Resilience and Resistance

Gemma Sou, Can-Seng Ooi, and Yunzi Zhang

Abstract Studies on the resilience of islanders often strip them of their political agency and reduce their resilient actions to no more than adapting, mitigating and recovering from an exogenous hazard. In this chapter, we challenge this apolitical understanding of island populations by contextualising their acts of resilience within the ongoing and historical colonial processes that characterise many islands across the world. We demonstrate that island people's acts of grassroots resilience signify implicit acts of political resistance to pursue self-determination and relinquish their dependency on external powers. We draw on the case of Puerto Rico in the aftermath of Hurricane Maria in 2017 in particular to show how people pursue greater control and sovereignty over their food supply in ways that implicitly challenge US domination over their everyday lives. We also argue that exploring resilience 'from below', exposes how state-centric conceptualisations of resilience do not fit neatly with how disaster-affected island people define and intuitively enact resilience.

Keywords Resistance · Food sovereignty · Puerto Rico · Colonialism · Grassroot movement

This chapter argues against two common notions in the resilience literature. The first notion claims that most problems or threats to islands, such as earthquakes, armed conflicts, pandemics or financial crises, are exogenous to islands. This framing of hazards implicitly suggests that the adverse impacts are solely attributable to

G. Sou (✉)
University of Manchester, Manchester, UK

RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: gemma.sou@manchester.ac.uk

C.-S. Ooi
School of Social Sciences, University of Tasmania, Hobart, TAS, Australia

Y. Zhang
Northern Marianas College, Saipan, MP, USA

C.-S. Ooi et al. (eds.), *Islands and Resilience*, SpringerBriefs on Case Studies of Sustainable Development, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-19-9964-2_4

the severity, intensity or frequency of such hazards, rather than the endogenous vulnerabilities of islands. The framing of hazards as external to islands and the ultimate cause of disaster impacts is based on assumptions about the natural causes of disasters and metaphors imported from 'hard' sciences. The second notion is that grassroots acts of resilience are non-political strategies that merely prepare, mitigate, respond or recover from hazard impacts (Reid 2012). In other words, when people engage in resilience-based strategies, they are neither acting with political intent to transform the status quo nor are they transforming the status quo. These two notions are underpinned by apolitical and ahistorical conceptualisations about how hazards and threats are produced within island contexts. These understandings of hazards lack complete comprehension of the sociopolitical and economic processes that have shaped disasters over time (Pelling 2011), which often leads to resolutions that are founded on market principles and technocratic solutions, thereby perpetuating the imaginary of islands as vulnerable and passive in the face of disruptions (Kelman et al. 2016). All disasters and their responses are political. Other critical aspects of disaster management are neglected by solely concentrating on market mechanisms and technological solutions, which may lead to social-political inequalities, injustice and discrimination. This results in island peoples being represented as vulnerable subjects (Evans and Reid 2013).

Also in this chapter, we argue that the representation of island people as passive in the face of disasters and the depoliticisation of islanders' resilience conveniently obscures the role of colonialism in shaping the perceived vulnerabilities of small island states. Bourbeau (2013) suggests that contextualising and politicising the notion of adversity in historical terms are central to resilience thinking. Wandji (2019: 299) supports the importance of analysing resilience through a temporal and historical lens by arguing that colonialism should be reconceptualised as a 'silent and slow' hazard shaping risk over time. Adding to this multidimensional perception of resilience, Bonilla (2017) argues that vulnerability situates in sociopolitical contexts and colonial history and should not be interpreted simply as something that takes place passively due to external factors.

Building on the former interpretations of resilience, this chapter explores islanders' grassroots acts of resilience within a historical context that recognises the impacts of colonial interventions and ongoing neo-colonialism. This approach allows us to expose how islanders' acts of resilience are by no means apolitical or ahistorical. Instead, they represent specific political attempts that seek to decolonise their everyday lives, perceiving disasters as opportunities to reclaim their sociocultural identity. By discussing how islanders respond to disasters through the lens of decolonisation theory, we echo Kothari and Arnall's (2019) call to focus on the daily practices that contribute to new understandings of how human/non-human entanglements shape resilience. Therefore, instead of privileging resilience as something defined and imposed by the state, we explore resilience 'from below', which also exposes how state conceptualisations of resilience do not sit neatly with how 'ordinary' islanders intuitively enact resilience during their daily lives.

1 Colonialism and Island Vulnerabilities

Islands are commonly cited as some of the most vulnerable places on Earth. However, understanding of islands' vulnerabilities often obscures colonial histories which are common across many islands (Bonilla and LeBron 2019). Many islands were impacted by colonial interventions that have generated structural vulnerability and forced dependency. The impacts that occurred during the colonial era still contribute significantly to widespread poverty, unemployment, poor health and decrepit infrastructure, which enable hazards to have such devastating impacts (Bonilla 2020). This chapter demonstrates the influence of colonial legacies by focusing on the colonial processes that enabled and encouraged islanders to increasingly depend on food imports and international tourism to support their livelihoods. We further explore how these dependencies ultimately exacerbate the vulnerability of island populations to disruptions, including natural disasters, socio-economic crises and the COVID-19 pandemic.

Dietary colonialism is a process whereby colonial and neo-colonial powers have destabilised local food and agricultural production, marginalised traditional food cultures and created food import dependency (Caldwell 2014). The formal colonisation of many island communities, beginning during the 1500s and extending into the 1900s, radically reconfigured local food systems. Colonising powers often reoriented local agriculture from traditional, small-scale production to intensive plantation economies. For example, in the Caribbean, early Spanish colonisers introduced plantations for cash crops such as coffee, sugarcane and tobacco for transatlantic export markets. Large-scale sugarcane and coconut industries replaced the small-scale cultivation of root crops, fruits and fishing in the Pacific. As a result, the availability and consumption of traditional foods such as roots, tubers and maize have reduced dramatically on the islands (Marrero and Mattei 2022).

Earlier colonial powers also introduced large-scale animal husbandries such as poultry farms, cattle grazing and industrial land-based agriculture. This produced extensive environmental consequences, including diminished freshwater resources, harmful agricultural chemicals, increased pollution, ample forest clearance, soil erosion and threats to the extinction of local species (Marrero and Mattei 2022). Colonial powers also restructured many island economies and disrupted their marine ecosystems by introducing the industrial export market of seafood products which marginalised subsistence fisheries and overexploited local fish stocks (Thaman and Biogeography 2002). The replacement of traditional food farming with non-nutritive cash crops—many of which are still cultivated today—has driven nutritional deficiencies and necessitated the import of inexpensive, energy-dense foods high in sodium and with limited nutritional value. In some islands, processed food consumption has also been reinforced via foreign governmental aid, including the US supplemental nutrition assistance programme. Urbanisation and industrialisation pressure islanders to abandon labour-intensive agriculture, further exacerbating poor diet quality, sedentary behaviour, weight gain and non-communicable diseases (Hawley and McGarvey 2015).

The vulnerability of islands is also a result of neo-colonial economic restructuring towards the expansion of extractive and unsustainable modes of tourism. By the 1960s, multilateral agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations Development Agency promoted tourism as a viable socio-economic development tool for 'third world' countries. Access to IMF structural adjustment funding was conditional on implementing pro-market policies with reduced state intervention in economic affairs (Edmonds 2015). This prompted a policy shift from local agriculture to service-oriented industries, primarily tourism. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of tourism in solving economic problems in many islands remains questionable.

For instance, Fiji, a major Melanesian tourist destination, experienced little poverty reduction and unsatisfactory economic performance of 0.5% GDP growth in 2019 (Gounder 2020). In the case of Samoa, with a 15% increase in inbound arrivals from 2014 to 2019 (Samoa Tourism Board 2019), food poverty persisted in many parts of the nation, and basic-needs poverty was prevalent in urbanised areas (Moustafa 2016). The emergence of mass tourism and all-inclusive packages can be attributed to the growing monopoly of transnational corporations, which own most of the hospitality and tourism enterprises on many small island states. This results in the economic marginalisation and exclusion of local populations who today still do not reap the economic benefits of mass tourism. While tourism may have contributed to the declining unemployment rates, it must be noted that most jobs offered within the tourism sector are low-skilled professions that receive minimum wages (Aynalem et al. 2016).

Islands' reliance on external markets for food security and livelihood security increases their vulnerability to the impacts of disasters. Access to consumables that contribute to people's daily diets can also deplete rapidly during the initial weeks after a disaster. This can be attributed to two reasons. The first reason is that import activities typically shift to humanitarian relief aid, and reconstruction materials are prioritised at the expense of everyday consumables (Kim and Bui 2019). The second reason is that small islands lack sufficient food reserves because their agricultural sector has become specialised for cash crop production and export markets, leading to a dependency on imported food products (Iglesias 2018). During the global COVID-19 pandemic, food imports remained far below the expected levels in the first 12 months of the crisis (Rashid et al. 2020). Given the shortage of food products, local food retailers responded by increasing prices to mitigate their losses. For example, daily food items rose by 35% during the first 5 months after the 2017 Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico. In these situations, higher-income households are generally able to afford inflated prices. In contrast, lower-income households will be forced to rely on salty and unhealthy humanitarian relief aid when available (Sou et al. 2021).

Regarding islands' reliance on international tourism, disasters can often result in the partial or total collapse of global tourism, leaving large portions of island populations without employment. This is significant for less developed countries (LDCs) as 42 out of 47 LDCs have tourism as a critical sector for development, and 1 out of 10 jobs in the world are directly linked to the tourism sector (Baum et al. 2020).

During the global pandemic, island governments quickly closed their borders and stopped air travel and cruise ship arrivals. International tourism to islands dropped by 70%, and imports shrunk by an estimated 28%, given the closure of international borders. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development estimated an average decrease in GDP of 9% across all small island states, compared with a 3.3% decline in other 'developing' countries. Millions were left without employment (UNCTAD 2021). Other examples include the 2020 Tropical Cyclone Harold, which dismantled the tourism industry of Vanuatu, reducing its tourism arrivals by 68%. Additionally, in early 2022, during the COVID-19 pandemic, Palau had only 3% of its average tourism arrivals, and the Northern Marianas Islands experienced a similar 85% decline from March to December 2022 (Marianas Visitors Authority 2022).

Despite the diverse ways that islands are adversely impacted by hazards, research across island contexts has revealed the intuitive, spontaneous grassroots ways that islanders have adapted to different hazards. This has also been shown in earlier chapters. However, in this chapter, we show how grassroots acts of resilience can represent implicit acts of anti-colonial resistance.

2 Reframing Island Resilience as Resistance During Disasters

Many islanders spontaneously cultivated their produce to mitigate the impacts of reduced food imports after natural hazards and during the COVID-19 pandemic. They raised backyard chickens, which led to state-sponsored initiatives. They cope and adapt. For example, in Fiji, the government implemented the 'Farm Support Package' and 'Home Gardening Program' to encourage new and continued efforts of Fijians in cultivating their food crops (Randin 2020). Similarly, to motivate local food production, the Solomon Islands distributed seeds to urban and rural communities, and Samoa utilised its aid grants to purchase seeds and planting materials for its residents (Iese et al. 2021). In Puerto Rico, in the aftermath of Hurricane Maria, many households responded to the lack of fresh foods by collectivising and growing produce in their gardens or gardens of abandoned houses, and/or raising chickens (Figs. 1 and 2) (McIlvaine-Newsad et al. 2020). The vegetables and eggs produced were not enough to replace Puerto Ricans' reliance on retailed produce; however, they supplemented people's diets with renewable and nutritious ingredients and fresh produce, which they valued after relying heavily on relief aid in the initial months. After hurricane Maria in 2017, many 'community kitchens' developed. These kitchens supported small-scale farming and decentralised local food projects, often providing free food to low-income people. They support food sovereignty through shared resources, exchange of labour and knowledge. These grassroots initiatives often have a clear political mandate, aligning themselves with the 'independentista' (pro-independence) and anticolonial movements (Roberto 2019).

Fig. 1 Chickens that women began raising after Hurricane Maria, Puerto Rico. (Photo: Gemma Sou)

Fig. 2 Vegetables that women began growing after Hurricane Maria, Puerto Rico. (Photo: Gemma Sou)

In establishing communal gardens, Puerto Ricans tacitly became part of the island's larger movement for food sovereignty.

In response to economic downturns in international tourism during disasters, many islanders also drew on place-based knowledge and novel practices to adapt. In addition to subsistence gardening and fishing discussed above, there is also a revival of exchange and bartering. During the COVID-19 pandemic, for example, many people in various Pacific Island countries set up roadside stalls to sell and exchange agricultural and aquaculture surpluses (Scheyvens et al. 2023). Migration from overcrowded capital islands to outer islands eased pressure on the former, strengthening kinship ties and bringing back much-needed labour and skills to depopulated islands (Farbotko and Kitara 2021). Also, social and mental well-being improved as islanders spent more time with family, extended family and religious networks and enjoyed leisure spaces, such as sandy beaches and restaurants ordinarily dominated by international tourists (Campbell and Connell 2021). Increased customary practices such as community gardens, bartering, and subsistence fishing secured many islanders' access to nutritious and affordable food. It helped maintain people's health and nutrition, enabling them to engage in other recovery activities, such as reconstructing housing, by allowing households to offset their expenditures (Steenbergen et al. 2020). These practices indeed represent creative strategies to adapt to, mitigate and recover from disasters within resilience vernacular and analytical frameworks.

People's subsistence farming and fishing and bartering demonstrate that people certainly value maintaining nutritious diets and offsetting their income during shocks. As such, these strategies fit neatly with resilience vernacular and analytical frameworks. However, if we only interpret these grassroots behaviours as acts of resilience, we completely overlook the ways that colonialism has shaped vulnerability and made it necessary for people to be resilient in the first place. Second, we obscure the political significance of these actions. We argue that people's actions represent implicit political resistance to the historical and ongoing colonial policies that undermine islanders' access to nutritious and affordable food. In other words, subsistence gardening and fishing and bartering represent people's attempts to reclaim land and regain some control over their food supply, diet, tastescapes, culinary experiences and income in general. We suggest that these acts of resilience resonate strongly with notions of food sovereignty in particular – 'the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems' (Declaration of Nyéléni 2007, p1).

The gardens, subsistence fishing and bartering have an implicit resistance mandate that aims to decolonise islanders' food supply and to take greater control over their access to and experiences of food. These strategies symbolise spontaneous grassroots forms of resistance rather than a mere means to cope with disasters. In this way, islanders sought self-determination to make decisions independent of the systems, laws and policies imposed by outside forces dictating their food supplies (Penehira et al. 2014). The emphasis on establishing locally owned and renewable food supplies also closely ties with environmental justice struggles, which centre on

notions of autonomy, direct democracy and sustainability (Atiles-Osoria 2014). Reclaiming local foods provides an adaptive alternative to dependence on processed and energy-dense food imports. In this way, revitalising small-scale agriculture and subsistence fisheries offers a systemic approach to improving diet quality and potentially boosting peoples' health across islands (Davila et al. 2021). In this way, we suggest that anti-colonial and normative forms of societal and economic organisation may rupture from disasters at the grassroots level. And that this can open conversation for how societies might be transformed in ways that challenge historical and ongoing colonial processes that produce vulnerabilities.

Resilience is often critiqued as a process and state that maintains the status quo. That is, resilience is often criticised for (re)producing and reifying the structural processes and injustices that produce societal vulnerabilities in the first place (Ooi 2022). However, grassroots acts of 'resilient resistance' show us how resilience can be potentially transformative and that it is not always about maintaining the status quo. Nevertheless, we recognise how celebrating people's acts of 'resilient resistance' can place the burden of responsibility to transform societies and solve collective problems onto island populations (Chandler 2019; Humbert and Joseph 2019; see chapters "Situating Island Resilience" and "Wayfinding Resilience"). And we recognise that grassroots acts of resilient resistance are insufficient to generate broad social transformation and structural changes. This would require coalitions that unite entities with similar views on island sovereignty, including political parties, local enterprises, scholarships, the diaspora and international organisations. Yet, by politicising the resilient actions of islanders, we acknowledge that islanders need to adapt and be resilient because of their placation, exploitation and experiences of colonisation. Resistance is appropriate as it embodies the sophistication of island social systems and values exemplified by islands. It uncovers how islanders continually engage in power struggles with historical and ongoing processes directly impacting their everyday lives and vulnerability to hazards. Therefore, we argue that resilience is an inadequate concept to understand islanders' responses during disasters. Resilience frameworks are ill-equipped to recognise the political significance of subsistence gardening, fishing and bartering on islands during disasters. More specifically, resilience erases the role of colonialism in shaping people's vulnerability. Thus, we consider it analytically unequipped to recognise the political agency and transformative potential of so-called non-political resilient acts that occur during disasters and within ongoing colonialism. We must situate islanders' responses to disasters within broader colonial processes, as this can allow us to recognise the inherently political nature of such acts.

Research also shows that women predominantly perform the spontaneous establishment of community gardens in response to disasters because they are typically responsible for food preparation and cooking, which makes them more aware of and directly affected by the decline in food quality than men. That more women were involved in the spontaneous gardens in response to hazards is also because women often have greater expertise in local vegetation, reflecting the gendered distribution of traditional ecological knowledge (Turner et al. 2020). We argue that women's community-based food production during disasters reveals the feminisation of

resistance, whereby the nature, meaning and subjects of political resistance, a dominantly masculine conceptualisation (Motta 2013; Sargisson 2002), are reconfigured and reimagined. Recognition of women's role in resistance is crucial to avoid reproducing and reifying the historical masking and delegitimisation of women's position at the heart of revolutionary and popular struggle (Dalla Costa and James 1972: 13). This is significant across islands, where anti-colonialism has often been framed through a patriarchal perspective in which women's role has typically been limited to the role as guardians of culture as they bring citizens into the world (Briggs 2003).

3 Conclusion

Islanders' lifestyles shift to subsistence farming, fishing, bartering and selling local produce surplus are examples of how island communities attempt to rebuild their traditional livelihoods. Some even suspect there can be no 'back to normal' (Gössling et al. 2020). Many believe revitalisation can promote sustainable food systems, regenerate economies and preserve biodiversity (Norum et al. 2020). In other words, maintaining these COVID-19 adaptive strategies could reduce tourism dependency and general vulnerability (Davila et al. 2021; Reksa et al. 2021; Lew et al. 2020; Sheller 2021). However, it is dangerous to be celebratory and perceive disasters as an 'opportunity' to transform island livelihoods. It is vital to take a cautionary approach and recognise that the alternate social system islanders enter after a disaster may not be desirable. Instead, it highlights their plight of being controlled by historical and ongoing colonial processes.

This chapter offers a glimpse into an alternative way of analysing grassroots resilience, which reveals how grassroots acts of resilience can challenge the status quo. The responses of populations across islands during disasters show how resilience and resistance are neither competitive nor mutually exclusive. Across islands, the resurgence of customary practices indicates an urge among islanders to seek 'sovereignty' over their everyday lives and a desire to undermine historical and ongoing colonial processes that (re)produce their vulnerabilities to different hazards. Islanders may engage in political acts of resistance without being politically conscious because resistance does not belong to the politically educated. It is how islanders act, rather than their intention, that matters. Overlooking acts of resistance without legitimate or 'appropriate' intentions will discourage conversations about the transformational potential of islanders' decolonisation strategies (de Certeau 1984).

In sum, we suggest that situating island populations' acts of resilience within colonialism presents opportunities to reinterpret and reimagine the causes of disasters and responses to disasters in islands. It offers a solid historicisation of contexts and how the need to adapt and be resilient among marginalised people across islands has its origins in their placation, exploitation and colonisation. Future research would benefit greatly from engaging with historical and ongoing colonial processes as it opens space to unearth the grassroots and subtle ways that disaster-affected

people aim to forge different forms of societal and economic organisation. Moreover, adopting such a methodology in disaster contexts is not merely about understanding how a society recovers, it is also about thinking critically and imaginatively about alternative futures that seek to address the structures that (re)produce the vulnerabilities which predicate disasters in society. Thus, it can provide island researchers with the conceptual framing to normatively reimagine what recovery and society could look like.

References

Atiles-Osoria JM (2014) Environmental colonialism, criminalisation and resistance. RCCS Annu Rev 6. https://doi.org/10.4000/rccsar.524

Aynalem S, Birhanu K, Tesefay S (2016) Employment opportunities and challenges in tourism and hospitality sectors. J Tour Hosp 5(6):1–5

Baum T, Solnet D, Robinson R, Mooney SK (2020) Tourism employment paradoxes, 1946-2095: a perspective article. Tour Rev 75(1):252–255

Bonilla Y (2017) Why would anyone in Puerto Rico want a hurricane? Because someone will get rich. The Washing Post, 22 September. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/how-puerto-rican-hurricanes-devastate-many-and-enrich-a-few/2017/09/22/78e7500c-9e66-11e7-9083-fbfddf6804c2_story.html

Bonilla Y (2020) The coloniality of disaster. Polit Geogr 78:102181. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2020.102181

Bonilla Y, LeBrón M (eds) (2019) Aftershocks of disaster. Haymarket Books

Bourbeau P (2013) Resiliencism. Resilience 1(1):3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2013.765738

Briggs L (2003) Reproducing empire: race, sex, and science in the U.S. University of California Press, Berkeley

Caldwell ML (2014) Epilogue: anthropological reflections on critical nutrition. Gastronomica J Food Cult 14(3):67–69

Campbell Y, Connell J (eds) (2021) COVID in the islands: a comparative perspective on the Caribbean and the Pacific. Palgrave Macmillan

Chandler D (2019) Resilience and the end(s) of the politics of adaptation. Resilience 7(3):304–313. https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2019.1605660

Dalla Costa M, James S (1972) The power of women and the subversion of community. Falling Wall Press, Bristol

Davila F, Bourke RM, McWilliam A, Crimp S, Robins L, Van Wensveen M et al (2021) COVID-19 and food systems in Pacific Island countries, Papua New Guinea, and Timor-Leste: opportunities for actions towards the sustainable development goals. Agric Syst 191:103137

de Certeau M (1984) The practice of everyday life. University of California Press, Los Angeles, CA

Declaration of Nyéléni (2007) https://nyeleni.org/IMG/pdf/DeclNyeleni-en.pdf

Edmonds K (2015) An elusive independence: Neocolonial intervention in the Caribbean. In: International socialism: a quarterly review of socialists theory, vol 146

Evans B, Reid J (2013) Dangerously exposed. Resilience 1(2):83–98

Farbotko C, Kitara T (2021) Urban–rural re-relocation as a response to the COVID-19 pandemic: the case of Tuvalu. Policy Brief 106:10

Gössling S, Scott D, Hall CM (2020) Pandemics, tourism and global change: a rapid assessment of COVID19. J Sustain Tour 29(1):1–20

Gounder N (2020) Fiji economic survey: low growth the new normal? Asia Pac Policy Stud. https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.307

Hawley NL, McGarvey ST (2015) Obesity and diabetes in Pacific Islanders: the current burden and the need for urgent action. Curr Diab Rep 15(5):1–10
Humbert C, Joseph J (2019) Introduction: the politics of resilience: problematising current approaches. Resilience 7(3):215–223. https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2019.1613738
Iese V et al (2021) Impacts of COVID-19 on agriculture and food systems in Pacific Island countries (PICs): evidence from communities in Fiji and Solomon Islands. Agric Syst 190. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.agsy.2021.103099
Iglesias JA (2018) El origen del colono en Puerto Rico. Revista De Indias 78(273):533–560
Kelman I, Gaillard JC, Lewis J, Mercer J (2016) Learning from the history of disaster vulnerability and resilience research and practice for climate change. Nat Hazards 82:129–143
Kim K, Bui L (2019) Learning from Hurricane Maria. Int J Disaster Risk Reduct 39:101244. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2019.101244
Kothari U, Arnall A (2019) Everyday life and environmental change. Geogr J 185(2):130–141. https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12296
Lew AA, Cheer JM, Haywood M, Brouder P, Salazar NB (2020) Visions of travel and tourism after the global COVID-19 transformation of 2020. Tour Geogr 22(3):455–466
Marianas Visitors Authority (2022) Visitor arrival statistics. https://www.mymarianas.com/press-release-reports/
Marrero A, Mattei J (2022) Reclaiming traditional, plant-based, climate-resilient food systems in islands. Lancet Planet Health 6(2):e171–e179
McIlvaine-Newsad H, Porter R, Delany-Barmann G (2020) Change the game, not the rules: the role of community gardens in disaster resilience. J Park Recreat Adm 38(3):2–22
Motta SC (2013) The feminization of resistance in Venezuela. Lat Am Perspect 40(4):35–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X13485706
Moustafa A (2016) Samoa hardship and poverty report. Samoa National Statistics Office and UNDP Pacific Centre
Norum R, Mostafanezhad M, Córdoba MA, Azcárate. (2020) COVID-19 and the geopolitical end of tourism. In: Tourism geopolitics: assemblages of infrastructure, affect, and imagination
Ooi C-S (2022) Sustainable tourism and the moral limits of the market: can Asia offer better alternatives? In: Balasingam AS, May Y (eds) Asian tourism sustainability. Springer, pp 177–197
Pelling M (2011) The vulnerability of cities to disasters and climate change: a conceptual framework. In: Coping with global environmental change, disasters and security: threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg, pp 549–558
Penehira M, Green A, Smith LT, Aspin C (2014) Māori and indigenous views on resistance and resilience. Mai. 3(2). https://hdl.handle.net/10289/10016
Randin G (2020) COVID-19 and food security in Fiji: the reinforcement of subsistence farming practices in rural and urban areas. Oceania. https://doi.org/10.1002/ocea.5271
Rashid H, Ng PL, Cheng HWJ, Grozdanic A (2020) The COVID-19 pandemic puts island developing economies in dire straits
Reid J (2012) The disastrous and politically debased subject of resilience. Dev Dialogue 58(1):67–79
Reksa AFA, Lissandhi AN, Syahid CN (2021) Reimagining Future Island: the COVID-19 impacts on tourism sector in small Island developing states (SIDS) and strategies to moving forward. J Indonesian Soc Sci Humanit 11(1):31–42
Roberto G (2019) Community kitchens. In: Bonilla Y, LeBrón M (eds) Aftershocks of disaster. Haymarket Books, pp 309–318
Samoa Tourism Board (2019) Total visitor arrivals by country/year. https://www.samoatourism.org/articles/254/total-visitor-arrivals-by-countryyear. Accessed 30 May 2020
Sargisson L (2002) Utopian bodies and the politics of transgression. Routledge, London
Scheyvens RA, Movono A, Auckram S (2023) Pacific peoples and the pandemic: exploring multiple wellbeings of people in tourism-dependent communities. J Sustain Tour 31(1):111–130
Sheller M (2021) Reconstructing tourism in the Caribbean: connecting pandemic recovery, climate resilience and sustainable tourism through mobility justice. J Sustain Tour 29(9):1436–1449

Sou G, Shaw D, Aponte-Gonzalez F (2021) A multidimensional framework for disaster recovery. World Dev 144. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2021.105489
Steenbergen DJ, Neihapi PT, Koran D, Sami A, Malverus V, Ephraim R, Andrew N (2020) COVID-19 restrictions amidst cyclones and volcanoes. Mar Policy 121:104199. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2020.104199
Thaman R, Biogeography PI (2002) Threats to Pacific Island biodiversity and biodiversity conservation in the Pacific Islands. Dev Bull 58:23–27
Turner KL, Idrobo CJ, Desmarais AA, Peredo AM (2020) Food sovereignty, gender and everyday practice. J Peasant Stud 1-27. https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2020.1786812
UNCTAD (2021) Small island developing states face uphill battle in COVID-19 recovery. https://unctad.org/news/small-island-developing-states-face-uphill-battle-covid-19-recovery. Accessed 23 July 2022
Wandji D (2019) Rethinking the time and space of resilience beyond the West. Resilience 7(3):288–303. https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2019.1601861

Dr. Gemma Sou is a Lecturer at the University of Manchester and a development geographer interested in human-environment relations. Gemma draws on postcolonial discourse to examine the everyday geographies and politics of climate change and disasters. Her personal website is www.gemmasou.com.

Prof. Can-Seng Ooi is a sociologist and is Professor of Cultural and Heritage Tourism at the University of Tasmania. His research career spans over three decades, during which he conducted research across many countries, including Australia, Denmark, Singapore, China and Malaysia. Some issues Can-Seng investigates are the local turn in tourism, tourism-community relations, place branding, cross-cultural management and the political economy of tourism. His personal website is www.cansengooi.com.

Associate Prof. Yunzi Zhang is a social scientist and Associate Professor of Hospitality Management at the Northern Marianas College. Her research focuses on the intersections between tourism, politics and history, especially on cases situated in marginalised communities. Her recent publications have addressed the sociopolitical conditions that influence tourist behaviours of the Chinese outbound market. Her current fieldworks in Micronesia examine indigenous identities, rural well-being and development through the lens of tourism.