

“THINK PIECE: Do You See Me or Not? The Human Duty to Decolonize Our Frame of Thoughts to see people for who and what they are as members of Historical Groups with distinct Characteristics built on Circumstance”

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Abstract

Missionization (Christianization) and Colonization have left a mark on women in the Asia-Pacific Region where in many ways, aspects of liberal democracy and globalization have greatly devalued roles of women and their associated contributions to society leading to active and indirect forms of resistances disguised as conformity. This research paper provides in depth ethnographic field research through several case studies on how matrilineal societies and their women, such as those in the Marshall Islands where group consensus affords indirect exchanges of resistances (disguised as actual conformity), have adapted to invented traditions in an effort to safely navigate their free space when existing as themselves in a high risk society. It showcases the various forms of feminism in several specific contexts revealing how feminism has ultimately been in existence in the Marshall Islands through shadow governance of the behind the scenes master architect type as well as through skillful demonstrations of the visible leadership ones at the face of male criticism and patriarchal dominance. These stories reveal a human story of perseverance unnoticed by Western prevailing ideals of dominance, technology, science, and downright ignorance to those whom we often view as backwards for not possessing the same raw resources of materialism. It reveals how invented traditions have ultimately demean the way we view “Other” cultures rooted in their ways of knowing and being that were in existence prior to colonization and Christianization efforts. This paper offers an alternative lens to view people the way they view themselves rather than the way our formal structures tend to view them based off of foreign observations of the unknown peeking into the souls of the unconquered.

Key Words: Decolonization, Feminism, Risk Society, Invented traditions, Contextualization

Methodology → JITDAM KAPEEL (Skillful Inquiry)

Curious Makes Clever for Wonder is the Beginning of Wisdom

“Auto-ethnography is a combination of ethnography and autobiography. In relation to research and writing it describes and examines one's personal experiences in order to understand cultural and contextual experiences. Auto-ethnography utilizes a narrative enquiry to point to past experiences as critical incidents of change in an author's life 'where' as a method of enquiry, the 'integral self' provides a lens for understanding a particular culture and society through the use of cultural descriptions and ethnographic explanation. The strength of auto-ethnographic approach lies in how it can enhance one's own understanding of self and others. It is defined by how it is user friendly to researchers. When combined with a critical narrative way of looking at one's experiences it can help to progress the different contexts towards a more functional and useful relationship. In this case, the lived realities of the self, culture and academia are examined with the intention of discovering a common point where they connect.” Auto-ethnography is a combination of ethnography and autobiography. In relation to research and writing it describes and examines one's personal experiences in order to understand cultural and contextual experiences.”

Ema Wolfgramm-Foliaki

Under the Mango Tree: Lessons for the Insider-Outsider Researcher

Repetition is the mother of learning. “Repetitio est mater studiorum” Ngemeng Tebrak. Aet. I. Tebrak!

High culture for many arrogant individuals lays in materialism¹ as in the comments made by President Donald Trump who insinuates that writing symphonies is a determinant of possessing high culture revealing an Anglophone lens as to what constitutes a civilized race.² These arrogant generalized views on what constitutes high culture or a heightened conscience reveals how little humanity considers what leading modernist Appidurai refers to as “context.” Even within specific pop culture contexts, Dr. Holly Barker reveals a cultural violence where indigenous words from the Marshall Islands (a country in the Pacific) such as *Bikini* are readily normalized and used in the most insulting contexts in America, in Japan and all over the world where the Bikini swimsuit, the Japanese iconic franchise that is Godzilla and shows such as *Spongebob Squarepants* and his “Bikini Bottom” mutated world, readily reveal a high culture of insensitivity towards former conquests that were nuked into oblivion for a lack of a better term.³ It is for this very reason that I as a Marshallese American of part Japanese heritage feel the need to educate ourselves of our own ignorance when failing to consider those less fortunate from us who have been nuked and looked down upon ever since formal contact despite these societies showcasing the very art of feminism within their own distinct society and culture.

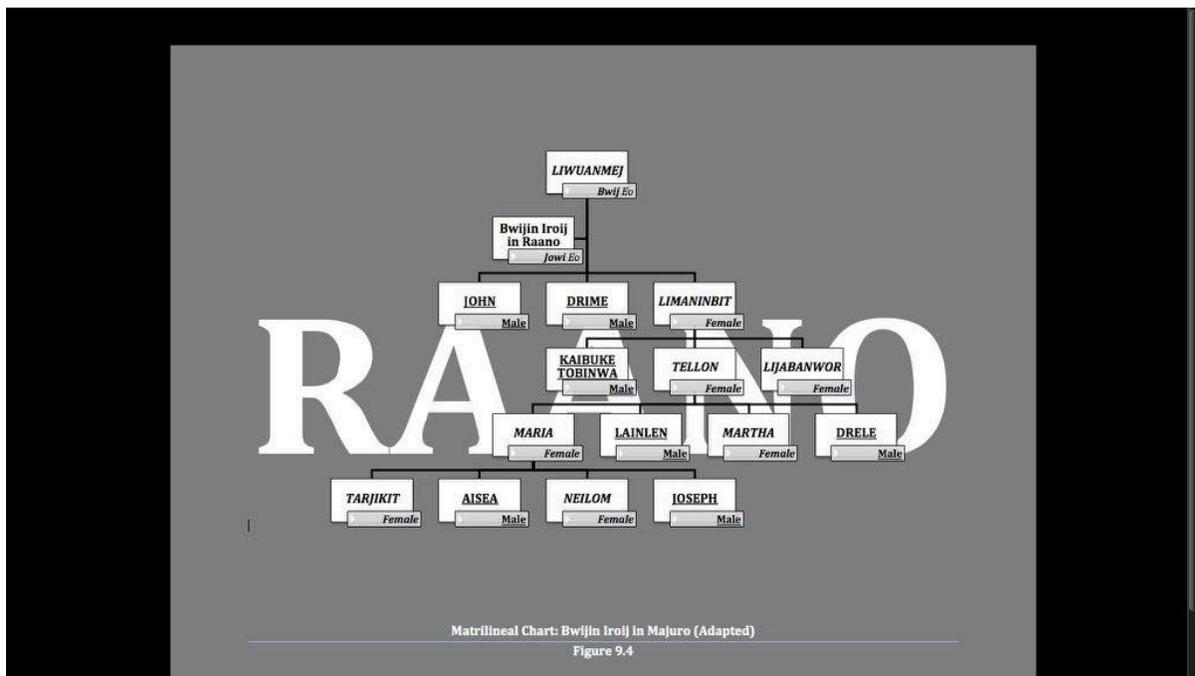
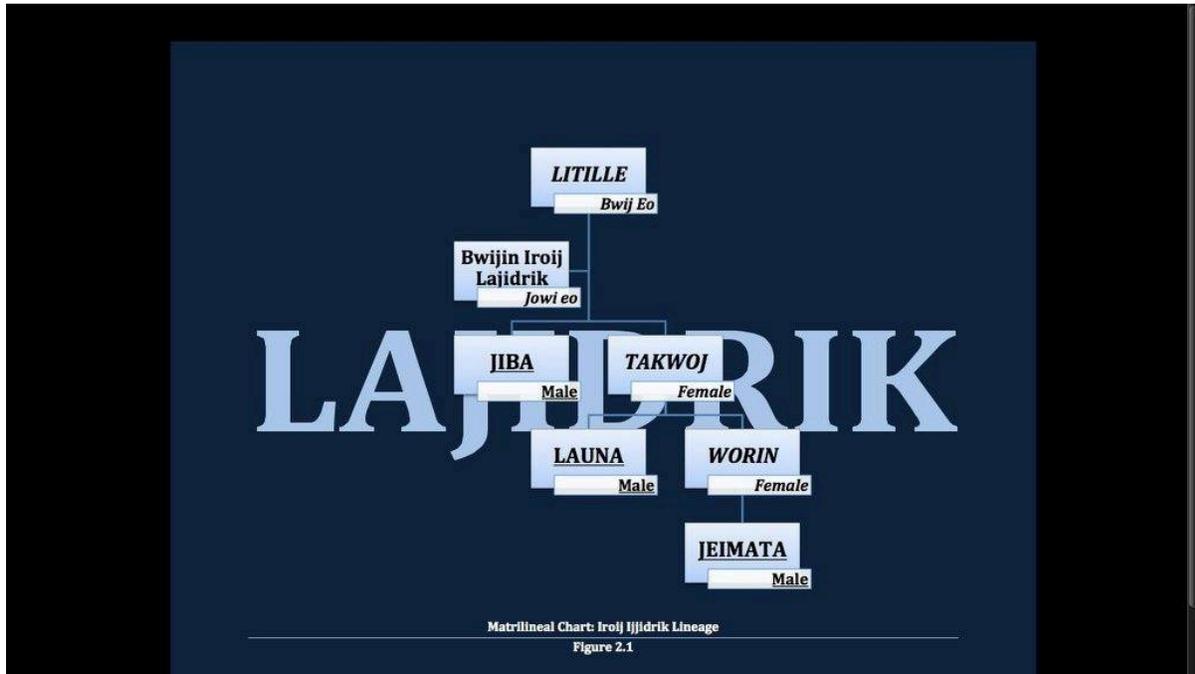
Feminism according to Dr. Joan Scott offers an extra layer of analysis.⁴ However, without the necessary contextualization through localization, views are bound to be biased.⁵ Appidurai explains this concept of “production of locality” where a formation of community is based on context for contextualizing is meant to give primacy over other factors to better associate and conceptualize the group to their particular place.⁶ In this regard, this paper seeks to educate on the various forms of feminism embedded in contemporary Marshallese culture and society through several specific contexts as to how women lead in different forms when pressured to keep their dignity. Traditional Marshallese society according to Taafaki, Fowler,

and Thaman retained a strong gender balanced harmony and this can be found in the diverse creation stories.⁷ In the Marshall Islands, oral history and mythology is often used to emulate cultural values and is also often replicated in contemporary society to instill them as well.⁸ There are two types of feminism often articulated through the stories of the Goddess Liwatuonmour,⁹ who portrays the visible leadership type, and the mother star Liktanur, who played the shadow governor¹⁰. These examples are portrayed in the leadership of Marshallese women both past and present as given in the case stories below. However, in this paper, I also argue that there is a third unspoken type of feminism through female humility.

Dorothy Tarjikit Kabua

The first case study is a female chieftain from the Raano Clan named Dorothy Tarjikit Kabua. Ms. Dorothy Kabua was the first indigenous Micronesian to ever attend a United Nations Trusteeship Council meeting in 1953.¹¹ However, her life was not easy having to compete with her husband's royal lineage who controlled a significant portion of Marshallese life. Yet, Ms. Dorothy Kabua was not fazed when making decisions alongside her husband Lejolan Kabua that would forever alter the traditional and political landscape of contemporary Marshallese life. While her husband descended from a western chain lineage that valued patriarchal inheritance, Ms. Dorothy Kabua's lineage whose matrilineal clan was still in tact¹², retained the matriarchal concept. It was because of this matriarchal concept stemming from the matriarchal figure Liwatuonmour that Ms. Kabua felt entitled to resist the invented traditions¹³ of her husband who became a royal monarchy simply because his father Jeimata Kabua's matriarchal clan came to a defunct hence a patriarchal flow of inheritance begun.¹⁴ For the sake of clarity, the following genealogy is given of both Ms. Dorothy Kabua and Mr. Lejolan Kabua.¹⁵ As can be seen in Figure 2.1 of Mr. Lejolan Kabua's father's lineage, the matriarchal clan came to a defunct as is

obvious given that Mr. Lejolan Kabua’s clan name from his mother is called Rimwejoor.¹⁶ On an equally important matter, we also see that Ms. Dorothy Kabua’s lineage continued through her being a matrilineal descendant of the Raano Clan as seen in Figure 9.4.¹⁷



One of the most notorious victories often told is how Ms. Dorothy Kabua orchestrated an arranged marriage against her husband's families' wishes. The original bride to be was Neimata Kabua who was the granddaughter of Jeimata Kabua's brother Laelan Kabua.¹⁸ Instead of going with the normal arranged marriage, Ms. Dorothy Kabua chose instead to wed her son Joba Kabua to Jauni, a member of a senior lineage whom Jeimata Kabua's clan¹⁹ had defeated in war.²⁰ Despite open disagreements with her husband's father Jeimata Kabua, Ms. Dorothy Kabua wanted to demonstrate that she could equally enact her political will to solidify an alliance herself with a completely different storyline.²¹ The phrase often told of Ms. Kabua's victory is "*Jur Ralik im Kotak Ratak*" literally translated "Stomp on the West and Raise the East."²² It is through this victory that we see the demonstration of visible feminism where Ms. Kabua installs herself as a decision maker and stomps on a decision that would have further empowered her own husband's families' grip in the western chain being that they were chiefs of Kwajalein atoll.

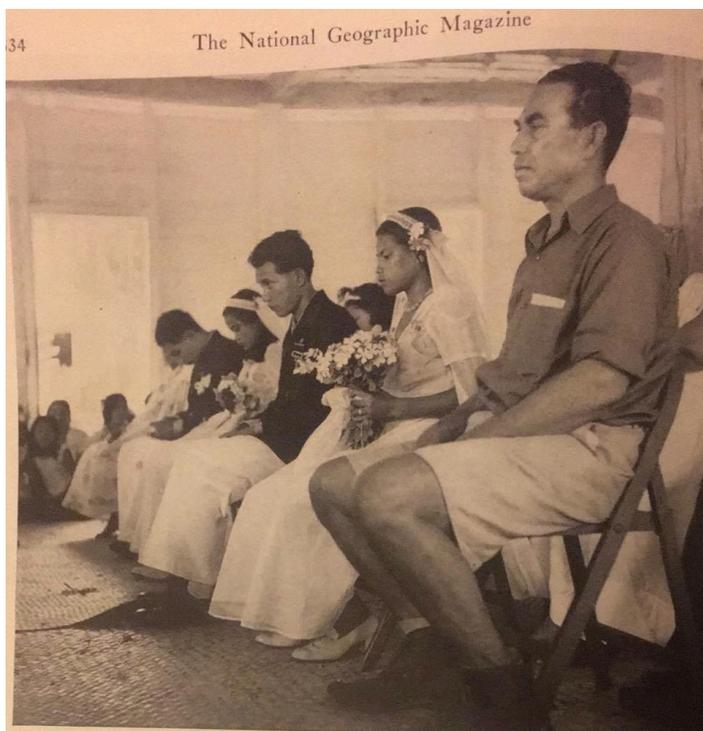


Figure 1: Double wedding ceremony of Dorothy Kabua's sons as printed in the *National Geographic*.

It seemed natural that when the U.S. Navy harbored in Dorothy Kabua's home atoll of Majuro in the eastern chains, Ms. Dorothy Kabua would follow and in the most Dorothy Kabua fashion of demonstrating her own political might, she would start the biggest Jesuit Catholic Parish in the Marshall Islands to openly defy her husband Lejolan Kabua's protestant affiliation.²³ Her efforts to challenge her husband's family, who practically ruled the western chain through their control of the western chain, continued when she used her younger son Amata Kabua to move the capital to Majuro to further democratize Marshallese society by offering an alternative political and religious perspective situated in the eastern chains of Majuro where a new independent government would be built.²⁴

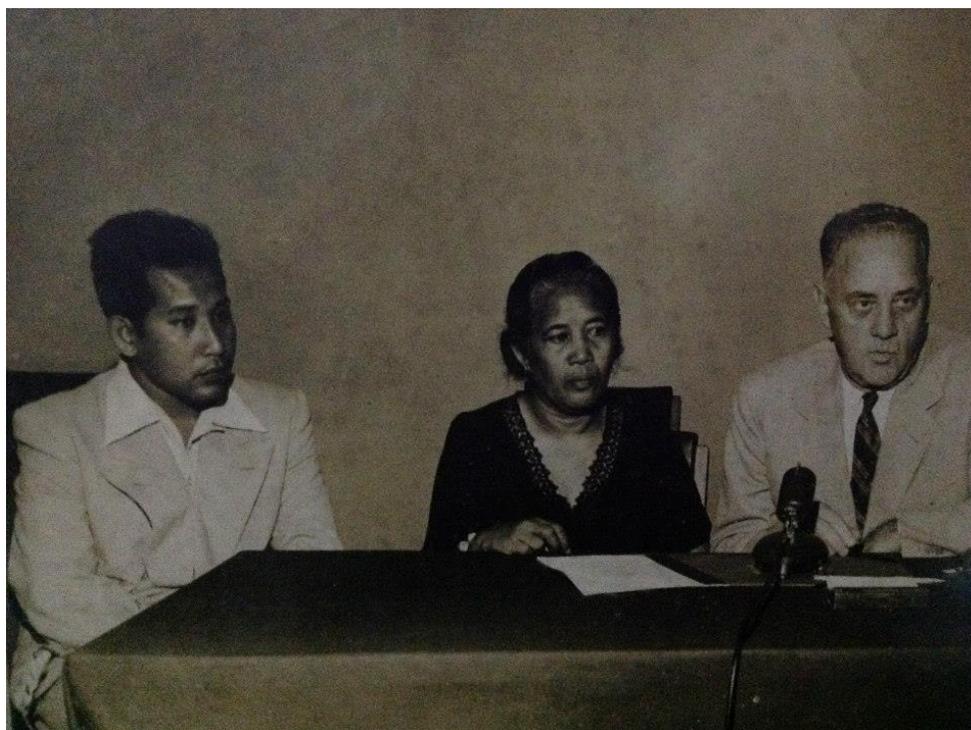


Figure 2: Dorothy Kabua with son Amata (left) at the United Nations Trusteeship Council meeting in 1953.

The irony of the situation is that despite her royal title²⁵, which outranked her husband's, Ms. Dorothy Kabua had to maintain her dignity when challenged. Ms. Dorothy Kabua's decisions were often challenged by her husband who used the Kwajlein Colonel's plane to fly to

Majuro on both occasions to openly argue with her decision to help move the capital to Majuro and to put their grandkids in the new Jesuit Parish.²⁶ On both occasions however, she prevailed.²⁷ Ms. Dorothy Kabua or LiTarjikit as she was often called would often be demonized by her own husband's family with name callings where the masculine La for LaTarjikit instead of Li was used to reference her because she was the lone female in the House of Lords. However, despite these troubling times of invented traditions²⁸ of patriarchal authority demeaning traditional Marshallese matriarchy, contemporary life reveals that this particular heroine by the name of Dorothy Kabua retains value in contemporary academic context and public political life. She is forever published in local²⁹ and foreign publications³⁰ and captures even the admiration of the current President Dr. Hilda C. Heine where Dr. Heine openly thanks her bravery in public ceremonies such as Nuclear Victims Day for speaking up against the nuclear horrors.³¹

Emlain Shizuko Kudo Kabua

The second case study of feminism is represented through Ms. Emlain Shizuko Kudo Kabua. Ms. Emlain Shizuko Kudo Kabua's life was forever institutionalized through an arranged marriage (See Figure 1 above). Even before she was born, her parents and the parents of her soon to be husband vowed that should their children be of opposite sexes, they would marry.³² Most Americanized Marshallese know Ms. Emlain Kabua as the first First Lady but rarely do they understand that she also played the role of a *Lejla*, literally translated chief's wife. Her father was the former Director of Nanyo Boeki Kaisha³³ (NBK)³⁴ and because the Japanese government forbade Japanese from marrying the local Marshallese formally, Ms. Emlain Kabua would be racially targeted by her own stepmother who was considered a full bred Japanese and not a *haafu*³⁵ like her.

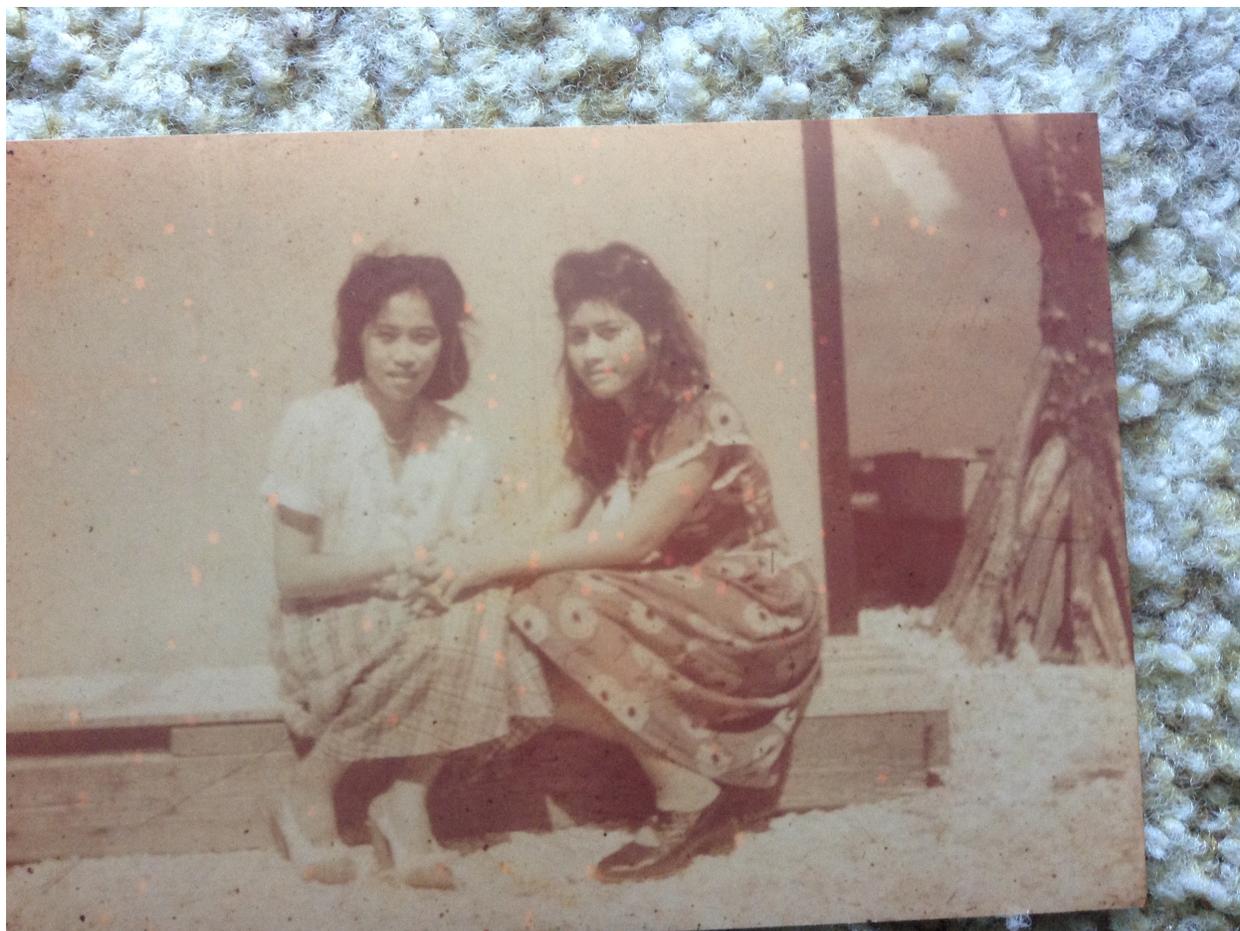


Figure 3: Emlain Shizuko Kudo Kabua (left), a *haafu*, and her best friend who is part European who too is racialized under the term *habakas*, which is a local pronunciation of the introduced English term half-caste.

While most girls had the freedom and luxury to play and wander off, Ms. Emlain Kabua was kept under watchful eyes by a family guardian to prepare her to be a chief's wife. She was never to be left alone even when going to the bathroom.³⁶ In a manner of speaking, her life was not her own and was constantly watched and protected because she was viewed as a future agent of change alongside her soon to be husband. In fact, the very reason why she was arranged with Amata Kabua was because Amata Kabua's parents being Dorothy Kabua and Lejolan Kabua wanted a foreign representation in the royal family to showcase foreign appeal to bring in outside knowledge and investments. This however didn't mean an easy life for this chief's wife. Her Japanese stepmother who didn't like her tried to murder her by feeding her poison.³⁷ Her father

Toshiaro Kudo, who was the Director of NBK at the time, feared for her safety and moved her to Ebon atoll and thus built the first Japanese school there.³⁸ This story is now famous amongst many well-versed people of Ebon atoll including its current female Mayor Ione Debrum.

The most difficult part of Ms. Emlain Kabua's life as she confesses though was not her childhood but her losing her childhood.³⁹ When she was of age, her father in law Lejolan Kabua came and got her. This was the formal arrangement made by Lejolan Kabua and Toshiaro Kudo where Emlain was only allowed freely to go to school and once she finished, she would be taken away to fulfill her cultural duty of being a chief's wife.⁴⁰ She confesses that she cried the whole time she was in that ship telling herself how this could have been her life. Even before she boarded the ship, she tells me that she told her grandma Risa who was instructed to train her to come with. Her grandma unfortunately told her that her aunt would watch her as she had some other matters to tend to but that she would soon follow in the next ship available. Emlain confesses that she lied and for this she never spoke to her grandmother for a whole year. Yet, in these stories of difficulty being caged up in the chief's pen kept under watchful eyes and never allowed to roam freely is where Ms. Emlain Kabua found her strength. She took on the challenge of her *Lejla* duties and performed them well to give herself agency to promote change within the current cultural and political structure. After twenty years of being the faithful wife, Ms. Emlain Kabua, through her husband who worked for the U.S. Pacific Trust Territory, orchestrated a business trip to Japan where she would be reunited with her father after more than twenty years of being separated after having her Japanese father repatriated by the U.S. Military at the end of World War II. Her father and NBK would assist her husband and the Marshall Islands in purchasing ships for trade not knowing that these random acts of kindness would spiral his own

daughter to become the very First Lady where she would help co-write the national anthem and design the Marshallese flag as a mother of a new nation.

In her autobiography, Ms. Emlain Kabua confesses her role as a chief's wife stating that a women's ultimate role as a wife is to steer their husband towards their moral compass. It was unheard of for a commoner women such as Ms. Emlain Kabua to achieve a position of power given the prevailing patriarchal dominance of puritan values introduced by American Boston Missionaries. However, she was able to conform to uniform the masses towards a newly democratic governing state alongside her husband to set the precedent of nationhood. In an instant, she not only became *Lejla* (chief's wife) but also a First Lady thus fulfilling the original arrangement intended in the double wedding orchestrated by Ms. Dorothy Kabua and her husband Lejolan Kabua who arranged their younger son with someone of foreign appeal to bring in outside investments to the Marshall Islands, in this case, Japan. Perhaps Ms. Emlain Kabua played an even bigger role in shaping her husband because on his death bed, the first President stated that he wanted a cemetery built in the family property because his wife being a commoner would not be allowed burial in the royal cemetery. This act of humility has created this cemetery into a national symbol where President's Day is often celebrated at its very location.

Although she has often been mistaken as a passive powerless dumb woman who was but the property of the chief, Ms. Emlain Kabua proved formidable when orchestrating, behind the scenes in her senility, the temporary suspension of an inaccurate textbook using her knowledge of the formal cultural network she was thrown into and had to master.⁴¹ In this way, Ms. Emlain Kabua continues to showcase that feminism needs not be visible for it can be enjoyed through shadow governance even at the comfort of one's home by delegating her chosen *Manmaronron*, literally translated men of strength delegated to be a female's enactor. At her old ripe age, she

laughs and tells me, her grandson, “did you not know that Emlain is not my original name. It was but a childhood nickname. My real name is Shizuko. However, when the Americans won World War II, I was forced to adopt the name Emlain because the Americans said that my Japanese name was too hard to pronounce.” Yet, Ms. Emlain Kabua has forever solidified this name and made herself a cultural and political icon by giving that fake name of hers a new meaning in the national context through her role as First Lady and *Lejla*. She confesses her deep distrust towards Americans because they have a nasty habit of looking down on people just because they are the leaders of the Free World. Perhaps this is why she openly despised her daughter Maria Kabua Fowler’s choice to marry an American Peace Corps thereby ending the arranged marriage trend with her children. Every conversation I’ve had with Ms. Emlain Kabua always ends up with her calling her own daughter Maria Kabua Fowler, a *ribelle*, the Marshallese term for *Haole*⁴². However, she too confesses that her daughter Maria Kabua Fowler is formidable when it comes to cultural skills that are not readily possessed by the more Americanized segments of the growing younger population such as myself.

Maria Kabua Fowler

Ms. Maria Fowler, our third case study, is well-known throughout the Marshall Islands for her annual *Jaki-Ed* (traditional clothing mats) auction and her book entitled “Traditional Medicine of the Marshall Islands: The Women, The Plants, and the Treatments.” It was unheard of to openly defy elders however Ms. Maria Fowler demonstrated feminism unheard of at a time of conservative values reigning supreme when she refused to go with the arranged marriage with Wilfred Kendall. Her open persona to what she dislikes and likes has garnered her a reputation as a formidable traditional leader. In her efforts to safeguard Marshallese traditions from befalling the same fate of the Hawaiians, Ms. Maria Fowler orchestrated a workshop which led to the

publication of a book to permanently archive the traditional healing arts possessed by women healers. When interviewing one of the co-authors being Dr. Irene Taafaki, she confesses that Ms. Maria Fowler did all the work and all she provided was the science. It is because of Ms. Maria Fowler's public pull that Dr. Irene Taafaki always asks her to lead the *Jaki-Ed* auction because of her connection to wealthy patrons that would sustain the project.⁴³ This revival of the traditional clothing mats has given women a source of income in a largely westernized modern Marshall Islands as this project now has formally been linked to the University of the South Pacific.⁴⁴ Every year, these weavers, who weave their crafts in the University of the South Pacific campus, auction their creations in a formal ceremony where these hand woven mats can go up to 300 dollars apiece.



Figure 4: Ms. Maria Fowler, a *kuootaa*, at age when she married an American Peace Corps.

This unique contribution of Ms. Maria Fowler in conserving traditions that were losing footing, purpose and value in the highly commoditized introduced capitalist structure started a trend of conservation of old skills and re-instilled pride in the old ways under prevailing American ideals of capitalist dominance. Like her mother Emlain Kabua and her grandmother Dorothy Kabua before her, Ms. Maria Kabua Fowler demonstrates a different form of feminism given her unique circumstances of rearing half white children with an American husband who was heavily disliked by his own mother in law because of prejudices against White Americans stemming from America's neocolonial legacy in the Marshall Islands. Ms. Maria Fowler confesses that there are times that she still gets offended by her own mother and has to give herself a space to live freely as who she is which in all honesty is a teaching she has passed down to the younger generation in living their own life after she openly defied her mother and married an American.

Nuclear Activists

A fourth prevailing case study are the female nuclear victims of the Marshall Islands who have been echoed as heroines and still continue to speak a sad legacy of the Cold War which America and the United Nations have not taken full responsibility for. The first on our list is Ms. Darlene Keju who was from Wotje atoll. Ms. Darlene Keju was a radical activist who would participate in the peaceful demonstrations at the Ronald Reagan Missile Testing Sites during Operation Homecoming which scared the Americans so much that they cancelled the scheduled referendum for full independence. Ms. Darlene Keju was unique in her circumstances because she was not from the four atolls recognized by the United States government as having been affected by Nuclear Testing radiation. Ms. Keju who is credited as starting the Youth to Youth in Health Program and has been glorified by Taiwan and the current President Dr. Hilda C. Heine

as a nuclear heroine, was actually from Wotje atoll which received low level doses of radiation despite U.S. government stating otherwise. Ms. Darlene Keju's vocal demeanor would register on records, through various publications, the dominant view of contemporary Marshallese society holding the truth that there were more than four atolls affected by the Nuclear Testing program given the high rates of cancer and the high destructive yields of those bombs.⁴⁵ Today, Ms. Darlene Keju's voice has inspired young Marshallese activist such as Marshallese poet Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner who uses poetry to replicate the traumas of women experiencing multiple miscarriages.⁴⁶



Figure 5: Poster of Nuclear Heroines featuring Darlene Keju (Middle), Nerje Joseph (top left), Ljon Eknilang (top right), and Dorothy Kabua (bottom left) during 2017 International Day of Peace by REACH-MI

One of the most famous victims of nuclear miscarriages is Ms. Lijon Eknilang who testified in 1996 during a high profile hearing at the International Court of Justice on the legality of nuclear weapons. Ms. Lijon Eknilang has been an outspoken critic of nuclear weapons having suffered several miscarriages alongside her people of

Rongelap atoll who were directly affected by the nuclear fallout of Bravo in 1954, America's strongest nuclear detonation to date.⁴⁷ Although Ms. Eknilang has long passed, her story lives on in various publications and is by far one of the most quoted nuclear activists to date. Her story of

experiencing trauma for not being able to produce a healthy child remains one of the most captivating pieces of human history and is quoted as by far the most emotionally appealing when she testified in 1996 in a case against the legality of atomic bombs.⁴⁸ Her experience with radiation is no different from her fellow kin member from Rongelap atoll named Ms. Nerje Joseph.

Ms. Nerje Joseph, who is still living, has also been an anti-nuclear advocate since Bravo. At 69, she continues to speak of the trauma she felt when she was but a child and started losing her hair all due to the fact that they weren't fairly warned.⁴⁹ In Ms. Joseph's view, the Bravo incident was no accident because to this day, most documents pertaining to the nuclear testing period of 1946-1958 have yet to be formally declassified and fair reparations has yet to be fully realized.⁵⁰ After having several medical inspections and after giving birth to mentally disabled children, Ms. Nerje Joseph continues to publicize her story in the media to remind the world of the horrors of nuclear weapons.⁵¹ She and her nongovernment organization led by Abbaca Anjain-Maddison called *Iju in Ean* continue to participate in high profile dialogues to ban nuclear weapons with the support of the current president Dr. Hilda C. Heine.⁵²

President Dr. Hilda C. Heine

The fifth case, in the most western sense fulfills the very definition of western feminism. Dr. Hilda C. Heine not only made history⁵³ as the first and only Marshallese with a doctorate degree but she would also make herself a household name by becoming the first female President of any independent Pacific Island nation.⁵⁴ Yet, behind the dignified leadership she portrays as an active feminist changing the political game dominated by Marshallese men, lays a story of domestic abuse. Dr. Hilda C. Heine is a survivor of domestic violence where she would often be beaten by her former husband and tied to a tree naked to be publically ridiculed by him.⁵⁵ It is for

this very reason of her unique experiences that Dr. Hilda C. Heine and the nonprofit organization she co-founded called WUTMI, helped passed a Domestic Violence Bill to criminalize domestic abuse of every kind. Today, president Dr. Hilda C. Heine has taken over the climate change narrative by storm in the Marshall Islands by feminizing it. She has linked the climate change conversation of a high risk society⁵⁶ to the low laying atolls of the Marshall Islands by tying it with its impact on females who contribute significantly to the economy thereby gaining massive media attention for the isolated Marshall Islands.⁵⁷



Figure 6: President Dr. Hilda C. Heine at United Nations

According to the latest Marshallese census, about one third of the Marshallese people rely on home production such as handicrafts for their livelihood.⁵⁸ Dr. Hilda C. Heine has been instrumental working alongside her daughter to bring attention to the increased vulnerability of women at the face of climate change impacts given that they are often the ones who take care of the families and cook for them.⁵⁹ She has taken this narrative to the international scene having worked with the lone female ambassador being Amatlain E. Kabua, who too is a survivor of domestic violence.⁶⁰ To date, Dr. Hilda C. Heine has skillfully set the tone for female leadership in the Pacific through greater visibility hence shifting gender norms of shadow governance to

grant better equality in discussion and official recorded discourse where she delivered the key note address to the 13th Triennial Conference of Pacific Women publically criticizing Pacific leaders for excluding half of the economy which are women.⁶¹

In every political speech, Dr. Hilda C. Heine, a known feminist, has always taken the opportunity to provide a balanced conversation by centering the conversation on the family and its natural leaders being the mothers. In this way of thinking, Dr. Hilda C. Heine reminds the Marshallese populace that feminism and respect for women lay not in formal titles, ranks, and offices but rather where we least expect it at home where women are taken for granted.⁶² This is the most valuable pleaded case of feminism that hardly gets attention given our lack of respect for non-formal occupations that are largely ascribed and often filled by women who have it their duty to care for children and their men in whatever capacity they can despite lack of help from the formalized structure that privileges western concepts of success and equality.⁶³

Unspoken Feminists taken for Granted: Reji Anien, Kanao & Limirelok

As mentioned above, this final case study of Marshallese feminism and the most important one to date in which I argue is that of the unspoken mother represented in the case of Reji Anien, Kanao and Limirelok who represent the humility of Marshallese matrilineal society. In the Marshall Islands, despite what formal last names and clan names have blurred, a Marshallese can have two mothers and here in lays an unspoken tale of feminism that is often demeaned by western concepts of knowing what feminism entails. Ms. Reji Anien is my adoptive mother and unlike my birth mother, she did not enjoy the same privileges of the elite. My adoptive mother was brought in from the atoll of Namu by former Speaker Atlan Anien to raise my birth mother's children. In an instant, Ms. Reji Anien would dedicate her whole life and her whole future to be the mother of someone else's kids living with us until her death.⁶⁴ The

reason why Ms. Reji Anien's feminist story retains significance is because she represents the unspoken tale of Marshallese female feminist that are often viewed as "Domestic Servants" given their lack of recognition in formal circles as if they are but maids to be taken for granted.⁶⁵ This is not a new concept in the Marshall Islands. However, these unspoken feminist heroines hardly get praise for raising other people's children as their own.

In the Marshallese culture, it is said that these women are the key to humbling privileged royal males as in the case of the first President Amata Kabua who was raised by Kanao in the same way that the famous Paramount Chieftain Jeimata Kabua was raised by Emlain Kabua's great grandmother Limirelok.⁶⁶ There is one proverbial term that rings solid dictating the cruelty of Marshallese contemporary societal life. This proverb is called "*Jined Ilo Kobo im Jemen im Jemen ran Jet*" literally translated "Our Mothers will be our mothers forever but our fathers might be the father of others." I write and draw light on this proverb because of how it applies to me and my grandfather and how we both were raised by what some people have mistakenly labeled "The Family Servants."⁶⁷

In our culture, it was once forbidden to speak of someone's biological father to avoid undue embarrassment to the ignorant and ill effect on an innocent child. Today, that has changed due to prevailing western tendencies of affronting one another. In my life, I unknowingly lived naively never questioning people's integrity while my adoptive mother Reji Anien sought to shelter me from those whom she and my mother viewed as harmful to my mental growth.⁶⁸ In my young age, my adoptive mother Reji served as a guardian and mentor to humble myself and to put myself not in my mother's families' shoes where privilege lay, but in her shoes where your fate is ultimately decided by powerful figures. Whenever my American tendencies begin bragging about my level of education and accomplishments in the formalized global structure,

Ms. Reji Anien would remind me how I got to where I was given that she bathed me, clothed me, nursed me back to health after nearly dying, and claimed me as her own going as far as protecting me from my own parents where she would put my interests before theirs.

One of the things I struggle with is my identity. It was not till later in life that I discovered that my dad may or may not be my biological father. In the most protective motherly instinct, my adoptive mother Reji acted as my firewall keeping strangers away that would make me feel as if I was not my father Haresh Doulatram's son. I unknowingly took these things for granted being but an ignorant child not really knowing what she was skillfully orchestrating behind the scenes. Although she passed telling me to finish school, I am constantly reminded of her values in everyday life whenever I am being cyber bullied by the largest Marshallese online forums in social media with Marshallese themselves labeling me by the racially derogatory term "*Ajiri in Kot*" meaning stolen illegitimate child.⁶⁹ I now openly challenge my own professors for looking down on Marshallese who have less because I am reminded of my adoptive mother and the type of people she represents that have less than we do because they are often disenfranchised in formal contexts under a colonial structure. It is through my adoptive mother that I am reminded of how I was already raised in an environment that already deracialized what being Marshallese meant and as such was already decolonized in thought at home. It was only when I ventured off from my home going to school that I began to understand how racialized we Marshallese were outside of the family gates. Although I come from what many would view as a racially diverse family, we never knew that my grandma herself was Japanese because what made us Marshallese was not our appearance but rather the *Manit* (literally translated customs) that dictated proper ethical behavior in whatever context given.

However, it seems I am not alone. The story of my grandfather Amata Sam Kabua speaks the same tale where the ignorant readily label him Amata Kabuddah because people politicize his identity and ignorantly state him to be the illegitimate child of an Asian Japanese father as one Marshallese commenter tells us “dirty yellow blood.”⁷⁰ This is another family secret which most of his grandkids were not told until we left the watchful eyes of our guardians and ventured off. The irony of the situation is, ignorant Marshallese and non-Marshallese use this to politicize the situation in an effort to deny us of our legitimacy as being kids of our fathers who raised and loved us. This seems to be the prevailing western concepts built on the adversarial system as even today numerous publications by foreign authors state that Amata Kabua was adopted yet none of those publications speak the same tale to other illegitimate children within the royal families in the western chains who too fit the same description but bare dark skin.⁷¹ Amata Kabua like me was raised by what people have mistakenly called “The Family Servants.” While I was raised by a traditional healer from Namu atoll named Reji Anien, my grandfather was raised by a traditional healer named Kanao from Arbwe, Kwajlein who saved his life when he was born premature. By the same token, although under different circumstances, the paramount chieftain that would take care of my grandma Emlain’s family was raised by the traditional healer Limirelok from Wotho atoll who was Emlain Kabua’s great grandmother. I speak of this form of feminism not necessarily to speak of myself but rather to challenge colonized perceptions as to what constitutes feminism and female leadership. In Marshallese customs (*Manit*), many women proudly value their leadership skills at home where they can delegate their men to work on their behalf. In these various examples of my grandfather Amata Kabua, my great great grandfather Jeimata Kabua, and me being raised by these unspoken heroines, I draw light on how we often view formal titles, offices, and occupations as real equalizers to the

feminist debates never giving ample thought to the unspoken faces that bred the men we Marshallese are today.

Decolonizing our Frames of Thought

The Human Duty to decolonize our frame of thoughts is a pressing one to consider so that we may view others as equally human with no set hierarchy in place as to what physical attributes or rather what formalized attributes signify an accomplished human being. Had it not been for Kanao, the late President Amata Sam Kabua would not have been so passionate about installing a democratic institution to further disenfranchise the royal monarchies to which he belonged to so as to be more inclusive of his adoptive mother's situation.⁷² By that same token, had it not been for the women Limirelok, the Paramount Chieftain Jeimata Kabua would not have taken care of my grandmother Emlain Kabua and her grandmother Risa, whom Limirelok raised alongside Jeimata. These informal networks built on the human capacity to care not expecting anything in return is the most prized possession of Marshallese feminist cultural capital. It was these humble teachings from these unspoken feminists that ultimately created contemporary Marshallese culture and society today as we know it.

When I took part in challenging an incorrect textbook successfully, I made the conscience choice not to push my views. Even if I sent in the corrections, I kept my distance from the Marshallese government who wanted me to assist in a national narrative. The reason being lays in the same response Fred Pedro gave of the late President Amata Kabua who authored a Customs book.⁷³ Like the first President Amata Kabua who refused to put the official Marshallese government seal in his 1993 publication despite it receiving formal Parliament approval, I found myself in the exact same predicament when I refused the offer my Uncle Jiba and Minister Brenson Wase made to me to help out in the national narrative because I did not

want to push my views unnecessarily to further disenfranchise people who had a different world view. I merely sent my corrections and although I could write a national narrative that fit my personal worldview, I chose not to because I challenged the textbook as a teacher to set an example that everyone is entitled to think for themselves so that they can come up with their own conclusions as free thinkers and impressionable children are no exception to this rule in a society where adultism prevails.

Conclusion

In conclusion, feminism is debatable and should be contextualized to further assist in decolonizing our frames of thought. The reason why I as a Marshallese openly challenge biased policy even in a reputable institution such as University of San Francisco lays in these feminist teachings of unspoken heroes who were in many respects disenfranchised by prevailing western ideologies of feminism and sophistication.⁷⁴ Everyday, Marshallese have to constantly challenge demeaning viewpoints subjecting them to cruel treatment that lessen them as human beings not necessarily for their own self-worth but for their families' self-worth even if those family members are not what we Americans would consider accomplished, sophisticated, civilized, and educated. I write using my families' and my story via qualitative case studies⁷⁵ by auto-ethnography⁷⁶ to assert vividly that the human duty to decolonize⁷⁷ our frames⁷⁸ of thought begins with the ability to lend a listening ear to understand a specific context so as to not respond thereby adding insult to injury. As one proud Marshallese women named Erlain Milne tells an ignorant co-worker of mine when I led the first ever climate change policy, "you do not know what people go through in their private lives so do not generalize people because of what you see at the surface of exposure." I draw attention to myself, my grandfather, and great great grandfather on top of these other feminist case studies, whom I am also related to, to showcase

how some Marshallese men view feminism by giving gratitude to the women via equal respect for creating us and creating how we know to be.⁷⁹ This is the true passion of feminism for any Marshallese man for the real feminist in our hearts is none other than the women at home that shape us into the men we are today. It is through the act of decolonizing the mind⁸⁰ that we directly and indirectly take part in not perpetuating the mental confinements of indigenous Pacific Islanders who after years of colonization and Christianization now separate their history into two parts being the age of darkness before Christianity, and the age of light when Christianity and the white man's knowledge entered the islands.⁸¹ It is because of this way of thinking that even the most traditionally skilled women such as Emlain Kabua, Nerje Joseph, and Reji Anien voluntarily call themselves dummies because of how intelligence in the Marshall Islands is often viewed by one's ability to speak English in a formal spoken and written context and I am ashamed that I too used to participate in perpetuating this way of thinking because of how it fed my ugly American ego.

Notes

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² Anthony Tommasini's "Trump Is Wrong if He Thinks Symphonies Are Superior," *New York Times*. 30 July 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/30/arts/music/trump-classical-music.html>.

³ Holly Barker, "U.S. Nuclear Testing in the Marshall Islands," *TalkingStickTV*. 4 March 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z41NiVagLc4>.

⁴ Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1067-1069.

⁵ Kathleen M. Adams and Kathleen A. Gillogy. "Fluid Personhood: Conceptualizing Identities." In *Everyday Life in Southeast Asia*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011), 9-13.

⁶ Arjun Appidurai. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 18.

⁷ Maria Kabua Fowler, Irene J. Taafaki, and Randolph R. Thaman. *Traditional Medicine of the Marshall Islands: The Women, the Plants, the Treatments*. (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2006), 11.

⁸ Phillip H. McArthur, "Oceania," In *A Companion to Folklore*, edited by Regine F. Bendix and Galit Hasan-Rokem, 258-262.

⁹ Dorothy Kabua. "Liwatuonmour." In *Stories from the Marshall Islands*, by Jack A. Tobin, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 48.

¹⁰ Kristina E. Stege, "An Kora Aelon Kein (These Islands belong to the Women): A Study of Women and Land in the Republic of the Marshall Islands." In *Land and Women: The Matrilineal Factor, The cases of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu* edited by Elise Huffer, (Suva, Fiji: Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2008), 13.

¹¹ Frank E. Midkiff, "Administering the Pacific Trust Territory," *Department of State Bulletin* 29 no. 732 (1953): 151.

¹² Alexander Spoehr. *Majuro: A Village in the Marshall Islands*. (Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1949), 35.

¹³ Eric Hobsbawm. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Emlain Kabua (Daughter in law of Dorothy Kabua) in discussion with Author, 21 August 2015.

¹⁶ Lejolan's mother's lineage was a commoner lineage from the Rimwejoor clan while Dorothy Kabua's father from Arno named Laelan (different from Laelan Kabua) was from a royal lineage of that same clan (See Appendix B for reference).

¹⁷ Genealogies were taken directly from immediate families.

¹⁸ Jeimata Kabua and Laelan Kabua (See Appendix C) had the same father (Kabua) but different mothers. Jeimata Kabua's mother was from a Northwestern matrilineal clan as was Kabua's father Jiba who was Jeimata Kabua's paternal grandfather.

¹⁹ Per Hage. “Generalized Exchange in Eastern Micronesia.” *Bidjragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 154, no. 3 (1998): 403.

²⁰ Emlain Kabua (Daughter in law of Dorothy Kabua) in discussion with Author, 21 August 2015.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Lynn Nakit Milne (Granddaughter of Dorothy Kabua) in discussion with Author, 21 August 2015.

²³ Amatlain E. Kabua (Granddaughter of Dorothy Kabua) in discussion with Author, 21 July 2017.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Amata Kabua, *Customary Titles and Inherent Rights: A General Guideline in Brief*, (Majuro: Republic of the Marshall Islands, 1993), 5.

²⁶ Amatlain E. Kabua (Granddaughter of Dorothy Kabua) in discussion with Author, 21 July 2017.

²⁷ The person who would use such sexist tactics was none other than Dorothy Kabua’s husband’s first cousin Kabua Kabua who was the son of Laelan Kabua, Jeimata Kabua’s brother. Just as Lejolan Kabua became a royal monarch of the Northwestern (*Eaninmeto*) part of the Marshall Islands when the matrilineal clan came to a defunct, Mr. Kabua Kabua’s father Laelan Kabua came into power after the Southwestern (*Rakinmeto*) matrilineal clan came to a defunct hence following a patriarchal system of inheritance that define the Western (*Ralik*) Chains today. (See Appendix A for reference).

²⁸ Eric Hobsbawm. “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14.

²⁹ Hilda C. Heine and Julianne M. Walsh, *Etto nan Raan Kein: A Marshall Islands History*, (Honolulu: Bess Press, 2012), 289.

³⁰ Nic Maclellan. *Grappling with the Bomb: Britain’s Pacific H-Bomb Tests*, (Canberra: Australia National University Press, 2017), 44.

³¹ Heine, Hilda. “Formal Address of RMI President on Nuclear Victims Remembrance Day” Delap Park. Majuro, MH. 1 March 2016.

³² Emlain Kabua and Maria Kabua Fowler, “Kwo ke’e Nan am Detake Ian? (Are You

Ready To Be the Wife of an *Iroij?*,” In *Life in the Republic of the Marshall Islands*, edited by Anono Loeak, Veronica Kiluwe, and Linda Crowl, (Majuro, Marshall Islands: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2004), 72-81.

³³Micronesian Seminar, “Japanese Flag Unfurled,” *Micsem.org*, http://www.micsem.org/photos/jpn_flag/24.htm.

³⁴ NBK Corporation, “NBK Company Profile,” *NBK*, <http://www.nbk.co.jp/english/>

³⁵ Hyoue Okamura, “The ‘Human Duty’ to Deracialize Nationality,” *Asia Pacific Perspectives* 14, no. 2 (2017): 91-94.

³⁶ Emlain Kabua and Maria Kabua Fowler, “Kwo ke’e Nan am Detake Ian? (Are You Ready to Be the Wife of an *Iroij?*),” 72-81.

³⁷ Emlain Kabua (Wife of Amata Kabua) in discussion with Author, 21 August 2015.

³⁸ Emlain Kabua and Maria Kabua Fowler, “Kwo ke’e Nan am Detake Ian? (Are You Ready To Be the Wife of an *Iroij?*),” 72-81.

³⁹ Emlain Kabua (Wife of Amata Kabua) in discussion with Author, 21 August 2015.

⁴⁰ Emlain Kabua and Maria Kabua Fowler, “Kwo ke’e Nan am Detake Ian? (Are you Ready To Be the Wife of an *Iroij?*),” 72-81.

⁴¹ Desmond Narain Doulatram. “Indigenous Decolonization of Academia: Using the Marshall Islands as Precedent for Social Injustice.” *Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies R&D* 3, no.1 (2018): 1-48.

⁴²Judy L. Rohrer “Haole Matters: An Interrogation of Whiteness in Hawai’i.” PhD diss., University of Hawai’i, 2005.

⁴³ Alisi Vucago, “Marshall Islands women to showcase handiwork on world stage.” *Fiji Times*. 12 December 2017. <http://www.fjtimes.com/story.aspx?id=427213>.

⁴⁴University of the South Pacific. “USP Marshall Islands Campus hosts 11th Jaki-ed Exhibition and Silent Auction.” *University of the South Pacific*. 12 December 2017. <http://www.usp.ac.fj/news/story.php?id=2646#.WkSsaRSeNw8>.

⁴⁶Michelle Keown. “Children of Israel: US Military Imperialism and Marshallese Migration in the Poetry of Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner.” *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 19, no.7 (2017): 930-947.

⁴⁷ Lijon Eknilang, “Learning from Rongelap’s Pain.” *Seattle Journal for Social Justice* 2, no. 1. (2003): 315-321.

⁴⁸ Roger S. Clark and Madeleine Sann. *The Case Against The Bomb: Marshall Islands, Samoa, and Solomon Islands before the International Court of Justice in Advisory Proceedings on the Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons*. (Camden, New Jersey: Rutgers University School of Law, 1996).

⁴⁹ John Pilger. “The Secrets of the Marshall Islands,” YouTube video, 32:47, from John Pilger’s film “The Coming War on China, posted by “Henry Lim,” December 26, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LXvoRv-v9fg>.

⁵⁰ Amatlain E. Kabua, “Official Statement of Marshall Islands UN Permanent Representative on vote of Draft Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons.” Speech at United Nations conference to negotiate a legally-binding instrument to prohibit nuclear weapons, New York, New York, July 5 2017.

⁵¹ Ronron Calunsod. “Nobel award for ICAN resonates in nuclear-tested Marshall Islands.” *Kyodo News*. 12 December 2017. <https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2017/12/0e5663e5f728-focus-nobel-award-for-ican-resonates-in-nuclear-tested-marshall-islands.html>.

⁵² I speak from personal experience having interned at the United Nations where I personally heard this from Ms. Abacca Anjain-Maddison who delivered the final testimony on behalf of ICAN, the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize Winners, at the conclusion of the Nuclear Ban Treaty. (See <https://www.facebook.com/icanw.org/videos/1916111475072429/>)

⁵³ Ellie Van Baaren. “Dr. Hilda Heine: First woman to lead an independent Pacific nation.” *UNWOMEN*. 27 January 2016. <http://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/news-and-events/stories/2016/01/first-woman-to-lead-an-independent-pacific-nation>.

⁵⁴ Jemima Garrett, “Hilda Heine elected first female Pacific leader as president of Marshall Islands.” *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*. 26 Jan 2016. <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-01-27/hilda-heine-elected-first-ever-female-pacific-leader/7118664>.

⁵⁵ Malia Heine (Niece of Dr. Hilda C. Heine) in discussion with Author, 21 August 2015.

⁵⁶ Maerryn Ekberg “The Parameters of the Risk Society: A Review and Exploration.” *Current Sociology* 55, no.3 (2007): 343-366.

⁵⁷ RadioNewZealand. “Hilda Heine says Pacific women can be leaders on climate change” *RNZ*. 12 December 2017. <https://www.radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/346019/hilda-heine-says-pacific-women-can-be-leaders-on-climate-change>.

⁵⁸ Please refer to Marshall Islands census report by late Honorable Tony Debrum which can be accessed via link:

<https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/migrated/oia/reports/upload/RMI-2011-Census-Summary-Report-on-Population-and-Housing.pdf>.

⁵⁹ Amy Goddman, “1st Female President of the Marshall Islands & Her Poet Daughter: We Need Climate & Nuclear Justice.” *Democracy Now!* 14 November 2017.
https://www.democracynow.org/2017/11/14/1st_female_president_of_the_marsha
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⁶⁰ Peter Hannam, “Call for a change of Australia's government as anti-coal alliance gains momentum.” *Sydney Morning Herald*. 17 November 2017.
<http://www.smh.com.au/environment/climate-change/call-for-a-change-of-australias-government-as-anticoal-alliance-gains-momentum-20171116-gzmra5.html>.

⁶¹ Loop Pacific, “Marshall Islands President appeals to Pacific governments to grow their economies by empowering women,” *Loop*. October 3, 2017.
<http://www.looppng.com/global-news/marshall-islands-president-appeals-pacificgovernments-grow-their-economies-empowering>.

⁶² A primary example of women taken for granted is in the outer islands where women are practically domestic servants.

⁶³ Angela M Jaime. “Native Women: Decolonization and Transcendence of Identity.” *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 10, no.2 (2008): 1-13.

⁶⁴ Ms. Reji Anien died with us and I attribute most of my success to her for it was she that taught me to care for the less fortunate and it was she that nursed me back to health when I nearly died of Hepatitis.

⁶⁵ Ignorant Marshallese people often refer to these group of women as nothing more than *ri-kwiir* literally translated ass wipers.

⁶⁶ See Appendix D for Limirelok’s genealogy.

⁶⁷ I learned from my grandmother Emlain Kabua that the way I was raised with people screening who I hung out with and kept me within plain sight was no different from the way my grandfather Amata Kabua was raised.

⁶⁸ It is common for mothers and guardians to prevent children from hanging out with certain individuals after hearing from reliable sources of their unethical behavior. It is as if all my friends had to be screened before I could develop a formal friendship with them.

⁶⁹ The public social media forums that I speak of is Dreka in Jinme which is a cultural forum and the other being Kewan Jela which is a political forum. These are the two biggest social media forums on Facebook for the Marshallese community.

⁷⁰This occurs on a regular basis in the social media forums mentioned above. The irony of the situation is ever since transparency on social media, these same ignorant racist are now surprisingly fearful that the political tale of climate change they so lovingly like to talk about in the social media forum called Kewan Jela was enacted by me when I helped passed the first Climate Change policy to spearhead government action. By the same token, the so called cultural experts in the social media forum Dreka In Jinme are now openly jealous after finding out the so called history book defining customs was rectified by this racialized Marshallese whom they love to call “dirty yellow blood.”

⁷¹I speak of members within the royal Kabua family and Loeak family. Laelan Kabua is also said to not be Kabua the Great’s biological son. By the same token, the darker Loeak family who won the legal judgment for the chiefly title of Loeak’s domain in the western chain used the argument that the white Loeak’s possessed no royal blood calling the kettle black as it was known that the dark skin Loeak named Albert Loeak was not the biological son of Lobokkij Loeak who was Loeak’s son. Additionally, ignorance is made clear because the only reason why Loeak had light skinned children was because he himself gave his wife away to a white trader because he wanted two things being cigarretes and half-caste children. Loeak, who was deemed a real royal chief given being a member of the matrilineal clan of the Southwestern part of Ralik loved these children as his own going as far as willing his estates to them should he pass on. Additionally, The Chiefs Imata Kabua and Anjua Loeak are also said not to be the biological sons of their fathers being Manini Kabua and Albert Loeak. The irony of the situation is that the Chiefs Imata Kabua and Anjua Loeak begun to exercise their power after the legal heirs were deemed illegitimate by the courts despite these chiefs also falling into the same definition but darker. Additionally, it is also well-known by *RiKabinmeto* that even Iroj Leit was not the biological son of Jiba and that Iroj Laelan from Arno was not the biological son of Takto. Kabua Kabua was also stated as not being the biological son of Laelan Kabua just as Manini Kabua was stated as not being the biological son of Jeimata Kabua. The customs allows that such delicate matters be left to the confidence and resolution of affected families unless one wants to affront one another. General rule as far as the customs are concerned is the father and his immediate family alone have the right to disown an illegitimate child.

⁷²This I heard from Lynn Nakit Milne, the daughter of Amata Kabua.

⁷³ This was stated by Fred Pedro, the former personal assistant of the first president during the public hearing to ban the first Marshallese History textbook that carried the government seal.

⁷⁴Theresa McDowell. “Decolonizing Academia: Intersectionality, participation, and accountability in family therapy and counseling.” *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy* 22, no.2 (2000): 95.

⁷⁵ Hilda C. Heine, “‘Tuwaak Bwe Elimajnono’ Perspectives and Voices: A Multiple Case Study of Successful Marshallese Immigrant High School Students In the United States.” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2004), 24.

⁷⁶ Ema Wolfgramm-Foliaki. "Under the Mango Tree: Lessons for the Insider-Outsider Researcher." *Journal of Perspectives in Applied Academic Practices* 4, no.3 (2016): 32-37.

⁷⁷ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 1999), 1-4.

⁷⁸ Unaisi Nabobo-Baba, "Decolonising Framings in Pacific Research: Indigenous Fijian Vanua Research Framework as an Organic Response," *AlterNative* 4, no. 2 (2008): 141.

⁷⁹ Maria Kabua Fowler, Irene J. Taafaki, and Randolph R. Thaman. *Traditional Medicine of the Marshall Islands: The Women, the Plants, the Treatments*, 11-18.

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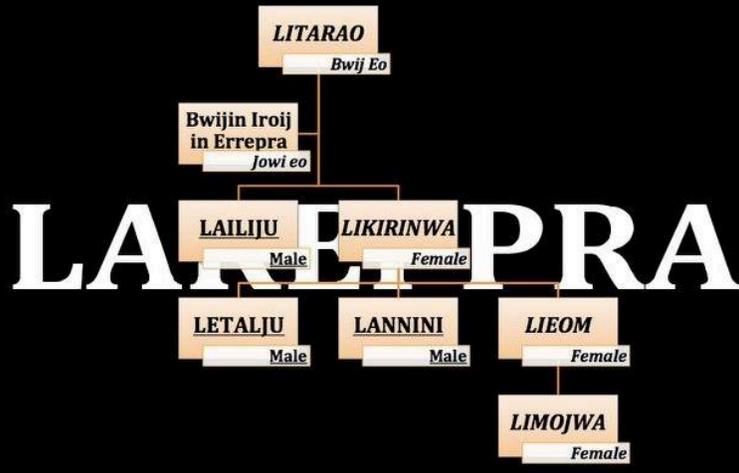
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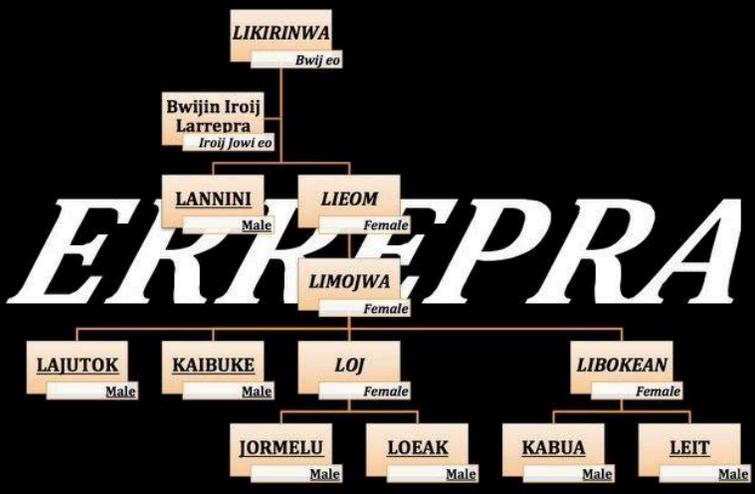
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Appendix A

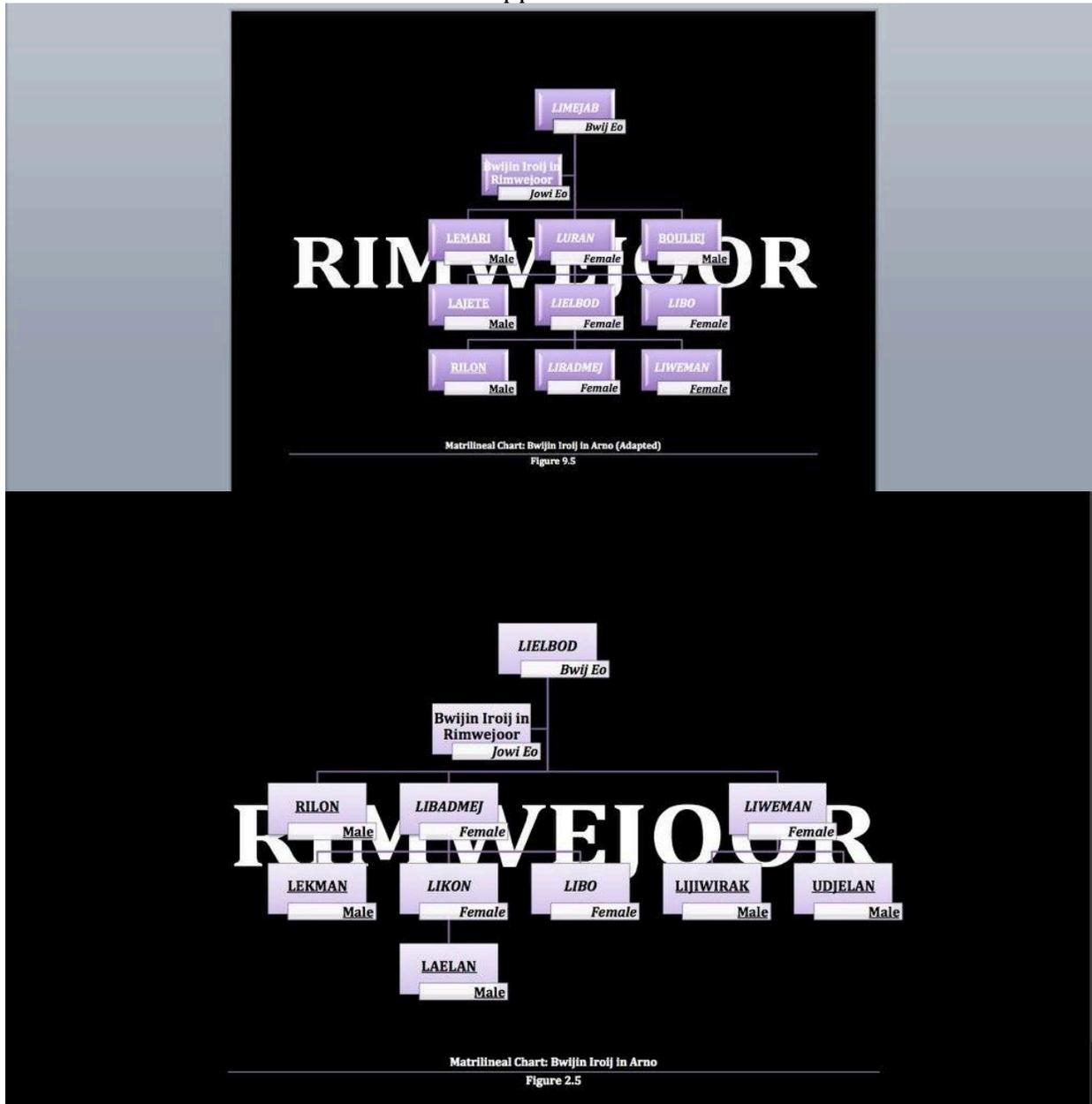


Matrilineal Chart: Iroj Lareppra Lineage
Figure 2.1

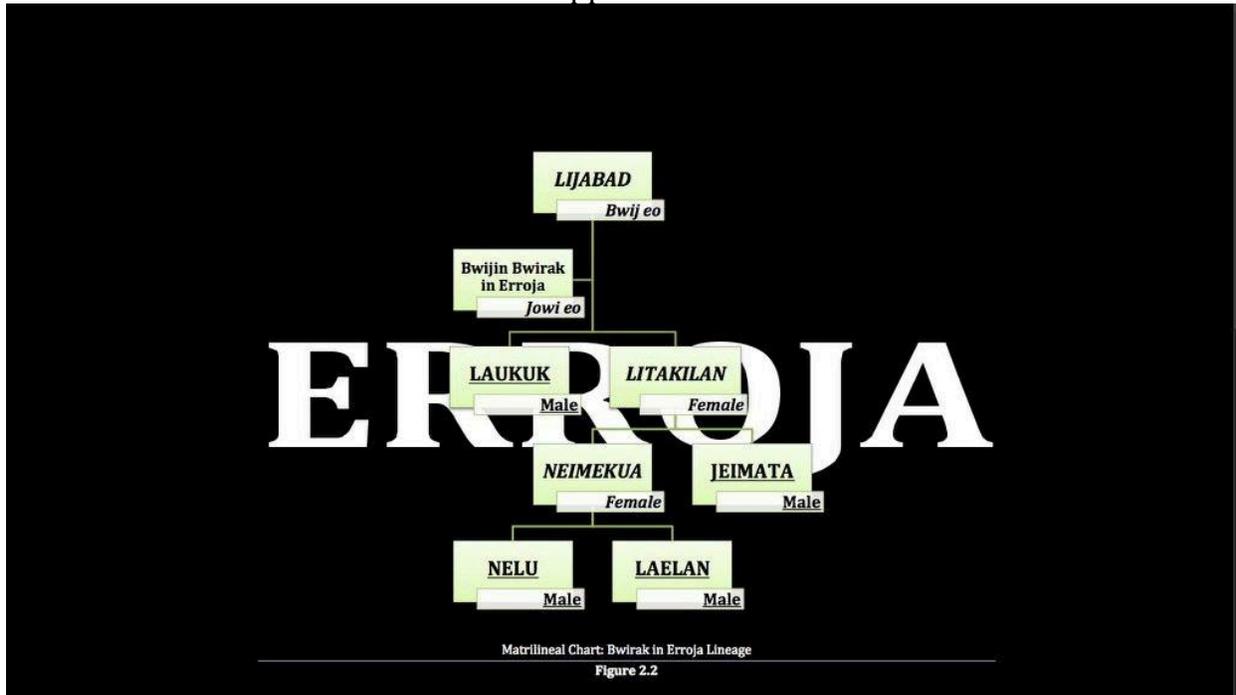


Matrilineal Chart: Iroj Errepra Lineage
Figure 2.3

Appendix B



Appendix C



Appendix D

