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STRUCTURAL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIOPOLITICAL CHANGE ON ANUTA, S. I.

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On July 7, 1978, the Solomon Islands became an independent nation. In contrast with some "developing" countries, the new government appears to recognize the islands' "varied and enduring culture(s) with deep roots in the past" as a positive asset while "cultural promotion and preservation" are listed among the principles of their National Development Plan (Kenilorea 1978:3). Nonetheless, leaders perceive a need to "unite as one people so that we can concentrate our efforts on the tasks ahead" (Devesi 1978:3). In the words of Prime Minister Peter Kenilorea:

Regardless of our ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity, we can, from today onwards, attest to a single national identity. Today we are Solomon Islanders, and we can say with humility, but also with pride, that we all belong to one free and independent nation. . . . Our future prosperity, harmony and happiness, progress and stable society depend on the combined efforts of all of us. . . . Nationhood brings a common unity of purpose and, wisely used, this can be for the good of all . . . (Kenilorea 1978:3, 33).

Yet, the attempt to incorporate disparate linguistic, cultural and social groups into a smoothly ordered economic and political unit is rarely easy to achieve and inevitably poses problems for previously distinct communities as they struggle to maintain their values, symbols, social structure and a degree of autonomy while being transformed into components of a nation state.¹

The integration of new states is one manifestation of the broader anthropological problem of culture change and acculturation. In recent years, sociocultural change has been approached primarily from either

the viewpoint of pragmatic adaptation in the face of new material conditions, or from the perspective of diffusion of particular traits. Anthropologists recognize the importance of meanings and symbols,² but most structural analyses of cultures as coherent symbol systems have been synchronic studies focusing on relatively small, homogeneous communities.³ Suggestions that a structural approach may be of use in understanding largely endogenous change are found in the work of writers from Marx (1959[1869]:320, 1964:67ff, 1967[1867]:357-58) to Levi-Strauss (1966, 1967) and Sahlins (1967), and I have used this approach in my own treatment of Anuta, a small Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands' Eastern Province (Feinberg 1980). In the present paper, I explore the preexisting structure of symbolic elements in Anutan culture and its implications for the integration of Anuta into the larger sociopolitical unit of the Solomons.⁴

My discussion will necessarily be somewhat programmatic in nature as it is based on a field study of traditional Anutan social structure in 1972-73, limited information, derived primarily from correspondence, as to developments affecting Anuta during the past decade, and inference from data on the problems of development and integration in other parts of the world. Much of the concrete information needed to fill out my analysis is simply unavailable at the present time. Therefore, this paper should be seen as a preliminary inspection of issues to be addressed in a forthcoming field investigation tentatively planned for the 1982-83 academic year.

Symbolic Dualism and Social Change

I have argued elsewhere (Feinberg 1980) that Anutan culture is permeated by a tendency to organize reality in terms of paired oppositions. Kinship and corporate groups are defined in terms of genealogical connection and behavior manifesting *aropa* ("love") and both the concepts of *aropa* and genealogy are further subdivided.⁵ The "kindred" (*kano a paito*) is divided fundamentally into the paternal kindred and the *kano a paito i te pai o te papine* ("kindred on the woman's side,") including both maternal kin and affines. For ritual purposes each side is further subdivided into opposing pairs. The *pai maatuaa* ("side of the parents" or "side of the father") and the *pai makitanga* ("side of the father's sister") make up the Paternal kindred; the *pai tuatina* ("side of the mother's brother") and *pai tupuna* ("side of the grandparent") constitute the kindred "on the woman's side."⁶ Anuta has four hierarchically ordered *kainanga* ("clans"). The two senior "clans" are led by chiefs, and their men are termed *maru* ("no-

bles,” “protectors”). The two junior “clans” do not have chiefs, and their members are termed *pakaaropa* (“sympathy-producing” or “commoners”). The chief of the senior “clan” is called *te Ariki i Mua* (“the Chief in Front”) and counterposed to the chief of the second “clan,” known as *te Ariki i Muri* (“the Chief Behind”).⁷ And finally, Anutans classify the peoples of the world and their relations to them in terms of an elaborate model of complementary oppositions, somewhat analogous to the segmentary lineage concept outlined most notably by Evans-Pritchard in his description of the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940). At the most specific level, Anutans counterpose themselves to Tikopians--residents of the neighboring island, with whom they share many cultural characteristics. At a higher level of inclusiveness, they identify themselves with Tikopians in opposition to *nga* Toromonu, the Melanesian peoples of the Solomons. They identify themselves with Solomon Islanders as *penua uri* (“black islands” also their generic term for Melanesians.) as opposed to Europeans (*paparangi*), and the world’s population, including both themselves and Europeans, is termed *atangata katoa*.⁸

That the dual perspective in Anutan social structure reflects a more deep-seated binary cosmology is seen most clearly in the spatial representation of social relationships. Front is superior to back, east to west, high to low, up to down, right to left, light to dark, and seaward to inland. The first term in each opposition is *tapu* (“sacred,” “masculine,” “powerful,” or “chiefly”); the second is profane, feminine, weak, and honorifically debased. Through various elaborately involuted combinations of these oppositions most interpersonal and structural relationships are metaphorically expressed.⁹

This binary structure not only permeates Anuta’s contemporary culture, but it has helped to shape responses to historical events. Repeatedly, events have contravened structure. Yet, the binary pattern seems to be so firmly entrenched in the Anutans’ thought that it has always reemerged to mold the course of social interaction and relationships. Both quasi-mythical accounts of ancient history and the better documented stories of more recent happenings illustrate the Anutans’ propensity for structural replication.¹⁰

According to oral traditions, Anuta was originally inhabited by people known as *apukere* (“earthsprung” or “autochthones”). The autochthonous inhabitants were divided into two ranked moieties, each led by a chief.¹¹ After a dispute with Pu Ariki, a Tikopian chief and prominent ancestor, the latter is said to have created a typhoon, followed by a drought and famine.¹² Eventually, the *apukere* all died out and Pu Ariki assumed sovereignty over the island. Not long thereafter, however, Anuta was repopu-

Anutans Identify With:	vs.	As Opposed to:
ANUTA	vs.	Tikopia
ANUTA + TIKOPIA	vs.	Tonga + Samoa + etc.
ANUTA + TIKOPIA + TONGA + SAMOA + ETC. = KIRI TOTO 'RED SKIN'	vs.	Penua Uri ("Melanesians")
KIRI TOTO + PENUA URI 'MELANESIANS' = PENUA URI 'COLORED PEOPLE'	vs.	Paparangi ("Europeans")
PENUA URI+ PAPARANGI = ATANGATA KATOA		
ANUTA	vs.	Tikopia
ANUTA + TIKOPIA	vs.	Malaita + Makira + etc. = Solomon
ANUTA + TIKOPIA + MALAITA + MAKIRA + ETC. = SOLOMON/PENUA URI	vs.	Paparangi
SOLOMON + PAPARANGI = ATANGATA KATOA		

Figure 1. Anutan classification of themselves in relation to other peoples of the world.

SUPERIOR	INFERIOR
high	low
front	back
east	west
male	female
seaward	inland
right	left
sacred	profane

Figure 2. Anutan sociospatial oppositions.

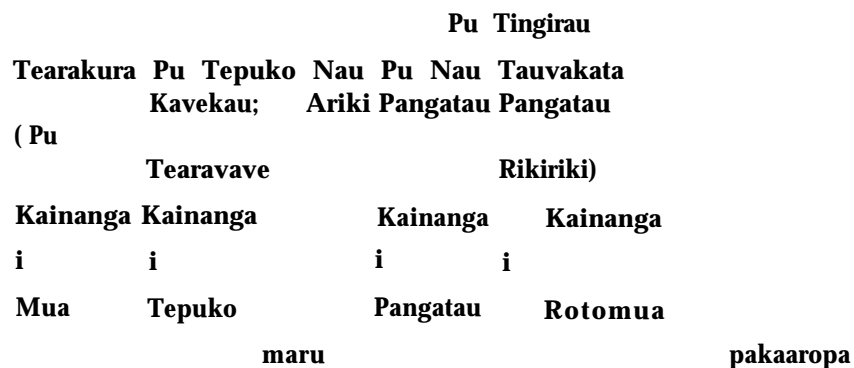


Figure 3. Diagram illustrating the founders of Anuta's commoner and chiefly "clans."

lated by two groups of Polynesians: one from Tonga and the other from Uvea (presumably East Uvea or Wallis Island). The immigrants assumed effective control over the island, the Uveans, under the leadership of Pu Taupare thereby occupying a subordinate position to the Tongans. The latter are said to have been led by a man named Pu Kaurave.

After Pu Kaurave's death, he was succeeded as chief of the island by his son, Ruokimata. Ruokimata, however, had no offspring. The chieftainship passed on to Toroaki, Pu Taupare's son. The Tongan "Moiety" as a discrete culturally defined segment of Anutan society vanished, and the binary structure was superseded by a single more or less undifferentiated polity.¹³

Anuta continued as a single polity, headed by a single chief, for about two generations. But over time, factions developed. The dominant faction was led by the chief, a man named Tearakura. The opposing group consisted of a man named Pauvaka, his sons, and their supporters. The latter faction plotted against the chief, but their conspiracy was discovered, the rebellion crushed, and once again the binary structure gave way before historical events.¹⁴ This monism, however, was short-lived as it was Tearakura, his two brothers and two sisters who are credited as founders of the four contemporary *kainanga*.

Still, there was one chief. After Tearakura's death, he was succeeded by his brother, Pu Tepuko. Pu Tepuko, in turn, was succeeded by Tearakura's son, Kavataurua. At Kavataurua's insistence, however, a second chiefly office was established for Pu Tepuko's son, Pu Matauea, and ever since that time the dual chieftainship has been a prime example of Anuta's binary predisposition.

The importance of the second chiefly line is highlighted by the installation during the 1960s of the present junior chief, also named Pu Tepuko. At the time there was no one in an appropriate position to perform the ritual for installing a junior chief, and many people said that there could no longer be an Ariki Tepuko. However, leading members of the senior "clan" took this responsibility upon themselves, and although this was agreed to be ritually improper, no one objected--such was the importance of the second chiefly office to the preservation of Anutans' sense of order in the world.¹⁵

The interface of history and structure also may be seen in the Anutans' view of social space. This is particularly evident in their system of identifying residential clusters. In pre-Christian times, Anuta had two *nopora* ("villages") known as Mua ("Front") to the east and Muri ("Rear") in the west. When Christianity was established (allegedly in 1916), a church house was constructed to the west of Muri, and a group of houses

soon grew up around this church. These houses came to be identified as St. John, the same name as the church, and this combined with Mua and Muri to produce a triadic structure. Before long, however, this system was superseded by a new binary mode of designation. In the new system, Mua and Muri were combined under the appellation Rotoapi and contrasted with St. John which, in this system, was renamed Vatiana. This sequence of events is summarized as follows:

Mua + Muri (binary)	Mua + Muri + St. John (ternary)	Rotoapi + Vatiana ¹⁶ (binary)
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Meanwhile, the structure of the religious system itself was being similarly reshaped. In olden days, the chiefs also served as high priests, mediating between the underlying population and the dieties, who were themselves the spirits of deceased human beings. Following conversion, religious and secular authority were separated. Yet, the chiefs and their families continued to feel responsibility for the island's spiritual well-being. Thus, in 1972-1973 the church was led by the senior chief's brother, who served as the island's catechist. The chief's son was one of the catechist's three assistants. And the two chiefs were leading members of a church auxiliary known as Companions of the Melanesian Brotherhood.¹⁷ Moreover, while secular authority has been formally separated from status in the religious order, the structure of the former system has been replicated in the latter. In the temporal order, the first chief has formal honor, and it is he who has the ultimate authority to make decisions, although this is done in the name of *pono*, (the general assembly of the island's population). The second chief is given chiefly honor, but his political authority is more analogous to that of the leading *maru* ("nobles," "executive officer") than to the senior chief. The *maru* are not given formal honor, but they act as advisors to the chiefs and make sure that the *pono*'s proclamations are implemented.

In the church, political authority is in the hands of the catechist, although his assistants (referred to by the same term, *pakaako*) are honored also by means of special presents on ritual occasions. The relationship between the catechist and his assistants may be described in terms of "front" and "back," just as is that between the senior and junior chief. The companions have little formal honor as a result of their position, but they advise the catechist at weekly meetings or as the need arises. It is their duty to see that the policies of the church, in whose name the catechist acts, are carried out. And there are weekly meetings of the companions and the catechists, comparable to weekly meetings of the *maru* and the chiefs. This set of relationships may be summarized as follows:

SENIOR CHIEF: junior chief: MARU: people: CATECHIST:
assistant catechists: COMPANIONS: congregation¹⁸

Simultaneous with the development of these relationships, a binary structure came to replace a unitary one within the church itself. For about two generations, Anuta had a single church house and a single congregation. Finally, in 1972, a new church was erected to the east of Mua. In the old church at St. John, services were led in English by the catechist. In the new church, called St. James, services were led by the Companions under the direction of the senior chief who spoke in Mota, a language from the Banks Islands which served for many years as the Melanesian Mission's lingua franca. The old church was characterized as the "church of the catechist" and counterposed to the new "church of the companions." At feasts, the congregations took turns dancing for each other's entertainment, and at Christmas the two congregations caroled separately on opposite ends of the island.¹⁹

Implications

If the foregoing analysis has any merit, structure must have great significance for Anuta's acceptance or rejection of ideas and institutions from the outside world.²⁰ Christianity was readily accepted because of a detailed correspondence between the structure of concepts and values as embodied in Christianity and the traditional religion,²¹ an element of historical accident,²² the material resources of the Anglican Church and its supporters, combined with its ability to fit into Anuta's preexisting hierarchically ordered binary cosmology. From the viewpoint of national integration, the crucial question is: to what extent does the Solomon Islands government share in the advantages enjoyed by the church? The answer, it would seem, is very little.

The Church of England is a European institution, and in Anutan eyes, Europeans constitute the most esteemed form of humanity. Europeans "descended" (*ne ipo*) upon Anuta from such countries to the east (the most esteemed direction) as England and the United States. They have light skin, which is positively valued. Europeans are rich (by Anutan standards, phenomenally so), which makes it possible for them to manifest the prime value of *aropa* through acts of generosity. And European technological capacity and military power are associated with the traditional concept of *manuu* ("mana," "efficacy," "power") which in turn derives from association with powerful deities or spirits.

By contrast, the present government is dominated by Melanesians, for whom Anutans traditionally have had little but contempt.²³ These are dark skinned people from the lands “below” or to the west. They have few material amenities which the Anutans lack. From a Polynesian point of view, they lack the aristocratic etiquette that separates barbarians from people of real worth. And in some of the more extreme statements, they are depicted as lacking entirely in culture.²⁴ Thus, from a structural or symbolic viewpoint, it would seem that the Anutans have little reason to desire close association with the government or the people it is seen to represent.

If this is so, the government must find a way to overcome Anuta’s structural predisposition if the Anutans are to be incorporated successfully into the political and economic structure of the new nation. At this point, there are several options which deserve consideration.

The most obvious solution might be for the government simply to ignore Anuta. The island is so small and isolated that its incorporation into the national political and economic structure might well require a greater investment of resources than could be justified by the potential benefits. The stated commitment to decentralization and maintenance of local custom, creation of “Councils of Chiefs” in local areas, and the like, attest to an appreciation of such considerations.²⁵ However, nation states rarely permit to go unchallenged the existence of truly autonomous sociopolitical groups within their borders. A perceived need for planning and coordination on a national scale to consolidate resources and focus their utilization on promotion of what is assumed to be the common good of national development tends to militate against this option.²⁶ And a desire to present a united front in dealing with the outside world usually operates to a similar effect.

These factors are accentuated in the Solomons. The major cultural division is that between the Melanesian majority with over ninety percent of the population, and the Polynesian minority, with about four percent. Although there are only about 200 Anutans, these people have close ties with over 2000 Tikopians, and a somewhat more peripheral affinity with other Polynesians in the Solomons. These Polynesians occupy a strategic position far in excess of their numbers in the total population. Commercially exploitable bauxite and phosphate deposits have made Rennell and Bellona economically significant.²⁷ And the Tikopians’ and Anutans’ sense of loyalty and discipline, deriving in all likelihood from their chiefly system of political authority, has led many people from those islands to take Prominent positions in the national police force. Similarly, dependability and discipline have made people from these islands into the back-

bone of the labor force at the Levers Corporation's copra plantations in the Russell Islands.²⁸ That same discipline makes possible concerted action of a kind which largely compensates politically for lack of numbers.²⁹

Any differences between Anutans and the central government are likely to be shared by other Polynesians. Thus, a successful show of independence by Anutans is likely to be viewed as a dangerous precedent by the authorities in Honiara. Any resistance to participation in the national political and economic order, if not deterred, might well be copied by the other Polynesian communities with potentially disruptive consequences. For all these reasons, it appears unlikely that the government would allow Anuta true autonomy for very long.

Assuming then that the authorities will attempt to create among Anutans a sense of identification with the wider polity and allegiance to the government's authority, a logical first step might be to provide useful services. This would not only give Anutans a practical reason for maintaining good relations with the central government, but the latter would be demonstrating *aropa*, providing for the island's welfare in a manner highly reminiscent of the indigenous chiefs, acting in their traditional capacity.³⁰ Should these services be accepted, that would create an obligation on the Anutans' part to honor and obey the government, very much as they cede honor and obedience to their own chiefs.

To a certain extent, the government has taken this approach. It provides medical assistance, transportation, and radio contact, all of which are appreciated. However, owing to Anuta's minute size, geographical remoteness and the government's limited resources, such assistance has been minimal. Moreover, the Anutans seem to recognize that to accept offers of aid might compromise their sovereignty. If governmental services were truly essential, Anutans would have little option but to acquiesce. However, the island is, in most respects, quite self-sufficient. In this light, one may understand Anuta's refusal of relief supplies following the major storm of February 1972.

Effective integration into the money-oriented market economy would serve to undermine Anutans' sense of independence and ability to maintain autonomy. They would become increasingly dependent upon foreign institutions for employment and as sources of commodities, and such dependence could be used as a lever to alienate Anutans from their traditional culture. In particular, participation in a competitive market economy would tend to undermine the *aropa* ethic as the mainspring of Anutan social interaction and replace it with a new value system which might be more in keeping with the goals of a new nation struggling to achieve "modernity."

To a degree, Anutans have been incorporated into the monetary economy, largely without conscious planning on anybody's part. In 1972-1973, there were Anutans working for the Honiara town council, the Solomon Islands Police Department, a Honiara taxi service, and the Levers Corporation in the Russell Islands. To use this consciously as a political weapon, however, would entail risks of promoting antagonism and even active resistance, of cultural breakdown, and anomie. Nor is it certain that it would have the desired effect. Through a process of particularization,³¹ Anutans could adapt to a money economy in some aspects of life while maintaining their traditional world-view and principles of social intercourse in others. In some measure, this already has occurred, as indicated by the patterns according to which wages and European goods were distributed among Anutans in 1972-1973.³² As long as no serious conflicts arise, such a resolution ought to be entirely acceptable to government authorities. However, if Anutans had to choose between the national political and economic order and their own traditional subsistence economic system based on principles of *aropa* and kinship, most would very likely choose the latter. Furthermore, as inflation and recession spread world-wide, the market economy looks less and less attractive while the traditional political and economic system increasingly beckons.

Anutans value their sovereignty and independence. They cede political allegiance to their chiefs and resent any acts which tend to undermine this authority structure. In recognition of this fact, the government has agreed that Anuta may be represented by its chiefs on the local council.³³ By incorporating the chiefs into the nation's political structure, the government might be credited with *manuu* and, thereby, legitimacy through its association with the chiefs. However, there is an inherent contradiction between the hereditary monarchy represented by the chiefs, and parliamentary democracy as represented by the government in Honiara.³⁴ Furthermore, for such a solution to work, the chiefs would have to have an interest in what is happening in the remainder of the Solomons--a sense that what transpires overseas is relevant to their situation. Again, physical isolation and lack of normal education make the development of such awareness unlikely in the foreseeable future.

One final approach which shows some promise of success is to recognize explicitly the symbolic structure of Anuta's social universe, to emphasize the dichotomy between *penua uri* and *paparangi*, and encourage Anutans to recognize their cultural and economic commonality with the rest of the Solomons in contrast with Europeans (see figure 1). The government might emphasize the international distribution of wealth and power which, for centuries has worked to the advantage of the European

countries. From this vantage point, the Anutans have far more in common with other Solomon Islanders than they do with any European power, and they might be convinced that their material self-interest lies in casting their lot with the newly independent nation of which they form a part. And if this happened, it would not be difficult to fit their sense of material self-interest in with their sense of order in the universe. Even this approach, however, is laced with obstacles.

In many respects, this would be little more than the common political ploy of focusing attention on a foreign enemy (which may be real or concocted) in order to divert people's consciousness from domestic problems. Few if any nations have abstained entirely from such practices. For newly independent territories emerging from a period of revolutionary struggle, the temptation tends to be particularly powerful. Eventually one discovers, however, that "Most Tamils, Karens, Brahmins, Malays, Sikhs, Ibos, Muslims., Chinese, Nilotes, Bengalis, or Ashantis [find] it a good deal easier to grasp the idea that they [are] not Englishmen than that they [are] Indians, Burmese, Malayans, Ghanians, Pakistanis, Nigerians, or Sudanese" (Geertz 1973b:239).

In the Solomons, all this is doubly problematic. In contrast with many of the world's new nations, independence did not result from popular sentiment and a mass movement to expel colonial invaders. This means that the islands have been spared much of the strife and bloodshed which has so often marked the road to independence, but neither have their people ever had to develop a sense of national consciousness in counterposition to a foreign adversary. And in the Solomons, even the selection of an adversary would pose difficulties.

In general, relations between the Solomon Islands and the various European powers have been amicable. The British decision to give up administration of the territory was met less with jubilation than with trepidation.³⁵ The islands' constitution is modeled largely on the British system. England maintains political and economic ties with the Solomons, and there remains some sense that in a crisis British advice and assistance still would be available. Thus, the most obvious target for collective animosity is a poor one both symbolically, as there is little systematic anti-British feeling, and practically, as any anti-British movement might cut off the islands from their major source of overseas support. Other countries have so little contact with the Solomons that it would be difficult to make them the focal point of strong emotions for large numbers of people.³⁶

When we come to the Anutans' sense of who they are and where they fit among the peoples of the world, we find that they are somewhere in the middle, with Europeans above and Melanesians below. In some con-

texts, they begrudgingly acknowledge that they are a “colored people” (*penua uri*) like the Melanesians and that they contrast with the *paparangi* (“Europeans”). They much prefer whenever possible, however, to think of themselves in association with Europeans and look down upon their brethren to the west.

In order to counteract their powerful symbolic predilection, Anutans would almost have to develop a perception of Europeans as active oppressors and come to see such oppression as a common bond which links them to their Melanesian neighbors. Anuta’s isolation, however, has led to a parochialism which tends to make the recognition of common interests more than a little difficult. Some of this parochialism may be overcome by increased exposure to the outside world through education, travel, and employment. And some Anutans who have spent time overseas are becoming critical of certain European institutions, attitudes, and practices. However, the more time one spends away from home and the more aware he becomes that his problems and experiences are shared by others, the less likely he is to return home where he can influence the thinking of his fellow Anutans.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages, I have argued that an appreciation of symbolic structures may be a useful tool in understanding political development. I have tried to demonstrate that Anutan culture tends to organize reality in terms of highly articulated sets of hierarchically ordered binary oppositions, that this symbolic structure has helped to mold the island’s history, and that an understanding of this structure may be helpful in addressing present and future problems involving the relationship between Anuta and the newly independent Solomon Islands nation. This is not to deny the salience of pragmatic adaptation to material conditions, diffusion, or historical accident. Indeed, I have examined all these sorts of factors in the foregoing analysis. Rather, I hope to have shown how symbolic structures interact with other factors to pattern the course of history and how one may use such a model to draw inferences for dealing with the present and the future.

In particular, I have examined the problem of national integration in a new state with limited resources and tremendous cultural and geographical diversity. I have considered several options available to the central government for dealing with this problem, taking both pragmatic and symbolic factors into account. It appears that every option has been fol-

lowed to a limited degree, but that there are formidable obstacles barring the attempt to see any of these strategies through to a final resolution.

I do not pretend to have considered all possible avenues for resolution. Nor have I examined every problem obstructing the attempt to forge a unified nation. The possible role of cultural and racial prejudice and discrimination directed against the Polynesian minority, for example, has not been addressed. This is in part because the present paper is intended to illustrate a method of analysis rather than to be an exhaustive study of a concrete problem. But I also lack the contemporary data I would need to be much more specific. In the coming year, I hope to fill this gap through an empirical exploration of how the Solomon Islands have attempted to deal with the problem of national unity and integration, the Anutans' reaction to these attempts and the net effects. At that point, the real test of the model I am advocating will begin.

NOTES

1. Eisenstadt (1966:118-123), Black (1967:28 and *passim*), Geertz (1973c) and others have addressed this issue from the viewpoint of newly established governments struggling against the sometimes overwhelming tendencies toward fragmentation. Discussion from the perspective of communities attempting, to maintain their own distinct identities have largely dealt with racial and ethnic minorities in older, established nations. Prominent in such discussions is the issue of assimilation as it has been faced by Indians of the United States (e.g., see Debo 1970; Deloria 1969; Eggan 1966) and South America (e.g., Davis 1977), or by the inhabitants of Australia (e.g., see Tonkinson 1974 and others).

2. Schneider (1968, 1969, 1972, 1976a, 1976b), Geertz (e.g., 1960, 1973), and their followers have actually defined "culture" as a system of meanings and symbols. Other prominent anthropologists (e.g., Levi-Strauss 1966; Turner 1967, 1975, etc.; Burridge 1960, 1969; Firth 1973; et al.), while operating from a broader definition of "culture" have nonetheless made the nature and workings of symbolic systems their major concern, and rarely can an anthropologist avoid the subject entirely. Some of my own thoughts on symbolism and particularly the conceptual-symbolic view of culture are expressed in Feinberg (1979a).

3. The synchronic perspective of anthropological structuralism may be traced largely to de Saussure's distinction between *langage* and *parole* (Saussure 1966[1915]). The former involves a structuralist system and is separated from particular events or sequences of events. Through use of the linguistic analogy, this dichotomy has been applied to sociocultural systems which at times may be related but tangentially to language. The second element of this opposition (*parole*, speech, event, or history) is seen as contingent; only the first is subject to scientific or structural analysis. But more recently it has been suggested (Sahlins 1976, 1981; Feinberg 1980) that events or history, while not the same as structure, are largely shaped by symbolic structures. Since "people act upon circumstances according to their own cultural presuppositions, the socially given categories of persons and things" (Sahlins 1981:67), structures necessarily appear in history, and history in structures. The commu-

nities most typically explored by structuralists include such groups as the Bororo (Levi-Strauss 1961, 1967, 1969, etc.), Winnebago (e.g., Levi-Strauss 1966, 1967), Purum (Needham 1962), or Ndembu (e.g., Turner 1969). Rarely, however, is the focus on such units as Brazil, Canada, the United States, India or Zambia.

4. I do not mean to imply that other elements are unimportant; my point is simply to call attention to considerations which have too often been neglected, and to indicate the way in which they may be utilized in the study of sociopolitical change.

5. The meaning of *aropa*, in various contexts, may approximate the English "love," "sympathy," "pity," or "affection," but is taken to be meaningful only insofar as it is expressed in material terms through the giving or sharing of goods and services. This concept is discussed at greater length in Feinberg (1978:28-30, 1981a:134-138, 1981b:67-72 and *passim*). The bipartite nature of *aropa* and genealogy in Anutan culture is discussed most explicitly in Feinberg (1980:362, 1981b *passim*).

6. For further discussion of the Anutan kindred and its structure, see Feinberg (1979b, 1980:364-365, 1981b:109-113).

7. The "clans," in descending order of precedence, are *te Kainanga i Mua*, *te Kainanga i Tepuko*, *te Kainanga i Panatau*, and *te Kainanga i Rotomua*. The *Ariki i Mua* is also known as *Tui Anuta*; the *Ariki i Muri* is sometimes called *te Ariki Tepuko* or *Tui Kainanga*. For further discussion of the Anutan "clan" and chiefly systems, see Feinberg (1973:13-17, 1978, 1981b: chapters VI and VII).

8. See Feinberg (1980:373-374, 1981b:164-165) for further elaboration of this point.

9. The nature of these oppositions and the spatial representation of social relationships is spelled out in greater detail in Feinberg (1980).

10. Anutan oral history traces the island's present population back about fourteen generations. The time depth, therefore, is not great, and I would not preclude the possibility that the account which I was given may reflect actual happenings. The important issue, however, is not the historical accuracy of Anutan traditions; rather it is to demonstrate that the structure of both recent (and well documented) and remote (poorly documented or undocumented) events corresponds with the Anutans' binary thought patterns.

11. This story also is related by Firth (1954:121), Yen, Kirch, and Rosendahl (1973:6-7), and myself (Feinberg 1976, 1981b:7-9). These accounts all agree in most of their essential features.

12. *Pu Ariki* is sometimes known as *Pu Lasi*; Firth (1954:121) refers to him by the latter name. This man is said to be the founder of Tikopia's Taumako lineage.

13. Persons of Tongan ancestry remained on the island through the auspices of women, but as Anutans normally trace descent through males, the remaining Tongan "blood" is not given cultural recognition.

14. This is a highly simplified version of these events. Actually, there are said to have been two battles for the chieftainship. In the first, *Pauvaka's* sons sided with *Tearakura* to defeat a rival faction; later, *Pauvaka's* sons opposed the chief and were, in turn, defeated. This is described in somewhat greater detail in Feinberg (1973:13, 1981b:8-9, 129-130). A proper elaboration of these events as they appear in Anutan oral history must await a more complete discussion of the latter subject, which I hope to compile in the near future.

15. For further details, see Feinberg (1978:7, 1981b:139).

16. See Feinberg (1980:371-372, 1981b:14-17, 198-202) for further details on Anuta's "village" structure.
17. For more on the Companions, who they are, and how they are organized, see Feinberg (1978:15-17, 1981b:153-155).
18. These relationships and the matter of structural replication in the new religious order are spelled out in greater detail in Feinberg (1980:369-371, 1981b:171).
19. See Feinberg (1980:373) for further details.
20. In this paper, I am using the term "institution" broadly to include both "a group of people united or organized for a purpose" (Bohannan and Glazer 1973:274; see also Malinowski 1973:281) and "established norms of conduct of a particular form of social life" (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:10). For present purposes, more precise or limited definitions are unnecessary.
21. For a detailed discussion of such correspondences in a case that closely resembles the Anutan, one cannot do better than Firth's accounts of Tikopia (see particularly Firth 1970:313-315).
22. Especially relevant here is a powerful storm which is said to have struck Anuta, decimating the food supply and undermining confidence in the traditional religion, shortly before the arrival of the first missionaries'.
23. The idea of a central government for the Solomons and the structure of the government which now exists, of course, are European in origin. That government, however, is led by Melanesians, whereas the church is still under European leadership with Solomon Islanders occupying the lower echelons of the hierarchy. It is in this sense that the church may be viewed as a European institution while the government is not.
24. One informant, for example, commented to me in 1972 that "Melanesians have no minds" because prior to European contact, they had no clothes and went naked, "just like dogs and pussy cats." Clothing for Anutans, like Tikopians (Firth 1961:96), is a distinctive characteristic of culture, setting it apart from nature.
25. Decentralization is listed among the principles of the Solomon Islands' National Development Plan (Kenilorea 1978:3). For a critical discussion of the idea of local Councils of Chiefs, at least as it was implemented during the mid 1970s, see Monberg (1976).
26. That this is a conscious consideration in the minds of Solomon Island government officials is indicated by the Devesi quote cited above (p. 1).
27. The presence of such deposits and their implications for the people of Bellona is discussed in some detail by Monberg (1976).
28. Larson (1966, 1977) has discussed at length the lives of Tikopians in the Russell Islands. Much of this discussion would also be applicable to the Anutans.
29. A similar point has been made by Breitman regarding black Americans and their potential influence on politics in the United States.
30. The chiefs' responsibility for maintaining the island's welfare and the connection of this duty with concepts of *manuu* and *aropa* is discussed at greater length in Feinberg (1978:23-30, 1981b:158-163).
31. I have borrowed this term from medical anthropology, where it has been used to denote an assumption, held by many peoples, that western medicine is useful in the treatment of

certain diseases. whereas other illnesses are better treated using traditional medical procedures (e.g., see Young 1976: Feinberg 1979c:44). Here I suggest that the same process may occur in other cultural arenas. Both in the "modern" world and among the Anutans, for example, people tend to handle some types of transactions on the basis of market principles and a money economy, while traditional or nonmarket principles continue to prevail in other spheres.

32. For example, in 1972-73, every Anutan belonged to one or another elementary domestic unit or *patongia*. This was, among other things, the basic unit of ownership, so that anything belonging to one person, in principle, belonged equally to all other members of his *patongia*. Persons living overseas, after meeting their own immediate living expenses, were expected to send the remainder of their income home, either in the form of cash or European goods, to add to their *patongia's* common larder.

33. More recently, I am told (Yen, personal communication), Anuta has been "represented on the council by one of the chiefs of Tikopia, but by Nov., 1978, it appears that few meetings had been attended by chief or deputy. . . ."

34. The British solution of retaining a ritually important but politically ineffectual monarchy most likely would be unacceptable to the Anutans as much of the chiefs' symbolic significance is intimately tied to their authority and *manuu* "power."

35. This was true at least of people with whom I discussed the matter in 1972-73. Although I cannot speak definitively on the issue, my impression is that these people represented a fairly typical cross-section of Solomon Islanders both in Honiara and more rural areas.

36. Solomon Islanders have had contact with expatriates from Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Japan, Taiwan, and China, but this contact has been with individual people or businesses. The governments of these countries are remote, vaguely understood entities, and not considered to be particularly relevant to the Solomon Islands. Of these countries, the United States had a generally positive image in the Solomons in 1972-1973; the rest tended to be viewed in fairly neutral terms. The nation to have aroused the greatest antagonism was Japan in World War II, but this has been largely forgotten. At present, the Solomon Islands government has a fairly, lucrative contract with a Japanese fishing company, and thus it now has a vested interest in maintaining friendly relations with Japan.

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