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Decolonization of SIDS as a Means of Gaining Soft Power Influence and Internal Stability
Master's Thesis (24 ECTS)

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I have written the Master's thesis independently. All the works of other authors, relevant viewpoints, literary sources, and information from other sources have been referenced.

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ABSTRACT

The topic of the research this thesis addresses is how the use of decolonization of power structures implemented in Small Island Developing States combat internal and international instabilities developed via colonialism. Whilst there are a wide variety of bureaucratic structures, education, governance, and law are the three focused most on identity reclamation, which have shown most effectively through studies to ease population dysphoria and foster resistance of some degree within the state. More mechanistic structures such as economics and trade are not formally included in this research as they are not cohesive with the crucial aspect of identity.

Bureaucratic systems now in place largely throughout the global community, SIDS included, are actually indigenous to the colonizers themselves. They are structured by and for colonizers, based around their own needs, structures, and cultural identities. Thus, they are ineffective in implementation on SIDS which have been colonized due to the fact the system was not intended for them or structured with their specific socio-cultural needs in mind. They clash with traditional structures and methods of rule on island communities. This results in inadequate and largely irrelevant curriculum in education, ineffective law/governance policies, lack of international merit as states, and population identity dysphoria. The goal of this thesis is to tie the use of colonialist power structures as the root cause of ongoing issues plaguing SIDS (ex. ineffective law and policy, corrupt governance, lack of legitimate influence in international community, dependency, etc.) whilst offering base-level, progress-allowing solutions by the use of decolonization and indigenization efforts within these power structures.

While enacting programs which focus on bureaucratic decolonization and cultural sustainability on the large scale would be expensive and arduous up front, it would serve as a long lasting solution for SIDS to seek in order to progress towards further internal stability and from there, international progress as state entities. Prior to colonialist occupation, SIDS states all had fully functioning, self-sufficient socio-cultural structures, laws, and governance which accompanied

their self autonomy and sovereignty as individual nations. These structures had successfully and efficiently governed them for thousands (or even tens of thousands, in some cases) of years. The colonialist values which were forced upon SIDS using, most effectively, law, governance, and education as mediums of transfer have changed island cultures almost irreparably. These changes have altered countless socio cultural, political, and legal factors for SIDS, calling for large scale adaptation within their populations in order to survive as sovereign states with a present voice in the modern capitalist, western hegemonic world.

The scope of the issues SIDS must deal with in the modern age is far beyond their own economic and physical capabilities as small states. The perpetuation of colonialism through its use in the structure of the education system has consistently lead to the decline of local coping strategies and traditional fields of knowledge and bureaucracy. This dysphoria increases SIDS internal vulnerabilities. From this evolves a lack of concrete international recognition by other global powers as sovereign national entities. There is a need to assess which strategies are outdated or maladaptive as well as a need to reach a balance between traditional strategies and more modern ones when it comes to decolonizing systems of identity based bureaucracy implemented on SIDS. Whilst support from the larger global community should be expected and pursued, localization and regionalization efforts are perhaps SIDS best chance of decolonizing, and thus, stabilizing their communities. Once stable, the bigger issue of establishing global merit in the international community can be established.

KOKKUVÕTE

Selle lõputöö uurimise teemaks on kuidas võimu-struktuuride dekoloniseerimine väikesaartest arengumaadel aitab võidelda koloniseerimisest tulenenud riigi siseste ja väliste ebastabiilsuste vastu.

Kuigi on olemas suur hulk bürokraatilisi struktuure, millest haridus, valitsus ja õigus on kolm kõige olulisemat meetodit riikidel oma identiteeti taastada ning need on olnud kõige tulemuslikumad uurimuste põhjal, kus prooviti kergendada elanikkonna düsfoorsust ja edendada vastupanu. Rohkem mehaanilised struktuurid nagu majandus ja kaubandus ei ole formaalselt mainitud selles uurimustöös, sest nad ei mängi niivõrd olulist rolli identiteedi loomises.

Bürokraatilised süsteemid mis on rajatud globaalselt, väikesaartest arengumaades kaasa arvatud, on tegelikult püsitatud koloniseerijate endi poolt. Need on struktureeritud koloniseerijate poolt ja nende jaoks, loodud nende vajaduste, struktuuride ja kultuursete identiteetide rahuldamiseks. Seetõttu on need ebatõhusad väikesaartest arengumaades mis on koloniseeritud, kuna kehtestatud süsteemid on ole nende või nendele spetsiifiliste sotsiaal-kultuuriliste vajadustega arvestatult loodud. Need on vastukõlas traditsioonide ja kohalike valitsusmeetoditega. Seetõttu on nende tulemused ebatõhusad nii hariduse, valitsuse või riigi identiteedi düsfooria mõjutamises.

Selle lõputöö eesmärk on selgitada miks praegused koloniseerijate poolt kehtestatud võimustruktuurid on peamiseks põhjuseks väikesaartest arenguriikidele omastele probleemidele, samal ajal pakkudes lihtsaid ja arenguvõimalustega meetode nende probleemide lahenduseks läbi nende võimustruktuuride dekoloniseerimise.

Ehkki selliste plaanide läbiviimine oleks esialgu kulukas ja vaevaline, aitaks see luua pikajalisi lahendusi väikesaartest arengumaadel areneda riigisisese stabiilsuse poole. Enne koloniseerimist olid kõikidel väikesaartest arengumaadel täiesti iseseisvad sotsiaal-kultuurilised struktuurid,

seadused ja valitsus, mis tulenes nende autonoomsusest ja suveräänsusest riikidena.

Need struktuurid olid enda üle edukalt ja effektiivselt valitsenud tuhandeid aastaid. Koloniseerijate poolt peale surutud väärtsused on muutnud väikesaare riike peaaegu parandamatult. Need väärtsused on muutnud lugematu koguse sotsiaal-kultuurulise, poliitilisi ja õiguslike tegureid, vajades suure plaanilisi muutusi populatsioonis, et kohaneda suveräänseete riikidena, kellel on oma hääl ka globaalsel skaalal.

Probleemide ulatus millele väikesaartest arengumaad peavad lahendusi leidma on kaugeltki nende majanduslike ja füüsилiste võimete piirangutest väljas. Koloniseerimisega kaasnevad kohanemisprobleemid on viinud alla kohalike toimetuleku strateegiate ja bürokraatiliste teadmiste taseme. See düsfooria teeb väikesaartest arengumaad ainult haavatavamaks.

On vaja hinnata, millised strateegiad on aegunud või halvaloomulised ning samuti jõuda tasakaalule traditsioonilise ja moodstate strateegiate vahel väikesaartest arengumaade bürokraatiliste struktuuride dekoloniseerimisega.

Kuigi suurtemate globaalsete võimude toetus peaks olema oodatud, on kohalikud jõupingutused väikesaartel parim võimalus dekoloniseerimiseks ning nende ühiskonna stabiliseerimiseks. Kui nad on jõudnud riigisisese tasakaaluni, siis saab süveneda suuremasse probleemi, milleks on nende globaalse potentsiaalini jõudmine.

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ABBREVIATIONS

IMA	Islamic Military Alliance
SIDS	Small Island Developing States

KEY TERMS

Bureaucratic Structures	specialized systems with processes of maintaining uniformity or authority within an organization or society
Colonization	the action or process of settling among and establishing control over the indigenous people of an area.
Decolonization	the undoing of colonialism
Indigenization	the act of making something more native; transformation of some service, idea, etc. to suit a local culture, especially through the use of more indigenous people in administration, employment, etc.

Maldives	a republic in the Indian Ocean, SW of India, consisting of about 2000 island
Postcolonialism/Postcolonial Theory	an academic discipline that analyzes, explains, and responds to the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism.
Small Island Developing States	a distinct group of developing island countries facing specific social, economic and environmental vulnerabilities

INTRODUCTION

The thesis at hand focuses on the effects of a colonial power structures (most namely, education, law, and governance) in Small Island Developing States and the effects which decolonization can have in creating internal stability and international validity as sovereign states.¹ This subject is highlighted by a short case study on the Maldives.² The aim of this thesis is to understand how these colonial power structures created unnatural levels of instability for SIDS over time and the restorative nature of decolonization work when applied in the case of SIDS. The history, understanding, and justifications for this will be achieved through the thesis's application of postcolonial theory.

At first glance, loss of cultural sovereignty and identity can seem quite irrelevant and abstract in comparison to the more practical issues SIDS face (ex. climate change, land loss, food insecurity, etc.). In fact, in the case of many colonized indigenous communities, loss of culture is viewed as a regrettable side effect of progress and development. Culture, traditional knowledge, and social structures are of key importance in self-determination of peoples and effective functioning of their communities particularly to indigenous peoples. Studies have proven the dysphoria accompanying lost cultural identity is real and affects nearly every factor in the lives of indigenous communities.³⁴⁵

Stripping indigenous peoples of their culture via systems of bureaucracy has been a long-since

¹ United Nations-OHRLLS. About the small island developing states. Retrieved 29 March, 2017 from <http://unohrlls.org/en/about-sids/>.

² Maldives Government Ministries. The Maldives. Retrieved 29 March, 2017 from <http://www.themaldives.com/government/maldives-government-ministries.html>.

³CBC. (2016, December 5). Psychologist says northern Sask. suicides a result of colonization, not mental illness. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatoon/northern-sask-suicide-gathering-1.3881652>.

⁴Mahmoud, H. (2013, September 9). *The impacts of colonialism and slavery in modern Benin*. <https://my.vanderbilt.edu/f13afdevfilm/2013/09/the-impacts-of-colonialism-and-slavery-in-modern-benin/>.

⁵Conner, A. (2014, April 16). *Case study: Impact of colonialism on Brazil (a developing economy)*. <https://www.slideshare.net/AislingMOConnor/case-study-impact-of-colonialism-on-brazil-a-developing-economy>.

used tactic by colonialist despots to achieve submission, as culture is so deeply tied with self-value. These methods include, but are not limited to, a replacement in power structures, forced re education of children, and the implementation of foreign legal and governmental systems over the indigenous community's traditional ones.⁶ These actions have, unfortunately, been proven to have been extremely effective and have thus been used repetitively amongst nearly every colonized nation. The nature of these colonialist practices still goes onwards into the modern age, with the necessity of SIDS to adapt themselves in a way which is understandable for Western world politics and global governance.

The application of postcolonialism in academia is in and of itself underutilized in small state studies. When applied to the case of Small Island Developing States, the theory is both highly applicable and boundary breaking within the wider context of typically Euro/westerncentric field of international relations. In a wider context, it allows for space to be given in acknowledgement of non-Western systems of knowledge and power, which is all but absent from typical international relations studies. The thesis cites and analyses the content of valuable postcolonial scholars and literature in order to showcase the value of postcolonialism more in depth. The combination of structure, topic, and theory in this thesis is unique in that it references a widely understudied subject in regards of sovereignty (Small Island Developing States) and applying a non-western-centric theory creates in combination an overall work which emphasises island nation's sovereign status as individual states as well as valuable members of the international political community.

The use of research on this subject and fields closely related to it are infinitely valuable to the modern day stage of international relations and world politics. The development of the field of international relations and all of its subtheories are based structurally and theoretically in the officiated academia of the western world.⁷ Postcolonialism as a theory is rather recently

⁶ Hannum, H. (2011, October 12). *Autonomy, sovereignty, and self-determination: The accommodation of conflicting rights*.

https://books.google.com/books?id=28PEGfCDiZEC&pg=PA260&lpg=PA260&dq=fight+for+saami+sovereignty&source=bl&ots=LNTGbC2S_C&sig=dME6_1F-QvtSkiv3kg6ty3tDbH0&hl=en.

⁷ Seth, S. (2012, August 24) The Limits of International Relations Theory: A Postcolonial Critique.

developed and implemented on a wider scale in the IR context. This theory has begun to emerge more widely in academic IR publications, but the balance of western vs. non western representation in the field is widely skewed.⁸⁹ Beyond this, small state studies are typically not centered around the unique challenges of island states, which some argue should be in their own category as the challenges which they face are so different from small states who share land borders with other nations. Both of these factors contribute to the value of the paper as they offer unique perspectives, cultural knowledges, coping mechanisms, and development options which may be of use to the greater global community if given wider international recognition and legitimization.

Thus, the main research question of this thesis is as follows: How can the decolonization of power structures in Small Island Developing States combat the internal and international problems that have developed via colonialism? There are a multitude of sub questions which are both applicable and valuable in adding context. These are: Why and through what tactics were colonialist power structures implemented in SIDS? What damages can be traced to as direct results of these colonial implementations? How can decolonization be used as a tool to regain autonomy, identity, and both international and internal stability for SIDS? The unique factors which comprise the entirety of this thesis offer points of knowledge which are widely under practiced in western academia, and thus, offer a rarely discussed, yet extremely valuable perspectives for healthy and effective development options.

The structure of the thesis is straightforward. First, the paper opens with an introduction outlining the scope, value, and content of the thesis. The introduction will be followed by a hearty analysis of the thesis's chosen theory and methodology. This section will define the theory used, discuss methods of implementation, the theoretical background and framework for

<http://www.e-ir.info/2012/08/24/the-limits-of-international-relations-theory-a-postcolonial-critique/>.

⁸ Castro, F.L. (2011, September 4). Does international relations theory privilege Western ways of thinking and acting?

<http://www.e-ir.info/2011/09/04/does-international-relations-theory-privileges-western-ways-of-thinking-and-acting/>.

⁹ Carnegie Council (2015, May 7). Towards non-Western histories in international relations textbooks. http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/ethics_online/0105.

the basis of the thesis's theory, as well as a justification for the research design of the thesis. There will be outlinings of classical postcolonialist theories (including the works of Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, and Edward Said) as they apply to colonialism in SIDS. The next chapter will profile SIDS and offer context on some of the history of colonization on such small states. It is comprised of sections which follow the history, methods, and intent of colonization of Small Island Developing States, namely, the use of colonial bureaucratic systems as primary tools to forcibly assimilate the local population of SIDS into colonialist values at the expense of the erasure of their own. It will then present the consequences these actions have lead to in internal and international SIDS politics. Colonization and decolonization are extensive topic, even beyond the scope of this thesis which must in and of itself define a set of limitations and focuses for the work at hand. It is simply not possible to cover every single aspect which both affect in practicality, thus, this thesis will focus most directly on colonization as a source of damage to indigenous sovereignty and stability and decolonization as a resetting and healing process to combat these damages. Process tracing is used to give light to the full extent of the impacts and the dependency systems they have created. This content will be supported by a series of interviews with postcolonial academics as well as legal and governmental representatives from Small Island Developing States. This section shall be supported by a case study presented in the next chapter.

The case study will cover the Maldives, applying the same process tracing structure as was presented in the first chapter. It will discuss the history and impact of colonialism as it applies to the Maldives and its violent thrust away from traditionally sustainable indigenous methods. Furthermore, the case study will recognize and discuss active current efforts which are being made towards restructuring, decolonizing, and indigenizing of bureaucratic systems in the Maldives in an attempt to thwart traditional repressions and the dysphoria and unstable systems and communities created by this. The discussion of the importance and value of decolonization methods will be put forth for consideration.

Following this, the thesis will offer a brief chapter discussing recommended methods for

improvement of SIDS internal and international governance through decolonization work. This section is simply to better give context to the effects of decolonization and is by no means the goal or overarching intent of the paper. It is not necessary to be the main focus of the paper as simply the subject at hand itself is so under researched that an establishment of scenario, context, situation, and implications must be foremostly and primarily understood. Hence, the value of decolonization for SIDS and how to strategize within the global world order of western dominance is simply emphasized by the addition of this section. The field of SIDS decolonization is just beginning to take hold in a practical sense.¹⁰ Research and understanding of the background and context of colonialism as it impacts SIDS is necessary for the future development of more tangible methods of change. Thus, the value of this thesis lies in the analysis of its research more so than in its recommendations and, therefore, more attention is given to the former. Finally, the paper's conclusion will close with some final thoughts and proposals in the hope of progress towards future state stability and recognition as global players.

¹⁰ Strang, D. Global Patterns of Decolonization, 1500—1987. *International Studies Quarterly*, 35. <http://people.soc.cornell.edu/strang/articles/Global%20Patterns%20of%20Decolonization%201500-1987.pdf>.

I. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the paper's theory and methodology, providing the necessary background information which will be of use to readers in understanding the following chapters. It first discusses multiple matters of structure and practicality, such as the reasoning behind the choice of the paper's applied theory, constraints of the research, and sampling. Following the practical outline of the paper, the chapter follows with an explanation of the chosen theory of postcolonialism and its most influential scholars. The purpose of this structure is to first outline the paper and then give reason behind the value of its structure. Namely, for those who are not familiar with postcolonial theory, the explanations of the theories of some of the discipline's more notable scholars helps the reader to further grasp the perspectives presented and argued in postcolonial theory, thereby making the forthcoming research more attainable.

1.1 VALUE OF THEORY

Postcolonialism was chosen as the framework to address the subject of this thesis for the following reasons:

1. The main goal of the thesis is to tie the use of colonialist power structures as the root cause of ongoing issues plaguing SIDS (ex. ineffective law and policy, corrupt governance, lack of legitimate influence in international community, dependency, etc.) whilst offering base-level, progress-allowing solutions by the use of decolonization efforts in these power structures. Postcolonial theory as it applies to the field of international relations challenges the typical western centric narrative. Postcolonialism is based in postpositivism, a theory which itself has a basis rooted in the intersectionalisation of international relations from solely considering politics of the state to additionally giving space for non governance based factors such as race, gender, religion, and class.¹¹ Addressing the value of traditional methods of knowledge, power structures,

¹¹ Raj, K. (2013, June). Beyond postcolonialism ... and postpositivism: Circulation and the global history

and sovereignty for SIDS thus applies most fluently under the use of postcolonial theory.

2. This thesis uses process tracing as a method of revealing the full extent of the impacts and the dependency systems colonization created for SIDS. Postcolonialist theory does not offer an all encompassing metanarrative as it accounts for a wider array of factors, giving way to a wider variety of situational differences. Process tracing uses these specific factors to build an overarching map of proof of, in the case of this thesis, the impacts of colonization on SIDS. The theory and method are thus complementary to both each other and the subject of the thesis.
3. Postcolonialism's value is largely in its relative subjectivity compared to other theories applied in IR. The wider than usual scope and variety of factors considered before compiling a conclusion allows for a more detailed narrative to develop as well as more diverse representation to occur. Thus, in application with SIDS, the use of postcolonial theory offers a deeper analysis and understanding of the context of instability and lack of international influence faced by these nations.
4. Postcolonialist theory is usable in this thesis as a bridge across which this narrative can be carried to the forefront of academic representation. The value of implementation of non-western power structures in states are wrongfully disregarded by mainstream academia. Postcolonialism, though not exactly mainstream within IR, has begun to gain academic traction recently. Presenting this valuable and unique narrative through postcolonialism can give the narrative hold and space, developing its merit in academia.

It is within the realm of possibility that one may inquire as to why postcolonialism was favored over the broader postpositivist theory. This decision was one of subjectivity in the part of the author. Postcolonialism focuses more directly on impacts which are directly rooted in the source of colonialism. Whereas, postpositivist theory broadens the scope to include wider factors of culture and gender. This thesis addresses the subject of colonialism directly. Thus, the

application of postcolonialism vs. postpositivism was implemented in order to more directly reflect the subject matter of the thesis. Furthermore, there are many relevant previous works on the subject of decolonization which have been produced by esteemed postcolonialist scholars such as Bhabha, Said, and Spivak.¹² The analysis of the postcolonial theory overarchingly and in tandem with the works of specific postcolonial theorists allows for the most accurate understanding and analysis of the subject matter addressed in this thesis.

1.2 SAMPLING

The thesis uses a mix of purposive sampling and quota sampling in its research materials and chosen interviewees. Purposive sampling was chosen in order to give the author the maximum amount of subjectivity in deciding, based on previously acquired knowledge as well as extensive research on the thesis's subject, which articles and individuals would be the most relevant and knowledgeable and thus most readily contribute to the sample. Quota sampling was chosen in order to assure the demographic which the research is directed towards (indigenous people, islanders, and decolonization actors) would be the forefront priority in compiling this thesis both "by and for." The mix of the two types of sampling will compliment each other and give the research which is done for this thesis the most impact. It will address the audience the paper is intended for directly whilst additionally serving as a useful sourcebook for those allied in or interested by decolonization research and application in international relations, but who are not directly impacted in the effects faced by indigenous, postcolonial, or island communities.

The thesis uses articles, sources, and research materials which were published within a 25 year time frame from 1992 to 2017. This is to ensure the data included in the research and analysis is both inclusive enough to be effective with the narrative style, process tracing, which involves a certain amount of collection of older data, but not so wide as to include data or information which would now be considered academically outdated. The sources of data which are used

¹² Golden, A. (2015, April 19). *A brief history of postcolonial literature, Part I.*"
<https://blog.bookstellyouwhy.com/a-brief-history-of-postcolonial-literature-part-i>.

include academic research papers on a variety of subjects included, but not limited to: sovereign island nations, postcolonial theory, application of decolonization (in a variety of fields, from SIDS and non-SIDS postcolonial countries), and indigenous state sovereignty. The interview of Poka Laenui whose theory on the 6 Steps of Decolonization is referenced within this study is sourced from a first person interview conducted by the author. Additional sources are gathered from credible academic sites, official university publications, credible intergovernmental entities archives, and both video and audio content which contains interviews with established scholars familiar with postcolonialist theory and decolonization. Whilst some may see the use of such a variety of sources too extensive, the diversity in fact increases the credibility of the thesis's claims as it shows justification for the arguments presented is available in a wide multitude of platforms, mediums, and resource bases.

1.3 CONSTRAINTS

The constraints of the thesis, whilst limited, are nonetheless important to consider for the sake of understanding their context. Most research done in the field of international relations is not based in postcolonial theory nor does it generally consider indigenous populations as sovereign international actors. While the subjects of SIDS and decolonization as individual factions for study are not unknown to the world of academia, the decolonization of SIDS as a cohesive subject is a virtually unresearched topic in the context of international relations. The quality and availability of applicable international relations based resources, particularly academic vs. non academic sources, is limited within the specific parameters of applying to both SIDS and decolonization together cohesively, rather than as separate subjects for individual consideration which is how most of the resources available present them. The thesis has supplemented this gap by consulting and noting a variety of sources from both of these fields and applying them together under postcolonial theory to make a more cohesive unit. Additionally, language barriers on the part of the author due to the diversity of SIDS constrains the findings and citing (all of which in this thesis are English language sources). However, due to the nature of English as a dominant language in both law and governance, most official governmental publications from

SIDS have been translated into English, so this is perhaps less of a practically present issue and much as it is a context point for consideration.

1.4 UNDERSTANDING POSTCOLONIAL THEORISTS

1.4.1 THE SUBALTERN

Postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha talks about the colonialist use of de-culturalization tactics to create “hybrid” cultures.¹³ This is where the unique cultural identity of a people is lost by the forced assimilation which comes under occupational culture colonialism. It is a mixing of the values and culture of the colonizer with traditional values and practices. This hybridity is formed within the disputed territory between modern ideas of what traditional values are comprised of and traditional resistance efforts against colonial powers. The hegemony in Gayatri Spivak’s “subaltern” normalizes their own value systems upon colonization, thus “silencing” the subaltern class from being able to speak on their own existence and experience of being colonized.¹⁴

When situations of conflict arise between the classes, subaltern classes enter what Bhabha refers to as The Third Space.¹⁵ The implications of this theory are that each individual is a hybrid of the factors of their existence such as factors like location, family, socioeconomic background, and so forth. This builds a “culture of the mind” by accumulating the past experiences of the circumstances the individual is placed in. It is a state of being within which a person's identity must constantly be reasserted and maneuvered. The process of mixing can be seen clearly in the large scale practice of Judeo-Christian religions on SIDS and the culture of conservatism in dress

¹³ Bhabha, H. (2016, April 8). Concept of hybridity.

<https://literariness.wordpress.com/2016/04/08/homi-bhabhas-concept-of-hybridity/>.

¹⁴ Morris, R. (ed.). (2010, March). *Can the subaltern speak?*

<https://cup.columbia.edu/book/can-the-subaltern-speak/9780231143844>.

¹⁵ Meredith, P. (1998, July). Hybridity and the third space: Rethinking bi-cultural politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand. <http://lianx.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/hybridity.pdf>.

and manner which tends to accompanies these faiths.¹⁶ On the other side of the coin, SIDS islanders are generally quite passionate about the use and education of traditional factions such as language, food sources, and methods of harvesting indigenous crops and plants on their islands.

For indigenous subalterns, there is much loss and mixing of tradition that is subjected during ongoing colonization. Combine this with the continual battle of voices between the hegemony and the subaltern classes, it can be extremely taxing on the subalterns emotions and mental state. Thus, the hybrid is pushed forth and accepts its status in ambiguity. This process is creating a “new” culture out of the mixing of the two. It allows the culture being affected by colonialism to learn to live with their contradictions rather than fighting to find a spot on the spectrum between hegemonic and subaltern.¹⁷

1.4.2 THE HYBRID

The populations of SIDS states live in a proverbial Purgatory within which they covet both their traditional community mechanisms as well as a call for progress in creating a voice in the global stage of politics and economics. These sort of contradictions, post-colonialist scholar Homi Bhabha argues, are humanly inherent.¹⁸ In the study of post-colonialism, when emphasis is on one side or the other, it loses focus of the experience of the postcolonialist hybrid culture. Hence, understanding a post colonialist culture’s hybridity is imperative in order to truly understand the scope of realities which are present within their culture.

Furthermore, when decolonization occurs and an active effort is made to reclaim traditional

¹⁶ Laenui, P. (Burgess, H.) (2012) Hawaiian perspective. <https://vimeo.com/hawaiianperspectiv>.

¹⁷ Smith, K.I. (2006, February 20). *The impact of indigenous hybridity on the formation of world society*. http://www.uzh.ch/wsf/WSFocus_KISmith.pdf.

¹⁸ Bhabha, H. (1990). *Nation and narration*. New York, NY: Routhledge. <https://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/bhabha/nation.html>.

identity, stability is gained.¹⁹ This understanding gives legitimacy to their identities as individuals as well as sovereign nations. Over time, this flows over and assists in quelling internal conflicts and increases national stability as well. For SIDS, progress of this sort would mean recognizing their need to be involved in global politics for the sake of their survival whilst dually understanding their need for cultural autonomy, implementation of traditional power structures, physical, and national sovereignty as both independent nations and valid players in the game of global politics.

1.4.3 SAID, ORIENTALISM, AND “ISLANDISM”

Colonization was often justified (particularly in the case of religious colonization) as an act of humanitarianism and white saviorhood. The idea was to “rescue the savage from himself” and “modernize” SIDS and their populations, seeing them as underdeveloped and incapable of proper self governance.²⁰ Law, governance, and education systems which colonizers force onto an indigenous society are created by and for those imperialist societies from which they were birthed. In and of their own existence of being bureaucratically sourced, they are thus unreliable in nature. Said argued that due to its dubious foundation, academic writing sourced in the Western world is produced with erroneous, deceptive, and stereotyped portrayals of the East, leading to an exotification of and a lack of understanding towards the true nature of Middle and Far Eastern cultures.²¹ This lack of understanding is based in differences of values and experiences between the East and West, though this theory applies to any two differing socio-cultural entities. Historically, colonialist scholars being set in the values they had gave them space to justify a feeling of correctness and superiority over SIDS. Hence, since the

¹⁹ Bretton, H.L. (1962). *Power and stability in Nigeria: The politics of decolonization*. https://books.google.com/books/about/Power_and_Stability_in_Nigeria.html?id=v_0vAAAAIAAJ.

²⁰ "The White Man's Burden": Kipling's hymn to U.S. imperialism. Retrieved March 29, 2017 from History Matters. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5478/>.

²¹ Said, E.W. (1978). Introduction and Chapter 1: The scope of orientalism. *Orientalism*, https://sites.evergreen.edu/politicalshakespeares/wp-content/uploads/sites/33/2014/12/Said_full.pdf.

colonizer finds the culture of the “other” objectionable and amoral.²² Colonizers patronizingly justified criticizing the many unique indigenous traditional forms of knowledge, law, and government of SIDS, wiping them out in favor of their own value systems.

²² Sepulveda, Jr., A. (2008, March 14). *The colonizer and the colonized essay*.
<https://www.bartleby.com/essay/The-Colonizer-and-the-Colonized-F3J44H2KTC>.

II. HISTORY OF COLONIZATIONS INFLUENCE ON GOVERNANCE, LAW, AND EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES IN SIDS

This chapter focuses the Maldives and provides a case study to give context to the subject matter at hand in this thesis. It provides information on the history of the Maldives, prior and post colonization, the trauma and impacts of colonial occupation, and the resulting pushback towards indigenization and decolonization. It provides a practical example of an answer to the main question of the thesis, namely, “*How can the use of decolonization of power structures implemented in Small Island Developing States combat internal and international issues developed via colonialism?*” Accompanying the specifics of the case study, an interview with postcolonial scholar and Hawaiian indigenous activist Poka Laenui is included. This interview gives the reader a clearer understanding of the practicalities and theory behind decolonization and indigenization, and the practical methods through which to apply them. The value of both the interview as well as the case study within the larger research is its ability to practicalize the theory which has thus far been examined throughout the thesis. It provides practical information in context to the larger sub questions to be addressed by the thesis, namely, why and through what tactics colonialist power structures were implemented in SIDS, what damages can be traced to as direct results of these colonial implementations, and how decolonization can be used as a tool to regain autonomy, identity, and both international and internal stability.

2.1 PROCESS OF COLONIZATION: OVERVIEW

Colonialism lives onward in its heritage.²³²⁴ The structure which was set in place by occupying

²³ Settles, J.D. (1996, May). *The impact of colonialism on African economic development*. http://trace.tennessee.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1182&context=utk_chanhonoproj.

²⁴ Bobonis, G.J., & Toro, H.J. (2007, December). Modern colonization and its consequences: The effects

powers still exists within SIDS today. An obvious example of this is language. A multitude of SIDS states use a Western colonialist language to serve as the national tongue. Those who do not often teach colonialist languages in school or are standard sectors of education which are encouraged in the nation's upper classes. Another example is legal structure. The colonialist regimes who historically occupied SIDS enacted their own legal systems upon colonization. All SIDS states practice a system of governance today which is at least rooted in the colonial legal structure (for example, common law). Some SIDS states have a combination of these two influences. For example, São Tomé and Príncipe, a former Portuguese colony, uses Portuguese as a national language and shares the semi-presidential republic system the Portuguese practice.²⁵

Colonial education systems played arguably one of the most major roles in the ongoing effects of occupation on SIDS. Systems of education which promoted the hegemonic morality upon islanders sought out to alienate them from their roots and traditions.²⁶ This killed any desire for nationalism in most SIDS as many have far greater association with the states with their colonial occupiers.

In post-colonial theory, it's important to understand the future policy implication of studying the impacts of colonization. Islanders learn in the colonial context because the educations systems which have been set up are drawn from the colonial handbook. The imperative step for reform is to teach what there is a desire to be taught and to implement those relevant strategies in bureaucracy.²⁷ Instead of studying about the abstract concepts of colonialist philosophers and history of their occupiers, instead the system should turn to offering information on their own ancestors and history not limited to the colonial scope. Implementation of indigenous knowledge is more concrete because islanders are able to work within the context of what is directly around them rather than a nation which is far away. This kind of dissociation SIDS experience via

of U.S. educational policy on Puerto Rico's educational stratification 1899-1910.

http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~bobonis/BT_literacy_dec07.pdf.

²⁵ Sao tome e principe. Welcome. <http://www.saotome.st/>.

²⁶ Nwanosike, O.F., & Onyije, L.E. (2011). *Colonialism and education*.

<http://www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf>.

²⁷ Samudzi, Z. (2016, March 29). We need a decolonized, not a "diverse," education. *Harlot*.

<http://harlot.media/articles/1058/we-need-a-decolonized-not-a-diverse-education>.

colonialist power structures turns the crosshairs away from the real enemy, the colonizer, and towards themselves.²⁸ The ultimate goal within SIDS is political and social stability in the wake of the impacts of colonialism. This must be sought out by uniting the people in a common cause by giving their own identity as islanders, not colonialist remnants, the stage in any nation's' most important sectors: law, governance, and education. Seeing a common reason for the survival of self and the survival of others gives way to collective action towards the nation's healing. Of course, this process is long and arduous. Perhaps it would take a multitude of generations before reaching a tipping point, but it can be done.

²⁸ Shizha, E., & Kariwo, M. (2011). Impact of colonialism on education. In *Education and development in Zimbabwe*. New York, NY: Springer. http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007%2F978-94-6091-606-9_2.

2.2 VIRGILIO ENRIQUES' STRUCTURE OF COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT

Professor Virgilio Enriques, an indigenous Filipino scholar, mapped and coined a five step process of colonization which serves as a general outline for the²⁹³⁰ These steps are

1. Denial and Withdrawal
2. Destruction/Eradication
3. Denigration/Belittlement/Insult
4. Surface Accommodation/Tokenism
5. Transformation/Exploitation

The first step, denial and withdrawal, takes place in the initial stages of contact. This step is based on a sense of moral superiority on the side of the colonizer, seeing themselves and their culture as more developed and valuable, more moral and correct, thus, it is made justifiable for them to implement within the contacted indigenous community. It is during this stage that an initial section of the community begins to make connections with the colonizers, withdrawing and beginning to deny the values from their own culture. It is these initial people who form connections with the colonizers that in many cases end up working for them in recruiting further assimilation as they act as a bridge between the cultures of their peers and their colonizers.

In the second step, destruction and eradication, actions to destroy the indigenous culture are taken with less tact and more bluntness and direct objective. This typically involves the physical destruction of indigenous structures of importance such as religious places of worship, sacred

²⁹ Enriquez, V.G. (2010, April). *From colonial to liberation psychology: The Philippine experience*. Honolulu, HI: Univ. of Hawai'i Press. <http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/p-7124-9789715425889.aspx>.

³⁰ Archibald, L. (2006). *Decolonization and healing: Indigenous experiences in the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and Greenland*. The Aboriginal Healing Foundation. <http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/ibpengweb.pdf>.

sites of ceremony, art, and other cultural icons. In this step as further assimilation has been promoted due to the original indigenous “recruits” of the colonizers, they may themselves even begin to take part in the destruction of their own cultural icons, structures, etc.

The third step, denigration/belittlement/insult, grows out of the establishment of deeper rooting of colonization and colonial systems. Implementations of colonial systems and structures begin in this state (ex. Law, governance, education, religion, etc). It is accompanied by a creation of shame, taboo, or outright illegality around the traditional methods and systems used by the indigenous peoples as a method to further cement the foreign systems in the society as permanent fixtures. By the end of this step, indigenous identity has been fully snuffed and the colonial culture fixed into the society as dominant and “correct”.

In the fourth step, surface accommodation and tokenism, the remnants of indigenous cultures and traditions are given some surface level “accommodation” through creation of stereotypes, viewed through the anthropological lense of a curious culture long gone rather than a still existing and living group of people. Tokenization begins in this step, it is from step four where we begin to see romanticization of the traditions and cultures of indigenous peoples and gain tropes such as the “noble savage” and “simple, natural man of the earth”.

The final step, transformation and exploitation, is in line with Homi Bhabha’s hybridity concept. It is the transformation and integration of whatever aspects of the indigenous culture managed to survive the prior four steps into mainstream society. Usually it is factions such as art and music, though others may make it through as well, these are simply the most common. The concept of “cultural appropriation” is developed in the final step, where the colonizers begin to claim these remnants as their own due to the increased commonality and dispersion of them throughout the dominant society. Indigenous peoples themselves may even further create a meta narrative of an exploitation of their own image in the eyes of the colonial viewer.³¹

³¹ Laenui, P. (Burgess, H.) (2012). *Steps in the process of colonization (Laenui, drawing from Virgilio Enriques)*. http://www.ucalgary.ca/~ponting/Inds201_LaenuiStepsColonialism.ppt.

2.3 INAPPROPRIATENESS OF HANDS ON INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION

Another feature which is undoubtedly linking between colonizers and SIDS is money. Many SIDS rely off of the currency of their former colonizer. These same nations provide SIDS in monetary assistance (this is particularly the case in former French colonies).³² The question of freedom is extended here. How sovereign can a nation be if it is monetarily dependent on its colonizer? The possibility of “full” independence, in both matters of definition and practicality, is rather abstract. Generally, decolonization is looked at in less full spectrum lenses, breaking sovereignty down into sections (i.e. political, economic, cultural, linguistic, etc.).

While some colonizers took a more laissez-faire approach to their former colonies after departing, others installed in their wake systems which made dependency on SIDS former colonizers necessary for function and survival. Interactions such as military agreements between former colonizers/SIDS tie the nations together inseparably. When a SIDS did not give its support in the masses to its colonizer, these types of systems were installed in order to give more legitimacy to the colonialist states occupying role. Particularly in SIDS where there was not a “smooth transition” into the current governance system they practice, the masses again have no say as they are bureaucratically at the will of the damaged structure of a state that their colonizers have installed.³³

One of the arguments seen pitted against postcolonial studies is that it may be a sort of “blame shifting” away from these colonized states themselves.³⁴ Critics argue there are benefits to colonialism such as organization, improvement of technology/health/industrialization, and

³² European Parliament. Fact sheet on the European Union: Outermost regions (ORs). Retrieved 29 March, 2017 from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU_5.1.7.html.

³³ Champagne, D. (2016, February 7). Assimilation, integration and colonization. *Indian Country Media Network*. <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/history/events/assimilation-integration-and-colonization/>.

³⁴ San Juan, Jr., E. (1998, November). The limits of postcolonial criticism: The discourse of Edward Said. <https://www.solidarity-us.org/node/1781>.

transferring from bartering systems to systems of capitalism. These arguments, however, very Westernized in nature and value. These so called “improvements” came at the cost of millions, if not billions, of human lives over the overarching scope of colonial history. Certainly to live without some modern conveniences and without the draining capitalist system at your center is worth it.

2.3.1 METHODS

The role of traditional sectors of rule and order in indigenous communities has been and continues to be a method of training individuals in being productive and helpful members of their communities. The entire premise of traditional knowledge keeping is based in solidarity with one's people.³⁵ Colonization disrupted this natural balance traditional education held over SIDS. It is natural to consider that since colonizers generally invaded SIDS for capitalist and imperialist reasons, these intentions would affect the structural layout of the way the colonial education systems were enforced in SIDS.

2.3.2 INTENT

Education as a tool of colonization has a definitive motive rather than a resource available purely for individual or community development internally. Hesitancy on the part of the locals to accept colonial rule was natural, so beyond the use of locals in arbitral situations, this created more trust of the colonizers by the rest of the “everyday” locals. Educating locals into “hybrids” a la Homi Bhabha or “marginal men” as coined by Uche proved to be an extremely effective tool in gaining a foothold for colonizers in SIDS.³⁶

³⁵ Alaska Native Science Commission. What is Traditional Knowledge? Retrieved 29 March, 2017. http://www.nativescience.org/html/traditional_knowledge.html.

³⁶ Kirimi. (2007). Yale University BUS 591 class website. <https://www.coursehero.com/file/p2mbt3k/The-colonial-administration-did-not-want-to-spend-money-on-education-of/>.

The way colonizers enacted their own systems into place in education (and thus, dually, their own morals) can be seen as a sort of “translation” system. Having locals who were able to mediate for colonizers made it much easier for them to make greater requests of locals as well as more effectively gain access to and exploit the area resources. This concept is extrapolated on in Ernest Gellner’s theory of education as means of dominating over other cultures.³⁷ Thus, the colonialist education system does not serve the best needs and interests of the indigenous population, but rather serves as a method of power control over these locals in order to gain their loyalty and possible assistance for collecting/exploiting a resource at a future time on behalf of the colonizer.

2.2 CONSEQUENCES OF ILL-FITTING SYSTEMS

Participation in colonialist education systems created internal divisions within SIDS, separating those who got involved and those who did not into different classes.³⁸ This process of “turning the rifle towards oneself,” so to speak, only managed to create further dysphoria within communities. Living with this mentality and carrying it onward intergenerationally was a key factor in setting the foundation for the many socially and politically unstable SIDS states we see today. Enwo-Irim of Ebonyi State College of Education states this thought poeintly:

“Colonial western education because it was not aimed at sustainable development, had limitations placed on the standard and scope. For example the missionaries targeted the lower classes in society and converted them. The new converts thus acquired new status and in many societies they become more importance than the traditional authorities. This reversal of

³⁷ O’Leary, B. (1998). Ernest Gellner’s diagnoses of nationalism: a critical overview...? *The state of the nation: Ernest Gellner and the theory of nationalism*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/ppec/PPEC%20People/Brendan%20O'Leary/publications/Book%20Chapters/OLeary_State_of_the_Nation_chapter.pdf.

³⁸ *Colonialism and Independence: Nigeria as a Case Study*. Retrieved 29 March, 2017 from <http://www.123helpme.com/view.asp?id=38538>.

authority led to conflicts in many societies...This type of Education was not only aimed at solving the problem of language barrier which posed very serious challenge to the colonial administration, this type of education introduced was aimed at producing reliable natives to occupy posts of responsibility which were at the time filled by subordinate Europeans at a great cost. Colonial Western Education was only aimed as sustainable colonial exploitation of the colony. Colonial agents did produce, through their western type of education the situational condition for development. „³⁹

2.2.1 DEPENDENCY

The balance of life on SIDS is precarious and becoming more and more so with the changing times. Unfortunately, international institutions are intended for much bigger states and generally are quite Western in nature, not considering the important socio cultural which must also be addressed in order to understand the functioning of a SIDS. Mechanisms for investment in SIDS by large states or outside companies and organizations are not in place, whether that be for the collection of grants or private sector investment. To quote the article Colonial Imaginaries and Postcolonial Transformations: exiles, bases, beaches:

“While a colonising legacy pervades contemporary representations of these societies, such depictions are not immutable but can be, and are being, appropriated and reworked through various forms of situated agency. Thus an ‘island imaginary’ has become an important cultural and economic resource for small island states, most notably in the development of a tourist industry. The key challenge for vulnerable peripheral states is to create new forms of representations that contest and replace tenacious colonialist depictions to provide greater opportunities for sustained development.”

Prior to colonialist contact, SIDS states all had fully functioning, self-sufficient socio-cultural

³⁹ Enwo-Irem, I.N. (2013). Colonialism and education: The challenges for sustainable development in Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 4(5).
<http://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/view/673>.

structures which accompanied their self autonomy and sovereignty. Since then, forced value changes of colonialism (particularly with the introduction of the capitalist mentality) have changed island cultures irreparably.⁴⁰ These changes have altered countless socio cultural factors for SIDS, calling for large scale adaptation within their populations in order to survive.

The scope of the issues SIDS must deal with in the modern age is far beyond their own economic and physical capabilities as small states. The decline of local coping strategies and traditional knowability to climate change.⁴¹ There is a need to assess which strategies are outdated or maladaptive as well as a need to reach a balance between traditional strategies and more technological ones when it comes to combating climate change. Through this loss, economic and trade dependency is further reinforced between SIDS and large nations and their international institutions as byproducts.

⁴⁰ Stanley, D. *Colonialism in the South Pacific*. Retrieved 29 March, 2017 from <http://www.southpacific.org/history/colonialism.html>.

⁴¹ Langworthy, J., & Finan, T.J. (1997). *Waiting for rain: Agriculture and ecological imbalance in Cape Verde*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

III. CASE STUDY

This chapter focuses the Maldives and provides a case study to give context to the subject matter at hand in this thesis. It provides information on the history of the Maldives, prior and post colonization, the trauma and impacts of colonial occupation, and the resulting pushback towards indigenization and decolonization. It provides a practical example of an answer to the main question of the thesis, namely, *“How can the use of decolonization of power structures implemented in Small Island Developing States combat internal and international issues developed via colonialism?”* Accompanying the specifics of the case study, an interview with postcolonial scholar and Hawaiian indigenous activist Poka Laenui is included. This interview gives the reader a clearer understanding of the practicalities and theory behind decolonization and indigenization, and the practical methods through which to apply them. The value of both the interview as well as the case study within the larger research is its ability to practicalize the theory which has thus far been examined throughout the thesis. It provides practical information in context to the larger sub questions to be addressed by the thesis, namely, why and through what tactics colonialist power structures were implemented in SIDS, what damages can be traced to as direct results of these colonial implementations, and how decolonization can be used as a tool to regain autonomy, identity, and both international and internal stability.

3.1 INTERVIEW: POKA LAENUI, HAWAIIAN NATION

Laenui offers a dual perspective of decolonization as both a state of being and a process. In the sense of decolonization as a process, he offers it as more of a personal journey of self unravelling of internal colonization. Even within personal decolonization, there are tiers. According to

Laenui, “*There’s a right way and a better way of doing it. The first is to accomplish the departure of the colonial administration, usually a foreign state, as a result, the people “colonized” becomes “decolonized.”*

Laenui’s Process of Decolonization (referenced earlier in this thesis) was discussed during the interview. In regards to the concept of decolonization, Laenui asserts moreso that the process must be a coagulated effort of the entire community population, lest its progress become too arduous or labor intensive for a few. The diversity of both cultures and acts of colonization makes Laenui’s process subjective in implementation, he acknowledges. Yet, the general outline and idea is present, and although no theory can truly be all encompassing, it sets a model and basis for understanding and analysis that colonized states must face. Laenui asserts that “*The general idea is that among those people who will remain part of the state following decolonization, they should all be part of the process as participants and not merely as objects of decolonization.*”

Laenui offered an island-specific example of decolonization, referencing when decolonization happened as the British departed the South Pacific region. After the decolonization of this region, the Fijian people attempted to establish a fully isolationist Fijian state, excluding others from the recently decolonized South Pacific (ex. South Pacific islanders from other nations, ethnic Chinese and Indian immigrants displaced under British rule, etc.) This proposal was rejected by the UN and eventually a mixed Fijian state was established, much to the displeasure of the local Fijians who lead two separate government overthrows in protest in the coming years. The instability of the nation began at this time and the country still today feels the reverberations.

On the other side of the coin, decolonization as a state of being involves release as an individual or a community from colonial oppressions, physical and otherwise. It is not necessarily characterized by a physical exit from the colonial systems, it is simply a reversion to consideration of indigenous ideas such as increasing use and practice of traditional lifestyle and coping methods, returning to community and spiritual values, and perhaps most of all, active self

determination in consideration of traditional community morality. Attempting to assert community involvement in larger state and international affairs is another practice which can be attributed to this definition of decolonization as it is an active practice of self-identification and wider assertion of this in a system of power and control.

Laenui then shifted the discussion to the semiotics and separate concept of indigenization. In his previous works, he references two kinds of systems possible for colonized nations when considering the necessity of future developments. One can either D.I.E., meaning to become involved in cultural Domination, separative and Individualize communities, and Exclude those who are not part of them. An example of this may be the blood quantum systems of enrollment used by tribes in the USA where arbitrarily set percentages of indigenous lineages are enforced and once a generation is born below them, they no longer can legally identify themselves as a member of that indigenous community. The alternative to the D.I.E. system Laenui offers is the O.L.A. system. This acronym is made of of the Hawaiian words Olulu (comfort, contentment), Lokahi (expansiveness, inclusiveness), and Aloha (affection, love, peace, compassion, and mercy). In the O.L.A. system, acting Olulu with environment and communities around you, around Lokahi in education, law, and governance systems, and Aloha in deciding how to solve problems using cooperative methods.

Laenui discusses the idea of indigenization being multi sourced, with the majority directed from either indigenous peoples or their cultures, namely, cultures in the sense of deeper substance than what is typically associated through tokenization (aesthetic, folklore, etc, though these factors can become involved they are not perhaps the most effective source from which a community can source their indigenization). Considering the sources, indigenization is a dual sectored concept, *“the incorporation of both the people and the culture into the formal and informal institutions and processes which operate within a society”* These processes are diverse and varied, they can be as physical as being enacted on territories or health related programs or as abstract as policy considerations or care (regardless of if it's directed at the self, the community, the land, or any other cohesive entity for the group). These incorporations do not have to be

violent or controlling, they simply must allow the indigenous groups designing and implementing them to gain through their use a sense of sovereignty and control within their own domain. Just as indigenous cultures should not be viewed in a way which is strictly anthropological, their cultures, communities, and lives must too be first and foremost recognized for what they are, namely, actual and current groups with existing and valid coping functions. Whilst the consideration of tradition and history is a large part of indigenous identity, “*it cannot be time-locked and become immovable. It too needs to breath, to grow, to develop into its future.*”

Laenui asserts the principle value of decolonization as the right to self-determination, to “*be able to unfold into one’s future as one determines for oneself and not as a pawn to another’s will and interest.*” He differentiates these in the comparison to slave vs. emancipated states. Decolonization acts as a tool for emancipation from the colonial system, allowing the people who had previously been repressed within it the time and space to self govern and to heal. Whilst trauma has set many indigenous communities on a more difficult path to tread than others, any progress being made after their emancipation is their own, and there is value in that practice alone, even if the methods and results are not as efficient as would be available with a heavier reliance on outside systems. When outside intervention is too heavily relied on in decolonization, communities run the risk of ineffective program implementations. Communities are more likely to consider their own specific cultures, needs, and traumas in creating their own decolonization and indigenization efforts than an outside or more neutral party would. After prolonged periods of existence under paternalist symptoms, this ability to self govern is imperative for indigenous communities to go through, both as a restoration of their identity and healing of themselves and individuals and cultures.

Laenui asserts that indigenous peoples cannot truly be sovereign under colonial law and governance systems. When an indigenous community is subordinate to colonial law it is impossible for it to express sovereignty. Thus, to establish sovereignty, it is essential to decolonize and break free from subjection to the colonizer. Practicing self determination

involves the consistent selection of independent action. Laenui states that those states who have committed colonial occupations have a multitude of responsibilities and that these responsibilities are expressed in a number of different international legal and intergovernmental mechanisms. Some of these include the UN Charter, resolutions of the UN General Assembly, and the International Bill of Human Rights (and its fundamental documents, most notably, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). Recently, the United Nations has organized a Special Committee on Decolonization whose purpose is to further understanding, study, and implementations of decolonization work.

Laenui's thoughts and research are more directed towards decolonization rather than reparations. He agrees reparation are possible to a certain extent, but they do not adequately suffice for the damages which indigenous peoples faced due to colonization. Reparations are subjective in that they must be consideration of the specific community and their colonial history. Laenui advocates less so for reparations or any international paternalism at all due to the fact that *"Reparation is really a look back at what colonization has wrecked or brought to the people. Decolonization looks to the future, about how a people want to move forward."*

Laenui offers that two separate concepts must be considered by colonial bureaucratic systems (ex. Law, government, education, etc.) in their engagement in and respect indigenous sovereignty. First and foremost is indigeneity, secondly is sovereignty. Whilst sovereignty is situation based and subjective, indigenous rights, communities, and peoples are not. Hence, it is not the job of international communities to enact whichever forms of control they see fit. Their sole position on the subject should be being resource available for indigenous communities looking to decolonize and establishing and ratifying further international protections for indigenous peoples to practice their sovereignty through. The actual planning, application, and processes of decolonization within their own communities and territories should be under the control of indigenous peoples and indigenous peoples alone.⁴²

⁴² Laenui, P. (2017, March 29). personal communication.

3.2 ISLAND SPECIFIC COLONIALISM

The country's history is rich in regime changes and shifts from one sort of religious rule to the next. It not only caused a huge rift of social issues throughout the history of the country, it also stunted the Maldives ability to develop setting it at a further disadvantage to its large state counterparts. While widely spread information on pre-contact Maldivian culture is limited, the shift from Buddhism to Islam traumatized the nation, shaking it into a far more conservative attitude and national value which has carried onward even to today.⁴³ Although Islam is still the law of the land in the Maldives, European involvement in the nation also left many irreparable influences and damages. The British in particular used the resources and strategic location of the Maldives in order to exploit the nation's resources for its own financial gain.⁴⁴ Simultaneously, the Maldives was left behind in their own development in the wake of British. Regardless of where you choose to place the majority of the “blame”, being passed around from one colonial power to the next undoubtedly has damaging effects on Maldivian society in and of itself. The act of colonization itself, regardless of its perpetrator at that respective point in history, has affected all factors of Maldivian life and has had devastating results such as cultural loss, corrupt strings of government rule, loss of traditional culture structures, resource exploitation, etc.⁴⁵

3.2.1 ISLAND DEPENDENCY

As is the case with the majority of cases of colonialism, there is a correlation between the act of colonization and the economic future development of the colonized nation.⁴⁶ Dependency to

⁴³ Forbes, A.D.W. (1987). The pre-Islamic archaeology of the Maldives Islands. *Bulletin of l'Ecole française d'Extreme-Orient*, 76(1). http://www.persee.fr/doc/befeo_0336-1519_1987_num_76_1_1726.

⁴⁴ History of Maldives (n.d.) Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from Lonely Planet Travel Information. <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maldives/history>.

⁴⁵ Williams Jackson, A.V.(ed.). (1907). *History of India: Chapter 1 - Arab conquest of Sind*. <https://www.ibiblio.org/britishraj/Jackson5/chapter01.html>.

⁴⁶ Settles, J.D. (1996, May). *The impact of colonialism on African economic development*.

outside sources can be traced most impactfully to the creation of the British base in the south of the nation where revenue skyrocketed and capitalism became the country's king. Since the introduction of European capitalism and foreign direct investment within the nation, dependence in outside resources has left the island nation without complete autonomy or self sustainability. Capitalism in particular has been of great damage to the Maldives where in modern times, tourism practices are booming economic pillars, but come at the cost of loss of vulnerable coastal lands and already limited resources.⁴⁷ With so much outside interaction under the forced transition into a capitalist economic system, complete self-sustainability was lost long ago. Dependency in social aspects such as education, language, and governance structures have also been put into place due to the shifting of social values in the Maldives.

3.3 DIVERSITY

The “side effects” of colonialism, so to speak, tend to trend fairly consistently between all previously colonized nations. However, it is worth recognizing the definitive differences island nations like the Maldives face when they are colonized. Symbiosis is delicately balanced in island communities. The Maldives faces many issues of vulnerabilities not related to colonialism such as remoteness, small physical size, and vulnerability to natural disasters.⁴⁸ These issues are magnified by colonialism, however, and new factors are added in its wake. For example, the Maldives faces market vulnerability, weak international political presence, loss of land due to climate change caused by large pollutive states, and an inability to compete in large international economic markets. Combining naturally occurring and colonial-made vulnerabilities, island life in the Maldives constantly hangs in a purgatory of survival. Though it is not merely this survival that the nation wants, it is a decent quality of life and assurance of the nation's stability in the long run.

http://trace.tennessee.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1182&context=utk_chanhonoproj.

⁴⁷ Styliadis, D., Terzidou, M., & Terzidis, K. (2007). *Island tourism and its socio-economic impacts*.

<http://mibes.teilar.gr/proceedings/2007/poster/Styliadis-Terzides%20M-Terzidis%20K.pdf>.

⁴⁸ Pelling, M., & Uitto, J.I. (2001). Small island developing states: natural disaster vulnerability and global change. http://tc.umn.edu/~blume013/pelling_Uitto_sm_islands.p

3.3.1 THE DILEMMA OF OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT

While there is a clear need for justice for the impacts of colonialism, there are a spell of complicated issues which surround the logistics of enacting it. Intergovernmental organizations are a big part of the reparative strategies used to support the Maldives. The issue of scope again comes into play here with systems like these typically being designed for larger, more economically sovereign nations.⁴⁹ Overbearing attitudes by large states in the question of “how” justice should be received further de-legitimizes the sovereignty and self-determination of affairs the Maldives should be able to have. There is a desperate need for decolonization of the government to government relationships of the Maldives and the states outside which assist it. The nation’s legitimacy is not fully recognized on the international stage which creates a paternalistic environment for states and organizations which assist the Maldives to act on the behalf of rather than the more sovereignty supporting and ethically appropriate laissez faire approach.⁵⁰

3.3.2 TRAUMA

The history of the nation of the Maldives is varied and traumatic. Being passed around through the influence of so many colonial powers has created irreparable historical trauma carried forth by the nation today and reinforced by modern corruption within the Maldivian government and each regime has left its own traumatic impact on the nation’s unique identity.⁵¹ The need for

⁴⁹ Thorhallsson, B. (2011, December 8). *Small states in the UN Security Council: Means of influence?* <https://rafladan.is/bitstream/handle/10802/8801/Small-States-UN-Security-Council-by-Thorhallsson.pdf?sequence=1>

⁵⁰ Parliament of Australia. Paternalism in social policy when is it justifiable? Retrieved 31 March, 2017. http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp10_11/11rp08.

⁵¹ Naish, A. (2015, July 26). Timeline – Story of Independence. *Maldives Independent*. <http://maldivesindependent.com/politics/timeline-story-of-independence-115638>.

justice for colonialism in the Maldives is incredibly apparent when viewed from this historical understanding. While undoubtedly progress has been made in the wake of Maldivian independence from the European colonial powers, there are still barriers which must be removed in the intergovernmental relationships the Maldives participates in with outside states.

There are avenues for less dependence based regional cooperation and sharing knowledge that would be beneficial to the Maldives by helping identifying and removing barriers caused by this size and culture gap between large and small states. The decline of local coping strategies and traditional knowledge with the increase in the scope of issues faced by the nation steadily increases the Maldives vulnerability.⁵² There is a need to assess which strategies are outdated or maladaptive as well as a need to reach a balance between traditional strategies and more modern ones to combat the nation's vulnerabilities. Future developments can be coordinated by assessing past ones, improving on their strategies, ensuring that local opinions are not left out of consideration, and that the action is taken in the least controlling way possible for outside states/giving the greatest amount of room for determination to local spaces. Existing networks and organizations must constantly work to improve cooperation and adaptation in the Maldives and other SIDS which they are assisting under the ever-shifting effects of historical colonization.

3.3.3 TRANSITIONS

The Maldives is an interesting case study when looking at SIDS, but stands its own ground with its complex and tumultuous history of colonization. The country has transitioned through a historical ring of multiple religious and imperialist rules through colonization to a string of violent dictators that continue to head the country today.⁵³ Understanding the history of the

⁵² United Nations. (2015, July 1). Small island developing states face 'unique' sustainability challenges requiring 'special' attention to meet post-2015 agenda goals high level form hears.

<https://www.un.org/press/en/2015/ecosoc6706.doc.htm>

⁵³ Ramos-Horta, J., & Benedict, R. (2015, March 18). Maldivian democracy is dead – With the jailing of former president Mohamed Nasheed. *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/mar/18/maldivian-democracy-dead-jailing-mohamed-nasheed>.

Maldives and the effects colonization had on the nation are important in giving context to the extent of the impacts of colonizations, how extreme those reactions can be in a closed system like an island nation, and to show the need of large states to enact justice for their previous colonial wrongdoings.⁵⁴

3.4 TIMELINE OF MALDIVIAN COLONIZATION

3.4.1 EARLY HISTORY

Whilst the initial origin of Maldivians is shrouded in a bit of mystery, the generally accepted theory in that the Maldivian islands were initially settled by ethnic groups from south India.⁵⁵ The location of the Maldives is strategically important as it is located on a busy marine trade route, surrounded by many large and historically influential countries, the most substantial in the of these is, namely, India. All of the surrounding nations have influenced the history and development of the nation over time. Whilst there is some understanding of life in pre-Buddhist Maldives, the majority of early Maldivian archaeological structures are from either from the Buddhist or Islamic occupations. Buddhism ruled over the Maldives for over 1,000 years, but was eventually toppled over by the Islamic overtake of the nation.⁵⁶

3.4.2 THE INTRODUCTION OF ISLAM

The introduction of Islam into the Maldives occurred in the 12th century BC, about 500 years after the majority of the rest of southeast Asia.⁵⁷ There is historical evidence that this overtake

⁵⁴ Moore, M. (2016, July 28). Justice and Colonialism. *Philosophy Compass*, 11(8). <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/phc3.12337/pdf>.

⁵⁵ International Institute for Asian Studies. Where did the Maldives people come from? Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from <http://iias.asia/iiasn5/insouasi/maloney.html>.

⁵⁶ Masters, T. (2006). *Maldives. Ediz. Inglese*. Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet. <https://books.google.com/books?id=D9ZBUFG05jAC&pg=PA166&lpg=PA166&dq=maldives+buddhism+1000+years&source=bl&ots=BJYNs9GGN1&sig=vOQIE-BRdoTV-yIIP2OHloAkdQc&hl=en>.

⁵⁷ Naseem, A., & Mohamed, M. (2014, May 30). Maldives: The long road from Islam to Islamism: A short history. *DhivehiSitee*. <http://www.dhivehisitee.com/religion/islamism-maldives>

was anything but peaceful, involving the public beheadings of Buddhist monks in the capital city of Male.⁵⁸ The final Buddhist king of the Maldives make his conversion to Islam in 1153. This lead to a long term Islamic empire which ruled the nation over a series of 6 dynasties. These dynasties ended in 1932 when the Maldives first enacted an elected ruler.⁵⁹ Whilst there was no longer a royal religious dynasty, Islam continued to rule over the nation. It was enacted as the national religion of the country in 1997.⁶⁰ Still today in the Maldives, all Maldivians must be, by default, Muslims.

3.4.3 EUROPEAN CONTACT

During the height of European colonization, Portugal made its way over to the Maldives. Portugal was the first European nation to make contact with the Maldives, setting up a system of trade based out of the nation's capital. With the Portuguese brought Christianity. This occupation was short lived, however. A mere 15 years after the Portuguese's first arrival, Maldivians revolted and drove them out of the nation.⁶¹ The anniversary of this revolt is now the national holiday of the Maldives.⁶² Following the ousting of Portuguese occupiers, there was a brief Dutch occupation which was quickly overthrown by the British who had a much longer and more in depth historical involvement in the Maldives.⁶³

⁵⁸ Ariyatilaka, B.A. (n.d.). The Maldives Buddhist past. Message posted to http://nbasrilanka.itgo.com/blank_6.html.

⁵⁹ Schottli, J., Mitra, S.K., & Wolf, S. (2015, May 8). *A political and economic dictionary of South Asia*. <https://books.google.com/books?id=yOliCQAAQBAJ&pg=PT349&lpg=PT349&dq=1932+elected+leader+maldives&source=bl&ots=T2K7QwMSR4&sig=NIAboEgJ76NW2IOL2UDgf3wdXcc&hl=en>.

⁶⁰ *Functional translation of the Constitution of the Republic of the Maldives 2008*. <http://www.majlis.gov.mv/en/wp-content/uploads/Constitution-english.pdf>

⁶¹ De Silva, C.R. (2017). *Portuguese Encounters with Sri Lanka and the Maldives: Translated texts from the age of the discoveries*. New York, NY: Routledge. <https://books.google.com/books?id=eFRBDgAAQBAJ&pg=PT179&lpg=PT179&dq=revolt+against+portuguese+maldives&source=bl&ots=3SzWm7SCHl&sig=qAtA8JR5SRBF-UzmUdhuPT7imuo&hl=en>.

⁶² Maldives Independence Day (n.d.). Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from <http://maldives.tourism-srilanka.com/festivals/independence-day.html>.

⁶³ Suood, H. (2014). *The Maldivian Legal System*. Male, Maldives: Maldives Law Institute. <https://books.google.com/books?id=FUhnAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA17&lpg=PA17&dq=dutch+maldives+occupation&source=bl&ots=1wlTeFzGVh&sig=cKuYe8Z6REQUTEUJurJcq4Huj9Y&hl=en>.

3.4.4 THE END OF THE SULTANATE

The British, as colonizers, were far more hands off than the Portuguese had been. They generally left the Maldivians to their own affairs, focusing moreso on setting up infrastructure to benefit themselves. Maldivians continued to practice Islam unaffected until the upthrow of the final sultanate dynasty. The fall of this dynasty was due to the intervention of a British Chief Minister, forcing the dynasty's downfall and bringing in a constitutional monarchy in 1932. This action was ill received by locals, the country was overwhelmed with riots. British rule continued to hold the country until 1953.⁶⁴ It was at this point where the nation switched from a constitutional monarchy to a republic, bringing with it the election of the nation's first president, Muhammad Amin Didi. Whilst Didi's rule brought many progressive aspects, it was not all positive change. Food shortages was one of these negative impacts. Riots occurred based around this in which Didi was ousted by Muslim extremists and killed.⁶⁵ Didi's assassination created mass international instability, which at one point lead a number of southern islands in the region attempting to secede into an independent "United Suvadive Republic." It was quickly taken back under the the Maldivian government and the secessionists sent into exile.⁶⁶ Full independence from British colonial rule was finally achieved by the Maldives in 1965.⁶⁷ British presence in the form of a naval base still remains on the nation, but politically and governmentally the seperation was complete by 1965.

⁶⁴ BBC News. (2015, March 13). Maldives profile - Timeline. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12653969>.

⁶⁵ Fathih, M.S. (2015, November 15). Killed, exiled or deposed. *Maldives Independent*. <http://maldivesindependent.com/feature-comment/killed-exiled-and-deposed-119827>.

⁶⁶ United Suvadive Republic. (n.d.). Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from Revolv. <http://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=United%20Suvadive%20Republic>.

⁶⁷ Naish, A. (2015, July 26). Timeline – Story of independence. *Maldives Independent*. <http://maldivesindependent.com/politics/timeline-story-of-independence-115638>.

3.4.5 THE REGIME

Two separate parties emerged with the nation's independence from the British, both with the intent of keeping the nation's "political dynasties" under control. People who threatened these political dynasties were exiled or otherwise stifled in their opinion.⁶⁸ President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom was eventually elected in the wake of this political attempt to keep in the current line of government. Gayoom is a controversial figure in the Maldives. A coup was acted upon him by the family of the nation's previous president. This coup was thwarted along with a multitude of other coups which followed all the way through into the 1980s and many assassination attempts.⁶⁹ Gayoom continued to jail anyone in opposition of his rule, continuing on for 3 election cycles as the President of the Maldives until the historical election which took place in 2008.

3.4.6 MOHAMMAD NASHEED

Civil unrest had been a major part of the Maldives under the controversial Gayoom in the 2000s, with the height of this occurring in 2003. The height was caused by an extremely popularised case of the torture of a young Maldivian man whilst in jail for a non-violent drug offence. The torture ultimately resulted in his death.⁷⁰ Mohammad Nasheed, a Maldivian cabinet member at the time, was key in asserting the need for an inspection of this murder. This caused Nasheed's need to go into exile for fear of government retribution. However, upon returning to a politically ripe-for-change Maldives in 2008, he was elected the nation's president in a massively attended

⁶⁸ Francis, K. (2016, June 14). Maldives opposition wants election under interim gov't. *AP News*. <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/ec476bf19f2746c28dbe8a255c56966f/maldives-opposition-wants-election-under-interim-govt>.

⁶⁹ Sinan, H. (2013, November 16). Yaamin Abdul Gayoom, brother of ex-strongman, elected Maldives president. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/yaamin-abdul-gayoom-brother-of-ex-strongman-elected-maldives-president/2013/11/16/9911abc2-4ef9-11e3-9890-a1e0997fb0c0_story.html.

⁷⁰ HuffPost. Mohamed Nasheed: former president of The Republic of Maldives. Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/author/mohamed-nasheed>.

election. His democratic election thus ended Gayoom's over 30 year reign of the nation.⁷¹ President Nasheed was an extremely positive force for the country in the case of decolonization. Nasheed liberalized almost all factors of the Maldivian nation. His presidency focused on growing the nation's international soft power influence and increasing internal stability of the Maldives through localization and anti-dependency efforts.⁷² In 2009, in one of his more popularized moves, Nasheed held a cabinet meeting under water in an effort to draw more attention to the environmental impacts and global warming which are causing the Maldives to have to combat extreme and rapid land loss due to rising sea waters.⁷³

3.4.7 THE DISSOLVING NASHEED ADMINISTRATION

Nasheed's good deeds did not go unpunished, however. As noted in the constitution of the Maldives, all Maldivians must be Muslims. It is criminalized to practice any other religion as a Maldivian national.⁷⁴ Nasheed attempted to soften these policies and decriminalize the practice of other religions in the nation. This sparked a massive controversy lead by Muslim extremists in 2010. All of Nasheed's cabinet members resigned in protest.⁷⁵ Whilst Nasheed later tried to quell these protests and reinstate them, fights still broke out amongst citizens and politicians alike. This apexed in the forced resignation of Nasheed from his position as president at gunpoint.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Ramesh, R. (2008, October 29). Human rights activist wins Maldives presidential election. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/oct/29/maldives-presidential-elections>.

⁷² Hardin, R. (2017, March 6). *The island president's struggle for democracy and environmental justice in the Maldives*. Donia Human Rights Center panel with Mohamed Nasheed, Jared Genser, and Rebecca Hardin. <https://events.umich.edu/event/39089>.

⁷³ BBC News. (2009, October 17). Maldives cabinet makes a splash. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8311838.stm>.

⁷⁴ U.S. Department of State. Maldives: International religious freedom report 2007. Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2007/90231.htm>.

⁷⁵ Samath, F. (2010, July 1). Maldives' cabinet of ministers resign in opposition to parliament. *The National World*.

<http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/south-asia/maldives-cabinet-of-ministers-resign-in-opposition-to-parliament>.

⁷⁶ Nasheed, M. (2012, February 8). Maldives president: I was forced to resign at gunpoint. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/feb/09/maldives-president-forced-resign-gunpoint>.

3.4.8 JAILING AND ASYLUM

Following the forced resignation of President Nasheed, he was tried on false charges, forced into solitary confinement for 1 year of his almost 13 year sentence beginning in 2015.⁷⁷ The international community was up in arms about Nasheed's conviction, in large part due to his involvement in growing international Maldivian soft power influence globally. This caused large NGOs to put pressure on the Maldivian government to temporary release Nasheed. Nasheed developed health issues during his imprisonment which required specialist treatment which is offered in the UK. Eventually, the Maldivian government buckled under this pressure and released Nasheed temporarily and under a multitude of provisions.⁷⁸ Once Nasheed arrived in the UK, he sought and was granted political asylum thanks to the assistance of famous human rights lawyer Amal Clooney. Nasheed still resides in the UK today and is a vocal, active critic of the current regime which rules the Maldives.⁷⁹

Whilst the current government of the Maldives is largely criticised by the international community, interest in the country has not been quelled by this. The strategic location of the Maldives along a major marine shipping line connecting Europe and Asia makes it an extremely attractive country with which to make allyship. Nations which are major centers of production such as India and China have actively sought to strengthen their relations to the Maldives in the hopes of developing trade economies.⁸⁰ In the context of the Maldives as a global player, it is involved in a number of international organizations such as the United Nations, the South Asian

⁷⁷ BBC News. (2015, March 13). Maldives ex-leader Mohammed Nasheed jailed for 13 years. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-31881207>.

⁷⁸ PTI. (2016, January 21). Nasheed leaves for U.K. for urgent treatment, *The Hindu*. <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/nasheed-leaves-for-uk-for-urgent-treatment/article8134334.ece>.

⁷⁹ Nasheed, M. (2016, May 23). Ex-president of the Maldives granted asylum in UK. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/23/ex-president-of-the-maldives-granted-asylum-in-uk-mohammed-nasheed>.

⁸⁰ Moorthy, N.S. (2017, February 4). Indian concerns over Maldives Island-lease: Not about China, but about sovereignty talk--analysis. *Eurasia Review*. <http://www.eurasiareview.com/04022017-indian-concerns-over-maldives-island-lease-not-about-china-but-about-sovereignty-talk-analysis/>.

Association for Regional Cooperation, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and until October of 2016, the Commonwealth of Nations.⁸¹ It holds Bilateral Relations with a multitude of countries major countries such as the USA, UK, Saudi Arabia, as well as many other Small Island Developing States such as Vanuatu and Tuvalu.⁸²

3.5 IMPACTS OF COLONIZATION: INSTABILITY

The Maldivian nation is in a throw of instability under the current governmental system. It is plagued by a multitude of internal issues such as non-transparent and corrupt politics, political gangsters, and Wahhabi extremists.⁸³ Currently, the use of brown sugar heroin has become an epidemic in capital of Male.⁸⁴ Whilst the nation has a booming \$2.5 billion USD tourist industry, it is still plagued with internal religious extremism as compared to the idea of what the Maldives is as a tourist destination. Extremist Islamic legislation often leads to public floggings, torture, etc., mostly taking their effect on women. Female Maldivian nationals are required by law to wear niqab with the fear of punishments or attacks if not obeyed. Beyond social issues, there is extreme government corruption. The Maldivian government has notorious ties with gangs and thugs, overseeing the illegal smuggling of drugs and alcohol into the country.⁸⁵ These families involved in the government are the same ones who own some of the nation's most major resorts, meaning that they are extremely wealthy and thus able to pay of the courts when tried for illegal activities.⁸⁶ The government is extremely tight on censorship, they have been known to hire

⁸¹ BBC News. (2016, October 13). Maldives leaves commonwealth amid democracy row. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37647310>.

⁸² Embassy of the Republic of Maldives in Malaysia. Bilateral Relations - Foreign minister meets staff at Maldivian Embassy. <http://maldives.org.my/maldives-malaysia/bilateral-relations>.

⁸³ Ramachandran, S. (2016, January 22). The Maldives: Losing a tourist paradise to terrorism. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(2). <https://jamestown.org/program/the-maldives-losing-a-tourist-paradise-to-terrorism/>.

⁸⁴ RNW Media. *Heroin flooding the Maldives*. Radio Netherlands Worldwide Archives. Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from <https://www.rnw.org/archive/heroin-flooding-maldives>.

⁸⁵ Hameed, S. (2015, September 29) Assistant attorney general arrested in late night alcohol raid. *Maldives Independent*.

<http://maldivesindependent.com/politics/assistant-attorney-general-arrested-in-late-night-alcohol-drug-raid-117735>.

⁸⁶ Naish, A. (2016, February 06). US\$79m embezzled in Maldives' biggest corruption scandal. *Maldives Independent*.

thugs to burn the offices of journalists and activists who promote anti-government rhetoric, imprison, torture, kidnap or detain them.⁸⁷ Education is also being affected by the internal corruption of the government. Primary schools are seeing parents pulling their children out of classes which promote “sinful” ideals such as music, art, and physical education.⁸⁸

Whilst the internal situation seems quite daunting, Maldivian youth and the generation which will follow them may turn the tides for the nation. They have better access to education and outside influence than any generation of Maldivians before them. They are active on social media and have been consistent in airing their grievances about the Maldivian government via a number of social media platforms such as Twitter.⁸⁹ They were particularly active during the political instability which arose during the ousting of former President Mohammad Nasheed, taking to recording videos of police violence and posting them on Twitter for the world to see.⁹⁰ Were the Maldivian youth to use their activist ideals to form a cohesive commitment to decolonization of the nation, there would be untold possibilities for the nation’s progress and future.

3.6 DECOLONIZATION EFFORTS

One of the more substantial acts of indigenization comes with assurances and efforts towards localized health. The Maldives suffer from a large variety of health issues from widespread heroin addiction in the youth of the capital, food shortages, and lack of access to health

[http://maldivesindependent.com/politics/us79m-embezzled-in-maldives-biggest-corruption-scandal-122013.](http://maldivesindependent.com/politics/us79m-embezzled-in-maldives-biggest-corruption-scandal-122013)

⁸⁷ Junayd, M. (2017, February 17). Journalists at risk in Maldives. *The Mecca Post*.

<http://meccapost.com/2017/02/17/journalists-risk-maldives/>.

⁸⁸ Male, C.H. (2012, October 10). The Maldives: Jagged islands. *The Economist*.

<http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2012/10/maldives>.

⁸⁹ Sudhanva (2017, March 10). How the youth & social media are changing the meaning & scope of journalism. *The Logical Indian*.

<https://thelogicalindian.com/story-feed/opinion/youth-and-social-media-changing-meaning-of-journalism/>.

⁹⁰ Abdulmaajid. (2013, February 23). How could they ignore MPs and people calling to hang others and rally on the road every night?” <https://twitter.com/abdalmaajid/status/305342900634546176>.

resources.⁹¹ Diet plays a big part in maintaining community health. Thus, the indigenization of local food sources is a valuable aspect to invest in. It revitalizes indigenous diets which are what Maldivian bodies are best attuned to, it creates food security in regions throughout the country where foreign crops are unable or difficult to grow, and, in the larger scope, stabilizes societies as well. The revitalization of indigenous knowledges such as local crops and how to grow, harvest, and prepare them is one faction of the revitalization of indigenous education. What is generally thought of as education in the global community is based upon a very Eurocentric view of academia and its structures in K-12 and university level implementation. In fact, indigenous knowledge and education in both practice and concept is far less regulated as the field is in Western societies.⁹² Indigenizing and decolonizing education simply involves a return to the traditional cultural methods, actions, and teachings which helped the indigenous Maldivian societies function prior to colonialism. The Maldivian government has seemed to take notice of the benefits of indigenizing food and agricultural education in their nation and has been active in making investments to local communities and universities for creating indigenizing agricultural programs of education.⁹³

Whilst the ethics of tourism and indigenous cultures may be a subject of hot debate, this is simply not the subject of this paper. Whilst it does have its negatives and positives, both to their extremes, the creation of an industry in tourism and how this affects the revitalization of traditional culture is something worth discussing. The tourism industry makes up 10% of the national income of the Maldives, employing over 40,000 individuals.⁹⁴ Whilst the major resorts and infrastructures are owned mostly by the upper class individuals involved in the Maldivian

⁹¹ World Health Organization. Humanitarian health action: Maldives. Last updated 04 April, 2012 and retrieved 15 May, 2016 from <http://www.who.int/hac/donorinfo/mdv/en/index1.html>.

⁹² Orumbie, R.M. *Compare and contrast indigenous education with modern education*. (unpublished Master's research). University of Ibadan: Ibadan, Nigeria. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/8294226/Compare_and_contrast_indigenous_education_with_modern_education.

⁹³ Minivan News. (2011, October 18). Coconuts and sea cucumbers main course for Maldives agriculture. Retrieved from http://minivannearchive.com/environment/coconuts-and-sea-cucumbers-main-course-for-maldives-agri_culture-27088.

⁹⁴ The Economy of the Maldives. (n.d.). Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from Magic Maldives information: <http://www.maldivesholidays.org/economy-maldives>.

government and business sectors, the creation of a tourist industry has created an excellent platform for Maldivian culture to further develop and be recognized as a positive thing. Maldivian crafts such as traditional clothing, weaving, carvings, jewelery, etc have become a source of economy through the desire brought for them by tourists. Whilst the creation of traditional art for tourists is not the ideal source of cultural revitalization, it does allow for some sense of motivation for these traditional knowledges to gain traction and be passed on in the atmosphere of traditional indigenous education to the youth and younger generations. This is a positive outcome overall as it promotes indigenous traditional forms of education.

Even within a country as small as the Maldives, there is substantial indigenous diversity throughout the Maldives, which are apparent in physical appearance, linguistic, and cultural differences.⁹⁵ Traditionally, indigenous Maldivian societies were highly developed with impressive building and infrastructure as well as based in monogamy and matriarchal rule.⁹⁶ This structure stood the test of time up until the late 1930s when the British intervention in the region eliminated the sultanate and established the nation as a republic (the constitution of which did not allow for customary rights for indigenous and traditionally living islanders). Women called *foolhuma-dhaitha* would stand in as local representatives in their islands and atolls for the Sultan.⁹⁷ Today, women are very active in Maldivian politics in a continuace of this matriarchal legacy,. It is fair to assume this feminine participation in governance is something which can be attributed to the traditional governance structures established by the indigenous peoples of the nation in the past, as comparatively to many other Islamic state's, women enjoy far more rights and representations.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Minority Rights Group International World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples. Maldives. Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from <http://minorityrights.org/country/maldives/>.

⁹⁶ Rehendi. (2010, March 21). Glimpse of past matrifocal society in the Maldives by Ruk Ahmed. Retrieved from <https://rehendi.wordpress.com/2010/03/21/glimpse-of-past-matrifocal-society-in-the-maldives-by-ruk-ahmed/>.

⁹⁷ Matriarchy. Women on verge of power and other incredible stories. Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from <http://myajan.org/feminism/index.html>.

⁹⁸ Maldives Government Ministries. The Maldives. Retrieved 15, May 2017 from <http://www.themaldives.com/government/maldives-government-ministries.html>.

Generally during the era of the Sultanate, the independence of the nations indigenous peoples were respected in the sense they were allotted a large amount of sovereignty and cultural autonomy.⁹⁹ Even though linguistically, historically, and ethnically, Maldivians are descendants of south India, due to the extreme pressure of Islamic colonialism as well as it being the most recent colonial power imposed upon the nation, there is a tendency to relate more heavily to the Islamic and larger Arab aspect of their history and identity. Islam is the national religion of the state, but the traditional pre-colonial religious system of *fandita* is very regularly mixed into how Maldivians practice Islam and religious worship, used for “*political intrigue, courtship and marriage rites, launching new ships, ensuring a good fish catch, finding guilty parties when a crime (usually theft) had been committed, and treating the sick [...] weaken or kill enemies.*”¹⁰⁰

Fandita in the more literal sense of the term refers to a person who retains a set of special powers. These peoples would typically be held in high regard of their community with community members approaching them to complete ritual and ceremony to influence their needs, the future, etc.¹⁰¹ Islam implemented this system into their rule and conquest of the Maldives, giving *fandita* new roles as purveyors of Islamic ceremony.¹⁰² Many Maldivians still today pay *fanditas* to perform ceremonies and rituals to help them achieve their desires today, even though they subscribe themselves to the Islamic faith. Traditional forms of governance allowed for criminals to be excommunicated through isolation on an uninhabited island.¹⁰³ The nation’s prison complex acts as well in this role as the island itself is only home to prisoners. Islam is practiced in the Maldives in a unique way which is influences of the traditions of the nation’s indigenous cultures. As an Islamic state, this too means that the traditional practices of

⁹⁹ Giraavaru people. (n.d.). Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from Rivalvy

https://www.revoly.com/main/index.php?s=Giraavaru%20people&item_type=topic.

¹⁰⁰ Fanditha magic - A short introduction: Maldives culture. (n.d.). Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from http://www.maldivesculture.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=91&Itemid=61.

¹⁰¹ Fanditha spell to Dhaalum: Maldives culture. (n.d.). Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from http://www.maldivesculture.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=86&Itemid=42.

¹⁰² Ellis, R. (2008). *Maldives*. London, U.K.: Bradt Travel Guides. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?id=zSjhrMm748C&pg=PA42&lpg=PA42&dq=fanditha+maldives+islam&source=bl&ots=wgkZdziZX&sig=0qlNc4EhKuU3GeE1q3ALnvuSkOc&hl=en>.

¹⁰³ Masters, T. (2006). *Maldives. Ediz. Inglese*. Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com/books?id=D9ZBUFG05jAC&pg=PA150&lpg=PA150&dq=maldives+exile+to+uninhabited+island&source=bl&ots=BjYRqcOHQ2&sig=jMAdQkJsYWV96aox81lsVpv5Ujc&hl=en>.

governance and law are represented on some level even within the Maldivian government today. There still lies the roots of old governing traditions such as these within implementation and practice. There is value for the Maldives being able to give to give a platform and space to these traditional systems, increased efforts internally and regionally to reestablish and promote the proven value and purpose of local indigenous traditions in the future will lead to a positive impact in the country.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE

The final chapter of this thesis will conclude in some recommendations for change in consideration of the needs, contexts, and methods outlined throughout the previous chapters. It considers all of the research and examples thus far expressed throughout the paper and uses these to provide options for further development of decolonization and indigenization of SIDS in the future. This chapter, using the information presented from the previous chapters, gives the method needed to achieve what has been discussed thus far in theory. Whilst recommendations are not the primary objective of the this research (insofar as to recognize the simple lack of academic research on the subject), offering base level platforms from which to enact change is valuable. This is not only to show that this subject is not limited strictly to theory, it is to provide a step forward in the larger process of decolonization itself. Planning is the first step towards taking action, thus, this chapter attempts to explain some of these processes which allow for the reallocation of sovereignty, identity, and both international and internal stability.

4.1 CONFRONTATION

Postcolonial countries inherited their current systems of governance from their colonizers. All legal systems transported to colonies were indigenous to the colonizers. How can a country and its citizens liberate themselves when they are ruling with non-indigenous principles (with traditional, indigenous principles now called “customary laws”)? The questions that must be asked by post colonial states are:

1. What did we inherit through colonialism?
2. How are we still colonized?
3. How do we change things armed with this knowledge?¹⁰⁴

The first step is to decolonize minds through the decolonization of law and justice systems. To quote the esteemed postcolonialist scholar Shadrack Gutto “We have laws, but no rule of law. We have constitutions, but no constitutionalism.”¹⁰⁵ To combat this, the optimal step is reanalyzing legal and governmental curriculum and actively breaking out from the current boundaries. Studies have proven that a multitude of internal and external issues which indigenous communities face are the fault of colonialism.¹⁰⁶ Studies prove decolonization and indigenization of bureaucratic systems have a strong and positive effect on indigenous people.¹⁰⁷ Doing this would enhance the core values and identities of indigenous nations.

In almost every legal system in the world, anyone who keeps stolen property is a criminal. Yet many nations are still under colonialist occupations. Even when colonizers return land to their rightful indigenous owners, it is difficult to recapture traditional identity and sovereignty as these concepts are so damaged under colonial rule. If a thief stole a wallet but returned it damaged, with half of its contents missing, leaving it up to the wallet's owner to fix it and replace the missing items, would this return really be making up for the theft? If state's do not actively decolonize, they accept their position as colonial dependents. There can be no true sovereignty until basic societal structures such as law, governance, and education systems are decolonized as well.

¹⁰⁴ Gutto, S. (2011, July 16). *Decolonising universities*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PH7BfdwnhkM>.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Canadian Press. (2016, December 16). Saskatchewan chief says colonization to blame in rash of girls' suicides. *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*.

<http://thestarphoenix.com/news/saskatchewan/saskatchewan-chief-says-colonization-to-blame-in-rash-of-girls-suicides>.

¹⁰⁷ Craven, M. (2007). Decolonization of international law: State succession and the law of treaties.
<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/viewByDoi/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199217625.001.0001>.

4.2 RESETTING WHAT IS BROKEN

Process tracing colonialism as it applies to SIDS is an extremely useful method for discovering the roots of the problems which SIDS face, and thus giving space for accommodating solutions to arise. Decolonization isn't simply a gesture of good faith, it is an actively proven effective method of creating and sustaining stability for colonized communities.¹⁰⁸ Decolonization in any context has been proven time and time again to be an excellent tool for socio-political norm control. It is not the method which is destructive, but the norm behind it. Restructuring of bureaucratic systems for colonized states systems to rely more on traditional knowledge and structure of rule would still be norm setting, or perhaps, norm resetting.¹⁰⁹

Like a broken bone, this “resetting” process based in the necessity SIDS have to heal from the fractures colonialism has created. Whilst this process is by no means quick or easy, it is proven and effective. The trauma SIDS must deal with in every aspect of island life haunts the nation's, damaging their self sustainability and thus, their ability to perform as international actors. By committing to put in the time, energy, resources, and effort which decolonization requires, change moves from a figment of hope to a possibility just on the horizon. One of the defining factors of surviving indigenous cultures is their resilience and adaptiveness, living traditionally is a form of non-violent, anti-colonial resistance in and of itself.¹¹⁰ Decolonization, indigenization, and adaptiveness coagulate together into an ideal long term solution for SIDS.

Identity is an incredibly important part of what makes up individuals and communities,

¹⁰⁸ Ritskes, E. (2013, January 22). The sustainability of indigenous resistance. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*.

<https://decolonization.wordpress.com/2013/01/22/the-sustainability-of-indigenous-resistance/>.

¹⁰⁹ Epstein, C. (2017, January 19). The postcolonial perspective: Why we need to decolonize norms. E-international relations.

<http://www.e-ir.info/2017/01/19/the-postcolonial-perspective-why-we-need-to-decolonize-norms/>.

¹¹⁰ *Cultural resistance: The arts of protest*. (2012, September). On-line conversation at New Tactics in Human Rights.

particularly in regards to indigenous people who have emerged from generations of the attempted stripping of their cultures. When a community actively works towards reclamation, they in turn fight against their destabilizing dysphoria. Having dealt with so much trauma, indigenous peoples are undoubtedly still focused on survival. However, when a community is in that survival mode, it cannot focus on anything else other than staying alive. By reclaiming a lacking identity and thus stabilizing a community, they can move onward and upward from fighting to survive to striving and working for progress and growth. Once self-stability is determined, the community can focus then focus onto the larger international community and its place within. Intergovernmental relations can be incredibly valuable to SIDS, who are largely resource-scarce.¹¹¹ While striving to pull away from dependency, there are still a number of benefits a SIDS would have in gaining good relations with other world governments, most namely, building a reputation around their own sovereignty and gathering support via this discourse. This internal and international stability is an ideal source of deterrence against colonial forces. It emphasizes the value of the state as a sovereign nation, the state's ability to be self-sufficient and self-governing, and may even be used as an example of norm building for other colonized nations to follow suit to the tune of.

4.2.1 ISSUES OF PROTOCOL

One of the main issues with international organizations are the speed at which their bureaucracies function.¹¹² To enact change is an arduous, complex, and picky process which involves jumping through a number of proverbial hoops to achieve. Within these organizations, there has been a lot of abstract developments as to the nature of colonization and what must be done to combat it. Yet, in actuality, there has been little physical action or assistance offered by outside

¹¹¹ United Nations Development Program. SIDS-SIDS success stories: an innovative partnership in South-South cooperation. Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from

<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/index.php?page=view&type=400&nr=961&menu=1515>.

¹¹² USHistory. Reforming the bureaucracy. Retrieved 31 March, 2017 from

<http://www.ushistory.org/gov/8d.asp>.

communities.¹¹³ Whilst assistance, when it is beneficial, culturally accommodating, and done in good faith is helpful, unwarranted or inappropriately structured intervention causes more damage than good.¹¹⁴ International and global policies well outside of their own sphere of influence affect SIDS. For example, the Maldives garners the interest of both India and China, two massive superpowers, as a strategically located area for shipping. However, any tenseness between China or India which may develop would undoubtedly affect the systems of trade in which the Maldives is involved in. The same goes for a multitude of other sorts of bureaucracy and policy making such as trade agreements, immigration regulations, and refugee acceptance. Whilst many nations and organizations offer help in good faith, they forget to take into account the social and cultural differences between themselves and many SIDS. Indigeneity in its traditional sense is typically not associated with the capitalist system.¹¹⁵ More intangible aspects such as cooperation, honesty, and cultural expression are much more valuable to a large number of traditional indigenous community structures. Therefore, when a colonial state tries to offer reparations or assistance in the form of monetary compensation for actions which repressed, stifled, or wiped out traditional value systems, it is not possible to truly or accurately make a compensatory exchange.¹¹⁶ These less tangible values cannot accurately be defined by monetary value. Whilst almost all SIDS live in some sort of capitalist hierarchy, truly valuable outside assistance would focus less on “paying off a debt” and moreso on rebuilding something broken. This involves patience, cooperation, and adaptiveness on both sides to fully achieve the set goal.

4.3 DECOLONIZATION AS A CONCEPT, TOOL, AND PROCESS:

The theory which has been laid out in this section was created and extrapolated by Poka Laenui.

¹¹³ Moore, E. (2013, March 11). Sustainability challenges for small islands developing states with Jean-Paul Adam. 11 Mar. 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BVEzms-aoec>.

¹¹⁴ Lischer, S.K. (2003, Summer). Collateral damage: Humanitarian assistance as a cause of conflict. *MIT Press Journals*, 28(1). <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/016228803322427983>.

¹¹⁵ Leege, D., Walk, K.D., Krueger, B.S., & Mueller, P.D. (2012) *The politics of cultural differences: Social change and voter mobilization strategies in the post new-deal period*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7smz2>.

¹¹⁶ Laenui, P. (Burgess, H.) Hawaiian perspective. <https://vimeo.com/hawaiianperspectiv>.

Laenui offers a series of steps for decolonization in response to the steps of colonization coined by Virgilio Enriques. Laenui. Poka Laenui is the Hawaiian name of native Hawaiian attorney Hayden Burgess. He has been and continues to be an active participant in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. As a legal scholar, he has actively pursued international recognition of the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom by the United States. He presented a formal lawsuit to the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Hague for these reasons, increasing visibility of indigenous Hawaiian desire for independence, separatism, and a reinstatement of the Hawaiian monarchy.¹¹⁷ Within his outline discussing the process of decolonization, he asserts that, in the same was that colonialism is situationally adaptive, so is the practice of decolonization. There is no rigidity to the complete order of the steps, nor are the boundaries which separate them as concepts strictly enforced. These are his steps with summarized quotations in his own words as to their meaning and process:

1. Rediscovery and Recovery
2. Mourning
3. Dreaming
4. Commitment
5. Action

The first step of decolonization, rediscover and recovery, is reestablishing confidence and acceptance of who and what you really are in many ways. Colonization as a tactic establishes in indigenous populations quite early on feelings of inferiority. Combine this with a constant existence within the colonizers system (in many cases, for many generations) it is clear how deeply ingrained these feelings can dig if left unaddressed and non-considered. What onsets this stage is subjective to the timeline of whichever culture is being considered. A complication of rediscovery and recovery is based in the necessity to establish the community within the parameters of the colonial culture. This can lead to “self exploitation” or acts of “mistraling” on

¹¹⁷ Keany, M. (2009, November). Contenders to the throne. *Honolulu Magazine*.
<http://www.honolulumagazine.com/core/pagetools.php?pageid=6959&url=%2FHonolulu-Magazine%2FNovember-2009%2FContenders-to-the-Throne%2F&mode=print>.

behalf of indigenous individuals in order to appease the colonial narrative of who they are or should be. These actions by individuals, especially when performed on a platform, are not true representation of the indigenous cultures which they are mimicking. In fact, these actions do far more damage than good as they play into the colonizers ideal of what indigenous identity is supposed to look and sound like.

The second phase, mourning, is a natural response to the realization and understanding of loss which is dredged up after going through the first phase. Mourning, as it is practiced with any loss, is an essential part of healing and should be allowed to be prolonged as long as is necessary for the individual or community. The stage of mourning can be dually beneficial in that it allows more space for rediscovery to occur for the community. This is due to the nature of mourning and how in practice, most experiencing it have a focus on reconsideration of the past. This allows for more realizations to be come to through self analysis. Therefore, the two first phases play off of each other and promote the conclusion of each other as well as setting up a more established, informed base from which to begin progress. Bad mental habits such as getting too deep into a sense of pity and the unfairness of life can prevent forward movement from this step. It is imperative for progress to now allow this to happen as *“abuse of the mourning phase can turn into an attempt to entrench the colonization in order to continue the mourning, the anger, the hating and the division of people.”*

The third phase, dreaming, is perhaps the most critical to achieve decolonization with as it allows the full spectrum of possibilities, ideas, and planning to arise. It allows for exploration of self and identity, an action which is actively repressed under colonialist occupation, this in an act of reclamation as indigenous peoples are able to explore, inspire, be hopeful, and plan for action. It is easier to see the full scope and possibility of decolonization in this step, not simply as an exit or shift from the colonial system, but moreso acts of reemergence. The true value of decolonization is far greater than a simple power shift or reversal of roles on the part of the

colonizer and the colonized. “*Decolonization includes the reevaluation of the political, social, economic and judicial structures themselves, and the development, if appropriate, of new structures which can hold and house the values and aspirations of the colonized people.*”

The fourth step, commitment, is far more concrete than the third stage of dreaming. Dreaming is flexible, allows for deviance and change without strict adherence to any one idea or suggestion. It is when these dreams are concreted that the fourth stage is evolved into. When these plans are more strictly laid out in the fourth stage, intercommunity conflict must be dealt with. This involves an effort towards the riddance of old family feuds, internalized colonialism, and other sources of conflict between self and others. This cooperation, when achieved, is the best place to begin progress as it involves gaining a large and agreed upon following for one widely agreed upon plan of action. And as has been proven time and time again, action and progress are most effectively executed when there is a wide scope of support behind the ideologies or changes being implemented in the community. In the long run, “*the commitment will become so clear that a formal process merely becomes a pro forma expression of the people's will.*”

The fifth and final step, action, is the penultimate goal of decolonization, both as a process and a state of mind. Ultimately, the steps 4th and prior must be achieved in completeness before this step is even initially reachable or attributable to the indigenous community as a whole. The core value of this step is its proactiveness rather than its reactiveness. Under too much conflict, stress, disagreement, etc, which takes place in the prior steps, it is not possible to make proactive action. Hence the legitimate necessity for the methodology of these acts to be followed in the best sense of order as possible considering each particular community's unique situation. Action is a concept and a step which should be considered and available in full scope, This is everything from organization, to programs of reclamation of cultural identity, to physical liberation from occupation. Even the process of decolonization is evolving with increasing technologies and globalization. The internet is a valid platform for decolonization with many communities taking advantage of it as a community resource, as well as a place from which to educate the larger international community on their particular situation and involvement with colonialism.

International law has also evolved to allow more rights and representation to exist for indigenous peoples. This method, perhaps, is one where cooperation may be appropriate for decolonization if executed in a way which still grants sovereignty over these actions to the indigenous peoples involved in them. “*To speak before a national congress or an appropriate body of the United Nations may be far more effective than to storm a mountain top within one’s homeland in an armed battle.*”

4.3.1 VALUE OF DECOLONIZATION

Value is culturally subjective.¹¹⁸ In the Western hegemon, capitalist values are the highest form of establishing value and have been largely assumed to be a “general norm” since the onslaught of colonization. Whilst this is true in many ways, there are a multitude of communities who live actively in resistance of this ideology. The general idea of a normative governance or legal system is based in westernized, eurocentric historical standards. This idea is beginning to be more widely challenged through the use of postcolonial theory and active efforts towards decolonization. The world is polarizing at a rapid rate.¹¹⁹ Whilst this means more and more people close their minds, limiting themselves to their own rhetoric and that within their own immediate echochamber, it also means that others have equally become willing to open and challenge their own perspective and viewpoints more than ever before. It is a double edged sword, but one whose existence offers at least one perspective of hope to alter the existing global power structures. Furthermore, indigenous peoples must constantly consider the context of existence within the global world order of western dominance and strategize within this system.

Colonialism and westerncestricism is almost innate in that it is consistently asserted as the norm in essentially every facet of power systems.¹²⁰ When fields like postcolonialism emerge and acts

¹¹⁸ Baldwin, J.R. (2014). *Cultural Values and American Culture*. Theory and Research in Intercultural Communication lecture notes online website at <http://my.ilstu.edu/~jrbaldw/372/Values.htm>.

¹¹⁹ Pew Research Center. (2016, April 26). Political polarization. <http://www.pewresearch.org/topics/political-polarization/>.

¹²⁰ Araujo, M., & Maeso, S. (Eds.). (2015, February 17). *Eurocentrism, racism and knowledge: debates on history and power in europe and the americas*. New York, NY: Springer. <https://books.google.com/books?id=CjoTBwAAQBAJ&pg=PT129&lpg=PT129&dq=eurocentric+base+of+>

like decolonization become more commonplace, this narrative is actively challenged, an action which is both revolutionary and healthy. Conditioning towards a westercentric bias foregoes the true diversity and scope of world knowledge. There is value in systems of knowledge outside of the Western world, and finally these systems are beginning to take the stage in more popularized arenas such as in academia.¹²¹ Accepting the value of other systems is both personally beneficial to communities and internationally beneficial to other cultures and states who may themselves find solutions for issues which their own viewpoints did not suffice in solving.

[government+systems&source=bl&ots=zcEr2TPNs7&sig=VwP44FxUtzthGGNzmOvcBKPPhwSg&hl=en](https://www.google.com/search?q=government+systems&source=bl&ots=zcEr2TPNs7&sig=VwP44FxUtzthGGNzmOvcBKPPhwSg&hl=en).

¹²¹ Canagarajah, A.S. (2002). *A geopolitics of academic writing*.

<https://books.google.com/books?id=d8jnMeXmA2AC&pg=PA36&lpg=PA36&dq=non+western+representation+in+academia&source=bl&ots=AsBRtwAUMJ&sig=0eGrNg23xpM1PMz4fRdu94vSc3M&hl=en>.

CONCLUSIONS

Colonialism is a devastating act. It is an action so strong that its influences can be carried down through generation after generation, affecting a state or community's ability to self regulate, self govern, or cooperate and function within the larger international governance and legal spheres. For SIDS, colonial power structures created unnatural levels of instability, dependency, and imbalance in their internal governing structures. This, furthermore, affects SIDS ability to function within the larger global community, as it is difficult to engage on macro level platforms when one is plagued with such a multitude of internal, more micro level disputes and complications. Decolonization, and even further indigenization, can act as a force through which to reverse these negative effects carrying over from initial violent acts of colonization (and even in the sense of combatting ongoing, more abstract forms of colonization).

Decolonization is a surrogate tool available to SIDS to increase internal stability and international validity as sovereign states. The restorative nature of decolonization work when applied in the case of SIDS is valuable and not only a method which warrants further postcolonialist academic study, but also as a practical option available for at-source implementation in SIDS. Acknowledgement of the traditional power structure's thousands of years of successful regulation on SIDS is furthermore most imperative to consider. Global systems typically function within the context of Western-based knowledge and power structures, Small states, and SIDS in particular and even moreso, are typically allowed to have a functioning narrative in the wider scope of consideration of non-Western fields of knowledge. As physically, culturally, and structurally unique nations, the consideration of their traditional methods of regulation and bureaucracy can combat internal and international instabilities which they face due to colonization. Furthermore, for anyone willing to listen and learn, studying these systems can give insight to the larger global community for future policy making, law, and governance

developments.

Colonialist power structures were implemented in SIDS as a method to more easily allow their nations to be overtaken by those of their colonizers. This forced assimilation into colonialist values was dually an act of repression and erasure of those which are indigenous to SIDS. The internal state instabilities many SIDS face can be traced to as direct results in many cases to historical trauma of colonial bureaucratic implementations. Research and understanding of the background and context of colonialism, the how and why of its implementations, and its intergenerational effects as it impacts SIDS is necessary for the future development of more tangible methods of change. Decolonization can be used as a tool to regain autonomy, identity, and both international and internal stability for SIDS.

Furthermore, traditional sectors of rule and order in indigenous communities is based in solidarity with one's people. Participation in colonialist bureaucratic systems alters indigenous peoples sense of identity and value, colonizing minds and leaving a sense of disdain for self and community with a shift towards the communities and factions of their colonizers. Being forced into large scale adaptation in all factions of society and life is undoubtedly damaging. Regardless of how involved a community may become in the colonizers system, it is still not suited to their identity and culture. Decolonization of the mind is the first step necessary for the larger second step of decolonization of bureaucratic systems. It is through this process that indigenous communities may restabilize and exit from survival mode and onto a plane of progress.

Sovereignty, at its very core, is the recognition of your government by others. It involves mutuality in connection, recognition, and cooperation between two or more governments. Communication is key in this dynamic, particularly for SIDS states in their fight to further their sovereign standing. International cooperation with larger states is not necessarily impossible, and in some cases may be beneficial or encouraged (particularly when in consideration of monetary or technological cooperation which are outside the physical scope for SIDS to produce on their own). In fact, there is a direct responsibility the rest of the non-regional international community

to not insert themselves unnecessarily and without prior and informed consent into the affairs of SIDS. However, to truly state their sovereign claims, SIDS must focus foremostly on localized and regionalized efforts for decolonization as well as revitalizing their traditional and indigenous coping strategies which have fallen so heavily to the wayside in the wake of colonialism.

Reparations should not be the primary objective as they are dependent on cultural variations. Traditionally, most indigenous cultures do not rely on a system of economy which shows any similarities to capitalism or the global capitalist system they must function in today. There is no set value when given that can replace the sacred cultural aspects, lives, traditions, and structures lost from SIDS under colonial occupation. This decolonization must be achieved in the sense which Poka Laenui defines it, both as a state of mind for communities and individuals as well as a long term actively evolving process. Without this, communities become stuck in a process of cultural domination, separated and individualized communities, and exclusionary tactics which effect even others who would traditionally be accepted within their own communities.

The international community at large must play a part in self education on the realities of life for indigenous communities and how matters of dominance, exploitation, privilege, and intergenerational trauma come into play even within legitimate institutions such as international law and all of its bodies. To acknowledge, address, and attempt to equalize these realities is to fix the problem at hand, namely, that indigenous communities are still largely second class citizens in the global community, regardless of any status they have by letter of the law, customary norms, or generally accepted principles. The international community at large must play a part in self education on the realities of life for indigenous communities and how matters of dominance, exploitation, privilege, and intergenerational trauma come into play even within legitimate institutions such as international law and all of its bodies. To acknowledge, address, and attempt to equalize these realities is to fix the problem at hand, namely, that indigenous communities are still largely second class citizens in the global community, regardless of any status they have by letter of the law, customary norms, or generally accepted principles.

Whilst apologies and promises from the international community as well as those contributing to SIDS historical and modern suffering under colonialism are all well and good, the true progress SIDS must make are within themselves. More heavy reliance on localized and regionalized decolonization efforts are the key to successful re stabilizing of SIDS's nations and thus, their ability to direct attention and resources to interacting as members of the global community. If SIDS do not actively decolonize communities and coping strategies, they indirectly accept their subordinate position as colonial dependents, living as unstable nations with dysphoric and suffering communities. Hence, can be no true sovereignty or stability, (and thus, progress) can be achieved until basic societal structures such as law, governance, and education systems are decolonized as the primary step. By reclaiming a lacking identity and thus stabilizing a community, they can move onward and upward from fighting to survive to striving and working for progress and growth. Once self-stability is determined, the community can focus then focus onto the larger international community and its place within. Intergovernmental relations can be incredibly valuable to SIDS, who are largely resource-scarce.

Colonialism has evolved beyond violent overthrow. Whilst today's colonial powers may not be carrying bayonets and Bible's, what they are armed with is much more frightening. That is the power of subtlety, the whispered growth of systems which have already been established in their favor through centuries of violent conquest and thievery. Not only is physical occupation still a reality under colonial control, now too, is destiny. Now that the shots are ringing more few and far between, this destruction is bold. It is occurring directly in the view of the global community. This corruption is not something which the international community itself will regulate, hence, a mix of decolonization, indigenization, and adaptiveness coagulate together into an ideal long term solution for SIDS. Progress will not birthed from acceptance, it is created by action. SIDS cannot evolve from their subordinate place as periphery communities without active decolonization. This involves having a realization SIDS needs to have about themselves. That is, to understand their identity as indigenous peoples, their independence as sovereign communities, and their value of their continued existence and increased prosperity as a need for the larger

global community.

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