PACIFIC STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

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THE ESSAYS IN THIS COLLECTION originated in a session prepared for the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania; we called the session "Constructing Community in Urban Settings." The authors of the essays adapt and accommodate the original theme of the session to reflect particular experiences, changes in their views of the subject, and the comments of other session participants. In the end, all of the contributions describe modes of *settling:* settling into a new environment and settling under new circumstances. We discuss the process of settling not, or not primarily, in terms of the establishment of political, economic, or educational institutions, but in terms of creating bonds of solidarity. We use the word "moral" to indicate the nature of these bonds: sentiments and feelings that unify individuals and provide a noncontractual basis on which to act, to hold together, and to transcend self-interest in the interests of the collective. Durkheim wrote: "As long as men live together there will be some common faith between them" (in Bellah 1973:xxii).

Why "urban"? The word effectively captures the background setting for the strategies of settling we describe. In the following essays, community creation goes on in settings of complexity, heterogeneity, and diversity characteristic of the "city."[1] These are settings in which class replaces kinship and distance replaces closeness as the basis for interaction, where clues to personal behaviors are puzzling and anonymity the mode of self-presentation. The authors also recognize the importance of migration by Pacific Islanders, and though not everyone represented in the following pages has left home, all are surrounded by the urban world to which migrants (usually) move. "Urban" works as an overarching trope for the forms of globalization that

generate the particular creations of community discussed in our essays. These creations take place in a context of alienation and anonymity, of heterogeneity and diversity—characteristics that appear in classic accounts of the city.[2] In the essays below, urban has multiple meanings, from a geographic, political, and socioeconomic entity (the "city") to a symbol of colonial discipline and power.

Urban acquired further meanings as we drew the contributions together into one volume. Uses of "urban" in the following essays reflect a diversity of historical and cultural circumstances, material conditions, and cultural values, as well as incorporating local understandings of the nonlocal. In the end "urban," as much as anything else, means something different to every individual exposed to its features.

Recognizing the complexities of a twentieth-century world, the essays do not deal only with those who move into an urban environment—the classic pattern of migration—but also with those who are forcibly moved and those who find themselves moved in on by city life. Altogether, the contributions are concerned equally with individuals who are *captivated by* and individuals who are *captured into* the city; being tempted and being trapped by a city can have similar effects and consequences for individuals. In both cases, individuals enter a world of bureaucratized, contractual, and impersonal relations. Over time, a common faith is reconstructed through the process of creating moral communities. Given the situational and often temporary quality of entry into an urban environment, these communities may well themselves be temporary, expedient, and variously nested within one another. The burden of our essays is to show how solidarity nevertheless occurs.

Moral Communities

In emphasizing the significance of the "moral," our collection pushes beyond standard accounts of community building, of ethnic and cultural identity, of enclaves and support systems. We develop the concept in a somewhat Durkheimian sense: ties of affect and of sentiment that transcend physical and material arrangements. We delve into the ways these ties succeed or fail in regulating individual behaviors and interactions. The moral represents the collective conscience characteristic of modern life; as Durkheim wrote in *The Division of Labor,* "It more and more comes to consist of very general and very indeterminate ways of thinking and feeling, which leave an open place for a growing multitude of individual differences" (in Bellah 1973:xxv).

Moral communities based on sentiments and "indeterminate ways of thinking" are not bounded, specifically located, or composed of a definite and definable population. A flow occurs in the personnel and in structural

dimensions, always against the backdrop of changing symbolic representations of collectivity. Moral communities are important as sources of survival in an urban/modern arena precisely because of the flexibility in such symbolic representations of community.

With the concept of moral communities, then, we expand the literature on migration, solidarity (or "society"), and the modern. The contributions to this volume all point to the urgency of creating communities that is a product of a global movement and relocation of people and of institutions. In addition, the essays address the relationship between values evident in a moral community and interpretations of an "indigenous" or "home" culture. We discuss the impact on community of the conditions of migrating, moving, and becoming absorbed in an urban environment. If Anutans in Honiara and Samoans in Auckland equally search for unity, histories and biographies differentiate the resulting communities from one another.

The essays have roots in classic anthropological studies of migration, urbanization, and social solidarity. Ultimately we all owe a debt to Durkheim, who describes society in words that are relevant to a generation that doubts the entity: "a complex of ideas and sentiments, of ways of seeing and of feeling, a certain intellectual and moral framework" (in Bellah 1973:xlii). The essays also refer to contemporaneous theories of modernity, postcolonialism, and transnationalism. We bridge the classic and the contemporary in an emphasis on the "sentimental" dimensions of society, in our attention to modes of establishing a moral framework within a nonbounded group of individuals, and in our exploration of the uses of "community" in struggles for autonomy and sovereignty.

Specifically, we build on earlier studies of migration and urbanization in the Pacific, on the large literature dealing with tradition, custom, and culture, and on recent analyses of the meaning of identity and ethnicity for Pacific Island peoples. These writings are themselves framed by an interdisciplinary discourse on nationalism and transnationalism that has challenged ethnographic method and anthropological theory over the past two or three decades.

We do not, it might be noted, draw absolute boundaries around geographical and cultural areas.[3] Instead we train our inquiries on movements and processes, narratives and norms. Nor are the essays written purely in the spirit of academic revisionism; rather, we join scholars in a number of fields who are questioning disciplinary conventions that came with (and were implicated in) a certain state of the world. The contributors grapple with the loss of our own "home" traditions—the comfort of an ethnographic style— as we enter a world characterized more by temporal than by cultural or national boundaries. Along with the theoretical premise, several contributors blur genres, for example, ethnography and autobiography, social sci-

ence and narrative. The profound challenge of the situations we describe—the moral communities we observe—is to review the principles guiding our own anthropological community. Anthropologists, like everyone else, are engaged in a world of circulating individuals, without boundaries and with few fence posts. We are participant-observers, now, without a place or a people or even, perhaps, a problem to bind our inquiries and interpretations, our concepts and conclusions.

The Context: Metropolitanism

By choice, circumstance, chance, and coercion, individuals end up living far from home or what they consider familiar. They end up in distant or foreign territories, exposed to foreign institutions. Strangeness and strangers abound, disconcerting and disconnecting the individual from others. In the first half of the century, the sociologist Georg Simmel conveyed the essence of this experience, calling it *metropolitanism.* The attributes he accords to a metropolis resonate with the "urban" evoked in our essays. The settings we describe display the properties he outlined in "The Stranger" and "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (in Wolfe 1950:402–408, 409–424). Simmel's understanding of the city, too, included a sensitivity to its impact on a person's identity and self-presentation—the psychological dimensions of living in a city. "For the fundamentally mobile person comes in contact, at one time or another, with every individual, but is not organically connected, through established ties of kinship, locality, and occupation, with any single one" (ibid.:404).

The urban dweller, in other words, is deprived of familiar ties, alienated from others, and adrift in a world without obvious anchors. Whether the individual has run away from, been relocated to, or swallowed up by a metropolitan context, he finds himself surrounded by strange faces and manners. He is stripped of the comfort of face-to-face interactions and encounters with known others. Personal intimacy remains an illusion, whether because an individual has left behind those with whom he or she is intimate or because the spread of an urban style erodes the forms of contact and conversation that create intimacy.

Exiles and Migrants in Oceania, the 1977 Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania volume on Pacific Island migration, demonstrates the significance of a transformation in personal relationships. There Michael Lieber writes: "On a tiny atoll in which each person has face-to-face relationships with everyone else, where there is little privacy, and where gossip continually supplements first-hand observation, each person brings to a relationship the more or less total biography of the other" (1977:39). Those who move from the tiny atoll of Kapingamarangi into the urban environment of

Ponape relinquish a way of knowing; grasping the total biographies of encountered others is not a possibility. Lieber's comment is even more pertinent if "atoll" is seen as a metaphor as well as a geographical entity, much as we are according "urban" many dimensions of meaning. "Atoll" can then refer to the actual island individuals have left, to the memories of home glimmering on the horizon, and to a perception of some behaviors as traditional or old or genuine compared with others. From this vantage point, "atoll" signifies customary, kinship-based ways of interacting with others; "atoll" stands for the bonds of solidarity that come when all faces are recognizable and all gestures legible.

"Atoll" is the other side of the story of metropolis, referring to the familiar, the traditional, the remembered. Out of conceptualizations of "atoll" come the symbols, references, and sentiments individuals draw on to create moral communities in diverse, heterogeneous, and strange settings. Such a formulation does not in the least mean an atoll is not physically present, any more than an open definition of "urban" erases the crowded, jumbled, and anonymous places people who live there and who visit there call a city.

Cities, as urban geographer David Harvey once wrote, have not been easy to delineate, explain, or understand (1973:195). But cities are also clearly not the same as an atoll, either for analysts or in the experiences of individuals. The conditions of urban living explain the mechanisms of creating community—the several circles of solidarity that characterize modern populations, unplaced and mobile. Seventy years later, Harvey paints a picture that resembles Simmel's: anomie, alienation, anonymity; Harvey adds the suffocating imposition on individuals of a capitalist mode of production. If the scholar in Harvey balks at the difficulty of theorizing about the urban, the sensitive writer he is aptly conveys the feelings of being an urban resident or, it can be said, a resident of a modern world.

In *A World of Strangers,* sociologist Lyn Lofland vividly conveys the hardships of city living. Urban inhabitants, she writes, "know nothing personally about the vast majority of others with whom they share this space" (Lofland [1973] 1985:3). There are few grounds for certainty and trust. The urban dweller wends his or her way through a crowd of faceless others, too many to know. Simmel suggests both the emotional impact of the situation and the individual's response in a protective reserve: "If [in a city] so many inner reactions were responses to the continuous external contacts with innumerable people as are those in the small town . . . one would be completely atomized internally and come to an unimaginable psychic state. Partly this psychological fact, partly the right to distrust which men have in the face of the touch-and-go elements of metropolitan life, necessitates our reserve" (in Wolff 1950:415).

Yet, as Simmel recognized, the right to distrust grants an individual the freedom to go one's own way, disguising one's own and ignoring the biographies of others. The freedom to distrust becomes the freedom to act and, moreover, to jump stage—to move from scene to scene, unfollowed and unknown. For not only is the city peopled by faceless strangers, it is also filled with spaces of privacy and opportunities for disguise. The map Lofland gives of spaces without names, areas without specified activities is a chart for going your own way—the appeal of urban life to many, Pacific Islanders included. Its spatial and conceptual openness renders the city appealing; anonymity as well as opportunity, personal flexibility, and the chance for social mobility beckon. Unmistakably, urban environments are as attractive as they are alienating. There are two ends to the magnet: adventure and bright lights coupled with anonymity and lack of familiar clues to behavior.

The traveler suffers loss and loneliness. Entering the "strange," he or she embodies and painfully articulates the abstract features detailed (often with feeling) by the student of the city. "It is obviously only the obverse of this freedom if, under certain circumstances, one nowhere feels as lonely and lost as in the metropolitan crowd," writes Simmel. "For here as elsewhere it is by no means necessary that the freedom of man be reflected in his emotional life as comfort" (in Wolff 1950:418). That is, freedom can feel bad. Being cut loose and unaffiliated is intolerable, as Lofland points out: no one, she claims, can permanently endure the anonymity and distrust of an urban environment ([1973] 1985:viii). The analytic concepts of alienation and autonomy implicit in the descriptions by Simmel and Lofland serve as guideposts in the following essays. In one way or another, each essay explores particular reactions to the discomfort of freedom and the ambiguous results of the right to distrust an urban setting offers.

Overall, then, the collection considers the urban on several planes: as a place, a political entity, an organization of relationships, and a symbol of modern society. "Urban" does not have a concrete or univocal definition, referring rather to a set of traits and circumstances historically driven and individually interpreted. In its most encompassing version, "urban" represents a state of mind and a way of life not only appropriate to but also constitutive of a geographical entity or an administrative unit. "Urban" conveys the fluidity, complexity, diversity, and dilemmas people experience when they fly from home or when home is engulfed by an intruding colonial presence. Moreover, as urban anthropologist Ulf Hannerz notes, urban now describes the world most people occupy (1996). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, accounts of the metropolis are useful precisely because they illuminate phenomena broader than the city.

Creating Communities

The idea of community creation is not new. Examination of the building of community appears in various guises in both immigration and urbanization literature. Immigration scholars classically focus on the strategies individuals adapt for constructing communities in the unfamiliar and complex settings of their destinations. Scholars of the city, too, outline the inner circles of community that allow residents to survive, to thrive, and to achieve their goals. Much of the existing literature, however, treats the desire for community as self-evident and the same in all settings, regardless of national, cultural, and structural differences. Such a perspective fails to recognize the contested meanings of community for participants, the instrumental uses to which "community" is put by actors, and the rhetorical value of "community" when the competition for resources is severe. The following essays move beyond assumptions about community creation in several ways: emphasizing the material constraints on and conditions under which communities arise; delineating the situational and the temporary aspects of any community; expanding an interpretation of "community" to include styles of conflict resolution, local modes of discipline, and forms of restraint on individual action.

In his analysis of moral communities in urban Aotearoa/New Zealand in this volume Macpherson, assuming the existence of a desire on the part of many Samoans for a community based on a Samoan worldview and lifestyle, focuses on the conditions in which such communities have been realized. According to Macpherson, the formation of community requires a critical population mass, an effective organizational strategy like fictive kinship, and active local institutions. Added to the intention of maintaining a Samoan worldview, material conditions allow Samoan migrants to establish viable and visible communities in an urban setting—though, as Macpherson concludes, always subject to change. He suggests a view other essays develop: the tenuous quality of communities may constitute a strength, in the form of resiliency.

Each of the essays examines conditions under which Pacific Islanders who move to or are engulfed by metropolitan contexts create community. Along with material and demographic factors, conditions for community include values brought from "home" and ideologies confronted in the new environment, like racism and class discrimination. Conditions for community also include the physical spaces available to a population, as well as the ability to move through the "space" of the city. General institutional elements, like economic and political systems, evidently play a role. There are other factors

in the construction of community as well, as Alan and Irwin Howard pointed out in an earlier piece, and these vary with time, place, and individual (1977). The argument of this volume is that such factors, while analytically generalizable, gain meaning in the particulars of a situation, including the particulars of an individual life and life story.

Moreover, our essays indicate that conditions permitting the creation of communities also predict the nature of the ensuing solidarity. A fine example is provided by Allen's piece on Marshallese residents in the deeply American town of Enid, Oklahoma. Sources of solidarity come from the prescripts of the local Assembly of God Church. Centered in church doctrine, rules for behavior and strictures on personal expression constitute the collective representations of a Marshallese community. Other essays show how within an urban environment geographical distance forces the establishment of networks of communication. These networks entwine individuals in what might be called a narrative community.

The two essays on Hawai'i bring out another dimension of creating community. Merry and Modell look at the mechanisms of solidarity that are developed by those who are not migrants but who have been overrun in their own lands. Under such circumstances, communities are a strategy for dealing with the spread of urban modes of discipline that accompany modernization and global capitalism. In the two cases described, local responses to systems of formal punishment create a community with distinct representations of solidarity. Sites, symbols, and sentiments of sociability differ from those cited in other contributions.

Although all the essays concern themselves with the individuals who move between "atoll" and "metropolis," contributors in the second half of the volume give prominence to subjective interpretations of community. These essays take up the theme Simmel bequeathed to urban studies: the anomie and the impersonality of the metropolis are at once liberating and distressing. Ambiguous and anonymous, stimulating and stressful, the metropolitan world mesmerizes and overwhelms the individual person. But metropolitanism does not deny the individual strategies of survival. While there are tragedies, there are also triumphs evident in the imaginative inventions, person by person, our volume brings forward. Particular voices and individual experiences, on street corners and on beaches, substantiate the abstract processes of settling that all the contributions describe.

Individuals confront and ultimately manage metropolitanism in a variety of settings. Collective representations and common faith extend beyond the cultures anthropologists once sought them in, instead belonging to the individuals who circulate through a twenty-first-century world. The lesson of this volume both pulls together and transcends the experiences of Pacific

Island peoples in a world in which migrating is no longer very different from staying home in its effects and attendant strangeness.

Migration: Movement and Circulation

"Migration in its literal [i.e., Western] meaning means uprooting and relocating oneself permanently, but this is not how Samoans conceptualize the word. Instead, the Samoan word for migration is *malaga* or *feoaiga* which mean to travel back and forth" (Lilomaiava-Doktor 1996:1). In these sentences, Sailiemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor suggests a more profound revision of theories about migration than just the idea of a return trip. She describes a way of conceptualizing movement; she is not just referring to the pull-and-push behavior that appears in standard writings on European migration. A notion of back-and-forthness alters the implications of "moving" for Pacific Island peoples; to paraphrase Murray Chapman, Pacific Islanders *circulate.* Thinking of migration as back-and-forthness or circulating influences the process of creating new communities—or communities in a "new" setting— as essays in the collection demonstrate.

Furthermore, a concept of back-and-forthness challenges disciplinary assumptions about geographical distance and located place. Back-and-forthness suggests a more open or accessible world than earlier studies of migration or urbanization offer. In addition, Lilomaiava-Doktor's title, "A Personal Reflection on Samoan Diaspora," reminds others that the subject of moving is ultimately personal. None of the patterns and processes we describe occurs without the individual who makes a decision to leave or return, who is forced to sail from atoll to city, or who suffers under the encirclement of an expanding bureaucratic state.

Several years ago, the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai introduced a special issue of *Cultural Anthropology* on "Place and Voice in Anthropological Theory." He recriminated his colleagues for clinging to the ethnographic trope of "culturally defined locations" (Appadurai 1988:16). Addressed to an anthropological audience, Appadurai's criticism of too-easy presumptions of a "there" there pertains to the interpretations of migration this volume provides. For those who circulate, we show, culturally defined locations are daily problematized, mulled over, and reimagined; such locations may mainly be *projectively* there. While Appadurai advocates that anthropologists do without place, those who actually move around may not find it so easy to do without place. That does not mean migrants retreat to geographically bounded, confining locations in interpreting their own experiences; it means that we have to consider the ways in which place is constituted out of images and concepts for everyone.

Those who move, circulate, and crisscross oceans do construct place. But these are places whose primary existence and defining features are as much symbolic as geographical. In the place-and-voice introductory essay, Appadurai refers to the "spatial migration of images and concepts" (1988:20). Though in the service of a different agenda,[4] Appadurai's phrase captures processes we describe: Those who circulate carry images and concepts that are crucial to creating a "place" for themselves in a new setting. From this perspective, place can be at once a physical location and a figurative representation of perceived unity. To adapt an idea from Anthony Giddens (1990), images and concepts turn space into place, but not into a located, geographical place. As our essays suggest, images and concepts body forth a *sense* of place, even when physical manifestations are missing.

Emphasis on the symbolic construction of place in turn expands notions of community. This is true for those of us who write about community formation, and it is true for those who are actually making communities under circumstances of circulating and being encircled. A "modern" academic view of place as existing largely in imagination, in other words, illuminates vital components through which individuals adjust to the modern world that spreads around them. At the same time, symbolic constructions of place—imagined communities—occur within the borders and against the restrictions of nation-states. Macpherson reminds his readers that Samoans develop *fa'asamoa* in an Aotearoa that is also New Zealand—indigenous land within the regime of a nation-state. In his essay here on urban *marae* and Maori identity, Tapsell provides a detailed analysis of the links between decisions about ceremonial sites and the "state" of New Zealand politics. The essay is a reminder, too, that encirclement by a state produces conflicts within indigenous communities: Today's nontribal and tribal leaders seem to have been temporarily captured by the Crown's tactical policies.

An imagined community is not a fictitious entity. As the following essays show, collective sentiments and symbolic constructs establish a "place" within and against a nation-state. Imagination is rarely unconfined or immaterial.

In the 1977 volume on migration, Michael Lieber shows how important the coining of new concepts and ideas is to circulating peoples. Comparing two Kapingamarangi communities, one on the atoll and the other in Ponape, Lieber notes that the continual movement of individuals from atoll to city alters the meanings of "Kapinga people" and of "community." The meaning of each term is universalized, he argues, detached from location in or identification with a particular place (Lieber 1977:58–59). As individuals travel back and forth, then, concepts crucial to cultural and personal identity expand, swing free of their moorings in concrete material references—but not completely, as Lieber and others recognize. Universalizing is not equivalent

to dropping everything that is familiar, close, and secure; our volume argues for a new approach to the subtle links between universalizing and localizing in anyone's experience.

In his 1996 collection of essays, *Transnational Connections,* Ulf Hannerz instructs his colleagues to attend to the expandability or looseness of "place," the local, and the cultural. He slyly hints at an anxiety of rootlessness that fixes anthropologists to the familiar "atolls" of their discipline. An anxiety of rootlessness also (more justly perhaps) besets indigenous peoples caught in and by an aggressive, capitalizing world. We show that Pacific Islanders have responded with transmutations of place, locality, identity, and collectivity that are more daringly postmodern than the theories of some well-known academicians. If anthropologists continue to imprison natives in culturally defined places and rigidly bounded locales (Hannerz 1996:94), "natives" themselves do nothing of the sort.

While arguing that communities are created out of conceptual transmutations of the universal and the particular, our essays do not neglect the significance of material conditions encountered by migrants to and residents in an urban context. Pacific Islanders who travel, are transplanted, or are administratively overrun struggle to find housing, jobs, education, and so forth, under circumstances of imperfect autonomy, limited opportunity, and, often, blatant discrimination. These struggles exist alongside efforts to redefine "people," land, culture, and solidarity. The presence of imagined communities provides a resilience, justification, and legitimation for the mechanisms individuals use to create a livable niche within (increasingly pervasive) metropolitan settings.

Emphasis on images and concepts takes our essays beyond discussions of "ethnic strategies" and "immigrant networks" in literature on migration. Though the same institutional components ground the processes we analyze —churches, households, work groups, and schools—each contributor recognizes the extent to which meanings accorded these forms of social solidarity are moral. Kinship, for example, is a topic that appears in our pages just as it does throughout immigration literature (e.g., Yans-McLaughlin 1990). And it plays a similar part, indicating the ways in which people know and exploit connections in a new environment. Our inquiries, however, go further in focusing on kinship as a mode of collective representation: Valued traits and aspects of temperament, norms for conduct, and concepts of self are coded through kinship. Again, we do not dismiss the "real" importance of related people for helping one another. Rather, we add to that the feelings and sentiments that "discipline" individuals into or out of a kinship-based network—and therefore into or out of community. In our essays, kinship is a source of judgments, evaluations, corrections, and sanctions.

Kinship also communicates "cultural meanings of spatial mobility" (Silverman 1977:5). As Silverman and others have pointed out, interpretations of "moving" are part of movement; in turn, interpretations of family and household are central to views of mobility. The "essence of movement," Murray Chapman writes, is intimately connected to meanings of "home" and to "links between mobility and identity" (1995:255). Kinship provides the "collective representation" that links mobility and identity by embodying measures of attachment and of attenuation. Kinship symbolizes the substance of "identity" when a person is apart from those at home.

Yet, as our essays show, even kinship cannot reliably secure the individual who travels back and forth, in and out of a metropolitan world. Far from home, but with home as symbol, individuals struggle against the anomie and anonymity, aloneness and alienation of cosmopolitan life. And kinship ties do not always sustain.

Global processes are individually interpreted, by the observer as well as the participant. The lesson is apparent in the complementary essays contributed by Rosenblatt and Tapsell. Rosenblatt is the "stranger" who is gradually accepted into a group focused on a Maori *marae* in Auckland. He learns about home, mobility, and identity—his and theirs—through the generosity of those involved in settling in an urban environment. In his piece, Paul Tapsell draws on a personal intimacy with the meanings of Maori *marae* in order to locate these meanings in a world of back-and-forthness, metropolitanism, and global movement. For Rosenblatt and Tapsell equally, urban *marae* constitute primary sites for local interpretations of universal processes. The two do not disagree about the significance of *marae* for the creation of moral communities in modern Aotearoa/New Zealand, but they diverge in their views of the components—the symbolic references to land, tribe, and kinship.

The divergence, in turn, reflects the complexities produced by attending to particulars of personality, place, power, and procedure in analyzing community creation. Neglecting these complexities, entailed by metropolitanism itself, would be unfair to the multiple functions served by creating communities. In a world of circulating individuals, these functions are sentimental, social, normative, and oppositional.

Identities and Moral Communities

We are not talking about migrant communities (Lieber 1977:353) or about cultural or ethnic communities, but about *moral communities.* The phrase is at once more abstract and more personal than the related phrases used in earlier studies of Pacific Islanders who leave or lose their homes and homelands.

In 1990, Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer published an important collection of essays, *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific.* In their introduction, the editors delineate the difference between Pacific Island and Western notions of identity. Pacific Islanders in general, they write, assume cultural identity is *invented;* Westerners, by contrast, assume that identity is a *given* (Linnekin and Poyer 1990:4). In a memorable formulation, they phrase the difference in terms of Lamarckian and Mendelian theories: following Lamarck, identity in the Pacific is circumstantial and learned, whereas for Westerners identity is primordial, inborn, genetic (ibid.:7). If you are a Pacific Islander, the heart of who you are is the creative invention of who you might be.

By and large, the essays in that collection concentrate on group dimensions of inventing or invented identity: the articulated and visible distinctions between groups that are deemed, interchangeably, *ethnicity* and *cultural identity.* It is time to pass beyond those insights, first to ask how invention goes on, and, second, to examine the connections between self-identification and wider forms of collective representation.

All the essays in our collection in one way or another describe *collective representations.* These may be manifested in a physical structure, through a perception of the workplace, embedded in a style of resolving conflict, or expressed in consciously constructed symbols. Like Durkheim, from whom the phrase comes, we link collective representation to a notion of the moral. Recognizable signs of "unison" signal a moral community. But why moral? Durkheim claimed society is inherently moral inasmuch as a sense of solidarity guides individual conduct. "Everything which is a source of solidarity is moral, everything which forces man to take account of other men is moral, everything which forces him to regulate his conduct through something other than the striving of his ego is moral, and morality is as solid as these ties are numerous and strong" (Durkheim, in Bellah 1973:136).

He also argued that to be a moral force solidarity must be embodied, envisioned, apparent. "From another point of view, however, collective representations originate only when they are embodied in material objects, things, or beings of every sort—figures, movements, sounds, words, and so on—that symbolize and delineate them in some outward appearance. For it is only by expressing their feelings, by translating them into signs, by symbolizing them externally, that the individual consciousnesses, which are, by nature, closed to each other, can feel that they are communicating and are in unison" (Durkheim, in Bellah 1973:160). As our cases demonstrate, in a twenty-first-century world replete with people in circulation (including anthropologists), it is necessary to reconceptualize the links between "material objects" and individual consciousnesses or identities.

In the following essays, material objects, things, and beings of every sort represent a sense of solidarity. However, these objects, things, and beings include abstract ideologies as well as the concrete embodiments Durkheim relishes; the "things" to which he refers are in our presentations elaborated concepts as well as physical entities. Concepts have as much impact on individual consciousnesses as any totem or temple.

"At the same time, while 'communities' used to be thought of mostly as rather more tangible, small, face-to-face entities, unproblematically situated in space, they can now be 'imagined'" (Hannerz 1996:92). Several of the essays in this volume address "imagined" collective representations. Initially, we had conceptualized community in a bounded way—tangible entities if not in terms of economic and political institutions, at least in terms of common space, style, and self-definition. Led by essays like Merry's and Modell's, we eventually rejected the assumption of an entity, whether physical/geographical or sociocultural. As Merry writes in her contribution, "There are not distinct, bounded groups sharing integrated and cohesive sets of practices and worldviews. Instead, there are multiple, overlapping, communicating communities that share some ideas and contest others; within communities, different groups have different interpretations of the same symbols."

In an urban setting, manifestations of collective solidarity activate social ties that are attenuated when a person moves away from home. And as Durkheim noted, anything that fosters solidarity is "moral." Extending his thesis, the forms of collective representation described below focus (in one way or another) on notions of proper conduct. These notions bind individual to individual, sometimes along customary kinship lines and sometimes through a replication of kinship. The world no longer consists of faceless strangers but of people who assess one another, just like (though not in the same way as) "back home." Brought into a community by and of judgments, individuals recompose their actions and their identities to fit—and consequently to perpetuate—shared standards.

The moral content of collective representations provides a dynamic element to the creation of communities: A person feels bad if he or she does not comply and conform. Or, to put it another way, a person realizes when he or she is refusing to comply or conform, as Feinberg tells us Anutans discover on settling in Honiara. Realization drives a person either toward or away from those who seem to be imposing their wishes. But the person is not lost or bereft of community. "Urbanized" or "citified," he or she has access to multiple communities of solidarity. "A community is created by members imagining common sentiments and connections. This definition is not based on geographic proximity, nor is it limited to one community at a time" (McGrath 1997). Common sentiments and connections, we show, are ex-

pressed through individual transactions and personal testimonies, which means "community" is not absolute in time or place.

The significance of words, language, metaphors, and narratives to the creation of moral communities is evident in all the essays in this volume. With more or less emphasis, each contribution recognizes that the stories people tell themselves and each other are crucial to an ongoing process of settling. In addition, as Donner suggests, a metaphorical framing of experience negotiates the contrast between "atoll" and "metropolis," providing a guide to the creation of community. For the Sikaianans he knows, the dichotomous pairing of "fish and taro" and "rice and tea" creates both the community of home and the communities of Honiara.

Merry's analysis here of the punishments imposed on residents of the Hilo area by a formal, Western court provides another dimension to the importance of discourse. Behind judicial sentences lie structures of control to which the individual can respond with either obedience or opposition, lack of comprehension or a deliberate reconstruction of meaning. Detailing a century's worth of interchanges between court and custom, Merry provides a complex picture of the sociopolitical contexts of community creation. With discipline as her theme, Merry makes no bones about the power differential that influences community creation in all instances: the land policies of a state authority, for example, or the gaveled opinion of a judge in a hearing on domestic violence.

Communities as Sites of Resistance

If, as Howard claims, community making involves "crystallizing attitudes and emotions around collective symbols" (1990:260), the assertion becomes more valuable when the sources and manifestations of inequality are inserted into the equation. One then has to ask whether community creation sets terms for resistance as well as for solidarity and survival. Do the moral communities described in this volume represent anticolonialist, antimodern, and antimetropolitan positions?

Linnekin and Poyer refer to Pacific Island peoples who formulate an "explicitly countermetropolitan identity" (1990:12). These are peoples who have been sucked into an alien metropolis or a pluralistic nation. The phrase implies resistance to surrounding customs and the creation of identity in opposition to "foreign" sources of control. The discussion also implies an active effort to assert autonomy and rights. The picture that emerges from the data in the present volume shows the need for a more complicated interpretation of "countermetropolitan." As Hannerz suggests, the "counter" is often performed by those who share a metropolitan style (1996:52). He also

argues that when "counter" is attached to the concept of culture, it becomes the province of an elite (ibid.:75). That is, an association of "identity" with "culture" dispossesses the majority in favor of the articulate minority.

The point to be taken from Hannerz is that "communities" can no more be attached to culture than to place, no more be attached to assimilation than to resistance. His views are a warning against too quickly confusing an asserted cultural identity with a rebellious separatism or assuming that collective solidarity implies distance from a modern ("urban") world. The relationship of collective identity to "metropolis" is subtle and circumstantial.

In an early draft of his contribution here, Rosenblatt wrote that "one can understand the *marae* as an inversion of the space outside it: there Maori customs, values, and language have more status than those of the Pakeha, and a kind of uncolonized space is thus constructed." The notion of uncolonized space is less confined to "culture" and less attached to a particular mode of action than either "countermetropolitan" or "resistance." Rosenblatt's phrase opens the way to recognizing the importance of popular, nonbounded, and "flowing" positions/identities, a theme that also appears in other essays. In Enid, Oklahoma, for example, Marshallese migrants established an Assembly of God Church that, according to Allen, accomplishes several modes of "uncolonizing" for its congregants. "The formation of an ethnic church, separate from the larger Assemblies of God organization, has been a means for Marshallese transmigrants to ensure individual survival by assuring group survival via the creation of a sacred ethnic space in the Enid urban environment." Allen goes on to show how the local Marshallese Assembly of God in Oklahoma enshrines values distinct from those of the parent church, of middle-American neighbors, and of the Marshallese remaining at home in the islands. The community created through the strictures of this highly localized church is neither "cultural" nor "ethnic," neither modern nor traditional. It is not imprisoned by absolute definitions. It is, however, evidently the product of postcolonialism, modernity, and transnationalism.

A similar reading of community creation comes from the essays by Modell and Merry. Both address the situation of native Hawaiians who have been moved over by a colonial and a state authority; Hawaiians are a prime example of (initially) unwilling participants in a metropolitan world. Both essays describe the intrusion of a metropolis represented by law, court, and social workers into the most intimate aspects of life and identity. Modell details a local response to such intrusion: Hawaiian members of a domestic violence group act out a charade representing their collective values, creating a temporary community of resistance to social work ideologies. With a focus as well on the control of domestic relationships, Merry sets the issue of identi-

ties and communities in the wider context of Euro-American dominance, global cultural and political movements, and an anthropological embrace of cultural relativism. "Cultural relativism grew out of an artificial imagining of cultural distinctiveness and boundedness, an imagining that provided useful fodder for resisting colonialism." She concludes that "cultural relativism and the notion of separate and contained cultures [are] inaccurate and misleading as a moral guide in the late twentieth century."

These essays underline the significance of sanctions and norms as they occur on multiple levels, from face-to-face contact to the encounter between one system of justice and another. From this standpoint, the idea of "counter" simplifies the phenomena we describe. If we drop its connotations of hierarchical relationship and direct reciprocity, then "countermetropolitan" serves our purposes, indicating a competition among moralities, themselves constitutive of communities. Such a usage of "countermetropolitan" prompts further inquiries into the ability of common sentiments, however manifested, to discipline individuals whose familiar interactions have broken down or no longer exist. Can the importance of *marae* hold Maori together in the presence of sharply conflicting interpretations of the ceremonial site Tapsell discusses in his contribution? Can an articulated understanding of *fa'asamoa* unify Samoans in Auckland who rarely visit one another and whose children grow up in another world? How do collective sentiments bear up under the strain of disciplines imposed from outside, including racism and denial of resources? Beyond the legal and official strictures on those who circulate or are encircled lie numerous other controls over their activities. In response, groups develop local disciplines that are potentially but not self-evidently countermetropolitan, anti-urban, and resistant.

Moral communities, then, hold individuals together by force of a discipline that may be symbolic, instrumental, rigorous, or weak—and always changeable. As Feinberg shows in his essay, people with common sentiments do not necessarily agree, and in anger they often forget or neglect the "right" ways of handling conflict. In a world in which conflicts are newly premised and divisions newly formed, he writes, "the moral order that provides the underpinning of their old communities is inevitably challenged." Anutans in Honiara, he continues, struggle to maintain community despite factions, conflicts, and confusions, drawing on both the symbols of "island life" and the resources of the "city." The discipline individuals experience sustains the moral communities individuals create. The story of Anutans confronting a modern, capitalist, and urbanizing setting, Feinberg notes, has no end.

This volume, too, has no end. Rather we open up a number of questions about changes wrought in and on Pacific Island peoples by the spread of

metropolitanism—literally and metaphorically. Each essay takes a different slant on back-and-forthness, yet all suggest the lack of boundaries in a twenty-first-century world—there are no insulated cultures or bounded cultural places—and the consequent intensification of the modes and the importance of imagining communities, selves, sanctions, and sentiments.

Organization of the Volume

The ethnographic sites in this volume range from conventional urban settings like Auckland to the punishments imposed by Hawaiian family courts from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century. Overall, the collection is unified by a concentration on people in circulation and people encircled. The concept of circling brings the two situations together, insisting that in the current era the phenomena are not distinct. Individuals who migrate share histories and experiences with individuals who are subjected to the movement of a metropolitan into a local world. In either situation a response to the process is the creation of moral communities. That is, the collective representations of solidarity exert disciplinary force, influencing behaviors, feelings, and definitions of responsibility, though not always resolving conflict.

Section 1 contains essays by William Donner, Richard Feinberg, and Cluny Macpherson. Each is concerned with the social structural and economic factors that create a context for community formation on the part of transplanted or migrant individuals. Donner and Feinberg write of immigrants to Honiara, in Donner's case from Sikaiana and in Feinberg's from Anuta. The authors describe a tension between ways of living—of distributing resources, preparing meals, solving disputes, and so forth—in a city and ways of living associated with being back home. Apparent in the first two essays, too, is the self-consciousness with which migrants look to the "island" and look to the "urban" in order to monitor the actions of themselves and others. Anutans seem more at risk in the metropolitan environment than Sikaianans, perhaps because, as Vern Carroll once suggested (1977), some people lack the stamina for "community" that others possess.

Considering the urban niche as a social, political, and economic environment, Macpherson outlines the factors that permit the actualization of a desired (or imagined) community for Samoans in Aotearoa/New Zealand. His piece adds two further components: the devastating impact on community formation of racism and the risk posed by the rebellion of a younger generation against the communities established by an older one.

The second section contains contributions by Linda Allen, Daniel Rosenblatt, Paul Tapsell, Judith Modell, and Sally Engle Merry. Allen's essay details the creation of a "genuine" Marshallese community in Enid, Oklahoma. Using

the spaces and scriptures of the Christian Assembly of God Church, Marshallese far from home create a Marshallese identity that is more traditional than the one (perceived) on the island. Allen's contribution indicates just how significant rules of conduct are for creating a moral community and how effectively rules capture "custom." Like Allen, Rosenblatt focuses on the importance of a sacred site, the *marae,* to delineate the processes by which Maori create community in urban centers of New Zealand. His account of the construction of an urban *marae* through storytelling, gatherings, and negotiations with Pakeha reveal workings of imagination that are far from automatic or unconscious. Tapsell's piece, while also dealing with *marae* in modern Aotearoa/New Zealand, offers a different interpretation from Rosenblatt's. While Rosenblatt focuses on the sources of solidarity in and around the *marae,* Tapsell focuses on the role of *marae* in establishing Maori tribal identity within a nation-state. Not contradictory, the essays provide turns of the prism on the multiple functions of community in any setting.

The contributions by Modell and Merry also complement one another. Modell's analysis of a domestic violence group in Hawai'i, forming solidarity with and against the social workers who represent an urban world, is a counterpoint to Merry's discussion of the long century of American reconstruction of Hawaiian family and domestic relations. The narratives offered by women in a domestic violence group create a community that can be seen as an intense local response to the laws and judgments Merry analyzes in the framework of colonization, capitalism, and globalization. In the Hawai'i instances, the "urban" not only pulls an individual into its throes but also seeps into the private spaces of identity and personhood. In those cases, communities are composed of constantly transforming and transformed selves.

All five essays in Section 2 emphasize the importance of local and personal interpretations to the construction of a moral community. Interpretations include the stories told on a *marae,* the translation of scripture into custom, and the formal opinions of a judge. All five essays show, too, the importance of self-other interaction, a theme in Section 1 as well. Inevitably, who and what compose "others" cannot be predicted. As Allen writes, others may be on the "atoll" as well as in the "metropolis." Marshallese in Enid construct a moral community in juxtaposition to a modified Marshallese culture at home.

Contributions in Section 2 convey the diversity of material objects, things, and beings that represent collective sentiments: a road to a *marae,* a story told by father to son, a punishment laid down by a court of law, an anecdote reported at a women's group. Varied and often haphazard, these embody the moral dicta that constitute the elements of community.

Both sections emphasize the mobility of concepts and symbols. Each

essay in the volume recognizes the transformations such building blocks of moral community undergo in traveling back and forth, from atoll to metropolis and the other way around: a circulating imagery. All contributors posit a kind of double take, noting that the creation of moral communities is simultaneously countermetropolitan and *counterhomeland.* The very process of community creation erodes the gap between there and here, "island" and "city," past and present. At the same time, local communities provide the references and common sentiments through which individuals handle the constant transformations in their own lives.

The collection as a whole speaks to issues pertinent in a world in which few individuals stay home, in place, and at length. The reality of a globe populated by peoples in circulation gears academic debate to theories of postmodernism and transnationalism that too often become abstract and distant. Our essays instead turn the debate to the experiences individuals have of these global processes and specifically to the mechanisms by which individuals create communities of solidarity that modify the anonymity and alienation initiated by "back-and-forthness." Ultimately, exposure of these local mechanisms can best illuminate both the causes and the consequences of the large flowing population of which we all are increasingly a part. The fact that lives are at stake makes the global processes of migration, urbanization, and transnationalism worth anthropological attention.

Few isolated "atolls" exist anymore, and, as Hannerz said, the world of "cities" is the world most people now inhabit one way or another. If the following essays are persuasive, the communities contained by disciplines will also require redefinition. It is unfair to argue against the boundaries of a "culture" and to uphold the boundaries that isolate disciplinary "places" from one another. If the collection contributes to our understanding of circulating, settling, and designing and redesigning settings, then it should also alter the scholarly approach to such matters. For these are likely to be the "matters" of the new century.

NOTES

1. See Mayo 1987 for a precise discrimination of the terms "urban," "urbanism," and "urbanization." All three categories are implicit in our essays, although often with the recognition that it may be hard to maintain distinctions among concepts of place, of a state-designated unit, and of a characteristic mode of production and distribution.

2. See, for example, Park 1925; Wirth 1938.

3. Nearly ten years ago, Alan Howard (1990) pointed to the imperialism implicit in a division of the Pacific world into three major geographical and cultural areas.

4. He talks of the politics of this migration and the dominance of "the Euro-American panopticon" (Appadurai 1988:20).

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