This budget was used to pay the two employees of the National Archives and cover its operational costs:

“and only two staff for the National Archives and that’s it. That’s not possible. We need to increase our budget and increase our services to the rural regions.” - Augustine Tevimule.

Kaitip Kamit also referred to budgetary constraints within his interview, however he spent more time within the interview discussing the *kastom* of payment which occurs among men who wish to attain higher levels of *kastom*. As Kaitip Kamit himself has attained the highest level of *kastom*, he is sometimes paid by those who wish to complete ceremonies and gain the next ‘grade’ of *kastom*. Kaitip Kamit explains that even following circumcision, boys are only in the beginning stages of being considered a ‘man’ and still need to ‘pay *kastom*’ to more senior men before they’re allowed to take part in certain activities:

“For example, if you want to dance, dance in a ceremony with a headdress you have to pay the rate. For example, my younger brother, after circumcision and he wants to join me in the ceremony for dancing. So to put the ceremony dress I put on my head, if he wants to go the ceremony, he must pay the rate. Even though he’s my little brother he has to pay the rate to me to use this headdress.” - Kaitip Kamit.

In different regions of Vanuatu, different methods of payment are used. In Kaitip Kamit’s community, it is the norm to pay *kastom* with a live pig (other areas commonly use pig tusks instead):

“He pay the rate in kastom. I don’t know how to say that. It’s what we usually say. If you want to use something you have to pay the rate, copyright or something like that. It’s like he must pay the rate for me, for me to give him the right. He must pay the rate to me, then I give him the right. He’s asking me, then he have to pay me something. He have to give me something. Not money. Pig.” - Kaitip Kamit.

6.7.3 Field

Thematic analysis of the transcribed interviews with four VKS participants led to the identification of seven fields. In the next section I introduce each identified field, accompanied by quotes from the interviews and, where applicable, I refer to other publications. The fields are listed in order of their prominence within the four transcribed interviews:

- Legislative Responsibilities
- Indigeneity
- Land
- Cultural Sensitivities
- Personal Indigeneity
- External parties/partnerships

These different, yet interrelated, fields are discussed below and illustrated with quotes.

6.7.3.1 Legislative Responsibilities

The Council which governs the VKS was founded under one piece of legislation, the *Bill for the Vanuatu National Cultural Council Act No. of 1985*. Under this legislation, the Council had the authority to establish cultural institutions, including the National Archives,

and these institutions had responsibilities in helping to carry out its mandates. However, the National Archives also has its own legislation to comply with:

“But the National Archive also has its own act. We have the act for the Cultural Culture and the other one is the National Archives.” - Augustine Tevimule.

The National Archive has responsibility for the long-term storage of national records, but also the records management within government departments:

“We do training on archives, yeah, records management just for the government departments and communities.” - Augustine Tevimule.

In addition to these day-to-day responsibilities, Augustine Tevimule was also involved in the creation of new legislation and national policies; namely the *Right to Information Act 2016* for which:

“the National Archives is part of the steering committee. So, we have weekly and monthly meetings up til 2015? I’m not sure about the date, but the bill was passed in the parliament. The Right to Information passed in the parliament.” - Augustine Tevimule.

As a result of the passing of the *Right to Information Act 2016*, new processes needed to be developed to assist public servants to create and properly manage public records, leading to the National Archives’ involvement in the development of the *Vanuatu National Policy on Records and Information Management* (2018) and its supporting *Code of Practice on Records and Information Management* (2018). They were also in charge of training government agencies to comply with these new responsibilities (‘Government officers recognising importance of locating documents promptly’, 2019).

6.7.3.2 Indigeneity

As an independent nation of majority Indigenous peoples, there was less of an emphasis upon tensions between the Western world and the Indigenous world within the interviews with VKS staff than the previous two case studies. The main way that the field of ‘Indigeneity’ presented itself was through references to other Indigenous communities - and a sense of being part of a global Indigenous community:

“Like they say in other words, in the whole Melanesia, in the whole Vanuatu, like Aboriginal people in Australia that they are coming from, we are more than islands, we are so power, we are so rich in many things. Some people in one part of the world they think they know, but we know what they know too. But we know in our own.” - Edgar Inge.

In addition to a shared sense of strength (as illustrated in the quote above), these references also revealed a sense of responsibility felt toward other Indigenous communities. As Kaitip Kamit explains, in:

“2014, I had a friend in New Zealand. He was working in Solomon Islands and maybe people from Solomon Island, they heard about this fieldwork, fieldworker’s network. So they want to start something similar in the Solomon’s also [...] if I can find some of the fieldworkers who can go and talk about this network in the Solomon’s. So I found two of them with one of the staff who is the coordinator of the fieldworker. They flew out, three of them, three fieldworkers. They went to talk about this network in the Solomon’s, just to give them an idea of how the network is working.” - Kaitip Kamit.

6.7.3.3 Land

One aim of the Republic of Vanuatu’s constitution was to ensure that land would not be removed from its traditional custodians, as:

“More than an economic resource, land is the physical embodiment of the metaphysical link with the past, and identification with a particular tract of land [this] remains one of the fundamental concepts governing ni-Vanuatu culture” (Adams & Foster, 2021).

Museum Guide Edgar Inge is a master sand drawer and described this metaphysical connection between sand drawing, traditional lands and the ancestors:

“We sense when we throwing dust, then we sense our ancestors out in the dust. Traditional drawing, they’re not drawing, they’re our sensors. [...] They are of value, that is the history. It is like our ancestral dust. [...] That is why in other words for culture it says don’t even sell your land, because you are selling your ancestors, you are selling your grand daddy, you are selling your grand mummy. Don’t sell it.”

The quote above demonstrates a *kastom* belief that ancestors return to dust and therefore become part of the very land on which their community is based. According to this understanding, land is part of a ni-Vanuatu individual's ancestry. According to Augustine Tevimule, for many ni-Vanuatu peoples, the archive is a 'white man's' thing, and only come into direct contact with the archive when involved in a dispute over land;

"Nowadays there are a lot of disputes around the lands. So, they dispute it, then they are disputing one piece of land, one parcel of land, so they want to collect the information, they want to past it to court, village court, or the island court, or the Supreme Court here in Vanuatu. So, the information, nowadays, a lot of Ni-Vans, they refer to archives as they are referenced inside the court. They can go to National Archives, collect information, who is selling the land, when was the land sold. [...] So, once they reach the archives, they have the information that they wanted, they go back to court and the judgment comes out and it's in the favour of one party. Because it shows on that document, that your great great grandfather, he was the native from the community, so he is the sole owner of the property." - Augustine Tevimule.

The VKS' National Archive had also been drawn upon by the national government when France tried to claim the islands of Matthew and Hunter as part of New Caledonia in 2007:

"The other place where the archives of the cultural centre came into their own was when they were making a claim against New Caledonia and France for Matthew and Hunter, which are two disputed islands in the far south of the country; and in the archives of the cultural centre, this is during Marcelin Abong's directorship, they found... he found traditional stories [...] that clearly identified Matthew and Hunter as part of the Vanuatu world, or was attached to those islands. So they were able to use those in the legal case against... successfully, I think; against France, for Matthew and Hunter." - Lissant Bolton.

6.7.3.4 Cultural Sensitivities

Within ni-Vanuatu society, men and women have different cultural domains within which they move. But it isn't only split according to gender, it is also the 'grade' level that the individual has achieved. Kaitip Kamit explains:

"I will talk about this in the sense of the place where I'm from. From where I come from, from Malekula, everything in our societies, every men's things are always secret. Women are not allowed to know anything and the first stage of a man is circumcision. When you are not circumcised you are just regarded as woman. You are selling things with women when you are not circumcised, but when you are circumcised, that's the first stage of your man's life, that's the first stage, but that doesn't mean that you can do anything. For example, if you want to dance, dance in a ceremony with a headdress you have to pay the rate." - Kaitip Kamit.

For instance, weaving is considered to be within the women's domain whilst sand drawing is considered to be within the men's. The VKS' Fieldworker Programme initially only involved male fieldworkers, but today:

"These fieldworkers, they are not only men. They are men and women. The women, they collect information from women and men, they collect information from men" - Kaitip Kamit.

During the annual meetings in which the fieldworkers come together to discuss their research findings, the men and women will have separate meetings:

"Sometimes when we want [the men and women] to come together, they usually just come here for the official opening, just talk together during the official opening, then the women go back to the town and the men stay here, but they never come together in a meeting. No, because the thing is that sometimes men's things are secret. We cannot talk about men's things when the women are here." - Kaitip Kamit.

There is also sacred knowledge belonging to women which can not be shared with men, or women from other communities:

"So we didn't ever deal with explicitly secret, sacred knowledge. Because it wouldn't be appropriate for them to tell each other, let alone to tell me." - Lissant Bolton.

As an example of this, Lissant Bolton explains that on one occasion, Ralph Regenvanu, who was the director of the VKS at the time, suggested that the female fieldworkers research the topic of traditional childbirth:

“The only topic they refused was one that Ralph proposed; and that was to do with traditional childbirth, and they refused to do that. They said that was secret, and they wouldn’t have it.” - Lissant Bolton.

Cultural sensitivities have also resulted in the museum catalogue being viewed by only the museum’s curator and the VKS’ IT team;

“The reason why our objects are not online, not like other museums where you can just go through the catalogue online, but with us, no. That’s the main thing. I do the catalogue. I’m responsible for the catalogue. Only me. I have the password for the catalogue. We don’t put our objects online.[...] Some of them are very taboo. Not for eyes and also don’t want other people to look at. If it is open to other staff then other staff can also do something like they can go inside or add something inside, because all the information we get are information we collect from the islands. So we don’t want to make any muck up with information because all these information are very sensitive or very strict, very taboo and also talking in the sense of my place and also my place, women are not allowed to know what these objects are made of or how they are made, what is it made of and also as I said earlier, also if I am a man I have to pay the rate to do it or to know what it is made of.” - Kaitip Kamit.

Both the National Museum and the National Archives have experienced people from other communities trying to access information that belongs to another community:

“We’ve been facing a lot of problems with this. Some people from other places, they come in. They try to find out objects from different – not only with us but also at the archives it’s the same. [...] Sometimes when they come [...] I can bring them in just to have a look but I won’t say anything. They might ask a lot of questions but I say I am not really sure, but when I know exactly who, because quite often I can tell that this is from this place and this one is not.” - Kaitip Kamit.

6.7.3.5 Personal Indigeneity

Augustine Tevimule located transcribed records of conversations held between his grandfather and a researcher within the National Archives, and for him this was hugely significant. He had heard within the family that his grandfather had at some point worked with a researcher, but until he started working in the archive, had never searched for records

related to that period. As Augustine Tevimule's grandfather had been a man who was very knowledgeable about *kastom*, these records proved to be of significant personal and cultural importance for him.

Edgar Inge was heavily involved with the VKS' *kastom* school program which was particularly active between 2006-2010 (Edgar Inge) and describes his passion as teaching *kastom* to the younger generations. For Edgar Inge, the National Museum provides him with opportunities to teach and to be an active practitioner and teacher of culture:

"So all of us here [at the Museum] we have to be a doer as I told you today, when I work here I realise I should be a doer. [...] I love to be a doer, I like it, because it becomes more alive. A doer is an energy." - Edgar Inge.

He reflected that as a holder of *kastom* knowledge he felt a sense of responsibility to pass on his cultural knowledge to others, particularly younger generations:

"And I believe that what we know we should be a teacher, but we should never be selfish to be teaching." - Edgar Inge.

And he sees his role as encouraging others to pass on their *kastom* knowledge too:

"I really want, I really need each of us in the whole Vanuatu, each of us ni-Van people to teach, not the teachers alone, but we have to go deeply to humble ourselves to be a good teacher, not selfish teacher. Some culture in Vanuatu they are not about to be telling, it's very taboo. [...] But apart from that wherever we are we should teach under the tree, we should teach in a classroom, we should teach in church, we should teach in a Museum of Vanuatu, in every home, in every Nakamal [traditional meeting house]" - Edgar Inge.

As explained in Section 6.7.2.1, Kaitip Kamit was involved in improving the museum's database with regards to the objects which originated from his own island of Malekula. Doing so involved speaking with various family members in order to gather information, and in some cases, he needed to pay *kastom* in order to gain the right to that knowledge. Some of Kaitip Kamit's fieldwork was funded by external researchers engaging with the VKS, and I explain this further in the next section.

6.7.3.6 External Researchers

In terms of partnerships, another important function which the VKS fulfills is the administration of the *Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy* which stipulates who can and can't record culture or conduct cultural research within Vanuatu (VKS, 2004). The *Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy* stipulates that external research on Vanuatu *kastom* can only be conducted if it meets requirements set out by the VKS. This process was introduced after a government-mandated moratorium was placed on any external research from 1985 through to 1994 (Regenvanu, 1999). Every international researcher hoping to learn about *kastom* needs to go through a permit application process and pay a fee of 25,000 vatu to the VKS.

Even now, external researchers who are granted permission to conduct research within Vanuatu might be assigned to a VKS fieldworker:

"Well, you know, if the researcher said, "I want to go work in the Banks Islands", then they would be sent to a particular fieldworker, generally; and the fieldworker would become their sort of entry point." - Lissant Bolton.

Sometimes these different parties would be well matched, other times less so, however "it all created activity and energy, I think" (Lissant Bolton). In some cases, a VKS staff member will be required to accompany the researchers instead. An external research institute approached the VKS the year before my fieldwork took place as they hoped to conduct a workshop about the kinship system. Kaitip Kamit went with the researchers and spent three months on Malekula with them "... that's what usually happens when a big research team go out to the islands. There must always be a staff member who will go with them" (Kaitip Kamit). The external researchers funded Kaitip Kamit's time on Malekula, during which time he also did some research of his own, looking further into the provenance of the museum's holdings from that island.

Lissant Bolton herself is one of the researchers with whom the VKS has retained a long-term relationship. The relationship started during the afore-mentioned research moratorium and so needed to be negotiated in terms that benefited both parties:

"During my period at the Australian Museum [...] I did some training on... I think it was a UNESCO sponsored course with Pacific museum staff; and then later was invited by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre to go and help them catalogue their collections. Then I was invited back by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre to go and catalogue their collections; then [...] they needed somebody to train a woman working for them, and in the end they asked me to do that, for no pay, in exchange for doing a PhD. Because there was no permission... There was a research moratorium at the time, and no one was allowed to do PhDs in Vanuatu. So that was the exchange. I

said I would train someone if they let me write my PhD about it, and they said yes, but they dictated the topic of my PhD, within the parameters of what I was interested in.” - Lissant Bolton.

6.8 Practice at VKS

The budget of the VKS needs to be shared out across its various functions and both Kaitip Kamit and Augustine Tevimule reflected on how their practices are influenced by budgetary constraints. The cost-benefit analysis of activities needs to be considered carefully. While the National Museum’s Kaitip Kamit spoke of budgetary constraints in general terms, Augustine Tevimule placed more emphasis on this aspect of his experience and therefore this section will consider the National Archives specifically. The National Archives are underfunded with an annual spending budget of 1 million vatu and at the time of the interview had only two staff members, with Augustine Tevimule estimating there should be about “29-30 staff inside the National Archives, one is doing digitisation, the other is doing research, the other is doing conservation, records management, Chief Archivist, Assistant Archivist, etc.”

Additional funding is needed in order to have more staff, extend their services and to improve the National Archives’ physical and digital infrastructure, for example through the installation of air-conditioning in the records’ room and a database for the records collections.

“It’s very small, for National Archives of Vanuatu, the [whole] population of Vanuatu and only two staff for the National Archives and that’s it. That’s not possible. We need to increase our budget and increase our services to the rural regions.” - Augustine Tevimule

All four of the interviewees mentioned the lack of awareness of the VKS’ role and functions on the remote islands of Vanuatu, and the desire to see more outreach and awareness raising:

“When it comes to the International Archives Day, then, we try to do trips to the local communities so that they can have the knowledge of what is archives? What are archives? And why archives matter?” - Augustine Tevimule

These trips achieve two important aims: firstly, to raise awareness within the community about the role of the VKS and the archives, and secondly, to feed additional metadata back into the archive's catalogue.

"Some people recognise their grandparents, their great-grandparents. "This was my great grandparents." That was during -- and then they help us to change the information, we give them the information that they thought that it was gone, but they can see, that, "No, it isn't gone, but it's inside the archives."" - Augustine Tevimule.

Lissant Bolton referenced two major avenues for outreach which the VKS engaged in, the first was radio programs which had the potential to reach the widely dispersed ni-Vanuatu population, and the other is the Fieldworker Network which is composed of volunteer fieldworkers from the islands, and these individuals represent a VKS presence within far-flung communities. In order to illustrate how the Fieldworker Network enables the VKS' presence within the community, and how the VKS acts upon this information I include an example below:

"... one time, one of the topics is traditional houses, because nowadays in the islands, most islands, they don't know how our grandparents built houses. We found out that [with] Cyclone Pam. [...] It was category five and most of the houses were blown away. Even iron roof houses were blown away but on some islands what is left is only local houses will stay. They made them especially for the strong category cyclone. So that's why we try to revive this and [...] the fieldworkers, they try to find out how people in the past survived during big cyclones in the past. How did they build their houses and after their findings, they come and report it back." - Kaitip Kamit.

To this end, the Fieldworker Network allows for information to be gathered from some of the most remote areas of Vanuatu:

"... sometimes some places where they have ways of building houses or they have good ideas, but no one go there to collect it. So that's why the fieldworkers go to different places, different places on the islands, to collect information, because sometimes we find out that sometimes some places, some information might miss out." - Kaitip Kamit.

The VKS' cultural centre in Tanna was one of the buildings blown down by Cyclone Pam. The replacement building is being built in the traditional style in order to support the

revival of traditional building styles because these buildings withstand extreme weather events better:

“... because we’ve been talking about traditional style. So first thing, we have to do it for other people to see it, because every time when we talk about something we have to start it for other people to see, because we think that when we talk about it and we didn’t do it in practice then people will not take action. So the first thing, we have to start before other people can do.” - Kaitip Kamit.

The transcripts of previous Fieldworker Network workshops have also been used by other Vanuatu government agencies to inform their work. One example is Vanuatu's meteorology department which drew upon material from previous workshops in order to better understand the impact of climate change on the remote islands of Vanuatu:

“...for example, the climate change. So, nowadays Vanuatu has a lot of challenges through natural disasters. The volcanoes and all this, the sea levels rising. But then there is some [fieldworker] topics to do with national disasters and climate change before. [...] We work close with the office and see how we can use our traditional knowledge with the [meteorology] department, the equipment to predict cyclone, how to--a lot of things inside that one, yeah.” - Augustine Tevimule.

A major factor which influences the efficacy and impact of the volunteer-based Fieldworker Network is the personality, context and drive of the individuals involved:

“You know, it’s all a matter of personality. Because the fieldworkers are volunteers, they can do what they want, really. And it depends a lot on personality, and experience, and opportunity.” - Lissant Bolton.

Lissant Bolton provided an example of where a Fieldworker’s inspirational leadership has generated a revival of *kastom*:

“... there’s a woman called Irene Lini, who is an island on north Vanuatu called Maewo, and she [...] could see that young people weren’t really interested in traditional or kastom dancing, as a sort of a practise; but if you just let them play the songs accompanied by guitar, they were. So she encouraged that, and then there was this whole revival of traditional song and dance with guitar accompaniment; and why not.” - Lissant Bolton.

While being part of the Fieldworker Network did not automatically imbue these individuals with the authority required to make major changes, “what it did was allow people to become animators, to animate things” (Lissant Bolton).

6.9 Understanding of the Archive and its Role in Practice at VKS

Chief Archivist Augustine Tevimule pointed out that among ni-Vanuatu peoples of remote islands, the work of the VKS is viewed as “the white man thing”:

“So, they have no idea what are archives. Yeah, museum. When you are talking about the museum and cultural centre and archives and all this, this, they say “those things belongs to the white man thing”. Yeah, but they didn’t see the value, the importance of keeping those records that one day the future generations will come back and see the information, see the information of that.” - Augustine Tevimule.

However (as described in Section 6.7.3.3), Augustine Tevimule pointed out that disputes around ownership of land have highlighted the importance of records and the National Archives to many ni-Vanuatu peoples as they are required to engage with the courts to determine ownership over their traditional lands. When speaking with communities about the archive, he uses the term ‘library’ to refer to communities and individuals who hold intangible cultural knowledge:

“So, the archive is just the library inside your head. [...] I told them that you have to see the archives and library as not the white man thing, because library and archives, they are the same thing as your head. It’s like the library--its’ got stories, or a legend of your island, or how to weave the mat. [...] All those things, you keep them inside your brain, but if someone write it down into the book, then we can preserve the same idea, or the same story that you have inside the book and keep that information inside the archives, or library, or cultural centre for another 1000 years. But, if the person died without transcribing the information, or telling the information, so that we can keep it inside the library and archives, then the whole community dies on the same day.” - Augustine Tevimule.

However, despite Augustine Tevimule's role as the National Archivist and his insistence that records play an essential role in supporting a democratic government, ensuring legal rights for communities and individuals and for securing Indigenous knowledge, he still considers oral history as the 'proper' method of transmission within ni-Vanuatu culture:

Augustine T: But a lot of other people, before they didn't do what my grandfather did [working with a researcher to transcribe cultural knowledge into a book]. They just passed the information properly...

Annelie: Properly?

Augustine T: Verbally, sorry. Yeah.

Museum Curator Kaitip Kamit also explained the importance of the archive as a means of securing cultural knowledge for future generations, and when speaking with his family he said:

"... if you all gone then your generations can still come and get information about this. That's the way I explain to them" - Kaitip Kamit.

However, for Kaitip Kamit, the museum and the objects within it *are* the archive. Kaitip Kamit understands these objects to be a means of cultural identity formation and identification:

*"So we should help them know more about the museum because museum is really important. We keep many important things of the islands. We might say "but here everything is just objects" [...] because for example if you don't know what object from what island that means you are not from the island, because this object, **if you know this object, then this object identifies that you are from that island.** That's how I can say because as I said earlier, Vanuatu is not like some other countries or like the cultures are just the same. In Vanuatu all the cultures from its islands are totally different. Totally different way like this. There is totally different ways of kastom." - Kaitip Kamit.*

Lissant Bolton echoed these sentiments, saying that material culture and intangible cultural knowledge are "indelibly intertwined". However she also mentioned that for her;

*“... the most beneficial thing about recording knowledge is the people who are sitting around and listening. [...] The **process** of documentation is hugely valuable. So if you make a recording and then probably some children are listening, [...] it’s also communicating to them. **The fact that someone’s valuing it enough to record it.**” - Lissant Bolton.*

For Edgar Inge, the role of the VKS is to hold *kastom* safe in case oral transmission of culture fails. For him the VKS’ role is to “all the time to keep saving our history. In order to be living forever, for another generation picking it up and keeping it on” (Edgar Inge).

6.10 Future Potentiality of the Archive within VKS

After asking the interviewees to describe what the archive means to them, I also asked them to describe what they would like to see happen in the future. These discussions were very useful as a means of identifying what barriers the participants identified for their practice, which in this case study mainly centred around limited resourcing. For example, Augustine Tevimule expressed a fervent hope for additional funding in order to establish an outreach program in order to take the records relevant to the 23 principle islands of the Vanuatu archipelago to their relevant communities:

“We do not have enough awareness. We are not doing good outreach here in Vanuatu. If we do good outreach, all the population here in Vanuatu would know about what is archives, why archives matter, what a library is. Because, my island is about--if you travel by boat it takes about one day and one night to reach my island. So, they have no idea what are archives.” - Augustine Tevimule.

And went on to again use the terms ‘library’ and ‘community’ synonymously:

“We have 23 [principle] islands. So, we have 1000s of libraries and 1000s communities. They have no idea what is the archives.” - Augustine Tevimule.

When asked what he would ideally like to see happen in future, Kaitip Kamit expressed a similar wish:

“I want to bring our museum to the communities, to explain to them why it is important, why the museum is important because for example, most people who are in Port Vila, most of them, they never come to the museum. Many of them, they

never come to the museum, or even the drivers, the bus drivers, sometimes when they stop I say go to the museum. They say “where is the museum?” They ask because they don’t know about the museum, because no one explain to them the importance of the museum. That’s one thing. We should make more awareness about it. Talk about the museum. Go to the communities and tell the importance, because there are many important things here.” - Kaitip Kamit.

Augustine Tevimule also spoke of his concern for the physical maintenance of the archives as to date they had been unable to secure funding to add air-conditioning to the National Archive’s holdings and would like to change his own position from National Archivist to Conservationist of these collections:

“And we are planning to make a lot of changes here. For me, I have more concern for these. I would like to change my position. I think conservation is more important. I need to repair some of the information here. I need to change the temperature here. I need to do the physical thing on treating the information for the safety for the next 100 years.” - Augustine Tevimule.

Augustine Tevimule is also aware of the records that are yet to be incorporated into the National Archive:

“I would like to save all the information, the records inside the Archives and other information that is still outside the Archives.” - Augustine Tevimule.

Edgar Inge again reflected his passion for intergenerational knowledge transfer, because when asked what he would like to see change in future, he replied that he would like to see what is taught through the National Museum’s *kastom* school be included in the curriculum of schools:

“But the best thing for me is to be all these things are to be taught in schools in the curriculum to be a part of everybody, otherwise we can talk, but we haven’t got power.” - Edgar Inge.

6.11 Chapter Summary

Within this chapter I presented the third and final case study considered through this research; the VKS. Whilst the VKS is an umbrella organisation with many different functions,

in this case study I considered in particular the VKS' National Museum, National Archive and the Fieldworker Programme through interviews with four staff members/collaborators involved in those areas. Each of the three organisations considered through this research were unique, and each one illuminated a different aspect to Indigenous cultural centres.

Being an enacted government body, the VKS case study enabled me to consider aspects of authority and legislative responsibilities. The tension between the opportunities that being part of a government body presented, and the heavy weight of meeting legislative responsibilities on a limited budget, was of particular interest to me and is reflected on further in the next chapter, Chapter 7: Results and Discussion.

Chapter 7: Results and Discussion

7.1 Chapter Introduction

Within this chapter I discuss the results of the three case studies, drawing in particular upon the limitations and opportunities as identified by the interviewees themselves. A major finding was that the preoccupation with authority, sustainability and authenticity that was discussed within existing literature related to Indigenous cultural centres were also reflected in the interviews. This chapter starts by exploring how these themes were presented within the context of the three case study organisations.

I then propose four interrelated components of 'the archive' which emerged through content analysis of the transcribed interviews within the framework of Bourdieu's practice theory (1977). **Whilst this research adopts a holistic understanding of the archive, it was found that depending upon how individuals understood the archive, the ways in which they engaged with the archive (their practice) differed.** Through interviews with Indigenous cultural practitioners working within Indigenous cultural centres, I identified four tightly-woven elements integral to knowledge systems within the context of the three participating organisations. These components are referred to as Person-as-Archive, Country-as-Archive, Ceremony-as-Archive, and Record-as-Archive respectively.

These four aspects are interrelated and these distinctions are artificially imposed in order to help make sense of the participants' engagement with them. It was also found to be a useful distinction when considering the situations where one of these aspects was removed from - or reintroduced to - the community. For example, an important cultural object (Record-as-Archive) removed from its community and later returned and, through existing knowledge held by individuals in the community (Person-as-Archive), could be used to rejuvenate a cultural practice (Ceremony-as-Archive) on the community's Indigenous lands (Country-as-Archive).

The chapter concludes with a reflection on my role as a non-Indigenous researcher engaging in decolonising research alongside a consideration of the application of PAR methodology in this research and the ongoing work of decolonising the self. Within this

section I also reflect on the efficacy and ethics of engaging with Indigenous communities within the time and resource constraints of a PhD project.

7.2 Authority

Within each case study, I identified the forms of cultural capital evident from the interview transcripts. These were helpful when considering the practice of individuals within the context of their own organisations. However, in order to understand the social standing of Indigenous cultural centres, it is their social and symbolic capital rather than cultural capital that will be more illuminating. As explained in Section 3.4, Bourdieu's social capital considers the power of an individual who is a member of a group, eventually defining it as:

“the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various sense of the word” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248-249).

Institutionalised examples of groups include organisations such as Indigenous cultural centres. The amount of social capital that an individual has, or group of individuals have, determines the amount of influence they exert over the way in which that culture is practiced and perceived (Bourdieu, 1986). As noted in the case studies, several Indigenous participants expressed their frustration at the disconnect between the social capital of an Indigenous knowledge holder (e.g. an Elder) within Indigenous communities and their social capital in a non-Indigenous context.

For this reason, Bourdieu's separation of cultural capital (specifically embodied cultural capital) and social capital doesn't work within this context as within Indigenous societies, an individual's cultural knowledge, social connections and obligations are so closely entwined as to be inseparable. Moving forward, when referring to social capital, I am therefore referring to an inextricably entwined combination of social capital and embodied cultural capital.

According to Bourdieu (1989), the formal, external recognition of an individual, or a group of individuals (i.e. an organisation) as an authority on culture transforms their social

capital into symbolic capital - resulting in higher social standing and amplifying their ability to influence.

Interview transcripts were analysed in order to determine to what extent interviewees felt empowered to influence and act both within the organisation itself, and outside of the organisation. Within the interviews, a preoccupation with the extent to which the interviewees, and the Indigenous cultural centres they worked for, had authority to influence and act was evident. This preoccupation with authority mirrored that which was identified through a review of the literature (see Section 2.7.1).

In recognition that “a nation cannot recognise people they do not know or understand” (Megan Davis as cited in Saunders, 2019), representative cultural organisations such as Indigenous cultural centres can have a powerful impact particularly if considered an authority on culture by both locals and the wider community. KALACC interviewees, in particular, spoke about the disconnect between structures of cultural authority (read: symbolic capital) within Aboriginal society and non-Indigenous Australian society.

As previously mentioned, KALACC’s frustration at the disconnect between the value systems of non-Indigenous Australian society and the Kimberley Aboriginal society has led to them to call for “a bicameral system of governance be established for Kimberley regional representation” as “[such] a system would locate the senior cultural custodians in a role akin to a Senate or house of review, i.e. having an oversight function” (KALACC, 2021, p. 15). Here, KALACC is calling for the social capital of Elders within their own communities to be recognised by the Australian Government, which would strengthen their social standing through the transformation of social capital into symbolic capital.

In the Western world, a national museum is ascribed the authority on that nation’s history and has the symbolic capital to represent that history and be believed. In the process, national museums have greater capacity to influence a national narrative and identity politics and as a result “have a real social, political and legal influence over how a community is viewed and treated” (Onciul, 2015, p. 4).

VKS is an example of an Indigenous cultural centre which has become the legislated national cultural body of a state and in the process gained immense symbolic capital due to its status as a national government institution. As a government body, VKS has the authority to influence at a national level, and since gaining independence in 1980, the VKS has had significant impact upon Vanuatu:

“The Vanuatu Cultural Centre is striking in the degree to which it has influenced and contributed to Vanuatu’s national development. Few museums have the opportunity to make as much impact on the nation they represent” (Bolton, 2008, p. 35).

These influences ranged from the co-development of national legislation (e.g. the Right to Information Act 2016 as described in Section 6.7.3.1) to the authoring of the history curriculum for the primary and secondary school systems (Bolton, 2008). Another means through which this authority over culture has been formalised is through the VKS’ administration of the *Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy* (2004) through which the VKS decides what research is conducted on ni-Vanuatu culture, and under what terms. For external researchers, the process of applying for a research permit, and the exchange of money, reinforces the notion of the VKS being an authority on culture, and in turn strengthens the VKS’ symbolic capital.

The theme of authority was less prevalent within the PCC case study than within the KALACC and VKS case studies. However, PCC interviewees did refer to the ability to influence external parties in two ways; the first was an acknowledgement by interviewee Delsa Moe that the greater the perceived authority of an Indigenous cultural centre, the more receptive visitors are to being educated about Polynesian cultures. The second way in which PCC interviewees overtly mentioned their ability to influence external parties as an authority on Polynesian cultures was through their engagement with production companies who pay to use PCC displays as sets;

“Sometimes we have a film crew that comes in too that.. they're looking for a certain shot.. and very insensitive to the cultures. "I want this, this, this, this and this". We've said "uhh no. Because this is Hawaiian, this is Samoan, if you're gonna.. which culture are you portraying?" "Polynesia" "Well Polynesia is several different cultures you know" And so we have to dig out from them what they're wanting and then we have to reshape it for them coz we say "ok you know what? Let's do it this way." [...] So we've had to help mold their thinking and educate them” - Delsa Moe, PCC.

7.3 Sustainability

A consistent theme, both within the interviews and within existing literature, was the lack of reliable funding for Indigenous cultural centres despite their importance to the ongoing support of Indigenous cultures (Stanley, 2004; McGaw & Pieris, 2014). Depending

upon their financial model, these organisations are reliant upon tourism, state funding, and/or charitable donations and find it difficult to consistently meet their operational running costs. Whilst this section does consider economic perspectives of sustainability, I want to stress that the theme of 'sustainability' is a problematic one which historically has preferenced capitalism and colonialism over community (Senier, 2014).

Furthermore, achieving 'sustainability' in some cases can undermine the very reason the organisation was founded in the first place. As Nick Stanley points out "Indigenous museums are of necessity fragile institutions and often lacking power to sustain their momentum", however;

"This is not the same as saying that they are merely ephemeral and insignificant. They may, indeed, in a relatively short life, act as the catalyst or channel for cultural, religious and political drives that would otherwise lack direction." (Stanley, 2008, p. 17).

Indigenous cultural centres need to provide value to the members of the cultures that they represent, while also providing (or proving their) value to the external community. In order to remain financially viable, Indigenous cultural centres need to provide value to tourists and/or prove their value to the state and other funding bodies. In the process they can either increase the political power (read: social and symbolic capital) of the community whose knowledge they represent, or undermine the original interests of their community. This site of convergence represents "distinctive regimes of value that distinguish market and culture as distinctive spheres of human activity and attempt to regulate the relationships between them" (Myers, 2005, p. 10).

Delsa Moe reflected on this tension between market and culture, arguing that there is a way in which they can support one another. That providing compensation for Indigenous peoples to represent their own cultures can preserve that culture;

"...no we aren't exploiting [the culture], we're actually preserving the culture. And because people are willing to pay for it, and they know they can sustain themselves by continuing to do these things, that's what keeps it alive, otherwise you've got to feed your family you know? And if you can't do it through your carving you're going to go do something else that provides food for your family. But because somebody's willing to pay for what you do, that's one of the motivations to keep it going" - Delsa Moe, PCC.

While all three Indigenous cultural centres were not-for-profits, they each had different funding models; PCC is reliant upon donations and engagement with tourism; KALACC is heavily reliant upon government funding and grants from external bodies, and VKS is a statutory body funded primarily through the Vanuatu Government whilst also engaging to a much smaller degree with tourism. Through the case studies, it was clear that each funding model required some kind of compromise on the part of the Indigenous cultural centres.

PCC needed to present the cultures of Polynesia in an entertaining and educational way while meeting the expectations of today's tourists; those who want to be engaged rather than passively receiving and who have shorter attention spans than in the past. In order to remain sustainable, PCC - like all organisations - needs to pay attention to their particular market. For instance, Hawaii as a tourism destination tends to attract repeat visitors and therefore PCC needs to update their offerings in order to provide something new for those who return for multiple visits:

"Hawaii is a mature destination, people have been here many times. What makes them want to come back to the PCC?" - President Alfred Grace, PCC.

When interviewed in 2018, President Alfred Grace stated that for many years, PCC has been running at a loss and had been reliant on charitable donations from the LDS Church. Unfortunately, the PCC's reliance on tourism resulted in a significant loss of income due to the COVID-19 pandemic, resulting in roughly 80 ongoing staff being laid off (Peterkin, 2020).

For many years, KALACC was unable to secure ongoing funding to cover their operational costs, finding that government agencies were more interested in funding short-term projects with particular aims. KALACC also engages with a number of researchers, and these are also only able to provide short-term grants with very particular conditions placed upon the funding. This inability to secure long-term funding for operational costs placed significant strain on the organisation, until KALACC was granted nearly AUD\$1.5 million by the Australian Council for the Arts to help cover its operating costs from 2020-2024.

As a statutory body, the VKS is primarily funded by the Government of Vanuatu and is assured of ongoing funding *because* they are legislated. However, of the three case studies, the VKS interviewees expressed the most frustration regarding funding and resourcing limitations. One way in which the VKS has advocated for further recognition of the value of *kastom* is through having *sandroing* formally recognised as 'heritage' by

UNESCO (Alivizatou, 2012). A strategy that imbues that practice with symbolic capital and which is in line economic development theory;

“while persistence in old life ways may not be economically viable and may well be inconsistent with economic development and with national ideologies, the valorization of those life ways as heritage (and integration of heritage into economies of cultural tourism) is economically viable, consistent with economic development theory, and can be brought into line with national ideologies of cultural uniqueness and modernity.” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004, p. 61).

7.4 Authenticity

Within literature related to the fields of Indigenous knowledge, heritage and tourism, the topic of authenticity is controversial and generates much debate (Taylor et al., 2005; Alivizatou, 2012, DeBlock, 2018). A preoccupation with the theme of authenticity was also evident within the interviews and centred around a tension between what Indigenous community members themselves understand to be authentic versus what people external to the community perceive as authentic.

Every cultural centre staff member interviewed referred to this tension between a perception of cultural ‘authenticity’ and the reality of the dynamic and changing nature of Indigenous cultures. I explored the concept of perceived ‘authenticity’ as impacting upon an organisation’s social capital (Bourdieu, 1984) through a constructivist lens (Lane & Waitt, 2001) and drew upon existing literature in the fields of material culture (Myers, 2005; DeBlock, 2018), tourism and legislation (Taylor et al., 2005; Lane & Waitt, 2001).

KALACC Coordinator Wes Morris views the term ‘authentic’ as problematic, and distinguishes between modern Indigenous culture and pre-colonial Indigenous culture:

“I mean we never use the term authentic, because whatever exists now is authentic. It's authentic for the people who are living that experience. So rather than authenticity, I mean what we can talk about is a pre colonial state.” - Wes Morris, KALACC.

While both KALACC and VKS interviewees reflected on these tensions, it was most prevalent among interviewees of PCC, which relies more heavily on tourism. PCC has had

to develop a sophisticated understanding of the tastes of different visitors, and adapt what they offer in response to changes in taste over time. Today, visitors' perceptions of authenticity when visiting dynamic Indigenous tourism sites (such as cultural centres) has been "acknowledged as a driving force" for the ongoing viability of those sites and yet it remains understudied within the literature (Hsu, 2018, p. 117).

At PCC, one of the most common criticisms they receive from visitors is that the experience is not authentic enough; that the visitor feels uncomfortable from what they perceive as the exploitation of a culture. What the visitors are sensing is that the cultural practices and objects have been turned into products (read economic capital) for consumption. This is of course accurate to some extent, because prior to colonisation, those same cultural practices may have taken hours to complete, or contained elements which today's audience might find unpalatable or inappropriate, however;

"... one thing that we don't want to do is we do not want to present an inaccurate representation of our culture just to satisfy the visitor. That's not.. that's not cultural integrity. And .. so we have to make sure that how we present it is still correct. It might not be complete, but it's correct." - Delsa Moe.

As an example, Delsa Moe cites the wedding ceremony performed in the PCC's Tahitian village, before which the 'priest' comes and cleanses the chapel with salt water;

"That's what they do before any ceremony... Of course what we do is very quick and brief. It would not be that quick and brief at the real thing. It's not the complete [ceremony], but it's still true." - Delsa Moe.

The LDS Church's requirements regarding modesty are at odds with the pre-colonial dress of Polynesian cultures. Therefore, the women who are wearing 'traditional dress' within PCC are actually wearing an adapted version which complies with the LDS Church's requirements with regards to modesty (with breasts and midriff covered). However, as President Grace pointed out, with the influence of Christianity within Polynesian cultures, modest dress is now considered a norm within Polynesian cultures;

"You'll notice that we're fairly modest in our dress, the girls are not showing their midriffs or anything of that nature. Again, that is a reflection of the church's standards, at the PCC, which is reflective of Christian influence in the islands, anyway, you know?" - President Alfred Grace, PCC.

The evolution of customs, standards and expectations over time is one reason for changes to the presentation of pre-colonial culture in cultural centres, another is logistical and practical limitations such as time;

“Keeping in mind that in presenting a culturally immersive program to a tourist or visitor, there’s always going to be compromises, and a lot of the compromises are driven by time, not necessarily by the cultural aspect, but the time component of their visit.” President Grace, PCC.

For instance, PCC’s President Grace explains that the impracticality of portraying Māori ceremonies in their entirety within the PCC’s Aotearoa Village as follows:

“So, imagine that the average guest spends about nine hours a day here at the PCC... Within that nine hours, they’re attempting to see six villages, experience presentations and immersive programs and activities and so forth in each of those villages, then go on to a meal [...] and then take in an evening show. So, nine hours to do all of that, compared to – if you were to go to a tangi, a funeral in Aotearoa, on a marae, on a New Zealand village, you’d probably spend about eight or nine hours just doing that.” - President Alfred Grace, PCC.

Compounding these concerns is the parallel need to create a *different* sense of authenticity for the locals (members of the culture being presented). Creating a sense of authenticity for the locals is a different matter altogether. Within the products offered by a cultural centre - whether they be language programs, performances, festivals or pieces of art - authenticity ‘markers’ for the local audience are located on a more subtle layer.

“Underlying sensibilities, such as who has the right to perform what kind of dance, song, or ritual sequence, do not always surface in performances and are interpreted only by local audiences” (DeBlock, 2018, p. 16).

This is echoed by people from PCC who said that a lot of the local meaning is derived through symbolism that only the locals would understand and would not be apparent to visitors. DeBlock (2018) argues that it is possible for Indigenous communities to ‘create’ authenticity and to empower their communities through a process of what he terms ‘authentication’. The process of authentication can take place through performance. Performance through venues such as cultural centres “is an innovative strategy developed by local people in order to counteract the process of (supposed) loss of authenticity” (DeBlock, 2018, p. 16).

The level of perceived authenticity impacts upon the value that visitors and locals ascribe to a cultural centre (its social capital) and, in turn, on the information they present. When visitors view the portrayed cultural knowledge as authentic, they assign more value to that portrayal, and are more likely to be receptive to the education it provides (Spark, 2002).

7.5 Authority, Sustainability, and Authenticity: Concluding Thoughts

The themes of authority, sustainability and authenticity were found to be interrelated; the level of perceived authenticity regarding the presentation of Indigenous cultures, impacts upon that organisation's level of authority (ability to influence the actions and thoughts of others) and sustainability (their ability to offer products or services which are valued by others).

The self-determination of an Indigenous community refers to their ability to make their own decisions. There are structures in place which hamper self-determination within Indigenous cultural centres. These include overt limitations such as those imposed by a Western-colonial government's legislative and funding frameworks through to the invisible social forces, such as the expectations of tourists of what amounts to 'authentic' representations of Indigeneity. Cultural practitioners from both the Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta and the Polynesian Cultural Centre reflected upon the pressure of presenting their culture in a particular way to visiting tourists, in order to both educate and entertain them. The representation of Polynesian cultures through the PCC has the additional complications of meeting the requirements of the Mormon Church. Meanwhile, cultural practitioners of the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre reflected upon the ongoing pressures of meeting the requirements of government bodies in order to qualify for funding.

7.6 The Archive in Indigenous Cultural Centres

Through analysis of the transcribed interviews it was found that the participants' conceptualisation of the archive depended upon their own worldview in addition to prior exposure to formal Western archives. The majority of participants had not had significant exposure to formal Western archives and they conceived of 'the archive' as being

synonymous with cultural knowledge and the *doing* of culture. The minority of participants who had prior knowledge of Western-style archives presented a dichotomous yet interrelated view of traditional Western archives and the doing of culture. They viewed traditional Western archives as a means through which to inform, support and in some cases rejuvenate Indigenous cultural knowledges.

These findings were consistent with existing Indigenous archiving literature (Thorpe 2005; Thorpe, 2010; Faulkhead et al., 2010). My findings in relation to Indigenous understandings of the archive are consistent with the work of Indigenous archivists, particularly Kirsten Thorpe's conceptualisation of 'community archives' and 'living archives' (2010; 2017). Thorpe defines the living archive as composed of "records that may be transmitted orally by members of the community or passed on through art, dance or storytelling – that is, they are not captured in particular physical or digital form but are transmitted through interaction and connections between people" (Thorpe, 2017, p. 903). Meanwhile, the community archive is composed of "records that are considered to be significant to a local Aboriginal community group" and "[encompasses] multiple forms and types of records and relate broadly to the local community: the land, its people, language, knowledge and histories" (Thorpe, 2017, p. 903). Significantly, this includes those records that exist outside of the community but relate to that community.

Both broad categories are encompassed under Article 13 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*:

Indigenous people have the right to revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures (UN General Assembly, 2007, Article 13).

Within the context of this research however, it was necessary to also include participants' reflections on the role which country and physical objects played. A content analysis of the interviews resulted in the identification of four components of the archive which were useful to consider within the framework of Bourdieu's practice theory because, although participants emphasised the holistic nature of Indigenous knowledge, they described their interactions (read: practice) as being different depending upon which of these types of the archive they were engaging with.

"Well of course white man likes to differentiate and to sort of reify and pull things apart, but the Aboriginal world view is a holistic world view." - Wes Morris, KALACC.

The four interrelated components of the archive were identified respectively as; Person-as-Archive, Country-as-Archive, Ceremony-as-Archive and Record-as-Archive.



Figure 1. Four interrelated components of the archive.

These four aspects are entwined and these distinctions are artificially imposed in order to help make sense of the participants' practice. I describe each of these components below.

7.6.1 Person-as-Archive

The concept of Person-as-Archive encompasses intangible cultural knowledge held by individuals as well as the tangible knowledge represented by the individuals' physical form. The intangible knowledge held by individuals includes memories, cultural knowledge, and knowledge of language [note that the actual speaking of language is considered Ceremony-as-Archive which is the *practice* of culture]. Person-as-Archive also encompasses the physical characteristics of individuals, from their physical traits to body decoration.

This concept of people as living repositories is not a new one and I drew particularly upon Native Hawaiian psychologist Wendy M. K. Peters' *The Embodied Library* (2016). In

addition to the knowledge held by individuals resulting from their lived experiences, Peters draws on theories of epigenetics and memetics to refer to the cumulative, hereditary knowledge which is passed down through generations of Indigenous peoples;

“The embodied library describes what it means to approach the body as a living repository, a co-creative, epistemological process representative of one’s lived experiences, integrated with those things innately held within one’s hereditary legacy.” (Peters, 2016, p. 25-26).

The introduction of Eurocentric education to Indigenous communities resulted in the disruption of pre-colonial practices of cultural knowledge transmission. Within Eurocentric models of education, the knowledge bearers are teachers, intellectuals and official authority figures as opposed to the individual child’s parents or Elders as was the case pre-colonisation (Michie, 1999). In recognition of the importance of individual holders of vast amounts of Indigenous cultural knowledge, initiatives such as the UNESCO Living Human Treasures Programme (1993-2003) have previously been introduced in order to support the maintenance, support and ongoing transmission of a culture through the recognition of “persons who possess to a very high degree the knowledge and skills required for performing or recreating specific elements of the intangible Cultural Heritage” (UNESCO, ‘Living Human Treasures’, n.d.). In the process, converting the social capital of these individuals into symbolic capital, thereby increasing their social standing and influence.

The three participating cultural centres considered through this project all emphasised the importance of engaging with Elders, particularly with regards to governance as well as for the transmission of cultural knowledge to younger members of the community. This was in keeping with Peters’ contention that;

“Many, if not most, native cultures revere Elder epistemology and include the metaphysical as integral to their ontological beliefs.” (Peters, 2016, p. 29).

Every interviewee placed an emphasis upon the importance of senior cultural Elders who held significant amounts of cultural knowledge; those who may be fluent in language and who had extensive memories of culture being practiced. For example;

“In the Kimberley we are lucky to have, still, in first hand, men and women that truly, truly understand the full depth of cultural knowledge as it was practiced in their generation and the generations before them” - Wayne Barker, KALACC.

On a number of occasions, interviewees referred to these individuals as their community's 'library', underscoring an adoption of the Western colloquial forms of addressing vast stores and sources of knowledge.

Each of the three Indigenous cultural centres employed different methods of engaging with these significant cultural knowledge holders. KALACC appoints these individuals as special cultural advisors and provides opportunities for intergenerational knowledge exchange. PCC hires them as cultural specialists to train the young Indigenous staff of the organisation, and when particular needs are identified will fly experts in to teach PCC staff. VKS consults with Vanuatu's National Council of Chiefs on specific governance matters and those in the Fieldworker Network are encouraged to interview these cultural leaders in order to ensure inter-generational knowledge exchange is taking place.

A further point to consider is that there are examples of individuals external to Indigenous communities who hold Indigenous cultural knowledge relevant to that community, for example, anthropologists who have worked in close proximity with Indigenous communities over a long period of time. In recognition of the importance of this knowledge being fed back into the relevant community/ies, the VKS' *Cultural Research Policy* (2004) introduced a government research policy which keeps track of these individuals and all research outputs (papers, documentaries, etc.) in order to ensure that the ni-Vanuatu people may continue to benefit from this work, preventing the knowledge from being extracted and never returned in a manner which is beneficial to the community (VKS, 2004).

7.6.2 Country-as-Archive

Indigenous cultures were developed over many generations in societies which were closely related to their natural surroundings (UNESCO, 2018, 'LINKS'). Living in close relationship with their natural surroundings influenced the ongoing development of culture and today the country still serves as a teacher and participant of culture within many Indigenous societies (Ibid.). The relationship between people and land is a reciprocal and interdependent one, with responsibilities which Indigenous people feel toward caring for the land forming a large part of their identity. For instance, within Aboriginal Australian culture, individuals are related to Country through the kinship system and have the responsibility to care for Country as they would a family member ('The importance of land', n.d.).

Country-as-Archive refers to how features of the land serve as memory devices, tied as they are to creation stories, responsibilities of care and memories of past interactions, and is therefore an inextricable part of an Indigenous community's cultural knowledge;

“Cultural landscapes have the capacity to be read as living records of the way societies have interacted with their environment over time.” (Smith & Jones, 2007, p.3)

The systemic removal of Indigenous communities from their lands through processes of colonisation had an incredibly damaging effect upon the health of Indigenous people and removal of Indigenous peoples from their land continues in various guises to this day (Gregoire, 2019). Indigenous cultural centres within settler-colonial and post-colonial states endeavour to reflect the centrality of Country to Indigenous culture through different methods. These measures are necessary when representing cultures which are so inextricably tied to their natural surroundings, but also serves to educate the wider community about the importance of honouring this relationship between people and Country. One popular way in which to represent Country within Indigenous cultural centres is through symbolic representation in architecture (McGaw & Pieris, 2014).

The layout of PCC is designed to symbolise the geographic dispersion of the Pacific with a manmade river to signify the Pacific Ocean running between the six island villages which represent Tonga, Tahiti, Samoa, Aotearoa (New Zealand), Fiji, and Hawaii respectively. Visitors to PCC can take a boat journey from between these island villages to symbolise the significance of seafaring navigation to Polynesian cultures. Furthermore, within each village, significant effort was made to build traditional buildings in the style of that culture and this extends also to the flora planted within each. Plants from the relevant regions were planted within each village, with varieties of banana trees native to different regions of Polynesian Pacific planted throughout PCC. Or the same plant (for example taro) planted in different ways. Within the exhibits of the villages, country was represented in different ways, for example within the Hawaiian village there is a model which displays geographical features typically found on the Hawaiian islands, with representations of the different aspects of cultural practice which would typically take place at each.

KALACC's external walls were painted by members of the Kimberley Aboriginal community, with some of the decorations depicting the country and different ceremonies taking place. The KALACC offices are not in fact where the bulk of their cultural activities take place. Rather, they organise cultural activities which occur out on Country. For example, KALACC's major biannual cultural festival and their annual AGMs occur on different parts of

the Kimberley so that different communities have the chance to 'host', and in doing so have the opportunity to showcase their culture and share their Country.

The VKS' Museum, Library and Archive buildings were designed to represent the houses which locals built pre-European contact and are located on the edge of a large open field [amphitheatre] within Port Vila. At the top edge of the field is a building which represents the traditional chief's house and is the meeting place of Vanuatu's National Council of Chiefs. This large field serves as a gathering place and a lot of the *doing* and *sharing* of culture occurs through festivals, markets and musical events hosted on this open field, some of which are organised by the VKS. Within the VKS' National Museum there is a large model of the islands of the archipelago and models of the types of ships that had been used by the the Melanesian peoples and within the entrance of the museum there is a box of sand which is used by men of *kastom* to demonstrate and teach *sandroing*.

7.6.3 Ceremony-as-Archive

Ceremony-as-Archive refers to the practicing of culture; speaking of Indigenous language, dancing, exchanging stories, initiations, cooking, etc. Despite recent increased interest in the archiving of communities' embodied expressions, questions remain as to *how* to do so (Daly, 2016). One term which is commonly used to discuss these embodied expressions within archival science is 'ephemera' which encompasses "communities' dynamic commemorative practices" including ceremonies (Daly, 2016, p. 4). Ephemera is intangible and excluded from traditional Western concepts of the archive. In 2013, archival scholar Terry Cook suggested that 'community' was an emerging archival paradigm, the emphasis of which would encourage us to address that which currently is unaddressed by traditional Western archival traditions, systems and practices (Cook, 2013).

Every Indigenous cultural centre through their support of their communities' culture is deeply engaged with Ceremony-as-Archive. In fact, each organisation that participated in this project expressed that support of Ceremony-as-Archive was of primary concern. Due to differing cultural needs, priorities and available resourcing, Ceremony-as-Archive was supported through different means within each cultural centre. Project participants emphasised the role of their cultural centres in supporting this aspect of the archive, some stressing that they have no interest in gathering and maintaining Record-as-Archive unless they can be used to directly support Ceremony-as-Archive.

As supporting Ceremony-as-Archive is the main priority of each of the participating cultural centres, there is no shortage of programs and examples to choose from for each for inclusion in their respective case studies. Therefore, within each case study I only outlined the programs which were emphasised by multiple staff of each organisation.

Through its ties to BYU-Hawaii and the LDS Church, the PCC has access to a large workforce of young people from across the Pacific and is able to employ them to practice and portray their respective cultures. These young people are encouraged to practice their traditional languages, are able to engage in their cultures whilst being financially compensated and not having to view their Indigenous culture versus Western education/employment as an either/or proposition. Whilst the performances within the PCC island villages have previously been criticised for the compromises required when representing Indigenous cultural practices for a tourist audience, Terry Panee, the Hawaiian Village Manager emphasised that a lot of the intergenerational knowledge exchange between senior and junior staff occurs in the quieter moments between performances, when tourists aren't present. Some of the young staff enter into cultural apprenticeships in, for example, the carving workshop where they learn from both visiting and resident master carvers of different Polynesian traditions. These skills are valued and may provide financial security and cultural continuation into the future.

Wayne Barker emphasised the role of KALACC as a *conduit* through which funds, programs and activities are organised, with the true cultural centre being the network of communities and individuals who engage with it. KALACC supports intergenerational knowledge transfer, not least through supporting annual Law Time, during which time young Aboriginal men and women go through Law and become adults within their communities. KALACC's project and operational funds are used to employ mostly local Indigenous people and also to pay singers and dancers who perform culture at festivals and compensate Elders for their time spent on the KALACC board. Compensation makes it feasible for more community members to attend cultural events and more enticing for youth to learn cultural performances. KALACC recently introduced the Red and Yellow Shirt programs which involve interested youth to commit to learning culture from their Elders and to become the next generation of cultural leaders. Another key initiative which is facilitated through KALACC is the Yiriman Project which involves at-risk youth being taken out onto Country by their Elders for a week at a time to learn about and practice their culture, form stronger relationships with their Elders and strengthen their sense of cultural identity.

VKS runs a number of initiatives to support the Indigenous cultures of the Vanuatu archipelago, the most well-known of which is The Fieldworker Network. The Fieldworker

Network involves more than 100 community representatives from across the Vanuatu archipelago working as cultural researchers, “[undertaking] cultural documentation and revitalisation at a scale and scope unparalleled in the Pacific, and perhaps the world” (Australian National University Centre for Heritage & Museum Studies, n.d.). Annually the fieldworkers are brought together to discuss cultural knowledge and to share ideas and support for cultural support among their own communities.

7.6.4 Record-as-Archive

Record-as-Archive encompasses tangible and digital representations of knowledge. This includes objects of material culture, contemporary business records, paintings, photographs and audio-visual recordings in both tangible and digital forms. Record-as-Archive is a useful category as it enables us to consider all physical or digital representations of knowledge and encompasses material culture;

*“So the knowledge that was existing in that pre colonial state, there is a vast array of knowledge that much of it will have been lost forever. But in order to tap in to that very deep knowledge, there are different ways that we can do that [...] and archival knowledge is certainly important. One other thing that comes to mind is of course material culture. [...] so in 2007 I brought back 600 secret sacred objects. [...] the secret sacred objects, **they can talk**.”* - Wes Morris, KALACC (author’s emphasis).

The tangible and digital representations of knowledge which fall under Record-as-Archive can communicate in their own right, however they may need to be interpreted by those who hold, in their own right, the intangible cultural knowledge related to that material. This point is illustrated by Wes Morris who explained;

“And so there was a very senior Nyikina boss who died about five years ago, but I certainly sat down with that man [...] and I showed him the photographs of all of those objects. And so there are ways that we have - whether it be through material culture, whether it be through the writings of anthropologists, whether it be through ethno musicologists [...], there are different ways, different archival resources that we have available to us to provide as best we can that fulsome cultural knowledge.” - Wes Morris, KALACC.

Regardless of their priorities and their governance models, Indigenous cultural centres hold Record-as-Archive under their care. Traditionally the archival profession has

specialised in the long term management of tangible and digital records whilst the management of published works and material culture have fallen under the remit of the library and museum professions respectively. The specialist expertise required for the effective management of each type of knowledge entails significant investment in terms of time and resources. The VKS is mandated to look after these materials long-term, however the staff of both PCC and KALACC indicated that the effective management of Records-as-Archives would require too many of their resources being drawn away from what they perceive as their core business – support for individuals in their community and the practicing of Indigenous culture.

Interviewees from PCC and KALACC often noted not knowing where to start looking for advice, particularly with regards to the management and long-term preservation of digital and audio-visual materials. The sheer volume of digital material was noted as particular sources of concern by several participants. Despite these concerns, each participating cultural centre demonstrated different methods of management and engagement when it came to their Record-as-Archive.

As a nationally-legislated body, the VKS' National Archives and National Film, Sound and Photo Unit are legally required to maintain records related to their activities in addition to preserving material of historical value to Vanuatu. As explained in Chapter 6, the VKS' National Film, Sound and Photo Unit adopted the use of password-protected Microsoft Excel spreadsheets to catalogue their collections because of its ease of use, low cost, ongoing maintenance and ease of exportability (VKS, 'Film and Audio Studio', n.d.). Within the VKS' National Archives, the catalogue has been printed out for increased accessibility of the collections, particularly during power outages. Through the Fieldworker Network, the VKS are actively documenting Indigenous culture through their Fieldworkers and through the means of recording the annual Fieldworker workshops. These workshop recordings are being transcribed and printed as books available for reference through the VKS' National Library.

PCC maintains records related to business functions as required by law, however they do not view the long term preservation and maintenance of records as a priority as it draws resources away from their core business. Whilst this may appear at odds with PCC's mission statement - "*Preserve and portray the cultures, arts and crafts of Polynesia*" - when asked to clarify, the president of PCC stated that the preservation of an *oral culture* requires an emphasis upon *oral methods of preservation*. The more valuable and fragile of PCC's cultural objects are housed by the BYU-Hawaii's archives for their safekeeping and the PCC's extensive audio-visual collection of some 2,700 items has been sent to the Church

History Library to be digitised. A copy of the digitised files will eventually be returned to the PCC.

As explained in Chapter 4, KALACC partnered with researchers at The University of Melbourne and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies (AIATSIS) for the digitisation of its audio-visual material. The original copies and a version of the digitised files are being held in trust at AIATSIS for long-term preservation, with copies of all materials having been returned to KALACC. Whilst it is a priority of KALACC to establish a formal archival management system to manage this material, current Indigenous archival management systems are not perceived as adequately meeting their requirements. The material culture held by KALACC are stored within secured shipping containers. It is their intention to have a shipping container placed within each of the five cultural blocs of the Kimberley to contain the material culture belonging to the communities of each of those regions. One KALACC interviewee posed the question; what's the worth of holding on to records if it's not done in a way which is useful to the living culture of the community?

“So archives and documented evidence that we can test that we can argue that we can reproduce that we can learn from, whether you're reconstructing your language, whether you're reconstructing your ceremony or your ritual, you reach back into these valuable, valuable assets because as was envisaged when it was first recorded and handed – and agreed to in some cases – by the informant, that “why are you being recorded? We're recording this knowledge for the future”. Well hello the future is now, the future is here, and archives play a critical role in providing a continuance and sustainability of the vibrancy of cultural activity right across this nation.” - Wayne Barker

Any plan to start condensing and managing Records-as-Archive therefore needs to be accompanied by initiatives and programs of community engagement, turning the knowledge represented within the Records-as-Archive into knowledge held by People-as-Archive with the intention of returning that knowledge to Ceremony-as-Archive.

7.7 Future Uses of the Archive

This research confirmed that every Indigenous cultural centre is entirely unique and the result of their community's priorities, their own organisational history and their changing internal and external pressures over time. By first asking interviewees how they understand

and engage with the archive I was intentionally allowing interviewees to explain their own understanding of the archive, as opposed to imposing a definition of the archive on them. By asking how they would like to see the archive used in future, participants were then able to point out ways in which they would like to be supported as they engage with their understanding of the archive going forward.

The priorities which emerged depended upon each individual's understanding of the archive, and as specific ideas were considered at the conclusion of each case study. In this next section I wish to reflect on the relationship between Record-as-Archive and Ceremony-as-Archive which underpinned a lot of the discussion around future potential uses of the archive.

7.7.1 Reincorporating Record-as-Archive into Ceremony-as-Archive

Without exception, those who spoke about Record-as-Archive when asked to describe their understanding of the archive, described it as secondary to Ceremony-as-Archive. When, for example, interviewees referred to Record-as-Archive needing to be returned to communities, the motivation for their return was to support Ceremony-as-Archive;

"... the challenge [that] exists at the moment is that the information is too often taken from the community, it's forced from community, it's sequestered away somewhere, it's inaccessible. And the purpose of taking the knowledge in the first place surely was to protect and promote and maintain the culture and that's the whole purpose of these things." - Wes Morris, KALACC.

This supports existing Indigenous archiving literature which calls for the archival profession to;

"...work in partnership with Indigenous communities to address the priority areas of recovery and re-integration of Indigenous knowledge and history from non-Indigenous archival sources, acknowledge the integral relationship between oral knowledge, community records and institutional records, and develop frameworks for the exercise of Indigenous rights in records." (McKemmish et al., 2011, p. 233).

An agenda has emerged among the archival sector to engage with reconciliation through the repatriation (whether virtually or physically) of Record-as-Archive back to Indigenous communities (Ibid.). However as KALACC's Wes Morris and Wayne Barker pointed out, the return of these materials without accompanying initiatives to help reintegrate the knowledge contained within them into Ceremony-as-Archive is incomplete.

Indigenous cultural centres are often dependent upon limited resourcing (Stanley, 2004; Stanley, 2008). Reawakening cultural traditions with the help of Record-as-Archive is an incredibly resource intensive endeavour as it involves identifying potentially useful archival material, requesting the repatriation of that material, interpreting that material critically with the help of knowledgeable members of the community, and discussing culturally appropriate ways to reincorporate this knowledge back into members of the community (Person-as-Archive). The repatriation of Record-as-Archive material to Indigenous cultural centres presents those (often resource-strapped) organisations with challenges related to the management of the materials;

“Challenges include the need for institutions to accommodate different access conditions for materials that contain sensitive Indigenous knowledge, and the need for institutions and communities to deal with conflicts around different concepts of intellectual property associated with Indigenous and Western knowledge systems” (ATSILIRN, 2012, Section 12).

Furthermore, before attempting to reintegrate Record-as-Archive material into Ceremony-as-Archive, there is a need for the records - which were often written or captured by non-Indigenous people - to be engaged with critically and interpreted by community members who weren't present at the time of the capturing (Thorpe & Galassi, 2014);

“The gap between lived experience and historic record now requires an intellectual feat of interpretation” (Stanley, 2008, p. 12).

The complexity of reawakening Indigenous cultural knowledge, practices and language through the use of community archives has been acknowledged within existing literature, alongside “the importance of collaboration and research, and the importance of re-reading and re-examining historical texts to enrich them in contemporary settings” (Thorpe & Galassi, 2014). There are processes and projects and so much work associated with reintegrating or reintroducing an item of Record-as-Archive back to a community and having discussions about how to do it properly. KALACC supported the repatriation of 600 secret-sacred items back to the Kimberley and the process included their Coordinator and Repatriation Officer working with Elders to identify what the items were and where they

came from. They found that the process was a form of community engagement and enabled the Elders to become aware of what was held by KALACC and to start using the objects to educate younger men, effectively reincorporating it back into Ceremony-as-Archive;

“When they brought some of the objects back, some of the Elders weren’t involved in making some of those things but they recognised the stories that these things tell. Then they pass that on to the younger people and the ones that are coming through and going through the process of becoming cultural leaders.” - Neil Carter, KALACC.

7.8 My Reflection

As this PAR research adopted principles of decolonising research, the process of critical reflexivity was essential (Fredericks & Adams, 2011), and to that end, I adopted the method of autoethnography which “has the potential to inform decolonization and social justice movements” (Pham & Ghotberg, 2020, p. 4094). Decolonising research calls for more transparency on the part of the researcher, which is why I adopted the use of the first-person throughout this thesis and introduced my background and positionality in Chapter 1: Introduction in recognition that my lived experience will inevitably impact upon this research (Harris, 2002).

In order to write this section, I drew upon the reflections I wrote as part of employing the method of autoethnography over the past four years. In doing so, I considered how the research process influenced me over that time as well as the application of PAR within this research and the challenges that I encountered in the process of applying it. I share the resulting reflections below.

Engaging in decolonising research involves a process of self-decolonisation – in recognition of the fact that you are part of a colonising project and therefore are both colonised and coloniser (Russell-Mundine, 2012). As a member of an imperial settler colonial project, I have been indelibly formed to be party to that structure, and as a non-Indigenous researcher I acknowledge my social and political privilege. I make these points explicit as not challenging my own privileged position runs counter to the questioning of power differentials required of decolonising research;

“Decolonisation allows us to open up communication in heartfelt and meaningful ways, to focus on our current political and social contexts, and to engage in critical reflexive practice of and between ourselves.” (Fredericks & Adams, 2011, p.8).

The biggest challenge I encountered on a personal level throughout this process was the process of reflecting on my own self-decolonisation - which involved really coming to terms with my privileged position - *without* becoming ineffective in the process. Whilst critical reflexivity is important to both action research as a methodology and the processes of decolonisation and self-decolonisation, researchers engaging with it run the risk of becoming so introspective and tied down in self-reflection that they are unable to be effective (Fredericks & Adams, 2011).

In 2011, Fredericks & Adams reflected that “[they] had also witnessed some non-Indigenous people get so caught up in whether they are doing the ‘right thing’ that it makes them less effective than they can be” (p.7). This certainly was my experience in doing this research. I felt crippled by fear of doing the wrong thing, and this, combined with the all-too-common imposter syndrome typically experienced by PhD candidates, left me paralysed for periods of time.

Engaging with decolonising research requires a proactive examination of how we “who are privileged by colonialism deal with the inequalities it (re)produces – in the Academy [sic] and beyond” (Biermann, 2011, p. 387). Through engagement with autoethnographic practices throughout, it is possible to trace my grappling with the realities of “how inextricably academic knowledge is tied up with the maintenance of unequal power relations” (Biermann, 2011, p. 387).

Whilst I found critical reflexivity to be a useful “tool for the non-Indigenous researcher to contribute to the decolonising and reframing of research with Indigenous peoples” (Russell-Mundine, 2012, p. 85), I was left feeling rather constricted by the nature of a PhD as a highly individual research effort, which limits one’s ability to engage in ‘true’ PAR research where the community ‘owns’ the project.

These reservations were echoed by Indigenous researcher Ranjan Datta, who during their own PhD research, reflected that “research could be oppression if the researcher did not come from the participants’ community” (Datta, 2018, p. 10). For these reasons, I resonated with Russell-Mundine’s argument that critical reflexivity “will not lead to reframing and decolonising research unless it is integrated with a broader intention to interrogate the foundations on which academia creates and affirms research” (Russell-Mundine, 2012, p. 85).

For this particular project, I think the pre-existing relationship between KALACC and myself was really important for the initial discussions regarding the research topic and the establishment of a Memorandum of Understanding which set out the terms of our

agreement. I was able to secure a research grant from the International Council on Archives' (ICA) Programme Commission to the amount of nearly AUD\$40,000 which enabled me to not only conduct fieldwork at PCC and VKS, but also to visit KALACC two to three times a year for the first few years.

Thanks to the ICA research grant, Merle Carter and Wayne Barker - two cultural practitioners from KALACC - were able to accompany me to the 2019 ICA conference in Adelaide where we presented together on the nature and role of archives within KALACC. Funding was also provided for one individual KALACC practitioner to attend the 2020 ICA Congress in Abu Dhabi to 'launch' the report with me, however this congress has now been postponed until 2023 due to the COVID-19 crisis and unfortunately it is unknown whether this arrangement will still be possible by that time.

PAR research usually involves an 'action' which results in an 'artefact'. The artefact in this case was negotiated with KALACC to be a report which summarised research findings related to the nature and role of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres within the Oceanic region [the draft of which has been approved by the KALACC Coordinator and is included as Appendix B]. As part of the research funding from the ICA, they also committed to publishing the final version of the report resulting from this research on their website in English, Spanish and French.

The realities of resource constraints upon being able to engage in PAR were exacerbated by the physical distance between myself and KALACC, the considerable costs involved in attending community events and ultimately, the impact of the COVID-19 crisis upon my ability to visit KALACC in the final 1.5 years of the research.

7.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter first explained that the three central concerns of authority, sustainability and authenticity which were identified within the literature related to Indigenous cultural centres, were also identified within the interviews. I then described the different ways in which these central concerns appeared in the context of the three case studies.

The chapter then went on to discuss the nature of the archive as understood and described by the interviewees. Content analysis of the interview transcripts led to the identification of four interrelated concepts; Person-as-Archive, Country-as-Archive, Ceremony-as-Archive, and Record-as-Archive. Although I am aware that these artificial

constructs are at odds with the holistic view many Indigenous groups share with regards to their cultural knowledge (Nakata, 2007), I argued that these constructs are useful for both making sense of, and communicating, complex concepts.

The chapter concluded with my reflection on the usefulness of critical reflexivity through autoethnography for completing decolonising PAR research. I also reflected on the impact of the research process on me personally and considered the challenges encountered through the application of PAR to this research.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Chapter Introduction

Through a consideration of the nature, role and use of the archive within three Indigenous cultural centres of the Oceanic region, this participatory action research (PAR) project sought to provide guidance to other Indigenous cultural centres as they come to terms with, and engage with, their own archive. This primary goal was identified by the PAR community partner - the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre (KALACC) of Western Australia. In so doing, this thesis also extends the traditional concerns of the archival profession to better reflect the complexities and nuances of Indigenous cultures, particularly where they intersect with Indigenous cultural centres.

This final chapter serves as a conclusion to the thesis and provides the following: a brief summation of the answers to the research questions which were discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, concluding autoethnographic reflections on my role and experience as researcher, the contribution which this research made and finally, a reflection on the limitations of the research and potential avenues for future research.

8.2 Research Questions

Bourdieu's practice theory (1977) was adopted as the theoretical framework through which to consider case studies of three Indigenous cultural centres across the Oceanic region; KALACC, the Polynesian Cultural Centre (PCC) and the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (Bislama: Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta) (VKS). Below, I provide a summation of the findings, organised under each of the three research questions:

Research Question 1: How do community members understand the archive and its role within each cultural centre case study?

Through analysis of the transcribed interviews it was found that the participants' conceptualisation of the archive depended upon their own worldview in addition to prior exposure to formal Western archives, and, to some extent, what participants thought that I might want to hear as an archivist myself. The findings were consistent across each of the three case studies and showed that the majority of participants had not had significant exposure to traditional Western archives and they conceived of 'the archive' as being synonymous with intangible cultural knowledge and the *practicing* of Indigenous culture.

A minority of participants - who had prior exposure to Western-style archives - described an interconnected relationship between traditional Western understandings of the archive and the practice of Indigenous culture. Without exception, all interviewees viewed traditional Western archives as secondary to intangible cultural knowledge, and as a means through which to preserve, support and in some cases rejuvenate Indigenous cultural knowledges. The only instances where the traditional Western Archive was viewed as more important than the intangible cultural knowledge held by people, was with regards to land rights and particularly the use of records within legal settings. These findings were consistent with existing literature related to Indigenous archives.

Through interviews with Indigenous cultural practitioners working within Indigenous cultural centres, I identified four tightly-woven components of the archive as described by the participants of the three Indigenous cultural centres. These were identified as Person-as-Archive, Country-as-Archive, Ceremony-as-Archive, and finally Record-as-Archive. These four aspects are completely interconnected and these distinctions are artificially imposed in order to help make sense of the participants' engagement with them. These were also found to be useful distinctions when considering the situations in which one of these aspects were removed from – or reintroduced to – the community, i.e. through repatriation. Each of these four aspects were discussed in Chapter 7, and are briefly outlined again below:

- **Person-as-Archive:** The concept of Person-as-Archive encompasses the knowledge held by an individual, including Indigenous cultural knowledge, memories and knowledge of language [note that the actual speaking of language or the sharing of Indigenous culture is classed as Ceremony-as-Archive which is the practicing of culture]. It also encompasses the physical characteristics of individuals, from their physical traits and body decoration to their genetic makeup.

- **Country-as-Archive:** Indigenous cultures have developed over many generations in societies that were closely related to their natural surroundings, tied as they are to creation stories, responsibilities of care and memories of past interactions and are therefore an inextricable part of an Indigenous community's cultural knowledge. Country-as-Archive refers to the country which an Indigenous community is affiliated with. This encompasses the physical country itself and the various features which serve as memory devices - for instance where a particular rock formation is linked with a creation story. The land acts as archive in addition to being an active participant in culture and in some cases, being kin to the Indigenous groups. Interacting with Country supports the retention of Indigenous cultural knowledge. It forms part of the holistic traditional knowledge of an Indigenous community.
- **Ceremony-as-Archive:** Ceremony-as-Archive refers to the practicing of culture; the speaking of Indigenous language, dancing, exchanging knowledge, initiations, and cooking to name a few examples. Despite recent increased interest in the archiving of communities' embodied expressions, questions remain as to *how* to do so. One term which is commonly used to discuss these embodied expressions within archival science is 'ephemera' which encompasses "communities' dynamic commemorative practices" including ceremonies (Daly, 2016). Ephemera is intangible and excluded from traditional Western concepts of the archive.
- **Record-as-Archive:** Record-as-Archive refers to physical or digital representations of an individual's or community's Indigenous culture, for example: rock art, sacred objects, video of a ceremony and old letters written by an Elder. As Aboriginal Australian archivist Lynette Russell pointed out, even historical records created by outsiders *about* an Indigenous community can still include Indigenous knowledge (Russell, 2005) and so can form part of that community's Record-as-Archive.

Research Question 2: How are community members currently engaging with their archive?

Each interview participant was asked to describe their relationship with the archive and whether/how they use it in the course of doing their work. Depending upon how participants conceptualised the archive, their answers differed in how they engaged with it. For instance, among the PCC participants there were three very different descriptions of their engagement with the archive: one participant who had significant exposure to the formal BYU-Hawaii archive (which helps to look after some of the PCC records/cultural

objects) described using those records to create exhibitions for PCC's 50 year anniversary; another described using YouTube to access old footage of Hawaiian dances in order to gain inspiration for the dances put on within the PCC's Hawaiian village; and yet another described their use of the archive as talking with individuals who hold significant amounts of cultural knowledge.

Regardless of which of the above conceptualisations of the archive they subscribed to, the participants were all engaging with the archive in order to access or present cultural knowledge while those whose understanding of the archive incorporated of Western understandings of the archive described using it in order to regain cultural knowledge or to meet Western/external (legal) requirements.

Research Question 3: What are the future priorities and potentialities of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres?

One of the limitations of adopting Bourdieu's practice theory (1977) as a theoretical framework is that it places an emphasis upon what people *do*, and therefore can focus on the present to the exclusion of the future. This final research question helped to counter this potential limitation of the theoretical framework, while also providing insight into what participants' viewed as constraints on their agency (read: ability to act).

Those who emphasised the role of Country-as-Archive interestingly also reflected on the importance of Records-as-Archive due to its evidentiary role in securing land rights, and the need for maintaining that evidence as a means of retaining existing rights to land. Those who emphasised the role of Person-as-Archive and Ceremony-as-Archive spoke in particular about how initiatives should encourage intergenerational knowledge transfer within their community, but also ways in which to support the cultural knowledge and practices of *other* Indigenous groups.

For example, when asked what he would like to do with the archive in future, VKS' Augustine Tevimule expressed a fervent wish for further funding in order to expand the National Archives' outreach program to include more remote islands of Vanuatu, demonstrating that his current practice was constrained by shortage of funding. Those individuals who had greater amounts of exposure to traditional Western-style of archives (like Augustine Tevimule) spoke of the need to increase outreach and accessibility with a view of reincorporating Records-as-Archive into Ceremony-as-Archive.

In summary, although the importance of the following activities varies significantly between the centres studied, the priorities as reflected in these case studies included: harnessing the archive to focus on activities such as intergenerational knowledge transfer, increasing outreach (both to their own communities and to other indigenous communities) in order to share knowledge, recovering cultural knowledge and meeting external recordkeeping and evidentiary demands.

8.3 Reflection of My Role in the Research

The method of autoethnography was utilised throughout the process and enabled me to continuously reflect upon the affect of this research upon myself and vice versa. Engaging in research which seeks to decolonise involves a process of both interrogating and attempting to decolonise the self as well as the research process and the subjects under consideration, and therefore is a process that requires the researcher to engage in ongoing critical reflexivity. I found the practice of autoethnography through regular reflective writing was a useful tool for prompting reflection and often brought to light subconscious beliefs and patterns of thought.

As a non-Indigenous researcher working within an Indigenous space, I am an outsider, and therefore there were instances (some of which I identified, some of which were subconscious and went unidentified) where my worldview was at odds with the participants'. To that end, I acknowledge that if this same research had been completed by an Indigenous person, the data would likely have been understood and interpreted differently.

8.4 Contributions

8.4.1 Conceptual Contribution

This research appears to be the first to apply Bourdieu's practice theory (1977) to Indigenous cultural centres as well as being the first to explicitly consider the nature and role

of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres. The successful application of Bourdieu's practice theory (1977) to consider the practice of Indigenous cultural practitioners in Indigenous organisations provides a conceptual framework that can be applied by subsequent scholars in future research.

Analysis of existing literature related to Indigenous culture centres identified the predominant themes discussed as authority (agency), sustainability, and authenticity. Analysis of the interviews found these same preoccupations were mirrored in the experiences of cultural practitioners working within Indigenous cultural centres, therefore corroborating existing literature.

However, findings from this research also enabled the identification of four aspects of the archive as understood by cultural practitioners within Indigenous cultural centres as; Person-as-Archive, Country-as-Archive, Ceremony-as-Archive, and finally Record-as-Archive. These constructs proved to be a useful device when used to consider the ways in which the three Indigenous cultural centres utilised the archive in order to navigate these main concerns of authority, sustainability and authenticity, and thus provide a new contribution to existing knowledge.

8.4.2 Contribution to Practice

At the request of my PAR community partner, KALACC, I set out to consider how other Indigenous cultural centres of the Oceanic region engage with their archive in order to help achieve their goals. Whilst these aims were negotiated with KALACC, the findings can be utilised by other Indigenous cultural centres as they come to terms with, and engage with, their own archive.

While the case studies considered how cultural practitioners working within the three participating Indigenous cultural centres understand and use the archive, they also provided insight into other aspects of these unique organisations, for example the variety of governance structures or funding models they can adopt. Through the identification and discussion of the themes of 'authority', 'sustainability' and 'authenticity', this thesis provides insight into three concerns regarding Indigenous cultural centres which featured in both existing literature and the interviews.

Through a consideration of the nature, role and use of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres, this thesis also contributes to the body of literature concerned with the decolonisation of the archive. However, it does so in a way which is not limited to the theoretical realm, but is tied to the practical through its emphasis upon what people *do*. The discussions regarding the future potential uses of the archive resulted in practical, on the ground ideas which the archival sector may be well placed to support. For example, the establishment of a platform through an organisation like the International Council on Archives which enables Indigenous cultural centres to exchange ideas and lessons learned.

8.5 Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

8.5.1 Limitations of this Research

As this project considered case studies from three very different geographic, socio-economic and cultural contexts (the Kimberley region of Western Australia, Hawaii and Vanuatu), I was unable to delve into the complexities of each organisation's context to the level of granularity I would have liked. A closer examination of Indigenous cultural centres' development in interaction with their environment would be of great value.

Despite continued community interest in the establishment of, and ongoing support for, Indigenous cultural centres within the Australian context (Fogliani, 2019; Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, 2001), Indigenous cultural centres in Australia "have received little attention from researchers" (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2014, p. 297). I therefore needed to rely more heavily upon literature produced about Indigenous cultural centres across the Pacific region.

8.5.2 Opportunities for Future Research

While studies are consistently finding that increased cultural support results in improved Indigenous community health and wellbeing (Bourke et al., 2018), and there are some expert recommendations linking these findings with the establishment of Indigenous cultural centres (Fogliani, 2019; Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

Affairs, 2001), there is a need for rigorous research into just how big an impact active Indigenous cultural centres specifically can have in improving Indigenous health and wellbeing outcomes. Definitive research of that kind may well assist these unique organisations in securing ongoing funding.

Another valuable contribution to scholarship would be a consideration of Indigenous cultural centres through a mapping of their relationships with external entities/individuals as “the key to understanding the cultural centres as both a cultural institution and expression is the alliances through which they are established, built and sustained” (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2014, p. 298). This is because a mapping and consideration of an Indigenous cultural centre’s changing alliances over time are “likely to be linked to broader economic, historical, social and political shifts” (Jones & Birdsall-Jones, 2014, p. 298), and the exercise would provide invaluable insight into the dynamism of these organisations.

8.5 Chapter Summary

Within this concluding chapter, I summarised the findings and its conceptual and practical contributions. I also outlined the limitations and key avenues for future research. I explained that the research contributed to existing knowledge through its consideration of the nature, role and use of the archive within Indigenous cultural centres of the Oceanic region. The application of Bourdieu’s practice theory (1977) to consider the archives of Indigenous cultural centres for the first time, as well as the identification of the four aspects of the archive (Person-as-Archive, Country-as-Archive, Ceremony-as-Archive, Record-as-Archive) furthers archival scholarship. The consideration of how these four aspects of the archive have been utilised in order to navigate tensions around authority, sustainability and authenticity will assist other Indigenous cultural centres as they navigate their own understanding and use of the archive.

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Appendix A: Memorandum of Understanding

Memorandum Of Understanding

Date

Between Annelie de Villiers and the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre

Background

- A. The Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre is based in Fitzroy Crossing, WA and supports the traditional cultural practices of the 30 language groups of the Kimberley Region.
- B. Annelie de Villiers is a PhD candidate from Monash University who has previously worked with KALACC on an ARC-funded project regarding the repatriation of Ancestral Remains.
- C. This memorandum stems from a meeting on 27-28 March, between the KALACC board and Annelie de Villiers, where a PhD research project designed to benefit both parties, was established.
- D. This memorandum establishes a research partnership that aims to provide KALACC with insight into the establishment of a knowledge centre within that organisation.
- E. The parties to this memorandum have come together in partnership to develop a research project and to do so in a relationship characterised by mutuality, equality, clearly defined goals and outcomes, effective communication, trust and respect between both parties.

Now the parties have agreed as follows:

1. Commitments

- 1.1. Annelie de Villiers acknowledges and affirms her commitment to:
 - 1.1.1. Ethical research practices as outlined in *The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)*
 - 1.1.2. Research which is led by the interests of the relevant Indigenous community
 - 1.1.3. Research relationships that are based on collaboration and mutual respect
- 1.2. Further to these commitments, Annelie will:
 - 1.2.1. Continue to develop her PhD research project in consultation with the Coordinator of KALACC
 - 1.2.2. Get written approval from the KALACC Board before commencing the PhD research project
 - 1.2.3. Ensure that the goals and outcomes of the research project are mutually beneficial
 - 1.2.4. Produce a report about knowledge centres that includes recommendations about the implementation of a knowledge centre at KALACC within her period of candidature.
- 1.3. KALACC acknowledges and affirms its commitment to this MOU. Attached to this MOU is a copy of the proposed Project Description. KALACC acknowledges that it has read and understood the Project Description and it endorses that

proposal, including in regards to the material assistance which KALACC will provide to this project.

2. Intellectual Property and Copyright

- 2.1. Annelie recognises that the existing intellectual property rights system in Australia does not easily align with Aboriginal culture, particularly in reference to collective approaches to cultural knowledge custodianship.
- 2.2. Annelie acknowledges that she is the scribe of any cultural knowledge shared through the process of this project, and claims no ownership over that knowledge.
- 2.3. All publications resulting from this project which represent the views of KALACC members will be run by those members in order to ensure no misrepresentation occurs.
- 2.4. Annelie will retain copyright over the resulting PhD thesis.

3. Term

- 3.1. This MOU will remain in effect for the duration of the PhD project, unless it is found that the commitments made by either party have been broken, or both parties agree that it is an appropriate course of action.
- 3.2. If this MOU is terminated the parties will each agree, in writing, on the resolution of any issues that remain outstanding.
- 3.3. This MOU may only be amended if both parties agree upon the proposed amendment in writing.

SIGNATORIES

This Memorandum of Understanding has been signed by the relevant parties on the _____ of 2018.

Annelie de Villiers

Name of Witness

Signature of Witness

Signed for on behalf of Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre

Wes Morris
KALACC Coordinator

Name of Witness

Signature of Witness

Annelie de Villiers' PhD Project Description for KALACC

Title: Information and Knowledge Management in Indigenous Cultural Centers of the Pacific

This document describes the PhD project of Annelie de Villiers in the following order:

1. What the background and aims of the project are;
2. How the project will be undertaken;
3. The cost and benefit to KALACC, and lastly;
4. KALACC's involvement in the project.

The Background and Aims of the Project

Indigenous cultural centres play a central role in supporting Indigenous cultural activities throughout the Pacific region. "Traditional cultures embody exquisite and distinctive creativity and are of immense cultural, historical, spiritual and economic value to indigenous peoples and traditional communities the world over" (WIPO, 2010, p. 2). In recognition of the importance of Indigenous cultures, it is essential that community knowledge continues to be fostered.

This project asks, what role can the archives and records management sectors play in the creation, preservation and transfer of traditional Indigenous knowledge of the Pacific?

At the request of Western Australia's Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre (KALACC), PhD student Annelie de Villiers proposes to identify the key information and knowledge management (IKM) characteristics underlying Indigenous cultural knowledge centres within the Pacific region. These characteristics will include the following: the aims of each centre; whether (and how) IKM can help achieve these aims; the IKM resources, tools and methods available to each centre; the degree to which their IKM goals are being met, and lastly; what resources, tools and methods they need in order to achieve their aims.

A better understanding of Indigenous cultural centres of the Pacific will greatly support the future

advocacy work of Indigenous representative organisations and IKM organisations. In order to identify the key principles, the project manager will visit cultural knowledge centres both domestically and internationally in 2018/19.

Using national and international examples of Indigenous knowledge centres, this project will examine the following research questions:

1. The ways other Indigenous communities around the world have established themselves as knowledge centres (e.g. the Vanuatu National Museum and Cultural Centre), and;
2. What role effective management of their cultural knowledge and materials had in supporting community and culture, and;
3. How KALACC could establish itself as such a Cultural Centre, from governance changes upwards.

How the Project will be Undertaken

This community-led project will address the research questions listed above through Design Science methodology, with the final artefact being a set of principles for the establishment of knowledge centres through IKM, and a set of recommendations for KALACC specifically. The methods used to investigate the above questions will be case studies, interviews and focus groups.

It is an additional aim of this researcher, through this project, to consider ways in which non-Indigenous archival researchers can engage in reciprocal research methods. Reciprocity is an essential ethical criteria for indigenous research initiatives in Australia, Canada and New Zealand (NHMRC, 2003; AIATSIS, 2012; TCPS, 2014; HRC, 2014). Considering the emphasis of reciprocity for ethical research both nationally and internationally, little insight exists into how researchers achieve reciprocal research relationships with Indigenous communities.

The static, point-in-time nature of research ethics processes are widely criticised (Battin & Riley, 2014; Smith, 1999; Langlois, 2011), and the lack of ethical review at the conclusion of research projects potentially contributes to the dearth of reflections about the effectiveness of reciprocal measures. Employing layered autoethnography, this researcher will examine the effectiveness of reciprocal negotiations and measures throughout the project before conducting a reflective analysis of the reciprocal deliverables.

The cost and benefit to KALACC

The topic of this PhD project was requested by KALACC in order to further their strategic directive to “house, preserve, and also to generate cultural outputs of cultural knowledge in support of emerging cultural enterprise” (KALACC, 2017, p. 45).

To this end, a report will be produced for KALACC in October 2019 which reflects upon the knowledge and information management of other Indigenous cultural centres throughout the Pacific. This report will include recommendations for the implementation of a knowledge centre at KALACC.

In order to create a useful report, this researcher will require some access to KALACC staff, networks and facilities (as outlined below).

KALACC’s involvement in the project

To date

- Annelie attended the 2017 KALACC festival where she spoke to a number of KALACC board members about what her research project could be. It was during the festival that Stephen Kinnane suggested this research project.
- In December 2017, Neil Carter, Stephen Kinnane and Wes Morris presented upon this project and the importance of engaging with research partners during the KALACC board meeting.
- In late March 2018 Annelie will be attending the KALACC board meeting in person in order to present the project for official approval.

Into the future

At the time of writing, an application for project funding from the International Council of Archives was in the process of being finalised. Within that application, the following activities were outlined which involve KALACC (please note that some of these activities are dependent upon receiving funding and are subject to change):

- A visit by Annelie to Fitzroy Crossing from 30th September to 6th October 2018. Whilst there Annelie would conduct two interviews and two focus groups with KALACC staff and interested KALACC members.
- A visit by Annelie to the Kimberley for the month of May 2019. Whilst there Annelie would conduct two interviews and two focus groups with KALACC staff and interested KALACC members.
- A representative of KALACC would be invited to attend the 2019 Pacific Regional Branch of the International Council of Archives and join Annelie on a panel to discuss knowledge management.
- A representative of KALACC would be invited to attend the 2020 International Council of Archives Congress and join Annelie to present on the findings of the project.
- The Coordinator of KALACC to provide in-kind support to this project, within reason.

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Appendix B: Draft Project Report