

Fale Samoa And Europe's Extended Boundaries: Performing Place And Identity

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Abstract

British, German and American traders, bureaucrats and military, rubbed shoulders in Apia, Samoa as the nineteenth century came to a close. Amongst them, they settled their imperial rivalries by contract in 1899: Western Samoans became German compatriots and were thus presented in 1901 at exhibitions in Frankfurt and Berlin. Thirteen years later, New Zealand (a member of the Commonwealth) took control of Samoa. Accordingly, a Samoan *fale* (house) was presented at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition in Wembley Park and, in 1940, at the Centennial Exhibition in Wellington. The *fale* exhibited in 2005 at the Tropical Islands Resort in Brandt (60km southeast of Berlin), next to five other indigenous houses from tropical regions shares some important features with its predecessors – despite obvious differences. The tension between local and global contexts and customs shaped conception, production and reception in all cases.

There is a dynamic awareness of many encounters with Europeans in Samoa today; not only are German and English genealogical links recognisable in many surnames, but a good share of tourists come from Europe to enjoy what might be called regional nostalgia. Historical connections, however, seem all but forgotten in Europe – who would think of Samoa as lying within Europe's extended boundaries? This forgetfulness might even explain some short-fallings in architectural theories of region, with their moral distinctions and oppositional schemes that would seem oddly out of place not only in Apia. If conceptual "Europe" still dominates the world (Dietze 2008), its provincialization decentralises origins of knowledge and responsibilities (Charkrabarty 2008). Jacob's (1996) account, cited in the call for papers, certainly expands colonized peoples' repertoire of available attitudes – yet it still remains reactive. Motivations, restrictions and desires find their way into colonial and

postcolonial relationships of exchange from all sides, and they need to be given equal attention.

Our paper explores some instances in which houses were exhibited within the European imperial region. In these exhibitions, architecture's tectonic side was inserted into the scenographic – an increasingly common strategy today, as more and more of the exterior is interiorized in glassed-over immunizing islands (Sloterdijk 2005, 2009). This twist, we suggest, helps avoid regionalism's (critical or not) focus on tectonic form and material and redirects attention to the processes and events that give rise to building. For instance, the dynamics spurring the use of iconic Samoan forms (decorative from a European perspective) raise different questions and suggest alternative concepts. If Critical Regionalism's rejection of eclectically "acquired alien forms" reacts in some ways to a condition of missed or avoided encounters, we want to ask explicitly who was and is involved in the acquisition of these forms, and how.

The paper draws on research conducted between 2006 and 2010 about the conception and production of the *fale* Samoa at Tropical Islands Resort. Archival research explored precedents of *fale* exhibited in colonial and postcolonial contexts; site visits, interviews and visual documentation explored the circumstances of contemporary projects. Our research suggests that migrating houses participate significantly in the performance of Pacific identities in the global leisure industries. They not only *signify* identities – they *perform* them, often according to inconsistent or even conflicting sets of values. These practices, in Samoa or in the New Zealand or European diaspora, are deeply implicated in the tensions between the local and the global which a revived regionalism has to confront.

Keywords

Critical Regionalism, Empire, Postcolonialism, *Fale* Samoa, [Colonial] Exhibitions, Identity

Introduction: performance, place and identity

Kenneth Frampton's examples in *Towards a Critical Regionalism* are located in culturally coherent regions of sedentary cultures and have little obvious relevance in impermanent and migratory contexts. Yet, to re-trace Europe's imperial boundaries may help hone regionalism's concepts and generate new constellations.

For nearly a century, Pacific houses travelled within Europe's extended boundaries to be displayed in imperial fairs, or in parks and museums. Three Māori *wharehau* (meeting houses), remaining in London, Hamburg and Stuttgart, and a Samoan *fale tele* (council house), exhibited in 1924 at Wembley, were instrumental in performing European and Pacific identities. Even today, Pacific houses not only signify but *per/form* (fully provide) identities in the global leisure industries – according to inconsistent, even conflicting values. While they are deeply implicated in tensions between the local and the global, such binaries blur in non-European contexts and interesting questions arise from the dynamic fuelling the use of “decorative”, iconic Samoan forms.¹

Our paper investigates exchanges between three regions, worlds apart, with shared histories. We first explore notions of place and identity at exhibitions featuring *fale Samoa* in the USA, Europe and New Zealand. Then, we address aspects of Critical Regionalism relevant to (post)colonial contexts and, finally, we discuss exhibitions as performative practices. We deliberately see-saw between diverse geographical, theoretical and political positions, to generate relational spaces that transcend geo-political boundaries yet remain local and specific.

European boundaries and dis/connections

As British, German and American traders, bureaucrats and military rubbed shoulders in Apia, Samoa, in the 1890s, ‘interparochial’ differences produced conflicts for Samoans and non-Samoans alike.² In this situation, Samoa-based trader, Harry Moors took three large *fale*

and a group of 'Samoans' to the 1893 Chicago World's Fair.³ Non-Samoans described how the 'Samoans' erected and inhabited the *fale*, gave demonstrations of weaving, and provided seemingly spontaneous performances at their 'village'. Joseph Smith observed the 'cool and pleasant' climate inside the *fale*'s 'primitive' architecture during the hot Chicago summer, the builders' 'leisurely methods', and their insistence on doing their work 'in their own way or not at all'.⁴ What builders and village inhabitants, or even visitors, thought and felt is unrecorded.

International exhibitions in Europe and America generally had an 'overwhelming effect [...] on those who visited'.⁵ During the 1900 *Exposition Universelle de Paris*, writer Paul Morand became a "traveller within", dreaming of Africa, Polynesia and Asia as he traversed the exotic villages at the Trocadero.⁶ While the exhibition succeeded in constructing imperial subjects as travellers (through 'a paradoxical combination of escapism and search for the authentic, a kind of flight whose ultimate goal is knowledge of self and world'), it failed, in some colonists' opinion, 'to convey a proper image of the empire'.⁷ Uneasy and unstable configurations arose from the combination of commerce, education, propaganda and spectacle. While the efficiency of the colonies might not have been rendered to everyone's satisfaction, the staged contrast between advanced architecture and technology and, at the other end of a sliding scale, 'primitive' architectures and artefacts illustrated progress and underdevelopment.

Germany had little involvement in colonialism until 1884 did not hold international exhibitions until much later. However, Samoan troupes had repeatedly performed in *Völkerschauen* before Western Samoa became a German Protectorate in 1899. Subsequently, in the 1901 and 1910 shows at Frankfurt, Cologne, Berlin and Munich, Samoans were promoted as 'new compatriots' from the colonies. The Samoans, for their part, regarded their involvement as status-enhancing internally, and relationship-building externally. Thus, Tamasese Lealofi II, who competed with Mata'afa Iosefo for the title of *tupu*, reportedly said that he was 'glad to travel to Germany and to meet the Emperor and the other German rulers'.⁸ In a photograph,

Tamasese stands amongst his performers, in front of three thatched houses that bear little relation to a *fale tele*. In other pictures, *pola* (Samoan “Venetian blinds”), clumsily attached to the “*fale*”, still indicate the style of the dwelling as a ‘basic anthropological category’.⁹

In 1914, New Zealand annexed Samoa on Britain’s request. Promptly, at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition in Wembley, New Zealand presented itself as a British Dominion and an imperial power in the Pacific region in its own right, exhibiting a *fale* and the *wharenui* Mataatua next to the New Zealand pavilion (Figure 1). Reputedly ‘an excellent example of the Samoan’s art in house building and ... one of the best of its kind’,¹⁰ this *fale* had been commissioned by the New Zealand Department of External Affairs and built in Mulinu’u under Mata’afa’s supervision. It was then dismantled for shipping, each separate piece marked to enable someone familiar with the construction to re-erect it in England.¹¹ The government, however, decided not to send ‘Native troupes’ to Wembley, for fear of ‘the unsettling and bad after-effects which invariably follow on the return of the participants’.¹² Thus, the *fale* was accompanied not by its *tufuga* (master builders) or Samoan performers, but instead by Charles Reed, a trader from Apia like Moors, and ‘his half-caste wife’ (Figure 2).¹³ An image in the *London Illustrated News* shows the latter and two European visitors inside the *fale* during construction.¹⁴ 27 million people came to see the ‘empire “reproduced in miniature” (*British Empire*)’, with the *fale* placed on a ‘map of the world that could be strolled in a well-planned afternoon’.¹⁵

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The 1940 Centennial Exhibition in Wellington show-cased New Zealand’s ‘island territories’ in the Government Pavilion. As in Wembley, a *fale tele* was commissioned, to be built in Samoa according to contractual specifications and the architect’s measurements.¹⁶ The *tufuga* then erected the *fale* in Wellington and stayed in attendance during the session, led by Sergeant Fitisemanu. At the end of the exhibition, the *fale* was sold to Mr. H.J Kelliher of Auckland and re-erected by the *tufuga* at his estate on Puketutu Island.

New networks of flows (of people, objects and information) and industries changed knowledge modes, governmental rationalities, anthropological assemblages and exhibitions after WWII. Not surprisingly, the exhibition of a *fale* at the Tropical Islands Resort (TIR) in Brandt (60km southeast of Berlin) in 2005 significantly differs from earlier exhibitions in some respects. Nonetheless, it also shares important features with its predecessors and, again, the tension between local and global contexts and customs shaped its conception, production and reception. An evocative description of the cascading associations triggered by the image of a Samoan dancer opens Cordula Grewe's book *Schau des Fremden*. They rely on stereotypes, secreted by centuries of contact between Europe and the Pacific (earthly paradise, noble savages, tribal villages, and sexual freedom),¹⁷ and 'embedded in a long history of colonialism, collecting, and exhibiting'.¹⁸ Not only Colin Au and the TIR management used them: The Samoan Government and Tourism Association (STA) collaborated. They gave the resort's representation of Samoa – with the *fale* 'compressed in closest proximity' with houses from Borneo, Bali, Thailand, Kenya and the Amazon, and surrounded by eateries, swimming pools, and the Tropical Rainforest – not only authenticity, but legitimacy.¹⁹

Despite the TIR website's nostalgic references to village communities and extended families, nothing on the German side of the collaboration matches Samoans' awareness of shared histories and genealogies (*gafa*). In the Pacific, connections of family and individuals with their place furnish identity – and many Samoans include German ancestors. From that perspective, Germany lies within the extended boundaries of Samoa and the Pacific – but one can also get the feeling of being within Europe's extended boundaries in Samoa. By contrast, at the resort on the doorstep of the reinstated capital, Berlin, Samoa is a far-away South Seas island. A collective forgetfulness, following the WWI loss of German colonies, makes it easy to remain unaware of historical connections.

Critical regionalism: building, place, relationships

Forgetfulness might explain short-fallings in architectural theories of region, with their moral distinctions and oppositional schemes that would seem oddly out of place in Apia. Keith Eggener notes that Critical Regionalism, which engages 'monumental binary oppositions' such as 'traditional/modern, natural/cultural, core/periphery, self/other', is, 'at heart, a postcolonialist concept'.²⁰ Yet Frampton, who refers repeatedly to 'world culture' (*singular*, versus 'universal civilisation'), generally assumes stable boundaries and timeless attachment to place. He bypasses Paul Ricoeur's political considerations of Empire, to the extent of editing out reference to 'struggles for liberation' that lay claims 'to a separate personality'.²¹ When reconsidering the universal/particular dialectic at the core of Critical Regionalism, then, a closer attention to the shifts of Empire through various forms of (post)colonialisms would highlight changing identities – not only of the colonial subjects rediscovering the 'roots of their nation',²² but also of the actual or former colonisers.

The etymology of *regio* (introduction by decree of a significant discontinuity into natural continuity)²³ is pertinent here. In the Pacific, we can see how taught, tense lines, entirely discontinuous with geographical or cultural articulations, delimit imperial territories. On a 1985 map in *Der Spiegel*,²⁴ Samoa is squared in not only by the independent nations of Tuvalu, Fiji, and Tonga but also by American, French and New Zealand territories. Speaking here of regionalism as the expression of a national sense of reality misses the point. Noumea and Tahiti are still part of France, but Western Samoa fell within extended European boundaries only for approximately six decades.²⁵ The "Europe" to which Samoa belonged was, apart from its manifest impact, also 'something like an imaginary entity that has some relation to the real but is also at the same time phantasmal'.²⁶ Like Dipesh Chakrabarty, by *provincializing Europe* we want to de-centralise and re-order origins of knowledge and re-balance the 'asymmetric ignorance' of each other's life practices, which causes European or western concepts to act as inadequate 'silent referents' for historical

narratives anywhere.²⁷ Critical Regionalism can be one of those referents,²⁸ when it fails to reflect the shifting perspectives of global involvements and mutual relationships in a changed sense of region.²⁹

Motivations, restrictions and desires enter into relationships of exchange, and into the contexts in which houses were exhibited within the European imperial region, from all sides, and they need to be given equal attention.

Exhibition as practice: the tectonic and the scenographic

Frampton's binary opposition between tectonic and scenographic establishes a potentially productive field of tension. It can, however, also prevent the understanding of local and regional practices on their own terms. In our context, the distinction is not even stable: in international exhibitions, buildings from the colonial regions of Empire were often exhibited inside exhibition halls – starting perhaps with that model of a Carib Hut at the 1851 Crystal Palace described by Semper. Thus, architecture's tectonic was inserted into the scenographic – an increasingly common strategy today, as more and more exterior is interiorized in glassed-over immunizing islands.³⁰ Exhibition halls, in our context, have always been scenographic and iconic machines turning architecture into spectacle or education, placing their objects within larger narratives of native habitats. TIR's narratives certainly emphasise the traditional nature of the *fale* but, equally, an 'experience of technical spectacle belongs centrally to [its] spirit'.³¹ The ex-Cargolifter hangar, higher than the Statue of Liberty, has been described as the 'world's largest self-supporting hall, a giant palace of gloss',³² while the Amazon and Kenya huts and the *fale* reinforce media representations of exotic primitiveness. Few might notice the tectonic similarities between *fale* and hangar, which are immediately overshadowed by overt iconicity.³³ TIR is thus a perfect illustration of the deceptive visuality Frampton attributed to scenography as 'mere appearance'.³⁴ However, the deception here extends equally to the tactile, the tectonic and the place-form.

In any event, Frampton's polemics against scenography had a historically specific target; there are other definitions. Ruth Padel, for instance, emphasises the connection of the *skēnē* with temporary dwelling, with things that are 'flimsy, but crucially important – for a while'.³⁵ From a Samoan perspective, scenography is a useful concept, as it deals with the public visual display of important cultural objects, placing them in context and relationships. When their display in performance is narrated in *gafa*, the performers are made to (re)connect with each other – the scenographic has a performative function. Tamasese Lealofi II, standing in front of 'fale' in a Zoological Garden, (also) positions himself in a different context from what the organisers and the visitors may imagine. Objects like the *fale* are then not proxies for people but create, together with the people, a space of performance – not as a spectacle on stage but as a regular part of life. In this space, appearance matters and decoration (*decorum*) is a contribution to the *vā* – the relational, in-between space that must be elaborated and made beautiful (*teu le vā*). In this context, even partial architectural elements, such as the *pola* installed on the temporary structures of the 1910 *Völkerschau*, could principally produce a temporal and relational space of appearance. If it was not enacted properly in Frankfurt or Berlin, then this was not due to the structures' lacking durability. Rather, it was caused by a lack of attention to all of their registers that turns objects into proxies for people, and dioramas into proxies for place. Then, the *skēnē* ceases to be a space of appearance and becomes a painted surface in the Western traditions, giving rise to representation alone. Critical Regionalism, with its emphasis on European architectures of durability, can only take limited account of temporal architectures and space. When it collapses relational, temporal and performative aspects into its "scenographic" category, it loses relevance for critique elsewhere. Critical Regionalism is then, like any other global theory producing totalising visions, 'likely to be at odds with the meanings which the inhabitants ... place on the buildings themselves'.³⁶

A file documenting the entire 1940 Wellington Centennial Exhibition tells of some moving moments when New Zealand officials (some Māori) became peripherally but sympathetically

involved in the Samoans' families' fates, and organised a programme of sight-seeing and entertainment for the Samoans before they returned to the 'Territory'. But there was a line that could not be crossed. When Fitisemanu used a high Samoan title as part of his name, he triggered a correspondence between Samoan Administration and Department of External Affairs in which 'the [bad] effect of popular adulation on Fitisemanu and other Samoans' became an issue. Fitisemanu was 'an extremely popular figure at the Exhibition, and to a very large extent' responsible for the exhibit's success. However, he had to be prevented 'from being carried away by the attention he [was] receiving'.³⁷ Even though he was seen fit to lead the Samoan party, his participation in wider relational networks shaping and actualising identities was curtailed. Rodney Harrison observes that '[o]n the colonial peripheries, material culture forms a conduit for cross-cultural negotiation' and objects are not 'what they were made to be, but what they become in the process of creative recontextualisation'.³⁸ Their significance in social life is critically important. The invisible and non-negotiable line drawn by the colonial Secretaries reduced the Samoans' opportunities to re-author and re-contextualise the objects exhibited. This, in turn, limited their ability to activate a relational space, a region that would have allowed them to articulate a past, present and future 'here' through their spatial activities.

Such activities are also performances and connected with Judith Butler's notion of performativity: stylised repetitions of acts, which succeed due to the accumulated force of authority. In the space between cultures with different constraints and prescriptions, this force of authority is necessarily undetermined. Performativity and agency are difficult to assess. When "spontaneous" events occurred at Chicago 'wherever the villagers happened to be', and the latter 'became performers because of the spectators' perception that the private lives of the village residents were a part of the village display',³⁹ performance and performativity were articulated differently from how they would have been in Samoa. Nicky Gregson and Gillian Rose, who have examined notions of performance and performativity in the context of critical geography, argue that 'spaces too need to be thought of as

performative, and [...] more needs to be made of the complexity and instability of performances and performed spaces⁴⁰ – particularly in cross cultural relational spaces, we would add.

Conclusion: networks of connection

The problem of asymmetrical knowledge is widespread. Duanfang Lu argues that multiple modernities and alternative spatial systems exist, which do not, or not in the same way, repudiate 'traditional restrictions and decoration'.⁴¹ If Critical Regionalism is to have purchase beyond Europe, these must be engaged to revisit core architectural values, practices and institutions – in a project of producing 'entangled modernities', a 'space of entanglement' (Therborn) shared by different but inter-related knowledges and practices.

People and objects circulating between metropolitan and colonial nodes of regional networks of connection can then all be acknowledged as shaping relationships. When we hear those

'responsible for building particular cultures', architects amongst them, 'rather than imposing

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formulas upon them, we might come to understand better the richness of internal, local

discourses in their full range and complexity'.⁴² It is an urgent task at this moment, as rival

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powers China and US insist on the Pacific region's geo-strategic importance to their national

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economy and security.⁴³ China has vastly expanded its sphere of influence throughout the

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Pacific, financing, for instance, the Government building in Apia, an eight-story structure with a

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fale-shaped roof on its top floor. Caught in the confrontation between super powers, 'existing

nation-states' might turn to Critical Regionalism to form loose associations and 'act together

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in order to shift global balances of power'.⁴⁴

A re-articulation of political aspects that Frampton edited out of Ricoeur might help understand such situations better. Ricoeur observed that postcolonial communities' struggle for independence involves the 'substitution of personality that the colonial era had given rise to'. There will probably always be questions about a pre-conquest 'profound personality' and

a concern with its integrity, which will interact with global desires for authenticity in different ways. Ongoing transactions have already re-shaped European *and* Samoan perceptions, giving rise to a re-conceptualisation of existing, and the creation of new objects and performances for display in the Pacific and Europe. From this, new relationships and configurations arise. By opening up and extending the boundaries of region (geographically) and architecture (disciplinarily), for instance, temporality and relationality offer fruitful nodes for critical engagement.

More research is needed to get a sense of how, from a Samoan perspective, (post)colonial relationships translate into building practices and how, in the other direction, metropolitan practitioners operate in the peripheries of Empire. We know, for instance, that the production of *fale* for customers overseas has radically changed the *tufuga*'s contracts.⁴⁵ Research in this vein would help free research "anywhere" from an essentially European theoretical skeleton.⁴⁶ Finally, a radical symmetry of knowledge and interest would allow us not only to understand the travel of people and objects from already well-known European perspectives. Samoans' contributions to shared knowledge are likely to address what Europeans have overlooked for centuries. From this extended perspective, we can begin to understand how the *fale* that were brought to Europe are seen in and from Samoa (in and from the Pacific). Such mutually complementary understanding could give a new meaning to the expression 'global village'.

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Figures



Figure 1: The New Zealand Pavilion at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition, flanked by Mataatua *wharenui* (left) and the *fale* from Mulinu'u (right). *Source*: Anonymous, Archives New Zealand.

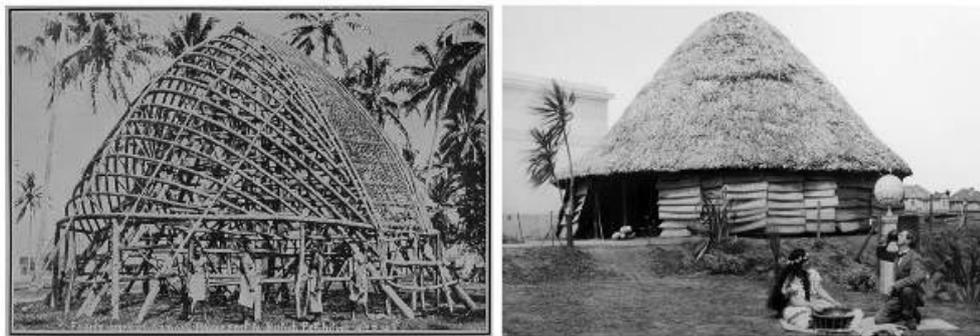


Figure 2, left: - Framework of Samoan House sent to British Exhibition, Samoa 1924. *Source*: Handbook of Western Samoa, 1925. Right: Charles Reed and "Mosooi", his 'half-caste wife', with kava bowl in front of the *fale Samoa* at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition. *Source*: Anonymous, Archives New Zealand. Since the *fale* did not fit onto the allotted site at the exhibition, Reed severely reduced its size and the *fale* lost, in the process, its typical ridge (*taualuga*) and curved apses (*tala*).

Endnotes

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¹ Frampton rejected eclectically 'appropriated alien, exotic forms'. Frampton, Kenneth. "Towards a Critical Regionalism." In *Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster. 16-30. London: Pluto Press, 1989. 37.

² Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895; repr., Digitizing sponsor: Google; Book from the collections of: University of California). 288. Cf. Meleisea, Malama. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987. 89-124.

³ The Samoan government refused to allow Samoans to travel with Moors. He therefore engaged mostly other Islanders. Harry J. Moors, *Some recollections of early Samoa* (Apia, Samoa: Western Samoa Historical and Cultural Trust, 1986). 106.

⁴ Smith quoted in Johnston, "Representing the Pacific," 114, 11. If, as was widely reported, one of the *fale* indeed belonged to Mata'afa, then his participation and expectations – of which there is no record – would be very relevant.

⁵ William Schneider, "Colonies at the 1900 World Fair," *History Today* 31, no. 5 (1981): 32. The numbers of visitors are staggering: in Paris in 1900, a total of 50 million people visited, almost twice as at Chicago.

⁶ Cordula Grewe, "Between Art, Artifact and Attraction," in *Die Schau des Fremden: Ausstellungskonzepte zwischen Kunst, Kommerz und Wissenschaft*, ed. Cordula Grewe (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 22. – Morand passed his days 'in that Arab, Polynesian, negro town, which stretched from the Eiffel Tower to Passy, a quiet Paris hillside suddenly bearing upon its back all Africa, Asia ...' Morand in Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the Native and the Making of European Identities* (London: Continuum Intl Pub Group, 2000): 21.

⁷ Grewe, "Between Art, Artifact and Attraction," 21; Joseph Chailley-Bert in Schneider, "Colonies at the 1900 World Fair," 36.

⁸ *Kleine Presse*, 28.6.1896, in Jutta Steffen-Schrade, "Exkurs: Samoaner im Frankfurter Zoo," in *Talofa! Samoa, Südsee - Ansichten und Einsichten*, ed. Gerda Kroeber-Wolf and Peter Mesenhöller (Frankfurt: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1998), 383.

⁹ Mesenhöller, "Ethnography Considers History: Some examples from Samoa," 44.

¹⁰ Memorandum Secretary, Administration of Western Samoa, for Secretary, External Affairs, Wellington. 25.9.1923. IT EX 87/20.

¹¹ Memorandum Secretary, Administration of Western Samoa, for Secretary, External Affairs, Wellington. 25.9.1923. IT 1 EX 87/20.

¹² Memorandum Secretary, Department of External Affairs to Secretary, Samoan Administration, 25.5.1923; Memorandum Secretary, External Affairs, for His Excellency, Administrator of Western Samoa, 25.1.1923; both IT 1 EX 87/20.

¹³ Memorandum Secretary, Administration of Western Samoa, for Secretary, External Affairs, Wellington. 25.9.1923. IT 1 EX 87/20.

¹⁴ 'Without a Single Nail! Building a Samoan "Fale" at Wembley' by Steven Spurrier, in *The Illustrated London News* (May 24, 1924, 933).

¹⁵ Scott Cohen, "The Empire from the Street: Virginia Woolf, Wembley, and Imperial Monuments," *MFS Modern Fiction Studies* 50, no. 1 (2004): 85, 88. 'To visit the Exhibition is to visit every Continent of the earth'. Lawrence quoted in *ibid.*, 89.

¹⁶ 13.5.1939. IT 1 495 / EX 87/20/7; Assistant Secretary to Secretary, Samoan Administration, 1 August, 1938. IT 1 495 / EX 87/20/7.

¹⁷ For a Samoan response to these stereotypes, see Fana'afi, Aiono Le Tagaloa. "Bekennnisse einer Fledermaus." In *Talofa!*, ed. Kroeber-Wolf and Mesenhöller. 164-81. – For further details of Tropical Islands Resort, see A.-Chr. Engels-Schwarzpaul, "A warm grey fabric lined on the inside with the most lustrous and colourful of silks": Dreams of airships

and tropical islands," *The Journal of Architecture* 12, no. 5 (2007); A.-Chr. Engels-Schwarzpaul and Keri-Anne Wikitera, "Take me away ... In search of original dwelling," *Interstices - Journal of Architecture and Related Arts* 10 Adam's House in Paradise (2009).

¹⁸ Grewe, "Between Art, Artifact and Attraction," 10-11.

¹⁹ The genealogy is unmistakable: Dürbeck argues that current tourism still profits from the dualistic stereotypes of the Pacific in the *Völkerschauen*. Gabriele Dürbeck, "Samoa als inszeniertes Paradies: Völkerschauen um 1900 und die Tradition der populären Südseeliteratur," in *Die Schau des Fremden*, ed. Cordula Grewe (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 94. – TIR's *Tropical Village* includes 'authentic houses from 6 tropical regions of the world', 'constructed on site at *Tropical Islands* by craftsmen from their respective home countries'. — Tropical Island Management GmbH, "The Tropical Village," <http://www.my-tropical-islands.com/village/index-e.htm>.

²⁰ Keith L. Eggener, "Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism," *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-) 55, no. 4 (2002): 234. 'Critical Regionalism' refers to Frampton's ideas as developed in Western architectural discourses. A focus on European concepts tends to diminish their relevance to extra-European contexts (see Alan Colquhoun, "The Concept of Regionalism." In *Postcolonial Space(s)*, edited by Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu and Chong Tha Wong. 13-23. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997).

²¹ 'The fight against colonial powers and the struggles for liberation were, to be sure, only to be carried through by laying claim to a separate personality: for these struggles were not only incited by economic exploitation but more fundamentally by the substitution of personality that the colonial era had given rise to. Hence it was first necessary to unearth a country's profound personality and to replant it in its past in order to nurture national revendication.' Paul Ricoeur, "Universal Civilization and National Cultures," in *History and Truth* (Evanston (Ill.): Northwestern University Press, 1992), 277.

²² See Mark Crinson, "Singapore's moment: critical regionalism, its colonial roots and profound aftermath," *The Journal of Architecture* 13, no. 5 (2008): 588. *Provincializing Europe* has affinity with Stevenson's notion of interparochial differences which imply, despite their limiting self-interest, plural ways of understanding. See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ Pr, 2008). 96.

²³ *Regere fines* means the tracing of 'limits by straight line', the 'delimitation of the interior and the exterior' by an authority 'invested with the highest powers'. Émile Benveniste, *Indo-European language and society*, trans. Elizabeth Palmer (London: Faber and Faber 1973). 311.

²⁴ *Der Spiegel*, no.44 (1985), 228.

²⁵ German Protectorate from 1900; annexed by New Zealand in 1914; mandated to New Zealand by the League of Nations from 1920 to 1962.

²⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "In Defense of Provincializing Europe: A Response to Carola Dietze," *History and Theory* 47, no. 1 (2008): 86. A 'certain version of "Europe," ... continues to dominate the discourse of history ... In other words, the global condition for the production of history had this element of inequality about it' (86-7).

²⁷ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 6, 28. This would interrupt the sequence 'first in the West, and then elsewhere' (6). The inequality in the production of history has an equivalent in the production of regions: what 'lies beyond the center is by definition peripheral. No matter how vital, the peripheral is other than, deviant from, and lesser than the center'. Eggener, "Placing Resistance," 232.

²⁸ Eggener, "Placing Resistance," 228. Jacobs, who attempts also to present the views of 'those marked as Other', expands colonized peoples' repertoire of available attitudes – yet this repertoire still appears strangely bound to Chakrabarty's 'silent referents'. Jane Margaret Jacobs, *Edge of empire: postcolonialism and the city*, (New York: Routledge, 1996).

²⁹ Gayatri Spivak's use of Critical Regionalism points at the political implications of regionalism's going 'under and over nationalisms' to re-invent the state beyond the nation

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state. Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who sings the nation-state? Language, Politics, Belonging* (New York: Seagull Books, 2007). 08, 94 and 118.

³⁰ See Peter Sloterdijk, *Im Weltinnenraum des Kapitals* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2005).

³¹ Grewe, "Between Art, Artifact and Attraction," 15. The opposition echoes that of the Trocadero villages and the Eiffel Tower in 1900 Paris.

³² Andrew Eames, "Welcome to Germany's pleasure dome (21 May)," *The Sunday Times*, <http://travel.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,10290-2187529,00.html>.

³³ The hangar connotes technology and progress – the *fale* imaginary islands' balmy breezes, and a utopian way of life. Both are double-apsed buildings and their structural frameworks share similarities. See Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa. *Samoa Material Culture*. edited by Bulletin 75 Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1949; and http://www.baukunst.tuwien.ac.at/abk/texte/skelettbauweisen/b-fale_tele.html.

³⁴ Frampton, "Towards," 29.

³⁵ Ruth Padel, "Making Space Speak," in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, ed. John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, 1990), 341. 'Flimsy' is a relative term. In Samoa, 'space is indissolubly linked to time'. Tcherkézoff, Serge. *First Contacts in Polynesia-the Samoan Case (1722-1848): Western Misunderstandings About Sexuality and Divinity*. Canberra: Anu E Press, 2008. 136, 201.

³⁶ Anthony King quoted in Eggener, "Placing Resistance," 235.

³⁷ Memorandum for Secretary, Samoan Administration, from Acting Assistant Secretary, External Affairs, Wellington, 12.1.1940. IT 1 495/ EX 87/20/7

³⁸ Harrison, "Consuming Colonialism," 56-7.

³⁹ Gertrude M. Scott, 'Village Performance' quoted in Johnston, "Representing the Pacific," 113.

⁴⁰ Nicky Gregson and Gillian Rose, "Taking Butler elsewhere: performativities, spatialities and subjectivities," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18(2000): 433.

⁴¹ Duanfang Lu, "Architecture, modernity, and knowledge," *Fabrications* 19, no. 2 (2010): 146.

⁴² Eggener, "Placing Resistance," 235.

⁴³ See Tisdall, Simon. "China Syndrome Dictates Barack Obama's Asia-Pacific Strategy." In *The Guardian* (2012). <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/jan/06/china-barack-obama-defence-strategy>.

⁴⁴ 'David Laguardia, "Who Sings the Nation-State? [Review] Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, London–New York–Calcutta, Seagull Books, 2007," *Lectora*, no. 15 (2009): 352. Pollock, Bhabha, Breckenridge and Chakrabarty register a need to ground a 'sense of mutuality in conditions of mutability', 'to learn to live tenaciously in terrains of historic and cultural *transition*'. Pollock et al., "Cosmopolitanisms," 580.

⁴⁵ Sala Pio Tagiilima stated in an interview that the work for the TIR *fale* was done on a *palagi* (non-Samoan) contract, as the builders had to leave the country and could not act within a Samoan framework. Vitale Feaunati, a *tufuga* involved in the construction and re-assembly at TIR, commented that Samoan building techniques were disregarded. 'What they actually wanted was just the look ... It's meaningless to the *Fa'a-Samoa* [Samoan way].' Interviews, 2006 and 2009.

⁴⁶ Chakrabarty. *Provincializing Europe*, 29.