

# PACIFIC STUDIES

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**a journal devoted to the study of the Pacific--  
its islands and adjacent countries**

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## THE FAILURE OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN THE SEPIK: THE ROLE OF CHURCH AND STATE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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In his study of the Gnau people of New Guinea, the anthropologist Gilbert Lewis described a rural society seemingly free of any outside economy. Lewis saw the Gnau of the Sepik Fall as a “compact and small” village society where people lived on sago, yams, and greens and were “able to hunt for pig, cassowary and small mammals . . . in extensive tracts of uninhabited bush” (Lewis 1975:3-4). He described the village as “discrete, compact and bounded, and can also be economically self-sufficient” (Lewis 1975:21). There is nothing incorrect or misleading in Lewis’s observation. The Gnau, like many Sepik societies, can be economically self-sufficient. Indeed, a substantial part of Lewis’s ethnography makes abundantly clear how that sufficiency is achieved. What is not immediately apparent is that since World War II modernization pressures have been directed towards altering Sepik economies by drawing an increasing number of villages into a free-market political economy. For over thirty years, members of both church and state have attempted to create or construct new economies for the Sepik, ostensibly to create economic self-reliance. Their attempts have failed. Economic and agrarian reform in the Sepik has created poverty, disadvantage, and a breakdown of traditional economic structures. The use of the phrase “*can be economically self-sufficient*” has taken on new significance as a result. The economic history of the Sepik since the war has been described by the term “economic development.” The reality, though, is that where once Sepik societies were autonomous they are now dependent and have experienced declining standards of living.

This article examines the impact of the outside world on the Sepik over time. In part, the study looks at wage labor and the periods of labor migration, but it considers in greater detail the visions of modernity held by church and state. The study chronicles a series of unsuccessful development projects and the economic and cultural impediments to their success. The history of economic development in the Sepik is viewed as the failure of introduced initiatives in modernization. Much of the failure was due to policy differences between church and state--differences that have given rise to a sustained state of economic disadvantage throughout the Sepik.

Both the Roman Catholic Church and the Australian colonial government initiated development programs to improve human conditions in the Sepik. But there was a considerable hiatus between the need church and state saw for development and the need local communities saw for social stability during the modernization era. The church responded sensitively to the divergent modernization and local development initiatives. But the church's involvement with economic development programs relied upon a managerial style unfamiliar to Sepiks, resulting in programs that demanded the uninterrupted support of missionaries.

Sepik and church interest in development (and through it, concepts of progress) were dissimilar. So attempts by the church to implant Western perceptions of modernization within the village context were destined to fail unless missionaries could offer sustainable development by integrating their activities to those of the village (Duggan 1989; Mitchell 1988). Nevertheless, village communities considered the church's presence as vital in the struggle to maintain the level of development already achieved. The role of the state, it will be seen, was largely benign. Embarrassed by this, it determined to expel the church from the modernization process. External pressure required greater political development of the region than either church or state could provide. The regional inequality in the provision of development emphases found greatest articulation in the Sepik as a result of tension between church and state.

### **The Context: The Labor Frontier**

European sightings of the West Sepik coast in the 1800s were accompanied by reports of a huge, available labor reserve (Wiltgen 1971). The Sepik provided a regular supply of laborers even before church and state drew the region into the colonial sphere, and continued to provide it into the postcolonial or independence era. The acquisition of Sepiks for copra plantation labor was instrumental for developing other parts of



New Guinea at the expense of a breakdown of trade and exchanges throughout the region.

From the turn of the century, the Sepik provided much of New Guinea's plantation labor needs. The labor frontier penetrated the West Sepik coast in 1894 where men could be found in great numbers (Sack and Clarke 1979:58, 133, 232). By 1910 it had reached the Torricelli Mountains but labor recruiters did not cross during the German colonial period. As the labor frontier moved further into the region, there was an accompanying disruption of traditional trade. The loss of men entailed a loss of farming labor for the villages as well as for specialist hunting and farm production. The nature of trade was also affected: laborers were paid in coins and goods; items of trade from Europe, Asia, and Australia took precedence over those produced within New Guinea. As labor disrupted trade in the form of the loss of men it came to disrupt it further through the devaluing of traditional wealth-generating items.

In 1914 World War I reduced the flow of the labor trade. A hiatus of some five years was followed by a resurgence of labor demands upon the Sepik (see Shlomowitz 1987: 165-170). By the early 1920s the labor frontier moved along two separate fronts. Recruiters crossed the Torricellis to tap the labor reserve of some one hundred thousand people at that time: the Wape, Palei, Au, Arapesh, Urat, and Abelam. And, as in the German period, recruiters moved up the Sepik River to tap into the large riverine populations. The typical recruiter during this Australian colonial period evidently went about his business in an even-handed manner and recruits often volunteered for work (Marshall 1938: 22-34). The state during this interwar period endeavored to control the flow of labor out of the region through quotas that limited the loss of village men to 33 percent per village.

The labor frontier did not penetrate beyond Lumi to the south and Yili to the east in the West Sepik (Marshall 1938:22-34; Lewis 1975:1-26), but it covered a wider expanse in the East Sepik (Tuzin 1976: 15-27; Allen 1976; Curtain 1980). By 1935, however, the Sepik coastal region was heavily overrecruited, leading to a depopulation of coastal and inland villages (Stanley 1932:2-5) and prompting requests from *kiaps* (patrol officers) to have certain areas closed to recruiting (McCarthy 1935). By this stage, the social fabric of life had been irrevocably changed. Intervillage warfare had virtually disappeared. Trade between the coast and the Sepik Fall was severely disrupted because coastal villagers no longer desired inland trade items (bird of paradise feathers and weapons, for instance). There was also the loss of game from the region due to population pressures and overhunting (Marshall

1938:36-66; Mitchell 1973). Healey claims that a rapid collapse of trading systems in New Guinea was quite common owing to an imposed "market and colonial political economy on a plethora of small, autonomous tribal polities" (1985: 127). In the West Sepik some trade between the coast and mountains continued until around 1946, thereafter the monetization of the coastal economies caused the collapse of intervillage trade. Indeed, the inland laborers who returned to their villages brought with them cases of shells from the coastal plantations, effectively devaluing traditional trading items (Lewis 1980: 188-190, 202-210; see also Grossman 1984). Returned laborers could become farmers again but the agrarian economy had altered, essentially through disruptions to trade.

Reconstructing the trade system that connected the Torricelli Mountains to the coast and other parts of the Sepik is complicated by a virtual absence of anthropological and historical data. Fragments of evidence suggest that trading routes were extensive in the precolonial and colonial periods but the actual network consisting of links, "markets," and flow of goods is difficult to verify. The patrol officer J. E. Fowke, after spending time with Gilbert Lewis, suggested that the main trade route from the Wape- and Au-speaking areas was via Mount Somoro to the coast (DO, Lumi, no. 8, 1968/1969). Fowke claimed that the Wape and Au made contact with the German trading posts; Firth (1982) has recorded that Wape men (possibly from villages on the coastal plains and towards the Torricellis) were successfully recruited during the German colonial period. My discussions with men from Wabutei and Miwautei established that the trade route from the Wape villages took two or three separate paths: the Karaitem Gap, Mount Somoro, and the Ningil Gap. Villagers from Miwautei and Wabutei were interested in securing shells from the Sissano, Arop, and Bakla. In return they exchanged bows and arrows and bird of paradise feathers. Indeed, the *kiap* J. R. Adam-Wilkes encountered thirty Wape men at Yakamul in 1924 seeking shell arm rings in return for spears and armbands. Paid labor eventually reduced the need of coastal people for Wape items as the coastal villages maintained work and trade relations with the Germans and later with Australian traders. The transition from intervillage trade to Sepik-European trade is revealed in mission documents.

Mission papers disclose that the coastal villages, particularly Arop and Sissano, engaged in substantial trading with Sepik Fall villages, which required shells from the Sissano lagoon and the offshore islands. However, when the Catholic mission entered the Highlands early in the 1930s, the missionaries used shells to enter into and maintain friend-

ships with Highlands populations. The Siau redirected their supply of shells from the Sepik Fall to the mission--shells that had once formed the core of Sepik economics constituted the medium for a new set of relations between the church and Highlands societies. Given that the Wape were using shells for bride-price commitments until the mid-1950s, it is reasonable to assume that they too may have been paid in shells and other trade items for their labor on coastal Society of the Divine Word (SVD) plantations. Indeed, when writing to the religious superior of the SVD mission (earlier the resident priest at Sissano) on 10 October 1950, Bishop Ignatius Doggett indicated that he had "bought and shipped" around three thousand kilograms of shell (*tambu*) to the SVD mission at Alexishafen from 1949 to 1950. The shell was stocked at Malol. Evidently Doggett and the Franciscans were accused by the SVD of supplying shells to nonmission personnel, to which he replied that "the story we have supplied the Government and non-catholic missions in the Highlands is not true. [The recruiter] Hunter Kirk personally collected Tambu with the 'Francis'. Brass--of happy memory--sat in Arop and bought for McVoll [?] at 3/- a small saucepan full [of shells] and police boys came out for the Government. On one occasion a Norseman was chartered to take it away from Tadjji [airstrip]" (Doggett to Fastenrath, 10 Oct. 1950, DA, Bishop's Correspondence).

In his reply Fr. Bruno Fastenrath, SVD, revealed more complex arrangements.

There was some talking about the "Tambus" when some Fathers came from the mountains to Alexis[hafen]. . . . When the Fathers heard that others have been buying tambus too, Brass from Arop, police boys from the Government and Hunter Kirk for himself they stopped talking on this matter. . . . "The Regina Maris" brought a load of tambu to Alexis recently and all were very happy and grateful for your good work. . . . I know the best places for tambus are Arop and Malol. Before the war Fr. Becker had this tambu business while I had to buy saksak [sago]. (Fastenrath to Doggett, 1 Nov. 1950, DA, Bishop's Correspondence)

It is clear from this that the Malol and Arop (and by implication Sissano) villagers were heavily involved in trading shells with the mission, the government, and a recruiter.

The Wape could not compete with the Europeans, who could pay more to the coastal villagers, and it can be safely assumed that the Siau

excluded Wape from the new trade network that linked the Sepik to the central and eastern Highlands. The breakdown was not recent. From the 1920s the Wape had sought labor recruiters and work on coastal mission plantations. Their arrival at Yakumul looking for shell suggests that by the mid-1920s the traditional source of Arop-Malol had begun to dry up. This explains an observation by *kiap* A. K. Jackson in 1946 that there had been a "breakdown of the native currency system and disruption of traditional trade agreements." Jackson later claimed that "attempts to bolster native trade have met with only partial success" (DO, Aitape, no. 13, 1945/1946). Indeed, the *saksak* mentioned by Fastenrath was also in heavy demand by the mission to feed students. The mission station at Sissano supplied sago to the Aitape Islands.

The disruption to Wape economic, exchange, and ritual processes dependent on shell cannot be underestimated. Indeed, in the early 1950s when shell had not been completely replaced and devalued by cash, a conventional Wape bride-price required:

- 2 tambu shell headdress[es]
  - 20 cowrie shells
  - 86 shell rings (one to two inches in diameter)
  - 12 Shell rings (three inches in diameter)
  - 2 belts of European pearl shell buttons
  - 4 belts of girigiri shell
  - 9 belts of single row tambu shell
  - 2 belts of quadruple row tambu shells.
- (DO, Lumi, nos. 2 and 4, 1956/1957)

World War II stopped further penetration of the labor frontier. The need for paid labor ceased around 1940 and trade did not resume for nearly a decade. Beginning around 1949, the labor frontier made a sudden and sharp lunge across the Torricelli Mountains. Recruits were needed again for the plantations and civil labor requirements of growing towns in the postwar development period. By now, however, Sepik men pursued the labor trade and offered themselves in great numbers to the recruiters. The large Sepik populations were drained in a very short period. So continuous and voluminous was this trade that it has enabled Ryan to claim in an emotive sense that "Sepik men are regarded [by other Melanesians] . . . as New Guinea's peasant race" (1969: 16).

Within two years *kiaps* patrolling inland villages recommended many for closure to recruiting. Within six years villages were described as "dangerously over-recruited" with up to 80 percent of village men

absent during a time when 30 percent was regarded as the most a village could endure (DO, Lumi, no. 6, 1951/1952; nos. 1 and 3, 1950/1951). Curtain (1980) has documented the impact of the labor frontier upon the East Sepik. What he has established for that part of the Sepik is equally applicable to the western half. He describes labor in terms of dependency relationships. The more the Sepiks became involved with labor and the cash economy, the more they became dependent upon labor and cash for a livelihood. Men sought wage labor as the increasing monetization of the precapitalist tribal economy entailed a dependency on cash, canned foods, and rice. A return to the subsistence base offered by a village economy became remote.

By mid-1960s the need for Sepik wage laborers on the plantations lessened and the flow of migrants was reduced (Grant and Zelenietz 1984; Grant, Siato, and Zelenietz 1986). The decline in the labor trade was coupled with an increase in village interest in, and need for, *bisnis* (cash crops and trade stores) (see Stent 1984:117-146). But *bisnis* was not an arrangement conducive to Sepik societies. In the West Sepik it was heavily supported by a management structure offered by the church (Duggan 1983, 1989; Herlihey 1981). When examining the western half of the East Sepik, Allen argues:

Bisnis must not be equated with Western concepts of business. Bisnis is a broad concept manifested in a number of ways, which include producing crops for sale, and investing money in enterprises which it is believed will cause large amounts of money to accrue to the individual. The processes by which the money is generated are poorly understood, if understood at all, by many people. When *bisnis* was first introduced, people believed it was the form of behaviour which Europeans used to gain access to wealth and power, and because of this they adopted rice growing enthusiastically. When people found rice growing was not bringing about the changes they believed it would, they ceased planting. (1976:251-252)

*Bisnis* endured but ebbed and flowed. In the West Sepik the kinship system prevented *bisnis* from developing into sustainable economic activity and it endured only as long as the missions managed the accounts (Mitchell 1978; Woichom 1979; Duggan 1983). Labor migration, although reduced in volume, remained the main source of Sepik income (Stent 1984:75-146; Curtain 1980:27-50).

Labor migration during the 1960s carried a variation upon the dis-

ruptive effect wage labor had traditionally brought to the Sepik. During the 1960s and 1970s the region entered into a relationship with global economies of the core-periphery type. The Sepik, like other regions of New Guinea, was on the periphery of the periphery, to borrow a phrase from Burkins (1984). This was despite the state's interest in and attempts to economically develop the region.

### **The Economic Backwater: The Sepik in the 1950s**

New Guinea, a United Nations Trust Territory from 1945 to 1973, was administered through Australia's commonwealth government in Canberra. The administration of the territory was carried out by commonwealth civil servants. During the 1950s the state wanted to see the Sepik region developed but the rhetoric of progress was not backed by sustainable economic programs. One official argued, "I am absolutely convinced that until proper economic development does take place in this area, outbreaks of cargo cult and/or other types of nativism expression are to be expected. It strikes me that this Sub-district is economically 'ripe for the picking', but for the harvest to be a good one, we will have to spend money and make staff available. Without this the area will remain an economic backwater" (DO, Lumi, no. 3, 1957/1958).

The interest in local development was in direct response to the loss of village men to the plantations. Government patrol officers responded to the gap between rhetoric and action by seconding missionaries to assist them in economic development programs. The assistant district officer (ADO) at Lumi in the mid-1950s wrote: "The ADO, with the co-operation of the Christian Missions in the area, has interested the natives in road development as the first step towards meeting the problem of economic transport of any cash crops in their area to market" (DO, Lumi, no. 1, 1954/1955). In another instance, the Lumi ADO was requested by his district commissioner in Wewak to seek the Franciscan missionaries' assistance: "Roads are a prerequisite for all development. . . . You should make every possible effort to widen present graded roads and continue to push out new tracks. In this project, I am sure that the Franciscan Fathers would be only too willing to give a helping hand" (Kaad to Jones, 5 Feb. 1957, DO, Aitape, 1956/1957). During the fifties it was the Catholic missions that cooperated in development initiatives. They emphasized education, medical assistance, and the development of mission stations as marketplaces.

Mission activity, however, was localized and dependent on the willingness of villagers to participate in activities meaningful to the church

--Sunday Mass and catechetical instruction, for instance. The dominant form of paid economic activity provided by the church consisted of the employment of teachers, station workers, and some minor labor. The mission provided some trade stores and purchased local produce for schoolchildren. Beyond this minor expression of a cash economy, Sepiks were offered the choice of remaining subsistence farmers or seeking jobs on the coast. The 1960s, however, saw the emergence of additional opportunities: *bisnis*, cash cropping, and road construction.

### Conditions in the Western Sepik during the 1960s

During the 1960s the number of contract laborers leaving the western Sepik decreased but the migration of entire families to the coastal centers of Aitape, Wewak, and Kavieng (New Ireland) increased. As with 1950s recruiting the government was unable to prevent the continuing drain of people from the Sepik to other parts of the territory: "As can be seen by the labour potential figures attached the [Sepik Fall] area is heavily over recruited. This has come about by the large number of men who walk direct to Aitape and from there travel by ship to other centres. One pleasing factor noticed is that wives and children are now accompanying the men who go to work at Madang. This form of migrant labour is still the main source of income for the area" (DO, Lumi, no. 5, 1963/1964).

The difficulties village communities experienced due to contract labor did not lie only with disruptions to daily life owing to the absence of men. When a man failed to return, which was not uncommon, he and his future children were lost from the community. His role in providing economic security and ritual knowledge vanished, and the money and knowledge he acquired while away were also lost. As late as 1975 the absence of men through migration continued and so did the unease over the future of those who chose to remain in their villages. An islander from Ali, whose island had been losing people since 1900, wrote of the process:

An island was placed by Nature  
In the blues of the Bismarck  
People leaving without returning  
Island is full of natural life  
But people leaving without returning  
The soil is rich today with  
Rain pouring down

Heat evaporating the life of the soil  
 But people leaving without returning  
 Because of White Men's Money  
 People go by with ignorance. (Amol 1975: 10)

The loss of men through recruiting and the villagers' desire to maintain their standard of living became as problematical for the state as for the villagers themselves. Early in 1958 when a road was completed between Lumi and Fatima, the need of the Somoro Wape villagers for the road to continue north to the coast, where they held land rights, was so strong that patrol officers tried to comply, despite the physical impossibility of traversing the Torricelli Mountains.

The people of the Somoro area insist that no matter where the Government road goes, they intend to have a road over Mt Somoro to Aitape. When it was pointed out that there was little labour potential on the Aitape side, they stated that they were prepared to build the road all the way . . . if the people (north of the Torricellis) would provide food. . . . [The Somoro] people had to be restrained from commencing work until the survey was completed. (DO, Lumi, no. 5, 1958/1959)

Government personnel, expertise, funds, and equipment were insufficient to build roads in the western Sepik, the necessary prerequisite for development programs based on a cash economy. Nevertheless, constant requests from villagers for the government to improve their standard of living challenged patrol officers somehow to provide people with alternative economic activities. Cash crops were believed to be the viable alternatives.

The ADO at Lumi indicated to his superiors in late 1958 that there was considerable demand throughout the Sepik Fall region for cash crops. The *kiap* made peanut and coffee seedlings available to commence cash cropping. He was soon "unable to keep up with the demand . . . coffee is very much in demand as are peanuts" (DO, Lumi, no. 5, 1958/1959). The enthusiasm for cash crops spread throughout the Sepik Fall. The Karaitem villagers in the Wape region cultivated cabbages. The Au villagers from Yili east to Wulukum commenced peanut farming while the Somoro villagers selected coffee and the people of Mukili, fish farming. The government encouraged these activities despite the lack of roads to take the produce out and despite the fact that similar projects in dry rice farming on the coast ten years



earlier had failed due to mismanagement by villagers and government officials. The initiatives represented "economic development," although the outcome was likely to be the opposite.

By the early 1960s the cabbages and peanuts were harvested. People stored their produce and waited for the patrol officers to come and examine the harvest and to transport it to the markets where it would be sold. But there were no roads and no markets. Michael Saweni and Peter Paine, who were both residing in Karaitem during this period, recalled that cabbages were growing from one end of the village to the other. Large storehouses were constructed and these were filled to capacity within weeks of the cabbages' ripening. Paine recalled that the villagers were expecting to be praised by the patrol officer when he arrived on his routine patrol. Instead, he became embarrassed and awkward over the village's successful harvest. He suggested that the villagers eat the cabbages themselves as the administration at Lumi could not purchase the harvest as had been promised earlier. The cabbages at Karaitem rotted. People were annoyed (interview with M. Saweni, Karaitem, Aug. 1981).

In another instance, the Au villagers were peeved when informed that they would have to carry their harvest of peanuts to Lumi for it to be sold and flown to Wewak. But even then there was no profit from the harvest. A Buru'um villager, his home only a short distance from Lumi, "recently brought 188 lbs of peanuts to Lumi to be sold to the Administration, who buys them at the rate of 1½d per pound. After an initial outlay of £1.4.0 for seed, the native in question received £1.3.6 for his peanuts and this had to be divided between fifty other natives who had helped him grow the peanuts" (DO, Lumi, no. 6, 1958/1959).

Having encouraged cash cropping without viable outside markets, the government was faced with the embarrassment of telling successful farmers that there was no future in cash cropping as a commercial venture (DO, Lumi, no. 1, 1962/1963). The government told people instead to consume what they produced, but these farmers did not eat cabbages or peanuts.

The spasmodic, spontaneous, and uncoordinated approach by the government left the people bewildered over their wasted labor and money. The coffee growers in the Somoro region, although not troubled by an absence of markets or roads, were nonetheless annoyed by the amount of care coffee plants required. The idea of providing shade trees and constant weeding was ridiculous to a people who for generations had successfully grown numerous food crops requiring little intensive care. The four to five years between planting and the harvest of a suc-

cessful crop was also too long for people anxious to make money. Reported one patrol officer, informed by the Somoro Wape that they were unimpressed with European concepts of time and farming, "I was constantly met by delegations who stated unequivocally that the people desire to live exactly as does the European. It is plain that this wish has become an obsession with these people. A wait of six years or more for a chance to get real money is unacceptable" (DO, Lumi, no. 1, 1959/1960).

By 1961 patrol officers encountered a cautious attitude towards cash cropping by Au villagers: "They obviously want to see how things will go before they commit themselves to undertaking greater work" (DO, Lumi, no. 4, 1961/1962). Elsewhere too "there was little enthusiasm" and people west and south of Lumi, the peanut growers, were quite uninterested (DO, Lumi, no. 4, 1960/1961). It was not surprising. One officer wrote of the villagers of the western Wape area that they "prefer to live as they always have and want nothing of the hard work and 'hurly burly' that leads to prosperity" (DO, Lumi, no. 7, 1961/1962). He expressed similar sentiments about the Au villagers over the next twelve months (DO, Lumi, nos. 7 and 9, 1962/1963).

The problem with these initiatives rested with a gap between what reflected economic development for the region in comparison to that of the larger country. There were no substantial markets for produce and the harvest had no commercial value within the Sepik itself. For instance, had the state confined cash cropping to the local Lumi area, a market of sufficient size may have been available to absorb the harvest and *kiaps* would have been in a position to work more closely with the villagers concerned; misunderstandings may have been avoided. When the missionaries--Franciscan friars--introduced villagers to the idea of cooperative and industry societies through opening trade stores and inaugurating animal husbandry projects and road building, the closeness of the friars to the village situation not only encouraged villagers' trust but led to financial success for these manifestations of *bisnis* in the village situation. The key link was that the missions could manage projects and also locate markets.

Until the 1960s Catholic missionaries in the Sepik confined their activity to sacramental and welfare concerns. Outside pressure changed this emphasis. For the Franciscans in the Sepik, and indeed all Catholic clergy throughout the 1960s, a revolution in Catholic thought occurred that was legitimized through the the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) from 1962 to 1965. This council gave rise to a new outlook that directed clergy to be servants of the people and not simply dispensers of

salvation. Importantly, it urged the clergy to meet the needs of the people in the terms of those people. These emphases resulted in missionaries diverting their energies into many secular directions and paying less attention to the traditional sacramental role. The cumulative result was that during the 1960s and early 1970s the Sepik Franciscans endeavored to anticipate and meet the secular demands of the Sepik people and to prepare for decolonization. The Franciscans and the Catholic Church in general engaged in activities geared towards agrarian reforms.

### **Franciscan Involvement with *Bisnis***

During the 1950s the Franciscans considered what they regarded as improving the living conditions in the western Sepik but were uncertain how beyond employing Sepiks on mission stations. Education and medicine proved to be the major areas of village involvement. By the 1960s the friars saw economic development as a vital and essential part of the apostolate, and it was conceived in the terms of expanding a cash economy. The church, however, did not race into economic development programs. The bishop of Aitape, Ignatius Doggett, wrote to the Franciscan Provincial (Australia) that

Extreme pressure [is] being put on the Administration by the United Nations for target dates for Self Government and advancement in education. This pressure is in turn being passed on to all in New Guinea and especially the missions in the matter of education and health. The bishops in the past 12 months have had two meetings to discuss just how far we can allow this pressure to affect our primary work as missionaries and the future welfare of the church. (Doggett to the Franciscan Provincial, 6 Nov. 1961, Franciscan Archives, Aitape)

Two years later he observed, "Owing to political pressure, chiefly from the United Nations, the social development of the people is far too rapid and the people are not able to absorb what is being done for them or what it all means" (Doggett to Enrici, 20 May 1963, Franciscan Archives, Aitape).

As this pressure was translated in the field, the message was quite different. Doggett wrote to Fr. Denis Dobson at Lumi that in regards to "business" he had "seen the need for some kind of assistance to these people for a long time but never precisely [knew] how to go about it" (Doggett to Dobson, 9 June 1961, DA, Bishop's Correspondence). By

the end of 1961 a number of shareholding groups known as village "industry societies" based on livestock were established at Fatima, Yili, Yanungen, Ningil, and Yemnu (DO, Lumi, no. 4, 1962/1963). A village cooperative based on trade stores started at Ningil in the same year and stores were established at Lumi and Karaitem the following year. The industry societies and cooperatives were shareholding partnerships whereby villagers contributed money to commence a project in either trade stores, animal husbandry, or, in the case of Mukili, fish ponds, and then expected a return from profits made in the marketing of produce. The Franciscans acted as the managers of the projects. Thus their entry into economic development programs consisted of advice, direct administration, and physical work.

The Franciscans explicitly justified their entry into commerce with irritation over government indifference to the problems of the region and incipient cult activity. But an underlying motive in entering this realm of secular activity lay with their belief that a growing Christian community was synonymous with a growing European-style society. This desire to see villagers achieve a higher standard of living was nonetheless balanced by a recognition of the increasing reliance upon cash, tinned fish, and rice.

The reliance was symptomatic of the pervasive penetration of the cash economy. Many villages throughout the Sepik were touched, largely a result of the return of indentured laborers and the breakdown in village economic relationships their absence had occasioned. Consequently, the Franciscans tended towards the cavalier when justifying their entry into commerce. Fr. Giles Catellani tersely informed one patrol officer that the Yili mission had "set up the store system in order to give the natives some education in business methods, and as a counter against cargo cults, he said that the Administration had not provided an effective counter to cargo cult so that the Mission was forced to take action" (DO, Lumi, no. 7, 1964/1965). Fr. Timothy Elliot at Ningil introduced a system of trade stores and a network of roads connecting the Ningil, Liaingim, and Auang villages to Anguganak to the east. He wrote to benefactors in Australia:

Happily the natives are becoming increasingly appreciative of the benefits roads bring them. . . . You might call it education by perspiration. . . . With their resources and efforts, we have organised various economic ventures with the profits going back to the people. It would be better if the Administration or some other, non mission agency were to tackle this task of eco-

conomic enlightenment. But there is no such prospect . . . we have seen the urgent need, and so as a last resort we've gone ahead. (*Ningil Newsletter*, Apr./June 1963)

One of the largest, and for some years successful, commercial ventures was poultry farming at Fatima. In view of the impatience shown by the Somoro Wape over the slow and tedious process of growing coffee, the government was impressed by the venture and the potential financial returns. The Somoro Poultry Society began in 1961 with initial shares amounting to nearly A\$1,960. The friars and the Somoro Wape villagers built enclosures for the chickens soon after. On 24 October, 103 chicks arrived from Australia in what the parish priest, Fr. Hugh Campbell, imagined "to begin the Somoro Poultry Society on its hazardous history." Another 320 chicks arrived a month later. On 1 March 1962, Campbell held the first *komiti* (directors) meeting of the Somoro Poultry Society. Attended by the heads of a number of Somoro Wape hamlets, it evidently got off to a bad start: "This was the first meeting of the S.P. Soc. held in its new Haus Bung. It was quite a lively show with Yanapi accusing [the] Keibams of threatening to bump him off. Afterwards they came and said it was to be wiped off the records--as it wasn't all the nice-tok that they wanted at such meetings" (DA, Fatima, 1 Mar. 1962)

The Burns Philp store at Wewak, one of the large chain of retail stores in the territory, agreed to purchase 135 dozen eggs a week (DA, Fatima, 9 June 1963). With Lumi airstrip some three to four hours walk away and linked to Fatima by a vehicular road, the friars in effect achieved a realistic commercial venture for the Wape that not only avoided the problems associated with the care and cultivation of cash crops but required little labor from the villagers and rarely interfered with the daily routine.

Despite what looked like a promising future, the Somoro Poultry Society did not enjoy the success its shareholders and *komiti* anticipated. The heavy physical commitment and involvement of the friars, critical for its smooth operation, only lasted while the friars committed themselves to little else. By the end of 1963 the friars were considering entering other realms of nonreligious activity in addition to commercial ventures. Having set up the industry society, they looked towards a new government-sponsored institution, the local government council (LGC). An increasing involvement with the business society coupled with their interest in the Lumi LGC resulted in the friars being less available to mix with people and to acquaint themselves with village

interests and priorities. The inevitable result of this reduced exposure was a loss of village confidence in the friars and the mission. This became evident early in 1964 when the Somoro Poultry Society experienced financial problems. The ADO at Lumi, C. A. Trollope, reported on the situation: "The Fatima Poultry Society has practically ceased to function in egg production. High food costs have prohibited the maintenance of large numbers of fowls. Small pens only are being maintained at present sufficient for Lumi and Aitape sales. The priest/supervisor has turned his attention to vegetables" (ADO Lumi to DO Wewak, 6 Jan. 1964, DO, Aitape).

In this case the importation of feed reduced the economic viability of the export product. The Somoro Wape, seeing the demise of the poultry industry, became concerned over the prospect of losing their money as well as the business venture. They were disturbed when in November 1964 the supervising priest, Campbell, was appointed to another station: "SPS meeting--everyone a little annoyed. The Bishop cannot transfer Hugh! Obviously they were worried about their money" (DA, Fatima, 17 Nov. 1964). Campbell was nonetheless transferred. Fabian Thorn, who then took over as parish priest, paid back what each person had put into the business. He wrote later, "The business had not produced the goods although there was still a lot of life. Hugh and his mates around the villages and numerous satellite stores had been started and were in various stages of folding up. At that stage there had been no dividend" (Thorn to the author, 30 Sept. 1982).

People were not pleased about the return of their money, and grandiose ideas about investment and wealth remained after Campbell's departure. The experience at Fatima, though, generated a sense of doubt among the Somoro Wape when it came to the friars' handling their money. For instance, Fr. Pius McNamara commenced a cooperative at Carmel mission station, some three hours walk west of Fatima. When people had not received a dividend from their investment, they wanted to see their money. Thorn recorded that "Frs Pius and Fabian hauled 300 in shillings from Fatima to Carmel for 1st Carmel business meeting. Had to drag it back again after they saw the money was still there !!!" (DA, Fatima, 18 Oct. 1965). In view of problems with the Somoro Poultry Society, the Fatima friars concentrated on developing village-based management of trade stores. But the Somoro Wape were not businessmen. When the friars handed the Wape responsibility for management of the accounts, the books failed to balance. The trade stores and poultry farming became unviable and the projects collapsed.

By May 1968 the era of business societies was rapidly drawing to a

conclusion: “SPS--the store is seemingly okay but I would like to get some [agricultural] project going. The whole show is on a bad basis” (DA, Fatima, 1 Nov. 1968). Thorn’s appointment to another station ended any further Franciscan commitment in business ventures in the Somoro area. The story was repeated elsewhere. At Karaitem, to the west of Lumi, other economic initiatives were pursued, but with a similar outcome. Pressure from the villagers for a priest to start a *bisnis*, like those in neighboring Fatima and Lumi, saw the inauguration of the Karaitem Industry Society in March 1963, based on a network of trade stores. The priest only received agreement from the Lumi administration to commence the venture if the Lumi-Karaitem road was reopened. The state support for the project was largely rhetorical. The *kiap* observed, “Unless economic development is stepped up in this area and the natives along this road see some tangible results from their efforts . . . their enthusiasm and interest will slowly but surely fade away” (DO, Lumi, no. 3, 19611962);

The enthusiasm did wane. The road was built, and the trade stores and associated *bisnis* in coffee and cattle flourished, but only while the priest controlled the projects. The crunch came when the Wape showed that their concept of the utility of a trade store combined with their ethos concerning reciprocity, which militated against successful small-scale businesses based on the cash economy unless managed by an outsider. The history of this attempt at economic reform as related by Fr. Regis Smith revealed:

In 1962 [Fr. Valentine Brown] launched the Karaitem Industry Society, a native co-operative. He launched the Society with an initial capital of \$ made up of \$2 shares. Additional shares were issued in lieu of work done in preparing an airstrip and a cow paddock. From the capital raised stores were opened in Karaitern, Eritei, Wugublei, Wantipi and Kalau. During the holding of singsings at Wugublei, Wantipi, Kalau and Eritei, the locals “borrowed” the store goods. When the loss was discovered the four stores were closed. At 27/12/66 the debts owing were . . . \$250.65. (DA, Karaitem, Dec. 1966)

Traditional village norms concerning reciprocity and the need to keep all men below a particular level of status and wealth simply did not allow for the success of business ventures once managed by the Wape themselves. The case related by Smith reveals that the content of trade stores belonged to the villagers regardless of whether they purchased the

goods or not. Moreover, it was not within the interest of any person to prevent the distribution of those goods when it benefited the community at large. Indeed, any person able to distribute "wealth" was respected; conversely, any person who hoarded wealth (or, for that matter, hoarded the means of wealth) was rejected. This was made clear to the first Wape parliamentarian, Makain Mo. The anthropologist William Mitchell related the rise and fall of this man as follows.

At first Makain gave much of his new wealth to his relatives, but his distributions did not keep up with his income . . . and I sometimes heard mutterings against his wealth and power. When the 1972 House of Assembly elections were held, Makain was thoroughly repudiated by the Wape and was defeated. . . . He became ill with pneumonia and, aware that the ancestors and spirits were angry with him, distributed some of his wealth. (Mitchell 1978: 12)

The friars could not know that the Wape were not entrepreneurs (see Mitchell 1988), but by the late 1960s experience was proving this to be the case. After some fifteen years among the Wape, a Protestant missionary claimed:

The exchange system does not allow economic development in projects where capital is required on an individual basis, and where there is not virtually complete involvement and effort by the community. Time and again, cattle, trade store, rice and coffee projects have been ruined by the inevitable conflicts which come when there is a financial disparity between members of the community. A "faf" on seeing his "lulem" own a project feels an injustice. He believes his identity and status to be attacked. Demanding a sum from his "lulem" far in excess of the meagre profits, the venture collapses. (McGregor 1975:71)

Au villagers east of Wape were also not business people. The Franciscan mission's involvement with trade stores and animal husbandry in the Au region commenced early in 1960. The mission began by constructing an airstrip and a network of roads to connect the eastern Au region to the outside world. The Lumi administration offered the local priest little help. Fr. Tim Elliott recorded the main difficulties. "Completed Brugap end of road survey towards Ningil. The usual problem: Everyone willing to have the road pass thru somebody else's bush, and



no comprehension of grade. . . . Approached for co-operation in this project, the Kiap explained he was busy elsewhere. This stand leaves the Admin. no scope for later criticism of a road that in the circumstances, must necessarily be substandard' (DA, Ningil, 23 July 1960).

Three years later when a great many roads and an airstrip had been completed, Elliott was beginning to show the level and strain of his personal involvement: "Airstrip singsing . . . Three thousand dancers from all 14 villages that had helped build the airstrip participated. Every missionary who could come was here--with Fr Brian in full regalia head and shoulders over the dancers. . . . Brian headed off for a Somoro trek to the Retreat. In previous years we've always gone together, but this time I just didn't have the energy" (DA, Ningil, 30 Dec. 1963).

Elliott saw the mission's need for trade stores in 1961 when he argued for readier access to a trade store supplied from the coast. "Ningil, Yili and Yemnu stations asked that Lumi be replaced by St Anna as supply centre for store goods. Goods could be flown direct to Yemnu as easily thru Lumi. Anguganak's better store service has had a devious but real effect on our prestige. The procuration had enough worries closer to home and never did see the S.E. Wape problem as clearly as did the men in the field" (DA, Ningil, 28 July 1961). Largely owing to his own efforts, Elliott saw the proliferation of trade stores throughout the eastern Au region from Brugap to Auang. People had money to spend at stores, another indication that the cash economy was steadily replacing traditional sources of production.

By 1967 Elliott handed over management of these stores to the Au people with Ningil as the major supply center and bulk store. But the Au, as with the Wape, were not businessmen. Profits were lost and money disappeared. The immediate need was for cash, not just a cash economy. Villagers who had paid money into the stores venture failed to receive any returns. Internal village politics dictated that those who had failed to honor the code of reciprocity in everyday village life should be answerable. The village managers sought a way out from honoring their debts and also to attribute blame, particularly as both cash and the cash economy were lost. Elliott and eventually the government became involved. The patrol officer who investigated reported:

A Weigin . . . villager levelled accusations of mismanagement and theft against the Father of Ningil who acts as Manager/Advisor to the stores. . . . The Weigin store is financed by capital supplied by the villagers of Weigin, Auang and Nunsu. The

chief spokesman who is the store manager stated:--Originally the Mission promised a profit of \$10 for every 50 cent share and now refused to pay. (In fact the store had paid a 50 cent dividend.) The mission were stealing all the large profits for themselves. [The manager] was awake up to this . . . and he had closed the store. The people of Weigin supported these allegations. . . . At Ningil I discussed this with the Father. He naturally was a little upset. We discussed various aspects of these stores and after seeing a little of the business sense of the managers I wonder that the stores continue to function. (DO, Lumi, no. 1, 1967/1968)

Faced with these problems at Karaitem, Fatima, and Ningil--to mention three stations--the friars were challenged either to involve themselves more fully with the management and accounts of the industry societies, thereby making them viable, or to withdraw totally from any future involvement. Unfortunately for both the villagers and the friars, the decision was made for them. As the business ventures were turning sour, the vicariate determined to discontinue mission involvement in economic activities. Fr. Regis Smith, at Karaitem, was asked to be discreet when considering cash cropping ventures. He observed that "the whole atmosphere of the coffee venture in this area has cooled. The people have cooled, I have cooled. [T]he people are always intensely keen to 'talk' progress. But . . . the idea is quietly dying. I too think it is a non-goer. The Bishop too told me to go slow!" (DA, Karaitem, Dec. 1966)

Further east, the friars organized dry rice growing in the Nuku, Seim, and Kafle areas; by the 1970s profits from marketing this product were measured in tens of thousands of dollars. Given that recruiting had dramatically declined, these village-based economic ventures were the only means villagers had to acquire wealth. The situation, then, suggests that the friars should persevere despite setbacks in the Wape and Au regions. But in the late 1960s the political atmosphere in the Sepik was not conducive for a continuation of Franciscan involvement with economic projects. As Fr. Smith had so aptly put it, "The Bishop too told me to go slow!"

### **The Collapse of Economic Reform**

In early 1967 the local administration shifted its development priorities from the economic sphere to the political education of villagers to pre-

pare them somehow to recognize the political significance of imminent self-government. Rather than attempting to generate grass-roots economic advancement plans then being advocated by economic advisors, the state chose instead to measure existing programs. In monitoring these programs government officers were assessing the preparedness of Sepik peoples for nationhood in a region lacking a political and economic infrastructure. The government's record in the western Sepik was not good. A coordinated program for establishing government schools in the region did not commence until the 1960s. The state did not provide secondary education. The roads, hospitals, airstrips, and local businesses throughout the coastal and Torricelli Mountains regions of the western Sepik had been initiated largely by Franciscans, as had the other major initiatives in local economic development. In short, the church had endeavored to develop some socioeconomic structure to counter the effects of the penetration of a cash economy occasioned by labor recruitment and later labor migration; the state had not.

When the Franciscan-generated economic projects collapsed, government officers took the opportunity to attribute the poor state of economic and political development in the western Sepik to the Franciscan presence. In reports to Port Moresby, government officers criticized the friars. Although individual friars were not aware of the content of these reports, they were conscious that after the mid-1960s relations between themselves and the government officers were deteriorating. They became aware that some government officers did not approve of the state of affairs between the Franciscans and Sepiks and, moreover, that the government was irritated by the influence the church had extended over Sepiks. For instance, the assistant district commissioner at Lumi wrote of the Ningil venture:

One of the main contributing factors to [Au discontent] in my opinion is the mission/native relationships, especially in the economic sphere. For a variety of reasons the Franciscan Mission have taken it upon themselves to assist the people to operate village trade stores . . . the overall effect has been to undermine the confidence of the people in economic ventures and to substantiate their belief that the European is exploiting them. It avails one nothing, apparently, to point out to the people that their store has failed because of bad, or dishonest management, by their own store boy. In my view, the Franciscan Mission has made a bad error involving themselves in ventures where untrained personnel and lack of supervision would inevitably

lead to failure. This view is endorsed by those priests I spoke to, but having become so involved find it difficult to extricate themselves. (ADC Lumi to DC Vanimo, 21 Sept. 1967, DO, Aitape)

These were critical words from a body that had experienced poor relations with the Au people since 1951 and whose economic activity was confined to advice. Indeed, in his 1970 annual report, after having taken credit for the Franciscan-constructed roads and profits achieved from dry rice growing in the Maimai region, the district commissioner criticized the friars.

In the Lumi sub-district there are still some 27 unofficial [cooperative] societies. . . . The Catholic Mission in the area is largely responsible for the formation of these societies, although individual indigenes have also commenced several of these unofficial organisations. The various priests in the Mission admit their culpidity [*sic*] as regards the chaos the majority of the societies are in, but still talk of commencing additional ones to raise funds for a pet project. (DO, West Sepik, 1969/1970)

The annual report revealed that the Franciscans managed a cane-furniture industry that returned profits of A\$12,774.80 to local villagers and that dry rice growing in the Palei and Wape regions had returned profits of A\$18,357.00 and A\$1,321.00 respectively. It was acknowledged also that due to government staff shortages "continuity of development and contact with the people had suffered." Until then, the friars had offered that development and contact. But even here, they drew criticism from the government. One patrol officer, after patrolling the Au region, claimed that the "unrealistic balance between Mission and Administration had been maintained since 1949 with the result that the Missionaries have not only acted as 'watchdogs of the Administration' but have completely taken over some Administration spheres and have permanently biased others" (DO, West Sepik, 1969/1970).

This final criticism reflected government antagonism over the prestige and success the Franciscans enjoyed in the region. After some twenty-five years of postwar colonial administration, the government had left people with a poor image of patrol officers and economic and political development rhetoric. Rather than simply instruct people to "develop," the Franciscans actively participated with villagers. But being deferential to the government, the friars gradually and cautiously

withdrew from this politically controversial sphere of activity. There was no statement of policy on the matter from the diocese of Aitape. Rather the friars themselves personally saw a need to become, as it were, less and less obvious in *bisnis*, and the general deterioration in church-state relations only highlighted that need.

The reaction of the people to these collapses and the subsequent withdrawal of the friars from commercial activities, which in effect brought to an end the friars' involvement in village-based economic development programs in the western Sepik, was one of considerable disappointment. Whether or not cash cropping, with its often detrimental legacy of being tied to world markets, or trade stores for profit were of any functional value to villagers in the long run was beside the point in 1970. Village communities were experiencing economic disadvantages associated with some two generations of labor trade and subsequent declining standards of living. The collapse of recruiting by the 1960s, the failure of cash cropping also in the 1960s, and, finally, the withdrawal of the friars from commercial ventures by 1970 left people anxious, frustrated, and annoyed. Migration to the coast increased as villagers sought paid employment and cash. For the Ningil, for instance, events in the late 1960s found the breach between villager and European widening. The human geographer J. Herlihey wrote that the church's resolve to abdicate from the economic sphere "widened the breach with Ningil villagers, who felt that the mission, their only hope, was failing them in the field where they most needed help" (1981: 171).

Some villagers were bitter over the repeated failures and frustrated with their involvement with Europeans. One patrol officer wrote that the Au attitude held that economic development programs were "introduced by 'the white man and if he sponsors it in Au he must pay for it to be done'. The interpretation has been extended to include all activities associated with improved housing, health and traditional subsistence and agricultural practices" (DO, Lumi, no. 8, 1968/1969). My own conversations with Wape villagers (July to Sept. 1981) testified to the attitude that people required the Franciscans to manage and control economic ventures. So when the friars withdrew from these programs, people were surprised and disappointed; they saw the friars in the same light as patrol officers, that is, as Europeans who were prepared to tell people what should be done but not help them translate those instructions into action. It was clear that unless the friars were in personal control of ventures people were reluctant to become involved. For instance, most projects commenced at Karaitem, Yanungen, Mukili, and Monandin, including Sunday Mass and weekly school, simply foundered when

the permanent priests left these stations. With the departure of the priests, people lost interest.

This naturally raised the thorny problem of whether economic projects and institutions introduced by friars were viable in that they bore little relevance to the indigenous situation. This, however, does not reduce the significance in Herlihey's observation that the friars were seen as assisting the villagers in the field "where they most needed help." Importantly, the mission station provided one of the few points of access to cash and imported goods. For the villagers, at least the friars were trying--that was what mattered. Without mission--based economic activities there was little opportunity to generate a local cash flow among villages.

### **Conclusion**

The Sepik is very much a land of farmers. For generations men and women confined their major labor to agrarian activities that resulted in village communities ethnographically described as small, compact, nucleated, and economically self-reliant. Colonization of the Sepik brought a significant disruption to this agrarian activity. Men left the region over a period spanning two generations. They returned with cash, and a cash economy emerged as the men continued to leave and return. When wage labor came to a sudden halt in the 1960s, the pursuit of cash had resulted in a need for cash. The standard of living dropped. Cash was required for taxes, school fees, air fares, and trade-store goods. Agrarian reform throughout the 1960s was therefore essentially an endeavor by the missions to meet the need of village communities to secure access to a cash economy without members of those communities having to leave the region. The projects initiated by the missions were generally successful while they controlled the projects. When, however, political pressure forced the missions to cautiously withdraw from the economic sphere, the projects collapsed. Trade stores folded, cabbages rotted, peanuts were dumped, coffee plants withered, and dry rice (cultivated into the 1970s) also rotted.

The mission projects had offered an internal economic infrastructure. That infrastructure has not reemerged and the standard of living continues to decline. In the East Sepik, at least, some researchers have noted the emergence of a peasantry, characterized by an ongoing partial incorporation of people into wage labor and an associated reliance on a commodity market (Connell 1979: 104-105, 121-127; Smith 1985:51-60; May 1984; Fahey 1988:91-113). Connell recognized the significance

## The Failure of Economic Reform in the Sepik

of the emergence of a dependent economy accompanied by the destruction of the natural economy, with its trading links now replaced by an open economy marked by importation of 50 percent or more of consumer goods including food (1979; see also Connell 1980). The increasing reliance of Sepiks on imported goods is manifested in a class system, where class formation is characterized by “large (or rich) peasantries, small rural and urban working classes, and most recently, the production of a small educated petty bourgeoisie” (Connell 1979: 127).

Since the 1960s then, a class structure is said to have emerged throughout the Sepik, one based on a rural-urban drift as Sepiks once again seek cash and opportunity beyond their villages and beyond the mission stations.

The rise and fall of economic development programs and *bisnis* in the West Sepik presents a problem in interpretation, though. Economic change and agrarian reform for West Sepik societies have not resulted in the formation of a class structure or a class of peasants. The transition of West Sepik societies from economic autonomy and self-sufficiency to a dependency on cash, imported food and clothing, and consequently a wage income has not resulted in a stratified (West) Sepik society. West Sepiks remain in control of their land and, importantly, what is produced on that land. What they have not controlled--and cannot--is a way cash crops can be effectively disposed of and a stable source of income can be maintained. A regular flow of cash to the region, as we have seen, ended with the collapse of migration labor and *bisnis*. Current wage earners are a different type of migrant worker--teachers, government officials, and unskilled laborers, with the odd successful trade-store owner. There are problems with the distribution of their income. Wape teachers, for instance, more than one hundred in all, are reluctant to share their salaries among relatives, although traditionally this was a key mechanism for the village to secure access to the income of migrant laborers. The major trade store in Lumi ceased to operate when the owner died and was buried on the same land as the store. Cash is nonetheless still required to pay for travel, food, clothing, school fees, and taxes. Currently, the only route to employment is through formal schooling, which, like employment itself, is difficult to secure and maintain. West Sepik schools remain on the periphery of the national school system.

What remains to be examined is a comparative study of West and East Sepik economic histories and class formations, as the East Sepik is evidently characterized by clear class structures even among village societies (see Connell 1979). Moreover, the role of schooling in main-

taining the Sepik tradition of securing cash, migrant labor, and economic sufficiency remains the key to examining the form and function of economic change in the formation of a peasant structure in a province that remains among the poorest and most disadvantaged in Papua New Guinea.

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## **THE FAILURE OF THE TOMMY KABU MOVEMENT: A REASSESSMENT OF THE EVIDENCE**

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In the evolution of Papua and New Guinea from the status of a United Nations Trust Territory under Australian control (1946) to an independent nation-state (1975), Melanesians experienced the paternalism of European missionaries and administrators alike. Although official aims for social, economic, and political development in the post-World War II period were announced, most Melanesians experienced oppression rather than development, domination rather than liberation. Potential leaders were among the most persecuted, since their efforts to achieve autonomy were invariably perceived as a threat to the existing colonial order--especially by its major advocates, European missionaries and government administrators.

In the period before the war, relations between church and state had been stabilized by two informal, yet highly significant, conventions. Firstly, several of the limited number of Christian missions in the territory had observed "comity agreements" that defined their respective territorial "spheres of influence." In observing "comity agreements," the major Protestant missions ensured the limitation of sectarian rivalry among themselves. By a second long-standing convention, the government entrusted the missions with the education, social development, and spiritual and moral enrichment of the entire population.<sup>1</sup>

In the postwar period the efforts of Europeans to retain their hegemonic control over the population and to retain their prewar status clashed with the growing desires of Papuans and New Guineans for greater autonomy and development. Papuan society had experienced

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rapid transformation during the war years, and the sectarian autonomy that missions had exercised from the time of first European contact until the evacuation of civilians in 1942 was being challenged on three fronts: by a growing secularism, by a desire for modernization, and by the establishment in the territory of numerous new religious movements and missionary organizations.

Thus the comfortable conventions of the colonial order, established in an earlier period, swiftly decayed. The influence of European missionaries in temporal affairs was being replaced by the authority of a colonial administration; and Melanesians no longer acted so much as pliant natives as nascent Papuan and New Guinean nationalists. This article documents the rise and fall of Koivi' Aua, better known as Tom Kabu (1922?-1969),<sup>2</sup> from the I'ai tribe of the Gulf of Papua's Purari people. I suggest that Kabu's "protonationalist" initiatives--designed to effect major cultural, social, and economic changes among the Purari--occurred in a context of failed patron-client relations and that Kabu's experience was indicative of Papuan-European relations in the period from the late 1940s to the 1960s. Examination of Kabu's struggle exposes the unwillingness of missionaries, longtime surrogates of the colonial administration, to support the organizational and economic initiatives of potential Papuan leaders; demonstrates the refusal of Europeans to recognize the regional and national aspirations of Papuans; clarifies the context in which new religious movements were established in the territory; and contributes in general to an understanding of colonial missionary discourse.

### **Kabu: Evidence and Interpretations**

Kabu had attended the London Missionary Society's Urika school "for a short time" but had "run away from there and from the Delta when still young."<sup>3</sup> His life was transformed, as were those of so many men of his generation, by the events of World War II. In 1937, after leaving the Purari River Delta, he had joined the native constabulary and in 1940 had joined the Papuan Infantry Battalion. He was stationed at Samarai when the Japanese invaded and in 1942 made his way with two Australian army officers by small boat to Cooktown, Australia. From there he later traveled to Cairns, Brisbane, and even Sydney and Adelaide.

Kabu was repatriated from Queensland to Papua late in 1945 and was discharged in June 1946. He immediately commenced activities intended to raise the living standards of Purari society to those he had witnessed in Australia. He encouraged village migrations to healthier

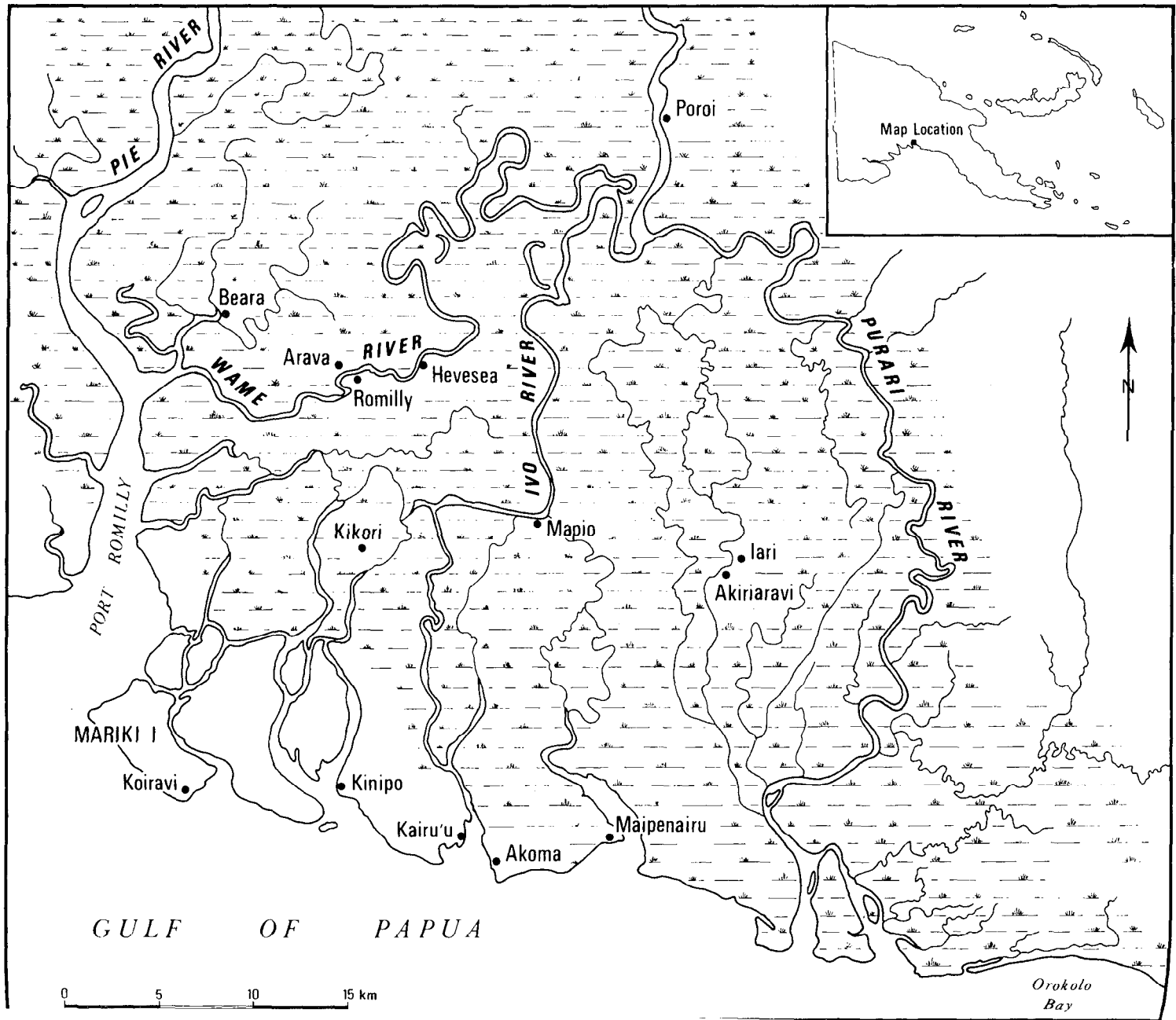
locations; sought the betterment of women's social position and the destruction of the *ravi*-ceremonial houses that he felt epitomized the backwardness of Purari culture; advocated the spread of a new, more European type of architecture in imitation of that which he had seen in Australian towns and cities; sought the cessation of injurious initiation ceremonies for young boys; and encouraged the spread of Police Motu as a lingua franca in place of the local dialect, Namanau.<sup>4</sup>

These activities, promoted by Kabu during 1946-1947, caught the administration unawares. Anthropologist Robert Maher suggests that they might have been resisted by the colonial administration had it known of them but "once accomplished, they were accepted."<sup>5</sup> The more "nationalistic" ambitions of Kabu's "New Men," on the other hand, were "directly worked against" and "rather easily suppressed without doing much violence to the rest of the movement's objectives."<sup>6</sup> Kabu's overall objective, toward which he labored from the late 1940s into the 1960s, was the transformation of the traditional Hiri trade between the Gulf people and Motuans into a monetary exchange.<sup>7</sup>

The Purari tribes would take over the sago trade, for money not pots, and the Motu and others would be merely customers. In the abstract, the plan was well conceived. Sago flour would be produced from the abundant palms that grew in the Purari swamp, transported to Port Moresby in a ship purchased through funds donated by the villagers, and marketed there by Kompani members at the settlement christened Rabia ("Sago") Camp. All matters were considered except for the skills necessary to a successful conduct of the plan. The Kompani failed.<sup>8</sup>

Why did Kabu's *kompani*, and most later initiatives, fail? Whereas the hostility from some departments of the Australian colonial administration, the administrative ineptitude of others, and the limitations of Kabu's technical expertise have been identified as key factors in his economic and political demise, the active participation of London Missionary Society (LMS) personnel in opposing his aspirations and obstructing his initiatives has heretofore evaded close examination.

In part, this occurred because the major research concerning Kabu relied on missionary sources for information about his early life and his relationship with the LMS. Maher's *New Men of Papua*, based on fieldwork in 1954-1955 and published in 1961, and Nigel Oram's 1962-1965 study of Rabia Camp,<sup>9</sup> the Port Moresby settlement established by Kabu in 1946, both rely on the published accounts of the LMS mission-



aries J. H. Holmes and L. W. Allen in describing the missionary presence among the Purari. Of the two, Holmes was the better ethnographer. He settled on Urika Island in 1907, the first European to live among the Purari, and eventually published papers on initiation ceremonies and linguistics.<sup>10</sup> Allen's contribution, a firsthand account of Kabu's *kompani* written for a technical paper produced by the South Pacific Commission, is less important for its anthropological insights than for its ironic description of Kabu, his movement, and the European response to it.<sup>11</sup> In describing Kabu's relations with the LMS, both Maher and Oram--and others--rely on the testimony of Allen.<sup>12</sup> Kabu's major patron while associated with the Australian navy, Norman S. Pixley, also recalled Kabu's time in Australia in his correspondence with both Maher and Oram and later in his memoirs.<sup>13</sup> Mission records, possibly unavailable at the time of the inquiries by Maher and Oram, provide more candid views held by LMS missionaries concerning the work and influence of Tom Kabu.

What was Kabu's attitude toward Christianity and toward LMS missionaries? The few sources available are apparently contradictory. Both Maher and Oram describe his campaign for the abolition of pagan ceremonies and the destruction of the ceremonial houses and traditional objects connected with them, often to the accompaniment of Christian prayers and readings from the Bible.<sup>14</sup> They report his preference for monogamous Christian marriage over polygyny, the traditional Purari practice. Maher suggests that Kabu's movement held Christianity to be, "at least in name," the religion of his new order.<sup>15</sup> Similarly Oram judged that Kabu "did not equivocate over religion and his attitude to Christian missions."<sup>16</sup> Analysis of colonial and mission records, however, indicate the extent of Kabu's disagreements with the missionaries and suggests that his relations with the LMS's representatives were rarely conducted to the satisfaction of either party.

### **The LMS and Conversion of the Purari**

LMS missionary attitudes toward Kabu's initiatives are best understood in the context of that mission's aspirations in the Gulf region. Despite LMS plans for a "New Advance" in Papua in the period of postwar reconstruction, missionaries in the Gulf more often reported high hopes than progress. The history of the LMS in the region, reported S. H. Dewdney, missionary at Urika before Allen, showed a "sad lack of even representation of what the LMS stands for": the lay-readers were untrained and inefficient, and the mission was losing converts to Sev-

enth-day Adventism.<sup>17</sup> In Urika District, one of approximately ten Papuan LMS districts and the one in which Kabu's relations with Christianity were molded, church membership in the 1950s remained at less than one hundred and illiteracy stood at 99.5 percent.<sup>18</sup> The Purari, Allen subsequently wrote, were "going through a time of very great crisis" and large segments of the population were "drifting all over the place." The *ravi* had fallen into a state of disrepair and traditional gods, in the eyes of the young people, had been discredited.<sup>19</sup> Although Allen expressed dismay at the destruction of traditional culture, his major concern was that the Purari failed to replace it with Christian belief and a strong indigenous church.<sup>20</sup>

Of further concern to the mission was the loss of prestige it stood to suffer if it gave the impression to the colonial administration (as well as to other Europeans and to loyal followers of the mission) that it had failed to obtain sufficient hold over its "sphere of influence." Thus Allen reported in his publication for the South Pacific Commission, "In so far as Tommy considered his Kompani to be a Christian Crusade, he was always prepared to accept guidance from the missionary. . . . All members of the Kompani, including Tommy, were always well disposed towards the Mission . . . at no time did he show unfriendliness to the mission, and was quite sympathetically disposed to the religious, medical, and educational work of the missionary."<sup>21</sup>

Since the expectation of Europeans was that the missionary and the patrol officer, rather than any native Papuan, were to be accorded the highest levels of respect, popular support for Kabu implied not merely his moral and perhaps even political authority, but resistance to European ascendancy. This context assists an understanding of missionary E. R. Fenn's enigmatic remarks concerning Kabu's "enormous prestige" and the "extraordinary things" he had been able to do with the manpower of the district; as Allen reported,

At his orders all gods were thrown out and many Ravis (Dubus) burnt down. Considerable quantities of native garden produce have been shipped to Port Moresby and have found a ready market at high prices. Some thousands of contributors subscribed funds to finance the purchase of a boat which subsequently burnt out before it had so much as commenced its first voyage. We do not desire to go into detail about the whole situation except to say that our work has been affected in many ways.<sup>22</sup>



Desperate to report progress, Allen found Kabu's leadership of the Purari inexplicable and came to regard him as the main obstacle to the success of his work. Although the missionary wished to extend his patronage to Kabu, potentially an important client, the latter submitted to what was at best a cool relationship.

The extent to which Kabu assimilated Christian doctrine is unclear. Pixley described Kabu during time spent in Sydney as a quiet man who constantly read his Bible, one who neither drank, smoked, nor associated with women.<sup>23</sup> According to Maher, the Purari retained belief in *imunu*, described by him as "the all pervading essential of the world, a force which resided in all things, and without which they would not be what they were."<sup>24</sup> Oram suggested that Kabu's adoption of Christian worship had "no deeper significance than imitation of European custom," a way of adopting the European's *imunu* and of thus achieving the Purari's desired economic goals.<sup>25</sup> For both Oram and Maher, however, Kabu's relationship with the LMS and with Christian belief was a secondary consideration, as they were mainly interested in cultural change, migration patterns, and issues of social and economic development.

Oram dismisses Peter Worsley's suggestion that Kabu's followers "misinterpreted his Christian propaganda for millenarianism," and points out that, whereas both LMS missionary J. H. Holmes and government anthropologist F. E. Williams wrote of the Purari belief in the return of spirits of the dead, neither noted evidence of cargoism.<sup>26</sup> Yet the movement generated some excessive behavior, which led to administrative intervention. The establishment by the "New Men" of a police force and construction of a jail in 1947 prompted the administration to send a patrol to reestablish government control.

Allen's 1952 report sheds some light on his role in the conflict.

Early in 1947 reports reached me of the burning of the ravis and of harsh treatment being meted out to dissentients. I immediately set out by canoe to send a message to the District Officer at Kikori. On the way to Port Romilly, I met a party of Australasian Oil Company personnel who were having difficulty with recruiting labour. They also had heard reports of unusual occurrences, and it was arranged that we should travel to Kikori and inform the District Officer. En route to Kikori we met a boat which was conveying a patrol officer to the Purari to conduct an investigation. Though there was some unpleasantness, the patrol officer conducted his investigation, finally tak-

ing Tommy Kabu to Kikori for consultation. Since then there has been a gradual subsidence of interest and activity and the people settled down to life under new conditions.<sup>27</sup>

Kabu's experiences at the hands of Australian colonial officials appear to have marked a turning point in his attitudes toward the government and toward the mission. Although Allen refers to Kabu's detention for "consultation," Oram suggests that Kabu was "arrested with a considerable degree of force" and taken to Kikori because local officers were disturbed at the size of a movement that transcended administrative boundaries and threatened to usurp their authority.<sup>28</sup> Although the acting director of District Services and Native Affairs (DSNA) wrote to Kabu and to the Beara District officer in December 1946 to say that the movement should be treated with sympathy and consideration,<sup>29</sup> Maher suggests that in 1947 some of Kabu's followers had thoughts of taking the movement underground.

Some individuals within DSNA acted with prejudice, one officer believing that the movement's "unsettling influence" impeded the task of the administration.<sup>30</sup> There was also distrust and suspicion between officers and the movement, and Oram suggests that whereas higher authorities in the department were consistent in the policy that the administration should, in general, recognize as leaders men who were seen that way by their tribes, there was some disagreement in the lower echelons, which were closer to the scene, on "just what Tommy was," and that senior administrators had a more detached view of Kabu than did officers in the field.<sup>31</sup> "By different men and at different times he was regarded as everything from the 'outstanding native in the district' to something very near a bandit. This would not have particularly mattered, if it were not for the clear fact that Tommy was a leader, and the most important leader the Purari had ever had."<sup>32</sup>

Government officials, like the missionaries, resented Kabu's widespread popularity. He was spoken of as "our *taubada*" and "our *biaguna*," and houses more prestigious than the government rest houses used by patrol officers were erected for him in numerous villages. The people supplied him with more food than they offered to officials.<sup>33</sup>

### **Economic Patronage: Missionary Clients and Colonial Obstruction**

Kabu's successful establishment of the Purari Sago Trading Company early in 1946, his initial success in transporting sago for sale in the colonial capital, and his success in gaining subscribers for the purchase of

the boat *Ena* from the Australian navy for £2,003 exhibited to the mission and to the administration an influence in the Gulf region that both coveted.<sup>34</sup> The unfortunate destruction of the *Ena* by fire before its first voyage gave them the opportunity to obstruct future initiatives.

Although the original decision, made after acting District Officer C. F. Healy's consultation with Kabu and his shareholders at Urika in 1947, was to recover the money and purchase a smaller, more suitable vessel,<sup>35</sup> the Purari were not only prevented by the administration from purchasing a new boat but, according to Maher, commercial shipping "often could not and sometimes probably would not handle the amounts of sago which had piled up for shipment from the Delta," so that much of it spoiled.<sup>36</sup> Whereas Maher offers no reason for this reluctance by European-operated vessels to enter into commercial transactions with Kabu, Oram suggests that damp sago threatened to corrode the ships' hulls and that it occupied too much space on the top deck.<sup>37</sup>

Maher believed that no one in the tribe had the knowledge or experience to operate such a vessel in the difficult Purari Delta (and that no one possessed the bookkeeping abilities to manage the *kompani's* finances),<sup>38</sup> and Oram points out that the administration did not encourage the purchase of another boat because it believed that the river people did not have the ability to handle a large vessel. He points out furthermore that the "unco-ordinated policies of different government departments" and the lack of transport were among the most important causes of failure.<sup>39</sup> But Snowden notes that along the coast to the southeast, the Toaripi Association, unlike the Purari Sago Trading Company, was aided in its purchase of a vessel in 1948 because its founder, Posu Semesevita, enjoyed the patronage of a nearby mission. The involvement of a mission in economic work, some administrators reasoned at that time, prevented those involved from becoming "too materialistic . . . [and thus] regarding their society as a purely money-making concern."<sup>40</sup> This attitude and concern was shared by the Cooperatives Section of the Australian administration, which lent support to individuals and groups in areas of strong mission influence--such as Anglican areas of the Northern District and the Kwato-influenced region of Milne Bay--in the belief that they played an important role in "curbing materialism" in Papuan and New Guinean societies.<sup>41</sup>

This was precisely the case Allen made against Kabu's economic enterprises.

From the missionary's point of view, the whole thing was a tragedy. In most native communities, the change-over from the

old to the new has been attributed to the coming of the 'light'. In the case of the Purari people, the changes took place without the church being founded, and the people, while attributing some benefits to the message of the missionary, prefer to think that they have made these new adjustments quite independently and on economic rather than religious grounds.<sup>42</sup>

Kabu, clearly, was not beholden to mission advice. Allen reported that, although the leaders of the movement quite frequently visited the mission station and freely discussed their plans, they refused to take advice regarding some aspects of the movement.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, despite Allen's publicly charitable statements concerning Kabu, annual reports to the LMS's Papua District Committee presented more clearly missionary attitudes toward the man and his movement. Fenn, writing from Aird Hill in 1947, referred to the threat to the peace of the mission from "King Tom, a Papuan with brawn, boldness but little brain," who was "gifted with a certain shrewd cunning and backed by the influence and teaching of what are to us the undesirable elements of European civilization."<sup>44</sup> Fenn hoped for more lay-readers or teachers to counteract Kabu's influence,<sup>45</sup> while Allen referred to the "utterly yet [sic] impossible company."<sup>46</sup>

Allen could not understand why Kabu banned his men from contracting as laborers for the Australasian Petroleum Company.

Considering the large number of men employed by this company, one would have thought it would have been considered of important assistance to the Kompani. This was not the case. Tommy gave orders that as soon as men completed their contracts they were to leave the A.P.C. and never to renew their contracts. The opinion was held that it was beneath the new dignity of the emerging Puraris to be the slaves of the white man for such a pittance. There was a genuine desire to be independent of such sources of income. The A.P.C. recruiters, who seemed always to have the advantage over other recruiters, were now unable to secure a single man from the Purari.<sup>47</sup>

Allen did not see that the Papuans' refusal to work for the company was an obvious gesture of resistance to the growing number of European-owned enterprises in the district. The territory's largest sawmill operated at Port Romilly, and a second mill operated at Ogamobu, where also the British New Guinea Development Company had developed a

rubber plantation. The LMS itself established a third sawmill at Veiru. Missionaries and administrators alike expected Gulf laborers to work at these sites or produce copra at the village level.

At one time Allen joined with the patrol officer at Kikori in attempting to dissuade Kabu and his followers from their economic plans.

We advised them to form smaller companies, within their own tribes, and to develop co-operative enterprises which would be sure of yielding returns. We put before the men a scheme whereby the villages could buy such utility improvements as roofing iron to secure drinking water. However they were disinclined to turn from the plan put forward by their leader Tommy Kabu, and refused the advice offered.<sup>48</sup>

Similarly, to the southeast of the Purari Delta, Dewdney and an official from the administration's post at Kerema urged the representatives of three tribes, who had collected a total of £1,320 for a scheme similar to Kabu's *Ena* shipping venture, "not to be hasty in the purchase of a vessel and to concentrate on getting smoke houses ready for copra production" and to "continue to work as separate bodies." As in Kabu's case, the administration withheld support because mission patronage was absent: Dewdney was going on overseas leave and Kerema station was "too understaffed to supply the necessary aiding supervision."<sup>49</sup>

Kabu's cooperative ventures were too "communal" in nature, and potentially communistic, and colonial officials reacted by assisting other Delta men in the transportation and marketing of their sago and copra production in competition with Kabu's efforts. In 1948 village constables Kiri Morea of Maipua and Ove Mairau of Oravi were selected to receive all possible help "to make their ventures a success,"<sup>50</sup> and in May 1949 Patrol Officer Francis Dobb suggested a scheme to support Kiri, in order to reduce Kabu's fortunes:

Could arrangements be made as regards shipment, a sound idea would be to receive sago at Beara Police Camp, for shipment and sale in Port Moresby (possibly some of it for government labour). In the latter case, scales could be installed here, and the sago bought on the spot; with an allowance for freight deducted. Could this be done, then I feel sure that the activities of the Ina Coy. [Company, Kabu's cooperative] could be much reduced. . . . It is my opinion that the only way in which to check the activities of the Ina Coy. is to give every possible assistance to those who wish to trade outside its confines.<sup>51</sup>

Shortly after, in 1951, Patrol Officer Herbert Clark identified Kaipu Varupi of Koiravi village, Mariki Island, as a "rival" of Tom Kabu, whom Clark saw as a leader, not a "driver." Clark, who was new to the area, refused to accede to Kabu's request to accompany Clark on a patrol to find out what the villagers wished to do with a government refund of the money earlier invested in the ill-fated *Ena*; Clark stated that it was not possible to unite the Purari peoples.<sup>52</sup>

When Co-operatives Section officers found that Kabu consistently operated at a loss, they forbade him in 1953 from further engaging in the purchase of sago. Even so, when he left Rabia Camp and returned to the Delta to live, sago was shipped to Port Moresby for sale at Koki market throughout the early 1960s. Efforts to destabilize Kabu's authority continued. In 1956 the deputy registrar of cooperative societies reported that the Tommy Kabu movement had been "broken up" and that the administration had been "built up."<sup>53</sup> In letters to the administration Kabu indicated that he had been "argued against, attacked and misled," and in letters to the Australian navy he complained about, and named, officials who were opposing him.<sup>54</sup>

### **Bureaucratic Control over Village and Urban Migration**

With the eclipse of Kabu's cooperative ventures, his influence declined among the Kaimare group of Mariki and among the Poroi villages, but remained among the Koriki, particularly in the villages of Akoma and Kairu'u. Evidence suggests that Kabu aspired to uniting the Delta peoples politically and to securing "a sovereignty for the Purari tribes as a unit separate from the Australian administration."<sup>55</sup>

As part of his effort to improve living conditions, Kabu moved villages from unhealthy, low-level sites to new locations on drier ground--in some cases bringing people onto land owned by other tribes. Ukiaravi was entirely abandoned, the village split into four. Kabu's group, the I'ai, resettled mainly at Mapio on the Ivo River, but some helped Kabu establish a new village, Hevesea, near the sawmill wharf. It was sometimes known as "Tommy's village" and was intended to serve as a collection point from which products were shipped to Port Moresby. But Hevesea was declared a "forbidden settlement" by the administration in 1950. Officially, the government declared that it wished to avoid trouble erupting because Hevesea was established on the land of others; yet at the same time the ruling demolished the strategic depot Kabu had established near the wharf at Port Romilly. Hevesea's population subsequently rejoined the members of Kabu's original village at Maipenairu, on Urika Island near the coast.<sup>56</sup>

Once the *kompani* declined, a host of smaller economic ventures emerged. The most promising, according to Maher, was the Pai-iri Mailu Trading Company--known as the I'ai Society--organized in 1952 in the I'ai village of Mapio in cooperation with the Beara patrol officer and Kabu. By April 1955, when Kabu returned to the Delta and established headquarters at Akoma with the intention of promoting copra production, the organization was still alive but inoperative.

In the meantime, both the administration and the mission supported the Purari Community Development Project Department initiated in 1951 by the Department of Education and the South Pacific Commission. The program was supposed to address economic development, village improvement, local government, nutrition, and education, but was successful only in the last, and that mainly because the teacher F. Daveson was posted to the area in 1951. His school, established at the Kinipo group, was relocated to the Beara patrol post by 1955.<sup>57</sup> Once more, however, the "development" of Papuans entailed European initiative and control.

In Port Moresby, Rabia Camp had evolved by 1955 into a full-sized village occupied by Purari and some Goaribari. Officers with the administration's Co-operatives Section had given guidance to the Tommy Kabu Camp Society, which had been established in 1948 and which operated a tea shop, a bakery, a laundry, and a store until closed by the administration in 1953. Kabu had made several return trips to the Delta to collect cash for another boat but had not raised sufficient capital. He became involved in seeking improved wages for Purari men working at the wharves in Port Moresby. In a letter to Pixley in May 1962, he indicated his desire to establish a "Christian native co-operative association for the whole of Papua New Guinea."<sup>58</sup> While settled for a time at Akoma, Kabu was engaged by Urika mission to oversee a small work force in the production of copra, and in 1963 he revived a plan to relocate the inland Pawaia peoples to the Purari River. Although the Pawaia responded to Kabu, the administration once more intervened and convinced the people to return home.<sup>59</sup>

### **Religious Change**

In the 1950s and 1960s the London Missionary Society in Papua experienced change: many European missionaries retired from the field, Papuan adherents were allowed increasing measures of authority, and negotiations proceeded first for the mission's independence as the Papua Ekalesia (1962) and then for its incorporation in the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (1968).

By October 1951 the missionary Allen had left Urika and been replaced by a Samoan pastor. Samoans continued to man the LMS stations at Urika (Beara) and Petoï (Kerema) throughout the 1960s, and by 1962 Urika station was one of nine LMS establishments in the Gulf District, three of which were manned by Samoan pastors.<sup>60</sup> LMS missionaries Dewdney and Bert Brown were stationed at Orokolo and Moru.<sup>61</sup> A Seventh-day Adventist missionary, Pascoe, was established at Belepa, and a Catholic priest, Blanc, was at Terapo. The LMS and Catholic missions were represented by either missionaries or educated Papuan members on newly established local government councils and on the Gulf District Advisory Council. Other missions had entered the region, and the sectarian autonomy once enjoyed by the LMS had given way to sectarian rivalry in which the LMS competed with the promoters of at least four other religious beliefs. Whereas the Seventh-day Adventist and Catholic missions established schools and medical posts as part of their evangelistic efforts, Jehovah's Witness and Bahá'í supporters offered spiritual and social laws and practices without providing welfare services.

In 1965 Tom Kabu became the first Papuan Bahá'í.<sup>62</sup> Doctrinally, the Bahá'í religion centered on the claims of the Persian prophet Bahá'u'lláh (1814-1892) to have revealed God's laws for the rehabilitation of the peoples of the world. Bahá'u'lláh's teachings emphasize the existence of a single, unknowable God; the unity of his prophets; and the unity of the human race. Two Bahá'ís had entered the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in 1954,<sup>63</sup> and some New Ireland villages had adopted the Bahá'í religion by 1956. Response in Papua quickened with the settlement of Australian Bahá'ís David and Sue Podger in Port Moresby in 1965. Although Kabu was living at Rabia Camp, originally established to help his Purari kin, by 1965 he had, he told Podger, become disillusioned with the tribe because of their seeming inability to progress and unwillingness to work and had shifted his attention to the Pawaia, an inland tribe that the LMS and other missions had tried to evangelize with little success but that held promise of being diligent workers.

Approximately twenty Papuans became Bahá'ís in Port Moresby immediately after Kabu. The Podgers reported that "Tommy Kabu, the Chairman of the Local Assembly, has been on a teaching trip to his home area for six weeks. He is a well known leader of his people in the Baimuru area in the Gulf District. He has the distinction of having had anthropological monographs written about his efforts to advance the social conditions and beliefs of his people."<sup>64</sup>

It is not clear to what extent Kabu understood Bahá'í belief. No doubt



its emphasis on racial and sexual equality appealed to him, and he may have noted that the religion had no clergy: even its “missionaries” were merely expatriates working in secular professions, in business, or with the colonial administration. In 1966 David Podger and two New Guinea Highlands converts accompanied Kabu to the Gulf, where he spoke in numerous villages about his new religion. Response came among the Koriki tribe at Mapio village and among the Pawaia in the remote inland village of Poroi, provoking efforts by LMS teachers to make them reconsider their decision.<sup>65</sup> In April 1967 the Bahá’ís in Poroi established a nine-member “Local Assembly” to take responsibility for the group’s activities. Although such assemblies may have resembled the meetings of deacons or elders, they differed in that women were as involved as men in elections and in the holding of offices. The European Bahá’ís were involved in guiding and encouraging new assemblies, but were not interested in establishing mission stations or sponsoring welfare services. Sue Podger reported Poroi Assembly’s activities to the annual convention of the Australian Bahá’í convention:

Tommy Kabu assisted in the formation of the Poroi Assembly. We have written to them and Vi. Hoehnke . . . paid them a visit last September. We have encouraged believers from Pawaia to go back, and find ways of earning money in their own area, as it is very poor, and most young men have left to work in Port Moresby. Tommy Kabu has been establishing a saksak (native housing material) weaving business in Ara’ava, on the Purari River, and this is going fairly well. Another believer, Se’i Seneai, went back with a gun to shoot crocodiles. Some have followed to join him. Amongst these people it is the custom for old men to marry all the young women. The young men have been encouraged through the teachings to return and marry, and some have done this.<sup>66</sup>

Rather than becoming more dependent on a pastor, priest, or missionary, the tendency was for the Bahá’ís in Purari and Poroi villages to assert their autonomy and to dispense with the services of LMS pastor/teachers. In 1968, for example, meetings between LMS teachers and the Bahá’ís of Ara’ava had not reversed the conversions, and the teachers left the village in April.<sup>67</sup> By May 1968 Kabu had established Bahá’í communities in Ara’ava, Mapio, and Akoma. The assembly established at Poroi, however, disappeared the following year with the temporary dispersal of its inhabitants.<sup>68</sup>

Kabu indicated in correspondence with David Podger during 1967-1968 his continuing concern with economic development (he had initiated the loom production of *selo* sheets, mats made of plant fiber) and the need for government assistance. This does not preclude the possibility that Kabu was a true believer in Bahá'í beliefs, but he simultaneously viewed David Podger, a lecturer at the Administrative College, as a sympathetic patron. In addition, Sue Podger's acquisition of Motu, which allowed her to converse and correspond with Kabu in his preferred tongue, eased communication between the Australian Bahá'ís and Kabu. Whereas Podger assisted in the acquisition of looms for the production of *selo*, he wrote to Kabu in 1967, "You are a good Bahá'í Tommy, but I think you try too much to get the people money."<sup>69</sup> He hoped that Kabu's followers, whom Kabu believed were unhappy and no longer interested in working, would revive their economic fortunes by first reviving their spiritual lives.

If Kabu had aspired to uniting all Papuans, with himself as head (as Oram believed, from correspondence with Kabu as late as 1962),<sup>70</sup> his conversion to Bahá'í belief brought both advantages and disadvantages--although time was running out for him to experience either. If Kabu had intended to achieve unity through political means, Bahá'í membership included prohibition of involvement in party politics--although this had not prevented Kabu from contesting a seat in the second House of Assembly in 1968 when he was secretary of Ara'ava village's Bahá'í assembly.<sup>71</sup> Kabu ran as a People's Progress Party candidate against Albert Maori Kiki, Tom Koraea, and Keith Tetley. Although the seat was won by Koraea, secretary of the local government council at Kikori, Kiki's view was that it would have gone to Kabu had he not lain seriously ill in hospital throughout the campaign period.<sup>72</sup> The following year Tom Kabu contracted tuberculosis and died in October.<sup>73</sup>

### **Conclusions**

It would seem that some individuals in both the mission and the administration attributed the failure of Kabu's initiatives to the inferiority of his race rather than to inferior levels of education achieved in the Gulf District. Until the 1970s virtually all Australian administrators and European missionaries shared the belief that Papuans were incapable of establishing successful regional economic ventures. Their inability to believe that Kabu was capable of establishing a successful regional economic venture and the disappointments that Kabu experienced in his relations with officials of both church and state are indicative of post-war Papuan-European relations.

Kabu observed, and felt keenly, race discrimination. Whereas Europeans operated vessels freely, he was obstructed in raising sufficient capital to purchase similar transport. Whereas the LMS freely established mission districts, which grouped tribes together and made possible the formation of the Papua Ekalesia and later the United Church, Kabu's attempts to establish supraclan economic ventures were obstructed and denigrated. He knew that higher living standards required monetary wealth and pinned his hopes for success on his commercial scheme for the production of sago in the Delta, its transportation for sale in Port Moresby, and the redistribution of proceeds both to workers and into new economic ventures.<sup>74</sup> This trading pattern--which, government anthropologist Charles Julius pointed out in 1947, merely revived the traditional export trade of the Purari--Oram described as "remarkable for its consistency and thoroughness."<sup>75</sup> Breaking with tradition, Kabu had been able to override the traditional divisions among Purari tribes and had established contact with the Ipiko, Goaribari, and the inland Pawaia peoples.

There is no doubt that colonial officials would have been more responsive to Kabu's economic program if the LMS had been more firmly established in the Gulf District. Furthermore, they would have been more sympathetic to Kabu if his relations with the mission had been more congenial. Although it has been widely assumed that missionary attitudes toward Papuan social, economic, and political development fostered nationalism and territorial independence, a strong case can be made--by comparing mission rhetoric with a close assessment of candid missionary attitudes toward the colonial, later the national, secular state--that rather, they favored continued patronage and dependence.

Finally, the proliferation of new religious movements (NRMs) in Papua New Guinea--and this argument can be extended to other South Pacific colonial environments--was related to a significant extent to the inability of the major missions to accommodate the rising expectations of colonial societies and of emergent and potential national leaders. It is worth noting, with regard to religious change in Melanesia, the tendency for novel religious forms and ideas to disperse from urban areas to remote communities via literate (or at least semiliterate) Melanesian converts whose relations with existing missions had invariably been discordant.

By failing to conform to missionary expectations, Tom Kabu alienated himself from the modes of missionary and colonial patronage that existed in the first postwar years. Lacking power over the printed word and possessed of insufficient facility with the English language to con-

vey his ideas, his position in both colonial and missionary discourse has been constructed by the very forces that conspired to subdue him. As a protonationalist, Kabu experienced slightly more than two decades of disappointment with the colonial administration and its missionary adjunct. His struggle was not merely with the Purari Delta's grinding poverty, swamps, and disease, but with agents of colonialism with whom he never lost composure and to whom he never entrusted his spirit of independence.

### NOTES

I wish to thank the anonymous referees for their valuable comments on my paper, "Tom Kabu and the London Missionary Society: A Case Study in Missionary Hegemony," presented at the biannual conference of the Pacific History Association in Brisbane, June-July 1989, of which this paper is a revised version. I am grateful to Mrs. Chandra Jayasuriya, Geography Department, University of Melbourne, for preparation of the map of the Gulf District.

1. Concerning missionary activity in Papua and New Guinea, see Georges Delbos, *The Mustard Seed: From a French Mission to a Papuan Church* (Port Moresby, 1985), and Ian Downs, *The Australian Trusteeship: Papua New Guinea 1945-75* (Canberra, 1980). A recent important contribution to the field of missionary discourse is Mary Huber, *The Bishops' Progress: A Historical Ethnography of Catholic Missionary Experience on the Sepik Frontier* (Washington, DC, 1988).

2. Koivi' Aua received the name "Tommy" while with the Australian navy. He later changed this to "Tom" when he and his followers "became aware that the diminutive might be lacking in dignity and respect." Robert F. Maher, "The Purari River Delta Societies, Papua New Guinea, after the Tom Kabu Movement," *Ethnology* 23, no. 3 (July 1984): 226 n. 3. Early administration reports incorrectly recorded Kabu's name as "Tomu." "Kabua" means "the man who owns things" and was coined by Tom's followers; it was subsequently shortened to "Kabu."

3. Robert F. Maher, *New Men of Papua: A Study in Culture Change* (Madison, Wis., 1961), 55.

4. "Some idea of the prestige which Police Motu had acquired during the war is to be gained from the life story of one Papuan who made a name for himself after the war trying to improve the lot of his people. He was Tommy Kabu." Tom Dutton, *Police Motu: Iena Sivarai (Its Story)* (Port Moresby, 1985).

5. Maher, *New Men*, 69. Oram disputes Maher's account, suggesting that Tommy Kabu outlined his plans for development to Aua Akia, who returned to the Delta and commenced the I'ai company in 1946. Nigel D. Oram, "Rabia Camp and the Tommy Kabu Movement," in *Rabia Camp: A Port Moresby Migrant Settlement*, ed. Nancy E. Hitchcock and Nigel D. Oram, *New Guinea Research Bulletin* no. 14 (Canberra and Port Moresby, 1967), 10-11.

6. Maher, *New Men*, 69-70. In 1948 the acting director of District Services and Native Affairs was concerned lest Kabu's activities "develop along similar lines to that of the Wedau Welfare Club." J. H. Jones to District Officer, Delta, 2 June 1948, Patrol Reports Beara, National Archives of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby (National Archives hereafter cited as TPNG).

7. In the traditional Hiri trade, Motuans from around Port Moresby sailed to the Gulf of Papua to exchange earthen Motuan pots for sago and canoe logs. On the utilization of sago, see Vanda Moraes-Gorecki, "Notes on the Ownership and Utilization of Sago, and on Social Change, among the Moveave-Toaripi of the Papuan Gulf," *Oceania* 53, no. 3 (Mar. 1983).

8. Maher, "Purari River Delta Societies," 218.

9. Oram, "Rabia Camp."

10. J. H. Holmes, "Initiation Ceremonies of Natives in the Papuan Gulf," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 32 (1902); "A Preliminary Study of the Namanau Language, Purari Delta, Papua," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 43 (1913); *In Primitive New Guinea* (New York, 1924).

11. L. W. Allen, "The Purari Kompani," in *The Purari Delta: Background and Progress of Community Development*, South Pacific Commission Technical Paper 35 (Noumea, New Caledonia, Nov. 1952).

12. Nigel D. Oram, "Tommy Kabu--A Remarkable Papuan Leader," *Post Courier*, 13 Oct. 1969, 4; Maher, "Purari River Delta Societies"; Sam Tua Kaima, "King Tommy's Ideal Dream Is Shattered," *Times of Papua New Guinea*, 5-12 Sept. 1986, 10. An important, unpublished analysis is Catherine Snowden, "Co-operative Societies in Papua New Guinea" (M.A. thesis, University of Papua New Guinea, 1983). Maher, "Purari River Delta Societies," is incorrect in stating that Kabu died in 1968 following a heart attack. He died in October 1969 from tuberculosis.

13. Norman S. Pixley, "Tommy Kabu of Papua," *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 11, no. 3 (1981-1982): 1-13.

14. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 11. This follows Allen, "Kompani," 5: "Tommy Kabu, with a few of his lieutenants, when visiting a village, gathered the people into the ravi and pointed out to them that all the old ceremonial was bad and without reality. He proposed that in order to begin the new ways of life, a good start would be to destroy the old ways and practices. After painting a picture of the greatly improved standard of living which they were going to achieve, Tommy would then refer to an English New Testament and a few loose papers of Communistic origin. He would point out that the people would learn the Christian way of life, and then, after a brief prayer, would apply a fire to the building."

15. Maher, *New Men*, 59.

16. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 39.

17. S. H. Dewdney, "Urika," Papua District Committee (hereafter cited as PDC) Annual Reports 1946, Station Reports, 3/7, Methodist Papers, New Guinea Collection-University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby (hereafter cited as UPNG).

18. Allen, "Kompani," 2. Maher noted in 1961 that the "mission's main concern, of bringing Christianity to a Pagan area, made little headway, and even after the second world war, Urika's congregation did not number above two figures" (*New Men*, 44). Oram noted in 1969 that very "few people had had any schooling and the London Missionary Society had failed to establish a church in the area" ("Tommy Kabu," 4).
19. L. W. Allen, "Urika Report," PDC Annual Reports 1946, Station Reports, 3/7, Methodist Papers, UPNG.
20. Allen reported his own dismay at the destruction of the ravi and "so much that was beautiful and essential to the cultural life of the people" ("Kompani," 8, quoted in Oram, "Rabia Camp," 17). He suggested that the LMS missionaries appreciated Purari culture and had not attempted to interfere with it: "Up to the time of my appointment to the Purari Delta, in 1946, there had been no significant changes in the culture of the people. . . . The agents of the London Missionary Society had been active since 1911, but had not caused any radical changes in the traditional patterns of the culture." Allen, "Kompani," 2.
21. Allen, "Kompani," 5, 8. Oram noted in 1969 that Kabu adopted Christianity as the official religion of the movement "in name only" ("Tommy Kabu," 4).
22. E. R. Fenn, "Aird Hill," PDC Annual Reports 1947, Station Reports, 3/7, Methodist Papers, UPNG. Allen, "Urika Report."
23. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 8.
24. Maher, *New Men*, 26.
25. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 40.
26. Oram, "Rabia Camp" 40. Allen states that Kabu claimed descent from the king of England and that he once promised a visit by the king ("Kompani," 5). Oram, however, suggests that whatever rumors circulated about Kabu's royal bloodline, they were never voiced by Kabu himself. Allen makes clear that the movement had no cargo overtones and that it at no time produced religious hysteria. Although Maher reported a wireless cult in one of the Maipuan villages in 1955 (*New Men*, 77), Friedrich Steinbauer stretches the definition of cargoism to include Kabu's movement (*Melanesian Cargo Cults*, trans. Max Wohlwill [Brisbane, 1971], 29-32). Government officers in contact with Kabu at no time suggested that his movement had cargoist tendencies (Gulf Division Quarterly Report, 1/4/51-30/6/51, TPNG, DS 29/3/38).
27. Allen, "Kompani," 3.
28. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 18. C. Belshaw, however, noted in 1950 that the administration, for the first time, was encouraging Kabu's movement and aiding it in its development program--an indication that contradictory attitudes toward Kabu were being expressed ("The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development," *Australian Outlook* 4, no. 2 [1950]: 121).
29. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 17-18.
30. Maher, *New Men*, 70. The Co-operatives Section's 1952-1953 Annual Report (TPNG, 247, 35/8/47) suggested that in the Beara District there had been repeatedly demonstrated a "desire to participate in some form of business enterprise" and that there had been "con-

siderable frustration caused by the misguided efforts of native leaders." In 1961 District Services and Native Affairs continued to refer to the "notorious" Tommy Kabu. Maher, "Purari River Delta Societies," 218.

31. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 17.

32. Maher, *New Men*, 70.

33. R. T. Galloway, Patrol Reports Beara, Patrol Report 3 of 1947/48, TPNG.

34. Neither Maher nor Oram points out that original purchase of the *Ena* was opposed by Chief Collector of Customs Grahamslaw and by W. R. Humphries of the Native Affairs department because the transaction did not comply with the territory's relevant ordinances, while Kabu believed the obstruction was due to racial discrimination. John Black to D. A. H. Lea, 24 Sept. 1969, AL64, UPNG.

35. Monthly Report, Delta Division, Mar. 1947, TPNG, DS 29/3/15. The intention of higher administrators to refund the money outlasted that of local-level officials to prevent it: M. C. W. Rich, acting director of DSNA in 1949, assured Kabu personally that the amount paid for the *Ena* was to be refunded to the contributors personally at an early date, and he secured Kabu's agreement to work thereafter with the administration. M. C. W. Rich to Government Secretary, 1 Dec. 1949, TPNG, CA 35/8/44.

36. Maher, *New Men*, 67.

37. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 20. European vessels in the Delta included Australasian Petroleum Company vessels MV *Elevala*, MV *Doma*, and MV *Kamonai*; administration vessels *Bareto*, *TNG*, *Ogamobu*, and *Haraga*; the LMS vessel *Tamate*; and others representing Steamships Trading Company. Monthly Report, Delta Division, Apr. 1947, TPNG, DS 29/3/16.

38. Maher, "Purari River Delta Societies," 218.

39. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 18, 20.

40. Reported in Snowden, "Co-operative Societies," 18. But in the early 1950s, some cooperatives established by Australian Anglicans in the Northern District proved equally cumbersome. Of one Anglican cooperative movement, an official wrote: "Men, women and children donated a flood of money under the most unsupervised conditions. Committees, officials, communal gardens, meeting houses, and pseudo-societies sprang up everywhere. The activities to which most of this organization was applied had no hope of success, even had the natives worked sanely and consistently, which they did not." A. A. Roberts, "Co-operative Movement, Northern District, New Guinea Anglican Mission Representations," 18 Mar. 1954, TPNG, series 247, box 320.

41. Snowden, "Co-operative Societies," 59.

42. Allen, "Kompani," 10.

43. Allen, "Kompani," 8.

44. E. R. Fenn, "Aird Hill," PDC Annual Reports 1947, Station Reports, 3/7, Methodist Papers, UPNG.

45. ". . . we would feel more happy if we had one or two more lay-readers or teachers out there helping Tesimale." Fenn, "Aird Hill."

46. L. W. Allen, "Urika Report," PDC Annual Reports 1948-1949, Station Reports, 3/8, Methodist Papers, UPNG.
47. Allen, "Kompani," 8. Kukukuku men, who were being courted by both the Seventh-day Adventists and the LMS, were working for the company in 1946-1947. S. H. Dewdney, "Orokolo," PDC Annual Reports 1946, Station Reports, 3/7, Methodist Papers, UPNG.
48. Allen, "Kompani," 2.
49. District Office Kerema, Monthly Report, Apr. 1946, TPNG, DS 29/2/6.
50. G. D. Collins, Patrol Report Gulf (Beara) 4 of 1947/48, Villages of Purari Area, 13-22 June 1948, p. 5, TPNG.
51. Francis Dobb, Patrol Reports Beara, Patrol Report 6 of 1948/49, pp. 6-7, TPNG.
52. Herbert E. Clark, Patrol Reports Beara, Patrol Report 1 of 1951/52, pp. 4-5; Patrol Report 4 of 1951/52, Oct. 1951, p. 8, TPNG. Kabu had accompanied Patrol Officer Dobb on a patrol in July 1947 and had been "of considerable assistance, although he naturally requires very close watching." C. F. Healy, District Monthly Report for July 1947, Delta Division, 11 Aug. 1947, TPNG, DS 29/3/19.
53. Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies to District Officer Kikori, 26 Apr. 1956, quoted in Oram, "Rabia Camp," 18.
54. Quoted in Snowden, "Co-operative Societies," 16. Kabu's letters (14 Mar., 4 Apr., 18 Apr., 7 May 1949; 17 Feb., 23 Nov. 1953; and 4 Apr. 1954, TPNG, CA 35/7/40) name Ivan Champion and H. H. Jackman as administrative officials from whom no reply had been received. Champion had arrived to take the post of district officer, Kerema, in April 1946.
55. Maher, *New Men*, 59.
56. Maher, *New Men*, 62.
57. Maher, *New Men*, 72.
58. Pixley, "Tommy Kabu," 13.
59. Maher, "Purari River Delta Societies," 221.
60. Annual Report, Gulf District, 13 June 1962, p. 24, TPNG, 5516, 48/2/2.
61. Here Brown worked among the Kunimaipa.
62. This is noted by Charles Forman, *Island Churches of the South Pacific* (Maryknoll, 1982), 200; and is discussed in J. K. Parratt, "Religious Change in Port Moresby," *Oceania* 41, no. 2 (Dec. 1970): 106-113. The fact of Kabu's conversion three years prior to his death is little known. Maher noted during a 1973 field trip the presence of Bahá'ís and Jehovah's Witnesses among the Kinipo ("Purari River Delta Societies," 225), but was not aware, evidently, that it was Kabu who had taken Bahá'í beliefs to the Delta. Kabu's conversion was reported in *Bahá'í Bulletin* 141 (May 1966): 17.
63. These were Violet Hoehnke, an Australian nurse employed on Manus, and Rodney Hancock, a New Zealander who first worked in Rabaul and later established businesses on New Britain.



64. "New Guinea, Papua," *Bahá'í Bulletin* 146 (Oct. 1966): 17.
65. David Podger, "Nineteen Declarations from Papua Teaching Trip," *Bahá'í Bulletin* 150 (Feb. 1967): 7. In March 1967 Kabu, writing from Akoma, described to Podger attempts by LMS teachers to remove the Poroi villagers from the Bahá'í faith. Kabu to Podger, 11 Mar. 1967. There were some fourteen Bahá'ís in Poroi, and the LMS had sent a teacher and two medics to reside in the village. Kabu to Podger, 9 Mar. 1967. (Documents cited here and in nn. 67, 69, and 71 below were made available by David and Sue Podger, Sydney, and are hereafter cited as Podger Papers.)
66. Sue Podger, "Report on Teaching Activities in Papua for the Past Year 1967-1968," in *Annual Bahá'í Convention for Australia BE 125--1968*, 50. Photos of Kabu and the Bahá'ís of Poroi are included in *Bahá'í Bulletin* 150 (Feb. 1967): 6.
67. Kabu to David Podger, 12 Aug. 1968, Podger Papers.
68. "New Assemblies Formed in Papua," *Bahá'í Bulletin* 166 (June 1968): 11.
69. David Podger to Kabu, 23 July 1967, Podger Papers.
70. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 17.
71. In 1968 there were nineteen Bahá'ís in the village. Ara'ava Bahá'ís to Violet Hoehnke, 1968, Podger Papers.
72. By Kiki's account, Kabu "became seriously ill, did next to no campaigning and spent most of the pre-election period in hospital." Albert Maori Kiki, *Kiki: Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime* (Melbourne, 1971), 171.
73. Some years after Kabu's death, Prime Minister Michael Somare dedicated a monument to Kabu at Rabia Camp. By 1987 the monument, and Rabia Camp itself, gave an appearance of considerable neglect and disillusion.
74. Maher, *New Men*, 58.
75. Oram, "Rabia Camp," 10.

## THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TOURISM IN KIRIBATI

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The Republic of Kiribati has recently begun to consider tourism development as a means of generating much needed foreign exchange and expanding employment opportunities. Following a brief description of the demand and supply characteristics of the industry, the role that tourism plays within the Kiribati economy is considered. A multiplier model focuses attention on the effects of visitor expenditure on income, employment, and government revenue generation. Differential multipliers reveal the degree to which different sectors and types of firms are able to contribute to local income and employment generation. The conclusion provides a brief overview of the planning and development implications of the findings.

Tourism is an important source of foreign exchange, government revenue, and employment for many small island states around the world. Within the South Pacific region the development of air links has allowed some of the most isolated of these microstates to embark on tourism development strategies (Milne 1990b). Tourism is assumed to bring a range of economic benefits to these nations, most of which face binding economic constraints imposed by limited resource bases and isolation from major trading partners (Crocombe and Rajotte 1980, especially Rajotte 1980; Shand 1980; Milne 1987a; Browne 1989). The problem of isolation is overcome, to a degree, by tourists traveling to the "product," while the resources sought are often renewable and inexpensive to provide; for example, sun, sand, and sea (Finney and Watson 1977; Cleverdon 1979).

It is, however, the perceived monetary and employment benefits associated with tourism that attract the eye of both public-sector planners

and private developers. Tourists bring foreign exchange, which can improve the balance of payments and also create higher levels of intermediate demand--the multiplier effect. In addition the relatively labor-intensive nature of the industry means it is viewed as a major factor in increasing employment opportunities. The industry can also help to diversify the structure of the economy, balance regional disparities in income and employment, and provide important contributions to government coffers through taxes, duties, licenses, and fees.

Tourism brings with it a number of economic costs, though. Many tourists demand certain imported goods and services, causing some tourist revenue to leak from the economy. Consequently the local income generated by tourism is often only a small proportion of total tourist spending (Archer 1977, 1982; Varley 1977; Milne 1988b, 1990a, 1990b). The benefits of employment generation may be reduced because managerial positions often require skills that are not available in the local labor market (Samy 1975; Macnaught 1982). In addition the large amounts of money and expertise required to establish and operate international tourist facilities often necessitate high levels of foreign ownership and control in the industries (Britton 1982; Milne 1987b).

Natural disasters, political unrest, economic downturns in major tourist markets, the changing flight schedules of international airlines, and other exogenous factors will also affect the performance of tourist sectors (Britton and Kissling 1984; Milne 1990b).

Despite the range of potential negative impacts associated with tourism development, several Pacific island microstates actively promote the industry within their overall economic development strategies (Milne 1990b). This article focuses on the Republic of Kiribati and the economic impacts associated with its tourist sector, first presenting an overview of the nation's economic characteristics and the tourist industry's current structure, then analyzing the role that the sector plays within the national economy. The downstream effects of tourist expenditure on income, employment, and government revenue generation are analyzed by means of an economic multiplier model. Differential multipliers show the varying degrees to which different sectors and types of firms are able to contribute to income and employment generation. The final section deals with planning implications of the findings.

### **Kiribati: An Economic Overview**

The Republic of Kiribati comprises three clusters of islands--the Gilbert, Phoenix, and Line groups--and stretches across the central

Pacific on both sides of the equator and the international date line. The Gilbert group consists of seventeen islands with a land mass of 270 square kilometers and is the home for 96 percent of the country's estimated 64,000 residents. The main island of the group is Tarawa. South Tarawa has a population of 21,400 and is also the main government center and focus of economic activity. The Phoenix group lies 1,600 kilometers to the east and is largely uninhabited. Within the Line group, which is situated 3,000 kilometers to the east of Tarawa, only the northern islands of Fanning, Washington, and Kiritimati (Christmas Island) are populated (1,700 residents) (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1987a, 1987b; Browne 1989:61-62). The widely scattered island groups mean that the republic's 200-mile economic zone covers an area of over 3 million square kilometers (Browne 1989:61-62). With the exception of Banaba all the islands are low-lying atolls no more than 200 to 300 meters wide, ranging in length from 15 to 100 kilometers. Most islands are less than 4 meters above sea level with only shallow topsoil and low water-holding capacity. Shallow lagoon formations in the center of the atolls are common.

Life expectancy currently stands at fifty-three years and health and education facilities are limited and poorly equipped (Browne 1989:61). Kiribati's population increased by 14 percent between 1978 and 1985, with the Gilbert group bearing the bulk of the increase. Within this group the population density averages 214 persons per square kilometer. Density levels on South Tarawa rise to 1,357 per square kilometer (Statistics Office 1988). Population growth looms as one of the major problems facing the country in the future.

The republic remains a predominantly rural society with most of the population depending on subsistence activities. Of the indigenous population of 59,000 (1988) only 6 percent were involved in the cash economy, so village work remains the main economic activity. Public-sector employment accounts for nearly 75 percent of all cash employment. Most employment and education opportunities are situated in South Tarawa and as a result there is considerable migration to the atoll (Statistics Office 1988).

The republic's economy is characterized by a limited resource base and lack of formal-sector employment. Until the late 1970s Kiribati's major source of formal-sector economic activity was phosphate mining on Banaba. Following the demise of the phosphate industry export revenue declined 80 percent and government revenue and real GDP declined 50 percent (Browne 1989:62). The 1980s have witnessed wide fluctuations in export earnings but the general trend has been down-

ward since phosphate exports ceased in 1979. Estimates for 1986 point to total export earnings of A\$2.5 million (down from A\$6 million in 1985). The major export earners are fish (A\$1.7 million) and copra (A\$450,000). The former is a relatively new industry that as yet has limited value-added capacity; the latter faces extremely low world prices and a bleak future. The annual average value of imports is approximately A\$21 million, leaving a visible trade deficit of A\$19 million (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1987a; Statistics Office 1988). Australian currency is used in the republic.

The imbalance in visible trade is, to some degree, overcome by the flow of service and transfer receipts into the country (Bertram and Watters 1984:241-244; Browne 1989:63-64). Service receipts are made up mainly of fees obtained from foreign fishing enterprises and interest on government investments. Remittances from I-Kiribati working abroad play an important role in the economy but official aid transfers provide the most substantial monetary input. In 1986 official transfers were valued at approximately A\$18.5 million (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1986-1987).

Thus Kiribati is characterized by a "MIRAB" economic structure--migration, remittances, aid, and bureaucracy (Bertram and Watters 1985). The nation's limited resource base cannot hope to provide the levels of revenue once generated by the phosphate industry. The result has been a continuation of limited levels of primary or secondary economic activity, a major visible trade imbalance, and limited formal-sector employment outside the government. The resulting economy is highly dependent upon remittances and especially overseas aid. It is important to note, however, that aid flows are by no means stable--a reflection of often worsening economic conditions in many of the main donor nations.

The desire to bolster tourism's status within the economy stems from the range of economic problems that face the country. The recent Kiribati Tourism Development Plan lists several objectives for future development of the tourism sector; central of these are: to achieve a rate of tourism development consistent with the absorptive capacity of the economy, to stimulate growth in support industries that will maximize the benefits of tourism spending, to ensure maximum participation of I-Kiribati in tourism development, to maximize the social benefits of tourism and minimize the conflicts with the existing lifestyle of the I-Kiribati, and to preserve and enhance the natural resources and assets of Kiribati and provide an environment in which tourism will grow naturally (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1987b).

### Tourism: Demand and Supply

Tourism clearly offers a distinct alternative to an economy based on an extremely limited resource base. In fact, growth of the industry could encourage further development of local agriculture if greater use of local produce is made. In addition tourism, being a relatively labor-intensive industry, has the potential to provide jobs in what is, at present, a labor-surplus economy.

The industry is only in its infancy. Total tourist arrivals remain limited and few tourist facilities have been developed. Development of tourism remains constrained by a variety of factors. Although a lack of marketing expertise and expenditure limits the profile of the country as a tourist destination, the major constraint is the lack of air links with potential markets. Apart from a small-capacity weekly Airline of the Marshall Islands flight from Fiji that continues on to the Marshall Islands and a weekly flight to Kiritimati from Honolulu, the main link is through Air Nauru, which has operated a Boeing 737 service to Tarawa for some time. This provides indirect links to the Solomon Islands, New Zealand, and Sydney; however, all passengers must stop over in Nauru. Furthermore, at the time of the author's visit to Tarawa in mid-1988, Air Nauru was in the midst of a major dispute with its pilots, leading to the cancellation of the weekly B-737 flight, which clearly exposes the precarious position of the current air link. The local Kiribati airline (Air Tungaru) has run some international flights in the past but is now purely an internal operator within the Gilbert group.

Total tourist air arrivals to the two ports of international entry in Kiribati (Tarawa and Kiritimati) have increased from 2,085 (1981) to 3,201 (1987) (Table 1). Kiritimati is playing an increasingly important role within the tourist industry; while it accounted for only 19 percent of all tourists in 1980 it attracted 29 percent in 1987. It should be noted

**TABLE 1. Kiribati Air Visitor Arrivals, 1980-1987**

| Destination | Tourists |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|-------------|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|             | 1981     | 1982  | 1983  | 1984  | 1985  | 1986  | 1987  |
| Tarawa      | 1,679    | 1,880 | 2,102 | 2,025 | 1,943 | 2,026 | 2,031 |
| Kiritimati  | 406      | 478   | 398   | 961   | 824   | 880   | 1,170 |
| Total       | 2,085    | 2,358 | 2,500 | 2,986 | 2,767 | 2,906 | 3,201 |

*Source:* Adapted from Milne 1988a:8, fig. 2.

that these figures exclude seaborne tourists, a category that in 1986 comprised 149 persons, all of whom arrived in Tarawa (Statistics Office 1987; Milne 1988a).

The flow of tourists to Tarawa is characterized by a lack of marked seasonality. The peak months fall between July and September with another small increase in December. The pattern of tourist arrivals to Kiritimati shows more fluctuation. The high season is January to April with a marked low period from September to November. Tarawa and Kiritimati also differ markedly in terms of the markets they cater for. Nauru is the dominant source of tourists to Tarawa (20 percent in 1986). Because of the close links between the two countries the majority of Nauruan tourists will stay with friends and relatives rather than in tourist-sector accommodation. Similar circumstances surround arrivals from Tuvalu (11 percent in 1986). These two markets are characterized by a large majority of pleasure tourists (Statistics Office 1987)

The other major markets, of which Australia and New Zealand are the most important, are characterized by a large number of business (official, professional, and conference) travelers. The composition of the Kiritimati market is less complex: pleasure visitors from the United States accounted for approximately 80 percent of all tourists in 1986; if US scientists and business travelers are added the country's share of the Kiritimati market rises to nearly 90 percent. The only other significant market is Japan. The average length of stay on Tarawa is 11.5 days compared to 7 days on Kiritimati (Statistics Office 1987).

Low levels of demand are reflected in the limited development of tourist-oriented infrastructure in Kiribati. There are currently thirty-two rooms of a quality suitable for tourist needs available on Tarawa, twenty-two in the government-owned Otintaai Hotel and ten in the privately owned Hotel Kiribati. The Otintaai Hotel is currently undergoing major redevelopment; the old eight-room wing has been demolished and twenty rooms are to be added to give an islandwide total of forty-two rooms by mid-1990. The owners of the Hotel Kiribati have progressed into the advanced planning stage for a new thirty-room hotel to be situated near the new Betio causeway.

Other accommodation is provided by the twelve-room Seaman's Hostel, which at present is below the standard considered acceptable even by budget-minded Western tourists and acts as a stopgap facility in the event of the hotels being completely booked. The Robert Louis Stevenson Hotel (four bungalows) is located 152 kilometers southeast of Tarawa on the atoll of Abemama and is reached via a thirty-minute flight on Air Tungaru.

There are a scattering of small restaurants and clubs throughout Tarawa but most tourists tend to eat and drink within hotel confines. Land transport is available through two rental-car operations, the local bus network, and a small bicycle/motorcycle rental operation. Some snorkeling and diving equipment is available for hire and trips on the lagoon can be arranged through local canoe owners. Shops are plentiful but offer an uninspiring range of goods. Although high quality hand-crafts are for sale the outlets are poorly maintained and difficult to locate.

Accommodation on Kiritimati is provided by the Captain Cook Hotel (thirty-six rooms), which is government owned but managed under contract to a private operator. The hotel offers a variety of activities to its guests but concentrates on organizing fishing expeditions. The only separate tourist-based operation is a privately owned rental-car business.

The limited development of tourist facilities in the republic is also a reflection of the fact that much of the necessary entrepreneurial capital and expertise required to expand the sector is not available locally.

### **Methodological Approach**

In attempting to maximize the economic benefits accruing to the local population from tourism development Kiribati planners need detailed information on the way in which the industry is linked to other sectors of the economy. At the same time it is important to ascertain the degree to which income and employment potential varies between sectors and subsectors of the industry. Although data on total tourist expenditure are important they do not provide a detailed picture of the real prosperity created by the industry. This is because businesses that receive tourist dollars often spend or invest a portion of the revenue outside the country. Planners need to know how much expenditure leaks from the country in the form of imports, overseas debt repayments, and repatriated wages and profits.

The most complete approach that can be taken to measuring these linkages involves the use of an input-output (I-O) table. Unfortunately the absence of comprehensive national-accounts statistics makes the construction of such a table for Kiribati a time-consuming and expensive exercise. As a cost-effective and efficient alternative this study utilizes an adapted Keynesian multiplier model. The remainder of this section provides a simplified explanation of the approach; detailed descriptions of the model and its applicability to the study of tourism in small island nations are in Milne 1987a, 1987c, 1990a.



To make the model operational it is first necessary to measure tourist expenditure and break it down into various categories--for example, accommodation, handicrafts, and transport. When a tourist spends money in a tourist-sector enterprise a part of the sum will quickly be turned into jobs, income, and government revenue. This is the direct economic impact of tourism. The remainder of the sum will be spent on necessary supplies and services for the operation of the firm and is thus passed on to the suppliers of these items. Where these suppliers are located within the country they will, in turn, generate more income and employment before passing the remainder on to their own suppliers (the indirect effect). Similarly, when local residents who have received this income spend their money within the region it will create a further round of income and employment generation (the *induced effect*). It is the leakages that limit the size of the multiplier; the larger the proportion of financial flows that leave the country, the less the economic benefit and hence the lower the multiplier.

Thus, by combining the size and pattern of tourist expenditure with the capabilities of the various sectors to generate income and employment, it is possible to present a measure of the overall impact of tourist expenditure within the country. Income and government revenue multipliers are presented as a proportion of an initial A\$1 of tourist expenditure; an income multiplier of 0.25 indicates that for every A\$1 spent by tourists 25¢ of local income is generated. Employment multipliers indicate the number of jobs created per A\$10,000 of tourist expenditure.

A survey of all tourist facilities and ancillary supply industries on the atoll of Tarawa was carried out during May 1988 (Milne 1988a). The Tarawa survey was supplemented by additional audited information acquired from facilities on Kiritimati and Abemama. Interviews were also conducted with relevant public-sector authorities. The excellent coverage of the industry provided accurate information on industry revenues and cost structures.

### **Tourist Expenditure**

Data collected during the business survey allow basic estimates to be made of total tourist expenditure and how it is divided among various sectors. The survey requested that participants estimate the proportion of their revenue that was derived from direct tourist expenditure in 1987. The data have been standardized to account for differing financial years. Although these data are obviously open to some discrepancies

they provide the most accurate assessment of tourist expenditure in Kiribati to date. As more than 95 percent of tourist-sector and ancillary operations were surveyed, confidence in the figures appears to be warranted (Milne 1988a).

It is estimated that tourist expenditure totaled approximately A\$1.27 million in 1987 (Table 2). The dominance of accommodation establishments reflects the lack of other tourist attractions. In other words there is simply not a large range of activities and establishments to attract tourist expenditure outside the hotel confines. The tourist industry compares more than favorably with the export sector, the other major contributor to visible foreign-exchange earnings (A\$2.5 million in 1986). For the purpose of the following discussion the expenditure patterns in Table 2 will be used as the average for all tourists.

### Differential Multipliers

The ability to generate local income and employment out of tourist expenditure varies widely among the various tourist and ancillary sectors found in Kiribati. An analysis of how these generational capabilities vary between and within sectors provides important information for planners who wish to encourage a balanced economic development that will maximize the generation and dispersal of the industry's economic benefits. At the direct (or first-round) level of income generation (IG) and employment generation (EG) the most important determinant of coefficient size is the degree to which sectors are characterized by labor-intensive operations. For example, labor-intensive tourist sectors such as accommodation and handicrafts will generally exhibit relatively

TABLE 2. Estimated Visitor Expenditure, 1987

| Sector                | A\$       | %     |
|-----------------------|-----------|-------|
| Accommodation         | 1,090,000 | 85.7  |
| Rental                | 47,000    | 3.7   |
| Internal Air          | 30,000    | 2.4   |
| Handicraft            | 27,500    | 2.2   |
| Supermarket/wholesale | 25,000    | 2.0   |
| Small shops           | 5,000     | 0.4   |
| Small restaurants     | 4,000     | 0.3   |
| Other                 | 42,000    | 3.3   |
| Total                 | 1,270,500 | 100.0 |

Source: Milne 1988a: 13, table 1.

high coefficients. Also important is the degree to which profits tend to be retained in the local economy.

Kiribati has extremely small manufacturing and service sectors and as a result indirect coefficients for the tourist sector are relatively low. This is because many of the goods and services required by the industry must be imported rather than purchased locally. The propensities of different sectors to import on the first round of expenditure range from 74 percent for the supermarket/wholesale sector to zero for the handicraft sector, small shops, and the hostel operation (Table 3).

Sectors with high first-round import propensities are weakly linked to the local economy, add little value to imported goods, and as a consequence show relatively low indirect IG and EG coefficients. It is important to note that within the accommodation sector first-round import propensities range from 61 percent (for the Kiritimati hotel) to zero for the hostel operation. The operation on Kiritimati has overseas management (leading to a degree of profit repatriation) and is forced to import most of its goods and services from outside Kiribati due to its isolation and the relative proximity of US suppliers.

In calculating the induced component of the multiplier it is necessary to know how much money earned by residents is used for consumption (the average propensity to consume) and what the actual pattern of consumption is (food, rent, electricity, and so forth). As there are no such data available for Kiribati, estimates were based on consultation with members of the Statistics Office and by drawing comparisons with data from other small Pacific island states. The average propensity to consume was estimated to be 85 percent of earnings and patterns of expenditure were fixed at levels similar to those in comparable island states;

TABLE 3. Propensity to Import on First Round of Expenditure

| Tourist Sector        | % of First-Round Expenditure<br>Outside Kiribati |
|-----------------------|--|
| Handicrafts           | 0.0  |
| Small shops           | 0.0  |
| Hostel                | 0.0  |
| Small restaurants     | 3.0  |
| Rental                | 26.7   |
| Internal air          | 31.0   |
| Hotels (Tarawa)       | 50.0   |
| Hotel (Kiritimati)    | 61.0   |
| Supermarket/wholesale | 74.0   |

Source: Milne 1988a:14, table 2.

these figures were then assumed to be constant across the population receiving incomes directly or indirectly from tourism. Tests designed to measure the sensitivity of the multiplier model to variations in these estimates revealed only slight sensitivity. Thus, though caveats must be attached to the estimates, the overall impact on the multiplier model of varying their values is minimal.

### Income Generation Coefficients

Total (direct and indirect) IG coefficients for the tourist sector range from 0.74 for the handicraft sector (74¢ of every dollar of revenue earned by this sector becomes local income) to 0.27 for the hostel and supermarket/wholesale sector (Table 4).

While it is important to compare the performance of different sectors it is also enlightening to make comparisons within sectors. In general the tourism literature has reached the conclusion that small, simply organized, locally owned businesses exhibit stronger links with the local economy and 'are characterized by larger IG and EG coefficients than their larger (sometimes overseas-controlled) counterparts (Liu and Var 1982; Milne 1987a, 1988b). A comparative analysis within the accom-

TABLE 4. Differential Income, Employment, and Government Revenue Generation Coefficients

| Tourist Sector            | IG     |       | Total EG       |                 | Total GRG      |                 |
|---------------------------|--------|-------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
|                           | Direct | Total | S <sup>a</sup> | US <sup>b</sup> | T <sup>c</sup> | NT <sup>d</sup> |
| Handicrafts               | 0.54   | 0.74  | 1.48           | 5.61            | 0.21           | 0.20            |
| Small shops               | 0.17   | 0.27  | 0.41           | 0.52            | 0.21           | 0.15            |
| Small restaurants         | 0.20   | 0.40  | 0.72           | 0.81            | 0.34           | 0.20            |
| Rental                    | 0.32   | 0.50  | 0.75           | 0.79            | 0.21           | 0.18            |
| Hostel                    | 0.08   | 0.27  | 0.62           | 0.68            | 0.23           | 0.17            |
| Hotel (Tarawa)            | 0.23   | 0.40  | 0.80           | 0.90            | 0.34           | 0.21            |
| Hotel (Kiritimati)        | 0.21   | 0.32  | 0.63           | 0.70            | 0.31           | 0.14            |
| Internal air              | 0.16   | 0.29  | 0.49           | 0.53            | 0.34           | 0.28            |
| Supermarket/<br>wholesale | 0.15   | 0.27  | 0.24           | 0.28            | 0.22           | 0.15            |

Source: Milne 1988a: 15-18.

<sup>a</sup> Standardized job creation.

<sup>b</sup> Unstandardized job creation.

<sup>c</sup> Trading (all government functions such as electricity generation, postal, MOW trading, liquor sales) plus nontrading functions.

<sup>d</sup> Nontrading (excludes above trading functions).

modation sector, however, reveals a high degree of variation in the ability to generate income from tourist expenditure. The hostel performs poorly; this is a direct consequence of the fact that at present it is basically a drinking club with accommodation as a secondary activity--thus labor intensity is not a characteristic of its cost structures. At the direct level the three hotels vary little but the higher import leakage of the Captain Cook Hotel (and the regional Kiritimati economy as a whole) is reflected in the lower indirect and induced components (the difference between the total and direct figures is presented in Table 4).

#### Employment Generation Coefficients

Because of the importance of part-time work in the tourist industry, assessments of employment creation (and hence potential labor-force demand) cannot be limited to full-time jobs. It is necessary to standardize measures of employment creation by converting part-year and part-time job opportunities into comparable standard units. Here four general categories of employment (with weightings) are used: full-time permanent (1), part-time permanent (0.4), full-time seasonal (0.2), and part-time seasonal (0.1). An unstandardized approach is also included for comparative purposes; it reveals, in basic terms, the total number of jobs created with no weightings attached to part-time or seasonal employment.

Standardized EG coefficients range from 1.48 (handicraft), or 1.48 jobs created for every A\$10,000 of revenue earned, to 0.24 (supermarket/wholesale). Unstandardized figures range from 5.61 (handicraft) to 0.28 (supermarket/wholesale). The large difference between standardized and unstandardized EG coefficients in many sectors reflects their reliance on part-time labor (Table 4). The informal nature of the operations of many smaller establishments in Kiribati leads to the use of a great deal of permanent part-time labor (often family or friends).

#### Government Revenue Generation Coefficients

The ability of certain sectors or firms to generate public revenue from tourist expenditure will clearly be of interest to those attempting to plan the development of the industry. This information can allow comparisons to be drawn between future government outlays on certain projects (incentives or the provision of infrastructure) and the public-sector revenue that can be expected to be gained in return.

Government revenue generation (GRG) coefficients can easily be cal-

culated through the multiplier model. The government is simply treated as another business establishment that provides goods and services for monetary remuneration (taxation on factor incomes, levies, duties, electricity payments, postal services, and so on). GRG coefficients can then be divided into nontrading (direct taxation/duty components only) and trading components (nontrading plus revenue generated by government trading operations such as postal services and electricity generation).

Sectoral variation in nontrading GRG coefficients is much smaller than that found for IG and EG coefficients: they vary in size from 0.14 for the Kiritimati hotel operation to 0.28 for Air Tungaru. In other words, for every dollar of tourist revenue earned by the Captain Cook Hotel 14¢ of government tax/duty revenue is generated. With all government functions included in the equation the hotel generates 31¢ of government revenue for every dollar of income it receives. The Tarawa-based hotels perform slightly better, generating 34¢ of government revenue (Table 4). In turn it is estimated that approximately 45-55¢ in every dollar received by the government will leak from the economy (Milne 1988a). It is important to note that IG and GRG figures are not mutually exclusive; in other words a proportion of GRG will be included in IG figures.

### **The Overall Impact of Tourism**

The overall economic impacts attributable to tourism activity in Kiribati during 1987 are shown in Table 5. This table represents a combination of the author's estimates of tourist expenditure (Table 2) and the IG, EC, and GRG coefficients (Table 4). The final multiplier coefficients follow the format of cents generated per A\$1 spent and jobs created per A\$10,000.

The estimated tourist expenditure of A\$1.27 million led to the generation of nearly A\$464,000 in local income (wages, salaries, profits, rents). The bulk of this income was generated directly. The limited size of the indirect and induced components is a reflection of the lack of backward linkages between the tourist sector and the Kiribati economy as a whole. For every A\$100,000 spent by tourists it is estimated that A\$36,500 of local income is generated. The income multiplier of 0.365 is relatively low but is to be expected given the heavy dependence of the country on imports and overseas capital and expertise.

These calculations yield an estimate that approximately 91 standardized jobs were supported by tourist expenditure in 1987. As would be

**TABLE 5.** Income, Employment, and Government Revenue Effect of Visitor Expenditure, 1987

| Sector                      | Income<br>(A\$) | No. of Jobs    |                 | Government Revenue (A\$000) |                 |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
|                             |                 | S <sup>a</sup> | US <sup>b</sup> | T <sup>c</sup>              | NT <sup>d</sup> |
| Accommodation               | 386,950         | 78.4           | 86.6            | 354.3                       | 190.8           |
| Rental                      | 23,500          | 3.5            | 3.7             | 9.9                         | 8.5             |
| Internal air                | 8,700           | 1.5            | 1.7             | 10.2                        | 8.4             |
| Handicraft                  | 20,350          | 4.1            | 15.5            | 5.8                         | 5.5             |
| Supermarket/wholesale       | 6,750           | 0.3            | 0.4             | 5.5                         | 3.8             |
| Small shops and restaurants | 1,350           | 0.3            | 0.4             | 1.1                         | 0.8             |
| Other                       | 15,960          | 3.0            | 3.3             | 12.7                        | 9.2             |
| Total                       | 463,560         | 91.1           | 111.6           | 399.5                       | 227.0           |
| MULTIPLIER                  | 0.365           | 0.72           | 0.88            | 0.314                       | 0.179           |

Source: Milne 1988a: 19-21.

<sup>a</sup> Standardized jobs.

<sup>b</sup> Unstandardized jobs.

<sup>c</sup> Trading (includes all government functions such as electricity generation, postal, MOW trading, liquor sales) plus nontrading functions.

<sup>d</sup> Nontrading (excludes above trading functions).

expected the total number of unstandardized jobs is considerably higher (111.6), a reflection of the high degree of part-time employment in the tourist sector. The direct component accounted for approximately 55 percent of standardized and unstandardized employment. The accommodation sector is by far the most important generator of employment. Overall, for every A\$10,000 spent by tourists an estimated 0.72 standardized jobs are created; the concomitant figure for unstandardized employment is 0.88. The direct employment coefficient is relatively high, reflecting the labor-intensive nature of many of the smaller firms currently operating in Kiribati.

Tourist expenditure led to the generation of A\$400,000 in government revenue (including trading functions) during the period. Hotels are the major contributors to this sum due to their heavy electricity utilization and duties levied on beverage and food imports. If trading functions are removed the impact of tourism remains significant with over A\$227,000 coming into government coffers in the form of duties and taxes. The bulk of this sum was generated at the direct stage. For every A\$100,000 spent by tourists it is estimated that A\$31,400 of government revenue is generated. The multiplier of 0.31 is relatively high but not surprising

given the major role that government plays in all sectors of the economy. It is estimated that between 4 and 6 percent of the government's internally generated revenue intake (not including aid) for 1987/1988 (A\$16,311,990) is a direct result of the existence of the tourist industry (this figure includes revenues such as airport landing fees in the analysis) (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 1986-1987; Milne 1988a).

A comparison of income and employment multipliers with those for other Pacific island nations reveals the limited degree to which linkages exist between the Kiribati tourist sector and the rest of the economy (Table 6). In terms of income multipliers Kiribati is in a considerably weaker position than the Cook Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea. Only the microstate of Niue performs in a less efficient manner. In general there is potential for the industry to increase linkages with the local economy. As the industry becomes more established it is important that ancillary sectors be encouraged to grow with it and boost the degree to which tourist expenditure flows through the economy as a whole.

### Planning Implications and Conclusions

In planning the future development of tourism in Kiribati it is important that attention be paid to the differential ability of sectors and individual enterprises to generate income, employment, and government revenue (the planning implications of the findings described above are discussed in detail in Milne 1988a). Where possible, emphasis should be placed on boosting linkages with the local economy. The relatively low

**TABLE 6.** Tourist Industry Multipliers in Various Pacific Island Destinations

| Country          | Multipliers <sup>a</sup> |                         |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
|                  | Income                   | Employment Standardized |
| Kiribati         | 0.37                     | 0.72                    |
| Niue             | 0.35                     | 0.73                    |
| Tonga            | 0.42                     | 0.96                    |
| Cook Islands     | 0.43                     | 0.80                    |
| Vanuatu          | 0.56                     | 0.89                    |
| Papua New Guinea | 0.87                     | 1.27                    |

Source: Milne 1990a:38.

<sup>a</sup> All figures for 1987 except the Cook Islands', which are for 1984.



generational characteristics of the hotels can be improved by encouraging greater use of locally produced foodstuffs and decorative and construction materials. An important step toward achieving greater integration between supply and demand for local produce is to draw up an inventory of tourist-sector requirements for foodstuffs and beverages. This would allow primary-sector representatives to ascertain what portion of demand can be met from local resources. Meetings between the tourist sector and local farmers and fishermen should be organized to outline the industry's quality, costing, and supply requirements.

At a broader level, information about the overall impact of tourism on national income and employment allows the tourist sector to be compared with other sectors such as agriculture when details of national planning strategy are being developed. The tourist sector is an integral part of the Kiribati economy. Its importance as a source of employment and a generator of local income and government revenue means that it will continue to play a central role in the country's future development strategies. The multiplier analysis reveals that at present the linkages between the tourist sector and the rest of the economy are relatively weak and must be strengthened if the industry's potential to generate national income and employment is to be realized. In addition the material presented can be used in attempts to predict the labor requirements associated with future tourism development.

This article represents a valuable data source that can assist in revealing whether tourism development is reaching the economic goals that have been set for it by local planners. At the same time it must, of course, be remembered that such an analysis cannot account for the relative costs of tourist development, whether they be economic, social, or environmental. It is these impacts that now require the attention of those wishing to develop a well-managed and sustainable form of tourism in the Republic of Kiribati.

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## **SUICIDE IN MICRONESIA: THE 1920s AND 1930s**

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In recent years several studies on suicide in Micronesia from 1960 to the early 1980s have been published.<sup>1</sup> What follows is an attempt to broaden the perspective on suicide in Micronesia by presenting data on this phenomenon from the 1920s and 1930s when the area was governed by Japan under the auspices of the League of Nations.

Shortly after World War I began in Europe, Japan capitalized on being a signatory to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1911 by joining the Allied powers in the war against Germany. During 3-14 October 1914 the Japanese navy occupied the main islands in the Marianas, Marshalls, and Carolines--at the time under German control--and maintained a physical presence in them for the next seven years. In 1922 the islands were officially placed under Tokyo's jurisdiction as a Class C mandate. For administrative purposes the mandate was divided into six districts. The districts (and the principal islands and atolls in each) were Saipan (Saipan, Tinian, Rota); Yap (Yap, Fais); Palau (Babelthuap, Koror, Peleliu, Angaur); Truk (Truk, Hall Islands, Nama, Losap atoll, Namoluk atoll, Lower Mortlocks, Puluwat, Tamatan, Ulul); Ponape (Ponape, Kusaie); and Jaluit (Jaluit, Majuro).

The sources of the data presented here are the annual reports of the South Seas Bureau, the agency responsible for governing the islands. The first of these reports, which appeared in October 1927, covered the combined years 1922-1927.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent reports were annual and covered the years 1928 through 1939. It should be noted that these data have some significant limitations.

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In the first place, it seems reasonable to surmise that some suicides went unreported, particularly with respect to the islanders. The sheer size of the mandate made information gathering of any sort a formidable task. This was exacerbated by the fact that beyond the major administrative centers and their immediate environs, interaction between South Seas Bureau officials and the population was limited. Moreover, suicide was, in all probability, a sensitive matter for islanders and Japanese alike, and therefore not a subject about which individuals would be inclined to volunteer information.

Secondly, there is no information currently available that can be used to corroborate the suicide data in the bureau's annual reports. For example, while the bureau issued more than fifty reports on medical and public health matters, not one of them deals with suicide.<sup>3</sup> One searches in vain for information, written or oral, about suicide from the islander perspective.

Thirdly, evaluating the data from the 1920s and 1930s with reference to the post-1960 studies is problematical for three reasons: (1) the data base for the 1920s and 1930s is small relative to that for the years since 1960; (2) the age categories utilized by the Japanese authorities to aggregate data on suicide differ from those used in post-1960 studies; and (3) in the Japanese records no distinction was made between suicides and attempted suicides when these were recorded with reference to age and sex.

Finally, the various diagnostic categories to which the causes of suicide were attributed in the Japanese records must be viewed with caution, due to the following considerations. The diagnosticians and record keepers were the Japanese medical personnel in the dispensaries located on the islands of Saipan, Yap, Koror, Angaur, Dublon, Kusaie, and Jaluit. They were classified as head physician (*ichō*), medical officer (*ikan*), and medical staff (*i-in*). From 1922 through 1939 there were only four head physician posts, located on Saipan, Yap, Koror, and Kusaie. The number of medical officers remained at five from 1922 to 1938, one each on Saipan, Koror, Angaur, Dublon, and Jaluit. In 1938 their number was increased to seven and the two additional ones were sent to Koror. Medical staff positions remained at fifteen from 1922 through 1939: Saipan and Koror had three each; Dublon, Kusaie, Jaluit, and Yap had two each; Angaur had one. The dispensaries also had pharmacists, midwives, female nurses, clerks, and people identified simply as general employees. According to the official history of the South Seas Bureau, "All of the doctors [*ishi*], pharmacists, midwives, and female nurses employed in the dispensaries were hired from among

people licensed to practice in Japan proper.”<sup>4</sup> Beyond that, there is no information about the nature of their education or training. Even if a medical degree or clinical training is assumed for the people who did the diagnoses, problems remain. Psychiatry was in its infancy in Japan during the 1920s and 1930s, and thus any knowledge about it that the medical personnel might have had would have been rudimentary.

Japanese records reflect 241 suicides from 1922 through 1939 (171 Japanese and 70 islanders), as well as 113 attempted suicides (106 Japanese and 7 islanders) (Tables 6 and 11). The principal cause of suicide among islanders was melancholy (*yūutsu*) or weariness with life (*ensei*) (29 %), followed by delirium (*seishin sakuran*; 23 %), and suffering from illness (*byōku*; 13 %). Two of the islanders who attempted suicide did so in a double love suicide, while each of the other attempts involved different causes.<sup>5</sup>

Table 1 reflects suicides and attempted suicides for islanders by age and sex for the years 1928 to 1939. While the 21-30 age bracket accounts for the highest percentage (37%) of islander suicides and attempted suicides, the 31-40 and 41-50 categories account for 18% each. While age-specific data on suicide among the islanders are available for the years 1928 through 1939, detailed population data for them are limited to the years 1931 through 1939. Because the data base is so small, suicides and attempted suicides for the entire period are aggregated and weighted means per 100,000 population are presented by age group in Tables 2 and 3.

As noted earlier, comparison of the data from the Japanese records with those found in recent studies of suicide in Micronesia is less than a perfect science. Nevertheless, a comparative analysis is suggestive.

Hanging was the preferred method for 84% of the islander suicides from 1929 to 1939 and for 85% of them from 1960 to 1983. The twenties and thirties data, then, clearly support Rubinstein’s observation that hanging as a method of suicide “is culturally patterned to a high degree.”<sup>6</sup> From 1960 to 1983 suicide among Micronesians was more of a male than a female phenomenon;<sup>7</sup> the data in Table 1 indicate that this was also the case when Japan controlled the islands. From 1922 to 1939 suicides and attempted suicides among islanders were the highest in the Truk district (Table 6); Truk has also figured prominently in Francis X. Hezel’s recent studies on suicide in Micronesia.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, the Japanese period appears to differ from the post-1960 years in certain respects, even allowing for the fact that Tables 1 and 4 include suicides and attempted suicides. From 1960 to 1983 the highest rate of suicide among Micronesian males was in the 15-

TABLE 1. **Islanders: Recorded Suicides and Attempted Suicides by Age and Sex, 1928-1939**

|          | 16-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | Total |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1928     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 1     | 0     | 1     | 2     | 1     | 5     |
| F        | 0     | 1     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 2     |
| 1929     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
| F        | 0     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 1     |
| 1930     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 0     | 2     |
| F        | 0     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 0     | 1     | 2     |
| 1931     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 2     | 0     | 3     | 0     | 1     | 6     |
| F        | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
| 1932     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 1     | 1     | 0     | 2     | 1     | 0     | 5     |
| F        | 0     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 1     |
| 1933     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 1     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 2     |
| F        | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
| 1934     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 1     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 3     |
| F        | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
| 1935     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 1     |
| F        | 1     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 3     |
| 1936     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 4     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 5     |
| F        | 1     | 0     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 3     |
| 1937     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 1     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 4     |
| F        | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 1     |
| 1938     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 1     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 4     |
| F        | 1     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 3     |
| 1939     |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 0     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 1     | 3     |
| F        | 0     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 1     |
| Subtotal |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M        | 2     | 14    | 7     | 8     | 4     | 5     | 40    |
| F        | 3     | 7     | 3     | 2     | 0     | 2     | 17    |
| Total    | 5     | 21    | 10    | 10    | 4     | 7     | 57    |

Sources: *Second Annual Yearbook*, 124-125; *Seventh Annual Yearbook*, 30-31; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 26-27.

**TABLE 2. Islander Males: Recorded Suicides and Attempted Suicides per 100,000 Population by Age for the Period 1931-1939**

| Age Group | Average Population | Suicides & Attempted Suicides | Weighted Mean (Per 100,000/Yr.) |
|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 16-20     | 2,810              | 2                             | 8                               |
| 21-30     | 4,405              | 12                            | 30                              |
| 31-40     | 3,602              | 7                             | 24                              |
| 41-50     | 2,969              | 7                             | 29                              |
| 51-60     | 2,072              | 1                             | 5                               |
| 61-70     | 1,149              | 4                             | 38                              |

*Sources:* Suicide data from Table 1. Population data compiled from Nan'yō-chō Chōkan Kanbō Bunshōka, *Dai Gokai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nenkan* [South Seas Bureau Fifth Annual Statistical Yearbook] (Tokyo: Nan'yō-chō, 1935), 12-13 (hereafter cited as *Fifth Annual Yearbook*); *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 10-11.

**TABLE 3. Islander Females: Recorded Suicides and Attempted Suicides per 100,000 Population by Age for the Period 1931-1939**

| Age Group | Average Population | Suicides & Attempted Suicides | Weighted Mean (Per 100,000/Yr.) |
|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 16-20     | 2,483              | 3                             | 13                              |
| 21-30     | 3,987              | 3                             | 8                               |
| 31-40     | 3,658              | 3                             | 9                               |
| 41-50     | 2,834              | 0                             | 0                               |
| 51-60     | 1,824              | 0                             | 0                               |
| 61-70     | 1,028              | 1                             | 11                              |

*Sources:* See Table 2.

24 age range,<sup>9</sup> while it appears that in the twenties and thirties islander males committed or attempted suicide at a slightly older age. The male suicide rate increased from 10 per 100,000 annually (1964-1967) to close to 50 per 100,000 in 1983,<sup>10</sup> but the suicide/attempted suicide rate for islander males never exceeded 23.2 per 100,000 annually from 1928 to 1939. Finally, the suicide rate for the islander population as a whole never exceeded 15.8 per 100,000 per year from 1922 to 1939. By the early 1980s the annual suicide rate for Micronesians peaked at 28.2 per 100,000.<sup>11</sup>



TABLE 4. **Islander Males: Recorded Suicides and Attempted Suicides per 100,000 Population by Year, 1928-1939**

|      | Male Islander<br>Population | Suicides &<br>Attempted<br>Suicides | Per 100,000/Yr. |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1928 | 24,951                      | 5                                   | 20.0            |
| 1929 | 25,116                      | 0                                   | 0               |
| 1930 | 25,596                      | 2                                   | 7.8             |
| 1931 | 25,817                      | 6                                   | 23.2            |
| 1932 | 25,862                      | 5                                   | 19.3            |
| 1933 | 25,766                      | 2                                   | 7.7             |
| 1934 | 25,966                      | 3                                   | 11.5            |
| 1935 | 26,107                      | 1                                   | 3.8             |
| 1936 | 26,081                      | 5                                   | 19.1            |
| 1937 | 26,144                      | 4                                   | 15.2            |
| 1938 | 26,375                      | 4                                   | 15.1            |
| 1939 | 26,861                      | 3                                   | 11.1            |

Sources: Suicide data from Table 1. Population figures from *Nan'yō-chō, Dai Ikkai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nempō* [South Seas Bureau First Annual Statistical Report] (Tōkyō: Nan'yō-chō, 1933), 17 (hereafter cited as *First Annual Report*); *Fifth Annual Yearbook*, 5; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 3.

TABLE 5. **Islanders: Recorded Suicides per 100,000 Total Population by Year, 1922-1939**

|      | Islander<br>Population | Suicides | Per 100,000/Yr. |
|------|------------------------|----------|-----------------|
| 1922 | 47,713                 | 1        | 2.0             |
| 1923 | 49,090                 | 3        | 6.1             |
| 1924 | 49,576                 | 1        | 0.0             |
| 1925 | 48,798                 | 3        | 6.1             |
| 1926 | 48,994                 | 3        | 6.1             |
| 1927 | 48,761                 | 7        | 14.3            |
| 1928 | 48,545                 | 6        | 12.3            |
| 1929 | 48,716                 | 0        | 0.0             |
| 1930 | 49,695                 | 4        | 8.0             |
| 1931 | 60,038                 | 5        | 8.3             |
| 1932 | 50,069                 | 5        | 9.9             |
| 1933 | 49,936                 | 2        | 4.0             |
| 1934 | 50,336                 | 3        | 5.9             |
| 1935 | 50,573                 | 3        | 5.9             |
| 1936 | 50,524                 | 8        | 15.8            |
| 1937 | 50,849                 | 5        | 9.8             |
| 1938 | 50,998                 | 7        | 13.7            |
| 1939 | 51,723                 | 4        | 7.7             |

Sources: Suicide data from Table 1. Population figures from *First Annual Report*, 16-17; *Fifth Annual Yearbook*, 4-6; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 3-4.

TABLE 6. **Islanders: Recorded Suicides and Attempted Suicides by District, 1922-1939**

|       | Saipan | Yap    | Palau  | Truk   | Ponape | Jaluit | Total  |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1922  | 0      | 0      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 1      |
| 1923  | 0      | 0      | 1 (1)  | 2      | 0      | 0      | 3 (1)  |
| 1924  | 0      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 1      |
| 1925  | 0      | 0 (1)  | 2      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 3 (1)  |
| 1926  | 0      | 1      | 0      | 2      | 0      | 0      | 3      |
| 1927  | 2      | 3      | 1      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 7      |
| 1928  | 0      | 1      | 0      | 2 (1)  | 2      | 1      | 6 (1)  |
| 1929  | 0      | 0      | 0 (1)  | 0      | 0      | 0      | 0 (1)  |
| 1930  | 0      | 1      | 1      | 2      | 0      | 0      | 4      |
| 1931  | 2      | 0      | 1 (1)  | 0      | 1      | 1      | 5 (1)  |
| 1932  | 1      | 0      | 1 (1)  | 1      | 0      | 2      | 5 (1)  |
| 1933  | 0      | 0      | 1      | 1      | 0      | 0      | 2      |
| 1934  | 0      | 0      | 1      | 1      | 1      | 0      | 3      |
| 1935  | 0      | 2 (1)  | 1      | 0      | 0      | 0      | 3 (1)  |
| 1936  | 0      | 3      | 0      | 2      | 0      | 3      | 8      |
| 1937  | 0      | 1      | 0      | 2      | 0      | 2      | 5      |
| 1938  | 2      | 0      | 1      | 1      | 2      | 1      | 7      |
| 1939  | 0      | 1      | 1      | 2      | 0      | 0      | 4      |
| Total | 7      | 14 (2) | 13 (4) | 20 (1) | 6      | 10     | 70 (7) |

Sources: *Second Annual Yearbook*, 116-121; Nan'yō-chō, *Dai Sankai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nenkan* [South Seas Bureau Third Annual Statistical Yearbook] (Tōkyō: 1935), 42-43; *Fifth Annual Yearbook*, 30-31; Nan'yō-chō, *Chōkan Kanbō Chōsaka, Dai Rokkai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nenkan* [South Seas Bureau Sixth Annual Statistical Yearbook] (Tōkyō: Nan'yō-chō, 1938), 28-29; Nan'yō-chō, *Chōkan Kambō Chōsaka, Dai Hachikai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nenkan* [South Seas Bureau Eighth Annual Statistical Yearbook] (Tokyo: Nan'yō-chō, 1940), 24-25; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 26-27.

Note: Figures in parentheses are attempted suicides.

For the Japanese 40% of the suicides were attributed to melancholy or weariness with life, followed by delirium (19%), suffering from illness (9%), succumbing to life's hardships (6%), disgrace (5%), and domestic discord (4%). Melancholy or weariness with life was also the principal cause of the attempted suicides among the Japanese (24%), followed by a number of other factors that were fairly evenly distributed. These were blind love and jealousy (12%), delirium (11%), suffering from illness (9%), domestic discord (9%), disgrace (8%), and double love suicides (7%). Ten percent of these attempted suicides were simply attributed to "other causes."<sup>12</sup> The principal method of both committing and attempting suicide by the Japanese was ingestion of

TABLE 7. **Japanese: Recorded Suicides and Attempted Suicides by Age and Sex, 1928-1939**

|                   | 16-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | Total |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1928              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 4     | 2     | 1     | 0     | 1     | 8     |
| F                 | 1     | 3     | 0     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 5     |
| 1929              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 3     | 2     | 2     | 1     | 0     | 8     |
| F                 | 0     | 4     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 4     |
| 1930              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 3     | 3     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 8     |
| F                 | 0     | 3     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 4     |
| 1931              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 2     | 4     | 1     | 1     | 0     | 8     |
| F                 | 0     | 5     | 3     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 8     |
| 1932              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 2     | 3     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 6     |
| F                 | 0     | 2     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 4     |
| 1933              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 3     | 7     | 6     | 2     | 1     | 0     | 19    |
| F                 | 4     | 5     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 11    |
| 1934              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 4     | 12    | 6     | 2     | 2     | 0     | 26    |
| F                 | 1     | 4     | 2     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 9     |
| 1935              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 1     | 7     | 5     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 14    |
| F                 | 4     | 3     | 2     | 0     | 1     | 1     | 11    |
| 1936              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 4     | 0     | 4     | 0     | 1     | 9     |
| F                 | 0     | 5     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 6     |
| 1937              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 6     | 2     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 10    |
| F                 | 0     | 5     | 1     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 7     |
| 1938              |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 9     | 9     | 2     | 1     | 2     | 23    |
| F                 | 1     | 10    | 4     | 1     | 0     | 0     | 16    |
| 1939 <sup>a</sup> |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 0     | 10    | 5     | 2     | 1     | 0     | 18    |
| F                 | 1     | 3     | 2     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 6     |
| Subtotal          |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| M                 | 8     | 69    | 47    | 22    | 7     | 4     | 157   |
| F                 | 12    | 52    | 20    | 5     | 1     | 1     | 91    |
| Total             | 20    | 121   | 67    | 27    | 8     | 5     | 248   |

poisonous food (35% and 71% respectively). Other methods of committing suicide by the Japanese were hanging (31%), drowning (13%), and suicide by the sword (*jijin*; 13%).<sup>13</sup>

Table 7 reflects suicides and attempted suicides for the Japanese by age and sex. For the Japanese the 21-30 and 31-40 age brackets account for 49% and 27% respectively of the suicides and attempted suicides. As in the case of the islander data, while age-specific data on suicides and attempted suicides for the Japanese is also available for the years 1928 through 1939, again detailed data on the Japanese population are limited to the years 1931 through 1939.

The suicide rate for the Japanese population in Micronesia fluctuated between a low of 12.8 per 100,000 population in 1937 and a high of 60.2 in 1926 (Table 10). In Japan the suicide rate ranged from 16 to 19 per 100,000 from 1902 to 1912 and fluctuated between 17 and 20 per 100,000 from 1912 to 1926. This suicide rate slowly increased to 20-22 per 100,000 between 1926 and 1935, then began a steady decline in 1936 to reach an all-time low of 12 per 100,000 in 1943.<sup>14</sup>

The annual reports of the South Seas Bureau also contain information about individuals whom the Japanese authorities perceived as afflicted with mental illness (*seishinbyō*). The records reflect five diagnostic categories: imbecility (*chihō*), idiocy (*hakuchi*), melancholy (*chin'utsu*), extreme irritability (*kōfun*), and delusions (*mōjō bōsō*).<sup>15</sup> Table 12 reflects cases by district for both islanders and Japanese.

The same sources indicate mental illness appeared predominantly among the islander population, and idiocy consistently accounted for 35% of the cases. It was followed by melancholy (28%), extreme irritability (21%), delusions (8%), and imbecility (8%). The relative consistency in both the number of cases and their diagnostic categories from 1928 to 1939 suggests the same individuals are being tallied rather than new cases each year, although this cannot be determined beyond doubt. It should also be noted that the Japanese records make no mention

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Sources: *Second Annual Yearbook*, 124-125; *Seventh Annual Yearbook*, 30-31; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 26-27.

<sup>a</sup> There is an inconsistency in the Japanese data regarding 1939 totals as recorded in the *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 26-27. Even though the table that reflects data by age and sex has a notation that all figures given include both suicides *and* attempted suicides, comparison with the following table, which contains data by method, makes it appear that for 1939 attempted suicides were in fact *not* included (cf. Table 11, below). Data for other years are consistent.

**TABLE 8. Japanese Males: Recorded Suicides and Attempted Suicides per 100,000 Population by Age for the Period 1931-1939**

| Age Group | Average Population | Suicides & Attempted Suicides | Weighted Mean (Per 100,000/Yr.) |
|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 16-20     | 2,472              | 8                             | 36                              |
| 21-30     | 8,192              | 59                            | 80                              |
| 31-40     | 6,364              | 40                            | 70                              |
| 41-50     | 3,147              | 16                            | 56                              |
| 51-60     | 917                | 6                             | 73                              |
| 61-70     | 219                | 3                             | 152                             |

Sources: Suicide data from Table 7. Population data compiled from *Fifth Annual Yearbook*, 12-13; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 10-11.

**TABLE 9. Japanese Females: Reported Suicides and Attempted Suicides per 100,000 Population by Age for the Period 1931-1939**

| Age Group | Average Population | Suicides & Attempted Suicides | Weighted Mean (Per 100,000/Yr.) |
|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 16-20     | 1,536              | 11                            | 80                              |
| 21-30     | 5,065              | 42                            | 100                             |
| 31-40     | 3,522              | 19                            | 60                              |
| 41-50     | 1,325              | 5                             | 34                              |
| 51-60     | 394                | 1                             | 28                              |
| 61-70     | 135                | 1                             | 82                              |

Sources: See Table 8.

about a possible causal relation between mental illness and suicide or attempted suicide. Because melancholy or weariness with life figures so prominently in suicide and attempted suicide among both Japanese and islanders, one would hope to be able to identify the cause(s) of it. While the records of the South Seas Bureau do not offer any clues in this regard, a number of factors are worth considering.

In the first place, the Japanese who immigrated to Micronesia might have been predisposed to melancholy or weariness with life. After 1925 Okinawans comprised the largest block within the immigrant population, numbering 45,000 by 1939--60% of the total Japanese population. Because of population pressure and economic problems, life in the

TABLE 10. **Japanese: Recorded Suicides per 100,000 Total Population by Year, 1922-1939**

|      | Japanese<br>Population | Suicides | Per 100,000/Yr. |
|------|------------------------|----------|-----------------|
| 1922 | 3,161                  | 1        | 31.6            |
| 1923 | 5,121                  | 2        | 39.0            |
| 1924 | 5,457                  | 1        | 18.3            |
| 1925 | 7,330                  | 1        | 13.6            |
| 1926 | 8,298                  | 5        | 60.2            |
| 1927 | 9,831                  | 4        | 40.6            |
| 1928 | 12,281                 | 7        | 57.0            |
| 1929 | 16,018                 | 9        | 56.0            |
| 1930 | 19,538                 | 8        | 40.9            |
| 1931 | 22,889                 | 9        | 39.3            |
| 1932 | 28,291                 | 9        | 31.8            |
| 1933 | 32,214                 | 14       | 43.4            |
| 1934 | 40,215                 | 22       | 54.7            |
| 1935 | 51,861                 | 14       | 26.9            |
| 1936 | 56,496                 | 9        | 15.9            |
| 1937 | 62,305                 | 8        | 12.8            |
| 1938 | 71,847                 | 24       | 33.4            |
| 1939 | 77,257                 | 24       | 31.1            |

Sources: Suicide data from Table 7. Population figures from *First Annual Report*, 16-17; *Fifth Annual Yearbook*, 4-6; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 3-4.

Ryukyus was extremely harsh by 1900 and remained that way in the 1920s and the 1930s.<sup>16</sup> In Japan proper joblessness in Tokyo followed the great Kanto earthquake of 1923. Major sectors of the Japanese economy deteriorated or stagnated when the world economy plunged into a crisis in the late 1920s. In addition, northern Japan experienced a series of ruinous crop failures. “By decade’s end, there were large numbers of landless, jobless, and discouraged men and women, largely from rural Japan, crowded together with too little land or opportunity; many of them welcomed a chance to start over anywhere.”<sup>17</sup>

Suicide and attempted suicide among the Japanese occurred primarily in the Saipan and Palau districts (Table 11). Saipan and Palau accounted for 65% and 19% of the suicides respectively, and for 66% and 30% of the attempted suicides. By 1939 there were 43,860 Japanese (26,299 Okinawans) in the Saipan district; since the mid-1920s the majority of them were employed in the sugar industry.<sup>18</sup> There are indications that the working conditions in this industry were difficult and it is not unreasonable to suggest that these conditions might have contrib-

**TABLE 11. Japanese: Recorded Suicides and Attempted Suicides by District, 1922-1939**

|              | Saipan          | Yap          | Palau          | Truk         | Ponape       | Jaluit   | Total            |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|----------|------------------|
| 1922         | 0               | 0            | 1              | 0            | 0            | 0        | 1                |
| 1923         | 2               | 0            | 0 (1)          | 0            | 0            | 0        | 2 (1)            |
| 1924         | 1               | 0            | 0              | 0            | 0            | 0        | 1                |
| 1925         | 1 (2)           | 0            | 0              | 0            | 0            | 0        | 1 (2)            |
| 1926         | 4               | 0            | 0              | 1            | 0            | 0        | 5                |
| 1927         | 3 (1)           | 0            | 1              | 0            | 0            | 0        | 4 (1)            |
| 1928         | 5 (6)           | 0            | 1              | 1            | 0            | 0        | 7 (6)            |
| 1929         | 6 (1)           | 0            | 2              | 1 (2)        | 0            | 0        | 9 (3)            |
| 1930         | 7 (3)           | 0            | 1 (1)          | 0            | 0            | 0        | 8 (4)            |
| 1931         | 5 (6)           | 1            | 2 (1)          | 1            | 0            | 0        | 9 (7)            |
| 1932         | 6 (1)           | 0            | 3              | 0            | 0            | 0        | 9 (1)            |
| 1933         | 11 (6)          | 0            | 1 (10)         | 2            | 0            | 0        | 14 (16)          |
| 1934         | 16 (10)         | 0            | 4 (3)          | 0            | 2            | 0        | 22 (13)          |
| 1935         | 11 (8)          | 0 (1)        | 1 (2)          | 1            | 1            | 0        | 14 (11)          |
| 1936         | 5 (6)           | 0            | 1              | 0            | 3            | 0        | 9 (6)            |
| 1937         | 5 (4)           | 0            | 1 (4)          | 1            | 1 (1)        | 0        | 8 (9)            |
| 1938         | 9 (10)          | 4            | 9 (5)          | 1            | 1            | 0        | 24 (15)          |
| 1939         | 14 (6)          | 2            | 5 (5)          | 0            | 3            | 0        | 24 (11)          |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>111 (70)</b> | <b>7 (1)</b> | <b>33 (32)</b> | <b>9 (2)</b> | <b>11(1)</b> | <b>0</b> | <b>171 (106)</b> |

Sources: See Table 6.

Note: Figures in parentheses are attempted suicides.

uted to the melancholy or weariness with life, particularly among people who might have been predisposed to those mental states.<sup>19</sup>

It is also worth noting that Japan's militarization of Micronesia, which began in 1934, was in high gear by the beginning of 1939. Among other things, this militarization involved the construction of two airfields on Tinian. From 1934 to 1939 the South Seas Development Company, which had exclusive control of the sugar industry in the Saipan district and which for many years had enjoyed a cozy relationship with the South Seas Bureau, supplied construction laborers for this construction. When the labor force proved insufficient, about 1,200 convicts from the Yokohama Central Prison were sent to Tinian. Building airfields required backbreaking labor in intense heat, and, in the case of the prisoners, the brutality of their civilian guards.<sup>20</sup>

As far as the Palau district is concerned, there was a pronounced increase in suicides and attempted suicides in 1938 and 1939. These coincided with a dramatic increase to 340 from 40 in the number of Jap-

TABLE 12. Cases of Mental Illness: By District, 1928-1939

|      | Saipan |    | Yap |   | Palau |   | Truk |   | Ponape |   | Jaluit |   | Total |    |
|------|--------|----|-----|---|-------|---|------|---|--------|---|--------|---|-------|----|
|      | I      | J  | I   | J | I     | J | I    | J | I      | J | I      | J | I     | J  |
| 1928 | 2      | 5  | 28  | 0 | 8     | 1 | 4    | 0 | 14     | 0 | 0      | 0 | 56    | 6  |
| 1929 | 2      | 2  | 23  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 3    | 0 | 9      | 0 | 0      | 0 | 45    | 2  |
| 1930 | 2      | 3  | 23  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 3    | 0 | 10     | 0 | 0      | 0 | 46    | 3  |
| 1931 | 2      | 3  | 23  | 0 | 9     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 9      | 0 | 34     | 0 | 78    | 3  |
| 1932 | 2      | 7  | 22  | 0 | 9     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 8      | 0 | 25     | 0 | 67    | 7  |
| 1933 | 4      | 4  | 22  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 9      | 0 | 21     | 0 | 65    | 4  |
| 1934 | 9      | 4  | 20  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 9      | 0 | 21     | 0 | 68    | 4  |
| 1935 | 4      | 12 | 11  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 8      | 1 | 18     | 0 | 50    | 13 |
| 1936 | 4      | 6  | 10  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 5      | 1 | 17     | 0 | 45    | 7  |
| 1937 | 4      | 7  | 11  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 4      | 1 | 16     | 0 | 44    | 8  |
| 1938 | 6      | 6  | 13  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 4      | 1 | 16     | 0 | 48    | 7  |
| 1939 | 3      | 6  | 11  | 0 | 8     | 0 | 1    | 0 | 4      | 2 | 16     | 0 | 43    | 8  |

I = Islander; J = Japanese.

Sources: *Second Annual Yearbook*, 118-119; *Seventh Annual Yearbook*, 28-29; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 24-25.

anese working in the Angaur phosphate mines. Prior to 1938 the majority of such Japanese were technicians and equipment operators, but as Japan prepared for total war in the late 1930s both the demand for phosphate and for laborers to mine it increased. These Japanese laborers would have been exposed to the harsh working conditions in the mines.<sup>21</sup>

In attempting to explain the causes of melancholy and weariness with life among the islanders, several things come to mind. By 1939 the combined Japanese, Okinawan, and Korean population in Micronesia outnumbered the islanders by 25,000. The overwhelming physical presence of the immigrant population, combined with Japan's effort to "assimilate" their wards toward Japanese values and institutions, cannot but have had a deleterious impact on the islanders.<sup>22</sup> In addition, there was the rigorous, strict, and occasionally brutal exercising of Japanese authority by South Seas Bureau officials. Micronesians were officially designated as "third-class people" (*santō kokumin*) and were therefore victims of economic and social discrimination.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, beginning in 1923 the South Seas Bureau conducted an extensive survey of land in the islands, in order to officially establish ownership. In 1933 this survey was extended to land over which the islanders had traditionally claimed ownership. From the islander perspective, this survey threatened the very basis of their economic and social survival.



It should also be noted that health conditions among the islanders, particularly in the Yap and Jaluit districts, were deplorable in the 1920s and the 1930s. In both districts venereal disease and tuberculosis were rampant, and this could have contributed to the melancholy and weariness with life.

To summarize briefly, some patterns present among islander suicides in the 1920s and 1930s are also evident since 1960. These include the predominant method of committing suicide, a larger number of male than female suicides, and the relatively high suicide rate among Trukese. On the other hand, during the twenties and thirties, the islander male suicide rate was significantly lower than it was by 1983, and the islander males who committed suicide were slightly older than the male suicides since 1960. Finally, the suicide rate for the islander population as a whole was lower during the Japanese period than for most of the post-1960 years.

For the Japanese, those who committed or attempted suicide were generally older than their islander counterparts. The male/female suicide ratio among Japanese was about 2/1. Thirdly, from 1922 to 1939 the suicide rate for the Japanese in Micronesia was consistently, and sometimes dramatically, higher than it was in Japan. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that suicide and suicide attempts by the Japanese in terms of either frequency or method had any influence in determining the frequency or methods of islander suicides and attempted suicides.

## NOTES

1. Francis X. Hezel, S. J., Donald H. Rubinstein, and Geoffrey M. White, eds., *Culture, Youth, and Suicide in the Pacific: Papers from an East-West Center Conference*, Working Paper Series (Honolulu: Pacific Islands Studies Program, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa, in collaboration with the Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center, 1985). Hereafter cited as *Culture, Youth, and Suicide*. Francis X. Hezel, S. J., "Suicide Epidemic among Micronesian Youth," *South Pacific Bulletin* 27, no. 2 (1977): 5-10. Fr. Hezel also makes brief references to suicide in "The Anthropologist and Social Problems in Micronesia," which appears in *Reflections on Micronesia: Collected Papers of Father Francis X. Hezel, S.J.*, Working Paper Series (Honolulu: Pacific Islands Studies Program, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, in collaboration with the Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1986), 101-111. Hereafter cited as *Reflections on Micronesia*. "Suicide Epidemic among Micronesian Youth" appears in this same publication under the title "Micronesia's Hanging Spree."

2. Nan'yō-chō, *Taishō Jū Yon Nen Nan'yō Guntō To Sei Chōsa Hōkoku* [A Report on Conditions in the South Sea Islands in 1925] (Tokyo: Nan'yō-chō, 1927). Multivolume

studies with similar titles were issued in 1930 and 1935. The annual reports included, among other things, extensive statistical information, some of which is cited below.

3. For a listing of these publications see Sachiko Hatanaka, comp., *A Bibliography of Micronesia Compiled from Japanese Publication* [sic], 1915-1945 (Tokyo: Research Institute for Oriental Cultures, Gakushin University, 1977), 106-125.

4. Nan'yō-chō, ed., *Nan'yō-chō Jūnen Shisei Shi* [A Ten-Year History of the South Seas Government] (Tōkyō: Nan'yō-chō Chōkan Kanbō, 1932), 235-236. Hereafter cited as *A Ten-Year History*. Nan'yō-chō, *Dai Yonkai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nempō* [South Seas Bureau Fourth Annual Statistical Report] (Tōkyō: Nan'yō-chō, 1936), 52-53. Nan'yō-chō, Naimubu, Kikakuka, *Dai Kyukai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nenkan* [South Seas Bureau Ninth Annual Statistical Yearbook] (Tōkyō: Nan'yō-chō, 1941), 35. Hereafter cited as *Ninth Annual Yearbook*.

5. Nan'yō-chō, *Dai Nikkai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nenkan* [South Seas Bureau Second Annual Statistical Yearbook] (Tōkyō: Nan'yō-chō, 1934), 116-119. Hereafter cited as *Second Annual Yearbook*. Nan'yō-chō, Chōkan Kanbō Chōsaka, *Nanakai Nan'yō-chō Tōkei Nenkan* [South Seas Bureau Seventh Annual Statistical Yearbook] (Tokyo: Nan'yō-chō, 1939), 28-29. Hereafter cited as *Seventh Annual Yearbook*. *Ninth Annual Statistical Yearbook*, 24-25. From the perspective of a Japanese diagnostician in the 1920s and the 1930s, the term *yūutsu* was applied to a person who was perceived to be gloomy, withdrawn, and distrustful of others. *Ensei* was used for a person who tended to dwell on only the bad things in life and had such a pessimistic view of the world that he or she felt that life was not worth living. *Seishin sakuran* referred to a person with incoherent speech or ranting, lack of memory, and, sometimes, hallucinations. These characteristics could be either temporary or permanent. The meanings of these diagnostic terms, as well as those in n. 15 were verified through discussions with Professor Tazuko Ajiro Monane, director of the Japanese language program at Harvard University.

6. *Culture, Youth, and Suicide*, 94.

7. *Ibid.*, 89.

8. For example, see *Reflections on Micronesia*, 86.

9. *Culture, Youth, and Suicide*, 90.

10. *Ibid.*, 89, 105.

11. Francis X. Hezel, "Suicide and the Micronesian Family," *The Contemporary Pacific* 1, nos. 1/2 (1989): 45.

12. *Second Annual Yearbook*, 116-117; *Seventh Annual Yearbook*, 30-31; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 24-25.

13. *Second Annual Yearbook*, 118-119; *Seventh Annual Yearbook*, 30-31; *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 26-27.

14. *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, vol. 7 (Tōkyō: Kodansha, Ltd., 1983), 261.

15. From the perspective of a Japanese diagnostician in the 1920s and the 1930s, the term *chiho* was used to describe a person whose mental capacity had been permanently diminished by illness or accident rather than being born mentally retarded. The word *hakuchi* was used to describe a person who exhibited extreme mental retardation: inability to speak

and not being able to feed and clothe oneself without assistance. *Chin'utsu* referred to a person who exhibited the outward appearance of being more gloomy and withdrawn than a person labeled as *yūutsu*. *Kōfun* was used with reference to a person whose emotions could be easily and quickly heightened.

16. Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 158; 335, n. 8. Hereafter cited as *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall*.

17. *Ibid.*, 155. Peattie points out that when selecting immigrants the South Seas Development Company "seems to have worked with the Japanese government in identifying those prefectures where population and economic pressures seemed greatest: Okinawa, Kagoshima, Miyazaki, Kumamoto, Tottori, Tokyo (particularly Hachijojima), Fukushima, and Yamagata" (*ibid.*, 334, n. 6).

18. *Ninth Annual Yearbook*, 2-8.

19. A *Ten-Year History* says that around 1925 there was a dispute between management and labor over land-leasing fees and labor regulations, and in January and February 1927 about 4,000 Okinawans employed by the South Seas Development Company went on strike. The situation became so serious that in July 1929 the company proclaimed a peace preservation law that went into effect on September 1.

20. *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall*, 252.

21. David C. Purcell, Jr., "The Economics of Exploitation: The Japanese in the Mariana, Marshall, and Caroline Islands, 1915-1940," *The Journal of Pacific History* 11 (1976): 189-201.

22. For Japan's efforts at assimilation see *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall*, 103-111.

23. *Ibid.*, 71-80, 100, 111-112.

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## EDITOR'S FORUM

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### THE NEW MICRONESIA: PITFALLS AND PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT

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One of the least developed nations on earth has been encouraged to see itself in terms of the richest, most highly developed nation on earth. . . . This unreality . . . is at the heart of the Micronesian dilemma. (Nevin 1977:25-26)

Nowhere in the Pacific is the gulf between image and reality as great as it is in the three new island states of Micronesia. For Robert Louis Stevenson the Marshall Islands were the "jewels of the Pacific." For the three semi-independent states that (with the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas) composed the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI)--the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and Palau--this image became tarnished by a unique form of trustee military colonialism, an unusually "dependent" form of development, and limited prospects of achieving any degree of economic and political independence, despite the signing of the Compact of Free Association. In a century this enormous and strategically important region has gone from subsistence to subsidy.

The FSM is a mix of high islands and coral atolls with high islands dominating each of the four component states (Yap, Chuuk [Truk], Pohnpei [Ponape], and Kosrae). Palau's main islands are high, though there are also thinly populated outlying atolls. The Marshall Islands is composed entirely of atolls and reef islands. The high islands are characterized by high rainfall and a more diverse agricultural system

than on the atolls, where land is often scarce (especially in the FSM) and potential is limited for other than the traditional atoll crops of coconuts, taro, breadfruit, and pandanus, if even these. Climatic hazards including droughts, cyclones, and tidal waves are not unusual. The ecology of atolls, discussed in detail elsewhere (Wiens 1962; OTA 1987), provides significant constraints to conventional development strategies.

The early history of the Caroline Islands (Palau and the FSM) has been described in detail, especially for Pohnpei (Hezel 1983; Hanlon 1988; Hempenstall 1978). Although initial European contact was earlier than in much of the South Pacific, colonization was only effective in the late nineteenth century. Subsequently there were phases of Spanish, German, and Japanese colonization, especially in Palau (Peattie 1988), until the three states became part of the United States-administered TTPI after World War II. In many respects the forty-year US administration of the TTPI was a period of "benign neglect," though in the Marshall Islands—notably in Bikini, Enewetak, Rongelap, and Utirik—it was far from benign. Economic development was extremely limited and, in outer islands, the physical impact of colonialism was minimal. At the center urbanization was substantial and "tin roofs and palm trees" still characterize the unimpressive urban centers and dusty roads that became the bureaucratic centers of each state. The American era was a period in which the subsistence economy was effectively destroyed, especially in the principal populated islands (notably Koror, Ebeye, and Majuro), and aid-dependent welfare states emerged.

After long negotiation and various constitutional changes (Kiste 1986), the Marshall Islands and the FSM signed the Compact of Free Association (CFA) with the US in October and November 1986; Palau, after a series of seven referenda and much violence, has not yet agreed to the CFA. Because of disagreements over the constitutional implications and over the nuclear-free demands of a large minority of Palauans, the compact cannot be signed and the TTPI consequently remains in existence. The CFA grants the three new island states self-government (assuming that Palau eventually signs the CFA) with the US retaining responsibility for defense and foreign affairs, a broadly similar relationship to that between the Cook Islands and New Zealand. How much influence the US will exert remains uncertain; for example, there is doubt whether the new states could conclude fishing agreements with the Soviet Union. The enormously complex CFA gives the US considerable latitude in its future relations with the Micronesian states, which receive substantial financial gains. The considerable financial package totals of the order of \$6 billion<sup>1</sup> for the first fifteen years of the agreement, about half of which goes to the FSM and two-thirds of the rest

goes to the Marshall Islands (Schwalbenberg 1984:91), a distribution that roughly correlates with population proportions. Additional services and grants were also available in several areas, including health and education, to be contracted from the appropriate US federal agencies. However, these scaled down in the early years of the CFA and end in 1990. In addition the Marshall Islands has received a sum of \$150 million to establish a nuclear-compensation trust fund.

Expenditure is audited by the US. No less than 40 percent of the annual grants must be committed to capital improvements and "shall be in accordance with official economic plans provided by those governments and concurred in by the Government of the United States" (CFA, quoted in Kiste 1986: 134). Five years from implementation, reduction in US funding will begin to take place and payments will continue to decline steadily over the remainder of the fifteen-year period. The most radical decline will be in the FSM, where the 1988 funding of \$60 million will decline to \$51 million in 1992 and later to \$40 million. Given the strong relationship between the island economies and US aid, this will constitute a drastic decline in per capita incomes of around 20 to 25 percent over the fifteen-year period (Schwalbenberg 1984). Palau has chosen not to "front-load" its aid package, hence the decline there will be more gradual; the structure of decline, from the sixth year onwards, will probably be negotiated in a similar manner to that conducted between Australia and Papua New Guinea.

It is most unlikely, because of the structure of the Micronesian economies, that these new states will be able to generate economic growth of such an order to compensate for the declining levels of funding outlined in the compact. Indeed it is very doubtful if there will be any significant economic growth, and certainly not the necessary 10 percent per year over a lengthy period. For the first time there are limitations to what the new states might expect from the US. Few countries are forced to contemplate such a targeted decline of national incomes. A crisis of some kind during the compact period is therefore likely, which may lead to either increased US aid, more diversified aid, more extensive out-migration, or all of these. None of these results is likely to lead to a greater degree of economic self-reliance.

### **Economy**

Traditional economies throughout Micronesia were based on a combination of agriculture and fishing with the dominance of agriculture being most marked on the high islands. On most islands, both activities remain important.

The preferred staple crop varies on the principal high islands in the FSM. In Truk breadfruit is the preferred staple and yam and pandanus are relatively important; in Pohnpei both breadfruit and yams are consumed in almost equal amounts; in Yap taro is the most important root crop and breadfruit rarely eaten. Everywhere coconuts are a major component of the diet and the agricultural economy is supplemented by fishing. In some places, such as Pohnpei, traditional food-crop production is an integral part of competitive ceremonial feasting to achieve prestige and rank.

The traditional agricultural economies of the outlying atolls of the FSM, Palau, and the Marshall Islands are typical of atolls elsewhere in the Pacific. Although the soil is invariably poor and coralline, rainfall is generally adequate and under normal circumstances the atolls were self-sufficient, though regional trade between "coral clusters" was crucial at times. The principal food crop is usually taro, grown in quite large, swampy fields, supplemented by breadfruit, sweet potato, and inevitably coconuts. Breadfruit, though seasonal, can be preserved. On very small islands, where both taro and breadfruit are more scarce, coconuts are a staple food; on the smallest atolls, such as Eauripik (FSM), they are rarely turned into copra since food supplies would otherwise be inadequate. Most gardening activities are undertaken by women. Fishing is of much greater relative importance for atoll dwellers and is principally a male activity. With some variations, which appear to be a function of both population density and rainfall, the agricultural economies of the atolls are not fundamentally different. Especially in the eastern part of Yap State these are some of the most traditional atoll societies and economies in the South Pacific region.

Throughout Micronesia the traditional self-sufficient agricultural systems have been modified by modern trends towards cash-crop production (essentially of copra) and wage-labor employment, both resulting in the purchase rather than production of food. This is especially true on the central islands where the possibilities of nonagricultural employment are greater. The movement away from subsistence agricultural production has been least in the outer islands of FSM and greatest in Palau and the Marshall Islands, where there are larger urban populations. In general, trends in food production and consumption are typical of other parts of the Pacific. In some places the movement away from dependence on locally produced food has been accentuated by rapid population growth; for example, by 1975 it was argued that some of the outer islands of Chuuk State were fast approaching a situation where self-sufficiency was no longer possible due to very high popula-

tion pressure on limited land resources, necessitating either out-migration or family planning (Migvar 1975:10). In other atolls this trend has been accelerated by federal surplus-food distribution programs (Severance 1980; Marksbury 1980) and in many places by a situation that discourages local agricultural development, notably swamp and pit taro production, and results in high prices for local produce (Peoples 1978). Hazards are persistent threats to atoll agriculture, and storm waves destroyed numerous taro gardens in the outer islands of Yap State in early 1989. Generally, population pressure is increasing and self-sufficiency on atolls is an aim that could not now be easily realized, especially in the FSM. On many atolls in the Marshall Islands, many young people have never seen or experienced the traditional agricultural economy. Food imports are massive, around 40 percent of the value of all imports since the 1970s, substantially greater than almost everywhere else in the Pacific region, and are composed mainly of rice, sugar, flour, and also beer, thus contributing to worsening nutrition and health levels, especially in urban areas.

Agriculture is the major income-producing sector in the Micronesian economy but little domestic production is locally marketed; only in Chuuk and Pohnpei and intermittently in Koror and Yap are there significant urban food markets. Under the American administration no concerted attempt was made to emphasize or encourage agricultural production. Nevertheless the principal export from both the FSM and the Marshall Islands is copra, and copra production is also the principal income-earning activity on many of the outer islands. The copra, however, is not turned into oil (which would raise its value), copra prices are notoriously unstable (hence little was exported between 1985 and 1987 when world prices were low), and coconut plantations are in urgent need of upgrading and replanting. In Palau copra production is negligible but in the Marshall Islands it is much more important and copra exports were valued, in the early 1980s, at around \$3.5 million per annum. On those atolls closest to Majuro, where producers may be able to take advantage of high prices, production per capita is significantly greater, whereas on the most remote atolls production is significantly lower. The relative dependence of the outer islands, especially in the drier north, on sources of income other than copra sales is apparent. On the outer islands the revenue from copra is rapidly depleted; without copra production most outer atolls would be subsistence economies almost entirely dependent on remittances and government employment for cash incomes, yet copra production alone is an inadequate base for a contemporary agricultural economy.



There is minimal agricultural diversification in Micronesia. A high-quality pepper is produced on Pohnpei but raising it is a highly labor-intensive activity and in 1987 there were no more than thirty acres. It is scarcely marketed commercially beyond the tourist trade and, even within Pohnpei, is more expensive than imported pepper. In Palau there is little commercial agricultural development; though there are prospects for cattle husbandry, the extent to which other cash crops such as coffee, cocoa, and pepper may be viable appears to have never been investigated. Marijuana, especially from Palau, is the most significant, if illegal, cash crop anywhere in Micronesia. In the Marshall Islands national development policy has increasingly favored a movement towards self-sufficiency in agriculture (although it is recognized that total self-sufficiency is impossible given the demand for foods like beef that cannot be produced locally). The attainment of self-sufficiency in basic foods, for both economic and health reasons, was the first priority of the Marshall Islands National Development Program (1981-1995). Two strands of this were the rehabilitation and replanting of copra plantations (since copra production is less than half of its potential and the mill is alternately glutted and empty) and the development of vegetable production. A Taiwan Agricultural Technical Mission established a farm in 1981 on Laura and in 1982 a second farm on Wotje, both of which were supplying vegetables to urban Majuro by mid-1982. By 1983, though, there was little marketing of agricultural produce and a realization not only that the experimental farms were heavily dependent on fertilizer inputs (and hence that production was both expensive and likely to decline over time) but that the whole structure would be extremely difficult to maintain after the Chinese agriculturalists departed.

Such schemes characterize the proliferation of expensive failures that have dominated the productive sector in Micronesia. Expansion of air services, and lower freight rates, may enable and encourage the marketing of domestic agricultural produce that, until recently, has been either unavailable or extremely expensive in places such as Majuro, Ebeye, and Kwajalein. There are considerable constraints to increased agricultural production: land shortage (and land-tenure constraints) in many places, high labor costs, an educational system oriented to white-collar occupations rather than agricultural development, consumer tastes oriented to imported goods (which may be of lesser nutritional value), no taxation on imported goods (even those that are also produced locally), limited marketing infrastructure, inadequate and expensive transport, and none or few skilled agriculturalists. Given these constraints few effective developments in the agricultural economy are possible.

The development of fisheries throughout Micronesia has been limited. Almost all domestic commercial fish production is based in Palau, where fishing has been of some economic significance. In 1964 a commercial skipjack tuna fishery and freezer storage capacity was set up there; fish production in Micronesia had slowly increased in value to \$3.8 million and Palau was the main producer with 91 percent of the total catch, which was processed by the Van Camp Seafood Company. The processing plant, however, closed in 1982 following falling world tuna prices and deep-sea fisheries have continued to prove disappointing. By contrast, in Palau as elsewhere in Micronesia, small-scale commercial fisheries are almost nonexistent, constrained by traditional fishing rights, the lack of infrastructure (especially refrigeration), and excessive imports of tinned fish. The establishment of a fisheries complex at Dublon (Chuuk) may enable some movement towards self-sufficiency in the FSM, although large-scale fishing projects are fraught with technical, management, and macroeconomic problems. Moreover, the complex has been on the drawing board for more than a decade and other states (notably Pohnpei) have competing objectives.

All three states receive income from Japan for the leasing of rights to territorial fishing waters, and this income was around \$4.5 million in 1984. Early in 1983 there were 608 tuna-fishing vessels in FSM waters, especially from the United States, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. This is therefore an extremely important source of national revenue, earning around \$3 million in 1982. For the FSM in 1985 alone the landed value of the Japanese catch was about \$60 million, of which the FSM received about \$2.3 million, some 4 percent of the total value. The situation in the Marshall Islands is similar, with foreign vessels catching fish valued at \$92 million in local waters in 1982.

The Marshalls has negotiated an agreement for a Japanese fishing base in Majuro. An indication of the potential of fishing is that there were 436 applications for fishing rights from Japanese vessels alone in 1982 and for 1982-1983 about \$2 million was obtained from fishing leases. Moreover the Marshall Islands imports over 50 percent of its total consumption of fish. This indicates the limited development of local fisheries, in part a consequence of rural-urban migration, public salaried employment, and a policy of duty-free imports of substitute products. The fact that in 1982 imports totaled less than 1 percent of the catch taken in local waters by foreign vessels indicates the potential for local fisheries development. This potential is less, however, than in other parts of Micronesia because of limited baitfish resources and the situation of the Marshall Islands at the end of a "gauntlet" of fishing from as far west as Palau and even the Philippines. This has, in part,

resulted in the Marshall Islands banning Japanese fishing boats from within twelve miles of any island shoreline and the complete banning of purse-seiners to protect small fish. A Marshall Islands Fishing Development Corporation has begun with a pole-and-line fishing fleet of two vessels. The problems of establishing large-scale fisheries, in competition with Pacific fringe nations and with a total lack of relevant skills, have hitherto limited development, but tuna transshipment and canning is considered at least possible if such problems as water supply and high labor costs can be overcome. This seems currently doubtful.

The failure to develop productive activities in agriculture and fisheries has resulted in economies that are highly dependent on imports of some basic commodities. Despite a number of projects aimed towards food self-sufficiency, food imports have continued to increase, the trade balance has worsened, and "we must remain pessimistic in regards to reducing Micronesia's trade imbalance, unless a massive effort is immediately directed to export development" (Celis 1975:23). As a result, "the Micronesian family is becoming increasingly dominated by foreign influences. The Micronesian is trading his self-sufficiency and healthy life-style for one which is costly, physically and financially" (Rody 1976: 21). Imports of alcohol have been both expensive and a cause of social disorganization (cf. Marshall 1979b) to the extent that Moen (Chuuk) and some outer islands have been declared "dry" and alcohol has not been legally on sale there. Kosrae is also "dry." All this is symptomatic of a massive trade imbalance; overall exports from the three states were valued at around \$8 to \$9 million in 1984, triple the value of exports at the start of the period of US administration forty years ago, but in real terms rather less valuable than in 1948.

Palau and possibly Fais (FSM) have some potential for the exploitation of mineral resources although the economics of production have not been investigated. Mining for phosphate operated only before World War II on Fais but the old Angaur phosphate mine in Palau continued after the war; in 1950 there were 405 Japanese workers there and in 1952 there were three hundred Japanese and thirty-nine Micronesian workers. The mine closed at the end of 1955 but quantities of phosphate remain that may be workable. There would be problems in obtaining labor within Palau. There is no evidence of submarine mineral resources anywhere in the extensive EEZs of the Micronesian states. Because of the absence of minerals all energy requirements must be imported and energy is extremely expensive because of minimal economies of scale and high transport costs. In Palau the construction of a new power station led to substantial foreign debt default on its loan

repayments (virtually necessitating ratification of the compact). In Chuuk the power station is extremely inefficient (because of the small market) and it costs three times as much money to generate electricity as Chuuk earns from its major export, copra (Schwalbenberg 1984). A similar situation in Pohnpei has been described in detail elsewhere (Rizer 1985). Throughout Micronesia there is a substantial subsidy to energy consumers, favoring government offices and emphasizing the urban bias in service provision.

Tourism is considered a potential future development possibility, because of the strategic location between Hawaii and east Asia, the recent enormous expansion of Japanese tourism in Guam and Saipan, and the attractions of the "rock islands" of Palau, the diving facilities of Chuuk, Nan Madol in Pohnpei, the stone money of Yap, and various wartime features. Principally because of distance to markets and high costs, the potential for tourism remains unrealized though there has been new hotel building in Palau and the Marshall Islands. The existing hotels are mainly Japanese-owned; hence, through foreign ownership and import dependence there is considerable financial leakage from the tourist sector, estimated at around 90 percent by various observers. Expansion of the tourist industry would generate employment but would probably have minimal impact on local productive activities.

Industrial development is almost nonexistent because of the small sizes of the domestic economies, high wage levels and energy costs, the lack of natural resources, and proximity to major Asian exporters. Many basic import-substitution industries are conspicuous by their absence, a function of the small domestic markets. A garment factory, employing more than four hundred workers, almost all of whom are from Sri Lanka, opened in Yap in mid-1989, but the state government derives no more than 3 percent of export profits and effectively subsidizes water and power supplies. The prospects for similar industrial developments are poor. The only "manufactured" goods that are currently exported are handicrafts; this makes a trivial contribution to the national economies but generates some income for the residents of a few outer islands. The nature of extremely limited economic development and diversification is apparent from a situation where, as recently as the late 1950s, the most valuable export from Palau was scrap metal, mainly relics of World War II. The prospects for industrial development and diversification are bad, though there have been tentative efforts to develop coconut processing and soap manufacture.

The Marshall Islands has established an offshore banking sector and shipping registry but so far the impact has been limited. Palau has

attempted to follow suit. The three states now have their own postal services, a source of income (of currently unknown size) that has brought the structure of the Micronesian economies much closer to those of the "MIRAB" states, where employment is dominated by the bureaucracy and aid, and philately and migrant remittances are often at least as important as agricultural and fisheries exports (Bertram and Watters 1985; Bertram 1986). In Micronesia too it is even more obvious that the island economies may, increasingly, be seen as mirages, sustained only--and distorted--through continued injections of American finance. This particular form of dependence is not unusual in the Pacific, though it does not fit the usual assumptions of resource expropriation and capital transfers; it is a "pseudo-welfare system" that appears to be dependency with affluence, at least for the elite, and is the result of massive infusion rather than expropriation of resources.

Until the signing of the CFA in 1986 the principal source of income in the Marshall Islands was US defense expenditures though the lease of Kwajalein land, a contentious issue because of pressure for increased rental payments, the funding of capital improvements in Ebeye, and the negotiation of land rights of Kwajalein islanders. However, there is no immediate prospect of the United States abandoning the missile testing site, which is an integral part of the "Star Wars" program. There has been more recent diversity in Marshall Islands foreign aid, with assistance increasingly being sought through the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and with Japanese aid, around \$1.5 million for 1984, rising rapidly. In the similar absence of a significant domestic productive component to the economy, Palau has also become massively dependent on US expenditures.

As elsewhere in the former TTPI the basis of the contemporary FSM economy is government-sector employment, financed from outside, while the productive sector is conspicuous by its absence. In 1980 only 9 percent of the funds for the whole of the TTPI were derived from tax revenues, while the annual US grant and US federal program grants represented 87 percent of the budget. Micronesia has had a forty-year history of living off US government subsidies and is "heavily dependent on government salaries bankrolled by US annual subsidies, and the single greatest source of income remains the 'school industry' in the form of teachers salaries" (Hezel and Levin 1990). For the TTPI taxable revenue was highest in Pohnpei and lowest in Kosrae and Yap, while 1975 average GDP per capita was crudely estimated at \$1,103 (Palau) and \$853 (Marshall Islands) compared with \$974 (Yap), \$839 (Pohnpei) \$630 (Kosrae), and \$600 (Chuuk) within the FSM. Income levels within

the FSM were thus significantly lower than incomes elsewhere in the TTPI. This structure has been maintained, though in each state--especially the Marshall Islands--there is an extremely uneven income distribution, which is also manifest in spatial terms. Overall US assistance to Micronesia, on a per capita basis, is currently around eleven times greater than Australian aid to Papua New Guinea; it is therefore broadly similar to the level of French aid to the "consumer colony" of New Caledonia (Connell 1987) and to other overseas French territories and departments.

The principal domestic development potential of Micronesia rests in agriculture and fisheries. The failure to develop these industries stems from a combination of factors, some of which, especially for agriculture, are a function of world commodity prices, remoteness from world markets, small local markets, and unreliable and expensive transportation. A major constraint to development, especially in the FSM and the Marshall Islands, is the limited infrastructure outside the main urban centers (Connell 1983b:5-6). Failure to develop local productive activities is also a function of government-sector wage levels, which account for the failure to produce for the local market, and inadequate government support, which exacerbates basic geographical constraints. Thus in Pohnpei "it seems no wonder that primary interest lies in wage labor and in the entrepreneurial opportunities it brings. . . . It is externally imposed economic and organizational factors which stand in the way. And so it may be that it is in fact political change which precedes economic independence, rather than the converse" (Petersen 1976:280). Moreover, as in Fiji, "the transition from subsistence farming to fully commercialised farming is much more difficult than the transition from subsistence farming to the structured framework of wage or salary employment" (Crocombe 1971, cited in Petersen 1979:37). This is even more true of fisheries, where the transition to commercial fishing demands new techniques and more regular periods of work. Consequently, "entrepreneurial activity clusters around service activities because there is a high demand for these services and the goods they provide, and they offer a low risk means of acquiring income compared to agriculture and other primary investment" (Peoples 1978:549). The rational decisions of entrepreneurs conflict with the needs of productive economic development.

All three states have an extremely limited resource base from which to generate economic development. The thinly scattered population and limited infrastructure are not the only constraints to development. There are few skills (for construction, technical activities, or simply

development planning) or cash resources, especially in the private sector (Connell 1983c:6), a shortage of agricultural and fisheries manpower in some outer islands (following migration), and the combination of a wage structure that discourages private-sector employment (see below) and a duty-free import policy that discourages local production. On most islands there are inadequate water supplies and sanitation and minimal community participation in planning. Without substantial changes it will be difficult to reverse the trajectory of development: "The result of these conditions has been to foster a pervasive sense of economic dependence on public employment and transfer payments. The restoration of economic self-sufficiency demands a program of improved technology, substantial capital investments and structural change in the areas of education, tariffs and taxation" (Marshall Islands 1978:4).

It is exactly the same elsewhere in Micronesia. As the three states have moved towards a degree of political independence, sentiments have been generally expressed on the need for greater economic self-reliance, yet the prospect of achieving this is improbable and increased self-sufficiency has therefore been effectively relegated as an immediate objective of development. The principal problem of achieving a more self-reliant structure of development in Micronesia is not merely that of reallocating resources towards improved infrastructure, agricultural investment, and so forth, but is that of producing a fundamental change in attitudes. Despite some rhetoric on self-reliance, the reality is one of increasingly dependent development. Indeed, as Hezel and Levin have recently noted, "despite the avid talk of development of primary industries, the unspoken consensus seems to be that the new island nations will have to depend on US aid, currently scheduled to decline over the next 15-year period, to buttress their economies for the indefinite future" (Hezel and Levin 1990:43). There is little prospect of anything other than an uneasy dependent development.

### Employment

In each of the three states around two-thirds of all wage and salary employment is in the public sector, where wages are about twice those in the private sector (Connell 1983a, 1983b, 1983c). Employment conditions in the public sector are also more advantageous than in the private sector; for example, government employees (including politicians) are not prevented from earning often substantial additional incomes within the private sector, they may have access to vehicles (inside and outside working hours) and travel funds, employment is often in air-

conditioned offices, minimal supervision sometimes enables a situation of effective underemployment and low productivity, and employment is relatively secure. It is for this complex of reasons, rather than simply income levels (which in a few cases are higher in the private sector), that government employment is more prestigious and more eagerly sought after throughout Micronesia.

Public-sector wages have tended to increase annually and have raised income expectations throughout the region to unrealistic levels, since wage incomes can be contrasted with low returns from copra production and fishing. This is of particular concern in terms of future development prospects where the expansion of formal-sector employment has limited potential, and, since the start of the 1980s, has been minimal, and certainly below the rate of population increase. In Chuuk, the most densely populated FSM state, the increase in formal-sector employment was no more than 1.4 percent per year from 1985 to 1988 whereas population growth was more than double this rate. Indeed, concern was expressed as early as 1976 that Micronesia was pricing itself out of the market for nongovernment employment as wage costs would reduce the viability of any new industry. This has contributed to substantial immigration of Asian workers into the three states (see below). Government employment, in quantity and quality, has severely distorted the national economies:

One of the main costs of government has been salaries. These salaries, via the extended family system, have permitted the enjoyment of a standard of living, particularly in Majuro and Ebeye, much beyond the real productive capacity of Marshallese society. This has been a mixed blessing. The people of these islands have become accustomed to a pleasant but artificial situation. (TTPI 1976: 19)

This has also produced a two-tiered economy where the estimated incomes of those in the subsistence sector are very low in comparison with those in the wage sector. In turn this has produced a demand for educational opportunities (and an extreme version of "diploma disease") that is not in line with job opportunities and so has resulted in a rise in the level of unemployment and nonparticipation in productive employment despite opportunities in the village economy. Thus the Micronesian states seem to experience the worst of both worlds—a private sector deprived of potentially high-quality workers and a public sector characterized by high costs and low productivity.

A relatively high proportion of the labor force participates in the for-



mal sector in Palau and the Marshall Islands, and income earned in that sector may well "trickle down" significantly. There is evidence, however, of growing urban unemployment throughout Micronesia, especially in Moen and Majuro, a situation of unemployment, low productivity, and a lack of skills for employment in one sector and appropriate skills but underutilized resources in the other. This is exacerbated by the extreme concentration of government employment in the urban centers and the lack of formal employment on outer islands. Employment in the formal sector has been relatively static throughout the 1980s, since it has not proved possible to significantly reduce government-sector employment and stimulate the private sector (e.g., see Connell 1983c: 12). Unemployment is likely to worsen and become more overt as population growth increases; moreover individuals prefer to remain unemployed (and continue to seek wage employment) rather than move into the more distant subsistence sector and thus reduce their availability for wage employment. Consequently, relatively few are full-time workers in that sector by choice. There are substantial gaps in knowledge of the structure of the work force, no human resources plans, no monitoring of the existing employment situation, and little more than informed guess-timates of the present employment situation.

### **Population and Migration**

Analysis of population change and migration in Micronesia is severely constrained by the absence of adequate data. The first useful census of the Trust Territory was in 1973 and is not without flaws, while the 1980 census gave a significant undercount almost everywhere. The more recent censuses--especially in Kosrae, Yap, and Pohnpei--are the most reliable yet in Micronesia. The crude data on population growth (Table 1) indicate a very slow, or nonexistent, population growth in the first half of the century followed by accelerating growth rates in the 1960s and 1970s.

There is little reliable information on contemporary birth and death rates in Micronesia; the data that exist on natural increase suggest extremely high rates. There are no effective population policies anywhere and minimal availability and use of family planning services; the acceptance rate is generally estimated at less than 10 percent of women in the target population, and many of this minority are acceptors at a very late stage in family formation. Estimates suggest that in the FSM the annual population growth rate may have reached close to 4 percent in the past decade (a virtual demographic impossibility) and both there

**TABLE 1.** Population Growth

|      | Palau  | FSM    | Marshall Islands |
|------|--------|--------|------------------|
| 1920 | 3,750  | 30,902 | 9,589            |
| 1930 | . . .  | . . .  | 9,960            |
| 1950 | 6,622  | 30,358 | 11,033           |
| 1958 | 8,845  | 37,368 | 13,928           |
| 1967 | 11,365 | 50,172 | 18,925           |
| 1973 | 12,672 | 62,731 | 25,045           |
| 1980 | 12,116 | 73,160 | 30,873           |
| 1988 | 14,200 | 96,000 | 43,380           |

*Sources:* Connell 1983a, 1983b, 1983c. The most recent FSM data are derived from the totals from the state censuses of Kosrae (1985), Pohnpei (1985), Yap (1987), and estimates for Chuuk, where the state census was conducted in 1989. The Palau population is estimated from the 1986 census, which gave a total of 13,873.

and in the Marshall Islands it is currently around 3 percent. In Palau the rate is rather lower than in the other two states. In the Marshall Islands half the population (52 percent) is aged under fifteen, the most youthful population in the South Pacific region. These high growth rates have obvious implications for development planning in situations where population densities are already high (more than 240 per square kilometer in the Marshall Islands) and natural resources limited. Yet none of the states has given serious attention to population issues.

The rapid increase in population is a result of the low average age of marriage, the absence of effective family planning programs, and an increase in the number of teenage pregnancies. This has resulted in an extremely youthful population, great pressure on the education system, and an increase in malnutrition and other health problems. One such health problem is suicide: the rate for young males is one of the highest in the world. Social disruption has resulted in epidemic levels of suicide in both the Marshall Islands and the FSM (Rubinstein 1983; Hezel 1984, 1989; Hezel, Rubinstein, and White 1985).

The overwhelming migration trend throughout Micronesia has been the increasing concentration of population in the central islands: the high islands of Palau (Koror) and the FSM (Yap, Chuuk, and Pohnpei), and the two atolls of Majuro and Ebeye (Marshall Islands). Thus, in 1980 the urban area of Koror held around 63 percent of Palau's national population and in 1988 the two atolls of Majuro and Ebeye had 64 per-

cent of the Marshallese population. No country in the Pacific has a higher urban population proportion than these two states. In the FSM the concentration is not so extreme. Less than half the population was on the central islands in each of the component states (except Kosrae). This suggests slightly more potential for rural development policies in the FSM than elsewhere. Moreover in most cases (except, perhaps, Yap State in the FSM, and Majuro and Kwajalein) population growth rates still appear to be higher at the center, both through natural increase and through migration, leading to high urban population densities, especially in the Marshall Islands. Nonetheless urban growth rates have probably slowed over the past decade.

There are other population movements within Micronesia. The Marshall Islands has experienced some quite unique internal migration movements. In 1946 the population of Bikini was resettled on Rongerik and a year later the population of Enewetak was resettled on Ujelang. These proved to be only the first moves in what was to become a long saga for the Bikini and Enewetak people, one whose misery has been documented in some detail for the Bikini population (Kiste 1968, 1974, 1977; Weisgall 1980). The tragic saga of migration from Bikini and Enewetak and its negative impact on the health and welfare of those people (and the effect of radiation on the health of other atoll dwellers) cannot be discussed in detail here. Moreover it is not yet complete; Bikinians are still seeking a permanent home other than Kili atoll and they remain "nuclear nomads." It is, fortunately, a unique chapter in the history of population movements in the Pacific.

Not only are Micronesian populations increasingly concentrated at the center of each of the states but there has also been increasing concentration of people and services on particular islands. Generally the smallest and most remote atolls have lost population, nowhere more dramatically than Palau (Connell 1983c:19), while the larger or less densely populated atolls have retained and gained population. This is particularly true of Ulithi, the location of the Outer Islands High School and the principal center for the outer islands of Yap State, where populations have not yet declined. One of the most striking characteristics of population movements in Micronesia is the unusually high level of mobility, which results in occasionally substantial fluctuations in the population of particular atolls as a result of frequent visits from outer islanders for education, health, social visits, and the purchase of goods.

Modern health facilities and medicines, increased opposition to traditional forms of fertility control, improved housing conditions, and a search for new economic status have resulted in more rapid natural

increase of population throughout Micronesia. As atoll populations grow the problems of satisfying basic needs (e.g., housing and food) on the atolls also increase; thus on Eauripik (with a population density of 950 per square kilometer in 1980) locally generated income is earned almost solely from handicrafts since coconuts are essential for eating rather than copra production. Here, and elsewhere, migration has become a safety valve for atoll overpopulation. The smallest atolls are most likely to lose population, in part because it is impossible for adequate social services or jobs to be provided there and, in part, because it is increasingly difficult for them to provide an acceptable standard of community life. The combination of higher postwar rates of population increase, the increased desire for consumer goods, the location of higher-education facilities, hospitals, and formal-sector employment either on one central atoll or on a high island, the monotony and boredom of atoll life, and the "slice of the action" (Hezel 1976: 112) available in the centers has, in many cases, resulted in considerable out-migration to the extent that many atoll populations have established a relatively permanent community on the central islands; these relatives provide a reason for migration and a means of remaining in town. In general terms,

Life on the small coral islands is always somewhat monotonous. One day differs little from the other. There is little opportunity for individuals to find relief from the faces they see every day and tensions, stresses and animosities which develop between individuals or groups are not easily dissipated. There is a lack of entertainment and recreational activities which might break the monotony and divert attentions from everyday concerns and problems. (Kiste 1968 : 320)

Other kinds of basic amenities may also be lacking (Connell 1983a:37). By any standard life in the more remote areas is of limited attraction; nearly two decades ago, in the rural areas of Palau, "old and young eke out a subsistence living and receive cash handouts from relatives working in Koror and overseas. . . . Today the villages are virtually bankrupt" (McGrath 1972: 134, 138). The problems of small size and remoteness are both social and economic.

The search for employment structures migration moves. The possibilities of employment underlie apparently more-casual motivations while movement for education is a precursor to employment. Moreover many migrants are relatives of those who have found work but are not themselves working. In the FSM, as elsewhere in Micronesia,

As people come to the district centers, they come hoping for a government job--if not for themselves, then for their newly half-educated children. For here government is not the employer of last resort, but of first resort. . . . working in business . . . is considered demeaning, while working for government is seen as prestigious.

The salary scale reinforces this attitude. Government salaries are pegged at U.S. levels. . . . (Nevin 1977:32)

It is not, however, just a movement of workers and the most fertile group of the population (who may then reproduce overseas) but also an internal brain drain of the skilled and talented (Marshall 1979a: 10). Out-migration has increased the dependency ratio of atolls and has resulted in a labor shortage for some activities, including fishing. Atolls are increasingly becoming places of "vacation homes" (Marshall 1979a: 10) so that, for example, the atoll of Namoluk (FSM) "may be described quite accurately as a combination 'old folks home' and 'day care centre' " (Marshall 1979a:3). The burdens of dependency for the remaining workers are thus substantial.

As elsewhere in the Pacific, migrants are predominantly from the youthful age groups; for example, for Namoluk atoll it has been estimated that nearly 90 percent of the estimated *de jure* population in the age group fifteen-twenty-nine have left the atoll (Marshall 1979a:10) and Marshall has titled an unpublished paper about Namoluk, "Where Have All the Young Folk Gone? Gone to Truk Everyone" (1972). The same is true throughout most of Micronesia. This is especially so on the outer islands where job opportunities are extremely limited; for example, "there are only two high school graduates on Eauripik (FSM) and both of them are teaching in the school. There is one further government position as health aide on the atoll, but when that is filled there will be no more government positions requiring education. High school graduates will have to make copra and catch fish" (Levin 1976: 180). On larger atolls there may be more jobs for teachers, health aides, or even pastors but little productive employment and no employment in the private sector. Migration for work is therefore not only scarcely surprising but almost inevitable.

Education is an important catalyst to migration. The central location of high schools (except Ulithi) encourages this movement. Equally important is the content of education, in Micronesia essentially based on an American model. It is "an unformed educational system transposed onto a poor model of a typical American system . . . emphasis is placed

on career objectives which frequently have little meaning for Micronesian youth. Even worse, Americans have fostered false education values which now are held by many Micronesians and which may well lead Micronesia into political and economic difficulties" (J. Hawkins, quoted in Nevin 1977:160). The education system has both provided training appropriate to white-collar work and inculcated a value system not conducive to farming or manual labor. This results in migration in search of white-collar work to the district centers, where there are also higher consumption levels (because of external subsidization and tax-free imports) while wages earned in the urban sector are distributed through the extended-family system to rural households, thus further stultifying local agricultural production. As Nevin observes,

The fact seems to be that life on an island a half-mile square with a hundred-odd people, where ideas are foreign and anti-thetical, and the ruling forces are a combination of magic and physical facts is basically boring. When children's minds have been opened, first by the island school and then by advanced school in the district center, naturally it is difficult to get them to go home-and more difficult to keep them there. (1977:51)

In this context Micronesia exhibits not so much a particular case of the old saying, "How do you keep them down on the farm when they've seen Paris?" but a version that reads, "How do you keep them down on the farm when they've seen the farm?" Reality is, however, rather more complex and in some places a surprisingly large number of high school graduates have returned to their home islands (Hezel 1979a), although such proportions are generally declining.

Urban growth is visibly apparent in Micronesia. There are many reasons for growing urban concentrations; a centralized administration has spawned the centralization of the service sector and hence most formal-sector employment is concentrated in town. This centralization of wage employment suggests that even where urban unemployment, however recorded, is static the chances of obtaining wage employment are much greater at the center. This centralization may be compounded, as it is in Palau, by "urban bias" where financial and technical resources are overwhelmingly concentrated in the urban area.

The urban centers largely remain "crazy collections of little buildings made of concrete or sheet metal or packing cases or thatch, strung at odd and individualistic angles, along winding, muddy, pot-holed dirt roads" (Nevin 1977: 141), though the towns now have sealed roads and a

scatter of new government buildings and a modern FSM capital has been completed in Pohnpei. Nonetheless the depressing environment is apparent in Chuuk, where "the rusting automobiles, decrepit toilets and ubiquitous beer cans symbolise the contact culture life style of Micronesia's district centers" (Marshall 1979b:6), and in Colonia, Yap, where "the few stores, government buildings and residences that were its nucleus had become surrounded by clusters of small shacks, many of which were of scrap metal and discarded packing crates" (Labby 1976: 7). These may be unflattering accounts of Micronesian towns but they are indicative of the minimal urban infrastructure inherited from the American era, despite the massive urban bias in the distribution of that infrastructure! Many urban services, such as water and electricity, are generally inadequate and unreliable.

Migration to Majuro and Ebeye (Kwajalein atoll) particularly has resulted in population concentrations at extremely high densities; alongside growing unemployment this has contributed to substantial social problems in both urban centers. The population of Ebeye is estimated at over 40,000 persons per square kilometer (albeit a population of not much more than 8,300 on 0.2 square kilometers). Even by 1964 Ebeye was seriously overcrowded, with not much more than half the present population:

The Ebeye community is similar to the shanty towns which have grown up around centers of trade and/or employment elsewhere in the Pacific. Most dwelling houses are jerry-built affairs of corrugated iron roofing and scrap lumber. Sanitary facilities are minimal. . . . Social disorder is common. Arguments and fights, usually precipitated by heavy drinking, are frequent. The Ebeye scene is reminiscent of conditions which are found in or near some Indian reservations in the United States. (Kiste 1968: 154)

Urban residence has led to many fundamental social changes (Connell 1983b:22-25) that are compounded by economic changes, including shifts in dietary patterns. In towns women can work (in clerical, domestic, or retail occupations) and others have more spare time (since there is less food preparation, washing, and so forth) to shop, play bingo, or make handicrafts. Unemployed men have little to do, since there is no cooperative labor or copra production, so they spend time fishing, boat-building, drinking, or gossiping.

Social change on Ebeye has been particularly dramatic. The former

Trust Territory representative at Ebeye has described the change as a "stunning social revolution. . . . It's astonishing how quickly the Marshallese have learned to want such 20th Century appliances as electric refrigerators, automatic toasters and tape recorders. And they want them right now" (quoted in Trumbull 1977:264). Although the Trust Territory representative also observed that the Marshallese had quickly learned a number of vocational skills, the extent to which these could ever be used away from Kwajalein was extremely doubtful. Gangs have emerged and alcohol use is increasing, resulting in drunkenness, fights, theft, and "mugging." Gasoline sniffing is an emerging problem while diets are often poor. Both Ebeye and Majuro have significant suicide rates. Health problems on Ebeye have often been more serious than elsewhere in the Marshalls; in 1962 a virulent polio epidemic began on Ebeye and spread to other atolls. More recently it is not uncommon to have outbreaks of shigellosis, with high attack rates, because of overcrowding and the deterioration of sanitary and housing conditions. The Ebeye sewage system has never functioned properly (as a result of defective construction work) and at the end of 1981 the drinking water of Ebeye was "100% highly contaminated" to the extent that five hundred children had recently had gastroenteritis. Ebeye has been described as "a disaster waiting to happen" and by the Marshall Islands president himself as a "biological time bomb" (Connell 1983b:24) though, in recent years, there has been significant improvement (Johnson 1990). In many respects Ebeye demonstrates in extreme form the general problems of rapidly growing, densely populated urban areas in the Third World; it is perhaps the worst urban area in the Pacific region. Thus one observer has commented, "The history of the Marshall Islands under U.S. trusteeship is a disgraceful record, including the various results of the Bikini and Enewetak nuclear tests, the irradiation of the Rongelap and Uterik [*sic*] people and last, Ebeye, which may be the focal point for the ultimate destruction of Marshallese society" (Alexander 1978: 174). This is a remarkable yet appropriate indictment of four decades of change under trusteeship.

While Ebeye's urbanization problems have been reduced through sanitation and housing programs, similar kinds of problems are also apparent on Majuro and in other urban centers, both because of migration and because of rapid population growth. Demands for government services such as schools, hospitals, water, and electricity have increased and urban services are often inadequate and fragmentary. The same kinds of social problems that exist in Ebeye also occur in Majuro and Chuuk, although in more diluted form. Pollution of land and lagoon is



also obvious; there are increasing incidences of child abuse, malnutrition, and deviant social behavior. Though services in the urban area may be severely strained they are invariably superior to those of the rural areas and, as the urban population increases, pressure on the government to improve urban services and wages also increases. This creates a familiar circularity problem for the distribution of resources in a migrant population where the pattern of resources may stimulate increased, or decreased, migration. Tentative efforts at population decentralization in the Marshall Islands (Connell 1983b:25-27) have been wholly unsuccessful.

It is not only in the towns of the Marshall Islands that there have been severe social problems. In July 1982 sewage disposal in Chuuk lagoon contaminated seafood and resulted in a severe cholera outbreak, with a high mortality rate. Subsequent studies revealed that only 6 percent of households in Moen had adequate sanitation (flush toilets and a central water supply), though this too has subsequently changed. In Koror there are housing shortages, overcrowding in schools, and relatively high delinquency and crime rates; most health problems appear more serious there than in rural areas and alcoholism and violence continue to grow in severity.

Although all the available evidence points to depressed and worsening conditions of urban life, good statistical data on the economic and social (including health and nutritional) status of urban populations for the whole of Micronesia are conspicuously absent. Many urban residents have migrated from very densely populated atolls where subsequent population increases may well have reduced their opportunities to return to their home islands and take up even a subsistence life-style; there is no information on this and hence the extent to which migrants in the urban areas may, in some sense, be dispossessed. If this is the case in fact, it might be expected that many migrants in urban areas would be poor and with an inadequate health and nutritional status; the extent to which basic needs are satisfied in town is essentially unknown.

### **Emigration and the Brain Drain**

The availability of adequate data on international migration into and out of Micronesia is even more limited than that for population change as a whole. However, as the information on population growth (Table 1) suggests, it is Palau that is overwhelmingly characterized by substantial emigration, whereas migration from the FSM and the Marshall Islands remains more limited but is now growing quickly. Once again,

data on the number of Micronesians overseas are often merely crude guesstimates. Various estimates have been made of the number of Palauans overseas, ranging from two thousand to more than four thousand (Connell 1983c:22), and the higher figure now seems increasingly likely. Palauans have long had a reputation for being competitive and have migrated "with a special nomadic zeal, searching not just for work but for higher paying and more prestigious employment" (Hezel and Levin 1990:45). About half of these overseas migrants are in Guam, some at the university, and there are probably more than one thousand in the US, mainly in Hawaii. The remainder are principally in Saipan (in the Northern Marianas) or in the FSM. By contrast there are not more than about one thousand migrants from the Marshall Islands in the US or Guam, but the number of migrants from the FSM is growing very rapidly.

Few Micronesians, especially from outside Palau, have skills or language ability that would give them access to employment in anything other than the very lowest levels in overseas labor markets. The expansion of tertiary education and the signing of the CFA have not altered this situation significantly. The impact of education on out-migration has been intensified by the more recent expansion in the number of Micronesians attending college, the "education explosion" witnessed by Hezel (1979a). For example, in the case of Namoluk atoll (FSM), between 1971 and 1976 the number of migrants in the US increased from four to twenty-three as a direct result of new educational opportunities, to the extent that "going to the U.S.A. for college and junior college education has become the latest status symbol of educational achievement for Namoluk young adults" (Marshall 1979a:7). The number of young people from Chuuk in college jumped from forty-nine in 1970 to over six hundred in 1979, when the surge to college reached its peak (Hezel and Levin 1990). Micronesians, these "Island Voyagers in New Quests" (Workman et al. 1981), have expanded their horizons and consequently the potential for acculturation into modern Western urban life-styles. Most college students are undertaking general academic college educations of little potential direct value within Micronesia, despite half-hearted attempts to use scholarships to direct students into more appropriate fields.

The signing of the CFA gives Micronesian citizens unrestricted access to the US. The compact provides that citizens "may enter into, lawfully engage in occupations and establish residence as a non-immigrant in the United States and its territories and possessions." This has already encouraged a movement of some of those with skills who cannot find

government employment (Sablan et al. 1989), more permanent residence of students, and rapid migration from Chuuk, especially to Saipan and Guam. In the two years following the signing of the CFA, around two thousand Chuukese alone have migrated from the FSM to Guam and Saipan (Hezel and McGrath 1989); this may be merely the start of a more comprehensive movement. Others have now joined the US military. As the domestic economy worsens in the future, access to the US labor market will become more widespread, so it is probable that the international migration situation in Micronesia will come to resemble that of such Polynesian states as American Samoa and the Cook Islands, situations that are beginning to be seen as partial models for the future direction of Micronesia. Eventually Micronesians resident in the US may outnumber "the folks back home" (Marshall 1979a:10-11), a situation that already exists in Niue and the Cook Islands. Moreover, even to attempt to retain skilled Micronesians in Micronesia may necessitate providing salaries at close to US levels for a small number, and hence create enormous disparities between their incomes and those of other Micronesians (cf. Schwalbenberg 1982:31). The alternative is to enable returning migrants, like the Chuukese graduates, to find an environment in their home islands where a satisfactory balanced economic and social development is possible. This will not be easy, especially at prevailing population growth rates, and policies contemplated to reduce the brain and skill drain (Connell 1983a:48) appear unlikely to be successful. Moreover emigration to the US is viewed as a necessary future safety valve and was deliberately provided for in negotiations with the US government over the CFA, hence "future emigration . . . far from being seen as a menace that threatens to deplete the islands' human resources, is counted upon as an essential element in the Micronesian states' strategy for economic and political survival" (Hezel and Levin 1990:42). As this increasingly and inevitably occurs, the final remittance element of the MIRAB political economy will fall into place.

Though emigration has increased in the past two decades it has been numerically balanced by an inflow of skilled migrants. A major problem throughout Micronesia is the shortage of skilled labor. A 1980 United Nations mission drew particular attention to the lack of Micronesian doctors and skilled maintenance workers (especially in construction and engineering); there is also a lack of qualified managers and accountants, machine operators, and entrepreneurs. This is compounded by a Micronesian absentee rate of 25 percent or more in many jobs. Related to this is the situation where young Micronesian graduates are attracted to government employment but are less interested in

entering the teaching profession (United Nations 1980:75) where regular attendance is necessary. Consequently many workers are imported from overseas in areas either where skills are unavailable or where Micronesians are unwilling to work at the prevailing wage rate (especially in the construction industry). Alien workers offer substantial advantages in higher productivity and reliability and offer employers flexibility in discharging unsatisfactory workers and in obtaining overtime work. Excluding the special case of Kwajalein (where more than two thousand Americans are employed and many families are present) the largest group of migrant workers are from the Philippines, followed by the US, South Korea, and Japan. Although data on these migrant workers (and their families) are inadequate it is apparent that at the start of the 1980s there were about five hundred migrant workers employed in the FSM, about six hundred in Palau, and two hundred in the Marshall Islands, mainly in the construction industry and fisheries (Connell 1983a, 1983b, 1983c). These numbers have not subsequently fallen significantly, despite concern attached to such high numbers (representing up to a quarter of the private-sector wage and salary work force) over the possibility of their gaining permanent residence. The structure of employment is thus paradoxically similar to that of several countries in the Middle East, though there a construction boom followed a period of rapid economic growth. In the formal sector, government employment is predominantly Micronesian while other formal-sector employment is increasingly taken up by aliens, mainly at lower wage and salary rates. Micronesian preference for government employment (or emigration), inadequate skills, low wages in the private sector, and employer preference for reliable labor (Connell 1983a:61) have prevented localization of the work force.

### Conclusion

Although greater economic self-reliance has always been the avowed goal of Micronesian leaders, and such sentiments have often been committed to print in the vague documents that passed for development plans in the past two decades, it is readily apparent that the three new island states are now in a situation of such extreme dependence that they have passed the point of no return. Indeed, as the late president of Palau, Haruo Remeliik, stated, "we have to educate the people to the need for sacrifice. So we . . . will have to use dependency to achieve self-sufficiency" (quoted in Connell 1983c:7). This dependency was heightened by the increase in federal funding in the 1970s, the resultant

expansion of the bureaucracy and the "education explosion," and the predominantly front-end loading of CFA funding. Consequently, for the fifteen-year period of the compact there seems little prospect of any genuine increase in self-sufficiency, despite a volume of rhetoric, and, as time goes by and emigration increases, as in the Cook Islands and Niue, the prospects will become even dimmer.

Each of the three states demonstrates broadly similar problems--massive dependence on cash flows from America and a resultant dependence on primarily American commodities alongside a very large public sector and a small private sector. Material aspirations have gone far beyond the ability of the local economy to support them. The continuation of high and rising aspirations and limited local resources in a remote region, characterized by massive distances even within states and high population growth rates, has produced tasks of development planning that are greater than anywhere else in the Pacific. Any development strategies will demand extensive external funding and expertise for many years, a situation that is written into the CFA. There are variations from state to state. In the FSM the extraordinary distances, and conflict and competition between the component states (where separate languages and traditions exist) over access to power and resources, make the task more difficult. There have been demands for separate statehood from Faichuk, in the western Chuuk lagoon, and Yap may attempt to secede from the FSM, where the more impoverished Chuuk State is regarded as hindering development in other states. In both the Marshall Islands and Palau there are similar frictions and rivalries between different regions, which have been particularly violent in Palau due to the lengthy delay over the signing of the CFA and conflicts over government employment in this highly urbanized state. In the Marshall Islands extreme inequalities of income distribution, fueled by compensation payments, have contributed to tension.

The problems of development in Micronesia illustrate in extreme form those of other small island states in the Pacific region: extremely limited resources and high population densities on small, remote, and scattered islands; great distances from markets (which increase the cost of imports and make exports expensive); a small domestic population (and hence markets) with limited skills, which minimizes any slight possibility of import substitution industries; costly imported energy dependence; a large, unproductive, and inefficient bureaucracy; diseconomies of scale and high costs of infrastructure; massive trade deficits; and vulnerability to hazard, a situation that may worsen in future years (Connell 1989). The inherent problems of economic development are

further complicated, firstly, by a population that is growing more rapidly than perhaps anywhere else in the South Pacific region (thus resulting in heavy pressure on limited services, a high rate of unemployment, and social problems in urban areas); secondly, Micronesian societies are characterized by rank and there are intense local and regional rivalries, including tensions between high islands and atolls; and, thirdly, by the overlay of an American colonial system (within the UN trusteeship). This system has resulted in an orientation of values, through the education system, to employment in the urban, bureaucratic system rather than in the private sector, especially in directly productive activities such as agriculture and fisheries. It has also established a social and political environment that attaches high priority to the liberty of the individual, which limits the possibility for regulating such issues as population movement, access to employment, and the structure of education. These conditions have contributed to an exceptionally poor growth record concurrent with rapidly and continuously rising expectations, contributing to problems of urban unemployment and reinforcing the orientation eastwards, to what is still widely referred to as the "mainland."

In every state there is now an enormous difference between the center and the outer islands; in Palau these differences occur no more than a few miles from Koror. The term "outer islands" has become a Marshallese phrase; in historic times there was no need for such a distinction. In contemporary times the distinctions are enormous and a United Nations mission to the TTPI area commented that "throughout Micronesia the outer islands have been almost totally neglected in the development process, causing serious problems for the people living there" (United Nations 1980:63). Comparison of outer-island development strategies in the Marshall Islands and French Polynesia demonstrates that government interest in outer-island development is much greater in French Polynesia but, more particularly, that the key elements in outer-island development there have been the provision of a communications infrastructure, support for copra through price subsidies (this being the main resource of the islands), and extensive research on fisheries development (Pollock 1979). In the Marshall Islands copra production has never been subsidized and prices favor production in Majuro rather than the outer islands, while sea and air freight rates are a disincentive to produce marketing from outer islands, especially for perishables.

Everywhere there are enormous challenges to decentralization through urban bias in the provision of employment, education, and infrastructure and hence also in income and social amenities. The prin-

cial constraint to decentralization and to economic development generally is that of attitudes, requiring a fundamental change that would allow such policies as wage constraints, raised taxation (on imports and wages), and so forth--a change that is extremely difficult to achieve in small, democratic countries where the majority of the population are now urban dwellers. Nowhere is this more so than in Palau (Connell 1983c:28). This underlying constraint must be considered in association with a second, related constraint: the massive and long-term preference for government employment in the center, where most conditions are superior. Moreover, perhaps over half the urban residents were born there and, although many have strong rural ties, all these factors combine to contribute to considerable inertia and the self-sustaining nature of urban expansion.

The prospects of any significant decentralization in the three states are slight to nonexistent. Prospects for development outside the towns are likely to depend on the retention of the present rural population (and already there are few remaining skilled or educated Micronesians there), by introducing policies that emphasize all aspects of rural development and reduce the present urban bias (from pricing policies on both domestically produced and imported produce, infrastructure provision, electricity and housing subsidies, wage rates, etc.). Any of the prospective large-scale agricultural development projects, though, may nevertheless necessitate some import of labor. It is ironic that Palau--which has one of the largest land areas in Micronesia, a relatively low population density (about thirty-six persons per square kilometer) and fertile soils, and consequently has greater potential for agricultural development than elsewhere in Micronesia--has so far been the least able to legally realize this potential.

For a long period, especially during the 1960s, "what stood for economic development . . . was fundamentally a cosmetic exercise" (Petersen 1976:42). Both the important Nathan and Solomon reports were principally aimed at directing Micronesia into permanent integration with the US; the Nathan report encouraged the centralization of the population in district centers where they might fit in better with government social benefits and employment schemes. While this policy never became official practice it underlined the reality of development based on the expansion of government employment and welfare payments. Thus the prospects for reversing a structure of development planning that was in some respects established in Japanese times, emphasized under the US administration, and only rarely questioned even in the past decade (as other Pacific states gained their indepen-

dence) are extremely poor. Self-reliance has become no more than the attempt to establish a guaranteed income from any possible source: "Micronesia's meal ticket has become its rights, not its resources, and economic development has lately become a superfluity" (Hezel 1979b: 7). A service economy, fueled by government salaries, cannot become a productive economy without motivation. Thus "self-reliance . . . will mean reliance by Micronesians upon their own abilities to negotiate what sums of money they need in return for whatever marketable rights they are willing to surrender. . . . It could be that the course Micronesian leaders are plotting is the only viable one at this time" (ibid.). The future appears to be one of increased rentier status.

It is increasingly improbable that any of the new island states can achieve a significantly greater degree of political, social, and economic self-reliance. The few available options are diminished by new aspirations that have resulted in changes in attitudes toward traditional agriculture (resulting, for example, in a decline of taro cultivation) and some loss of skills and knowledge (principally as modern "school" knowledge replaces local knowledge) that enable survival and success in environments that are often threatened by hazard. Each state does have some capacity for policy formation and is capable of moving away from the present massive dependence on aid and the resulting trading imbalance. The elements of such a policy direction are clear (Connell 1986: 55-56) but are unlikely to be chosen, especially where emigration provides an unrestricted option. Given the constraints of more than lingering demands for the prestige associated with modernization, Westernization, and urban-industrial development and the difficulties attached to establishing rural projects (which are rarely prestigious), and a situation where concerted comprehensive policy formation in loosely structured, democratic states is already difficult, the problems attached to the development of new policy orientations are apparent. In a situation where the prospects for economic growth are exceptionally limited the difficulties are much greater.

A recent element of politics and development in Micronesia is the increasing orientation towards the Pacific states south of the equator where traditional values are much more evident. The possible decline of American aid and technical assistance has prompted an increasing southwards orientation to participate in regional organizations such as the South Pacific Forum Secretariat and the South Pacific Commission, and, more generally, to examine the development experiences and strategies of other small states, especially neighbors such as Kiribati. The FSM has become a full member of the South Pacific Forum and has



exchanged diplomatic recognition with Fiji, Australia, and New Zealand. A handful of students are now at regional institutions, such as the University of the South Pacific (USP) and the University of Guam, that offer courses more appropriate to regional needs and that cater more appropriately to the needs of students from small countries, whose high school training is not comparable with that of students from metropolitan countries. Nevertheless, though four years ago it was possible to suggest that states like the FSM would increasingly resemble those South Pacific states that were attempting to move towards greater self-reliance (Connell 1983a:55), it is now more likely that the Micronesian states will move, if possible, even further away from self-reliance.

The terms of the Compact of Free Association indicate that the level of US assistance will fall, so the three states must diversify their sources of aid, achieve greater self-reliance in some economic sectors, export substantially more, or reduce government expenditure; otherwise they will suffer a decline in living standards. In the Marshall Islands the income from the rent of the Kwajalein missile range will cushion the impact of reduced assistance and Palau may lease land on Babeldaob for military use. Outside funding in the Marshall Islands also includes war reparations, nuclear-testing reparations, and fees for fishing rights, none of which can be considered guaranteed sources of future income and none of which relate to productive activities. The possibility of selling or leasing one of the unpopulated northern atolls for Japanese nuclear-waste disposal was considered and rejected in 1981 as a means of generating external funds and more recent discussions have involved the possibility of garbage disposal. So far this too has been rejected. Indeed little has changed in the last two decades; in Palau as elsewhere in Micronesia, "As the territory economy is based on funds from the United States Treasury, political activities focus on ways to extract even larger amounts of American funds and do not try to increase income from exploitation of natural resources of the area. Local people have neither the expertise nor the money to do otherwise (McGrath 1972: 145).

Already, especially in impoverished Chuuk State, there are demands for renegotiation of the compact and a growing perception that the commonwealth status negotiated by the Northern Marianas, also once part of the TTPI, would have been and might later be more appropriate for the FSM. The necessity to produce a new development plan in accordance with the negotiation of the compact meant that the first real development plans, for the Marshall Islands and the FSM, only became final in 1987. These constituted programs and projects rather than gen-

uine policies, hence the direction of development policy has not yet been established and, in a sense, the states have reached an "advanced stage" in development, in terms of the structure of employment, without ever confronting and considering very basic questions relating to the structure of the national economy.

Moreover the ability, and also the will, to effect significant changes is limited. A relatively small number of individuals are powerful, receive high salaries (or business incomes), are well traveled (especially to the US), and have little interest in significantly changing the structure of dependence. There are also an increasing number of relatively young and educated Micronesians who recognize this situation but merely want to change their own position within the system. Finally, there is an extremely small group who recognize the long-term problems of increased dependence and are interested in considering the possibility of moving the trajectory of development towards self-reliance. Although development plans may articulate the aspirations of this latter group, development in Micronesia is also shaped in the context of an American free-enterprise system (without guidance or direction) and an overdeveloped legal system (which combine to remove local initiative and responsibility) within a democratic system where decisions are being made by a few in terms of short-term goals, with a largely uninformed public. Economic development in Micronesia faces gloomy prospects.

## NOTE

1. All sums are given in US dollars.

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## BOOK REVIEW FORUM

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Rena Lederman, *What Gifts Engender: Social Relations and Politics in Mendi, Highland Papua New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. 291, figures, maps, appendixes, references, index. US\$52.00.

*Review:* MARK S. MOSKO  
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Ethnographies of Melanesian cultures have been generally dominated by, if anything, the subject of exchange. Rena Lederman's *What Gifts Engender* is one such. Notwithstanding, this study of political economy among the Mendi of the southern New Guinea Highlands skillfully traces out a rather new direction, and this is its greatest strength. In essence, Lederman inverts the conventional "subsistence bias" (pp. 14-18) of most Highlands studies; production is thereby viewed as largely the consequence of socially conditioned distribution and exchange rather than the other way around.

The result is, on the one hand, a convincing rectification of D'Arcy Ryan's original description of the Mendi and, on the other, a far-reaching critique on nearly the full range of issues that have been raised from the earliest studies up through the most recent pan-Highlands comparisons (equality vs. inequality, big-manship, group vs. network relationships, agricultural intensification and the centralization of power, the significance of large-scale ceremonial vs. everyday exchange, gender relations and male-female antagonism, native vs. Western economic categories, home production- vs. finance-based societies, subsistence vs. exchange production, reproduction vs. reciprocity). Lederman's book draws within a singular focus such classic systems as the Melpa *moka*

and the Mae Enga tee as well as the more recent market- and development-oriented studies among many other Highlands groups.

The emphasis here upon exchange and distribution derives chiefly from Stephen Gudeman's neo-Ricardian argument that "an economy is socially constructed, its local interpretation culturally formulated" (1978:359; see also Gudeman 1986). The Mendi, for example, raise and acquire pigs, pearlshells, and money according to a patterning of obligations by which they ultimately will have to give them away. Accordingly, Lederman's treatment of Mendi economics is conditioned by Mendi kinship, gender, and political organization and values. This leads her inevitably away from the analytic categories of Western economics ("subsistence," "gift," "loan," "debt," "profit," "credit," and so forth) towards indigenous relationships and meanings.

Lederman thereby grounds Mendi society in the coexistence of two interdependent but partially contradictory structural principles: *sem* (corporate clan unity) and *twem* (personal autonomy). *Sem* is realized in the formation of and exchanges between groups (lineages, clans, and tribes); *twem* in networks of interpersonal relationships, chiefly among affines. To Mendi, clan unity and personal autonomy are both evaluated in positive terms, and neither can be reduced to the other. Also, both principles are expressed through different rules but often in common exchange situations: warfare compensations, mortuary prestations, pig festivals, and bride-wealth payments. Typically, clansmen depend upon their separate networks of *twem* partners to obtain articles destined for corporate exchange, and upon receiving prestations from other groups immediately redistribute the wealth along the lines of their personalized networks. *Sem* and *twem* are thus at least partially overlapping and supportive of one another.

Nevertheless, Lederman clearly establishes that *sem* and *twem* are construed as independent ends in themselves and may frequently conflict. In many exchange situations, very simply, a particular actor may be obliged to contribute the very same article to fellow clanspeople and to an exchange partner outside the clan simultaneously. It is in the structural interdependency and conflict of *sem* and *twem*, indeed, that implications arise for decision making and, hence, societal integration in the spheres of gender relations, clanship and affinity, political organization, and development and social change. The result overall is a view of the Mendi roughly intermediate between the relatively centralized and structured Melpa and Mae Enga of the northern Highlands and such "loosely structured" (p. 20) southern Highlands societies as the nearby Etoro and Kaluli (see below).

From this vantage, Lederman is able to reflect critically on a wide range of comparative generalizations that have been proposed. Possessing their own *twem* exchange partners, for example, Mendi women enjoy a degree of personal autonomy rare in the Highlands. They number men as well as women among their partners, and they transact with all the same kinds of wealth (pigs, pearlshells, money) that men do. And although only men can participate directly in *sem* clan exchanges, even these are partially subsidized and constrained by the indirect participation of women through their *twem* exchanges. Lederman is able to show, therefore, that the evaluation and antagonism of the sexes and the contradictory interpretations of the separation of their respective domains among the Mendi is considerably more complicated than most others have been willing to grant for the Highlands.

Of notable significance, and underscoring her emphasis upon the social ends of distribution in favor of the limitations of production, Lederman also observes that while Mendi groups do engage in periodic large-scale ceremonial pig kills (*mok ink*), there is no evidence of large fluctuations in the size of their pig herds over time. More is involved than ecological adjustment. It is of similar interest, too, that Mendi men and women exchange wealth according to *twem* reciprocity when they do not have any apparent "need" to. Indeed, Lederman rightly emphasizes that the Mendi typically exchange according to principles of *sem* and *twem* alike when everybody already possesses or produces the same things.

For Lederman, these observations have additional implications for Highlands political organization. Andrew Strathern has proposed (1969), for example, that leaders' sponsorship of large-scale exchange through "finance" rather than "home production" results in greater centralization of political power under a relatively few big-men. Lederman shows, however, that while Mendi big-men (as well as ordinary men and women) depend largely upon "finance" through *twem* exchange rather than "home production," they are considerably less influential than Melpa or Mae Enga big-men. Local variations in scale of political organization are considerably more complicated.

Along similar lines, Lederman is rightly critical of previous studies of Highlands political economy for their nearly exclusive focus upon large-scale ceremonial exchange activities and big-men to the relative neglect of small-scale everyday exchange among ordinary people. Among the Mendi, once more, she demonstrates convincingly that even large-scale pig kills--organized at the group or clan level through the activities of clan big-men according to *sem* relations--are crucially facilitated and



constrained by means of personal networks of exchange according to *twem* relations.

As fruitful and insightful as these and other comparisons with the "northern Highlands" are for her, the question must be asked about their appropriateness relative to the possibility of a systematic comparison with neighboring societies in the "southern Highlands"--societies with whom the Mendi seem to bear a stronger family resemblance. Lederman herself seems to recognize clearly both the issue here and the opportunity missed:

In Mendi and other parts of the Southern Highlands, where there are many contexts in which obligations to personal networks of exchange partners have priority and where there are fewer contexts in which obligations to fellow clan members are invoked, the analytical challenge to incorporate networks into a general account of social relationships is great. In Mae Enga society, Mount Hagen, and other parts of the northern Highlands, where the corporate obligations of clan members are more frequently stressed, this analytical problem may not exist. (P. 21)

Nonetheless, she regrettably settles upon comparison in the latter direction, that is, principally with northern Highlands societies. And among them, quite understandably, she relies most heavily upon the Stratherne's descriptions of Hageners as more or less epitomizing the rest. As just a crude measure, for example, Andrew and Marilyn Strathern between them have twenty references listed in the bibliography, compared with six each (the next most) for Meggitt on the Mae Enga and Lederman herself on the Mendi and five for Brookfield and Brown on the Chimbu.

But it just so happens that the southern Highlands have recently inspired some of the most well-documented and sophisticated analyses we have for anywhere in the Highlands and, what is more, these have been of societies possessing structures closely akin to that of the Mendi. I have in mind Kelly's work on the Etoro (1976, 1977) and Schieffelin's on the Kaluli (1976) to which Lederman alludes in passing but never discusses in any detail. This is particularly perplexing in the case of the Etoro since it is from Kelly's account (among others') that she obtains the very concept for a "complex articulation of structural principles" that informs her analysis of Mendi *sem* and *twem*. Similarly, Schieffelin's notion of "opposition scenario" that he developed for the Kaluli could very likely be accommodated to the precise sorts of conflict between group unity and personal autonomy that Lederman has identi-

fied and documented so impressively in her generous use of Mendi case material. It is a minor disappointment, then, and hopefully only a temporary one, that the reconciliation of these theoretical and ethnographic variations peculiar especially to the Mendi and other "loosely structured" societies of the southern Highlands was not here attempted.

Finally, and related to this last point, as convincing as Lederman's depiction is of the interdependence and conflict of *sem* and *twem* principles, the final result falls slightly short of delineating the outer margins of the system that might enable it to be characterized as in some sense a "whole" or "totality." In certain quarters, of course, this is regarded as neither necessary nor theoretically desirable. Yet, it would seem to be no more than an extension of the course Lederman has already laid out, that is, moving from distribution and exchange to other dimensions of Mendi society and culture. What is still only hinted at, in other words, is a consideration of Mendi symbolism, particularly of a religious sort.

The Mendi pig festival is presented as the prime exemplification of the structural dialectic of *sem* and *twem*; Lederman devotes an entire chapter to it, exploring its kinship, affinal, economic, political, and historical ramifications. The pig festival's conclusion is marked by a large-scale pig kill and distribution of pork (*sai le*). Not figured into the analysis in any serious way, however, is that the blood of these pigs is being fed to the hosts' ancestral ghosts (*temo*) to forestall their jealousy and the misfortune this would bring upon the living (p. 180). This would not appear to be a minor oversight. Pig kills, both large and small, performed on a variety of occasions, are similarly interpreted as gifts of blood to ancestral spirits (pp. 179, 268n). Also, in previous times Mendi would kill and eat their own largest pigs rather than give them away so that their ancestral ghosts would not become envious of the *twem* exchange partners who would have gotten them (p. 265n). Possibly related to this is the belief that living kin share with their ancestors as with one another common kinship substance in the forms of both blood and food, apparently (p. 34). It is through food, in fact, that ancestral ghosts exert considerable control over their descendants; as ancestors' bodies are buried in clan lands, their influence pervades the very food living humans (and pigs) eat (p. 34). Food, blood, and pigs, then, are all vital mediators between the Mendi and their ancestors (p. 258n).

To look at the religious symbolism of the Mendi and their exchanges with the dead would merely help complete what Lederman has already so nearly accomplished--that is, to comprehend Mendi distribution in the proportion of a total social and cultural system.

Regardless, Lederman's detailed handling of Mendi society, economy, and politics stands as a sophisticated and handsome addition to the growing corpus of Highlands ethnographic variation. But beyond that, and following chiefly from her focus upon distribution, *What Gifts Engender* is certain to provoke considerable rethinking of a great many of the central and likely outworn stereotypes that have emerged from the Highlands of New Guinea.

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*Review: ALAN RUMSEY*  
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A conspicuous development in Papua New Guinea Highlands studies during the seventies and eighties has been the shift in focus from segmentary group structure to exchange systems. This has not been an isolated development, of course, but rather the local manifestation of a general disillusionment with structural functionalism--here in the form of "African models" (Barnes 1962) that had posited corporate groups variously aligned and opposed within the usual multileveled hierarchy of lineage segments (e.g., Meggitt 1965).

As a part of this same general movement, there has been a tendency for some investigators to shift emphasis from "groups" to "individuals"

as the real stuff of human social life--most notably in detailed studies of exchange in two areas close to or overlapping with that studied by Lederman. These are, respectively, works by Feil on the Tombema Enga (Feil 1984 and others cited therein) and Sillitoe on the Wola (Sillitoe 1979).

In a forthcoming book on exchange in the Nebilyer Valley--within fifty miles of all these field areas--Francesca Merlan and I argue that this reaction is misguided (Merlan and Rumsey n.d.): to attempt to overthrow the notion of "corporate group" with that of "maximizing individual" as *explicans* is to reproduce a theoretical antinomy that must itself be transcended if we are to advance the analysis of the social practices in question. A fundamental problem with both the "corporatist" and "individualist" positions is that they posit social actors or agents as *preconstituted* entities: analytical primitives in terms of which social action is everywhere to be described and, ultimately, explained. A more useful perspective is one that allows for the possibility that the relevant actors themselves may be at least in part constituted by the very actions in which they are engaged (as in, e.g., Wagner 1967, where social "units" are "defined" by exchange transactions). Such a perspective requires us to give serious attention to the empirical question of what the historically given forms are that exchange transactions may take in this or that social formation.

*What Gifts Engender* is a masterful investigation along just those lines. What Lederman shows is that exchange transactions in Mendi do implicate what we can gloss as an "intergroup" dimension, but that the overarching dialectic of Mendi social life is not between "group" and "individual" but rather between two different, partly opposed kinds of social relationships, namely, *twem*, "network" relations among (mainly affinal and matrilineal) exchange partners, and *sem*, "intergroup" relations, in which clan "brothers" in principle transact in "unity" vis-à-vis other such units.

"Network" and "intergroup," "autonomy" and "unity" are, of course, also exogenous, Western analytical oppositions (well-worn ones at that) and cannot as such do full justice to the specific qualities of Mendi social life. But neither does my summary gloss do full justice to Lederman's finely nuanced ethnography, which shows that

"autonomy" in Mendi is socially constrained by obligations to a personal network of exchange partners and in some measure against obligations to clansmen. It is not an abstract individualism. *Sem* unity is likewise explicable only in relation to the

*twem* relationships of *sem* members. . . . Mendi assertions concerning autonomy or unity can be appreciated only when one understands the answers to the questions, "Autonomy from what?" and "Unity as opposed to what?" (P. 267, n. 15; cf. Strathern 1979)

Not the least of this book's virtues is that it affords a new basis for comparison of the Mendi political economy with those elsewhere in the Highlands, and further afield. Since Ryan (1961), it has been known that the most elaborate form of ceremonial exchange in Mendi is the *mok ink*, which comprises a five- to ten-year cycle of transactions culminating in a large-scale pig kill staged in concert by one or more *sem onda* (tribe, clan, clan cluster). Scholars trying to locate Southern Highlands Province exchange systems within a wider regional perspective (e.g., Strathern 1969; Feil 1987) have generally found in *mok ink* the closest parallel to the *moka* system of the Hagen/Nebilyer/Tambul area of the Western Highlands Province. In this they were no doubt influenced at least in part by the resemblance between the terms *mok ink* and *moka*, and also by the relative centrality of the two systems within the social lives of the respective areas. But in light of Lederman's work, we can now see that the parallel is largely inappropriate, for the following reasons.

First, the resemblance of the terms is a specious one. The *mok ink* means "pig," whereas in the Melpa language *moka* refers to exchange irrespective of the medium; pig exchange is called *kng moka*, *kng* being the Melpa word for "pig" (cf. p. 266, n. 5). If there is a cognate term to be found in Mendi for the Melpa word *moka*, it is more likely *maike*, which "appears in the names of ceremonial prestations associated with death compensation" (p. 260, n. 12). This parallel is drawn by Mendi people themselves, who "refer to . . . the *mokadl* of Tambul [= Melpa *moka*] . . . as *sunda maike*, 'sunda' being a general reference to cultural areas to the north of Kandep" (p. 266, n. 5).

Second, aside from questions of etymology (and ultimately of greater weight), the latter, indigenously recognized parallel is, for several reasons, more perspicuous in social-structural terms than the one between *mok ink* and *moka*. Although *mok ink* prestations are made by *sem onda*, unlike *moka* ones they do not--even in principle--involve *sem* as recipients. Rather, each comprises multiple, coordinated *twem* payments that are all made by people of the same *sem*, but in what Andrew Strathern has called a "radial" pattern, that is, to individual recipients in many different *sem*. Thus, contra Ryan (1961:205), *mok ink* is not an

“inter-clan” affair at all. In this respect it differs greatly from Melpa *moka* (Strathern 1971) and Nebilyer *makayl* (Merlan 1988; Merlan and Rumsey n.d.), the prototypical forms of which involve segmentary units as donors and as recipients. In the latter respect, the closest Mendi analogue to the Hagen *moka* is their *mai*ke “death compensation” payments, which involve *sem* as donors and as recipients (pp. 162-164). Not only is *mai*ke a “possible cognate for *moka*” (p. 260, n. 12), the Mendi names for the two kinds of *mai*ke--*ol ombul* and *ol tenga*--are directly analogous to the names of the initial and main payments in a Hagen/Nebilyer *moka* sequence: *wue ombikl/yi obil* (man’s bone) and *wue peng/yi pengi* (man’s head; the images are of paying for the bones and head of the man or men who have been killed).

These data suggest that it is important for comparative studies of Highlands political economies to attend to the widely variable extent to which large-scale ceremonial exchange is integrated with patterns of warfare and military alliance (cf. Merlan 1988). An interesting implication we can draw from Lederman’s book is that that variability may in turn be related to differing forms and degrees of what used to be called “sexual antagonism.” For the Mendi area, Lederman argues that, contrary to one of the predominant tendencies of recent Highlands studies (see, e.g., Strathern 1982; Godelier 1982; Josephides 1985), at least by the late 1970s “gender hierarchy appeared not to be the central contradiction of Mendi social structure” but rather “an outgrowth of the symbolic means by which Mendi men mediate the more centrally problematic relationship between their *sem* and *twem* obligations” (p. 137).

The Mendi categories of *sem* and *twem* have recognizable analogues elsewhere in the Highlands, but the relationship between these modes of sociality, and the relative predominance of one or the other, may differ dramatically, as Lederman fully appreciates (p. 177). What seems to be far more constant across that wider region is the great extent to which wealth exchange in general is mobilized via links through women-as sisters, mothers, and affines, if not everywhere as actual exchange partners as in Mendi (Merlan 1988). Thus, for example, one can see that in both Hagen and Mendi, *twem*-like social links provide the main “roads” along which objects move, even when presented in the name of *sem*. But given the structural differences I have pointed to above between *moka* and *mok ink*, there are fundamental differences in the possible forms of articulation between *twem*- and *sem*-like modes of sociality: as “intergroup” transaction, *moka* places far greater limits on the range of possible “network” relationships any given participant can directly transact as (part of) his contribution to any “group” prestation. True, he

may "finance" his payment at least in part by drawing upon his network relations in a range of other (sub)clans. But the immediate recipient of the payment must be of the (sub)clan to which the obligation of his own (sub)clan is being discharged. No such restriction is placed upon the Mendi man who contributes to his *sem's mok ink*. He must make his payment in concert with others of his *sem*, but the recipient may be of any other *sem* whatsoever. Other things being equal, one would expect the "contradiction" between *sem* and *twem* obligations to be somewhat less pronounced in such a system than in the Hagen/Nebilyer one, and, accordingly, if Lederman's claim about the sources of "gender hierarchy" is correct, a relatively narrower range of contexts for it in Mendi. Such is indeed the picture that emerges from Lederman's ethnography.

From a comparative perspective, this suggests that it is simplistic to regard ceremonial exchange per se as the ultimate obfuscation of women's labor power (as in, e.g., Lindenbaum 1987; Josephides 1985) and that its outcome in this respect may be quite variable according to the extent to which *sem*-like social entities are, in principle, involved as both donors and recipients--a matter itself closely related to the extent to which ceremonial exchange relations are encompassed by or integral with those of military alliance and hostility.

As useful as *What Gifts Engender* is for new comparative work along these lines, Lederman makes an even more important contribution by the way she helps us to understand social formations (in the New Guinea Highlands and elsewhere) as dialectical systems. To cite just one of the ethnographic examples developed at length (see also Lederman 1980), Lederman describes the "politics of a pig festival" (the subtitle of chap. 6), in the course of which a disagreement arises among men of one of the would-be donor *sem* about whether they should join in the staging of a forthcoming parade as one phase of the jointly sponsored festival--a decision of real economic consequence, as the parade would cost thousands of dollars to stage. A leading big-man of that *sem*, Olanda, orated forcefully against its participation at that stage of the *mok ink*, and he appeared to carry the day. But when the day of the parade came, many members of his *sem* did participate and make prestations along with men of the other *sem*, each to his own *twem* partner(s). From this some might readily conclude that Olanda's oration had had no real effect, the apparent unity of the *sem* being an illusion behind which individuals really act according to their own private interests. But Lederman's close coverage of later events shows that matters are not so simple. Olanda's speech had not prevented some of his clansmen from participating in the parade, but it did have an important effect upon

how their actions could be construed: largely because of it, those who participated were not considered by their clansmen to have been doing it as a part of any overall transaction by the clan--they were making *twem* payments only. Thus shaping an aspect of the meaning of their actions, Olanda's speech had been of very real material consequence, assuring that, when his clan did later stage a prestation qua *sem*, those same men had to contribute again, placing a double burden on their household resources.

No one who has taken the point of such examples should ever again ask questions of the form, Is exchange *really* conducted by groups or by individuals? and Is clan solidarity an actual feature of Highlands social relations, or just a rhetorical premise? Nor will it suffice merely to say, The answer really lies somewhere in between. Differing modes of sociality--in this case *twem* and *sem*--can coexist as historical products in such a way as to provide grounds, within a single social formation, for active struggle over the meaning of given transactions. And "meaning," here as elsewhere, is not to be taken as a merely subjective construal of some more basic social "reality" but as the very stuff of which that reality is formed.

The style of Lederman's ethnography and theoretical argument is scholarly and measured rather than stridently polemical. She is, for instance, scrupulously fair to the earlier Mendi specialist D'Arcy Ryan, making the most of what his considerable ethnography has to offer rather than dwelling at length on their differences of theory and interpretation. It would be a pity if that wholly laudable and refreshing restraint, the book's high price, and problems with its availability prevent it from achieving the wide readership it clearly deserves.

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*Review: D'ARCY RYAN*  
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Reviewing another scholar's restudy of an area and topic that had been the subject of one's own major fieldwork thirty years earlier presents

peculiar difficulties. Apart from the normal changes to be anticipated in the people themselves (thirty years, in this case, spanned the transition from colonial government to independence; from an almost untouched traditional situation to membership of the international world), there is also a generation's accumulation of ethnographic knowledge and (by no means unimportant) the shifting fashions of its interpretation. One must therefore try to balance the differing viewpoints and personal predilections of two separate observers, of opposite gender and a generation apart. Do we attribute discrepancies in the accounts to Ryan, to Lederman, or to a new generation of Mendi?

Although, in general, our actual observations are in accord, there are certain differences, some quite important, which will be the subject of this commentary.

Variants in glossary are probably for the most part attributable to our use of different phonemic orthographies; but it must also be remembered that the Mendi language (*Mend piri angal*) not only exhibits noticeable dialectic changes over distances as short as a mile or two, but also is subject to constant and deliberate alterations for social reasons such as name taboos and "local identity" (see D'Arcy Ryan, "Names and Naming in Mendi," *Oceania* 29, no. 2 [1958]: 109-116). I found most of Lederman's Mendi terminology quite recognizable or at least deducible from context.

Other differences, however, are more significant, and fall into two classes, the factual and the interpretive or theoretical.

In the factual area: A point on which Lederman took me to task was my assertion that everyone married who could, and that marriage, preferably multiple, was an essential mechanism for the attainment of big-man status through the exchange system. Lederman contradicts this with examples of bachelor big-men. This does surprise me. I knew a few mature bachelors, all non-agnates, all of whom hoped to acquire a wife sometime and all of whom would remain nonentities, if not "rubbish men," until they did. The operations of a big-man required a breeding pool, or some other accessible source, of pigs, most of them reared by his wives or other female relatives. Today, it is apparently possible, as Lederman shows with her examples, for an ambitious bachelor to develop the necessary pig-tending support system; but in the 1950s it would have been extremely difficult. As I mentioned above, all the mature bachelors I knew or heard of were non-agnates (not true agnatic members of the lineage with which they were residing). Although it was generally maintained that such people enjoyed the same status as their agnatic coresidents, I demonstrated that their "marriage potential" had

significant limitations (D'Arcy Ryan, "Gift Exchange in the Mendi Valley" [Ph.D. diss., Sydney University, 1961], 76-79) : they married less often, had fewer contemporaneous wives, paid smaller bride-prices, and so forth). I would be inclined to suggest that, even in Lederman's time, twenty to twenty-five years later, a similar situation would apply and that her two or three bachelor big-men were indeed exceptions. I have dwelt on this apparently trivial point because the important agnate-non-agnate distinction has implications that Lederman seems to have ignored.

Another question is that of female *twem*. I did certainly have the impression that the Mendi exchange system, like the others in the New Guinea Highlands, was primarily a male operation, and that women, although essential in private supporting roles, like pig-rearing and soliciting contributions from their male kin, rarely performed in public displays or in the network of private exchanges (*twem*) that made the public ceremonies possible. When women did perform such roles, it was always as agents or surrogates for their menfolk.

Lederman's evidence, however, indicates that many women do, in fact, engage autonomously in the *twem* network with both male and female partners, and that their operations are regarded as their own business. I can only comment that my own informants, male and female, were definite and unanimous in asserting that women did not make *twem* on their own account; and my observations over more than two years gave me no reason to doubt this statement. Perhaps I should add that, although the term for "exchange partner" (*twem ol*; lit., "twem man") was in constant use, I never heard its female equivalent, *twem ten* ("twem woman"), nor is the latter term in Lederman's glossary; perhaps *twem* persons, like female anthropologists, were regarded as "honorary males"? On the other hand, it is quite possible, even probable, that twenty to thirty years have seen a complete shift of emphasis in the manifest functions (i.e., the perceived purpose) of the whole system. This brings us to what I consider the most interesting aspect of this book.

In my own work, I laid special emphasis on warfare, which I described as "endemic" and an important factor in the cultural and structural adaptation of the region and, more to the point, a situation into which the whole exchange system was inextricably locked. At the time of my first arrival in Mendi, warfare had been officially banned for only four years and, in the Mendi Valley itself, there were still sporadic outbursts of interclan fighting. Even in this new, and still uneasy,

state of “peace,” there was yet a vast backlog of war-death compensations or *ol peya* (Lederman’s *ol tenga*) to be made.

In addition to the actual death payments, there were ceremonies (*ma-shogensha*) associated with peace making, in which enemies (or even quarreling groups) offered and counteroffered prestations that were repeatedly refused by both sides because “only friends exchange.” After several such performances, extending perhaps over a year or more, the parties were felt to have established their credentials and goodwill, the goods finally changed hands, and the exchanges were completed: an explicit ceremonial pantomime of that basic Mendi injunction, “Only friends can exchange, and all friends must exchange,” a theme that is pointed up by every example of Mendi exchange. (This, incidentally, explains why the Mendi don’t marry their enemies: they can’t organize exchanges with them; or why men who never make *twem* are “rubbish men” [*ol timp*]: they have not bothered to make friends, thus failing to create any social identity.) Moreover, as I think I demonstrated (Ryan, “Gift Exchange,” chap. 9), the big interclan pig kills (*mok ink*) could be analyzed almost entirely in terms of the establishment and maintenance of military alliances. I also made the point that the Mendi system of alternative residential options was an essential security strategy to provide refuge for survivors of military defeat (in those days, a constant threat); the exchange system was an important mechanism for keeping these options open, for the people with whom one exchanged were all, among other things, potential refuge sponsors.

As Lederman points out (pp. 66-67), I focused on the major corporate exchanges not (as she says) “in keeping with the then contemporary anthropological emphasis on corporate groups,” but because they were the most salient features of the society and, in an “exploratory” study (I’m a bit coy about the word “pioneer”) of what was then a virtually unknown type of society, not to have emphasized its most indicative features would have been downright perverse. It is also true that, although well aware of the all-pervading presence of *twem*, I did regard it as a system of amassing goods for the major exchanges. Certainly, it had other functions: *twem ol* were “brothers” and allies, sources of valuable mutual assistance; it was also an exciting game in which big operators got the same thrills from their coups as entrepreneurs do in our society --and similar rewards in status and prestige. *Twem* provided opportunities and excuses to circulate socially, visiting and meeting new people. But I do not believe these “side benefits” were its original function--although they could well remain attractive enough to maintain the sys-

tern today, even when the "warfare" imperative has lost all, or most, of its relevance. This could also lead reasonably to the emergence of females in the system. The above remarks apply as well to the *mok ink*, the preparations and public ceremonies for which were probably the most exciting and prestigious sources of entertainment in Mendi life.

I am also unconvinced by Lederman's arguments (if I have understood them) that *twem* networks give rise to a sort of "ego-centred body-corporate," or sodality, forming a structural principle independent of, and sometimes conflicting with, that of clan affiliation. Nor does her summary statement--"Exchange relationships . . . are part of the way in which the Mendi make themselves as autonomous social agents or persons, and as such they are very much a part of Mendi 'politics', broadly construed" (p. 216)--really clarify the matter for me.

Lederman has done a good, scholarly piece of work, particularly in her examination of the female side of Mendi life to which I, for various circumstantial reasons, did not, at that time, have access. Such data are essential, of course, to our understanding of any society. It is a pity, however, that her theoretical interpretation of her material did not pay more attention to the historical dimension. Not only, as I remarked in the beginning, would changes be expected during twenty years of transition from precolonial, small-scale autonomy to independent nationhood, but there is the additional fact that the culture of Mendi society seems to be as flexible and pragmatic as its structure. Like many other Highlands peoples, the Mendi welcomed novelties: new sorceries, religious cults, crops, agricultural techniques, cash economy; if they worked, the Mendi incorporated them, and if not, discarded them. Not only has their exchange system not been discarded, but Lederman's work shows that, if anything, it has been expanded. I have suggested some obvious reasons above, but they are by no means a full answer.

We come at last to that vexed question: the structure of Highlands societies. First, I must take issue with Lederman's interchangeable use of the terms "tribe" and "clan-cluster." There is no group in Mendi (nor, as far as I know, in the Highlands) that would fit any of the accepted definitions of a "tribe," and certainly not the occasional, and largely fortuitous, clan alliances that I have called, with prosaic literalness, "clan-clusters" (Ryan, "Gift Exchange," 44-51). It is theoretically possible that some Mendi clans might belong to no cluster at all: an inconceivable situation in a tribal structure.

It is true that I (like most of my colleagues of the 1950s) approached our respective societies with African models in mind. It was Barnes who

first seriously questioned their relevance, in his well-known “African Models in the New Guinea Highlands” paper of 1962 (*Man* 62:5-9). He pointed out, quite correctly, that the patrilineal paradigm that Evans-Pritchard abstracted from the Nuer did not fit the residence patterns in the New Guinea Highlands, neglecting to stress (as Evans-Pritchard himself frequently did) that neither did the Nuer conform to their structural paradigm but were, in their choice of residence, as flexible as the Mendi, or even more so, and for very similar reasons. But Evans-Pritchard’s Nuer have become established as one of the stereotypic patrilineal models, so if the Mendi are not patrilineal, then neither are the Nuer! (A short digression: At professional discussions over the last few years, an intriguing question has forced itself onto my attention. There seems to be a growing reluctance among contemporary anthropologists to admit not only the existence but even the very concept of a “patrilineal” society. If this suspicion is correct, one wonders, Why? The answer, if pursued, might provide someone with a stimulating and contentious paper.)

Nevertheless, the debate grinds on: Are New Guinea Highlanders patrilineal, multilinear, cognatic, even “cumulatively patrilineal” (a grotesquerie of Barnes’s, cited approvingly by Lederman, p. 257, n. 3), or do they have no descent groups at all? Most of us seem to be agreed about the ethnographic facts; the dispute appears to be about how we are going to assemble them into a coherent model. Now, most members of almost any society must carry in their minds a consensual, abstract model of their society’s social structure; this is necessary to enable them to organize and predict social behavior and to discuss it with others. While practical exigencies may permit or necessitate a wide range of deviation from the “ideal,” this does not invalidate the model from their point of view, nor from ours. The test of an anthropologist’s model is whether it makes sense to the society’s members and can provide a basis for mutually comprehensible discussion. As far as I could determine, my model was very similar to that which the Mendi were using; in short, they seemed to be operating Nuer-type abstract models from which they deviate, when expedient, as much as the Nuer did. Considering the evidence for male domination in Highlands society, it would be quite amazing if their structure were not strongly patrioriented, as of course, all the evidence, including Lederman’s own, clearly shows it to be.

Unilineal systems (as every undergraduate knows) are faced with the constant problem of striking a balance between populations and land-

resources and, by the vagaries of demographic reality, no such system can function rigidly according to the pure, abstract model. Through warfare, disease, and demographic accident, some unilineages decline in numbers while others increase. Thus, no unilineal system can function for long without devising some institutionalized mechanism for redistributing its residential groups in accordance with its subsistence resources. Moreover, in no society of any kind can residence and affiliation be entirely separated. It follows that redistribution of residence will always be accompanied by some flexibility of affiliation. The question then is: At what degree of flexible affiliation do we decide that the system is no longer "unilineal"? Whatever the necessary accommodation made to such exigencies, the system itself does not cease to be unilineal until the people themselves stop thinking about it in terms of a unilineal model.

May we see an end to this boringly tenacious non-issue?

*Review:* **ANDREW STRATHERN**  
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*What Gifts Engender* is of the very highest quality, taking its place immediately with the best ethnographies on Highlands New Guinea, a region which has seen a flood of writings since the 1950s. It is not only that in passage after passage Lederman refines and deepens detailed points of analysis about the Mendi people themselves, but also the way in which she has conceptualized her topic is capable of illuminating other studies carried out in the region and of suggesting further avenues for research to be done. The two innovative foci that she has brought to bear are (1) a consideration of network relationships as well as inter-group relations and (2) a stress on the active participation of women as actors in the society. The two foci are connected, because it is precisely in the sphere of networks that women's active roles are most clearly treated. Further, unlike some authors who tend to line up in favor of *either* group-oriented *or* individual-oriented studies, Lederman is concerned to show the dialectical relationships that come into play between network and group, or *twem* and *sem* in Mendi terms. Here then is a study that not only exhibits masterly ethnographic detail, but also integrates this firmly within an innovative and refreshing overall perspective.

I select the following matters for more extended discussion: (1) Lederman's comparisons of Mendi with other Highlands peoples, (2) her

examination of the dialectics of social life, (3) her presentation of women's roles, and (4) her perspectives on historical change and development.

### **The Mendi and Others**

Earlier work on the Highlands has pointed to broad similarities and differences in social practices among societies, particularly with respect to group membership and ceremonial exchange. By and large, Lederman's work confirms the patterns earlier recognized, but she makes some important corrections. One axis of her comparisons is north/south, and here she finds two main differences between the Mendi and the Mae Enga and Melpa to their north. In the latter two societies, she suggests, there is a greater stress on corporate political action. The leaders or big-men are more prominent in exchanges, and individual exchange networks are portrayed as directed towards group events. For Mendi, by contrast, there is less corporate action, big-men have less power, and networks are important independently of group events. This contrast appears to dovetail with the second difference, namely, that in Mendi women are more active exchangers in their own rights than in Mae or Melpa.

Although these overall patterns are probably correctly perceived, some cautionary points should be added. First, Daryl Feil, working with the Tombema Enga, who are closely related to the Mae, has argued strongly that women are also important in the Enga tee exchange system. Second, with regard to the Melpa, historical period has to be considered. While at certain phases big-men held considerable control over interclan exchanges, it is not the case that ordinary men only contribute to the big-men's performances, nor do I think that the published ethnography, taken as a whole, suggests this. Rather, it depends on the category of exchange event and its relationship to warfare and intergroup relations. Women, also, over time have gradually come to have greater say in exchanges, partly through the introduction of money in replacement of pearlshells. The old producer/transactor distinction, which in any case was partly a male folk-model, has therefore been weakened. Third, the Melpa ethnography may unwittingly, through its concentration on group events, have given the impression that network is subordinated to group, as Meggitt explicitly states is so for the Mae. In fact, however, matters are not so simple. The very image of "ropes of *moka* entangled on people's skins" that I used in my book on Hagen exchanges indicates the possibility of conflicting alle-



giances and it is these that in fact often hold up exchange events, as also happens in Mendi.

The other "others" who have to be considered are the Wola, who live south of the Mendi. Lederman accepts that these people show a further dissolution of corporate into network activity in exchange by comparison with the Mendi, but I am unclear why this should be so. It is also puzzling that in Sillitoe's account of the Wola, women are granted almost no independent exchange role at all, a finding that sits very uneasily with Lederman's discovery of the correlation between networks and women's active roles in Mendi. Unless good sociological explanations can be suggested for these differences, we may rather be inclined to suggest that Sillitoe missed this part of the data among the Wola, particularly as he also lends himself to the producer/transactor contrast as an explanatory tool in his writings.

### Dialectics

*Twem* and *sem* are not just separate spheres of activity in Mendi. They are interlocking ways of defining human identity. "To exchange is to be human" seems to be a Mendi motto, one that also applies widely in New Guinea as a whole. What gifts engender, then, is precisely that human identity that is expressed through sociality. Persons and things are not only symbolically interchangeable, as Mauss pointed out long ago, but people are produced by, and produce, themselves in material exchanges. Both *twem* and *sem* exchanges do this, and women as such must exchange in order to achieve identity, even though a hierarchy is situationally created by excluding them from formal participation as leading actors in *sem* activities. We may wonder whether when the two spheres conflict it is women who pursue *twem* interests, or persuade their kinfolk to do so, just as men try to stress *sem*. If so, this must lead to conflict and some antagonism between the sexes, a theme not greatly stressed by Lederman.

A second point here is that the dynamics of "incremental giving" in Mendi are closely linked to the *twem* nexus. Men are obliged to make "excess" returns on gifts to their wives' relatives; to finance these they can claim extra credit from their sister's husbands. Again, one wonders about defaulting and conflict here. Since in Mendi "increment" is strongly linked with this affinal nexus, this rule gives the Mendi players less "financial freedom" than their Hagen counterparts and is perhaps a developmental constraint on the system overall. Lederman is quite right to point out that the Mendi system falls outside of my (now twenty-year-old) distinction between pig festivals founded on production and

live-pig exchanges founded on finance, because the Mendi pig festival also depends on finance (and entails the exchange interplay of pigs and shells). In the “rules of increment,” however, we may find a means of differentiating between systems in a more refined way.

### Women’s Roles

In a book that is excellent in many spheres, the discussion of women’s roles is perhaps its best and most innovative contribution. Since the early work by Ryan, it had been noted that in southern Highlands societies a woman’s position in the exchange system begins already with her at least partial control over some items in her bride-wealth payment. Lederman shows how this role is then extended into *twem* partnerships over time. It would be interesting to know whether women’s roles in *twem* also give them some say in other spheres, for example, in disputes, in land allocation and use (for pig production), and nowadays in the disposal of cash gained from the sale of coffee beans. Data on these matters would enable us to pursue comparisons with other Highlands cases (e.g., the Wok Meri movement in the eastern Highlands, women’s associations in the western Highlands) and to shape a new regional ethnography of women.

### Historical Change and Development

Lederman’s detailed consideration of historical change and development comes only in her last chapter. In earlier chapters she makes interesting references to themes such as the historical advent and circulation of the Timp cult into Mendi but does not pursue these in depth. In the last chapter she notes that, as in her synchronic work, her approach to diachronic events would be to stress human agency and identity rather than impersonal processes of evolution. (It is interesting to contrast this with Feil’s approach, which is explicitly to delineate evolutionary patterns in the Highlands region.) Her way of writing here is also Mausian. There is an implicit opposition to the inroads of capitalism in her text and some good turns of phrase, for example, “By means of syncretic . . . innovations like the incorporation of money into gift exchange, the Mendi are--consciously or not--putting their own forms of sociality at risk’ (p. 228). The final, significant, sentence in the book says the same thing, and the reader is left wondering, appetite whetted for more. Indeed, it is studies that explore the ambiguities that arise out of innovation and how these remold cultural categories and political practices over time that we particularly need for the future of New

Guinea ethnography. Every good book carries some indication of another good book that could be born from it. This applies well to the present work, and its sequel might be entitled "What Money Engenders."

*Response:* **RENA LEDERMAN**  
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Firstly, I thank the reviewers, all of whom have raised important issues of ethnographic interpretation. In this reply, I engage their broadest themes first with a comment on the discursive framing of *What Gifts Engender (WGE)* and then with responses to the more specific queries posed. Especially in the second half of this response, I address another, more theoretical matter, to which the reviewers variously point: that is, the need to rethink existing modes of cultural comparison.

### **Dialectics of the Gift**

As Mosko notes, *WGE* was offered partly as a critique of ecological and production-centered analyses of Highlands societies. But while the critique is explicit in the book, it was not meant to stand on its own. Rather, it was embedded in a more complex project, the aim of which was to weave together two representations of Mendi history: one a structural analysis of gendered sociopolitical relations bearing on what ecological anthropologists working in the Highlands have called "pig cycles," and the other an account of the events and contingencies that my informants deemed relevant to the staging of the 1979 Suolol pig festival (*mok ink*).

However, as Mosko also suggests, unlike other recent critiques, *WGE* did not seek simply to substitute exchange for production; in fact, it aimed to collapse the production/exchange distinction. In the language I used in the book, exchange is itself "a relation of production"--a construction that I meant to be compatible with, though not strictly derivative of, neo-Ricardian notions like those of Gregory (1982) or Gudeman (1978), and structural-Marxist ideas about kinship like those of Godelier (1977; see particularly Merrill 1976, 1979/1980). Insofar as I was dealing with embodied forms of sociality, I could have also turned the formula around: social relations of production could have been considered as exchange relations. But I preferred the first phrasing's critical edge.

As contrastive emphases intimately related to the analysis of our own economic institutions, the "exchange" and "production" perspectives

have had intertwined intellectual histories in Western scholarship both within and outside anthropology. I believed that the convergence of structural and Marxian anthropologies cuts across this opposition in a potentially liberating manner, while retaining an emphasis on power relations (“property,” “exploitation”). However, I also wanted to avoid sociological reductionism and a universalized concept of practices and of self-evident interests or ends (cf. Bourdieu 1978).

Thus, I sought to pay attention to those historically received relations (cultural “structures”) that shaped the conventional, or given, meanings of people’s actions in Mendi, as well as to the conservative or subversive plays on/for those meanings (“politics”) that people made in the course of events I studied. I emphasized the mediated social relations embodying or acting out what we might represent as local ideas about social “agency” (effectiveness, productivity) as *analogues* to the Marxian concepts of “property” relations and “production” (“labor”) in capitalist societies. This focus turned out to be fortunate since, in Mendi, prestations of all sorts are subject both to practical and to explicit discursive elaboration. Attention to them was then a condition for unpacking received categories of comparative analysis (like “property”) and reversing the direction of translation so that indigenous notions could be presented with some integrity and subtlety. It also opened the way for commentary on Mendi perspectives on market-oriented development (chap. 7).

The immediate and most important pretext for my work was Roy Rappaport’s celebrated study of the Maring *kaiko*, *Pigs for the Ancestors* (1969). I originally chose to study Mendi pig festivals (*mok ink*, or *sai le*) thinking that they might provide an interesting comparative foil to the *kaiko*. Insofar as both Mendi and Maring staged periodic “pig kills,” they appeared structurally similar to one another; both differed from central Highlands exchange systems—like the Mae Enga tee or the Hagen *moka*—which involved enchained prestations of live pigs between groups. But Mendi production was more similar to the intensive gardening and pig husbandry practices of Mae and Hagen than it was to that of fringe Highlanders like the Maring. Thus Rappaport’s ecologically conservative interpretation of Maring pig cycles was as inapplicable to the Mendi as it was to those other central Highlands peoples whose *longues durees* had involved significant ecological transformations (see, e.g., Golson 1982; Lederman 1986a).

In this way, Mendi appeared to be a wonderful vantage for reassessing comparativist arguments concerning the structural entailments of different local production/exchange regimes: for example, Rappaport’s

on the determinants of the periodicity of pig kills, or A. Strathern's concerning "finance" and "home production" as alternative methods of acquiring valuables for prestations (1969, 1978, 1985). This literature concerned fringe/central Highlands differences but had a decidedly northern bias, a point three of the reviewers note and to which I will return.

However, the point of my project was not simply critical. By the time I set off for Mendi in 1977, Rappaport's study had already been subjected to scrutiny (e.g., Brookfield 1972; Hide 1981). It appeared to be time for nuanced interpretations that engaged Rappaport's arguments and also took into account the criticisms he had himself leveled at a previous style of political anthropology. Thus, for example, I agreed that altogether too much emphasis had been placed on male leadership styles in the study of large-scale, clan prestations. In order even to understand collective events themselves, it seemed necessary to go off-stage (although I did so in a different way from Rappaport): to report something of everyday prestations and of the knowledge, values, and concerns of women and ordinary men. At the same time, framing the study of local politics in terms of the structure of social relations made it possible to study cultural meanings without reducing matters simply to the intentional or individual.

Again, the Mendi proved appropriate in several ways. Inviting comparison with northern central Highlanders like the Mae and Hageners--about whom there was already an extensive literature--the Mendi were also similar to other southern Highlanders for foregrounding noncollective relations of various sorts. While I would not call the Mendi (or other Southern Highlands Province social orders) "loosely structured," they are certainly decentralized politically relative to their northern neighbors, and their big-men tend not to be that big (Lederman 1990a, 1991). Consequently, I was not as ineluctably drawn into research on big-men and groups as other central Highlands ethnographers had been.'

It is also relevant that--being married to a historian (who came to PNG with me together with a trunkful of relevant reading materials), being fascinated by the literature on Highlands prehistory, and working my way to what we might now call a critical poststructuralism--I framed my research questions as a kind of local history, aiming to pay special attention to the dialectics of social life (Murphy 1971): to conventional forms of creativity and to subversions of convention, to structural contradiction, and to cultural anomaly whether of persons, objects, or events.

The aforementioned suspicions concerning formal, male performance, together with these sorts of theoretical leanings predisposed my attention to gender relations. Both the critiques of Rappaport's work and positive ethnographic studies (e.g., Friedman 1974; M. Strathern 1972) suggested that conflicts between men and women (and perhaps among prominent and ordinary men) over the intensity and ends of garden work might limit the scale and frequency of male-dominated ceremonial exchanges. Mendi was particularly interesting in this regard, since Ryan's earlier work suggested that Mendi women controlled the distribution of their own bride-wealth prestations to a degree. Did Mendi women's agency extend beyond this, and did it account for the relatively long period between Mendi pig festivals?

Once in Mendi, I came to realize that the kind of analysis that treated "men" and "women" unproblematically as opposed groups or classes was inadequate, the literature on Highlands "sex antagonism" notwithstanding (as Strathern also points out in his review). Attention to the form taken by diverse exchange relationships--and particularly, as Mosko, Rumsey, and Strathern note, to noncollective, differentiating ones (e.g., personal exchange partnerships; *twem*)--made possible an alternative interpretation based instead on an indigenous categorical distinction between clan (*sem*; "family" or "kind") and *twem* relationships. Analytically, this distinction was only implicit in Ryan's work; I made its general importance in structuring Mendi experience explicit.

These two forms of sociality, and their mutual relations, are "gendered." Whereas clanship is a collective and unitary (exclusively male) relation, exchange partnerships are based on situationally defined asymmetries (e.g., affinity, or a differential need for valuables). In contexts in which men seek to persuade one another about the value of collective (male) projects, network relationships are rhetorically associated with "femaleness," reflecting divergent and particularized interests--even though both men and women participate in them and men statistically more so. However, clan and network cannot be tagged simply as "male" and "female." Local gender meanings are used relativistically; and they have an overtly political, not objective, value.

While the association of maleness with collectivity and femaleness with its opposite may appear familiar, in fact Mendi gender roles and values do not map neatly onto ours. For example, women's network relationships link them with people outside of their husbands' and their own natal communities: their concerns can be considered neither simply domestic, local, nor "internal." The marital relationship has something of the feel of an exchange partnership (rather than a corporate

“unit”); in any case, women are never entirely alienated from their natal communities, in which they retain gardens and to which they return when things are not going well for them in their husband’s place.

And (as Rumsey’s and Strathern’s reviews point out), neither is the distinction between clanship and personal exchange network equivalent to that between the abstract and totalizing Western notion of “society” and its antithesis, the autonomous, self-interested “individual” (see also Lederman 1989). “Autonomy” (in the sense of attributions of specifically personal responsibility or agency in events) is locally understood to be a function of social relationships. What is more, neither clanship nor *twem* partnership is represented unproblematically as subsuming the other; because each is represented as both a source and a product of the other, their mutual relation cannot be considered hierarchical. While in practice their demands may conflict, the conventions and rhetoric of exchange also work to conjoin them so that they can even be construed as transformations of one another.

As it turned out, reorienting my structural focus to the network/clan relationship helped me to answer the original questions in which I had been interested concerning the systemic constraints on pig festivals and the particular political dynamics of community events. It became clear that Mendi pig festivals were not cyclical, not ritual inevitabilities but contingent political achievements. I found I could also account for the short-term structure of production--which resulted, as Mosko notes, in the rapid buildup of pig herds after pig festivals, and their maintenance at relatively constant, high densities even in the absence of plans for local collective events. This pattern turned out to be similar to that described for Simbu (Hide 1981), but quite different from Maring. Longer-term patterns--involving elements both local and (shall we say) exotic--were also intelligible precipitates of the structural dynamic I have outlined.

### Comparative Strategies

I have described *WGE*’s themes in some detail as a framework for addressing those of its reviewers. Firstly, I appreciate Mosko’s explication of the book’s contribution to debates about “production” or “exchange” models; I hope that my remarks help to qualify the sense in which the book adopts an exchange (or “distribution”) approach. Similarly, Mosko, Rumsey, and Strathern make complementary points about *WGE*’s ethnographic contribution to a “post-Durkheimian” anthropology.

As I have noted above, I organized *WGE* around ethnographic issues derived from northern fringe and central Highlands ethnography. Mosko, Rumsey, and Strathern all comment on this strategy. Now, a north/south comparative axis was itself a kind of innovation, given the conventional east/west polarity of Highlands-centered comparisons (e.g., Watson 1964; Feil 1987). However, given this reorientation, Mosko rightly asks about the appropriateness of my focus on the Mendi's northern neighbors, and deemphasis of southerly comparisons.

There is no doubt that *WGE* would have benefited had it drawn more explicitly on the ethnography of the southern Highlands fringe (the longhouse peoples like the Etoro and Kaluli) or of southern Highlands grasslanders (like the Wola, Huh, and Duna). While *WGE* does refer to these peoples, and while I framed Mendi ethnography with the emerging southern Highlands literature in mind (e.g., pp. 20-21, 62-65), specific ethnographic connections were left largely implicit. Recently, I have begun to develop these southern connections directly (Lederman 1987, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, n.d.).<sup>2</sup>

Mosko's pointed queries raise other, more general questions about strategies of comparison. Why should the Mendi be compared with other southern Highlanders rather than with the Mae Enga, Melpa, Maring, or Simbu? The formal, structural criterion ("family resemblance") that Mosko introduces needs to be unpacked: Are some kinds of resemblances more important than others for (some? all?) comparative purposes? I doubt that one could argue that the Mendi's affinity with the Etoro, Kaluli, or even Huh is "greater" than that with the Enga (to whom they are linguistically related, and from whose heartland they claim to have emigrated) or the Melpa (whose exchange categories parallel theirs, as Rumsey notes). One way or another, the Mendi resemble (and also, obviously, differ from) each of these folks.

Any discussion of comparativist strategies must begin by recognizing that cultural comparison involves not the discovery of natural or objective facts, but the invention of categories. Where one draws the cultural lines is an artifice. However, it is not arbitrary; it rests on assumptions deriving from specific discursive contexts.

While there are other contextual constraints too, perhaps the most important is disciplinary. Like most ethnographies, *WGE* reflects its author's engagement with anthropological conversations at least as much as with local, Melanesian ones (Lederman 1990c). I emphasized the northern central Highlands literature because I recognized that Mendi was already implicated in that conversation (as Rumsey also notes in his discussion of confusions concerning the apparent similarity



between the terms “*moka*” and “*mok ink*”; see, e.g., Feil 1987; Rubel and Rosman 1978; and references in both A. and M. Strathern’s publications). I wanted to help reorient its direction.

This rationale explains my emphasis on the Stratherns’ Melpa (Hagen) ethnography. Addressing Mosko’s question about that emphasis, it did not signify a belief that the Melpa case “epitomizes” central Highlands cultures. The point was that their writings have had a central role in shaping central Highlands anthropology. That is, the Stratherns have, on the basis of their research in the Mt. Hagen area, put a number of issues on the table that my experience in Mendi enabled me to address, introducing a novel, “southern” perspective. In this regard, I thank A. Strathern for the extremely useful ethnographic clarifications in his review, particularly concerning the significance of conflicting allegiances among Melpa men. His comments dovetail with Rumsey’s and suggest the possibility of a “southern” reading of key “northern” cases: just the sort of rethinking--in this case, shift in interpretive emphasis--I had hoped the north/south reorientation might provoke.<sup>3</sup>

Now, there are at least two ways of using ethnographic cases like this to engage comparative arguments. The first, arguably dominant, way is governed by comparative anthropology’s positivist logic. Thus, insofar as our concern is the construction of sociological types, anthropologists search for similarities (using formal, structural criteria alone or in combination with geographical ones), hoping to “discover” lawlike regularities in the associations of sociocultural variables.

This style of comparison engenders a host of knotty problems that, when they are considered at all, are often treated only as technical challenges, not as matters calling the basic method into question (but see Wagner 1981; also Modjeska 1982, whose self-critique provides an insight into some of the problems referred to here). For example, under what circumstances is it in fact justifiable to emphasize the cultural similarities of geographically contiguous peoples (e.g., “southern Highlanders”)? To the extent that comparison is based on formal similarities, how are we to justify our selection of features (alternatively, how do we rationalize the choice of contextualization by means of which our selections appear meaningful and nonarbitrary)? Very generally, in what senses are social orders “systems”; what kinds of constraints on transformations should our constructions presume?

For example, I suggested that a key contrast between southern and northern central Highlanders (between, say, the Mae and Hageners on the one hand and the Huli, Wola, and Mendi on the other) appears to be the relative values of differentiating (e.g., network) and collectivizing

(e.g., clan) relations. Rumsey and Strathern explore some implications of this difference for gender meanings, in particular a possible correlation between the elaboration of exchange networks and female power. Strathern even questions the validity of Sillitoe's male-centered analysis of Wola exchange on this basis.

But tempting as such a correlation is, doubts about "positive" styles of comparison force me to question it. The problem is that exchange networks do not have a necessary or inherent value that may be extrapolated in a linear fashion from one ethnographic case to the next. The significance of networks is relative, and their "positional value" (to use Sahlins's phrase) is subject to alteration with changes in that set.<sup>4</sup> Neither are southern (or northern) Highlanders necessarily all of one sort. In fact, neighbors sometimes organize themselves as if in counterpoint to (or else as mistranslations of) one another's practices. In a word, while I am far from abandoning a notion of social "systems," our notion of systemic relationships needs to become less functional and abstract, more dialectical and sensitive to the ways in which our informants mediate their own historically experienced differences.

Consequently, in common with several others (notably Kelly), my own comparative strategy in *WGE* and subsequently has been primarily deconstructive. Rather than proposing covariations of my own, my aim has been to report instances that break existing ethnographical patterns, that foil typological generalizations, that undercut functional arguments. That is, despite its many similarities with other central Highlands cases, I found that Mendi also differed in significant ways that could not be accounted for neatly within the terms of existing comparative syntheses. For this reason, I have treated the Mendi as "southern" to mark them off as "not northern"; that is, as potentially subversive of ethnographic categories (e.g., "big-men") which we have construed as Highlands-wide. In this way (and as Rumsey's comments suggest), I have sought to make space in Highlands ethnographic debates for some of the issues with which southern Highlands researchers have been concerned (see especially Weiner 1987).

Although constructing the category "southern" has a certain critical value, I thoroughly expect it to break down into other sorts of relativities. Working within the newer southern Highlands ethnography does not require that one develop regionally focused comparisons in a positive mode: Mendi ethnography can be used in the same argumentative manner in this context as well.

The point of this strategy--quite explicit in *WGE* and elsewhere (Lederman 1986a, 1989, 1990a, 1991)--has been to explore the limita-

tions of certain social-science styles of writing and to assert, if not adequately to show, the value of those humanistic styles that seek to convey the "open destinies of life" even amidst an accounting of its historically constituted constraints. This goal has motivated a rethinking of comparative analysis about which I am more explicit in my forthcoming work.

Alternative approaches to comparison may draw upon anthropological history (Sahlins 1981, 1985) and those aspects of feminism and post-modernism that center attention on contradiction and the generative conditions of culturally particular styles of innovation. As I have suggested above, local discourses on difference may be brought productively to bear on anthropological constructs. Thus, I have been interested in how the Mendi understand their relationships with the peoples with whom they interact (including Westerners) and the manner in which "external" relations are modeled on "internal" relations of difference and sameness (e.g., played out in terms of gender and exchange). From this perspective, the emphasis is on difference as much as similarity and the point is not so much to map functional regularities as it is to understand transformations of various sorts.

In light of these concerns with history, comparison, and ethnographic writing, Ryan's review requires a special response. He is concerned about the discrepancies between our two accounts of Mendi society, and asks to what extent they can be attributed to postcolonial changes--to "a shift in emphasis . . . of the whole system"--and to what extent to our different styles of ethnographic interpretation. These are important questions, but narrow misreading trivializes Ryan's contribution; I must confess that I am disappointed (although unfortunately not surprised) by his tone. As Rumsey and others have noted in reviews of *WGE*, I have consistently treated Ryan's work with care and respect; I suppose I expected a degree of reciprocity.

Firstly, Ryan questions my analysis of Mendi women's engagement in *twem* exchanges, wondering if perhaps this is a function of recent transformations in Mendi society or changes in anthropological interpretive fashion (on these points, see Lederman 1986b, 1989). However, it must be said that the credibility of Ryan's assertions about women's lack of participation in the 1950s is undercut by his admission that he "for various circumstantial reasons, did not, at that time, have access" to the "female side of Mendi life." He commented similarly in his unpublished doctoral thesis on Mendi (Ryan 1961:83). A full accounting of the "various . . . reasons" might have helped us to disentangle error, incompleteness, and theoretical bias from the historical changes in which we are both so interested.

It must also be said that Ryan's comment concerning the predominantly intergroup character of *mok ink* during the 1950s is belied by statements he himself made in his thesis: for example, that the "real importance" of *mok ink* "lies in the vast network of minor exchanges that have been taking place between the hosts and their *twem* partners" (Ryan 1961:219). For my part, I never reduced *mok ink* to its noncollective, network aspect; on the contrary, the main point of chapter 6 on the Suolol pig festival (see, e.g., p. 212) was to show how the festival integrated and ceremonialized *both* clan and network interests. (I thank Mosko, Rumsey, and Strathern for developing related points in their reviews.)

All in all, while it is obviously untrue that I ignored the "historical dimension" in *WGE*, it certainly *is* the case that I did not--could not--use Ryan's work--whether concerning the relative positions of agnates and nonagnates, women and men, or (military) alliances between clans and exchange networks--as an unproblematic baseline concerning "Mendi in the 1950s" from which to speculate concerning postcolonial historical change. He is understandably peeved by this. He apparently considers his findings to be transparent, and implies that the corporate-group emphasis of fifties anthropology (not to mention its male bias and its functionalism) had little to do with his own emphases. However--a paragon of the old double standard--he puts great stress on the perverse influence of my newfangled (feminist) "theoretical interpretation."

Of course, as any undergraduate knows, it is inevitable that "theory" shaped what both of us saw (the almost total lack of literature citations in Ryan's thesis notwithstanding). The point is that both Mendi ways-of-seeing and our own are historically particular; representations of cultural change that seek to interpolate reports by anthropologists working in the "same" place at different times need to bear both kinds of history in mind.<sup>5</sup> While overall I was impressed with how well our two accounts meshed, there were several notable instances in which I felt fairly sure that interpretive bias explained our differences. An example is Ryan's analysis of the circulation of wealth in *twem* networks (in which, among other things, he imposed an ethnocentric concept of "ownership" that also limited his understanding of women's participation in exchange; see *WGE*, chaps. 3, 4). Most generally, I took seriously his many cautions concerning the severe constraints (both circumstantial and self-imposed) under which he had conducted field research (e.g., Ryan 1961:i-iii, 73, 83), and I limited my use of his work accordingly.

I will not comment on Ryan's disquisition about social structure except to say that it is embarrassingly naive with respect to the

published literature and a complete non sequitur to the book under review.<sup>6</sup> Ryan's "boring non-issue" is apparently "tenacious" for him alone: to my knowledge, no one has ever contested the vague point that peoples like the Mendi are "patrioriented"!

A final comment on matters undeveloped in the book under review. Strathern reiterates Ryan's concerns when he asks whether *WGE*'s sequel will be "What Money Engenders." I agree completely with Strathern's sense of the future needs of New Guinea ethnography. Indeed, my forthcoming book (Lederman n.d.) is very much about the contradictory and reflexive processes of cultural innovation in postcolonial Papua New Guinea, paying particular attention to the (analytically problematical) gift/commodity distinction. However, I would qualify the definition of "historical change" implicit in the last section of Strathern's review (and probably also in Ryan's remarks as well). As my opening paragraphs here suggest, in *WGE* and elsewhere (see especially Lederman 1986a) I do not define "history" narrowly as the documented past nor as postcontact change, but work with a broader definition that includes precontact social process as well as indigenous constructions of various sorts (e.g., of what we might call "agency" and "transformation"). Thus, while it is true that I dealt in detail with postcolonial change only in chapter 7 of *WGE*, that is by no means the only "history" in the book. The analysis of structural contradiction (chaps. 2-5) was a necessary component of any historical (processual, dynamic) understanding of Mendi sociality during the precontact and postcontact periods, and the analysis of the politics of a particular pig festival (chap. 6) drew explicitly on versions of local historical discourse.

Lastly, Mosko regrets that *WGE* did not consider the symbolism of Mendi exchange more systematically. My forthcoming book treats in detail the ways in which specific forms of wealth (particularly, indigenous objects like pigs and pearlshells and introduced valuables like money) embody styles of sociality and constructions of time and space. The approach is perhaps not strictly "symbolic" (nor does it isolate "religion" as a domain of study). However, insofar as it concerns the contested meanings invested in objects specifically in the context of the historical engagement of cultures, I hope that it explores some of the territory the reviewers have identified.

## NOTES

1. Concerning Mosko's reference to southern Highlanders as "loosely structured": I did not characterize them in those terms. On the page to which Mosko refers (p. 20), I cited Keesing's put-down of that notion: the point was that to describe a society as "loosely struc-

tured” constituted a failure of (specifically) structural analysis, which more dialectical approaches (such as Kelly’s) aimed to overcome.

In this reply, “southern Highlanders” refers to peoples living largely in the Southern Highlands Province of PNG, including the high mountain valley grasslanders practicing intensive horticulture (like the Mendi and Huli) and southern “fringe” Highlanders and “mountain Papuans” (like the Etoro or Kaluli). I use the term “northern Highlanders” to refer to those central Highlands and northern “fringe” Highlands people (like the Enga, Melpa, and Chimbu) living in the Enga, Western, and Simbu provinces.

2. When I began my fieldwork in Mendi in 1977, relatively little had been published concerning southern Highlands societies, the work of Glasse, Kelly, and Schieffelin being notable exceptions.

3. Rumsey and Strathern also draw mutually contradictory inferences about the constraints bearing on exchange in Hagen and Mendi, suggesting interesting questions for further research.

4. Thus, we need to hold open the possibility of male control over network exchanges (as, perhaps, in the Wola case, although I agree with Strathern that Sillitoe’s presentation is not entirely convincing) and of alternative modes of constituting differentiating and collectivizing relations in gendered terms (as in matrilineal cases outside the Highlands). For the Highlands, we need to bear in mind that women have been innovating collective forms of action in recent years (see, e.g., Sexton 1984). Concerning Strathern’s point about Tombema Enga women in particular: As noted in *WGE*, the relationship between *tee* and *twem* needs to be explored as an example of exactly the sort of transformation to which I refer in the text above.

5. I am leaving aside discussion, relevant also to my comments concerning comparative strategies, about how we determine whether two anthropologists were in the “same place” (or, for that matter, in “different times,” structurally speaking). It is obvious that where one draws the (geographical or temporal) line has everything to do with theoretical questions concerning the evaluation of differences and the construction of categories.

6. Ryan inserted the paragraph concerning the terms “tribe” and “clan cluster” into his contribution during copy-editing, after I had drafted this reply. The insertion occasions two comments. Firstly, while in *WGE* no weighty issues hang on the choice of one or another of these terms, for the record my use of “tribe” did indeed follow an “acceptable” definition (see, e.g., Sahlins’s well known 1968 text, *Tribesmen*). Secondly, “tribe” captures Highlands social realities about as well (or as poorly) as most of the other conventional glosses used to refer to the largest territorially-based collectivities (all of which work less well than recently proposed terms, e.g., Strathern’s “big names”).

Finally, on a historical note: as I described in *WGE* and elsewhere, “clan clusters” (or whatever—that is, the largest *sem onda*) are no longer as rare as they may have been in Ryan’s day, nor are they unnamed. Warfare or no, they appear to be expanding in the context of contemporary sociopolitical forces.

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## REVIEWS

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John LeRoy, *Fabricated World: An Interpretation of Kewa Tales*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985. Pp. xii, 319. \$28.95 cloth.

John LeRoy, ed., *Kewa Tales*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985. Pp. xxv, 251. \$21.50 paper.

*Reviewed by Jeffrey Clark, James Cook University of North Queensland*

Of the four book-length studies of myth in Papua New Guinea, it is remarkable if coincidental that three of these deal with people of the southern Highlands, from Lake Kutubu in the west to Mt. Karimui in the east. The Kewa, centrally located within this region, are the subject of LeRoy's *Fabricated World*, an interpretation of tales collected by the author. There is an accompanying volume, *Kewa Tales*, which contains the complete narratives. This centrality of the Kewa is reflected in the way *Fabricated World* finds itself sandwiched between the similar theoretical positions found in Wagner's (1978) and Weiner's (1988) analyses of Daribi and Foi myth. It would be fascinating to compare the mythological similarities of these three societies, and then contrast the anthropological "myths" of interpretation, discussed by LeRoy in his epilogue to *Fabricated World*, that inform the three studies.

The Kewa comprise a language group of about forty thousand people. They live in scattered or clustered homesteads on a plateau of the Southern Highlands Province. What makes the Kewa different from the Daribi and Foi, and therefore comparatively interesting, is that Kewa are culturally closer to Highlands people such as the Mendi and Wiru

than they are to the fringe Highlanders of Kutubu and Karimui. LeRoy points to similarities between Kewa and Daribi narratives, yet what distinguishes them is that the Kewa tell tales, acknowledged as fictions, and have few myths, accounts of "real" events. The author does not explain why the Kewa and their Highlands neighbors do not have the extensive mythology of fringe people, or why myth does not appear to have a similar primacy for the former. It is possible, using LeRoy's analysis, to suggest reasons for this difference. For Kewa, tales are allegorical; they do not rest upon cosmological propositions. It is exchange, not mythology, that constitutes the social order. The tales may deal with wealth and the problems of reciprocity, but they reflect upon these issues rather than generate exchange as a cosmological principle (it is quite likely that the reverse is the case).

Because the tales are fictions, LeRoy argues that they can be analyzed as literature. They show more similarities to the *Decameron* than to Genesis. Tales are narratives that comment on the world presently lived in, and can be "read" and submitted to textual analysis in much the same way as any other form of literature. LeRoy is precise in differentiating between tales and legends, some of which are mythic, but one is left wondering to what extent the schema he has devised for tale interpretation are applicable to myth--and if not, then how can the Kewa and their tales be usefully compared to the literature that deals only with Melanesian mythology? Once LeRoy establishes the status of tales as literature, he seems prepared to discuss their mythlike functions.

LeRoy's analysis is somewhat eclectic, yet this complements his exposition on Kewa tales, which similarly are "built" from a stock of component parts. *Fabricated World* combines the structural poetics of authors like Barthes and Todorov with the formalism exemplified by Propp. These approaches are not uncritically accepted by LeRoy. He discusses their methodologies and shortcomings, and recognizes that the only way to interpret the tales is to develop a more culture-bound approach, to see the tales as embedded within Kewa culture although not produced by it. This is where LeRoy adopts a hermeneutic position, making for an interesting combination of Barthes, Todorov, and Ricoeur and producing a theoretical triangle that puts flesh on the bones of an otherwise language-oriented analysis. If the result is sometimes ambiguous, it is difficult to know if this is the product of eclecticism or of the ambiguous nature of the tales themselves. Perhaps this is not important if his analysis gives the reader a solid understanding of the Kewa and their tales, and in this LeRoy succeeds admirably.

LeRoy admits his debt to structuralism but does not follow a strict structural view of meaning. The tales deal with oppositions but these are not logical; rather they are of the moral/ethical kind. Tales do not resolve contradictions in social life but serve as vehicles for their expression. LeRoy uses the techniques of structuralism--syntactic/semantic constructions of tale episodes, episode (mytheme) columns, the location of central oppositions such as that between being and nonbeing, examination of episodes from a corpus of tales (rather than isolated examples) for their "transformations," and so forth--without accepting that meaning is reducible to mental structures or relations between signs. The transformations between episodes in tales are to show how meaning is found in intertextuality, not that different versions are attempts to resolve basic contradictions in social life. For LeRoy, meaning is culturally specific and expressed through metaphor, which derives its force not just through intertextuality but from the interrelationship between tales and the "real" world. The meaning of narratives is conceptual and figurative, and has a moral, not a mathematical, force.

LeRoy, perhaps following Ricoeur's advice, returns the sign to the world. Yet this is a world that is at once real, the domain of experience, and unreal, the domain of tales. LeRoy's style and ability are evidenced by his ability to convince the reader that neither of these worlds is the most authentic. Tales, in fact, contain real and unreal elements--truths are presented as fictions and fictions as possible truths (in the sense of alternatives for social existence). The tension between reality and possible realities is what underlies the tales, or rather that they are not diametrically opposed but part of the same fabric.

The tales LeRoy analyzes deal with kinship, ghosts, skin changers, tricksters, and other figures. The characters are often exaggerations or aberrations of cultural roles and categories, such as affine or sister, and are used to fabricate an alternative model of society, another world of meaning, with which the Kewa can contemplate notions of morality and existence. LeRoy is compelling in his account of this fabricated world, yet an uncertainty lies at the heart of his analysis. This stems not so much from his theoretical eclecticism, which is to be recommended, but from his readiness to admit to tales with which his interpretative framework cannot deal and his recognition that at different levels this framework reveals or imposes a structure in the tales. Arguably, this is a problem for anthropology in general. Indeed, *Fabricated World* could be viewed as an extended myth that deals with a central contradiction of the discipline--that it fabricates its own world of meaning to account for the authenticity of its subject. The problem is in whether uncer-

tainty is related to the ambiguity of the tales or the impossibility of ever "knowing" another society.

Yet I find myself uncomfortable with analyses that, because of the contradictions within the discipline and its sometimes cosmic preoccupations, render anthropological interpretation as "like" myth. LeRoy concludes *Fabricated World* in a spirit of almost poststructural gloom, hoping that his analysis will "keep the storytelling going" in the event that all interpretation proves hopeless. This is a peculiar way to authenticate the anthropological process--interpretation provides another context for intertextuality, and more meaning is supposed to emerge. Analysis thus provides a rival literary form that competes for meaning with the original tales. This striving for literariness produces some vivid passages but perhaps tends to add a veil of obscurity to what the tales reveal.

Finally, a word on how *Fabricated World* should be read. It is necessary to understand what LeRoy means when he refers to the particular devices used for the interpretation of tales. These are "frame," "function," and "sequence." The devices are not difficult to understand, but reading *Fabricated World* can be cumbersome as one refers back to other episodes and to the appendixes, as well as to the companion volume that contains tales in their entirety (and that may be read just for enjoyment). The publication of a companion volume is to be commended. It provides the reader with access to all of the tales used to support LeRoy's interpretation, and future students of narrative will be grateful. As a contribution to Melanesian ethnography and the analysis of narrative, *Fabricated World* deserves to become a classic and a model for elegant anthropological discourse.

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*Reviewed by H. G. A. Hughes, Afonwen, Clwyd, Wales*

This handsome volume, published in association with the Center for Pacific Islands Studies of the University of Hawaii, is a threefold, monumental tribute to the traditional culture of the Tungaru people, to the patience and care of Sir Arthur Grimble (1888-1956), recorder of that culture, and to the meticulous scholarship of H. E. Maude, his editor.

Grimble and Maude both studied anthropology at the University of Cambridge, both began their careers in the British Colonial Service in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony, both became Resident Commissioner of that colony, and both became fluent in the Gilbertese language and accomplished ethnographers of the culture. Grimble served in Banaba and the Gilbert Islands from 1914 to 1932, and Maude from 1929 to 1949 (the war years at the Western Pacific High Commission in Suva, Fiji). Maude's subsequent, distinguished career in the South Pacific Commission and in the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University enhanced his international standing as the leading authority on Gilbertese history and culture.

Contemporaneous written records of any scientific value on the indigenous Tungaru culture before it underwent the changes that had their origins in the last two decades of the nineteenth century are few and meagre. The accounts by Wilkes (1845), Hale (1846), Pierson (1855), Gulick ([ 1861] 1943), Parkinson (1889), Finsch (1893), and Kramer (1906) are noteworthy examples. Maude highlights the importance of Grimble's ethnographic and linguistic research:

. . . it seemed that all we should ever know of the pre-contact Gilbertese way of life would be unrelated odds and ends, but for the work of Arthur Francis Grimble. Partly by his successful use of the ethnohistorical technique of upstreaming, Grimble recovered for the modern Gilbertese, as well as for the rest of us, the past of their atoll society as it functioned before the changes introduced by Europeans. He was just in time, for another decade would have seen the death of the last of his aged informants, and any reconstruction would necessarily have been based on less detailed and more inaccurate hearsay evidence. (P. xiv)

The bulk and intrinsic value of Grimble's already published work are impressive. Maude gives us the most comprehensive bibliography yet of those writings (pp. 357-359). Grimble's extensive collection of myths, legends, and oral traditions (in Gilbertese, with English versions) is also available, from the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (Grimble 1964). *Tun-*

*garu Traditions* comprises the remainder of the Grimble Papers, presented by Maude in three parts.

"Part 1: Notes on Gilbertese Culture" (pp. 1-194) consists of field notes, arranged under twenty-two subject headings. This invaluable and wide-ranging material was obtained by Grimble from *unimane* and *unaine*, all mature people and many of them elderly, mainly in the northern islands. They constituted an elite that he respected and found congenial. Grimble especially esteemed his informants in Marakei.

The key institution of Gilbert Islands society is the focus of the four chapters (also written and checked in the field) that make up "Part 2: The Maneaba" (pp. 195-251). Construction, ceremonial aspects, *boti* rights, and traditional origins are discussed in illuminating detail. Some of Grimble's reconstructions of possible historical changes and the causations he suggests are conjectural and open to reassessment. Nonetheless, these chapters are first-rate anthropological writing and of cardinal importance. They should be read in conjunction with the seminal works on the *maneaba* by Maude (1963, 1980), Latouche (1983, 1984), and Lundsgaarde (1978).

"Part 3: Essays on Mythology, History, and Dancing" (pp. 253-333) has, firstly, two draft essays concerned with eliciting the historical content in the Gilbertese traditional oral narratives he had gathered over the years, and using it together with genealogical data to construct a credible outline of precontact history. From bitter personal experience I know the hazards and difficulties of such an endeavor. Grimble has weathered many of these and achieved a usable if somewhat controversial framework. "The Historical Content of Gilbertese Mythology" (pp. 255-267) and "A Genealogical Approach to Gilbertese History" (pp. 268-294) are stimulating and rewarding. "A Discourse on Gilbertese Dancing" (pp. 314-333) is not from the Grimble Papers, but an official colonial memorandum of 1919. In it Grimble brilliantly rebuts charges of immorality made against traditional dancing by the Rev. W. E. Goward, then local representative of the London Missionary Society. Never before or since has Gilbertese dance been so expertly and sympathetically described in such elegant prose.

Of singular importance is "A History of Abemama" (pp. 295-313) by Airam Teeko, a member of the royal family of that island. This was written in Gilbertese in a notebook acquired by Grimble while district officer on Abemama, probably about 1916. Splendidly translated by Reid Cowell, former GEIC officer and an authority on the Gilbertese language, Teeko's account contains sociological information not to be found elsewhere.

Maude expresses the hope that *Tungaru Traditions* “will serve to establish Grimble’s reputation as the pioneer ethnographer who discovered and recorded the main features of Gilbertese social organization” (p. xxvi). In my view, it succeeds in so doing. In 1951, in Abaiang and Tarawa, I met aged men who inquired after “Kurimbo” and his daughter Rosemary. They recalled his mastery of the Gilbertese language and the intricacies of land custom and tenure with unmistakable respect. The Grimble Papers can only evoke respect in us. Much of what Grimble recorded and interpreted remains valid today, preserving the features of a culture that might, but for him, have vanished for all time.

Grimble’s virtues as an ethnographer are those of his epoch, as are his faults. He had a paternalistic concern for the islanders in his charge, an innate conservatism that caused him to value tradition and to seek to place it on record for posterity. By upbringing, education, and training he was observant, critical, and painstaking. He was greatly influenced at Cambridge and later by the anthropologist W. H. R. Rivers and by the ethnologist A. C. Haddon. He admired *Hawaiki* by S. Percy Smith (1921). Their theories affected Grimble’s thinking and determined his preoccupation with origins, migrations, kinship, cultural diffusion, and historical reconstruction. His terminology and concepts are those of the pre-Malinowski generation of anthropologists. Maude takes the view that though Grimble has been called the last of the old school of Pacific diffusionists, the essays reproduced in *Tungaru Traditions* show him to be more akin to the ethnohistorians of today, of post-1961 vintage. This seems to me to be a valid judgment. (Incidentally, the only printing error noticed throughout the book occurs here at p. xxx: “Gimble”).

The new facts, insights, opinions, and speculations presented in this book are overwhelming in quantity. Assessment of them is often difficult and caution in acceptance advisable, despite one’s general admiration for the range and quality of Grimble’s work. Referring to PMB 69 (Grimble 1964), Jean-Paul Latouche once enjoined “utilisation délicate”; I am of the opinion that that advice applies equally to this work. My main unease here relates to Grimble’s own English versions of Gilbertese texts. He was a poet in his youth and a cultivated man of letters. Some of his versions seem to me to be unduly “free” and often rather quaint in a late-Victorian style, for example, “Whence shall kind words of welcome fall to greet me?” for “*B'e rio maia akoau*” (p. 104). Many of the texts collected by Grimble are today obscure and closer, word-for-word renderings would be helpful.

Maude’s editorial contributions to this impressive monograph include “A. F. Grimble as an Anthropologist” (pp. xix-xxvi), “The Grimble



Papers" (pp. xxvii-xxxii), supremely helpful notes, an expert glossary, and an exceptionally valuable bibliography. The index is not exhaustive but serves its main purposes adequately. The varied illustrations, from those of the Wilkes expedition of 1838-1842 to photographs taken by Maude himself, enhance the books attractiveness and scholarly value.

As an editor, Maude is quite outstanding: perceptive, critical, and knowledgeable. We are indebted indeed to him for this notable contribution to Gilbertese studies.

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*Reviewed by Margaret Orbell, University of Canterbury*

Polynesian religious tradition has been voluminously recorded, thanks to the cooperation of the indigenous authorities who in most cases wrote down the texts and the interested Europeans who then preserved their manuscripts. Quite a few missionaries became keen collectors (Ellis, Gill, Orsmond, Turner, Wohlers, Taylor, Collocott, and others), and so did a smaller number of colonial administrators--among them such important figures as Grey, Fornander, and Shortland. Later, some Europeans who had been born or brought up in the region became passionately absorbed in this study (White, Davis, Smith, Gudgeon, Best, Emerson, Henry, and many others). Two German ethnographers, von den Steinen and Krämer, were active at the turn of the century, then in the 1920s the Bernice P. Bishop Museum instigated its great research program and ethnographers such as Gifford, Handy, Buck, the Beagleholes, Elbert, Emory, and Stimson were able to collect traditional materials from islands where there had been relatively little European settle-

ment and life had been less drastically disturbed. Meanwhile the study of the very large body of existing records continued; after Henry in Tahiti there were such scholars as Beckwith, Pukui, Elbert, and Luomala in Hawai'i, and Ngata and Te Hurinui in New Zealand.

Inevitably the record is incomplete and uneven; the main bodies of writings relate to New Zealand, Hawai'i, Tahiti, and Samoa--and even there much has been lost. But despite all the gaps, Polynesian tradition appears to have been better recorded than that of any comparable cultural region. This great collection of published and unpublished materials contains the literary heritage of the peoples of these islands, and is the main source of information on traditional Polynesian thought; its study could also make a significant contribution to the consideration of a wide range of theoretical issues relating to, for example, patterns of thought and imagery and the evolution and uses of mythology. Yet for a number of reasons the study of Polynesian tradition is at present in decline within the region, and it has not become established in universities elsewhere. Relatively few works on the subject, for academic or popular audiences, have appeared in the last twenty years or so.

Robert D. Craig's *Dictionary of Polynesian Mythology* is all the more welcome for this reason. The first work of its kind, it draws upon the vast accumulation of published texts and some manuscript ones, and also makes use of the comparative studies of such scholars as Tregear, Beckwith, and Luomala. As well as providing extensive entries on major and minor supernatural figures, the volume has entries on a range of topics such as the underworld, ghosts, giants, and the origin of the coconut. There is a helpful introduction and a good index, also an appendix in which the gods and goddesses are categorized as canoe deities, moon deities, fire deities, and so on. The work naturally does not include everything--no single volume could do so--but it does have a great deal of information and is as useful for scholarship as it is interesting and entertaining for the general reader.

In some cases certain minor figures might have been better excluded to provide space for more extended entries on others. In the Maori material, with which I am best acquainted, I noticed a number of entries, taken largely from Tregear and Grey, which deal with very minor figures, in some cases legendary rather than mythical (such as Kahureremoa and Tawake-heimoa) or personifications that are not really supernatural entities but simply a way of referring in the story to the creature concerned (Kanae are mullet, and Tuatara the reptile of that name). But this sort of thing is difficult to avoid completely, especially when the material is so unevenly presented by early writers. The

major entries are substantial and well organized, with bibliographical information provided.

This book is a definite asset and I am pleased to have it on my bookshelf. For the next edition quite a few misprints will require attention.

Andrew C. F. David, chief ed., *The Charts & Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages*. Vol. 1, *The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771: With a Descriptive Catalogue of All the Known Original Surveys and Coastal Views and the Original Engravings Associated with Them, Together with Original Drawings of the Endeavour and Her Boats*. Asst. eds. for the views, Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith. Hakluyt Society Extra Series, vol. 43. London: The Hakluyt Society in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988. Folio, pp. lxiv, 328, maps, views, illus., index. £100 cloth.

*Reviewed by Riley M. Moffat, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University-Hawaii*

What, you say, yet another series on the Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook? Yes, and what a splendid series this promises to be. Just when I thought every aspect of Cook's career and accomplishments had been analyzed, and every known diary printed, along comes this definitive volume on the charts and coastal views of the first voyage.

The history of this endeavor is a long one. In the preface to the first volume of Rüdiger Joppien's *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), Bernard Smith relates:

Attempts to publish the visual material associated with Cook's voyages possess a long, checkered and ill-fated history; this is no place to attempt even to survey that history, but a brief account of the origin of the present volumes must be given. It begins in 1949 with a proposal made in connection with the preparation of the Hakluyt Society's edition of Cook's Journals, edited by the late Professor J. C. Beaglehole and published in three volumes between 1955 and 1968. The original plan envisaged a fourth volume, which was to contain essays on aspects of Cook's career and achievements and to include an account of the artists who voyaged with Cook, together with a full list of their works. No one associated with the project at that time was aware of the amount of visual material involved. (P. ix)

Smith relates that he began visiting museums, libraries, and galleries in 1949 and continued until 1955 when the late R. A. Skelton of the British Museum began assisting him in preparing a section called "Graphic Records" for each volume of the Hakluyt edition of the Journals. These sections outlined the major collections of the graphic records of Cook's voyages: the sketches, drawings, paintings, views, and charts.

In the plethora of Cook voyage publications many of these graphic records have themselves been reproduced. As virtually all the extant written accounts by eyewitnesses have now been published--the journals, diaries, and reports--it is now time to organize all the known graphic records of the voyages into one comprehensive catalogue. Joppien and Smith admirably accomplished this in part in their *Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*. Now Andrew C. F. David is completing the monumental task with the assistance of Joppien and Smith by cataloguing the charts and views of Cook's voyages.

What is the importance of this material to warrant the tremendous expense and the four decades of compilers' time? Cook was instructed by the Admiralty to employ himself whenever possible "surveying and making Charts, and taking Views of such Bays, Harbours, and Parts of the Coast as may be useful to navigation" (p. xvii). Cook would be venturing to many places hitherto unknown to the Western world; the British Admiralty wanted to know their extent and resources. One of the primary reasons Cook was selected to command these voyages of discovery was his skill as a hydrographic surveyor. This ability allowed him to accurately locate and map the places he visited, replacing many mythical islands on the map of the Pacific with accurate new discoveries. Cook's skill meant that when he located a landfall it was placed accurately on the map so that subsequent navigators could sail there with confidence.

Why are the views in this catalogue and not in *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*? Most people today would consider them landscape art. In Cook's day, however, they had vital technical value to mariners. Before photography or satellite navigation systems a captain coming up on an unfamiliar landfall was dependent on offshore views such as these to help him identify the landfall and position his ship for a safe anchorage or passage into a possibly difficult harbor. Views like these were as important as printed sailing directions or navigation charts.

Cook's voyages into the Pacific are important enough that there is value in seeing all the versions of a chart or view, from rough sketch to finished rendering to engraved plate done after the return to England and perhaps embellished or romanticized. The differences between ver-

sions of the views and charts may not be as pronounced as in the other artwork resulting from the voyages but it exists nevertheless. David remarks on the realism of Buchan's and Sporing's work versus the romanticism of Parkinson's views (pp. xlii-xliv). The necessity for exactness in copying charts--for the safety of the ship and the lives of its seamen were at stake--reduced the amount of embellishment as compared with other forms of graphics emanating from the voyage. The effort to remain true to the original survey can be seen numerous times as the image of a place progresses from pencil or ink sketch to Hawkesworth's copper plate engraving. It is pointed out that there were a number of individuals who participated in drawing charts and views and it is important to see their perceptions rendered on paper. Also, some important charts were copied more than once by Isaac Smith, who drew most of the charts based on Cook's surveys, and we are able to see each version. David also points out that the thirty charts of Pickersgill are not up to Cook's usual standard and that the twelve charts of Molyneux on the Dolphin are usually less accurate than Cook's. All these versions and variations are here for the reader to see.

David and his colleagues have been working at this project for forty years. They have circled the globe seeking Cook documents. It is difficult to imagine that they have not seen all the relevant graphic material dealing with Cook's voyages, so a publication of this magnitude can now be attempted. One of the most impressive aspects to me of this first volume is the detailed description of each illustration and the "Descriptive Inventory of Collections" that reviews the provenance and location of each chart and view. It is a truly monumental effort that should stand for some time as the definitive source of information on this topic. I can only hope that these men can see the other volumes in this series through to publication.

O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan*. Vol. 3, *Paradise Found and Lost*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988. Pp. xxii, 410, plates, maps. US\$59.50 cloth.

Reviewed by David Mackay, Victoria University of Wellington

*Paradise Found and Lost* completes Oskar Spate's monumental work on *The Pacific since Magellan*. As his preface ruefully acknowledges, the series title is something of a misnomer since the present volume effectively ends with the Nootka Sound crisis of the 1790s, although occa-

sional economic trails are followed through to the 1820s. Most readers will reluctantly accept his decision--"Thus far, and alas, no farther"--acknowledging the great span of the achievement and the difficulties of continuing such a work into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The book has all the qualities of the first two volumes. Spate's grasp of the relevant literature is formidable and yet he is able to narrate his story without letting the massive scholarly underpinnings become intrusive. Although the style is somewhat muted in the third volume, the writing is still fluent, lively, and peppered with the author's characteristically impish anecdotes and asides. While academic historians will find rich pickings in the work, the general reader should find it absorbing and congenial.

As the title implies, the overriding concern of *Paradise Found and Lost* is eighteenth-century European and American perceptions of the Pacific and its peoples. At one level these perceptions shaped imperial aspirations in the region and the economic possibilities that its vastness suggested. At another they reflected the European imagination and the manner in which appreciation of Pacific peoples was shaped by the prevailing moods and fashions of the philosophers and literati of Paris or London. Spate describes the two poles of this thought: the idealization of the Pacific embodied in the concept of the "Good Savage" and the more hardened approach of those who regarded Pacific peoples as treacherous, barbarous, and superstitious. Bougainville, Commerson, Joseph Banks, and Hawkesworth gave the first currency; while Surville, La Pérouse, and numerous whalers, traders, and missionaries were exponents of the latter. These opposing views reflected their proponents' opinions of their own society. George and Johann Forster, struggling to come to terms with the contradictions in Pacific and their own cultures, fell somewhere in between.

The book begins with a description of Pacific peoples, the peopling of Polynesia and Melanesia, and a guide to their cultural and political systems. That such an account had to wait until the third volume in the series reinforces Spate's admission that his essential concern has been geopolitical history from a European perspective. Pacific peoples only come into their own in the eighteenth century when they enter the European imagination or become subject to colonization. Many will see this part of the work as an unsatisfactory afterthought in the context of the three volumes, but given the particular concerns of *The Pacific since Magellan* its inclusion here makes sense.

The next section deals in a matter-of-fact way with the voyages of exploration, from Byron and Bougainville through to Vancouver,

Malaspina, and Baudin. Spate has little that is new to say about these expeditions, although the account is lucid and accurate. This is, of course, well-traversed ground and he clearly acknowledges the tremendous output of literature in the last thirty years. Characteristically, Cook's voyages, in all their aspects, form the centerpiece of the work and perhaps this is one reason why it fails to evoke the previous volumes' sense of freshness--at least for readers in English.

Finally, the book sets out to evaluate the scientific, cultural, economic, and political legacy of the second great age of exploration. It investigates the significance of the voyages for the fight against scurvy, the botanical and zoological achievements of Banks and the Forsters, how the Euro-Americans and Pacific peoples treated each other after initial contact, the noble and ignoble savage, and practical attempts to exploit the discoveries in the 1780s and 1790s. In many ways this is the least satisfactory part of *Paradise Found and Lost*. It lacks any central thread and has the character of a set of almost discrete essays. The temptation, apparent throughout the book, to have a final word on every historiographical debate relevant to the Pacific in the eighteenth century here distracts the reader and weakens the analysis. After an account of the British and Spanish posturings over Nootka Sound in the 1790s, the book ends abruptly without the unifying force of a conclusion.

Part of the difficulty is the resolute refusal of the Pacific to take on strong, unifying characteristics, other than those provided by the waves that lap its shores. It was for a time a repository of unifying European myths--the great Southern Continent, the noble savage, the passage to China--but in Spate's geopolitical sense it remained a stipple of islands with a precarious trading rim. Many of its trades were short-lived and peopled by erratic adventurers. In the eighteenth century no stable patterns of commerce emerged and government interest was quixotic to say the least. In ethnographic terms there was a unity, of course, but the peopling of the Pacific is not Spate's main concern.

Nevertheless, this is a great publishing achievement and a significant piece of literature. Although the work will draw some criticism for its particular focus, it has a span and grasp previously absent from the history of European involvement in the Pacific.

Douglas Oliver, *Return to Tahiti: Bligh's Second Breadfruit Voyage*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988. Pp. xx, 281, illus., figures, bibliography, index. US\$40.00 cloth.



*Reviewed by Hugh Laracy, University of Auckland*

Douglas Oliver is an eminent anthropologist whose corpus of work is distinguished by, among other virtues, its author's awareness of historical processes and his close knowledge of historical sources. For Oliver, the author of the most widely known history of the Pacific Islands (first published in 1951), history and anthropology are tools to be used together in analyzing societies and events. They are not discrete bodies of knowledge. They are complementary, not alternatives.

Oliver's *Return to Tahiti* is clearly the product of a mind not inhibited by conventional academic boundaries. It is imaginatively conceived, handsomely presented, and deals with a significant yet hitherto largely unexplored incident in Tahitian history. Yet for all that, it is a less satisfactory work than its author probably would have hoped for, or his readers would have expected.

The core of the work is a reproduction of William Bligh's journal of his second, and this time successful, visit to Tahiti in 1792 to obtain breadfruit plants for the West Indies. As a historical record and as a repository of firsthand observations on the Tahitians the journal is a valuable one, and Oliver has done well in bringing it to light. However, his method of presentation is an impediment to any clear appreciation of the document as a whole. The standard editorial technique would have been to have a long introduction describing the journal and the events it chronicles, followed by the annotated text of the journal itself. Instead, acting more as author than editor, Oliver has attempted to present a detailed story of the visit in a continuous text compiled from various sources.

He follows the structure of the journal but Bligh's entry for each day is then supplemented with the corresponding entries from the journals of his companions and is copiously glossed with material supplied by other observers and commentators, including, of course, Oliver himself. The provenance of material is identified by the use of a distinctive typeface for each source. *Return to Tahiti* is a brave experiment in literary form, but it does not work very well; the journals of Bligh and of his third mate, George Tobin, are broken up in the word-mass of the text while the narrative remains episodic and the various typefaces are confusing.

Even so, fortunately, these are not damning faults. They may make the book difficult to follow but do not negate its usefulness. The substance is sound, it is the arrangement that is problematic. Besides, there

is one delightful feature that elevates the whole volume, namely the illustrations. These are twenty-seven watercolors, landscapes by Tobin, most of them here reproduced in color for the first time. For *Return to Tahiti*, as for his many works, there is, then, good reason to say "Thanks, Doug" and mean it.

Patrick V. Kirch and Terry L. Hunt, eds., *Archaeology of the Lapita Cultural Complex: A Critical Review*. Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum Research Report, no. 5. Seattle: Burke Museum, 1988. Pp. iv, 181. US\$17.00 paper.

*Reviewed by Jim Specht, Australian Museum, Sydney*

The last five years have witnessed a major reorientation of field studies of Lapita pottery sites in the western Pacific, from the western Polynesia and southern Melanesian geographic areas to the Bismarck Archipelago and North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea. Almost all of that work has developed out of the highly successful Lapita Homeland Project of 1985, so imaginatively put together by Professor Jim Allen. With primary funding through the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra, and with supplementary funding from the National Geographic Society and other participating institutions, that project has generated an enormous amount of data from newly discovered as well as previously known Lapita sites in the region. This volume, the result of a graduate seminar course at the University of Washington (Seattle), summarizes aspects of this new data and reviews in broad outlines the one hundred or so Lapita sites now known from Papua New Guinea to Western Samoa.

The volume contains ten chapters by eight authors, with five chapters individually and jointly written by Kirch and Hunt. It is the most comprehensive review of Lapita sites ever attempted and is an invaluable and welcome update of Roger Green's 1979 review of the main Lapita sites then known. The collation of data and bibliography alone make this volume an essential addition to the libraries of all who profess any interest in the history of Pacific peoples. Yet those involved in Lapita studies will find many inadequacies.

The most significant inadequacy is probably a result of the way in which the volume was developed. Several chapters are, to put it kindly, lacking in delivery of the "critical review" promised in the volume title.

Most of the data are taken from published reports (and most of these, sad to say, are woefully incomplete). Such material allows only a very imprecise understanding of either Lapita sites or their contents.

Lepofsky's site catchment and locational analysis would have benefited from firsthand observation of Lapita site contexts. I am more than skeptical about the generalized approach she uses to characterize both site catchments and locations. Her observation that Lapita sites "are located on both reef-lagoon systems and the open ocean" (p. 46) leaves much to be desired. What is an "open ocean" aspect? If I understand her correctly, then I have to disagree that any Lapita site is truly oriented to the "open sea." Moreover, not all sites with Lapita pottery are on beaches. In my preliminary report on Watom Island (Specht 1968) I briefly discussed the Vunailau site, set on a hillside some distance inland from the beach. Let us put to rest once and for all time the myth that Lapita sites are always on beaches. We will find Lapita sites only on beaches if we never look for them elsewhere.

The range of locational variables associated with the beachside locations is broader than that perpetuated in the literature. If we are to use site catchment analysis for Lapita or any other category of site in the Pacific, we must generate our own catchment models that adequately encapsulate insular environments. Drawing circles of standard diameters around sites is not only old-hat, but virtually meaningless. I agree, however, with Lepofsky's plea for better descriptions of site location, both current and reconstructed. In the meantime, we would be well advised to use the available data with some caution, and avoid discussions of site densities on large and small islands (figs. 3.4, 3.6): Are Lapita sites more visible on small islands than on large ones? Are small islands more carefully and thoroughly surveyed than large ones?

Hunt's paper on pottery technology and composition is a useful review and highlights just how little is known about either aspect. We all await with great interest his own work on the Mussau-area Lapita pottery that, from word-of-mouth reports, promises to set new benchmarks for these kinds of studies. We have come a long way in terms of techniques and instrumentation since the pioneer work of Bill Dickinson and Con Key. Anson's work (1983) on Bismarck Lapita pottery composition raised some challenging propositions about production and exchange that must now be addressed using larger samples.

Sharp's contribution usefully advances the study of Lapita design composition begun by Sidney M. Mead. She addresses a central difficulty with Mead's scheme, that of defining design elements and combining these to form motifs. Her paper formed a central part of discussions

on how to analyze Lapita decoration at a Lapita design workshop held at the Australian National University in December 1988. Now, as then, I remain unconvinced that only one analytical approach should be adopted by all, since each approach serves different ends. Our major difficulties at present are defining those ends and then identifying a relevant approach.

Most attention to stone artifacts from Lapita sites has been directed to exotics such as obsidian, particularly in sourcing studies. Allen and Bell's chapter, therefore, is a welcome inclusion in the volume, though they are severely hampered by the lack of information about flaked stone materials in terms of technology and function. The chapter is disappointing, nevertheless, as it can offer little beyond a restatement of data, even though its assembly here is useful.

Two chapters address meat protein sources in Lapita subsistence. Butler reviews fish remains while Nagaoka covers other animals, including molluscs. Both chapters would have been greatly improved, and of much greater value, if they had been structured in terms of a site catchment model, with attention to habitat data and to site/resource spatial relationships. Both identify some real problems in recovery, identification, and quantification. Despite the widespread use of 5 mm mesh sieves, we are still losing, it seems, an enormous amount of small material. Add to that the problem faced by many in getting even genus-level identifications for some animal groups and the ongoing difficulties surrounding how to count the animals represented, and one is left wondering just how reliable are many published statements on subsistence. Butler's conclusion that fishing may have been overemphasized by previous authors deserves careful reflection. I remain skeptical about the value of detailed mollusc species lists (e.g., tables 8.4 and 8.5). If most of these remains are food residues, then there was little selectivity.

The remaining chapters on the temporal and spatial distributions of Lapita sites, exchange-network models, and "problems and issues" deserve to be taken together. Throughout the volume the subject of "Lapita exchange" recurs as a leitmotiv, coming into its own in Hunt's chapter on graph theory and network models of exchange.

Elsewhere, Kirch (1988) has discussed the difficulty of identifying archaeologically the movement of goods (e.g., shell artifacts, pigs, etc.) that cannot be sourced. This is likely to remain a continuing problem, so discussion of Lapita exchange activities will continue to be based on pottery and stone items. Some years ago Clark and Terrell (1978) queried the nature of the evidence then at hand for postulating long-distance exchange networks during Lapita times. Many of their criticisms

still hold. With the exception of obsidian from the three Bismarck source areas, we have no possible evidence for sustained long-distance exchange throughout the Lapita period. Even with obsidian, most of the finds are in the Bismarck-Solomons sites; south and east of these the total number of Bismarck obsidian pieces found on Lapita sites is, literally, a mere handful.

Since Wickler's demonstration of Pleistocene colonization of the North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea (Wickler and Spriggs 1988), we can now assume settlement at that time as far south at least as Makira, if not beyond. It may not be a coincidence that the main Lapita distribution of Bismarck's obsidian matches the area of the Bismarcks and the Solomons with demonstrated and putative Pleistocene settlement. So little is yet known of Solomons prehistory that we cannot state with certainty that Bismarck obsidian was or was not transported to the Solomons during the Pleistocene. We must be wary, therefore, of concluding that with the appearance of Lapita pottery in the western Pacific, there was a simultaneous extension of the distribution of obsidian into the Solomons. We cannot assume that people associated with Lapita pottery created long-distance exchange networks or significantly extended previously existing ones.

As Hunt notes in his chapter on Lapita pottery composition studies, "surprisingly little is known for certain about the potential exchange of Lapita pottery over short or long distances" (p. 52). Despite nearly a quarter of a century of petrographic and other studies of clays and fillers used by Lapita potters, we are left with only a few analyzed sherds and of these only a small proportion that might have been transported to their sites of recovery. Anson's results (1983) on a small Bismarck sample suggested local production at Watom, Ambitle, and Talasea, and a possibility of importations to Eloaua. Larger and better samples are clearly required before we can discuss movement of Lapita pottery over even short distances. There is virtually no evidence to show movement over long distances. The likelihood obviously cannot be discounted at this stage, but we need evidence. Hunt's three models for ceramic exchange (chap. 4) are useful, if oversimplified, providing a starting point for organizing thoughts about this topic. They need, however, to be developed further.

Hunt's chapter on "graph theoretic network models for Lapita exchange" (chap. 9) contributes little to the subject matter of its title. Any one of the models based on our present knowledge of Lapita site distributions is susceptible to radical revision as new sites are located. Because of the large scale on which he chooses to operate, nodes contain

anywhere from one to a dozen sites. While this does not automatically invalidate the application of this graph-theory approach to the larger picture, it does run the danger of misleading our thoughts about local-level interactions. Were the major interactions only between those sites that today yield Lapita pottery? What about the populations of the Bismarck Archipelago-North Solomons areas who were contemporary with Lapita but whose sites do not contain the distinctive pottery (e.g., site FGT at Yambon, southwest New Britain)? Are they to be excluded from consideration? How do the models based on graph theory account for variations through time in the proportions of obsidian from the three Bismarck source areas? Many other queries could be raised along similar lines, reflecting how we need models of greater complexity than any presented in this volume.

The hypothetical geographic/straight-line link network for the Bismarck Archipelago (fig. 9.7) could apply to any period of the archipelago's history. I have severe doubts, however, that such a model, with arbitrarily defined nodes, has much utility. The inclusion of some but not all islands off the north coast of New Guinea while excluding that coastline itself, and the reduction of "large, elongate islands" (p. 145) to just three points (one at each end, one in the middle), seems a potentially misleading approach. Handled in this way, it is not surprising that small islands become prominent; indeed, I smell some circularity of reasoning here.

Kirch's final chapter on problems and issues is a challenging personal view of where we go next. It misses several major issues that must be addressed if Lapita studies are to progress beyond their present situation. Was there ever such a thing as "Lapita society"? What exactly does Lapita pottery signify? I feel uncomfortable with the reductionist approach that portrays the makers/users of Lapita pottery as *sui generis*, separate from other populations in its northern distribution. Are we really dealing with a distinct group of people migrating into and out of the Bismarck Archipelago? In part this question must be addressed through the study of the skeletal remains of the makers/users of Lapita pottery, of which little is yet available (cf. Green, Anson, and Specht 1989). I suspect, too, that the ghost of historical linguistics, as wedded to archaeology, and previous obsessions with Polynesian origins still dominate many perceptions of prehistory in Lapita's main area of distribution (which is not Polynesia).

That leads me to my final point, on which, I hope, Kirch and his co-authors would agree: not only do we need better excavated, better analyzed, and better reported data, we urgently need better models for all

levels of Lapita studies. The time for simple, reductionist models that pay little attention to other archaeological information is well and truly passed. Steps towards more complex and comprehensive models have already been taken (e.g., Allen and White 1989; Gosden 1989), and we can expect further developments in the next few years. This volume, in the meantime, can serve as a departure point for some of those developments.

Despite its deficiencies, which arise in part from problems of method and data quality, the volume contains much useful material both in data review and ideas. It will undoubtedly soon become outdated, but at this price no one should complain.

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William N. Morgan, *Prehistoric Architecture in Micronesia*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988. Pp. xvi, 166, maps, plates, illus., bibliography, index. US\$49.95 cloth.

*Reviewed by Hiro Kurashina, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam*

In this attractively printed monograph, William N. Morgan presents examples of the prehistoric as well as traditional architecture of Micronesia in tropical Oceania primarily in a descriptive manner, aided by numerous photographs and superb line drawings. The author, who is an accomplished professional architect trained at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, reveals his fascination and appreciation of Micronesian architecture through highly self-motivated research endeavors. Morgan's personal interest in prehistoric architecture in Micronesia began decades ago when he first encountered the enigmatic *latte* stones of the Mariana Islands. The megalithic stone foundations of the House of Taga on Tinian must have made a profound impression on him; they are truly extraordinary cultural achievements attributed to the prehistoric inhabitants of the Marianas. It was also while Morgan was stationed on Guam with the United States Navy in 1954 that he heard from an aviator about a "Venice-like city built on a shallow reef. . . . Stone walls surrounded innumerable rectangular islets bigger than football fields, and a network of canals and seawalls extended from the open Pacific to dense mangrove swamps along the shore" (p. vii). This aviator's tale must have induced in Morgan a long-lasting and perhaps ever-increasing curiosity about prehistoric architecture in Micronesia. More than three decades later, the author confirmed that the aviator was accurate in describing the magnificent stone structures of Nan Madol in Pohnpei (Ponape). Morgan's volume is interesting, as it is in many ways based upon his somewhat romantic and nostalgic intellectual journey into parts of Micronesia that have retained architectural splendors and intrigues from the prehistoric past.

The volume is organized principally into five geographic areas within Micronesia: Palau, the Yap Islands, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and the Mariana Islands. Other main geographic areas of Micronesia--such as the Marshall Islands, Kiribati, Nauru, and Chuuk in the central Carolines--were excluded from the volume as the author deliberately chose to concentrate only on the five geographic areas mentioned above.

Although there is an apparent lack of any theoretical scholarly direction, Morgan is genuine in his thematic approach to his subject matter.



The essence of his approach can be seen in the preface where he quotes William H. Prescott that "the surest test of the civilization of a people . . . is to be found in their architecture, which presents so noble a field for the display of the grand and the beautiful, which at the same time is so intimately connected with the essential comforts of life" (p. vii). Using this approach, Morgan's appreciation of the aesthetic and functional qualities of Micronesian architecture binds together otherwise scattered architectural traditions in the western Pacific. The approach is effective, as the wide variety of designs and concepts that evolved in prehistoric Micronesia are seen more from a humanistic perspective than from a purely scientific or engineering point of view. For a reputable architect in the modern sociointellectual context, taking a humanistic rather than a highly technical and quantitative architectural approach must have required a great deal of courage. Throughout the volume, one is reminded of Morgan's introductory comment that "the study of prehistoric architecture presents an opportunity to deepen our understanding of creative human instincts and to expand our awareness of architecture" (p. vii).

In terms of overall presentation, the volume is delightfully well illustrated by high quality, high resolution photographs and carefully executed line drawings. Newton Morgan should be commended for the production of sharp and crisp photographic plates, often employing small lens apertures to allow pan-focus images. Camera angles appear to have been carefully selected to most effectively capture architectural details. The black and white photographic images of the Yapese *pebaey* are particularly excellent, as they illustrate the intricate bindings of wooden posts, beams, and rafters as well as carvings, paintings, and the stone-lined fire pits. To complement the photographs, the author has included transverse and longitudinal section drawings of Bechiyal *pebaey*, a wood-framed structure built on an elevated hexagonal stone platform. Like many other superb line drawings included in the volume, the line drawings of *pebaey* are truly outstanding, conveying the structural logic and engineering marvels of the Yapese meetinghouse in a concise manner. Perspective drawings prepared for the royal tomb compound of Nandauwas and other structural remains at Nan Madol on Pohnpei and the sacred compounds at Leluh on Kosrae are other excellent artistic achievements. In addition, Morgan succeeds in presenting the impressive terraces at Ngchemiangel Bay on Babeldaob's west coast in Palau by combining several illustrative methods. A high resolution black and white aerial photograph coupled with a reconstructed plan based on a photogrammetric survey prepared by R. M.

Towill Corporation of Honolulu provides an excellent overview of the sculpted hills at Ngchemiangel. The reconstructed plan is particularly striking, as it shows the complex character of the artificial landscape in western Micronesia. This is also perhaps the first time the extensive nature of Palauan terraces is visually recorded in an effective manner by a professional architect.

While Morgan's strengths lie in the area of architectural discussions and visual presentations, his weakness is found in the descriptive portion of the monograph. Each chapter begins with straightforward introductory remarks, followed by descriptions of certain aspects of island geography, biology, history, ethnography, and archaeology. Since citations tend to be sparse, it is often unclear where the author obtained much of the factual data. For example, he states that "some 1,500 types of fish abound within the fringing reefs" in reference to Palau (p. 3). According to Dr. Steve Amesbury, ichthyologist at the Marine Laboratory at the University of Guam, there are 892 known species of reef fishes around Palau (personal communication, 1989). The discrepancy between the number quoted by Morgan and the figure given by an expert in the study of fishes appears rather excessive. With regard to matters pertaining to subsistence economy, Morgan makes some statements that need to be clarified. The use of traditionally important food plants such as breadfruit, taro (*Colocasia*, *Cyrtosperma*, and others), coconuts, yams, and sweet potatoes is described for many parts of Micronesia in general. Although the author included cycad nuts (*fadang*) as another probable primary food item for the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands, the prehistoric use of *fadang* is still being debated. What may have been an important food item in the Mariana Islands not mentioned by Morgan appears to be rice, as discussed by several researchers (Craib and Farrell 1981; Takayama and Intoh 1976; Yawata 1940, 1963).

Aside from these details, some serious flaws can be detected in the use of certain words that should have been perhaps changed or omitted. In discussing the traditional Micronesian navigational technology that still exists on Pulawat [*sic*] and Satawal (p. xv), the author refers to the local inhabitants as the "natives." The use of the word "native" as a noun should be avoided as it might connote an Eurocentric bias. We must be particularly sensitive to the selection of words so that proper respect to the indigenous people may be duly acknowledged by all parties concerned. In a separate context, the present reviewer found another word used by Morgan to be an unsatisfactory choice: "neolithic" to describe the prehistoric technology on Kosrae (p. 109) and Yap (p. 150). The

concept of neolithic is usually reserved for certain parts of the Old World and its applicability to Oceania is still tenuous. Unless clearly defined, the meaning of such a word tends to be nebulous in discussing the prehistoric architectural technology of Micronesia. On more mundane matters, Vanuatu is misspelled on p. xiv and *Micronesica*, a scientific journal of the University of Guam, was repeatedly misspelled in the bibliography.

Morgan's volume touches upon culturally significant taboos and symbolic meanings associated with space, construction, decorative motifs, and architectural components in some traditional Micronesian structures. Social ranking is clearly important, underlying some taboos concerning the range of permissible behaviors. For example, Morgan states that many taboos are associated with the threshold (*iis*) of each doorway of the Palauan *bai*. According to traditional Palauan custom, a man without rank was not permitted to cross or touch such thresholds. Cultural information of this kind is intriguing and should have been more thoroughly collected not only for Palau but also for other island groups. Taboos associated with architecture are still observed and well respected in the outer islands of Yap. In Ulithi, for example, the cardinal direction of the long axis of Women's Houses is offset by about ninety degrees from that of other houses in order to signal the distinct sociocultural presence of women in menstruation (personal observation, 1983). In this respect, especially, this reviewer feels rather strongly that Morgan could have included more of the outer islands of Micronesia in the present volume. Often on outer islands one can gain greater insights and more detailed cultural information concerning traditional customs and beliefs. Although there may be less grandiose architectural structures on low coral atolls, the outer islands represent vital parts of Micronesia that should never be overlooked.

Concerning the prehistoric architecture of the Mariana Islands, Morgan could have perhaps gained deeper appreciation of the function of *latte* from some of the pioneering archaeologists. Dr. Laura Thompson and Dr. Alexander Spoehr, who reside in Hawaii, should have been consulted as their knowledge of *latte* is truly impressive. Another extremely important pioneering archaeologist for the Marianas as well as Palau is Dr. Douglas Osborne of southern California. Morgan's benign omission to interview these noted experts in the field of Micronesian archaeology has weakened the section on the prehistoric architecture of the Mariana Islands. At the same time, it is highly regrettable that Morgan does not seem to be aware of some of the most recent and exciting archaeological endeavors on Guam, where information on set-

tlement patterns has been greatly enhanced by systematic surveys and carefully designed and executed areal excavations.

The last point this reviewer wishes to raise is an issue that can easily be compelling for a large number of people, including the indigenous people of Micronesia. In reference to Nan Madol, Morgan expresses a concern that "the magnificent monuments also are in urgent need of restoration and preservation if they are to continue to exist as the record of a distinguished past and thus an inspiration for future generations" (p. 62). Not only for Nan Madol but also for other Micronesian architectural remains, it is the sincere hope of this reviewer that Morgan's concern with regard to restoration and preservation will be seriously considered by appropriate agencies in the newly emerging Micronesian political entities.

On the whole, owing to Morgan's expertise in the field of architecture, the volume provides professionally convincing and well thought-out discussions, particularly on construction methods and materials for architectural structures in Micronesia. It is a beautiful book that is bound to become an important reference resource in Micronesian studies. Morgan's work is important at another level in that through his presentations of various architectural wonders found in Micronesia, he has introduced Micronesian architecture into the literature of world architectural history.

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David Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 5. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies and University of Hawaii Press, 1988. Pp. xxviii, 320, maps, figures, appendixes, glossary, bibliography, index. US\$32.00 cloth.

*Reviewed by Marty Zelenietz, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia*

"Writing the history of another culture," says author David Hanlon, "entails the recognition of limits" (p. xx). Within the limitations imposed by a multidisciplinary approach to a different culture, Hanlon has succeeded admirably in weaving a seamless history of Pohnpei. Combining his extensive experience on the island with a blend of social and traditional history, archaeology, ethnohistory, and ethnography, he produces a coherent exposition of nearly two millennia of the Pohnpeian past. Along the way, he teaches us valuable lessons about the drawbacks of Eurocentric historiography and the resilience of the Pohnpeian people and culture.

Pohnpei is, above all, an island of immigrants and a land of borrowing. Successive waves of Micronesian settlers to the "stone altar" of the Eastern Carolines made peace with the land, but not amongst themselves. Their feelings for the land, and their incessant intergroup struggles, gave rise to *tiahk en sapw* (the custom of the land), an ideology of cultural unity that simultaneously legitimizes political diversity and division. Thus, although the foreign Saudeleurs of Nan Madol struggled to impose political unity on the island from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries, eventually they failed. Isohkelekel, the offspring of clan incest between the refugee Pohnpeian Thunder God and an old Kosrae woman, defeated the Saudeleurs and liberated Pohnpeians from foreign rule. An outsider himself, Isohkelekel restored the independent (and often warring) chiefdoms of the island, and through his son provided the basis of the dual system of ranking.

Isohkelekel's story illustrates how Pohnpeians incorporate outsiders as "a part of the land." When outsiders refused such incorporation, when they ignored *tiahk en sapw*, Pohnpeians did not passively accept external, imposed culture. Instead, they actively manipulated outsiders and their goods to their own ends. Pohnpeian treatment of beachcombers and missionaries are cases in point.

The early nineteenth century brought new arrivals, mainly American whalers, to Pohnpeian shores. These new visitors' failure to appropriately respond to Pohnpeian greetings left them outside the islanders' moral and cultural community. The Pohnpeians regarded the new arrivals as "property," used and manipulated to the chiefs' ends. For visiting whalers and itinerant traders, this Pohnpeian attitude made for difficult negotiations and broken contracts. Beachcombers, however, faced greater problems: they were, in truth, the chiefs' chattels, used as middlemen to obtain desired goods and services from the visiting Euro-

Americans and as soldiers to fight in the chiefly wars. They lived, physically and socially, on the fringe of the island. Unable to impose their values or cultures, beachcombers served Pohnpeian ends.

Similarly, Pohnpeian political and social struggles engulfed the American Protestant missionaries of the late nineteenth century. The missionaries came to “civilize” as well as convert, to impart social as well as religious values. But Pohnpeian values dominated the agenda: the mission provided a forum for indigenous political rivalry. Chiefs dangled the promise of conversion, as and when it suited their needs for internal control and alliance formation. Those with ambition, but of low chiefly ranking or from common families, used the missionaries’ ideology of equality to serve their own ends. Equality offered them enhanced prestige; the commercial skills taught by the missions provided them with the means to that prestige.

The Pohnpeian past reveals endless political struggle between individuals and between chiefdoms. Rivalries ran so deep that the Pohnpeians could not unify when faced with Spanish, and later German, colonization. Hence, while *tiahk en sapw* provided (and continues to provide) the cultural unity to withstand foreign ideological domination, by sanctioning political diversity it also impeded unified resistance to foreign political domination.

Hanlon’s lucidly written study reflects his respect and affection for Pohnpei, its past, and its people. His focus on the Pohnpeian perspective of their past provides a welcome antidote to the all-too-common Western view of island history, in which the brittle cultures of passive islanders crumbled under the strain of contact. Pohnpeians did not passively receive Western culture or acquiesce to Western dominance. They selected from, and later manipulated, what outsiders had to offer.

Although Hanlon concludes his analysis with the Spanish era, he provides some insight into the persistence of *tiahk en sapw*. Contemporary Pohnpeians continue their selective borrowing, as part of the Federated States of Micronesia. In a place where “the custom of the land” both unites and divides, Hanlon’s excellent book provides a solid base for the next chapter of Pohnpei’s emerging history.

Martha C. Ward, *Nest in the Wind: Adventures in Anthropology on a Tropical Island*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1989. Pp. 161, maps, illustrations, bibliography. US\$8.95.

*Reviewed by Suzanne Falgout, Colby College, Waterville, Maine*

*Nest in the Wind* is a thoroughly engaging account of the author's fieldwork experiences as an anthropologist researching the language and culture of Pohnpei, Micronesia, and as project director for a medical research team investigating social change, high blood pressure, and heart disease on the island. Ward asserts that this account is not about her research, nor is it written for a professional audience. Rather, this is " 'an impressionist tale' . . . [one] to evoke images, a sense of immediacy, and the feeling that you are there participating and observing. . . . It is written for those who are curious about other people's lives, or who may have wished, from time to time, to live on a tropical island and to be an anthropologist" (p. 4). Writing in a fluid literary style peppered with interesting selections from her field notes and letters, Ward offers a remarkably candid tale of her personal encounters in the field "with team research, strange customs, an awkward environment, and my own personality" (p. 3).

Ward does a masterful job bringing this exotic research setting and the dynamics of fieldwork alive for the reader. Along with Ward, we arrive in a lush, tropical island paradise to find the residents practicing some truly fascinating traditional customs--people engaging in a continual cycle of feasting for the high chiefs, growing five-hundred-pound yams in secret, ritually imbibing a soporific beverage ceremonially pounded from the roots of the kava plant, crawling about under the cover of night as part of their normal courtship activities. We are also struck by some typical scenes from the Third World--the widespread decay of vegetation, buildings, and vehicles; the pervasive smells of mold, mildew, and rust. We experience some of the culture shock that invariably accompanies the beginning of fieldwork--feelings produced when we find ourselves residing in vermin--infested housing with no plumbing; living on a steady diet of imported rice, canned mackerel and corned beef; trying to research heart disease in a culture where such symptoms are diagnosed as spirit possession; poring over the few available native-language texts, only to blurt out in a tense moment "his canoe is blue" instead of the accepted phrase of apology; and attempting to cope with eccentric team researchers, including one male member who expects women (even project supervisors) to perform all necessary domestic tasks.

The chronological format of the text allows us to follow Ward as she makes progress in her work and is able to establish a number of warm, personal relationships with Pohnpei people. We come to know Sohn Alpet as the friendly, clever, calculating Pohnpei field supervisor who eases Ward's entree into the field by having her adopt him as a son,

arranging for her to be awarded a respected title, and by offering wise counsel on adapting lofty scientific research goals to the realities of Pohnpei culture. In the end, Ward writes with obvious pride about the measure of incorporation into Pohnpei culture she achieves during her stay and of the profound changes these experiences have held for her life.

While the reader is indeed seduced by the story of Ward's adventures, it must be pointed out that this monograph also provides a very good introduction to the field of anthropology and to cultures of the Pacific. Topics dealt with range from kinship, gender, sexuality, and marriage to chiefly culture, religion, and ritual; considerable detail on Pohnpei culture is also included. A particular strength of the text is the presentation of information on women's roles and perspectives, to which the author was given special access. Following in the tradition of Laura Bohannan's *Return to Laughter*, I expect this very accessible, reflective, contemporary field account will be especially useful in undergraduate courses in cultural anthropology, research methods, and Oceania.

In this work Ward demonstrates her talent as a marvelous raconteur, one who can motivate and inspire her audience. As a former student of Wards and a Pohnpei specialist today, I speak of this matter with authority, prejudice, and pride.

Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 4. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies and University of Hawaii Press, 1988. Pp. xxii, 382, maps, illus., references, index. US\$30.00 cloth.

*Reviewed by Greg Gubler, Brigham Young University-Hawaii*

The author, a specialist on modern Japanese history and Japanese colonialism, makes clear from the onset that his emphasis is on the Japanese and not the Micronesians whose response has already been addressed by "qualified social scientists" (p. xvi). Peattie's book does, indeed, cover the Japanese side in detail and fills an important gap in Pacific studies. The book also seems relevant to the present in light of Japan's strong economic presence in the Pacific today. While one of the major lessons of the Pacific War was the realization Japan no longer had to possess markets to control them, one can still question after reading Peattie whether certain attributes of the Japanese character have really changed that much.



The use of the abbreviated title *Nan'yō* (literally, "South Seas") seems to me misleading and maybe unnecessary. The author admits that "Nan'yō is an extremely vague term" that has "at various times been used to refer to Micronesia, Melanesia, the South China Sea, and Southeast Asia from the Andaman Islands to Papua" (p. xviii). While the best argument he advances is the narrow use of the term in the title of the Japanese government bureau that administered the islands (*Nan'yō-chō*), in my own research on the Japanese in Southeast Asia, the term "Nan'yō" is encountered at every turn. Moreover, as a former Fulbright student at Nanyang (*Nan'yō* in Japanese) University, I find the narrow use of *Nan'yō* for Micronesia a bit strange.

Peattie capably traces the penetration of Micronesia from the first contacts fueled largely by private initiative through the period of the League of Nations mandate and finally to Imperial Japan's eventual defeat in World War II. His characterizations of the early Japanese pioneers, particularly Mori Koben or "the man who would be king" on Truk, are extremely well done. He covers in detail how Japan acquired and administered the mandate along with the particulars about various Japanese enterprises and schemes for the islands. The ample insertion of rare photographs (a total of forty-two) and maps (thirty-one used) throughout brings the book to life; especially valuable are the portraits of noteworthy Japanese and the detailed maps of individual islands, including ones showing crucial battles of the Pacific War.

The Japanese colonial administration, self-serving and bureaucratic as it was, did make many improvements to the infrastructure of the islands as chronicled by the author. The negative results, besides the overt policy of Japanization, were largely due to the huge influx of Japanese migrants and the military buildup. Other than rather superficial comparisons with the French "policy of assimilation" (pp. 104-105), Peattie avoids an analysis of Japanese colonialism from a larger perspective. Comparisons with Japanese strategies in Manchuria, with the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, and an analysis of the domestic conflict over priorities abroad might have proved valuable.

The Japanese militarization of Micronesia, in defiance of the provisions of the mandate, and subsequent conflict with America in the Pacific are topics of considerable import to students of the Pacific War. Peattie provides considerable insight into the strategic view of the Japanese and into the Japanese side of the war. On the other hand, the repatriation of Japanese civilians and troops deserves more than the two pages the author devotes to it because of the numbers and difficulties

involved. This transition required more than two years and would have appropriately been included in the epilogue.

Peattie concludes that a new, wealthy Japan is no longer “obsessed by a national quest for a tropical holy grail” (p. 320). That wealth, it must be added, has allowed them to buy large pieces anyway. Outside of the abundant artifacts still dotting the landscape, the memories of a bygone age have largely disappeared except among the older Micronesians who went through the experience. It is to Peattie’s credit that he has been able to superbly reconstruct this important episode in Pacific history. His wide use of sources, both Japanese and English, carries this work far beyond anything to date.

Nancy Y. W. Tom, *The Chinese in Western Samoa, 1875-1985*. Apia: Western Samoa Historical and Cultural Fund, 1986. Pp. viii, 112, map, tables, illus., bibliography.

*Reviewed by Doug Munro, Bond University, Gold Coast, Queensland*

Nancy Tom’s book on the Chinese in Samoa is a modest contribution to the historiography of Asian immigrant communities in the Pacific. Although a few individual Chinese lived in Samoa in the nineteenth century, they did not start arriving in numbers until 1903 to work on newly developed cacao plantations. Between then and 1934 almost seven thousand Chinese laborers were brought to present-day Western Samoa, and like most Asian migrants in the Pacific, and elsewhere, they faced restrictions and disabilities, both social and legal, in their new home. The political and administrative aspects of their complex story have already been dealt with in a thesis by D. R. Haynes (1965). Tom, by contrast, is more concerned with the human dimension of her subject and there are some moving passages that successfully convey the hopes and anxieties of individual Chinese, and which breathe a sense of life into parts of the book.

Tom explains that her documentary research was limited to sources in Samoa itself. She has largely relied on reminiscences from elderly Chinese in Samoa and contemporary Samoan newspapers; good use has been made of the latter source. This research was initially conducted in 1973 when she first went to live in Western Samoa and “a mimeographed paper” resulted; her return to the country in late 1984 “provided an excellent opportunity to revise, expand and update my original manuscript” into its present form (p. vii). It is therefore understandable

that Tom has not been able to consult the New Zealand government material used by Haynes in the National Archives of New Zealand, much less the records of the German Colonial Office in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv in Potsdam. The next best thing would have been to consult two important articles on Chinese labor during the German period (1900-1914) that are firmly based on these official German records (Firth 1977; Moses 1973). The whole question of Chinese labor during the German regime is very complicated and Tom might have come to grips with this part of her topic with the help of these two articles--although she does in fact quote from Firth's article (compare p. 82 with Firth 1977: 171-172) even if she does not acknowledge having used these works. This in itself is perhaps neither here nor there. It is less evident why Tom's chapter on German Samoa is so wide of the mark when she had a key secondary source at her disposal.

The overall result is a book that is very thin in many respects and essentials. Her purpose was to tell a human story, which is laudable given that so much written about labor migration is couched in impersonal terms. It is not being suggested that Tom should have replicated the existing state of scholarship or forced herself into the same grooves, but her general lack of concern with the political contexts and wider circumstances that shaped the private and working lives of the Chinese in Samoa impairs the value of her well-written narrative. The result is a book that is very partial in its coverage, partly because of the author's single-mindedness to tell a human story and partly because she was less than assiduous in tracking down easily obtainable secondary sources (e.g., O'Connor 1968) that would have plugged some of the gaps.

Where this book goes beyond existing accounts of the Chinese in Samoa is in the use of oral testimony, which often reveals details that no document is likely to tell. In its combined use of written sources and oral evidence, *The Chinese in Western Samoa* adopts the same basic approach as the monograph on plantation workers in Hawaii by Ronald Takaki (1983). Both he and Tom are descendants of immigrant workers to Hawaii and perhaps for this reason their respective books recreate the drama of individual experience with such feeling. But the similarities should not be pushed too far. Takaki was less reliant on oral testimony and was more far-ranging and competent in his use of written sources. And what is one to make of this disclaimer in Tom's foreword (p. vii): "Because the ideas gathered were collated and then portrayed in **COMPOSITE** form, fictitious names were used in most cases. Hence, unless indicated otherwise, any similarity to persons living and deceased is purely coincidental. Historical accuracy was clearly intended and any

inaccuracies found are regretted”? The many doubts that this strange statement, whatever it means, raises about veracity might have been resolved by the simple expedient of footnote referencing.

The Chinese in Western Samoa was evidently written in celebration of the Chinese community in that country. Every migrant community in the Pacific probably needs a usable past as a focal point for their tenuous identity. Warm-hearted and compassionate, Tom’s book has few scholarly pretensions, and is the worse for it. There need not be a disjunction between “popular history” and “academic history.” The book would have better served its local audience, as well as its potentially wider readership, had it been more attuned to the academic conventions and methods that amateur historians and undergraduates alike seem to find so tedious.

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Fay Alailima, *Aggie Grey: A Samoan Saga*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1988. Pp. xiv, 342, illus. US\$13.95 paper.

*Reviewed by Paul Shankman, University of Colorado--Boulder*

Fay Alailima is perhaps best known for her autobiographical work, *My Samoan Chief* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1961), written

under her maiden name, Fay Calkins. That book was a light-hearted yet perceptive look at the many surprises encountered by a young American woman married to a Samoan chief. Her new work is a biography of Aggie Grey, one of Western Samoa's great personalities. Like her first book, the second is lively yet reflective, building on Alailima's broad knowledge of the islands.

*Aggie Grey: A Samoan Saga* is a popular book about the life and times of a woman who became a legend. Aggie was a part-Samoan born near the turn of the century. Her life mirrored the general predicament of the "half-caste" community in Apia, and one of the strengths of the book is that it provides the reader with a feel for this small but influential enclave. Aggie's career saw poverty and wealth, community scorn and approval. Her fortunes initially waxed and waned with those of her father and her husbands. Later she became a small-scale entrepreneur and eventually the very successful proprietress of Aggie Grey's Hotel. Her life also reflected the tumultuous periods of recent Western Samoan history--the colonial struggles for control of the islands, the great influenza epidemic of 1918-1919, the Depression, World War II, and the post-independence era since 1962. These touched Aggie personally and the book includes accounts of the early deaths of some of her children and her two husbands, Aggie's experiences as a woman in a male-dominated colonial society, and her close personal relationships with some of the islands' most renowned leaders.

Aggie's business career is also included. The hotel she built is a Western Samoan landmark, made even more famous by the rumor that Aggie was the real-life model for the fictional character of Bloody Mary in James Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific*. The rumor was untrue and caused Aggie great personal pain; Michener himself denies any resemblance in his introduction to *Aggie Grey: A Samoan Saga*. But Aggie's life is no less fascinating for not being Bloody Mary.

Alailima has an appreciation of Aggie's individuality as well as the Samoan and European communities that Aggie negotiated with greater and lesser degrees of success. While the book is historically grounded, Alailima does engage in imaginative reconstruction. She interviewed Aggie, her sisters, and many other well-known Western Samoans to capture not only fact but tone and mood as well. The book therefore reads like a novel, a sympathetic celebration of Aggie's life. For readers curious about this Pacific heroine, *Aggie Grey: A Samoan Saga* is entertaining and informative. Aggie died on 26 June 1988 at age ninety.

Eleanor Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawaii*, 2d ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989. Pp. 352, illus. US\$16.95 paper.

*Reviewed by Noel J. Kent, University of Hawaii at Manoa*

When Eleanor Nordyke's significant book *The Peopling of Hawaii* first appeared in 1977, it generated something few demographic studies usually do: controversy. Nordyke, it seems, had made explicit linkages between the dynamics of the economic model based on the sustained growth of Hawaii's tourism industry and the escalating growth of the state's population from in-migration. She further argued that the consequences were dire: a rapid deterioration of the environmental and social fabric and the arrival of a host of mainland-type ills. When social scientists do not serve the powers-that-be (in this case, the powerful tourism establishment and its allies in government), they will be rebuked and so Nordyke was.

Now, in a very welcome second edition, Nordyke picks up the threads of her argument where she left off some twelve years before. The new volume presents more recent evidence to substantiate her case and includes data and literature relevant to the argument. "The consequences of continued growth are a serious concern" (p. 134), she says, and proceeds to identify crime, pollution, a housing crisis, traffic congestion, and general decay as the price of a population growth rate that has been triple that of the US mainland during the eighties. Once again, the prime culprit is tourism: "The growth of the visitor industry constituted the major driving force to the migratory expansion of the population" (p. 134).

It is against the state bureaucracy that Nordyke most heavily inveighs. "Will planners continue to give priority to economic growth rate goals without concern for population growth implications?" she asks (p. 170). She draws attention to the fact that official state population projections subvert the intent of the Hawaii State Plan to stimulate job growth without stimulating unnecessary in-migration.

It is a well-reasoned, well-written, and very worthwhile study. Yet, there are major flaws. Nordyke continues to deal with Hawaii as a hermetically sealed archipelago, instead of as an American state absolutely absorbed into the global capitalist system. Here, she ignores the power of this larger world apparatus of international banks, airlines, financial companies, hotel chains, and so forth to dictate the investment priorities that shape our economy. In this environment, the local "planning"

process and political regime (both closely tied to overseas interests) have little autonomy, indeed.

Likewise, Nordyke's exhortation to "diversify" is wisdom itself, but runs counter to the overseas monoliths and their local allies who control policy. Power, not lack of planning, is the crux of the problem. One might also note that Bermuda might not be the most persuasive alternative model to Hawaii to offer; it continues to harbor deep racial and class divisions that make the future perilous.

With these caveats, we are fortunate to have a more up-to-date Peopling of Hawaii. It puts our situation here as a tourism-based society (and the costs involved) in much needed perspective.

Michael Haas, *The Pacific Way: Regional Cooperation in the South Pacific*. New York: Praeger, 1989. Pp. 183, maps, tables, bibliography, index. US\$42.95.

*Reviewed by Simon Milne, McGill University*

Several decades have lapsed since Fiji's Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara first popularized the term "the Pacific Way." The need for the small and isolated island states of the South Pacific to speak with one voice on matters of regional concern and the fact that the nations of the region share many common characteristics have both necessitated and enabled the development of several forms of regional cooperation. It is the various institutional forms that this cooperation has taken since World War II that interest Michael Haas in his latest book. The author has four main aims (p. xxii): to define the Pacific Way, to sketch some important details of regional cooperation, to discuss the future potential for the development of a single coherent regional structure, and to demonstrate that the Pacific Way represents a new form of international interaction that can contribute to broader theories of regional integration. These are important themes that have received relatively limited attention in the South Pacific context. The author's previous work has dealt with the development of intergovernmental links in the Asian region and this background provides him with considerable knowledge of the problems and prospects of regional cooperation (Haas 1989).

The book is simple in its structure. A brief overview of Pacific history provides the foundation for a discussion of the concept of the Pacific Way and how it has developed over time (chap. 1). The text then con-

centrates on a blow-by-blow description of the growth, and in some cases demise, of a variety of intergovernmental organizations. The South Pacific Commission, ANZUS, the South Pacific Forum, and a range of judicial, educational, tourism, and trade organizations are all covered in varying detail. The book then concludes with a rather cursory overview of the future of South Pacific regional cooperation in which the author attempts to introduce some broader theoretical issues.

The book will serve two major groups of readers. First are those who know little about regional cooperation in the South Pacific and require basic reference-type information on the budgets and membership of local intergovernmental organizations. Second are those with a deeper interest in the issues embodied in the Pacific Way--readers focusing on the Pacific (from a variety of disciplines) and researchers interested in other areas of the world who wish to learn from the lessons provided by the Pacific. It is fair to say that the book caters rather better to the needs of the former grouping than to those of the latter. As a reference book it performs its task relatively well. The coverage of organizations is exhaustive and clearly presented and, aside from the occasional typographical error, the text is accurate and concise. However, if the reader is looking for a more searching analysis of the Pacific Way or the influence it can have on the generation of theories of intergovernmental cooperation, he or she is likely to be disappointed.

The central problem of the book is that it strings together a series of detailed outlines of regional organizations without providing a satisfying contextual background. The initial history of the Pacific region is painted in brush strokes so broad it serves little real purpose. The main weakness here is that the reader is not given any real feel for the diversity of the region. The reader is then presented with a cursory four-page explanation of the inception, development, and growth of the Pacific Way. Unfortunately, the author's statement in the concluding paragraph of the first chapter that the "theory of the Pacific Way has been presented" is simply not accurate.

The text also has its problems. While undoubtedly factual and comprehensive it is also rather repetitive. For example, between pages 8 and 20 we learn four times that the South Pacific Health Service was established in 1946. Tighter editing could have removed much of the duplication. Similarly the structure used to describe each regional organization is basically identical. Each is described in terms of its historical growth, organizational structure (flow charts are used), membership, and budgetary characteristics. Such an approach detracts from the



readability of the book. The text also suffers from occasional typographical errors; for example, on pages 6 and 104 missing words or letters make two sentences particularly difficult to comprehend.

But perhaps the most disappointing section of the book is the concluding chapter on the future of South Pacific regional cooperation. Earlier in the text the reader is told, "The Pacific Way will remain as a *modus operandi* no matter what happens in the coming years because the region has learned throughout the years how to avoid being divided and conquered by outside powers" (p. 127). While this may be true little attention is paid to the various conflicts that have caused the Pacific Way to splinter at various times during the past decade. In particular the 1987 Fiji coup is not really mentioned until page 167 and then only within the context of its impact on the funding and staffing of regional organizations. What of the fact that Australian warships loomed off the Fijian shore during the crisis? What are the factors that have led Australia to resume economic aid to the nation? While the spirit of the Pacific Way undoubtedly helped some form of reconciliation to be reached, one might also argue that the major factor influencing these changes was the fear that Fiji would turn to France as a source of economic aid. There is a lack of detailed analysis of these types of problems and as a result the reader again feels that she or he is reading a reference book written in a contextual vacuum.

In the foreword we are told that "the book demonstrates that the Pacific Way is a new form of international interaction--a refreshing contribution to theories of regional integration" (p. xxii). Unfortunately we are not introduced to these theories until the final three pages. Thus only an extremely brief outline of the way that the Pacific Way may influence broader theoretical constructs is provided--an overview too sketchy to be of any real use to the informed reader.

In summary, then, this book provides detailed coverage of the structure and history of a series of South Pacific regional organizations but does not succeed in grounding the discussion in a broader contextual and theoretical framework. Therefore, while I can certainly recommend the book as a useful addition to the reference section of any university library, it does not represent a major contribution to our understanding of the Pacific Way.

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Te'ō I. J. Fairbairn, ed., *Island Entrepreneurs: Problems and Performances in the Pacific*. Honolulu: Pacific Islands Development Program, East-West Center, 1988; distributed by University of Hawaii Press. Pp. xiii, 288. US\$10.00 paper.

*Reviewed by Mike Donaldson, University of Wollongong*

Written by eight people, most of whom are policy advisors or academics, *Island Entrepreneurs: Problems and Performances in the Pacific* concerns the small-scale indigenous business sector in the Pacific. It was inspired largely by a project of the Pacific Islands Development Program, which is under the auspices of the Standing Committee of the Pacific Islands Conference. Specifically, the project was designed to identify and analyze "the various socio-economic factors contributing to success or failure of indigenous business ventures" (p. 11). The project began in 1984 with field studies in seven selected Pacific Islands countries, in which more than 450 enterprise owners were interviewed along with government officials and leading figures from private enterprise and voluntary associations. The first regional workshop on indigenous businesses, held in Apia in 1986, was also sponsored by the project. It was attended by delegates from twenty Pacific countries and its recommendations form an appendix in the book. The remainder of the book comprises the main findings and conclusions from six of the case studies: those from the Cook Islands, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, and Western Samoa. They are supplemented by a chapter on business women, chapters on indigenous business development generally including introductory and overview chapters, and a chapter on small business in Australia.

Five of the thirteen chapters are written by the book's editor, Te'ō I. J. Fairbairn, and his work provides the book's theoretical consistency. We meet the model entrepreneur early in the collection, carefully constructed from the late 1950s and early 1960s literature. Talcott Parsons puts in a reappearance along with McClelland's "N-achievement" factor. Even modernization gets a mention. Quite unscathed by theoretical developments of the last twenty years, "rational man" emerges alive, well, and all set to be quite at home in the small business world of the Pacific Islands in the 1990s.

The problem is, of course, that "rational man" is not a he, and neither does he or she behave in ways that the theories consider "rational." In the first instance, the theoretical assumption of the gender of the entrepreneur is persisted with despite the fact that the case studies in the

book itself reveal that at least 20 percent of the Fijian entrepreneurs, one-third of those in the Cook Islands, and 17 percent in Tonga are women. The first multinational company controlled by a Pacific Islander is run by a woman. Nonetheless, the theory remains undeterred and persists in talking and thinking of the entrepreneur as "he," "him," and "his." This is even more remarkable in that, in one of the liveliest chapters in the book, S. Deacon Ritterbush and J. Pearson confront the particular business problems faced by women as they attempt to set up businesses or to expand their commercial farming, chicken breeding, soap, bread and clothing manufacture, and tourist and transport services.

In the second instance, the assumption of "economic rationality" sets up a dualism in relation to "traditionalism," which runs throughout the book. For Fairbairn, early in the introduction, the "problem of weak motivation" is linked with "the continued existence of value systems and preferences which are rooted in the traditional cultures" (p. 5), and so on to the conclusion, where we find that "the viability of indigenous business practices" is threatened by "traditional customary and community practices" (p. 273).

In traveling through the book, we learn that these "traditional cultures and practices" were in precolonial times capable of engendering and supporting a vigorous local and regional commerce. But having briefly described this, on the very next page John Hailey says that the "business ethos" is "often incompatible with the traditional Fijian communal society. Thus any attempt to encourage Fijians in business could be seen as a threat to traditional values and to a way of life" (p. 38). He adds in the conclusion to his chapter that "the future of Fijian business depends on whether the individual entrepreneurs can resolve the inherent contradictions between contemporary business practices . . . and communal commitments" (p. 51). Similarly, John Carroll remarks of the Marshall Islands, "stiff competition will continue between the profit requirements of the market economy and the reciprocity obligations of the traditional system" (p. 118).

Within the very substance of the case studies, however, a completely opposite picture emerges. We learn that Fijian entrepreneurs maintain strong links with their village and the local community in general and that the least successful commercial farmers are those most isolated from their communities (p. 40). In the Cook Islands, most of the entrepreneurs were active in church organizations, some holding executive positions in church administration, others serving as deacons. Several were active in the chamber of commerce and tourism, education

boards, and sports clubs (p. 64), and few expressed concern at community or family obligations (p. 70). A successful Samoan entrepreneur is one who knows about and can take advantage of the matai traditions to increase business (p. 84). In Tonga, the entrepreneurs readily and willingly contribute a large part of their profits to churches and to family, *fua kavenga*, and while such businesses were not growing, neither were they declining nor nearing bankruptcy (p. 148). Some entrepreneurs had abandoned their traditional practices, but others knew that “by giving more you get more,” and received back “tenfold” what they gave (p. 155). Most realized that neglecting social responsibilities would be harmful for their businesses (p. 151) and that community support was crucial for their success (p. 154).

This is scarcely surprising. Two of the key means of production, land and labor, remain the provenance of the noncapitalist political economy, and that is the reality that any would-be entrepreneur must first and continuously confront. In the Marshall Islands, most businesses operated with family members, more than half of whom were not paid, because they worked as part of their family responsibility or were occasionally given money or merchandise in lieu of wages (p. 125). Sixty percent of the work force employed by Fijian entrepreneurs was composed of relatives, and family labor was essential for the businesses to survive on low wages, long hours, and the avoidance of employee insurance and tax (p. 46). In some cases, family enterprises were more stable than those of the “model man” in terms of very rational things like profit, expansion, diversification, and the quit rate. Family members could be trusted, had an interest, and worked harder (p. 153).

This false dichotomization of “tradition” and “modernity” is predicated on a view of tradition as static and complete. But from the studies themselves we find, for instance, that while entrepreneurs in general crucially understood that their success was dependent on their ability to mobilize community support through established networks and thus found the reciprocity of their obligations helpful, 54 percent of business women in Tonga found that their social obligations had an inverse impact on their businesses (p. 200). The salient theoretical point is that tradition is changing, plastic and unfinished. It also is heterogeneous, and may be experienced and created quite differently by men and women.

Nor is it simply “tradition” that Pacific women found disabling, for patriarchy has a continuity and a unity that once again makes nonsense of tradition’s theoretical division from modernity. Ritterbush and Pearson found that men were favored over women for training, incentive

programs, and loans, and they encountered chauvinism from men in lending institutions as well (pp. 201-202). In addition land, the most prevalent and often only available form of collateral, is governed by land laws that generally favor men (p. 203).

Again, on the issue of the control of land, tradition has found a way of accommodating the market quite happily, an extraordinarily significant development since in a country like Western Samoa, for instance, more than 80 percent of the land is controlled by nonmarket mechanisms. If a system could be devised whereby businesses and their lenders are assured of fixed land tenure, less expensive and more secure finance could be obtained. And such is the malleability of tradition that in Tonga the informal leasing of land or the illegal purchase of land leases has been a fact of life for some time (p. 157), in a manner reminiscent of the New Guinea Highlands in the 1970s (see Good and Donaldson 1980: 24-28). Similarly in Papua New Guinea, the problem of collateral for loans was addressed by the Papua New Guinea Development Bank in the late 1960s through a policy of lending on "assured usage rights" (Donaldson and Good 1988:88); today in Goroka, Finney comments, many people think that some business leaders control too much land (p. 186). Likewise, the Yalavou beef scheme in Fiji, described by Laisenia Qarase (pp. 236-237)--initiated to increase participation in commercial agriculture and to ease balance of payments problems--involves the coordination of training, advice and regular technical and financial help, and the provision of loans, land, infrastructure, and technical assistance, calling to mind the New Guinea Highlands cattle projects in the early 1970s (see Donaldson and Good 1980).

One of the consistent themes of the book is the scarcity of capital, the paucity of lending institutions and the difficulties entrepreneurs encounter in mobilizing the savings of others. Fairbairn suggests that mobilizations such as occur in the New Guinea Highlands through indigenous "development corporations" may not be applicable elsewhere in the Pacific (p. 272). Their achievements, described in some detail by Kenneth Good and me ten years ago (Good and Donaldson 1980:38-53), are, however, as impressive as those of the cooperatives--which another contributor suggests may be helpful--were not (see Donaldson and Good 1980).

I was rather surprised then to learn that people like me ("writers oriented from the perspective of the neo-Marxist dependency school," in Finney's words) either "ignored or explained away" the formation of the development corporations and that we were of the opinion that "Gorokan entrepreneurs were creatures of Colonialism, produced solely

by the intervention of outside capital" (p. 188). I had argued (in 1984), in the conclusion to an exhaustive study of the Eastern Highlands between 1930 and 1950, that following white invasion and settlement, "the bigmen, their political power retained, their wealth enhanced, and their control over village labour maintained, would probably have invented cash-cropping and local government councils if they had not been thrust upon them" (Donaldson 1984:218). But for Finney, our "point of view, which seems to have run the course of its brief popularity in Papua New Guinea's academic circles, ignored the cultural roots of Gorokan entrepreneurship" (p. 187), even though we had traced its roots back to the first peopling of that place (Donaldson and Good 1988).

In one thing, though, Finney is dead right. "The crucial question . . . is whether the new economic structure [in the Eastern Highlands] is promoting the formation of a permanent capitalist class" (p. 188). He writes that two prominent business leaders of the sixties have died and their business assets either have been split up among their many heirs and supporters or have been dissipated while contending parties fought over them. On the other hand, a younger brother of one of the most successful entrepreneurs is doing very well, after a helping hand (pp. 188-189). Classes are reproduced through families and corporations, and the laws that keep them intact. The real test will be the fate of the development corporations themselves. Have the rural capitalists found a vehicle that can travel through time, or will tradition, with all the power of its fluidity, dissolve them? Will tradition prove to be an eminently rational and reasonable response by little people in little countries to the massive and pervasive power of the "invisible hand" and its long arms, international capital and foreign states? Perhaps, as Ritterbush concludes, "Where the disbursement of business profits among many individuals is commonplace, the well being of the people rests with the people, not with the government or foreign nations" (p. 160). Perhaps, too, Western male rationality isn't quite so appealing as those who seem proud to possess it would like to think it is.

I don't think that the blunt instrument of modernization theory and neoclassical economics, and the limiting dualism of tradition and modernity, can do justice to the village political economy, its sexual and political hierarchy, its obligations, and forms of ownership and control--that is, to the fluidity and dynamism of specific modes of production. Still less can it manage to explore the complex effects and subtle inter-determinations--that is, the articulation between these modes and that of global capitalism itself. That said, I am always pleased to read empiri-

cal studies of our part of the world since there never seems to be enough of them and even those whose policy making is genuinely directed to the welfare of most people are too often forced to work by hunch and intuition alone. I'm also pleased to see a book that seeks to address the Pacific Islands as an entity, for that, in the longer term, indeed may be the only feasible way forward.

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Mary Taylor Huber, *The Bishops' Progress: A Historical Ethnography of Catholic Missionary Experience on the Sepik Frontier*. Smithsonian Series on Ethnographic Inquiry. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988. Pp. xii, 264, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. US\$29.95 cloth.

*Reviewed by Terence E. Hays, Rhode Island College*

In Papua New Guinea, no European presence has been more continuous or, in many areas, of longer duration than that of missionaries. It is doubtful whether any anthropologist has not benefited directly from this presence in terms of logistical support, and many are indebted to missionaries for the latter's linguistic and ethnographic studies. Yet, as Huber points out, anthropologists seldom publicly express sympathetic views of missionaries, more often revealing "skepticism about the hopes and aspirations on which mission work is founded and about the very nature of the mission project itself" (p. 5). Apart from the occasional

citation of published works by missionaries, anthropologists have largely limited their interest to the relationships they may have with individuals while in the field.

Huber is surely correct in arguing that scholarly studies of missions (and sometimes of individual missionaries) can have considerable “extrinsic value” (pp. 210-212), enhancing our understanding of regional histories and the roles played by missionaries in both historical and contemporary events. In the past two decades, a spate of books by anthropologists and historians (e.g., Boutilier et al. 1978; Langmore 1989; Laracy 1976; Wetherell 1977; Whiteman 1983) has removed any doubts of the riches to be gained from detailed analysis of the often-sizeable published and archival records of particular missions.

In this examination of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) in the “Sepik region” (but especially the north coast), Huber has chosen a geographical area and mission previously neglected (although anthropologists are well aware of the SVD’s journal, *Anthropos*, and numerous ethnographic studies) as most recent studies have focused on Papua and the islands. Apart from offering another demonstration of the “extrinsic value” of such studies, she hopes to convince us of the “intrinsic value” of missions as subjects of research by addressing such questions as “how people encounter the exotic, how they tolerate ambiguity in the different regions of their lives, and how they manage the contradictions that arise from living and working in an unfamiliar world” (p. 213). Thus she is less concerned here with the people who were missionized than with the SVD missionaries themselves, and especially the three leaders from 1896 to the 1970s of what became the Sepik Diocese. The “progress” at issue is not that of success as measured by numbers of conversions or baptisms, but the SVD’s unintended historical movement “towards the constitution of a distinctive regional church” (p. 199).

Huber’s descriptive and analytic focus is on “aspects of mission practice that have emerged in response to the locale, and on ‘prosaic’ images . . . in which missionaries have reconciled locally effective practice with ecclesiastical ideals” (p. 2), viewing such reconciliations as inescapable given the “missionary’s dilemma . . . that responding effectively to local conditions often means compromising the project’s ideals” (p. 21). Throughout the eighty-year history of the SVD in the area, some “local conditions” have been more or less constant, such as the enervating climate, scattered populations with a domestic mode of production, egalitarian ideologies and political fragmentation, and staggering linguistic and cultural diversity. But other conditions with which the mission had to contend were related to more transient events



and circumstances, or what Huber calls "frontiers," defined as "historically specific situations in which the mission's efficacy has been placed in question" (p. 144), with compromising responses crystallizing in distinctive "images" of the mission, personified by its respective leaders.

Thus, Fr. Eberhard Limbrock (leader, but not a bishop, from 1896 to 1913) faced an "empty frontier" deriving from the region's economic poverty and underdevelopment. Forced to create and maintain sources of finance and supply, Limbrock's activities gave rise to a "plantation image" for the mission, which became "the most active economic agent in the region" (p. 48). The SVD had been founded in 1875 as a mission society with a rigid hierarchical organization (emanating from the Vatican), and its plans for (then German) New Guinea presumed permanent establishment with a conventional division of labor: priests as administrators and supervisors, brothers as servants, and sisters doing "women's work" (p. 59). But the development of plantations, transportation networks, and other infrastructure--necessarily a first priority--soon "grew too large to be contained within the Society's division of spiritual and material labor between priests and brothers" (p. 56). Limbrock himself eventually appreciated the fact that the "spiritual and material aims of pioneer work were proving contradictory rather than complementary" (p. 71), and for other colonists in the region the "occupational code" was becoming "distorted." As World War I approached, the very nationality of the missionaries became a source of tension as Australians grew anxious about the "excessive German influence on the natives" (p. 46). Limbrock finally resigned in 1913 to live out his life as a regular priest elsewhere in New Guinea.

Following the war, the infrastructure established by Limbrock did not in itself resolve all of the mission's problems. The Vatican's ideal of centralization had not been attained through scattered outstations among culturally diverse, small-scale, and politically fragmented native populations. The next leader, Fr. Joseph Loerks, who took over in 1928 and became the Sepik's first bishop in 1931, was to provide the "unifying principle" (p. 92) on this "rustic frontier." But while Loerks, plying the mission's ship Gabriel up and down the coast, may have responded with a "ship image" for the mission, he "eschewed conventional expressions of hierarchy that would set him apart" (p. 106), and called himself "the servant of the servants of God" (p. 104), thereby inverting the hierarchy desired by the Vatican. By the mid-1930s, the SVD priests, still largely isolated in the interior, manifested great individual differences in evangelical strategies, and these were probably not unrelated to a wave of "cargo cults," perceived by some Australians as "cases of mis-

fired missionization” (p. 129). With another war now impending, again the Germans found themselves faced with a “general climate of suspicion” (p. 130), and soon suffered more tangible assaults, being interned in Australia if not imprisoned or executed by the Japanese (as was the case with Loerks).

The north coast after World War II had changed irreversibly for the SVD missionaries, who were allowed to return in 1946. The Australian administration was stronger than ever before, ending the mission’s former hegemony; losses in personnel and stations had considerably weakened the mission in any case; and now a “cultural frontier” loomed, with native leaders more sophisticated than previously and more determined to deal with a European presence. The “new frontier” faced by Fr. Leo Arkfeld, bishop of the Sepik from 1948 to the late 1970s, was “a ‘cultural gap’ that appeared to limit the people’s capacity to participate fully in the church and in the modern world” (p. 138). A new image arose, of “technical ministries,” focused on aviation with Arkfeld (a former British pilot) becoming known as “the flying bishop.” Now the old problem of isolation and the lack of a visible central authority could be ameliorated as mission stations and airstrips became synonymous, and the postwar economic boom of Wewak--fostered by a growing Australian commitment to “native welfare” and local development--meant that the mission no longer had to be economically self-sufficient. Changes back home in views of the mission’s role also occurred and under Arkfeld mission stations became “minicenters for local services and economic development” (p. 157).

From the mid-1960s, with Vatican II encouraging “dialogue with other religions and cultures” (p. 169) and the Australian government providing an impetus toward rapid political change, the Sepik has represented an “ecclesiastical frontier” (p. 168). The continuing insistence on an established hierarchy of dioceses and bishops has proven difficult to implement and the challenge has been whether “localization” or “indigenization” of the church would prevail. Recent changes, including the use of pidgin in the Mass and “the introduction of indigenous elements into church ceremonies” (p. 185) have only served to raise anew fundamental questions about the mission’s purposes and how they can be achieved under local conditions. Of course, this has been the issue since 1896 when the SVD first arrived on the north coast, according to Huber’s argument.

The book is well-, if densely-, written and its mainly chronological ordering makes the key events fairly easy to follow. Yet Huber’s organizing framework--a counterpoint of “frontiers” and “images”--some-

times seems forced, and the initial tripartite division corresponding to the three SVD leaders' terms quickly dissolves into a more complex reality. "Frontiers" proliferate as the book proceeds--"empty," "rustic," "cultural," "postwar," "economic," "ecclesiastical"--with usages of the term alternating (without special notice) between Huber's special meaning (see above) and more conventional ones, such as when she refers (p. 25) to the Sepik region as a "colonial frontier" in the sense that few Europeans settled there in the late nineteenth century and that it continued to serve as little more than a source of labor until after World War II. Nor do these frontiers really correspond neatly with the historical periods or leaders presented as if they were benchmarks.

As for the compromises called forth by these "frontiers," it is not always clear what was being compromised and how the church's agenda was thereby altered. The "progress" of the book's title, as Huber makes clear, was that "towards the constitution of a distinctive regional church," which was "less a goal of missionary activity than its unanticipated result" (pp. 199-200). What would be helpful is a more explicit statement in the book of what the mission's own goals were and exactly how these were compromised or contradicted by the "local conditions." One gets a clear sense of the continuing problem of maintaining a rigid hierarchy of leadership and division of labor under "frontier" circumstances (however defined). But conventional notions of "progress" also seem applicable in the face of figures provided throughout the book that indicate historical growth (despite disruptions from two world wars) in numbers of personnel, stations, and converts. (Huber reports that by 1966, 70 percent of the population of East Sepik Province was identified as Catholic [p. 266, n. 4], and in 1976, the SVD constituted the largest single subgroup in the Wewak diocese [p. 184].)

Also helpful here would be a fuller description of the "distinctive regional church" that is said to have eventuated. We are promised that the book "is about how, through missionaries' accommodations to frontier conditions, the Catholic Church in the Sepik acquired some of its locally specific forms" (p. xi). But--especially noticeable in a "historical ethnography"--we learn very little about the forms of the church in the Sepik or of the "indigenous elements" said to have been introduced into church ceremonies (p. 185).

Perhaps because she is an anthropologist rather than a historian, Huber is most thought-provoking when she examines some of the real cultural conflicts between indigenous and missionaries' worldviews, as in her extended discussion of "cargo cults" and their relationship to the missionization of the region (pp. 118-130). But there are also unrealized

opportunities for such analysis. “Big-man” models of leadership are interestingly identified as a continuing source of difficulties as the church moves toward localization, given that the development of lay leadership at the village level is a crucial step in the process, and Huber cites the official concern that Papua New Guineans must, but do not yet, understand “precisely the separation of the person from his ministry” (p. 198). Yet, ironically, the whole book is organized in terms of charismatic leaders who, in their personifications of the “images” of the mission, are difficult to separate from their ministries. She has chosen the “bishops” as her focus since, for the missionaries, “their bishop is the guarantor of their project’s authenticity, and its most direct link to the authoritative center of the Roman Catholic Church” (p. 20). If they appear to the reader as something like “culture heroes,” how were they perceived by villagers?

Huber is well aware of important dimensions not included in this study, acknowledging, for example, that “Catholicism in the Sepik cannot be fully understood without careful attention to the village world” (p. 204). But she rightly stresses that “an understanding of missionary culture and society” is necessary as well (p. 204), and it is this towards which her book makes an important, if inevitably partial, contribution (based, as it is, largely upon a relatively few published sources). With the addition of this region and mission to a growing number of such studies in Papua New Guinea, the major tasks of comparison and generalization remain.

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R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii*. Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989. Pp. xii, 200, illus., appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. US\$9.95 paper.

*Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles*

Dr. R. Lanier Britsch of Brigham Young University-Hawaii has written a solid survey of Mormonism in the Hawaiian Islands. *Moramona* takes the reader on a journey through the 140-year history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii. The first Mormon missionaries landed at Honolulu in December 1850. What a challenge they faced--a foreign environment, the opposition of the firmly entrenched Protestant mission, and a lack of interest among the *haoles* (whites) whom they had initially hoped to convert. Demonstrating a pragmatic bent that ultimately served the Mormon mission well, these early missionaries quickly turned their attention to the native population with good results.

The first fifty years of Latter-day Saint efforts in Hawaii produced many heroes, although Britsch has chosen to highlight only two: George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, one-time missionaries to Hawaii who later rose to prominence within the church's hierarchy. Although they are likely the best known Mormons to have served in the islands during the first half-century of the Latter-day Saint presence, others who acted in an equally valiant manner are all but ignored by the author.

For example, Henry W. Bigler--who twice served a Hawaiian mission during the 1850s, the second time as mission president--seems far overshadowed by Cannon in *Moramona*. Yet, in truth, Cannon was probably no better known or more successful than Bigler, William Farrer, or James Keeler in the Mormon Hawaii of the early 1850s. In fact, much more about the Latter-day Saint experience might have been told had Britsch consulted Bigler's multivolume journal in the holdings of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. Or, closer to home for Britsch, the Station Reports of the Protestant clergy located at Honolulu's Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library would offer balance to the Mormon story by injecting the view of their opponents. Instead *Moramona* seems to be an institutional history drawn largely from the Latter-day Saint archives at Salt Lake City, Utah. This is not to imply that it is an inaccurate accounting, yet is it the full history?

Britsch offers fascinating coverage of the development of Laie, the

Mormon gathering place in Hawaii that now serves as the location of the Brigham Young University-Hawaii campus, the Latter-day Saint Hawaii Temple, and the Polynesian Cultural Center. From a small, marginally successful sugarcane plantation Laie emerged as a vibrant, productive economic community and the focal point of Mormonism in the Pacific. The era in which Matthew Noall and Samuel E. Woolley led Mormon efforts in Hawaii (1892-1921) was a dynamic period in the history of Mormonism in the islands and Britsch treats it exceedingly well. In fact, this may well be the strongest section of the book.

During the Noall-Woolley years certain changes in emphasis and policy emerged that set these three decades apart from the 1850s through the 1880s. First, institutional Mormonism began to realize its potential as a worldwide church, shaking off the earlier emphasis of urging all converts to "gather to Zion" (church headquarters or a designated locale such as Laie) in favor of strengthening local congregations. The policy change allowed Hawaiian Mormonism to flourish as never before. Second, the practice of plural marriage (polygamy) was abandoned, thus improving Mormonism's image in Hawaii and elsewhere.

In the later twentieth century Hawaii has emerged as a crossroads of Mormonism in Asia and the Pacific. Brigham Young University-Hawaii with its Polynesian Cultural Center and the Institute for Polynesian Studies has become the flagship for Mormonism in Polynesia. It has moved to the forefront of efforts to preserve the native heritage. Whereas the first Mormon missionaries often took their lead from the successes of the Protestant mission in Hawaii, the Latter-day Saints now seem to be on the cutting edge. With 45,000 members in Hawaii, a temple, and a university, Hawaiian Mormonism appears ready to assume a leading role in Pacific history during upcoming decades.

R. Lanier Britsch has given students of Pacific and Mormon history a valuable book. *Moramona* should stand as the best guide to Mormonism in Hawaii for years to come. Future studies of the subject will have to begin here. And, hopefully, there will be many more books on Mormonism in the Pacific. While scholars have spent much effort in revising and revitalizing Mormon history of the mainland United States and the British Isles during the past twenty years, Hawaii and the Pacific may now offer a new frontier to be conquered.

Peter Sutton, ed., *Dreamings: The Art of Aboriginal Australia*. New York: George Braziller, 1988. Pp. xiii, 266, maps, color plates, line drawings. US\$65.00 cloth.

*Reviewed by Robert Layton, University of Durham, Durham, UK*

This brilliantly illustrated book, coauthored by the editor and Australian colleagues, was produced to accompany an exhibition of indigenous Australian art displayed in New York, Chicago, Melbourne, and Adelaide between 1988 and 1990. It is much more than a catalogue, consisting of a series of essays on the place of art in indigenous Australian culture, its history since colonization, and a review of the ways in which indigenous Australian art has been evaluated over the past century by people trained in Western traditions. The book is directed primarily at readers relatively unfamiliar with the art but also presents some original ideas and previously unpublished data.

Key concepts in indigenous Australian culture are explained through helpful case studies: the foundation of religious tradition in a creation period (the so-called Dream Time), ownership of legends and art motifs, aesthetics as the manifestation of ancestral power. While indigenous art may display some continuity with rock engravings claimed to be thirty thousand years old, it has not been static. Examples of recent innovations from various parts of the continent are documented. For many years, anthropologists and craft advisors have intervened in the production and distribution of paintings and carvings. This influence is critically assessed.

The numerous color plates, on the face of it, speak for themselves, and the authors' definition of art is that of "meaningful signs" or "intentionally meaningful forms." A pervasive theme, however, is that much of the dialogue between the producers and interpreters of the art has been at cross-purposes.

A few years ago, two of the authors (Jones and Sutton) organized an exhibition in Adelaide of carvings produced early this century by people of the Lake Eyre region. In their accompanying catalogue Jones and Sutton questioned whether the carvings (called *toas*) stemmed from a long-established tradition or were an innovatory response to a local missionary's zeal for collecting artifacts. Given this problem, they chose to display the *toas* against a plain, black background, so that viewers could bring their own perceptions to bear rather than be influenced by the objects' original context in the squalor of an outback settlement. It is perhaps ironic that the organizers were criticized for doing so by the art philosopher Donald Brook, who accused them of revealing a "gemstone" approach to art that assumed objects have intrinsic, formal aesthetic qualities that exist independently of context and can be made more accessible by isolating the object within a frame. Brook demanded

to be told what it was about the *toas'* indigenous context of use that made them art for museum curators. A curious reversal of the traditional roles of anthropologist and art critic!

Not only does this volume redress the balance, it demonstrates that the artists themselves have generally sought to address an exotic audience through the work that leaves their community. Occasionally, perhaps, indigenous Australians were unaware that their way of life was under scrutiny. Jones quotes Tindale's recollection of his early expeditions: "I don't think that the bush ones in the early days ever realized that we were making records of them. They had no idea why white men held boxes up to their eyes" (p. 153). Anderson and Dussart write, however, that today Warlpiri "are not surprised others are interested in their acrylic paintings . . . [and] want to learn about their culture. Nor do they find it exceptional that whites will pay high prices for the privilege of seeing their ritual designs on canvas" (p. 132). An interest displayed by fieldworkers or collectors typically resulted in an "efflorescence of artifact production, which sometimes even inspired new forms of Aboriginal art" (p. 153). The Aboriginal chairman's preface to the catalogue of a 1981 exhibition wrote of helping other people "to see this country in the Aboriginal way" (p. 177). The gap between "traditional" and urban artist is thus to some extent closed: one has a message to convey about an identity founded on rights to the land that are mediated through ancestral tradition, the other a message about the struggle to combat racism or death in custody. The renaissance of indigenous culture in rural areas following the failure of assimilation policy is shown to have provided urban artists with new images of their own distinctive identity, as in Melbourne-based Lin Onus's painting *Tracks* (fig. 214).

To achieve a measure of recognition, however, indigenous artists have had to struggle against a long and unpalatable history of misreading, well summarized by Jones in chapter 5. Western scholars began by placing indigenous Australian cultures on the bottom rung of a supposed evolutionary ladder, denying that they had art at all, merely "decoration." The frequency with which types of objects appeared in collections reflected European interests, with weapons overrepresented during the era of colonial expansion, when indigenous resistance was frequently construed as treachery. As late as 1948 one critic was able to write, "A good test of art for art's sake is landscape painting. Generally speaking it does not occur in primitive art" (p. 171). Of course the growth of Western interest in exotic art, spearheaded by artists such as Gauguin and Picasso, ultimately tipped the balance, although initially the art of Africa and Oceania attracted more interest than that of Australia.



Nonetheless, by 1924 an Australian newspaper reported of an exhibition of bark paintings in Melbourne: "many of these are the work of the fierce Alligator River tribes, whose artists evidently include Cubists and Impressionists" (quoted on p. 167).

Ultimately, as the book's final chapter shows, the tables were turned, and artists of colonial descent began to seek inspiration for a genuinely Australian art in indigenous traditions. The authors distinguish between what they term "quotational" use of indigenous motifs, which merely appropriates forms, and references that take up issues of common concern, such as damage to the environment by a cultural tradition that lacks a close spiritual identification with the land. Recognition of indigenous art has in turn transformed aspects of Aboriginal life. On the positive side, artists have gained a degree of economic independence that has fostered a return to small, self-sufficient communities and supported claims for land rights. Traditions in the heavily colonized areas of southeast Australia that had ceased or whose continuation was precarious have been regenerated: the lower Murray Valley is taken as a case study. Artists have mastered new media, such as printing and pottery. On the negative side, disputes have arisen about rights to use designs transmitted by inheritance and the revelation of secret religious knowledge. Traditional statuses have been undermined and art forms modified in response to political pressure. What is clear is that Aboriginality in art is not manifested in isolation from Western contact, detachment from the market economy, or exclusive use of indigenous materials; it is rather in the construction and reconstruction of a distinctive identity in the modern world.

Gillian Cowlshaw, *Black, White, or Brindle: Race in Rural Australia*.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Pp. 297. US\$47.50.

*Reviewed by Victoria K. Burbank, University of California, Davis*

*Black, White, or Brindle: Race in Rural Australia* is an extremely interesting book that I would recommend not only to anthropologists interested in Aboriginal Australia and Australians concerned or perplexed by the inequalities in their society, but also to anyone interested in racism, ethnicity, or sexism. This exploration of "race relations" in western New South Wales is based on the premise that race is a social rather than natural category: it is the very construction of races that is problematic and in need of description and explanation.

Dividing the book into two parts, Gillian Cowlshaw begins her exploration with a detailed exposition of Aboriginal/European contact and interaction over more than a century from the time Europeans first entered western New South Wales. Including, among other things, discussions of Aboriginal social formations, the ecology of sheep farming, characteristics of the encroaching settlers and the white labor force, unions, cameleers from the Punjab, miscegenation, protective legislation, and the policy of "Assimilation," she describes both dramatic and mundane forms of violence against Aboriginal people. First displaced from their lands and murdered, then controlled as near slaves on stations or "protected" on reserves and missions and by restrictive laws, the dominant society effectively created a category of people different from all other Australians--the Aborigines.

In the second part of the book, Cowlshaw brings her analysis to bear on a composite of western New South Wales communities that she calls "Brindleton." In a detailed and far-ranging description that includes the shire council and its workings, the schools and schoolteachers, the government policy of "self-management," "stirrers," health and welfare departments and policies, pubs, clubs, sports associations, police, courts, and employment and unemployment, she dissects processes of social differentiation and addresses the question of why government programs have failed to alleviate inequalities in medical care, education, housing, legal services, and employment. In doing so she illustrates how racism is maintained and perpetuated by the structures of the dominant society and through the ideology and practice of its inhabitants. Interwoven in this discussion is a reply to those who would assert that Aboriginal people, like those of Brindleton, have "lost their culture." Using the concept "oppositional culture" she argues that Aboriginal people have not merely been passive clay to be molded by external forces, their culture destroyed by the colonizer. As the relatively powerless in the relationship of inequality, Aborigines have often had no choice but to acquiesce. Nevertheless, in responding to the events around them, sometimes with outright defiance, they have created a culture that is as distinctively Aboriginal as it is different from the culture of the people encountered by the first European settlers in western New South Wales.

I have several criticisms of Cowlshaw's book. While I am convinced by her analysis that it is white control of "the status criteria and the purse strings" that underlies the disadvantage of Aboriginal people, I do not think that her use of "class struggle" as a conceptual framework is particularly illuminating; indeed her analysis indicates the necessity of

developing a framework of "race relations" that goes beyond the concept of class. I also wish that Cowlshaw had written more about her fieldwork rather than limiting this topic to a few brief footnotes and sentences in the text. This is a book that demonstrates the interest and importance of such research. In not describing in greater detail the process of her work, Cowlshaw has missed an opportunity to assist in the development of similar studies. I would also like to say, though this is probably more a criticism intended for her editors than Cowlshaw herself, that the purpose and impact of her analysis of Brindleton is only realized upon reading the final chapter. In my opinion, this chapter should come first, and I urge readers to first turn to the back of the book.

These criticisms aside, *Black, White, or Brindle: Race in Rural Australia* is a thoughtful and thought-provoking book that invites us to imagine a world of greater equality and search for better ways to begin to achieve it.

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## BOOKS NOTED

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### RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JULY 1989-JUNE 1990

This list of significant new publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from acquisition lists received from July of 1989 to June of 1990 from the libraries of Brigham Young University-Hawaii, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and University of Auckland. Other libraries are invited to submit acquisition lists of Pacific materials for future issues. Contributions and queries should be addressed to Riley M. Moffat, Box 1966, Brigham Young University-Hawaii, Laie, Hawaii 96762.

Following library conventions, this short list includes only primary author in cases of multiple authorship, and is arranged by title in cases of an edited or compiled work.

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