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Volume 26 March/June 2003 Numbers 1/2

CONTENTS

Articles

Book Review Forum

Reviews

Books Noted

Special Supplement

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PACIFIC STUDIES

Vol. 26, Nos. 1/2 March/June 2003

FISHERIES DEVELOPMENT IN KIRIBATI: SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES IN A "MIRAB" ECONOMY

Frank R. Thomas
Historic Preservation Office
Majuro, Marshall Islands

Fisheries development has long been recognized as a means of achieving greater economic independence for Pacific "microstates." The Republic of Kiribati is particularly well endowed in marine resources, largely due to its extensive Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). However, the extraction of those resources rests mainly with distant-water fishing nations (DWFNs) who pay a license fee. This feature of a "MIRAB" economy, which encompasses elements of *mi*gration, *r*emittances, *a*id, and *b*ureaucracy, only marginally benefits Kiribati. Government has therefore looked to develop its own fishery industry and begun to focus on inshore fisheries and aquaculture projects to diversify Kiribati's meager exports. In addition, commercial artisanal fishing is seen as a means of creating local employment. With increasing human populations, urban drift, more-efficient extractive technologies, and expanding market opportunities, conflicts over resource ownership may become more acute. Better resource management, together with the implementation of a remodeled marine tenure system, will need to take priority if fisheries development is to be sustainable.

"MICROSTATES," such as the Republic of Kiribati in the Central Pacific (formerly the Gilbert Islands), present unique challenges to development planners. Size alone need not be a serious impediment to economic growth, as illustrated by Singapore's financial success over the years, as well as other small nations that have achieved a relatively high standard of living (Easterly and Kraay 2000). Pacific island microstates, however, are not only constrained by limited size but also by a host of other environmental and geographical factors, including remoteness, geographical dispersion, vulnerability to natural disasters, and a highly limited internal market (Briguglio 1995; Shand 1980).

Perhaps relatively isolated and resource-poor atoll countries and territories best illustrate these limitations (Baaro 1993; Liew 1990). For the politically independent states of Kiribati and neighboring Tuvalu, for instance, external assistance does not match the amounts given to dependencies such as French Polynesia or even the U.S.-affiliated states in Micronesia, including the atolls comprising the Marshall Islands (Dahl 1996).

With few opportunities for economic expansion in view of their restricted size and natural resource availability, small labor forces, and low GDPs and thus restricted market size, small island nations have had the option to look outward by embracing the "MIRAB" approach to economic development by relying on *mi*gration (of factors of production), *r*emittances/*a*id (financial transfers), and *b*ureaucracy (nontradable production) (Bertram and Watters 1985). The MIRAB model of economic development highlights the importance, and as some would argue, the necessity, of such an approach to sustain the levels of expenditure. As Bertram succinctly put it: "In a MIRAB economy the indigenous population maximize their material well-being by means of globalization" (1999:345).

Despite current indications that the MIRAB model runs consistently, and apparently sustainably, ahead of local productive activity as measured by GDP, there is cause for concern regarding an overreliance on such a model in light of imminent changes in the global economy and the options that are available to microstates with different political status. Excessive reliance on external support and outlets for migration can no longer be considered secure in the medium to longer term, notably with cutbacks in foreign aid and changes in immigration policies linked to economic downturns in host countries that are attributed in large part to labor downsizing and increasing competitiveness as a result of globalization (see also Brown 1992; Cameron 1997; Gibson 1993; Hooper 2000:9–10; Laplagne, Treadgold, and Baldry 2001; Schoeffel 1996:23).

While recognizing the challenges posed by "smallness" to further economic expansion, successive governments in Kiribati have perceived marine-resources development, particularly living resources, as a means of attaining greater economic independence or self-reliance. An impressive number of feasibility studies attest to the importance of the fisheries sector (Gillett, Pelasio, and Kirschner 1991). With its vast Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), Kiribati has relied heavily on "rent" derived from fishing royalties, notably from East Asian countries, because of inadequate local infrastructure to exploit the fisheries sector efficiently. Thus, the MIRAB economy is being perpetuated, although fishing royalties, together with income from the Revenue Equalization Reserve Fund (RERF)—a legacy of phosphate mining on Banaba, which ceased in 1979—and payments made by the Japanese Space Agency on Christmas Is-

land (Kiritimati) in the Line Islands group, illustrate the positive side of a strategy that seeks to diversify "rent" opportunities. Assets from the RERF amount to US$370 million, equal to 33 percent of Kiribati's GDP. The RERF, fishing license revenues, and remittances make up almost half of Kiribati's national income (Asian Development Bank 2000). More recently, however, the development of inshore exports and aquaculture has received growing attention.

This article provides an overview of the fisheries sector in Kiribati and its relationship to the country's current MIRAB economy. Environmental impacts are addressed and strategies for sustainable development are explored.

Kiribati: Environmental and Economic Backgrounds

Kiribati consists of thirty-three atolls and reef islands spread over an area exceeding five million square kilometers of ocean, straddling the equator between 4°43′ north and 11°25′ south and stretching between 169°32′ east and 150°14′ west. The total land area, however, only slightly exceeds eight hundred square kilometers (Figure 1).

The highly alkaline and calcareous and coarse-textured soils of Kiribati, like most of their counterparts on other atolls and reef islands, are among the poorest in the world (Small 1972). The islands' small size, low elevation, and the porosity of the coral bedrock preclude surface streams. Instead, rainfall soaks through the porous surface soil to create a lens of often slightly brackish freshwater, hydrostatically floating on higher-density saltwater beneath it. Kiribati is located in the dry belt of the equatorial oceanic climate zone. Rainfall is extremely variable, both annually and between islands. The amount of rainfall is generally high north of the equator, gradually diminishing to low in the southern islands. The average for Tarawa, the administrative and commercial center in the Gilbert group, is close to two thousand millimeters per year (Burgess 1987).

Kiribati's economy falls squarely within the MIRAB model, although some 80 percent of the people are engaged in subsistence production and the sale of primary products (AusAid 2001). The two sectors of primary production—agriculture and fisheries—differ in outputs, with fisheries exceeding local agriculture, with the exception of copra for export, because of environmental constraints.[1]

Fishing continues to occupy a prominent place in the life of most I-Kiribati (Gilbertese). Between six and eight hundred species of inshore and pelagic finfish are believed to exist (Guinther, Maragos, and Thaman 1992:9). Lagoon fishing involves both net and line capturing methods. Ocean fishing commonly focuses on Scombridae, notably skipjack tuna (*Katsuwonus pelamis*) and yellowfin tuna (*Thunnus albacares*), as well as on flying fish (*Cypselurus melanopterus*). Spearing is also practiced on a number of species. Fishtraps

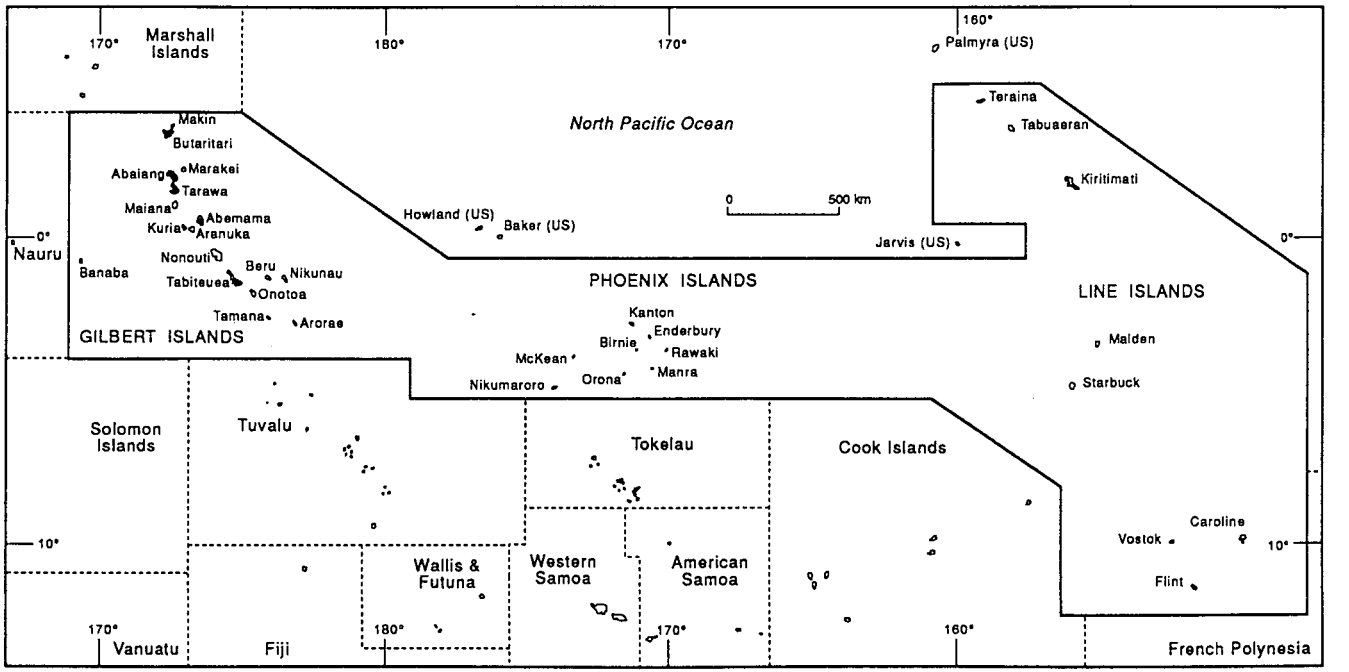

FIGURE 1. **The Republic of Kiribati.** (Reprinted by permission from Van Trease 1993:xix)

made from coral blocks are impressive architectural features at low tide, located on ocean-side reef flats and in passages. The traps may extend up to fifty meters in length and stand about one meter high. Traditionally, certain groups of people raised milkfish (*Chanos chanos*) in specially designed enclosures, normally located near the lagoon. A variety of marine invertebrates can also be found, including an estimated thousand or more species of mollusks.[2]

Kiribati was granted independence in 1979, shortly after the British exhausted phosphate deposits mined on Banaba. Since then copra and fish have remained the main source of foreign exchange earnings, but copra earnings have fluctuated widely in recent years (Shepherd 1999). Since independence, however, Kiribati has moved towards the MIRAB model of economic development by relying heavily on foreign aid and remittances by migrant workers.

Assessing the MIRAB Economy

The population of urban South Tarawa has increased considerably because of internal migration (an urban growth rate of 2.2 percent per year), with nearly 40 percent of the total population—having reached close to 84,500 in 2000—concentrated on some sixteen square kilometers of land (Secretariat of the Pacific Community 2001; Ministry of Finance 2002) (Figure 2).[3] A large proportion of these migrants are supported by remittances sent by family members who work for the phosphate mine on Nauru and others who are engaged as merchant seamen. The remittances sent by the workers amount to more than US$7 million a year (Bertram 1999:341). However, with the projected cessation of phosphate mining early in this century and advances in marine technology, it is expected that remittances will diminish with many workers returning home, increasing the pressure on local resources (Fleming and Hardaker 1995:89, 91; Macdonald 1998:62). Unlike other Pacific Islanders, such as Niueans or Tokelauans, who have New Zealand citizenship and thus can migrate freely to that country by virtue of their political status, I-Kiribati do not have this option. Foreign aid, another feature of the MIRAB economy, is likely to continue, albeit with diminishing resources as donors search for greater accountability and the strategic importance of the Pacific is reduced following the end of the cold war. The public sector remains a significant employer but is unable to absorb a growing number of young people, many of whom lack appropriate training, education, or experience. The agriculture and especially the fisheries sectors could provide alternative sources of livelihood for migrants. To support an increased population, though, new forms of sustainable land- and marine-use systems need to be worked out for production of both traditional and exotic crops, as well as fisheries products.

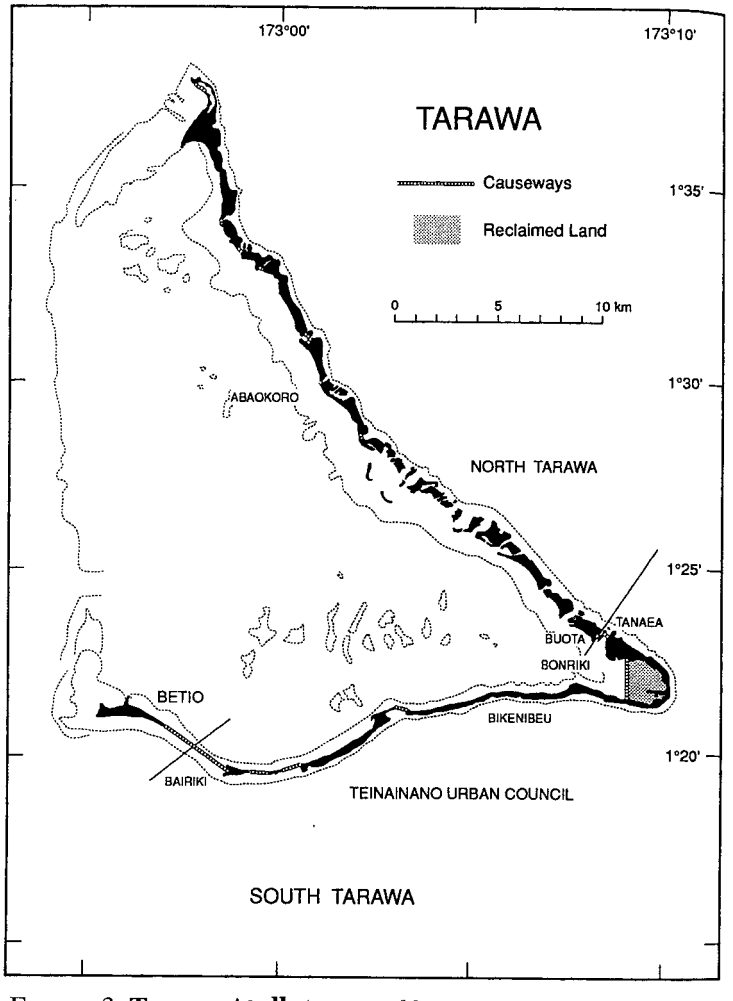

FIGURE 2. **Tarawa Atoll.** (Reprinted by permission from Van Trease 1993:126)

Fisheries

The Exclusive Economic Zone

With an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) covering 3.5 million square kilometers—the second largest in the world (Figure 3)—it is not surprising that the fisheries sector in Kiribati is seen as both a source of essential livelihood at the subsistence level and as a means of generating revenue by promoting

the country's seemingly vast store of marine resources (Thistlethwait and Votaw 1992:28–29). In an effort to exploit more fully its marine resources Kiribati, along with the South Pacific members of the Forum Fisheries Agency, the South Pacific Commission, and the Nauru Treaty Group, declared a two-hundred-mile Exclusive Economic Zone in 1979. For Kiribati (whose groups of islands are dispersed over considerable distances), the declaration of the EEZ called for systematic and improved surveillance and monitoring of fishing activities by the vessels of the distant-water fishing nations (DWFNs) in order to maximize income from licensing through an effective enforcement of the EEZ.

The licensing of foreign fishing vessels primarily through bilateral treaty arrangements contributes highly variable returns, which are largely affected by weather conditions, notably El Niño and its reverse, La Niña. For example, license fee revenues fell from A$40.3 million in 1998 as the impact of El Niño was felt, to A$31.8 million in 1999 during La Niña, to A$17.2 million in 2000 (*National Development Strategies* 2000).[4] At any rate, some analysts consider benefits to be marginal. This opinion appears to be supported by Forum Fisheries Agency statistics showing that regional governments reap less than 4 percent of the value of the catch (Samou 1999:148).[5] Moreover, Kiribati lacks adequate onshore facilities to attract higher levels of tuna transshipment by foreign vessels. The EEZ is believed to contain potentially significant resources of manganese nodules and cobalt crusts on the seabed, but for the moment an economically viable operation has yet to emerge (Teiwaki 1988:119–140).

Kiribati is also seeking to develop its local fishing industry. To achieve this goal, important obstacles need to be surmounted, such as the cost and availability of fuel, distance to markets, and competition from efficient, capital-intensive distant-water fishing nations (Kearney 1980). Until recently, the domestic industrial fishery has been completely dominated by the government-owned Te Mautari Limited, established in 1981 to catch tuna by the pole-and-line method. The company had difficulties from the outset establishing a viable year-round fishery in the EEZ. The main problem is the variability in tuna abundance. This problem is compounded by difficulties in obtaining a reliable bait supply (Fairbairn 1992:22). In 1993 the government entered into a joint venture company with the Otoshiro Gyoko Company of Japan to establish the Kiribati and Otoshiro Fishing Company (KAO). KAO operates a 750-ton-carrying-capacity purse seine vessel purchased from the Japanese partner. One of the company's objectives is to provide training for I-Kiribati using the harvesting and marketing skills of the Japanese parent company. The tuna catch increased from 2,583 tons in 1997 to 4,080 tons in 1999 (Annual Report 1999).

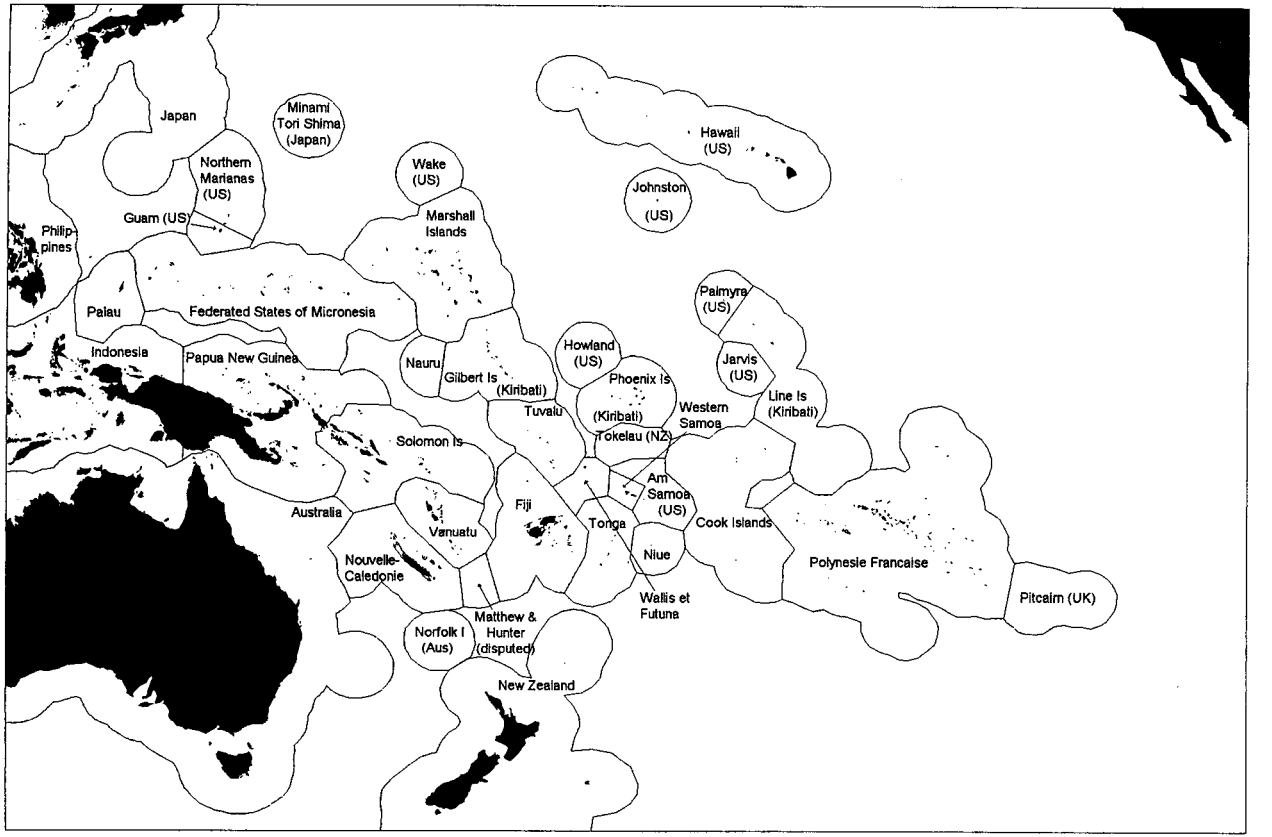

FIGURE 3. **Pacific Islands two-hundred-mile Exclusive Economic Zones.** (Reprinted by permission from Adams, Dalzell, and Esaroma 1999:370)

Kiritimati Marine Export Limited (KMEL), set up on Christmas Island in 1981, exports chilled fish, initially tuna and lobster, and more recently, bêche-de-mer, shark fin, aquarium fish, and deep-sea demersal fish. Despite limited air services to Honolulu, KMEL, unlike Te Mautari, has been operating quite successfully since its inception, grossing over A$290,000 in 1998 (Annual Report 1999).

Inshore Exports and Aquaculture

The exploitation of Kiribati's EEZ for accrued benefit to the people of this island nation highlights the need for improved technology, skills, information, and financial resources. Dolman (1990) argued that for small-island developing countries the twelve nautical miles, formerly recognized as marking the territorial boundary of an island or coastal nation, are generally preferable to two hundred nautical miles of biologically unproductive waters and highly migratory species. He further stated that the goal should be in terms of saving foreign exchange rather than generating it, and to reduce dependence rather than seeking a place in a highly competitive market.

Kiribati has acknowledged that inshore and aquaculture development and the promotion of artisanal fishing could bring about economic improvement while lessening dependence on foreign aid. The government has reported increases in marine-product exports (Table 1). In addition to fish, the specialized aquarium-fish market fetched almost A$1 million in 1998. Other important fisheries products include seaweed (with earnings exceeding A$500,000 dollars in 1998) and bêche-de-mer (close to A$500,000 during the same period) (Ministry of Finance 1998).

Plans are underway to produce and market black pearls by smallholders on the outer islands and to develop a sustainable baitfish industry based on milkfish on South Tarawa (Ministry of Natural Resources Development 2001; *National Development Strategies* 2000).

The trade in aquarium or pet fish (Figure 4) was initiated on South Tarawa during the 1980s but was subsequently moved to Christmas Island because of its proximity to market centers in Honolulu. Interest from the private sector in this lucrative trade has been growing since its establishment on Christmas Island (Annual Report 1999).

Seaweed is another high-value niche product (Figure 5), inevitably subjected to world price fluctuations and destruction by bad weather. Seaweed farming provides the major raw material for carrageenans (water-soluble gums), which have widespread applications such as in processed foods, textiles, air fresheners, and pharmaceuticals. As an aquaculture project, seaweed farming has already proven its value in the Pacific (South 1993). In Indone-

TABLE 1. **Value of Fisheries Exports by Commodity: 1987–1998 (A$1,000)**

Commodity	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Fish	823	1,606	2,600	964	277	363	513	263	266	211	110	1,058
Aquarium fish	0	0	0	0	336	258	533	551	817	639	698	932
Shark fins	16	18	42	32	24	118	123	175	659	194	94	129
Seaweed	62	15	85	723	676	286	217	297	176	382	373	626
Bêche-de-mer	0	0	0	0	0	0	685	764	379	769	268	493

Source: Ministry of Finance 1998.

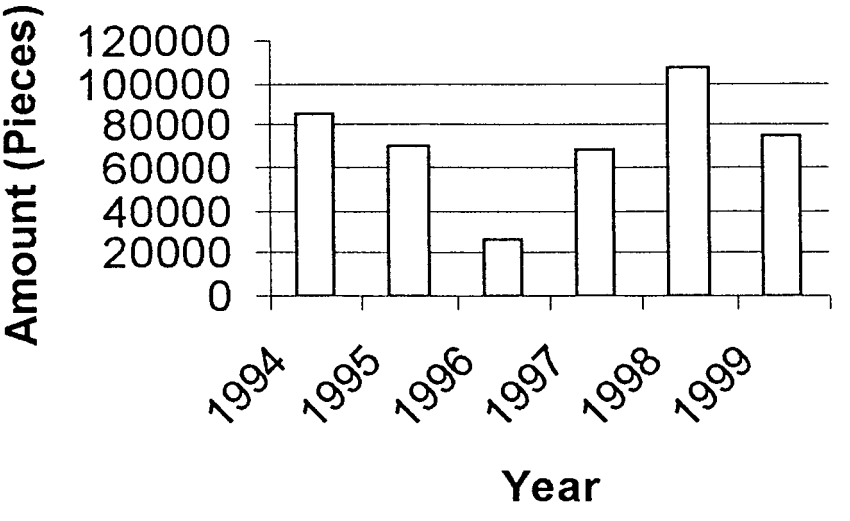

FIGURE 4. **Pet-fish export.** (Courtesy Fisheries Division, Tarawa)

sia and the Philippines the seaweed trade has accelerated socioeconomic growth and development, and created a number of related economic activities for various communities. An example of this is ecotourism, whereby divers and visitors are able to observe the unique techniques associated with this type of farming (Dahoklory and Hatta 1996).

Seaweed farming suits the developing economies and subsistence communities of the Pacific Islands for a number of reasons apart from their having favorable environmental conditions. The low level of technology and investment required to initiate and maintain a harvesting operation enables cash-strapped rural communities to take part in an income-generating activity. Furthermore, the family-based nature of seaweed farming is appropriate within the context of rural subsistence communities, as family and group cooperation is often emphasized in daily activities. The low environmental impact associated with seaweed farming, desirable under any circumstance, is particularly advantageous in the relatively fragile environments of the Pacific Islands, where environmental standards and regulations are not always enforced. Lastly, the compatibility of this particular type of aquaculture with traditional uses of the inshore environment renders it appealing to many communities who have been relying on their inshore resources for generations.

In addition to the economic and social benefits of seaweed cultivation, several positive environmental effects are associated with this type of activity. For

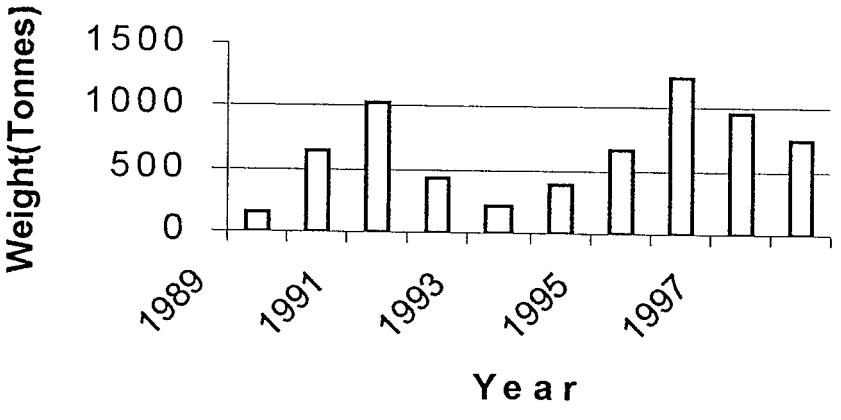

FIGURE 5. **Seaweed production.** (Courtesy Fisheries Division, Tarawa)

example, seaweed is cultivated within reef systems, which has the effect of enhancing ecological and primary productivity levels. Also, farms can act as nutrient sinks, thereby protecting the environment from the effects of nutrient overload. Similar to mangroves and seagrasses, seaweed farms support and develop fish stocks and can play the role of nurseries for juvenile marine organisms.

Two species of seaweed, *Eucheuma alcarezii* and *Eucheuma spinosium,* were introduced to Kiribati in 1977 from the Philippines. *Eucheuma alcarezii* was found to thrive better under local conditions (Annual Report 1999). A government-owned company, Atoll Seaweed Company (now in private hands as Kiribati Atoll Seaweed Company), was established to deal with seaweed commercial activities. Fanning Island (Tabuaeran) in the Line Islands group and Abaiang, close to Tarawa, have emerged as the major producers subsequent to failures of pilot projects on the main atoll. The main cause for those failures was competition with other uses of the lagoon shoreline, particularly shellfish collecting by a growing number of urban migrants (Schoeffel 1996:80). In the early 1990s some two thousand smallholders, or near half the population on Abaiang, were growing seaweed (Tikai 1993:171). Seaweed production for the Gilberts in general has declined significantly, however, from a high of 1,019 tonnes in 1991 to a mere 12.2 tonnes in 2001 (Atoll Seaweed 2001). The increasing frequency of westerly winds associated with El Niño has in effect discouraged many households from further investment in an activity considered high risk in an essentially risk-averse subsistence environment (Neemia-Mackenzie 1998). Additional research into varieties of seaweed that are more weather resistant, together with better monitoring of

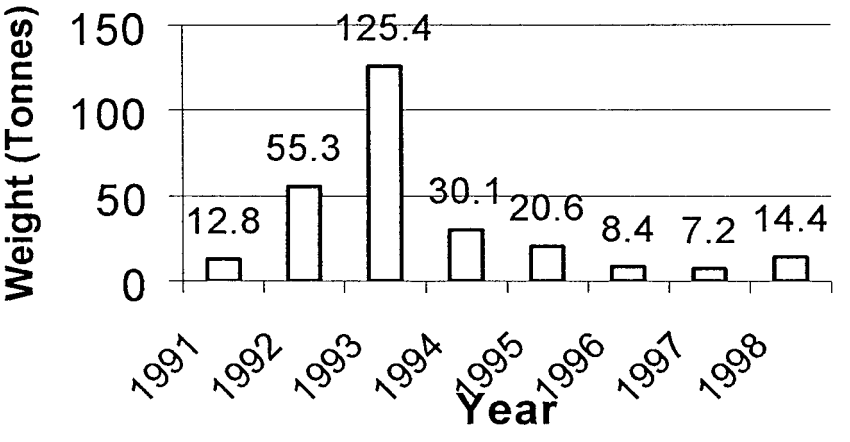

FIGURE 6. **Bêche-de-mer export trend.** (Courtesy Fisheries Division, Tarawa)

suitable growing sites, are being considered. Despite the difficulties, seaweed farming can contribute substantially more income to smallholders than copra production. A farmer can produce several crops a year, yielding close to 25 tonnes of dry seaweed per hectare with minimal capital. While seaweed is still regarded as an export crop, there is potential to include it in the local diet, particularly in efforts to reverse vitamin A deficiency and other vitamin and micronutrient intake problems (Schaumberg, O'Connor, and Semba 1996; Thaman 1988).[6]

Trade in bêche-de-mer or sea cucumber (holothurians), which was one of the first export products from Kiribati after European contact, reached a peak of 125 tonnes in 1993, dipping to less than 15 tonnes in 1998 (Figure 6). This drop is due to overexploitation (Annual Report 1999). Of the thirteen species that have been identified, four are considered to be of high value for the Asian market.

The production of black pearls derived from the black-lipped pearl oyster (*Pinctada margaritifera*) is one of the most recent aquaculture projects in Kiribati. For well over a hundred years, there has been growing interest in the production of cultivated pearls. Before the introduction of grafting techniques, pearls were harvested from natural stocks. Because natural pearls are extremely rare (one oyster per every thousand contains a pearl), the price of pearl was quite high. The 1930s saw the collapse of the natural-pearl market, due to the death of much wild stock from overharvesting. The lack of pearl and increasing demand gave rise to grafting and the establishment of pearl farms. Japan was the first to establish farms and develop grafting tech-

niques. Pearls are second in popularity to diamonds among precious gems and Japan is the leading buyer to date (Sims 1993).

Cultured black pearls have become the most important export commodity among marine products in French Polynesia and the Cook Islands (Macpherson 2000; Rapaport 1995). This has led to concerns over possible declining profitability, perturbation of lagoon ecosystems, and growing tenure disputes.

The feasibility of producing and marketing black pearls in Kiribati has been the focus of considerable research and development. Research trials and pilot operations have been successfully carried out. Within the next few years, the Ministry of Natural Resources Development is expected to complete a feasibility study and business plan for privately operated enterprises. The department will then begin implementing a strategy for transferring the technology and business approach to the private sector (*National Development Strategies* 2000). Given past experiences in French Polynesia and the Cooks, it is hoped that Kiribati will learn from previous mistakes.

The need for aquaculture of baitfish based on milkfish has been recognized in view of low wild bait stocks. Cultured baitfishes would be exported primarily to support the licensed foreign longline tuna fleet. Part of the output would also be sold on the Tarawa market. One problem faced in this connection is the infestation of fishponds with a predator, the introduced Malayan mosquito fish or tilapia (*Oreochromis* spp.) (*National Development Strategies* 2000). To assist the local population in its protein requirements a visiting consultant introduced tilapia, which resulted in the destruction of the milkfish in most ponds. As tilapia is neither eaten nor appreciated because of its nonsalty taste, it is considered to be a serious pest.

Artisanal Fishing

Artisanal fishing possesses several features that contrast with industrial operations. The latter are capital-intensive, using large vessels and sophisticated gear, and the catch is usually processed using elaborate facilities mainly for export. Artisanal fishing is capital-unintensive but labor-intensive, using small vessels and relatively simple gear, with little or no processing of the catch. In the case of commercial artisanal fishing, marine products are sold in local markets, whereas in subsistence artisanal fishing the catch is retained for household consumption or given away. In the Pacific, though, separating artisanal fishery production into commercial and subsistence operations is difficult because most communities sell part of their catch (Adams, Dalzell, and Ledua 1999). However, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization reports that the nearshore commercial fish catch in Kiribati is principally made up of reef and

deep-slope fish (54 percent), mollusks (25 percent), and pelagic species (21 percent) (FAO 1998).

In contrast to agriculture, nearshore fishing throughout Kiribati is vigorously pursued. Despite growing urbanization the vast majority of I-Kiribati households obtain the bulk of their protein from various marine organisms found on both lagoon and ocean sides. In fact, the proportion of fresh fisheries resources caught and locally consumed ranks among the highest in the Pacific region. Annual fish consumption per capita is estimated to be around 185 kilograms, among the highest in the world (Gillett and Lightfoot 2001:58). The abundance of edible marine life (largely attributed to the equatorial upwelling of nutrient-rich waters) and household priorities in spending limited cash on foods not locally produced (such as rice, flour, and tea) should allow people to be self-sufficient in terms of protein. However, despite the wide availability of local marine products, undernutrition related to protein deficiency was found in 7 percent of preschool children and 69 percent of pregnant women (WHO 1998).

The author carried out research pertaining to artisanal fishing over the course of several years. Local communities engaged in subsistence and commercial exploitation of marine mollusks were investigated between 1993 and 1998. More recently a general assessment of artisanal fishing on urban South Tarawa was made to measure the degree of dependency on imported meat products, particularly tinned fish. Some of the results will be discussed in further detail below.

The Outer Island Fisheries Project was initially established with the goal of developing commercial fisheries on the outer islands and providing a steady supply of fish to Tarawa. Two cold-storage facilities were set up, on Butaritari and Abemama, to assist the development of commercial fisheries on these atolls, concentrating on tuna and using Te Mautari Limited as the market outlet for catches. Following the closure of these centers, others opened on Abaiang, Aranuka, Kuria, and Nikunau. To more cost-effectively supply both the export and the South Tarawa markets, the project and Te Mautari were integrated. Now called the Foundation for Integration of Fisheries, the current targets are reef fish together with tuna (Annual Report 1999; *National Development Strategies* 2000).

Storage facilities and transport between the outer islands and Tarawa need improvement to create incentives for artisanal fishers to sell greater volumes (Neemia and Thaman 1993). Kiribati's outer islands differ little from other remote islands in being marginalized in relative terms. The benefits of technological investments in transport such as the development of the container and of cellular-container vessels, as well as air connections, clearly favor core

areas to a much greater degree than the peripheries (Brookfield 1980; Ward 1999:25–26). Another area of concern is postharvest handling of fish and other marine products (Novaczech and Chamberlain 2001). In addition to the possibility of causing ciguatera poisoning (Tebano and MacCarthy 1991), which directly affects exports as well as domestic sales of live reef food fish, it was determined that the handling of fish after capture caused serious health risks. For example, the sale of ungutted fish is ubiquitous on Tarawa. There is a belief that ungutted fish is preferable for reasons of aesthetics and flavor, but little awareness of the relationship of gut and gill bacteria to spoilage. The problem is compounded by improper use of limited ice supplies. Novaczech and Chamberlain report that up to 1.5 percent of the population is sent to hospital with fish poisoning every year and rates may be as high as 7 percent on certain islands (2001), although it is not clear how many cases can be attributed to ciguatera versus illness by spoilage.

Whereas tuna jerky for export requires major investments in packaging, labeling, quality testing, quality control, and promotion, small-scale production for domestic markets may be a more attractive venture. Solar-dried products appear to be technically and financially feasible for outer-island producers. One issue that has hindered previous efforts in Kiribati is the cost and availability of construction materials on outer islands. If project funding is used to finance initial infrastructure development, profitability and management must be sufficient to ensure that the equipment can be repaired and replaced as needed.

Environmental Impacts

Mollusk Harvesting

A substantial rise in mollusk consumption has occurred on South Tarawa. This phenomenon is linked to changes in water circulation when causeways were built in the 1960s, encouraging the establishment of certain species, and to increased fertilization by sewage-driven nutrients. Filter feeders exposed to contaminated water may thus become agents of gastrointestinal diseases. With expanding urbanization and accompanying internal migration from the outer islands to the capital, there has been a growing demand for cheap, easily gathered resources such as mollusks. While bacterial pollution from overcrowding has ensured for a time the proliferation of filter feeders such as *Anadara* cockles (*Anadara uropigimelana*), yearly harvest of these bivalves has been estimated at close to fourteen hundred tons, causing concerns about resource sustainability (Paulay 2001). Between 1993 and 1994 the roadside sale of *Anadara* was putting pressure on Tarawa stocks that were once relatively well protected. Divers possessing goggles and any floating device from a small canoe to a rubber inner tube could collect large quantities of bivalves on a

daily basis and sell their catch in rice sacks holding up to thirty-four kilograms of mollusks. A move by shellfish gatherers from the intertidal sand flats and seagrass beds to deeper sections of the lagoon was triggered by declining abundance and size of existing stocks closer to shore (Thomas 2001a). Blasting of Maiana's leeward reef may have contributed to the recent disappearance of *Anadara* in certain areas. Changes in water circulation associated with strong currents may have disturbed the nutrient-rich substratum inhabited by these bivalves and washed away larvae (Tebano 1990:55–56).

The strombid gastropod *Strombus luhuanus* is fast becoming the dominant molluscan species in Tarawa Lagoon. This perhaps is a consequence of the demise of many reefs linked to changes in sedimentation and because of gathering pressure on the preferred *Anadara*. Like other strombids, this gastropod is an herbivore and feeds on algae attached to hard strata. It often occurs in large colonies. Commercial artisanal exploitation also occurs on Tarawa. Unlike *Anadara* and other bivalves, gastropods are usually epibenthic, thus facilitating their detection on the surface of sediments. As is often the case, gatherers make no distinction between large and small shells, collecting all those that are visible. The annual harvest is estimated at four hundred tons (Paulay 2001). The high variability of species density may reflect increasing gathering pressure but could also be attributed to patchy distribution, perhaps linked to the snail's high mobility. Nevertheless, a small average shell length for *Strombus luhuanus* found in Tarawa sand flats (M = 42.9 mm, SD = 4.9, N = 206) may indicate harvesting pressure (Thomas 2001a).

Stocks of giant clams (Tridacnidae) have been greatly affected throughout the Pacific by poaching by foreign vessels (Dawson 1988). In addition, heavy exploitation to satisfy domestic consumption has led to the virtual demise of the largest species (*Tridacna gigas*) around Tarawa, while stocks on the outer islands were described as low (Munro 1986). There had been plans to culture giant clams for seeding on the outer islands and for restocking Tarawa Lagoon (Annual Report 1994), but it would appear there was no follow-up to this project.

In Kiribati, as in various other Pacific localities, small specimens (less than 40 cm) of *Tridacna gigas* and *Hippopus hippopus* are occasionally carried to shallow lagoon reef flats or deposited in passes adjacent to settlements. They are allowed to grow in place until ready for consumption. Like fish traps and areas used for seaweed farming, giant-clam "gardens" are the property of individual households, whereas the reef flat on both lagoon and ocean sides is now regarded as common property. Because of pilferage in populated areas, traditional giant-clam aquaculture is currently confined to relatively isolated areas, such as the islets of the leeward reef. The "gardens" are disappearing from the Kiribati seascape, however, in large part because of the erosion of

customary marine tenure. Owners are now less inclined to continue to care for giant clams in designated lagoon sections or to invest in maintaining large fish traps (Thomas 2001a).

A smaller and more abundant species, *Tridacna maxima*, is taken from the outer islands and is the target for supporting a domestic commercial fishery. Fisheries statistics are incomplete, as many of the exploited mollusks (preserved by salting) are carried as personal consignment by boat mainly from Abaiang to be sold on Tarawa.

Fishing on South Tarawa

Concern over the condition of Tarawa Lagoon is not limited to slow-moving animals such as bêche-de-mer and shellfish. Some reef fish are also threatened. Even juvenile tuna species spend part of their life cycles close to shore before migrating out to sea, and thus are subjected to the same kind of pressures as more sedentary reef fish. The government continues to worry about the lack of an effective management plan for inshore marine resources. Lagoon and reef areas are witnessing increasing levels of pollution, primarily from human and animal waste, as well as a decline of a host of organisms as a result of overfishing. A steady increase in the population of South Tarawa and in the availability of outboard motorboats and gill nets has significantly contributed to increased effort and total catch. Catching efficiency has also increased substantially with the introduction of gill nets that are more than one kilometer long. The splash fishing method (*te ororo*), whereby fishermen drive fish into long gill nets by splashing the surface of the water with iron bars, may be particularly efficient. During the past two decades, however, several lagoon fish, such as bonefish (*Albula glossodonta*) and spangled emperor (*Lethrinus nebulosus*), have been reduced in number (Beets 2001; Tikai 1993:170). Fish stock declines can also be attributed to the obstruction of spawning migration routes by causeways, notably in the case of bonefish (Abbott and Yeeting 1995). While many fishers were keenly aware of the changes affecting inshore resources, though not necessarily the underlying causes, they were for the most part unwilling to take action—an example of the "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin 1968), whereby fishers fear that if one were to reduce his or her catch, others would take that catch instead (Phillips 1995).

One interesting comment noted during recent work came from a Fisheries Division officer who stated that several stocks have made a comeback, with the notable exception of giant clams (Tooti Tekinaiti, personal communication, 2001). This may relate to erratic recruitment pulses (high spatiotemporal variability in recruitment) among distant fish and shellfish populations with a larval stage of sufficient duration to allow dispersal over long distances be-

fore settlement into an exploited area (Sale 1980; Tebano and Paulay 2001). Nevertheless, a rapidly expanding human population and increasing commercialization of inshore environments could create more serious problems over the long term.

To gauge the extent of fishing activities on South Tarawa, a sample of thirty-five households was randomly selected for interview (Thomas 2002). Twenty of these households pursued small-scale farming as their main economic activity rather than fishing.[7] With a single exception, however, all households carried out some form of fishing. Forty percent of the households sold fish or shellfish or both. Over 60 percent of households bought fresh fish at least occasionally. All respondents preferred the taste of fresh fish to tinned fish but occasionally purchased the latter. For the smallholder farmers and for those individuals earning regular wages, fishing was not done regularly (i.e., at least four days a week) (Annual Report 1999). Other reasons given for purchasing tinned fish included inclement weather, lack of money to purchase fuel for those owning a boat, catching inadequate quantities of fresh fish, and "feeling lazy."

Eight kinds of shellfish and four other invertebrates were cited as having been gathered in a week for all households combined. In addition, thirty-two fish species caught from both lagoon and ocean sides were recorded. Table 2 lists the most frequently collected fish and invertebrates. Sample size may account for the differences noted between the present survey and the survey carried out by the Fisheries Division in November 1999, which was based on interviews of 931 households. The Fisheries survey showed that flying fish and tuna species represented more than 50 percent of the total catches (Annual Report 1999).[8] Seasonal availability of species could also explain those differences.

Sustainable Development

Literally volumes have been written on the topic of sustainable development. Yet the concept remains elusive. As Overton remarked, sustainable development means different things to different interest groups. Referring to the Pacific Islands, he identified two noteworthy perspectives that had been previously neglected, namely, the *local* and *social* perspectives. The local perspective is often regarded as subordinate to the global, while the social perspective remains "a junior partner in the sustainable development coalition" (Overton 1999:1). As discussed earlier, Pacific island microstates offer specific development challenges, and although they are not poor by the usual standards of world poverty, they are nonetheless vulnerable to policies largely dictated by external forces. More often than not, these policies tend to ignore social structures and needs, even though they may support ecological or eco-

TABLE 2. **Fish and Invertebrate Species Gathered by more than Five Households over a One-Week Period**

English Name	Scientific Name	Frequency Occurrence
Burnt-end ark	*Anadara uropigimelana*	22
Mojarras	*Gerres* spp.	20
Strawberry conch	*Strombus luhuanus*	19
Red-margined sea perch	*Lutjanus vaigiensis*	17
Pacific asaphis	*Asaphis violascens*	15
Pectinate venus	*Gafrarium pectinatum*	12
Blue-fin trevally	*Caranx melampygus*	10
Bonefish	*Albula glossodonta*	10
Orange-striped emperor	*Lethrinus obsoletus*	9
Mullet	*Valamugil engeli*	8
Paddle-tail	*Lutjanus gibbus*	8
Rabbit-faced spinefoot	*Siganus rostratus*	6

Source: Thomas 2002.

nomic sustainability. The lack of attention to the problems and issues of sustainable societies is reminiscent of Chambers's call (1983) to focus more on a social approach that places the rural poor and their basic needs first, and thus address broader welfare issues and community empowerment. This locally based and mostly small-scale approach enables the kind of development that does not jeopardize the environment and that uses and modifies ecosystems, without harming them, to improve economic and social well-being. In short, "such a strategy aims to achieve not just environmental sustainability but also the sustainability of just and equitable societies" (Overton 1999:7). In theory at least, societies leading a sustainable existence, without poverty or injustice, should cause minimal environmental damage (Aiken 1994).

Fisheries in Kiribati highlight the opportunities and challenges facing this sector of the economy. As noted earlier, marine-resources development should provide greater economic independence without necessarily eliminating the MIRAB component. The MIRAB economy may in fact become a permanent fixture according to a U.S. General Accounting Office report, stating that most international donors are skeptical that economic self-sufficiency is an attainable objective for the majority of island countries (*Marshall Islands Journal* 2001). Nevertheless, policy makers both locally and abroad recognize that free-spending days are over and that some efforts should be directed towards economic growth based on natural-resources exploitation. Microstates have few options as far as their agricultural sectors are concerned. The only

primary industry that appears to provide real economic advantages remains the fisheries sector. Encouraging economic growth and development to support rapidly growing, increasingly urbanized populations with changing needs, wants, and aspirations without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their goals is a major challenge facing Kiribati and other nations seeking to develop their fisheries.

In regards to its EEZ, to protect and preserve the marine environment, Kiribati needs to go beyond the task of assessing the life cycles of commercially significant tuna stocks and move towards a better understanding of the ecological system where fisheries take place (Kawaley 1999). On Tarawa, where the population density is greatest, the utilization of the reef flats and lagoonal areas will increase, leading to greater pressure on existing stocks. It is hoped that with the expansion of aquaculture projects on the outer islands, such as seaweed and black-pearl farming, Kiribati will not only benefit financially but also reverse or at least slow down the in-migration to South Tarawa.

One cannot help but notice that the definition of sustainable development by the government has changed over the years. During the Tabai years of government, which led Kiribati to political independence, the need for self-reliance "to achieve environmentally sustainable development and better quality of life in Kiribati" directed many of the policies (Morrison n.d.). By contrast the later Tito administration made sustainable economic growth and the development of the private sector its priority (*National Development Strategies* 2000:2). Although some may argue that this is a matter of nuance rather than substance, there is real concern that the newer policies may not place enough emphasis on ecological and social sustainability.

Kiribati presents a paradox of an eroding customary marine tenure along with a culture still firmly holding on to traditional values and closely tied to subsistence activities.[9] Up until the 1940s the colonial administration allowed customary marine tenure to prevail for all resources taken from lagoon and ocean sides. The Native Lands Commission subsequently recognized only certain rights. These rights include ownership of fish traps, seawalls, accretions, reclaimed land, and fishponds (Teiwaki 1988:40). The registration of these rights is usually made in the name of the male head of a descent group, who has customary obligation towards other members. However, the law did not specify this social requirement. In all other cases an open-access regime has resulted in overexploitation under conditions of high human-population density, including urban drift, more-efficient extractive technologies, and expanding market opportunities.

Pacific communities have been impacted in different ways by colonial regimes with their policies of open access and freedom of the seas. As shown

by Aswani in work on customary marine tenure in New Georgia, Solomon Islands, autochthonous as well as external factors may contribute to the fluidity of territorial claims to reef and lagoonal environments (1999). Ethnohistorical data demonstrate that different forms of marine tenure are the products of specific circumstances involving population movements and shifting alliances. However, no one would dispute that ever since Western incursion in the Pacific local processes increasingly have become intertwined with external politics. In this age of relentless globalization, Pacific communities have witnessed a decline in traditional authority, and the social mechanisms governing customary marine tenure in particular appeared to have suffered more than institutions underpinning access to land resources (Thomas 2001b). In some cases chiefly authority, as in Fiji (Veitayaki 1995:79–80; 2000), has helped preserve control over customary ownership of rights to fishing grounds, in marked contrast to the relatively egalitarian Kiribati society. In other circumstances conflicts pitting local authority against foreign interests, as in Marovo Lagoon in the Solomons (Hviding 1996, 1997), have in fact strengthened claims to customary marine tenure.

Despite efforts to establish wildlife sanctuaries in the Line and Phoenix Islands, there are at the moment no marine protected areas and no protected areas of any type in the Gilbert group where the vast majority of I-Kiribati live. The islands in the Line and Phoenix groups are widely scattered and mostly uninhabited, making it difficult to monitor activities that could have detrimental effects on the environment, including illegal fishing or even the disturbance created by a single careless yachtsman.

In the early 1990s, a major interdisciplinary environmental survey of Tarawa Lagoon (Abbott and Garcia 1995) resulted in a series of reports and a proposal to put into place a Tarawa Management Council. To date, however, no significant progress has been made on the implementation of the full council proposal. The Environment Act, which came into effect in 1999, gave responsibility to the Environment and Conservation Division of the Ministry of Environment and Social Development for carrying out community awareness and education programs "on both the manner in which the Act will apply to new developments, and more broadly in terms of the importance of protecting Kiribati's water, land and associated eco-systems" (*National Development Strategies* 2000:66).

Although one should recognize the role of government in coordinating management projects, it has been shown time and again that "top-down" approaches that exclude community participation will not be effective. By acknowledging that the national government's enforcement capabilities remain inadequate, a possible solution may lie in a polycentric system to "common-pool" resources monitoring. Local users would retain authority to create at

least some of the regulations by virtue of their acquaintance with local knowledge and the redundancy and the rapidity of a trial-by-error learning process. Larger governmental units, on the other hand, would act to protect the rights of all citizens and to oversee appropriate exercises of authority with smaller units of government (Kunatuba 1994; Ostrom 1990).

There seems to be a consensus that sustainability will need to rest on a remodeled form of marine tenure (Johannes and Yeeting 2001; Tebano 2000), but it is not yet clear how to operationalize this idea.[10] Perhaps a combination of approaches could provide a blueprint for action, stressing: (1) fishers need to pursue activities generating income that could simultaneously provide a means to ensure the long-term use of selected high-value resources (e.g., aquaculture projects), (2) the strengthening of cooperative ventures, and (3) the judicious application of traditional ecological knowledge as an instrument for resource management (Thomas 2001b). It is important to bear in mind that any new proposal will meet resistance from individual fishing entrepreneurs and even government representatives. Having had free access to most of the lagoon and burdened by financial commitments to repay loans to buy the equipment needed to efficiently extract lagoon resources, some people will see unfair constraints on their short-term financial prospects. Additionally, the resurrection of customary marine tenure—even in remodeled form—is bound to generate or reactivate disputes concerning who has what traditional rights within bounded areas.

There is room for optimism, nevertheless, notably with precedents set by island councils (under the Local Government Act 1984) to adopt by-laws to protect fish and invertebrates, thus leading to community efforts to prohibit fishing practices in certain areas, at certain times, and in relation to types of fish and gear (Miria-Tairea 1995:15; Ruddle 1994:90–94). For instance, island councils on Tamana and Arorae have imposed restrictions on the use of gas lanterns to catch flying fish (Onorio 1985). On North Tarawa local residents have recently chased off outsiders gathering shellfish for commercial purposes (Johannes and Yeeting 2001). On South Tarawa the challenge will certainly be greater because many people who live there are not traditional landowners. Government will therefore have to play a larger role in managing resources near urban centers. In short, three elements will need to be addressed if sustainability is to be achieved. First is the lack of designated rights over resources use, resulting in "open access." Second is the lack of enforcement of rights, both of government-created rights, for example, on lands leased by government from traditional owners, and of traditional rights, such as those pertaining to marine resources. The third element is the adoption of technology within existing rights that allows intensive exploitation of resources, such as outboard motors (Hunt 1996).

Conclusions

For the Pacific Islands in general and Kiribati in specific, fisheries development will remain central to attaining greater economic autonomy. According to Lawson (1980), the development of inshore resources may have greater impact on the economies of certain islands than would the development of oceanic fisheries: inshore resources are accessible; require relatively low levels of capital investment, technology, and organization that can be developed by local fishers; and provide employment and could form the basis to develop other related industries such as gear manufacture, boat building, and maintenance.

The microstates will in all probability continue to rely on one or more aspects of the MIRAB economy, particularly since current agricultural production is severely limited in most cases. With high human-population densities and high fertility rates (Rallu and Ahlburg 1999), food imports, particularly staples, will no doubt continue to play a vital role in feeding growing populations, notably in urban centers. Mobility (migration) and associated remittances will remain an option for those seeking a better future, although opportunities differ among small-island nations and territories. The uncertainty surrounding MIRAB economies, referred to earlier, calls for other forms of development to complement existing arrangements. Kiribati's focus on fisheries can be regarded as well-founded, but development along this line will also need to address broader environmental and social impacts with a long-term perspective (SPREP 1998:20).

To maximize returns, Kiribati still relies on revenue generated by distant-water fishing nations utilizing the country's EEZ but realizes that it exercises little control over resources. For that reason the nation has committed itself to developing its own fishing industry and to encouraging smallholder projects that focus on aquaculture. Conflicts may arise, however, as the exploitation of inshore resources for export may put pressure on artisanal fishers who have already seen declines of existing stocks caused by overfishing. Solutions will not be easy to achieve, but by highlighting the complex web of environmental and social concerns—including improvements in transport, storage facilities, management of resources, family planning, and global warming, to name a few—it is hoped that further development of the fisheries sector will be based on increasingly informed choices.

NOTES

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1. Despite limited land and poor soils, agriculture has a significant role to play by the achievement of increased copra production. In 1998, 7,577 metric tons (tonnes) were exported, worth A$4.5 million, compared to fish exports valued at A$1 million. Food, however, remains the most prominent imported item (A$17 million) (Ministry of Finance 1998). Kiribati's restricted environment leaves few possible avenues for development of commercial agriculture. The agricultural sector, however, could place more emphasis on local food production to reduce imports as well as search for specialist foods or products that might contribute as minor exports.

2. Although there are still gaps in our knowledge of species diversity in Kiribati, the total number of marine mollusks may be comparable to the approximately one thousand species recorded in the neighboring Marshall Islands (Kay and Johnson 1987).

3. South Tarawa currently faces some of the worst modern challenges associated with human-population growth, urbanization, imported-food dependency, pollution, limited natural resources (at least terrestrial resources), geographical isolation, and the impact of global warming. Overcrowding has periodically led to serious health problems, particularly those related to contamination of freshwater supplies. Moreover, shortage of land in the urban centers has discouraged local food production, resulting in poor diets due to a switch from generally more nutritious local foods to nutritionally inferior imports high in fat, sodium, and sugar (Connell and Lea 1998; Kienene 1993; Lewis 1988).

4. The main species taken are the pelagic, migratory skipjack and yellowfin tuna. Up to 40 percent of the world's annual tuna harvest originates in the Central and Western Pacific regions (Kawaley 1999:350).

5. Kiribati has been shortchanged environmentally as well, with local supplies of tuna threatened by licensed purse seiners that have been able to fish in the EEZ to within twelve miles of islands (Hunt 1996).

6. Although the growing of certain green vegetables may be hampered by the limited agricultural potential of the atolls, and the cost of imported vegetables is beyond the reach of most people, marine plants are still generally avoided. This attitude is consistent with the widespread perception among I-Kiribati that green leaves, papaya, and other introduced foods rich in vitamin A should be reserved as pig and famine food (Schoeffel 1992:233–234).

7. Recent work focused on comparing the degree of agricultural and fisheries production, excluding copra production. Despite efforts by government and nongovernment organizations, only about forty smallholder farmers on Tarawa participate in growing traditional and exotic crops both for domestic consumption and for sale to local markets.

8. Fishing can be highly lucrative for families with sufficient capital and labor. Households equipped with boats, several nets and fishing lines, and insulated cooler boxes can fetch any-

where between A$200 and A$700 a week, which is considerably more than what farmers can earn selling their produce (estimated at between A$30 and A$100 a week) (Thomas 2002).

9. Despite an eroding customary marine tenure, Taniera concluded that fishing secrecy offers a means to manage resources (1994).

10. Crocombe provides a comprehensive review of the issues and problems of tenure systems in the Pacific (1999). For a specific discussion and case studies of marine tenure as well as other management options, see McCay (2001), Munro and Fakahau (1993), and Panayotou (1982).

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ACCOUNTS OF FIGHTING AND CANNIBALISM IN EASTERN NEW GUINEA DURING THE MISSIONARY CONTACT PERIOD, 1877–1888, AS TOLD TO CHARLES ABEL

Introduced and Edited by
David Wetherell
Deakin University

Field notes by missionary Charles W. Abel of the London Missionary Society, contained in two little-known handwritten documents, describe traditional warfare customs, including treatment of captives and cannibalism among the peoples of the Milne Bay/China Strait region of southeastern New Guinea, as told to him by Paulo Dilomi and other informants. The editor transcribes these notes here and theorizes that Abel's knowledge of these activities provides context for the missionary's derogatory attitude toward the "savage" Papuan, in contrast to the perspectives of later observers including other missionaries and anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski.

THE KWATO MISSION OF PAPUA was founded by Charles W. Abel and Frederick Walker near Milne Bay in 1891. Its assimilationist methods—of bringing up Papuan children in an English Protestant "hothouse" isolated from their surrounding culture—provoked controversy, both within the parent London Missionary Society (LMS) and beyond it. The anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, in his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), was among the first to admonish Abel publicly for his blunt disdain for the customs of the Milne Bay peoples. Through fieldwork Malinowski started the practice of seeing Melanesian culture from the "inside out" as far as possible, rather than from the "outside in" as had an earlier generation of ethnologists and those influenced by them, including Abel. The resultant contrast between the writings of two generations of observers was plain for all to see.

Pacific Studies, Vol. 26, Nos. 1/2—March/June 2003

But the clash bears witness not only to the apparent incompatibility between British Evangelical reformism and the preservationist tone of twentieth-century functionalist anthropology, but also to the passage of time. When Abel arrived in Papua in 1890, only two years had elapsed since the imposition of British rule. Villages were still stockaded and war canoes still lay on the beaches of the bay. Only a short time before, an LMS Loyalty Islands teacher had taken part in an armed raid near Kwato in retaliation for an act of cannibalism.

Twenty-four years separate Abel's arrival from the beginning of Malinowski's residence in the islands near Milne Bay. And Malinowski's fieldwork was conducted in conditions of government- and mission-imposed security, with warfare and cannibalism receding into memory. It may be argued that Abel's policies of "saving" Papuans from their own cultural practices were initially shaped not only by his Evangelical background but also by firsthand evidence of traditional warfare and the treatment of captives, observations recorded in the documents transcribed below.

Background

The first permanent foreign residents in what came to be officially known as Papua New Guinea were Pacific Islander teachers of the London Missionary Society. Partly because of the difficulty of working in the Loyalty Islands, which had become a French sphere of influence, and partly because the command to preach the gospel knew no boundaries, the society sent a party of Loyalty Islands teachers to the Torres Strait and New Guinea in 1871. Six years later, a party of Loyalty Islanders and Rarotongans settled in the area of Suau and China Strait, near Milne Bay at the eastern extremity of mainland New Guinea.

From the beginning of culture contact in the vicinity of the China Strait, the LMS Loyalty Islands teachers were on good terms with Dilomi, the leading headman on Logea (Heath) Island. In 1878 Dilomi took the pioneer Loyalty Islander teacher, Mataika, to a nearby island, of which he was said to be the principal owner. Despite its malodorous swamp Mataika decided that the island—called Dinner Island by Captain John Moresby in 1873, but later by its original name of Samarai—should become LMS headquarters in the area. Arriving to confirm the purchase on 25 August 1878, accompanied by a new party of six Loyalty Islands teachers, the pioneer LMS missionary Samuel McFarlane recorded that he acquired Samarai for goods valued at 3s. 6d. But for Dilomi the island's value was much enhanced by the security that his alliance with the new missionaries offered.

Dilomi became an LMS ally and convert and was known as Paulo. After the establishment of formal British rule in 1888, Paulo Dilomi was appointed

a "native magistrate" during a short-lived experiment in native justice by the colony's first lieutenant-governor, Sir William MacGregor. Paulo continued to be occasionally called a native magistrate in LMS publications years after the experiment was given up. He died in 1916.

Document I comes from a three-page, undated manuscript taken down during an interview with Paulo Dilomi. Document II is part of a longer interview taken down in 1894; Dilomi is not mentioned by name in this document, though it may be assumed that he was among the informants.

The documents based on Paulo Dilomi's information were recorded by the resident LMS missionary at Kwato, Charles W. Abel. His handwritten observations, with the publications that followed, were in sympathy with the dominant theme of late-nineteenth-century anthropology: that primitive societies gave way to sophisticated and complex ones. Such a view was to be expected of those such as Abel—born in London in 1862—who wrote within the prevailing ethnological framework influenced by Herbert Spencer, E. B. Tylor, Lewis Henry Morgan, and James Frazer.

But Abel differed from these exponents of the emerging discipline of anthropology in that he was in close and continual contact with the people he studied. His observations were written up in a mission house rather than a university office or field-worker's tent. His methodology was midway between that of the chair-bound ethnologists in Europe and the twentieth-century field anthropologists who sought to immerse themselves in the cultures of the societies they studied.

Abel's field notes were composed in an empirical style not marred by value judgments. His published writings, however, beginning with *Savage Life in New Guinea* (1902), were permeated by the idea of Christian conversion as a resolute blotting out of indigenous customs: converts must assimilate the cultural traits of middle-class British society. This attitude contrasted sharply with the greater openness of his Anglican and Methodist neighbors towards Melanesian culture. Abel's Anglican neighbor, Bishop Montagu Stone-Wigg, said the Papuan had "much to teach the Church." The Papuan's contribution to the church of the future lay, among other things, in his intense awareness of the invisible world and in his "open-handed, open hearted" communal generosity.[1]

By contrast, Abel's publications reveal a mind repelled by what he saw in the culture of the Massim people of eastern New Guinea. Malinowski possibly read *Savage Life* while staying with Abel at Kwato in 1914. Judging from the exclamation mark that followed his quotations from Abel in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* Malinowski seems to have regarded Abel's book with a mixture of incredulity and amusement. He compared Abel to the "legendary authority" who, when asked, what are the manners and customs of the natives,

answered, "customs none, manners beastly." As for Abel's account of Milne Bay culture Malinowski wrote, "a grosser misstatement of the real state of things could not be invented by anyone wishing to parody the Missionary point of view."[2]

Neither in his books nor his diary, however, did Malinowski refer to Abel's field notes on warfare, which are presented below. It may be that the anthropologist was unaware of the existence of this information collected twenty years earlier on traditional customs—many of which had died out with the coming of British rule and against which his missionary host was reacting. The lack of empathy with Massim culture that Malinowski criticized may well have begun with Abel's revulsion at the material he had gathered on warfare. Bishop Stone-Wigg, who arrived ten years after the establishment of government authority on Samarai and eight years after Abel, had little knowledge of the earlier treatment of enemies following tribal fighting.

Not only did Abel apparently fail to discuss his findings of 1894 with Malinowski, but in *Savage Life*—intended as a gift book for British children—he sanitized his notes and a veil was drawn over the more harrowing details: there were practices "connected with the Papuan's treatment of his enemies which I could not relate" to young English readers into whose hands the book might fall. These practices probably referred to the torture of captives. Abel wrote that in the attitude towards prisoners, "the Papuan" fell to "a very low position in the scale of savage peoples." Indeed, there were times when "unbridled passion seizes and masters him, the man becomes a fiend, and there are then no limits to his barbarity."[3] The accounts below, especially Document II, may suggest why Abel used a red pencil on the material before publishing his book and why later generations of readers may consider his attitude censorious compared to those of missionaries who arrived later.

Document I concerns warfare that had begun at Samarai Island some time after the establishment of the LMS mission station there in 1878. In the feud, Paulo Dilomi's Logea people were allies of the other Daui-speaking peoples of Suau and the islands of the China Strait, as well as at Wagawaga village on Milne Bay. They were enemies of the Tavara-speaking people, who lived along the forty-kilometer-long northern shore of Milne Bay. After the hostilities ended, Great Britain's acting special commissioner, John Douglas, sought an exchange with James Chalmers of the LMS "by which we [the government] can be supreme at Samarai and you [the mission] at Quato." Accordingly, Samarai was "given" to British officials in return for nearby Kwato Island in 1886.

Document II, drawn from a wide-ranging interview that also covered topics such as agriculture, sexuality and marriage, childbirth and death, is a more general account of fighting customs, taken down by Abel in 1894, when he was thirty-two years of age.

The accounts were among the original papers kept for many years at Kwato before being taken to a family-owned factory in Port Moresby. With permission of Sir Cecil Abel, elder son of Charles Abel, I moved the collection in 1971 from the factory to the University of Papua New Guinea. Fortunately, I made photocopies of the two interviews; one of the manuscripts was apparently mislaid in the years between then and the arranging of the collection into what is known as the Abel Papers. The archive is now lodged in the New Guinea Collection within the Michael Somare Library at the university.

Document I

Paolo Dilomi's last fight with his old enemy at Wadunou was after the L.M.S. had begun work at Samarai. The [LMS] teacher was a Lifu man named Diki. . . .[4] The mission station at Samarai was to be cleared, and a large number of natives came from all parts to fell the heavy timber where to-day stands the township of Samarai, with its Government offices, three hotels, four stores and private residences. Wadunou [Barabara], from the other side of Tavara [Milne Bay], sent a contingent of workmen, and as is common with these people when the clans overlap a little chaff indulged in while the work proceeded soon developed into a serious squabble, and Diki had to intervene. He decided to send . . . the Wadunou people back to Tavara, and supposed that with their removal the trouble had ended. But Wadunou carried their spleen away with them and on their way through the China Straits they surprised the small [Daui] village of Goilavaio, captured two women, carried them home, and killed and ate them.[5]

Dilomi at this time was only partly under Christian influence. This outrage rekindled all the old heathen fires in his soul. He appealed to Diki. Such an offence could not be passed over. There was no Government at this time. There was no [white] Missionary expected that way for many months. Who could be surprised at what happened? The big fighting canoes were got ready and set off, and Diki joined the expedition. Not only did the Teacher go with Dilomi, he went armed, he took his gun. The gun in a Teacher's hand was never for such use, it was to supply him with food. Diki took his old-fashioned muzzle-loader, but he took no powder and shot. It was a stupid thing to do from every standpoint. Diki saw this when it was too late. At least he expected that his presence, armed, would tell tremendously in favour of the attacking party. But it had quite the opposite effect. Diki dared not compromise his position by going into the thick of the fight, and as soon as Wadunou discovered that Logea's chief warrior was a dummy, a man of peace with a barrel of harmless iron under his arm[,] they rallied from their first scare, and swooping down on the disconcerted invaders drove them into the sea. Dilomi was

dragged on board the canoes with five spears hanging to his body. Five hits and not one of them pierced a vital place. He was without skilled treatment and for weeks he lay between life and death, and through all those long weeks Diki had to reflect upon the probability of his having to pay with his life if Dilomi succumbed. [However] Dilomi slowly recovered. . . .

Dilomi's last fight was therefore a serious defeat. . . . It is worth our while noticing the fact that those two Goilavaio women remain to this day a debt unpaid in blood.

Document II

War is nearly always waged against another tribe to take revenge for the murder of one of the aggressive tribe. The case given in illustration of their customs was probably the commonest know[n] to them in years gone by. It was that of a Logea canoe visiting Milne Bay & the natives of Barabara—with whom the last war was waged 9 years ago.[i.e. 1885, the year before a station of the British Protectorate was created at Samarai] killing one of the party to pay off an old score. For generations a murder will be reported from father to child so that revenge may not take place for very many years. The canoe returns to Logea minus one man. Very slow paddling & the absence of all decoration on their bodies & canoes are signs that something is wrong. If the murdered man has a relation on board he lies on the outrigger in his grief & the people know there has been foul play. They do not land but stop paddling near the shore. People approach & ask Edoha? & the men reply TAU WA. The news quickly spreads throughout the island & messengers are sent in all directions to friendly tribes, connected by marriage such as Suau etc., & the people all assemble at the village of the relatives of the murdered man. They bring food—pigs, dogs & vegetables. Whilst these are assembling each new lot of arrivals gather together & wail. The men at each village on Logea meanwhile [are] talking war. One will rise & say he was a friend of the man killed, & that he will revenge the murdered [*sic*]. Another will say he visited the village of the enemy some time ago & knows the run of things & will lead the expedition. Let us be strong, let us be strong & so on. As soon as the report comes that the man has been killed his nearest relations—his brother or sisters child for instance will create a frame table (hatahata) with a small ladder leading from the ground to the top & food is placed there which is called GIMWAUKANA [*ibou ana*]. Small quantities of uncooked food are placed here for the spirit of the departed man to help him over the difficulties of the journey to the world to come. . . .

When all the people are assembled the food they bring pigs[,] dogs, aiai etc is collected & prepared for the feast called the HIWOGA. This feast pre-

cedes the fighting expedition. There is no excitement such as dancing. People are still mourning the murdered man. But a good deal of speechifying is carried on amongst the men; one man rising at a time & in a very much louder voice than is necessary to reach the ears of his listeners he painas or make[s] a public statement. Such statements are generally of an inflammatory character, & are doubtless made with the object of working the people up to a state of excitement over the war. When the HIWOGA is finished preparations are made for the expedition. The war canoes called TAWELO are pushed out from the beach a short distance, & arranged side by side. . . . The chief of the feast—always the nearest relation of the murdered man—then distributes the food for the expedition. This he does by calling out the name of some strong man from each of the war canoes. The food is placed on board. Spears, elepas ilamas [*sic*] are then stored away together with skulls & bones of previous war captives, & personal & canoe ornamentation. The men then take their places as many as 25 sometimes occupying one canoe. The canoes are still all arranged side by side close together, the men are sitting on them ready t[o] draw their paddles thro the water. A man first rises in each canoe & with a small branch of Babaga red croton he runs from the stern to the prow of the canoe & back again shaking this croton as he proceeds. He then throws it ashore. In this way all spirits are driven back. The presence of spirits in the canoes not only adds weight to the cause but seriously affects the men, making their limbs heavy & rendering them unable to fight well. The same men rise again—one in each canoe—& with another branch of Babaga go thro' a very similar performance this time with the object of making the canoes go fast through the water. When this performance is finished one man only rises & in a loud voice addressed EABOIHINE the man in the moon. . . . At the termination of this invocation the men who are sitting in the canoes blow their conch shells & beat their drums with a rapid stroke of the hand. . . .

There is another outburst of drum beating & conch shell blowing when this is finished & then the man turns round to the women & girls on the beach & calls to them[:] "daququ au alaiei" "Did you hear the noise?" If their reply is to the effect that the performance was not as loud as it should have been the men take this as a bad omen & after proceeding for a few miles upon their expedition, they camp somewhere for the night & return the following day & give up the war for the time being. If on the other hand the question is spontaneously answered from the beach that the air was rent by the drums & conch shells off starts the expedition in great spirits confident that Eaboihine will answer them, & that they will prove victorious.

Their methods of attack v[a]ry somewhat according to the nature of the village they are to wage war against. If the village is well known to them & has often been visited by members of the expedition on previous occasions & is

only of such as size as to render defeat practically out of the question, they will approach it in full day light bringing their canoes up into line only a few hundred yards from the beach. Here they stop & in sight of their enemies will again engage in an invocation. This time it is to no person or spirit as in the case of Eaboihine. It is an invocation for strength. As will be seen from the interpretation they ask for the speed & strength of the Getura[,] a large fish whose activity in the water when chasing other fish is what they wish when in pursuit of their enemies. This invocation is also spoken in a high voice by one man . . . sitting & drumming at its conclusion. If the village is only imperfectly known to them or if the enemy is renowned for fighting & to be feared they will approach the coast under cover of night making certain to land some distance from the seat of war along the beach. The main party land & two men who are daring volunteer to go forward as spies. They proceed cautiously for some distance & if they see nothing one remains there & the other returns & brings forward the expedition. The same two proceed again & again[,] the fighting men moving from point to point as conducted on the way. If the spies see a man approaching they return to the fighting party & these in ambush wait for the enemy & do away with him. They proceed as before until the village is reached & after careful observations have been made by the spies & the probable number of people ascertained, the invaders surround it & wait for the day to break. At the first sign of dawn the onslaught is made, the canoes at the same time moving slowly along the coast to the scene of the conflict. The enemy is surprised & often flee in disorder[,] some to be wounded[,] others killed & others again captured. If the enemy is chased into the bush & the body is too heavy to drag to the beach the head is severed & taken by the capturer. Bodies of those killed near the beach are taken to the canoes, & those captured alive are also made prisoners. The whole idea of war is revenge, the life of one man or woman being generally considered the equivalent to the life previously taken. When this is accomplished the chief idea of the invaders is to escape with their prize before they themselves are implicated in a more serious & uncertain affray with other villages who may have heard the report of war & come in to help their friends. At the same time without exposing themselves to unnecessary risks they will kill & capture as many of the enemy as possible. There is no mercy shown to women & children during the engagement. If a chief has been originally killed two or three lives must be taken as his equivalent. This also explains the action of the invaders after the skirmish is to their minds satisfactorily terminated. Having put their captives on board their canoes they withdraw again to sea & there within ear shot of the beach which is strewn with people crying & wailing for their friends they sing in unison:

DIDIARA BOTANINA SE DOUDOU LELE SE LELEI O drums & . . .

When this song is concluded the men who before & during the engagement wear no ornamentation, nor have any ornamentation about their canoes, take their prisoners from the canoes & decorate their heads & bodies, painting their faces etc & hanging their canoes with ornamentation. All this is done in sight of the people on the beach. The captives who have been taken alive are now tied some at the ankles, above the knees & with their hands behind them & some if they show any inclination to be obstreperous have a spear stuck through the palms of their hands & thro' the holes thus formed they tie their hands together with string. Then as fast as they can paddle they return to Logea. Food is offered to, tho not often accepted by, the prisoners, & a good deal of TARAVASI or chaff is indulged in at their expense. The prisoner is frequently reminded of the fearful torments which await him & of the fact that when these are over he will be eaten. Some receive the banter in much fear, while others with great composure merely reply BESI ELKAU EA MATE O "That'll do. I'm dead". Yesterday you were saying how strong you were, how do you feel now? & so on. Great haste is made in the return in order to get the dead bodies home before they are decomposed although they are often eaten in a state of putrefaction. Will not eat fish or pig thus because only cannibals for revenge. As a rule the returning expedition land adjacent to the village of the man originally murdered & camp for the night. One man goes on to the village & brings the news of the return & victory & preparation is made for their welcome next day. During the time that the expedition has been away the people—near relatives of the murdered man—leave the coconuts on the trees & eat very little food as part of the mourning. This man receives from the relatives presents of arm shells[,] neck ornaments[,] etc with which he returns to the camp & which he then distributes to the men who have been successful in capturing an enemy. Early the next morning the war canoes approach the village blowing the conch shell in such a way—one long & one short blow—as to denote that there are captives. The women & men too young or too old or too sick to go to fight crowd on the beach & the canoes return to within a few yards of the sand. Here again with the canoes all arranged in line the men chant again in unison. KAMUTE KAMUTE IA SAUA BE GUALA EA SOKI (drums) EA GURI KAWA MWAMWADU EA BEST EWAEWARI (drums)[.]

This chant concluded, the dead bodies & captives are thrown into the shallow water, & men rush in from the beach & sticking their spears into the Bodies of dead & living alike they carry them ashore. The chief of the feast ie, the nearest relative of the murdered man over whom the fighting has been about, has always the disposal of these trophies. The dead bodies are presented to him by the men who succeeded in capturing them. These are all treated alike & are the same day cut to pieces in a most unceremonious way—unlike the

pig—& portions distributed among the villages. The disorder which prevails in the distribution of human flesh is peculiar to this one food alone & is part of the indignity to which the enemy is put. If one or more dead bodies are brought back to the village fr: the war, & only one man was originally murdered this is considered sufficient payment. If no dead are returned, but more than one living captive, it is optional with the chief of the feast as to whether more than one is killed & eaten to pay for the original outrage. He will only allow one prisoner to be carried ashore on the spear point & if there are women & children besides the man who is to pay with his life, these are sometimes spared. They become part of the chief's family. A small boy or girl will after be called NATUGU by him. If a woman of his own age is captured she will be his ROUNA. Prisoners thus kept are invariably well treated; really become members of the injured man's family & become his heirs. As a rule, the object of a fighting expedition being to get one man for one man, they return to their village with only one prisoner.

If dead he is ultimately singed as a pig & eaten. If living he is conveyed from the canoe to the beach on the points of spears. In taking him ashore they do not touch him with their hands. He is then made to sit under the outspreading branch of a tree & the mother, sisters & women relations of the murdered man approach him wearing their mourning ornaments. These consist of necklaces, armlets of plaited cane etc. These they take from their bodies & put them on the arms & round the neck of the prisoner. Each of these women taking a small sisima or sharp pointed native fork they torture him. The mother of the murdered man first comes forward & says pointing to one of his eyes 'With that eye did you see my son killed over in your village' & then she stabs the eye with the fork. The sister next comes to the other side & while the writhing man is held still by the arms by men she address[es] his other eye[,] asks if with that eye he saw her brother tortured & eaten & she stabs the other eye. Between them they torture the man, as, to escape a stab from one side he turns his sightless eyes toward the opposite direction. If blood flows it is eaten in her presence. This done, he is hoisted up about six feet from the ground, dry coconut leaves having been tied around his ankles, knees[,] abdomen & shoulders. When he is suspended in this way, a light is put to his feet & he is scorched alive in this way to tighten the skin & render [the] body easy to cut up. The native string by which he is suspended to the tree is often burnt thro & the man falls smouldering to the ground. He is pounced upon at once & dead or alive is cut to pieces in the most unceremonious fashion. There is really an indecent scramble for his flesh. A pig or dugong is carefully cut up into joints & pieces & distributed amongst the people by its owner calling out (ana sarai o). All this ceremony is purposely dispensed with in the case of a human body, any man rushing up, seizing an

arm, claiming it as his & hacking it off with any implement at hand. In the evening the flesh is cooked, dancing commences & continues all night with its attendant immorality. All those men who have captured enemies or taken part in their capture[,] having presented them to the chief of the feast, retire to their village, & shut themselves up in their respective houses for the space of some five or six days. They, or the near relations of the murdered man[,] do not partake of the human flesh . . . the Relations because they would be eating the payment for their brother & son etc, the capturers because if they partook of blood they were instrumental in spilling they would be attacked by a complaint called OSINANA—blood—palpitation of blood in vessels all over body—relieved by cutting with Nabua causes death—this would render their bodies heavy & make their limbs ache. They remain in their houses for several days until as they say the smell of the blood of the victims is exhausted. They eat very little food no flesh or fish[,] confining themselves to small quantities of baked VOD, APOE, RABIA, which their mothers prepare for them. If boiled gigiri is scraped & freely boiled with other foods. At the termination of this time the capturers['] friends prepare a feast called SISIMWAGODU. The confined m[a]n then for the first time cleans his body, puts on a new sihi, ornaments himself with treasures brought to him by his relations & then leaves his house & presents this SISIMWAGODU to the man to whom he has presented the human victim. (Does not touch food with his hands but with fork which he sticks on top of food before presenting it. This the recipient breaks, & throws away before distributing food.) This is for blood payment. Of this feast he himself does not partake. He takes no part in the dance that night only viewing operations from a distance. The following day, the man who has recd: the body from him prepares a return feast called KEPOKEPO. At this feast he partakes as freely as he pleases & his term of abstinence terminates.

When war is proclaimed[,] ie as soon as tidings come to a village that one of their number has been killed by another tribe, or as soon as war is proclaimed by a fighting chief to wipe off some long standing score, all the TAU IALA TATAODI or fighting men commence a course of rigid abstinence which does not terminate until the fight is over, it may be, some weeks later. This abstinence applies to food[,] no fish, or flesh being eaten & only very small quantities of taro, yam, etc. Sea water (ARITA) is freely partaken of as a purgative. This is to cleanse the body thoroughly of all food remaining in it & ginger is eaten with all food, it being put in the gureva & cooked with their vegetables. It is also eaten by itself to make their blood strong. During this time Betel nut is partaken of in large quantities. To lighten the body & render the men active in pursuit or in flight (GABUSIHESIHEHE) is collected & burnt the men sitting over the smoke to allow it to pass out the rectum & holding their limbs over it. There is no feastivity [*sic*] as dancing during this

time, all excitement being found in speechifying. This abstinence also applies to women. Men do not sleep with their wives & single men have nothing to do with women. The reason for this is that just as a man cohabiting with a woman will certainly find a way to her vagina, so should he indulge his passions, will the spear directed at him by the enemy go straight to the mark aimed at prove fatal. If any man does not observe this precaution he will not enter into the fight, he will stay & look after one of the canoes which the others regard as a sign that he has broken the custom.

The gurevas—cooking pots—which are used for the cooking of human flesh are destroyed as soon as the feast is over. No ordinary vessels such as plates etc used. Food served in leaves eaten with fingers. This, because a few men & many women & children do not partake of human flesh, & again because if one of the capt[or]s happened at some future time to visit one of the villages where parts of the body had been eaten he might by mistake partake of food cooked in the same pot as his victim & the disease OSINANA would result. For the same reason old cooking places are not used for the preparation of human flesh. [Done][o]utside village. Flesh resembles Dugong.

Small villages are usually fortified (TONA). A high fence (9') being built along the sea front & at right angles inland at the extremities. There is a small door or outlet to each of these sites. Traps are laid for the approaching enemy. A large hole will be excavated in the beach, & spears stuck firmly into the ground at the bottom. This is covered with light timber & leaves & then sand. An enemy will often retreat when they discover some members of their party are caught in this way. This is called PURUBEKUBEKU.—High, prominent conveniently situated trees are also selected not only in the village but along the adjacent beach, & houses with platforms [are] erected on the topmost branches. From this point of vantage large stores & spears are hurled down upon the enemy. These are called SIWA SIWA. Spears are also thrust under cover, along the pathways leading from the village so that in case of retreat the pursuing enemy often run headlong upon their own destruction. (SIO)

KABA KENO EABUBU are houses situated in the bush whence women & children retreat in the event of an invading enemy. Literally, 'the place to flee to for sleep'. Formerly one man was regarded as the leader in war. LOLOMANIENA who died about eight years ago was the most renowned of recent times. His successor found little scope for his exertions[,] the Mission having made peace to a large extent & the Govt. afterwards enforcing it by law between Logea & their enemies. These war chiefs were not hereditary. They were chosen by virtue of their exceptional daring & savage habits. LOLOMANIENA could proclaim peace or war as he wished[,] the people strictly obeying him in this respect. Otherwise than in warfare he was not a chief.

The implements used in warfare are:

The spear WAMARI shield IESI
Club KELEPA stones WEKU
Sling ROPEJ tomahawk BAIWATENA

The sling is used when the enemy are at a distance, & other implements are for closer quarters.

Intertribal war is called HOMARI. The engagements—the result of quarrels & family disputes—last only a short time & if any are killed, they are not made captive or eaten. If in one of these quarrels one man wounds another he afterwards sends him a present or payment for the damage done & when the present has been received he visits him in a friendly way & see his wounds.

The whole life of the natives was preparation for & anticipation of war. Children from a very early age were instructed in the art of spear throwing & taken out almost daily for exercise in the bush, any remaining in the villages being taunted & sneered at for their weakness & any showing expertness being encouraged & flattered. Even war with sham spears [was] made . . . [boys] would attack adjacent villages, or would combine with other small villages to attack a stronger one & all the exercises of real war would be faithfully practised. If prisoners were taken they had to be brought back by their friends, with small presents before they were released.

In many of the most important villages large houses were to be found called BOSIM. Here spears, clubs & shields were stored in times of peace. This room was not however an armoury so much as a men's club where it was convenient to store weapons of war. Fishing nets were also kept here. Only men were allowed inside & here all the young men of the village slept at night & had their food by day. Women were precluded partly because the men were in the habit of eating their food from the floor & they would not do this if women had been sitting about with their dirty grass petticoats. Another & principal reason for the utter exclusion of women was the fact that the men here engaged in a great deal of filthy talk about women, which they were ashamed to speak openly before the other sex. If a woman approached the door to bring food to the men while filthy conversation was being indulged in upon her approach being made known they would change the topic until she had gone & then proceed with their indecent jests.

The way these BOSIM came into existence was stated to be for the purpose of providing a place where young men & boys could speak filth without doing so in the presence of women. If the older men found their children running in their houses, & lewd conversation passing between the sexes they would advise the erection of a BOSIM where the young men could indulge in indecent conversation only amongst themselves.

Note (1). If war is to be waged against the tribe into which some members of the invading tribe have previously married they will sometimes return to their original homes when the news of the war reaches them, or when they see a crime has been committed by their people against their true village which will lead to war. If they have lived for many years away from their own tribe, & war is declared ag: them they will sometimes remain where they are[,] regarding themselves as belonging to the people who have adopted them.

Note (2) Causes of war

(a) Adultery. The husband finds a visitor with his wife, kills him & eats him. Payment is wanted by the murdered man's tribe for the death.

(b) A native of say Wagawaga [in Milne Bay] buys a pig or an ornament from a Logea man & never pays & refuses to pay. He will tempt him out of his village & kill him. War issues for payment of the life taken.

(c) If a handsome young man visits a village & the women are overheard to say they wish he was their husband & the girls show him attention, the village men kill him out of jealousy. War issues for payment.

(d) If a man has a serious quarrel with his wife he takes a canoe alone & goes to a part of the country where unprotected he is sure to be caught & eaten. War results.

(e) If after several attempts to secure a prisoner in revenge for some man murdered there is no success or false peace & RUNI is made with a view to entice the enemy into their country. If they accept[,] the opportunity is taken to capture the culprit & another member of his tribe. War starts afresh.

(f) During a feast two young men of different tribes [begin] to boast of their strength & of their daring, hot words follow with abuse: they fight & one is killed & eaten. War between contestants tribes results.

(g) If two young men of diff. Tribes speaking of some young woman insult each other as to their chance of making love with her they fight. Killed, eaten, war.

(h) Of some men are travelling out of their own territory & meet a man to sit & talk with him & covet some ornament that he has in his tobe or on his body they kill him. After war for payment.

(i) [Entry missing.]

(j) Of two young men court the same young woman & one finds she pays her attention to the other he kills him.

(k) A man of another tribe killed only to start a war for its own sake against his tribe.

(l) By a more than usually savage man [such] as Paulo [Dilomi] making mischief for the sake of excitement.

(m) If a long season of drought, rain, hot sun [then] some sorcerer of another tribe will be mentioned as the cause[;] they wait & kill him. If cannot get him otherwise they invite him to come to their village to practice sorcery on a sick man & then kill him.
(n) Any quarrel which ends in homicide.
(o) If a village attacked by epidemic some village named from whence the epidemic sprang & the natives go & fight for payment of damage they have caused.
(p) Tamamiu se mate o ["Your fathers are dead": an insult].

When peace is proclaimed between two hostile tribes it is sometimes done thro the intervention of a third mutually friendly tribe. The tribe bearing the peace wanted by their enemy is prepared for war in case of necessity starts off. In sight of hostile village they call out to know if peace is meant. They generally hear through visitors whether true peace meant. If you want peace we agree. If you want fight we are prepared. If peace is called peace negotiations begin & in the end the visitors land & are feasted. The visited tribe break their spears as a sign of peace & then the visitors break theirs. Then on either side men use up in turn [*sic*] & one will say where are the friends of the man I killed in such an engagement. Another tribe friendly to the two hostile tribes have as a rule brought tidings of the names of the men & women taken & killed. If names unknown explanations & discoveries made. The friends are pointed out & the man makes payment, smaller considerably th[a]n what he recd. [o]riginally for the body fr the chief of the feast. And so on fr both sides payment alike being made for dead & wounded who die fr effects after returning home.

NOTES

1. For a study of Anglican attitudes in New Guinea, with references to Methodist attitudes, see David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea 1891–1942* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1977), 122–155.

2. B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (reprint, New York: Dutton, 1961), 10.

3. C. W. Abel, *Savage Life in New Guinea: The Papuan in Many Moods* (London: London Missionary Society, 1902), 129, 145. An account of warfare in Milne Bay attributed to Wedeka (father of Alice Wedega of Kwato) appears on pp. 139–146 in the chapter "The Papuan at His Worst." It should be noted that, in spite of the negative tone of the book, Abel's chapter "The Papuan at Home" showed an appreciation of Papuan domestic life.

4. Diki, a pioneer Loyalty Islands LMS teacher, accompanied the Reverend Samuel McFarlane to the Torres Strait and moved to Samarai probably in the late 1870s. He died in early 1887, having been seen by a visiting missionary "in full vigour and health" the previous November. Diki Esau was his leading Papuan ally and convert. Esau was the father of Merari and Osineru Dickson. Merari Dickson, educated at Kwato, was the first Papuan member appointed to the Legislative Council of Papua and New Guinea in the early 1950s. Osineru Dickson served in various government capacities under J. K. Murray, postwar administrator of the territory (1946–1952). Of Osineru it was said that "his manners and command of English are generally accepted in the Territory as being those of a cultivated English gentleman. In fact his formal schooling terminated at Standard 4." Osineru stood unsuccessfully as a candidate for the Milne Bay seat in the first House of Assembly in 1964, a seat won by John Guise, later governor-general of independent Papua New Guinea. For an account of Osineru Dickson as a politician, see David Bettison et al., *The Papua–New Guinea Elections 1964* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1965), 328–329, 335–338.

5. Of the existence of cannibalism in the Milne Bay and China Strait vicinity during the ten years before Abel wrote down his notes in 1894, there is no doubt. One of the village chiefs brought to witness the hoisting of the British flag in late 1884 was found by seamen on H.M.S. *Swinger* "actually in the act of devouring two men he had killed that morning," there being a "tribal war" in progress at the time of the naval squadron's arrival. Arthur Keyser, *Our Cruise to New Guinea* (London: Ridgway, 1885), 49–54. For the thesis that Hawaiians and Maoris probably assumed British sailors were cannibals like themselves, see Gananath Obeyesekere, " 'British Cannibals': Contemplation of an Event in the Death and Resurrection of James Cook, Explorer," *Critical Enquiry* 18 (Summer 1992): 630–654; and Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).

BOOK REVIEW FORUM

Cathy A. Small, *Voyages: From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997. Pp. xi, 252, tables, figures, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. US$48.50 cloth; $16.95 paper.

Review: ERNEST G. OLSON
WELLS COLLEGE

THE TITLE of Cathy Small's book, *Voyages: From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs*, calls to mind heroic images of Pacific Islander seafaring traditions and explorations that stretch back to the first arrival of Lapita peoples in Tonga, Samoa, and elsewhere in Oceania. For those familiar with Tongan culture, Small's reference to the general theme of the triumphant Polynesian voyage evokes well-known narratives of Queen Salote's celebrated trip to England in 1953 to witness the coronation of Elizabeth II and the current Tongan king's journeys around the globe, to name just a couple of examples. Of course, within the last few decades, the epic voyage of the Tongan elite is now a commonplace experience for Tongans of every social position, and this has created a flood of personal stories about migration to New Zealand, Australia, and the United States.

Small's book, on "international migration through the eyes and lives of Tongan migrants" (p. 4), chronicles recent substantial migrations of Tongans from every corner and social category and fits nicely into the record, oral and written, of previous voyages. Small's account is a valuable critical addition to the general anthropological literature on diaspora, migration, and cultural change. The book is among the recent wealth of good reading on Tongan culture (Morton 1996; Evans 2002). Her unique and primary contribution is found

Pacific Studies, Vol. 26, Nos. 1/2—March/June 2003

in the personal narratives about the migration experience and its transformation of family, household, and community. Small's personal experience, over many years, as an ethnographer and friend of one family in particular, provides the narrative text for the reader's understanding of the personal gains and costs of migration from the Tongan village to places like Los Angeles and San Francisco.

The reader is quickly alerted to what the book is not: a "traditional" ethnography with standard chapters on subsistence, kinship, religion, and social life. There is minimal reference to core aspects of Tongan life such as feasting, church activities, sporting events, kava drinking, and work parties; similarly, there isn't much discussion of the speech making that occurs within the village meeting or *fono*, or of the lively banter around the kava-drinking circle, or of the hilarious joking that occurs in work groups. Nor is it a demographic, quantitative study of migration patterns, though there is a smattering of facts and figures on migration rates, population growth, and remittance percentages throughout the chapters. Likewise, beyond some mention of a couple of personal letters, the book does not include much consideration of historical material, government documents, newspaper accounts, or other similar sources that anthropologists are finding increasingly useful. Instead, the bulk of the book focuses on personal contexts of interaction that reveal the back-and-forth flow of Tongan people and Tongan culture from a local village, 'Olunga (a fictitious name), to California and elsewhere in the United States.

The book, for orderly convenience and in keeping with the theme of the migrant's voyage, is neatly divided into four sections. The first three sections include narratives about the personal connections between the Tongan village and family left behind and the United States, and the fourth section sums up the author's perspective on the future of Tongans, Tongan migration, and the anthropological journey. The first three sections are the heart of the book and allow the reader to gain a sympathetic understanding of the personal challenges of migration for this particular extended family. The first section, "Departures," sticks closest to the more traditional ethnographic format with some reference to brother-sister avoidance, subsistence patterns, and household activities. The second, "Arrivals," focuses on migrant and life-history stories as told by members of one extended family. The third section, "Returns," reveals a rather poignant, sometimes nostalgic return, for both the Tongan migrant and the anthropologist, to the Tongan village of 'Olunga and describes some of the changes that have occurred from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s. In all three sections, we have a view of community life in Tonga and overseas, of the various communicative ties from the local to the global, and of the particular movements of one extended family back and forth across the ocean. Small provides a number of key cultural contexts—such as the airport, the bus

stop, the backyard, and the family kitchen—that reveal the complex web of ties and movements of Tongans.

One of these contexts that facilitates the flow of communication, the Tongan post office, is suggested by the cover of the book. Tonga, as is well known to stamp collectors, has long provided some of the world's most colorful postage stamps, and the cover merges a postal stamp image of a tropical "exotic" fish with cookie-cutter identical modern houses found in any U.S. suburb. The image implies that Tongans are putting their cultural "stamp" on American suburbia. Indeed, the story comes to mind of the Tongan immigrant in Los Angeles using free fish heads, tossed aside because of the food preferences of "mainstream" American culture, as a major source of subsistence (pp. 61–62); perhaps the idea is that Tongans are bringing cultural distinctiveness to American suburbs. More pessimistically, the message is perhaps that Tongans are trading a distinctive cultural heritage for American middle-class conformity. On a more literal level, the image suggests letters posted in Tonga being delivered to Tongans living quite different lives in Salt Lake City, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

Anyone who has visited Tonga can probably remember a trip to the post office in the capital town of Nuku'alofa. Even the casual tourist can see that the post office is a lively context for Tongans to go about the business of connecting to family and relatives dispersed around the Western hemisphere. Letters to and from family in New Zealand, Australia, or the United States—containing money, photos, and news—can, indeed, become the nexus for conversations rich in personal understandings and feelings about the migration process as it affects local Tongan families and communities. In any case, Small gives some acknowledgment to the way in which letters sent from Tonga with requests and news of the home community are an ethnographer's portal to the flow of written conversations among Tongans.

For example, at the beginning of the book, in the "Departures" section, the inclusion of discourse about a letter containing a marriage proposal reveals the crucial importance of letters before telephones were rather common in Tonga (p. 60). Small, particularly in the first two sections of the book that refer back to the early 1980s, could easily have included more attention to household contexts for the writing and reading of letters and thus expose the various strategies and conflicts of migrating families. At the same time, a strength of the book is Small's focus on specific oral conversations that happen among family members within the context of the private home and within telephone conversations that connect family members across the thousands of miles of ocean. By the end of the time frame covered by the book, phone lines and computer connections have speeded up the communicative process and compete with the post office scene.

The book allows the reader to understand that just as communication has changed, so has transportation. Upon seeing the book's title the reader, if imagining a rather different cover, might have expected an image of a seafaring outrigger canoe or perhaps a more modern boat sailing in or out of the wharf at Nuku'alofa. Any such misconceptions about the means for migrant travel are dispelled when Small reveals the way in which the airport has replaced the sea harbor as a departure and arrival point and has become the central place for the beginning and ending of voyages.

At the conclusion of the "Departures" section, Small cleverly presents the fact that rarely does the Tongan, the anthropologist, or anyone else who has spent some time in Tonga quietly slip in or out of the country. Her description of a chance meeting of an old Tongan friend in the Suva, Fiji, airport is a wonderful moment that accurately depicts the nature of the momentous way in which Tongans bid welcome and farewell to family and friends. At more than one point in the book, Small has captured a sense of the personal drama that unfolds at the airport every time an airplane arrives or departs. Huge suitcases bulging with everything from clothes to food are icons for the flow of people and resources; the Tongan International Airport is the modern gateway for travel to distant parts of the globe.

At a more local level within Tonga, much of the daily movement of people and resources occurs on buses, and here Small is particularly insightful. The joy of the anthropologist sharing a return airline flight with an old Tongan friend, just mentioned above, finds its parallel in the daily intervillage bus travel that considers personal connection and village cohesion to be a primary goal, despite much change. Small's insight that "'Olunga people waited for the 'Olunga bus" (p. 37), despite the fact that other buses were going in the same direction at an earlier time, is a testament to her anthropological savvy as a member of a village and to the strength of the local community. Later in the book Small strategically inserts a third travel experience that reveals the way in which the vitality of such personal ties in the local Tongan village starkly contrasts with the loss of community experienced by many Tongans, especially of the younger generation, who are living overseas. An encounter by Small on a bus in Hawai'i with an American Tongan with little knowledge of Tongan language, culture, and community succinctly illustrates the ultimate fate of some migrant families (p. 178). This is good fieldwork and good anthropology.

One of the great strengths of *Voyages* is its revelations about Tongan family life, in Tonga and overseas. A major point is that home is a central place for the Tongan extended family. Small very carefully provides the full text of key conversations that take place within the family, often between adult women; these discussions that occur in the household context reveal much about Tongan experiences and perspectives. The reader is quickly impressed by the

women of this family and easily drawn into the personal story of their migration. A sense emerges of the color, the vitality, and the flow of the household and of the home, filled with people, material possessions, and, most important, talk. Certainly Small is at her best when she is writing about women and their spheres of activity and influence. Small's fieldwork focus on women's labor, subsistence, and redistribution, among other things, is put to good use as a reserve of ethnographic detail that supports the central theme of the migrant's journey. We learn a great deal about Tongan women as mothers, daughters, and spouses; we learn much about what is happening and being said in the kitchen and sitting room.

However, at the same time, we learn comparatively less about Tongan men in their roles as fathers, sons, and spouses; we know little about talk among men doing horticultural work in the bush. Furthermore, we know little about what either women or men are doing and saying in the context of the political meeting, the church event, or the flow of public talk along the village street. To reiterate a point made earlier, I would like to have seen much more consideration of community life throughout. Certainly the section with the subheading "A Day in the Lives" provides a brief glimpse into daily life (pp. 21–27). Yet there is little description of commonplace activities like the social drinking of kava by the men, the weekly choir practices, political *fono* meetings, afternoon sporting events, school activities, men working in the bush, and so on.

There is some discussion of the changing traditions of the funeral (pp. 175–178), the importance of the feast (pp. 141–143, 148–150), the effects of cash cropping (pp. 145–146), and the power of the churches (p. 148). However, for example, it would have been useful to hear more about the way in which the churches, as the community's most powerful institutions, are the conduits for much of the migration. It would have been helpful to hear more about the role of the kava party in providing a social center, both in overseas communities and Tongan villages. Of course, there is merit to adhering to the main themes of the book but inclusion of discourse from choir practices, *fono* meetings, and sporting events would have added a rich dimension to the migration story.

Additionally, if we knew more about Tongan forms of Christianity, we could better understand Tongan negative attitudes towards Small's religious heritage. The scene of Small, the confessing anthropologist, disclosing her Jewish heritage (pp. 70, 108), is certainly a valuable insight into the way in which Christian values have permeated Tongan culture and can even come in the way of the personal bonds between an anthropologist and her host family. It is a sad thought that some of the prejudice Small has faced in her own culture has transplanted itself into this particular Polynesian culture, which experi-

enced mass conversion to Christianity in the early part of the nineteenth century. However, it seems that we know more about Small's religious identity, and her personal journey toward ethnographic openness about this, than about current Tongan religious values and beliefs.

If we knew more about Tongan courtship, sexual behavior, and contexts for social interaction between unmarried men and women (such as the kava party), the reader could better assess, for example, the scene where Small triumphantly puts the drunken young man who has made rude sexual overtures in his place. The reader is given a view of the ethnographer's personal, "insider" perspective as she states, "He disappears over the fence. I feel a great sense of accomplishment" (p. 118). We are left to infer that her sense of accomplishment comes from learning the "insider" rules of proper decorum and necessary respect, as demanded by the kinship among village women, well enough to send the young man on his way.

Small has clearly mastered how to handle young men who must, even in a drunken state, treat her as a respect-worthy woman keeping company with the mature women of the community. At the same time we know comparatively little about the journey of such young men left to disappear over the fence and off the ethnographic page. The sobering note on the fate of Vili, the young man of the family who hung himself, and other young men who "know that their future prospects were bleak" is just one small piece of evidence of the often tragic experiences of young Tongan males in the local village or overseas (p. 113). To be fair, there is certainly something to be said for ethnographic brevity, and Small is very effective in her skillful presentation of key moments in the ethnographer's encounter in a way that allows room for individual interpretation.

The relevance of the book for both the serious student of the Pacific and the novice traveler is found in the way that *Voyages* brings home the point that there are serious costs to both voyagers and their cultures. For example, Small's discussion of an American vacationer's sexual activity in 'Olunga is a particularly apt illustration of such costs. The unreflective tourist's casual attitude, ending in disaster, is starkly contrasted with the care taken by Small, and her protective host family (p. 105), to avoid such pitfalls. The ease with which Small, the seasoned, knowledgeable anthropologist, slips back into Tongan culture in the Fijian airport, even before stepping back on Tongan soil, and her savvy strategy for sending the drunken young man over the fence is in sharp contrast to the culturally insensitive tourist who has no concern for the integrity of the local culture.

Small has skillfully crafted a gripping narrative about individual Tongan voyages, while being rather generous in describing her own anthropological journey. The strength of *Voyages* is not in any systematic analysis of the many

political and economic forces influencing the flow of Tongans back and forth from Tonga to New Zealand, Australia, and the United States. Rather, the book's value is found in the way it provides pivotal moments that speak volumes about the human side to the ties connecting Tonga with the rest of the world. It is Small's inclusion of the intimate, sometimes momentous details about the Tongans themselves that makes the book a good read for the seasoned ethnographer of the Pacific as well as for the beginning student in an introductory anthropology class. The journey is also much about the experience of the anthropologist, and Small, upon her return to 'Olunga, confesses, "However much I tried, I could not help but cringe at the sight of the house as it mingled with my memories of it" (p. 129). The statement is a reminder to all ethnographers and migrants that one can rarely return to the same "place" on the return voyage, and that despite Small's statement in the second paragraph of her book that Tongan migrants and American anthropologists such as herself are "all on the same voyage," the differences are as real as the similarities. The reader can indeed be thankful that the book is less about the concerns of the anthropologist and more about the Tongan voyage.

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Review: HEATHER YOUNG LESLIE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I

Voyages is the most enduring and readable ethnographic account of contemporary Tongans' lives available to date. It is a must read for anyone studying Tonga and will be of interest to anyone working in the contemporary Pacific or on the subject of transnationalism. In *Voyages*, Cathy Small focuses on what is probably the most significant catalyst for change in contemporary Tonga over the past thirty years, the issue of migration. Small examines the experience of migrants through a comparative lens, capturing the experiences of Tongans who left with those who stayed. She focuses on a single village and, mostly, a particular kin group, thereby retaining the fine-grained detail expected of good ethnography.

The interesting thing about *Voyages* is that the long, recursive view means the analysis includes migrants to the United States and then follows a younger generation on their visits back to the "home" village. She is thus well placed to document the transnational aspect of contemporary Tongans' experience and to compare the ways in which migration has affected everyday life. The book is structured into four sections; within this framework she is able to describe the various rationales for migration and the effects of migration on social mobility, kinship relations, gender roles, traditional practices, and notions of identity both in Tonga and for Tongans in America.

Small documents how migration began, motivated at the village level by desires to "help" the family as part of a broader movement towards monetization of the economy. Such help came in the form of better education and wage opportunities, and returns of remittances and other goods gained from overseas labor. She makes the good point that migration was (and is) a way to fulfill Tongan ideals for self-elevation—to become "big" or "high"—and has contributed to even more monetization and efflorescence of prestige markers (ceremonial and material) both overseas and in Tonga. Small also shows that like many other migrants in America, however, there is a tendency for Tongans to experience relative downward social status, discrimination, baffling bureaucracy, and limited labor opportunities. Migrants must return to Tonga to become elevated in social status. Of Tongans in America, she notes, most send remittances to family back home, but a high percentage live close to the poverty line, at least in the initial wave of migrants. These factors change the longer families live in the United States, as do family relationships and the sense of responsibility to relatives in Tonga, traditional practices, and notions of identity. Small is clearly not convinced that migration has necessarily been good for Tonga, despite new forms of material prosperity, higher education, and international experience. Tongans have changed a lot in the last thirty years but even still, she concludes, Tongans are still Tongans. The key factor that initiated the flow of migrants—love for the family—remains central to Tongan culture.

I like this book very much, for three reasons: First, the representation of contemporary Tongans' lives matches what I have been seeing since first coming to Tonga in 1991. Indeed, as I write this review, sitting in a house in the Nuku'alofa suburb of Ma'ufanga, I am surrounded by potential characters in Small's book: my neighbor worked in New Zealand and American Samoa to finance his house and his children's education. His wife's mother lives in a house built by two daughters currently living in Australia. My house is available because the couple's son and his family are away, studying in Fiji. When I take a taxi or bus, the driver has invariably worked or studied for some time overseas. These are indeed voyaging people, as Small has so neatly categorized them.

I also like the book because the voices of Tongans are strong. Small is careful to let them speak for themselves, providing, for example, their own migration narratives and comparisons of life in Tonga with life in America. It's a technique that works well. I'm also impressed by Small's own reflexivity. Her voice is included in the text—justifiably so, since she is part of the relationships about which she is writing. She writes clearly and simply, and is just as clear about her reader's active involvement with the text as she is her own positioning. Thus the tangle of counterdependencies that characterize what I think of as good anthropology—long-term engagement with the people and place, reflexivity, reciprocity, cautious and accurate representation and clarity of voice, recognition of the tangible nature of whatever we say as anthropologists, and recognition that we need to make contributions to our own societies—are all evident in this book.

For these reasons I find *Voyages* very useful for teaching. It allows students to really see what anthropology is about, what constitutes good, ethical ethnographic representation, what it is anthropologists do, how we get our data, and how we frame the questions that eventually evolve into anthropological literature.

As with any book, there are some problems. *Voyages* has some rather embarrassing typos—as examples, the first Tu'i Tonga was Aho'eitu, not "Ahoteihu" (p. 13); and the root sent by the village water board was undoubtedly kava, not "kafa" (p. 71). I also found the text to be underreferenced, particularly with regard to general anthropological theory, a drawback in its applications for teaching.

Another drawback to *Voyages'* classroom applicability relates to Small's choice of audience. She justifies her focus and case study on migrants on the basis of the "global phenomenon" of migration, which is pervading the "industrial world" (p. 8). Her case study focuses on Tonga and the United States. Although I have no problem with her use of the United States as a field site, I would have preferred she apply her skillful use of voice and reflexivity to avoid erasing the wider variety of locales to which Tongans migrate and the larger audience to whom the subject would appeal. The book is written entirely for an American audience, although Small does not actually say so until the second-to-last page of the final chapter. This kind of myopia should not exist in anthropology, especially in ethnography of such a clearly transnational society as Tonga. The "American with a college education" (p. 215) that Small addresses as the book's reader could just as easily be Canadian, Australian, Norwegian, or Japanese, just as interested in the global phenomenon of migration, perhaps especially, of Tongans.

These are minor irritations. Of a more serious nature is the fact that some of Small's information is already outdated. For example, she states that Poly-

nesians settled the Tonga islands around 1500 B.C. This is not substantiated by recent archaeological work, which dates the oldest Lapita site in Tonga to 900 B.C.E. or approximately 785 B.C., give or take 50 years (Burley and Dickenson 2001). Also, she uses quite outdated data when referring to island residents who tend migrated relatives' property (p. 65). In support of this point she references data from 1984 that indicated that 10 percent of Tongan landholders live overseas (p. 225). This is a gross underestimation that was clearly out of date when the book was published in 1997. Since the hurricane of 1982, for instance, the level of out-migration from Ha'apai has made it increasingly difficult for remaining villagers to *fua kavenga* or "carry the burden" of social life. The situation varies according to island and proximity to the capital of Nuku'alofa, but I know of villages with closer to 60 percent of town sites lying abandoned. A decade ago, relatives were able to keep the weeds at bay on such sites. Today, alternative arrangements are being made, either because there are not enough relatives left or they may be too old to care for the property. The situation is severe enough in some areas that women are taking up men's work—hoeing—under the auspices of women's development or church groups with the (domestic) goal of making the town look "clean." Some town officers are dealing with the problem by seeking aid money for mowers because there simply are not enough people to keep all the town land clear of bush and weeds.

In the same section, Small notes that relatives also care for children sent home from America. I doubt she could have predicted the current problem developing—at least in and around Nuku'alofa—with "unclaimed" children: juveniles with one or both parents working overseas are making their own places with neighbors or distant relatives, sometimes on fairly contingent bases. A recent scandal being discussed in newspapers and in public areas as I write may relate to a similar scenario. A hotel in the center of town has been exposed as a brothel, out of which girls as young as twelve are working. That their families are unwilling or perhaps unavailable to care for daughters, who in traditional practice are meant to be highly protected, is shocking to people living in Tonga. Locals see it as no surprise that the hotel is run by a Tongan entrepreneur recently returned from America. There are also "problem" children who have been sent back to learn "Tongan ways," including older teens who have been deported, under the assumption that aging grandparents and village relatives can handle them. Many households today are overstressed for resources and clearly not coping well with the situation, however.

I do not want these criticisms to hide the fact that *Voyages* makes an important contribution to literature about contemporary Pacific life, as well as to perspectives on migration within the United States. The book has such strengths and is so topical that I would like to see a revised edition, one that incorporates a more transnational focus and updates the data from within

Tonga. There are fascinating things happening in Tonga, and Small is well placed to contribute even further. I look forward to her next publication.

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Review: Steve Francis
University of Melbourne

This study of the "voyages" undertaken by Tongan villagers to America is a first in a number of ways. It is the first monograph to focus on the phenomenon of Tongan migration. It is the first monograph to examine the place of the fieldworker within the context of Tongan ethnography. It is also the first to examine the migration experiences of one Tongan family over an extended period of time. While there have been a range of theses (Lafitani 1992), journal articles (Gailey 1992; James 1991; Marcus 1993), collected papers (Fonua 1975), and conference papers written on and about Tongan population movement, *Voyages: From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs* is an important and substantial contribution to the field.

Incorporating twelve chapters and one appendix, Small divides her study into four sections. "Departures" details the Tongan village setting from which her informants begin their journeys to America. Based on the author's initial doctoral fieldwork, this section reads like a classic village ethnography. "Arrivals" moves the focus to a single family and their experiences of permanent migration to America. The author uses structured and semistructured interviews with family members to provide an intimate and insightful depiction of life prior to the overseas move, throughout the migration process, and during the settlement period in the United States. One chapter, "An Anthropologist Over Time," incorporates the author's reflections on the changing nature of her relationship with the "informants" central to her work. Small details her own journey from fieldworker to friend, as she continues to participate in the lives of her Tongan informants/friends following their migration to America. Based on observations recorded during a field visit to Tonga in 1994–1995, "Returns" examines the transformations that have taken place in the fieldwork village since the early 1980s. Small details and contrasts a range of perceived social and economic changes, including relationships of remittance dependency, resulting from the migration of Tongan villagers to Pacific

Rim countries. A chapter within this section incorporates interviews with one family member who remained in Tonga. This allows Small to highlight the differences between the lives of those informants who remained in Tonga and those who moved to the West. Finally, in "Travels Ahead," the author draws the various strands of her discussion together in an analysis of the meanings of migration, tradition, and identity for Tongans living in a postmodern, transnational world.

As indicated by the title, Small's work is primarily concerned with the permanent international migration of Tongan villagers to America. For Small, this migration represents a population movement from a dependent labor-giving nation (Tonga) to an independent labor-receiving nation (America). In keeping with other literature focusing on international migration movements, the author addresses key themes such as the settlement experience, the role of remittances, and shifting notions of identity and tradition.

Although the author's theoretical framework is not stated, her work borrows elements from both dependency theory and world-systems theory. Echoing observations made by Hayes in relation to the work of geographer John Connell (1987, 1990), Small's treatment of international Tongan migration is predicated upon an assumption about "the penetration of a Polynesian microstate's domestic economy and society by the global economy" (Hayes 1992:293). As Small notes,

> Our glimpse at a village in Tonga showed that the effects of the global migration system are far-reaching, leaving no untouched, "pristine" corner where everything stays the same. Migration out of Tonga has transformed the internal life of the village, and, in the Tongan case, we can see the complexities of this transformation. If the Tongan case is characteristic, then the pattern of migration and remittances is making the non-industrial world more prosperous and yet more dependent at the same time. (Pp. 194–195)

An important component of Small's analysis is a focus on the relations of remittance dependency generated between migrants sending surplus goods and cash back home and those who receive them in Tonga. For the author, remittances "represent the flow of wealth to labor-giving countries from labor-receiving countries" (p. 196). Remittances are regarded here as one of the principal catalysts for the transformations that have occurred at the local village level in Tonga. For Small remittances, created through the process of international migration, have therefore introduced changes that have altered relational power structures between those kin who have migrated and those who have remained.

The primary unit that facilitates the "flow of wealth" represented by remittances is the "transnational family." The author suggests that transnational Tongan families, whose members send goods and capital back to Tonga, are agents of Western dependency, providing impetus for the social and economic changes that have occurred within the Tongan village setting. First utilized in the Tongan context by Marcus, the transnational family is therefore the conduit for a new form of "remittance economy" (1993:193). As the agents for wealth transfers back to Tonga, the transnational family is seen to drive the new remittance economy. As a result, "Tonga, like the United States, has been transformed. It has become a transnational place . . . and that is why even in returning to a small Tongan island village, one encounters individuals and families, lifestyles and customs, that now belong to a much wider world system" (p. 125).

Small's theoretical framework posits a world system, which, with its demand for labor, transforms "traditional" places such as Tonga. This worldview recalls Ingold's discussion of globes and spheres: "The image of the world as a globe is, I contend, a colonial one. It presents us with the idea of a preformed surface waiting to be occupied, to be colonised first by living things and later by human [i.e., Western] civilisation" (1993:38). Small's utilization of assumptions associated with dependency theory has led her to a view in which the migration process is perceived from a global perspective. As a result, although her account details the lives of Tongan informants/friends, her analysis is predicated on theories that leave little room for Tongan agency. Within this system, while Tongans make individual migration decisions, the outside world—the Western capitalist world—is regarded as the primary driver of population movement.

In her theoretical focus on the global Small has neglected some elements of the local. As Hayes notes, "Polynesian population movement defies simple classification as either internal or international, and in fact reflects features of both" (1992:283). While the role of the world system is not denied, there are important aspects of the migration process in Tonga that are not accounted for in Small's analysis. For example, there have been ongoing population movements within Tonga and with other Pacific islands that have occurred for millennia. These movements, often motivated by factors such as war, marriage, and trade, have had significant impacts on Tongan identity and tradition (see Kaeppler 1978). Myth and oral history provide useful pointers and guides to these impacts. Although Small's stated aim is a focus on international migration, discussion of these other forms of population movement may have enriched her analysis.

In many ways this is an ambitious monograph, with the author attempting to manage a number of contrasting themes and approaches. Her narrative style varies accordingly throughout the book and includes first-person,

journal-style accounts, multiauthored reflections, statistical analysis, and even theoretical meditations on fieldwork and the future of anthropology. As the author notes,

> this book about migration is about Tongan islanders and Tongan-Americans; it is a little about me, a little about America, and a little about anthropology. These disparate subjects belong together in the same book because they are all part of the same phenomenon, the metamorphosis of social relationships in our world: relationships between migrants and nonmigrants, between Tongans and Americans, and between anthropologists and informants. (P. 11)

In aiming to address these "disparate" elements, the author acknowledges the size of the task undertaken. While successful in the stated goal of introducing an element of experimentation into the work (p. 11), the resulting organization of material within chapters is relatively disjointed in areas. This becomes confusing in some sections as contrasting styles and subjects, incorporating differing time periods, geographical settings, and author's voices, are placed in sometimes incongruous order. As a result, the reader loses a sense of momentum and direction within the book on occasions. Though partly the consequence of the diverse subject matter, this problem may have been ameliorated by a more conservative approach to structure.

This criticism does not diminish my regard for many of the methods employed, however. For example, the device of addressing the issue of the international population movement of Tongans to America through the experiences of one family is extremely useful. It allows Small to successfully explore and illustrate the diversity of the migration experience for Tongans. As I found during my own fieldwork in Tonga, population movement is a complex process, a fluid, ever-changing series of events that affects family members in different ways. Variables such as age, marital situation, social rank, and status within the family are particularly relevant. Small's study enables her to capture this complexity in an immediate and personal way.

In line with the objective in postmodern anthropology of giving voice to the ethnographic subjects of anthropological study, Small utilizes the technique of providing space within the text for the words and thoughts of her informants-friends-family. Large sections of the text therefore include reprinted interviews between the author and members of the featured family. In one case, an interview conducted during an earlier period of fieldwork is later dissected by the informant and "corrected" within the text. This provides an excellent means through which the author may comment on and tease out the decision-making processes associated with the informant's corrections, a procedure no doubt influenced by the migration and settlement experiences

of the subject. This also allows Small to discuss themes of identity and tradition in new ways.

Another theme pursued within the book centers on a prolonged meditation on the roles of fieldworker and informant in the process of undertaking anthropological research. A theme that owes a debt to the work of Clifford (1988) and Clifford and Marcus (1986), the author intersperses examination of the topic throughout the book in the form of an intimate, first-person style. The subtext of this discussion is the author's attempt to reconcile the aims of anthropology as a research science and the fieldwork method, which often results in the lines between professional and personal relationships being blurred. While these are important questions, the intimate nature of these discussions sometimes sits uneasily next to the more traditional ethnographic material.

In conclusion *Voyages*, written in accessible and intriguing style, is an impressive attempt to trace the complexities of permanent Tongan population movement through the travels of a family and an anthropologist over time. The author of this ambitious book has provided great service to both scholars of the Pacific and of migration in general.

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Response: CATHY A. SMALL
NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY

Voyages has been in print for six years. This forum seems a wonderful opportunity to speak beyond the book itself, to themes that promise to be of interest to the field more generally. I will take this opportunity to point out and speak to the themes raised by the critiques, and to open a larger dialogue. Once in a while, where I can't help myself, I may defend my book or decisions against criticism but for the most part I hope to avoid so defensive a posture. It is actually quite a gift to be able to talk with other scholars about my work, and I appreciate the time and thought that went into the reviewers' work. I will speak to three main themes in my response: (1) intimacy in ethnography and ethnographic writing, (2) reflexivity, and (3) the place of theory in ethnography. Along the way, I hope to address many of the reviewers' comments.

On Intimacy

Let's begin with issues related to "intimacy" in ethnography, by which I mean the textual representations of highly personal conversations and encounters, often involving people the reader has come to know, that serve as examples

of more-abstract themes. All the reviewers note this characteristic of *Voyages*; probably the reason this book was chosen for this forum has to do with the style and narratives that make it accessible for readers and emotionally engaging (and thus widely used in classes). I have greater intent, though, in my use of intimacy than a good read.

I consciously made the decision to center the book around pivotal personal encounters and, as Ernie Olson points out, key cultural contexts—the airport, the backyard, the bus stop, the kitchen, the post office—where poignant and repeated cultural interactions occur. It was important to reinforce intimacy by rendering the narratives in forms that were close to my lived experience of them. In other words, if I overheard dialogue, then I wrote in an "observer anthropologist" voice, preserving what dialogue I could remember in my text, while if a Tongan woman related her autobiographical migration experiences, I tried to keep those narratives in her exact words.

There are certain sacrifices in the approach. Steve Francis found the book disjointed in places and sometimes confusing, because I used contrasting styles and voices consistent with the context but not with one another. Some critics, often outside anthropology, believe that, because the experiences related are so personal, you are truly and only describing the experiences of one person or one family. Technically, they're right—but they fail to understand that these personal narratives and key encounters have been selected by the author based on several years of fieldwork experience. They are not "weak" samples with low *n*'s; they are instances of repeated cultural encounters, and why Heather Young Leslie can say that she feels, sitting in Nuku'alofa, that she is "surrounded by potential characters" in my book. It is why Francis sees in *Voyages* his own diverse and complex data about migration, and why so many Tongans, who write to me, recognize themselves and their families in my book—despite that it is not their family members described.

Focusing on intimacy also allows one to investigate the dynamics of experience, dynamics that instantiate larger cultural and global processes. I do a great deal of computer modeling, and even teach a graduate course in how to model social phenomena on a computer and play out their dynamics over time. One of the things I realize about this seemingly mathematical and positivist endeavor is that models often hinge on fine-grained and intimate details about human beings.

Let me offer an example. I once modeled Roy Rappaport's *Pigs for the Ancestors* (New Haven, 1984), an ethnography about the dynamic connections among pigs, yams, humans, warfare, and ceremonies that reflects on the theoretical relationship of ecology and ritual. A basic cycle Rappaport describes is that the pig population, while needed for food and social reciprocity, eventually grows out of control, overrunning yam gardens. When this happens, a cer-

emonial feast occurs where all adult pigs are slaughtered and allies are fed, returning the ecology to equilibrium until the pig population again grows out of control, reanimating the process.

I tried to see if I could model the ethnography and reproduce the same eight- to twenty-year cycle of feasting and ceremonies observed in the culture, based on information about the numbers of yams, pigs, and people and the dynamics that went on among them. I found I could do this, but only with very detailed and accurate information about the threshold anger levels of women. It turns out that pigs overran yam gardens planted by *women*, and this resulted in the women's having to do more and more planting for family consumption. As the pig population grew the women got more and more upset, eventually pressuring their husbands into calling for the start of the ceremonial pig feast. The whole model hinged on knowing when women got upset—how much more work they had to do before they said "enough is enough." This is where the backyard or the kitchen stories of women really matter to the big theories (in this case, models) we wish to formulate.

The same lesson applies to most social phenomena we investigate. Consider remittances, a concern in *Voyages* and an issue for many scholars of the contemporary Pacific. Will remittances continue and is the MIRAB economy sustainable? Economists count remittance dollars and survey remitters or recipients about the size and frequency of their gifts. We learn from such studies that Tongans do not send fewer remittances the longer they are overseas, as one might suspect. But why not? And on what conditions do continuing remittances depend?

To me, the answers to these questions, and indeed the future of MIRAB economies, seem located in the content of Tongans' personal experiences, private choices, and interpersonal relationships. Some of the best economic science, then, can be accomplished by listening carefully to the conversations and considerations that people have about visiting home, sending money to relatives, selling or giving tapa cloth to overseas relatives, and so forth. The hostile joke, the rationalization, the characteristic family dispute, the new change in wealth items at the wedding—all are clues about the unfolding of the future. It is hard for observers without intimate contacts to see these harbingers, and that is why anthropologists doing long-term fieldwork are in a special position—if, that is, we properly appreciate our privileged access to the intimate moments of life. Intimacy, I believe, is good science.

Reflexivity

It was not natural for me, being a fairly private person, to introduce an entire chapter (6, "An Anthropologist Over Time") about my own experience or to pepper the text with clearly marked self-reflections. My reflexive inclusions pre-

sented difficulty for two reviewers, examples perhaps of the uneasiness in our field with many so-called postmodern conventions. About my reflexive material and style, Francis writes: "While these are important questions, the intimate nature of these discussions sometimes sits uneasily next to the more traditional ethnographic material." He recommends a "more conservative approach to structure" in response to the contrasting styles, topics, and voices in the book.

Olson comments about my self-reflection: "The reader can indeed be thankful that the book is less about the concerns of the anthropologist and more about the Tongan voyage." I read these comments with an unstated subtext (that I will overstate slightly for dramatic emphasis): Outright support for reflexivity implicates one as card-carrying postmodernist and/or reflexive writing is a personal indulgence, a sort of narcissistic exercise through which some authors drag their colleagues.

Is it possible to consider reflexivity as something other than a personal indulgence or a theoretical badge?

I live in a global system where anthropologists occupy particular nodes, typically in the middle class of industrial nations. I am an individual but also a role and a symbol, of sorts, and my interactions are an example of the types of interactions that symbols like me have. Certainly there are individual differences, among anthropologists and among informants, but, as cultural anthropologists know well, many of our personal interactions become stylized and familiar precisely because they are endemic to the social structures in which we are immersed.

It matters what happens between Tongans and myself, precisely because those interactions are part of the social and economic complexities that I am trying to figure out. It matters, because as Young Leslie notes, "her voice is included in the text, justifiably so, because she is part of the relationships about which she is writing." (Note, too, the gendered nature of the reviewer response to reflexivity.) As such, my reactions and relationships become a new set of data that I can learn from and analyze. This to me is a major purpose of reflexive thinking.

With this reflexivity, I can better see the limitations of my own work. When Olson complains that the reader learns comparatively little about Tongan men (compared to women), I consider my own persona and positioning in the village. I realize his assessment is accurate because I simply did not have the same access to men's activities and men's thoughts that I did with women's. As a woman (and a single woman when I first went to Tonga), my interactions with village men were necessarily constrained and circumscribed by propriety. Fraternizing with men in the bush was not an option and, even though I attended many kava circles, I did so as the woman who made the kava. As such I heard much more sexual banter than talk of migration. I take to heart, though, Olson's call for more on community life, an arena I might have done more with.

Reflexivity is useful, not only in understanding the ground from which we see others, but also in exploring the nature of our own practice: fieldwork. I was surprised that, except for a brief mention by Francis, there was no comment offered about any of the material in chapters 11 and 12, where I attempted to use my fieldwork experience, in a reflexive way again, to comment on issues in contemporary anthropology, such as cultural relativism.

In this light, it was very interesting to me how Olson dealt with my treatment of my own Jewishness among Tongans: "it seems," he writes, "that we know more about Small's religious identity, and her personal journey toward ethnographic openness about this, than about current Tongan religious values and beliefs." Olson would have preferred that I speak more about Tongan Christianity, its history and place in village life, rather than shifting my gaze away from the "subject" of study (Tongan culture).

The question really is: What is the subject? For me, the issue of being Jewish in Tonga, and then of attempting to deal with Tongan prejudices in the United States, had little to do with religion per se. It was about cultural relativism and the way that my direct experiences with being Jewish in my fieldwork had caused me, like others recently, to question this hallowed anthropological precept. I realized it was no accident that the issue of cultural relativism would begin shifting within the field of anthropology at the very same historical point as transnational processes, like migration, are in full force. The two, I realized, were connected, and I used myself and my experience as an "informant" to explore the connection.

My discovery was, as I wrote, that "we are all on the same journey." I did not mean that we all experience the same events because we inhabit very different places in the global system. Rather, the shifting sands beneath us, that for a Tongan resulted in leaving Tonga and for an anthropologist resulted in confusion about cultural relativism, are all part of the same global dynamics. Reflexive attention to our fieldwork is one way that we can explore the globalization process and its effect on the profession of anthropology.

Theory

It is very fair to say of my book, as Young Leslie did, that it is underreferenced in regard to general anthropological theory. Part of the reason for this is my own discomfort with anthropological theory. The theoretical material that guided my initial fieldwork proposals and grants ultimately had little to do with what I wrote about; my experiences in Tonga, in fact, confirmed the irrelevance of many of the questions I was asking. The data and insights that I did glean and eventually wrote about do not unequivocally support or refute a theoretical position.

It is not yet clear to me that I should spend my time in print showing how my work articulates, and how it does not, with the grand theory of the day. In *Voyages*, I think I illuminated some important dynamics about the transnational process, trying to state and illustrate them both clearly and richly. What do my data mean for world-systems theory, or economic convergence theory, or questions of individual agency versus structure? Frankly, I'm not sure yet, and I'm reluctant to jump to theory at this point. Young Leslie's invitation to look at some of the recent dynamics—unclaimed children in Nuku'alofa and largely abandoned villages in Ha'apai—intrigues me at the same time as it reminds me to withhold any theoretical conclusions. Things keep moving.

I am, in truth, tired of reading the products of our field's various theoretical bandwagons, where I typically find a proliferation of jargon and a monumental conformity of themes. It is too easy to be drawn into the fray. I think this is why the only criticism that irked me was Francis's long and pointed discussion of my supposed commitments to dependency and world-systems theories (he fairly adds that I never actually stated my commitment to these theories). Repeating arguments in the literature that critique world-systems approaches, Francis goes on to suggest that, like other world systems–based analyses, "her analysis is predicated on theories that leave little room for Tongan agency" and that, predictably, I ignore many aspects of the local because of my theoretical focus on the global. Given my lack of theoretical referencing, the highly local approach I took to transnationalism, and my consistent focus on representing the personal forces behind migration, these claims seem far afield. I can only think that this is another example of how theoretical camps can draw us into canned debates.

I was talking recently with a talented Tongan-American graduate student, 'Anapesi Ka'ili, about *Voyages* and we talked at some length about the lack of direct theoretical focus in the book, a critique raised in an Asian–Pacific Islander conference she attended. She shared with me how she responded to attendees. *Voyages* is the only scholarly work, she told me, that she's ever seen a nonscholar, who is Tongan, read. "When I go home to Utah, and the women are all in the kitchen cooking for some family event, we talk about that book. We see ourselves in it." I may well change my tune about theoretical engagement, because I do wrestle with my reluctance, but in the meantime, her comments help.

Some Additional Notes

Sometimes, a reviewer will make you consider your own work in a different light. This was the case twice as I read the reviews of *Voyages*, and these are worth mentioning. Olson's almost literary analysis pointed out to me the

intersection of the many vignettes in *Voyages* concerning travel and communication. Although I consciously employed the theme of voyaging in the title, chapter titles, and book cover, I did not wittingly weave a web of related incidents.

I had not seen how, for instance, the two bus stories I related (one in Tonga, one in the United States) stood in juxtaposition to one another, showing difference in island versus migrant communities, or how many scenes I included that involved bus stops, airports, telephones, letters, and other travel and long-distance communication venues. It gave me a view of a network of related images and events that I had not (consciously) inserted.

As I was writing *Voyages*, the U.S. ideology surrounding immigration—as refuge for the oppressed, as a beacon of equality, etc.—loomed large. It seemed a peculiarly American ideology and I believed the experiences of Tongans spoke directly to many of its faulty precepts. So I directed the book to Americans (including Tongan-Americans).

Young Leslie's critique alerted me to how that came across to non-American readers, and I marked my own parochialism with her words: "This kind of myopia should not exist in anthropology, . . . the book's reader could just as easily be Canadian, Australian, Norwegian, or Japanese, just as interested in the global phenomenon of migration, perhaps especially, of Tongans." Young Leslie is right, especially when the very topic I am discussing is transnationalism, and so my apologies to any alienated readers.

Many thanks to Steve Francis, Ernest Olson, and Heather Young Leslie for their considered comments.

REVIEWS

Francis X. Hezel, S.J., *The New Shape of Old Island Cultures: A Half Century of Social Change in Micronesia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. Pp. xi, 198, illustrations, bibliography, index. US$49 cloth; $21 paper.

Reviewed by Donald H. Rubinstein, University of Guam

THE LATEST BOOK from the prolific hand of Father Francis X. Hezel offers a synopsis and analysis of social change in Micronesia during the latter half of the twentieth century. The book's nine chapters address a broad spectrum of topics: family, land, gender roles, birth, marriage, death, sexuality, political authority, and population and demography. The topic of social change has always been Hezel's consuming interest, as he states in the preface (p. vii), and many of his discussions here build on his earlier writings in numerous books and articles. This book, however, is especially valuable in bringing together Hezel's observations and analyses in an easily accessible and quite readable format. The book also makes a unique contribution in its presentation of Hezel's central thesis that these diverse changes are all part of an interrelated "web of change" (p. 155), set in motion by the fundamental shift from a land-based subsistence economy to a cash-based wage economy in Micronesia.

The Micronesian islands examined in this book include Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae), and the Marshall Islands. This area encompasses a number of distinct cultural groups, yet Hezel rightly points to the "ethnographic particularism" of most anthropological studies of Micronesia during the past half century, and he offers his

book as an "attempt [at] bolder syntheses of the main cultural features of these island societies" (p. viii). For this task Hezel is eminently well-prepared. The book is based upon a very careful and comprehensive reading of Micronesian anthropology and history, supplemented by Hezel's thirty-five years of perceptive and wide-traveling observations throughout the region. Perhaps no other contemporary scholar in Micronesia has the combination of mastery of the corpus of written scholarship as well as long-term, intimate communication with hundreds of people from the different cultural groups throughout the region. The voices of these people speak clearly in these pages, and they receive generous acknowledgment in the chapter notes, alongside the more-conventional scholarly sources on Micronesia.

The organization of *The New Shape of Old Island Cultures* is rather unconventional for an academic study of social change, but it works well. The nine chapters comprise thirty-two brief sections, each about four to eight pages in length. Each section opens with a brief description of an incident from contemporary Micronesian life, many of which read like short excerpts from an anthropologist's field journal. For example, Hezel describes a loud dispute between two Chuukese women by the side of the road; another section opens with a teenaged girl helping her older sister, who is in late pregnancy, to board a plane for Guam, where the older sister intends to give birth. Each vignette presents a picture that is somehow problematic from a "traditional" Micronesian perspective, yet today is a fairly common occurrence. Following each opening scenario is a succinct ethnographic or historical review of the topic, and then Hezel's brief analysis and reflections on recent social change. The sequence of sections flows well, although readers could also sample sections selectively or in random order and still discern the main argument.

Most, though not all, of the individual sections allude to the shift from subsistence to cash economy, which is the prime causal factor, in Hezel's argument, for the whole interconnected complex of changes occurring in Micronesia. In the chapter on gender roles, for example, there are four sections. The first, titled "The Gender Gap," concisely reviews the ethnographic literature describing gender complementarity in Micronesia and concludes that women are entering new roles and "demanding real equality with men" (p. 50). The next section, "Men's Changing Roles," makes the argument that "women are doing more than their fair share of the family chores" (p. 51), mainly because the shift from subsistence agriculture to store-bought food has relieved men of much of their former subsistence labor in providing food, but has not relieved women of the work of preparing the food and caring for the house and children. "The Cultural Roots of Women's Power" describes the four major roles that women once played in Micronesian societies—as

"guardians of the land, keepers of the peace, counselors on family and community matters, and producers of cultural valuables" (p. 57). Hezel discusses each role in the various island cultures, and he concludes that since these roles "are embedded in the lineage, there has naturally been some attrition in these roles as the extended family weakens in force" (p. 57). The final section in this chapter is titled "The Wave of the Future?" and briefly describes the emergence of two new patterns: double-income couples in which both husband and wife are employed, necessitating "new rules for dividing the responsibilities of the household" (p. 63); and "the increase in the incidence of single mothers living in their own homes" (p. 64).

Most important is the concluding chapter, in which Hezel draws together the separate threads of the individual sections. With good inductive logic he makes a strong case that "the emergence of a cash economy based on wage labor" was the prime force that led to these diverse cultural and social changes (p. 155).

For a fairly small book, this wide breadth of more than thirty separate topics necessarily results in a highly compressed and abbreviated treatment of each. Although Hezel adopted a writing style and format designed for his intended audience, I think many readers will wish, as I did, that he had expanded many of the sections and produced a longer work. More attention could have been given to the significant differences from one cultural group to another, without at all weakening Hezel's overall argument, particularly in regard to women's status and security and to chiefly power.

With the exception of the last two chapters, on political authority and migration, Hezel's focus is primarily at the level of changes in the family. One topic that is conspicuously absent is emergent class differences in Micronesian societies, though Hezel alludes to this in sections on land, exchange, and public celebrations. Theoretically inclined readers would expect that the Marxist approach taken here would have led to a closer examination of issues of wealth and class conflict in contemporary Micronesia; perhaps it is still too early in the historical process to see these effects of an expanding wage economy and the commodification of land.

This book will be of value to a wide readership of Micronesians and non-Micronesians alike. It provides both a very useful summary of much ethnographic writing on Micronesian cultures and a well-informed and fair appraisal of how these cultures are changing. Hezel presents a lucid thesis about the underlying cause of social change in Micronesia, which is sure to provoke animated discussion in classrooms and seminars. And by pairing a series of everyday scenarios with detailed analyses, Hezel's book demonstrates how a fine examination of brief moments of social life can reveal important underlying cultural patterns and historical trends.

Jack A. Tobin, *Stories from the Marshall Islands: Bwebwenato Jān Aelōñ Kein.* PALI Language Texts. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. Pp. xvi, 405, maps, notes, references, appendixes, index. US$55 cloth; $19.95 paper.

Reviewed by Phillip McArthur, Brigham Young University–Hawai'i

It is not easy to provide a collection of vernacular narratives without waxing overly romantic or failing to include enough context to make them meaningful. Jack Tobin has successfully avoided these pitfalls in *Stories from the Marshall Islands,* which places him among the great Pacific collectors and translators such Grey, Beckwith, and Luomala. The publication of traditional lore has waned in recent years; it requires a great deal of tedious work and high language competency, and seems not to lend itself to the critical insights of contemporary scholarship. Ironically, however, in many ways good collections have always carried a postmodern quality centered in discourse and representation. Despite romantic embellishments that often obscure local culture, publications of oral culture have frequently provided a more-salient arena for voice than much of the ethnographic and historical writings. As a form of representation such collections also seem more transparent, avoiding the appearance of a mediating academic discourse, though this may only hide a subtle veiling of interpretive choices.

In giving voice to the Marshall Islanders, Tobin does extraordinarily well. Instead of composite stories (a standard practice in anthropology of blurring versions into one), he presents a copious collection of tales recorded directly from informants, transcribed and translated (both the Marshallese and English are presented). And much to his credit, he often provides more than one version of a story to reveal its life in oral performance and register important variations in performance patterns, stylistics, and regional significance. Although he does not attempt to render the texts ethnopoetically, he does retain important stylistic devices such as repetitive conjunctions, parallelism, tonal changes that signal chant, and deictics that form an essential part of Marshallese storytelling. Attention to these qualities is less a method of textual presentation and more one of very careful translation.

Tobin's translation is truly praiseworthy. There is a difficult balance to be maintained in translation: one hopes to translate at once literally enough to avoid taking culturally centric liberties and loosely enough to allow the storytellers to come across as lucid communicators and retain the flow and nuances of their language and poetry. This balancing act is not easy to achieve, yet Tobin finds a comfortable nexus. Part of this success lies in his profound competency with the lexicon and grammatical forms of the language. Trans-

lation is not indifferent to interpretive choices, but Tobin succeeds in keeping these choices as true to meaningful emic subtleties as is practicable for a non-native language user. Nearly fifty years of work with the Marshallese and their language becomes evident in his careful translation. And his apparent insistence that both the English translations and Marshallese transcriptions be included in the book reveals both responsibility to the islanders and academic integrity by opening his work to scrutiny.

In many ways Tobin's choices for representing the texts present a curious tension, which may be more indicative of the challenges of this kind of work than of scholarly oversight. The tension is centered in a dual desire of the author to render the texts in such a way that the individual storyteller is present while simultaneously providing generalized cultural and historical information. This tension is perhaps always a quality of ethnographic and historical writing, but documenting vernacular stories seems to accentuate the challenge. Tobin creates this tension through the course of his presentation. Following a preface that accounts for how he himself has been situated vis-à-vis the Marshall Islanders, an introductory chapter provides the essential descriptions of the cultural, historical, and linguistic contexts in which the narratives are embedded and through which they may (in part) be interpreted. This contextual framing is essential to the presentation of the narratives that follow. A glance at the table of contents reveals just how Tobin has provided etic labels to place each tale: "Stories of Beginnings," "Stories about Animals," "Stories about Evil Spirits and Flying Women," "Other Stories," "Historical Events." These categories are reasonable when one pursues the corpus, and like any collection it is limited to whatever tales the collector has procured. A collection is never exhaustive of the tradition but hopefully representative. Nonetheless, the labels do not represent indigenous categories or those of individual storytellers. I do not mean to suggest that Tobin's choices are simply idiosyncratic; in fact, he effectively creates a general context through careful identification of "Motifs of the Stories" (found in an appendix). Utilizing Bacil Kirtley's Pacific indexes (1955) developed from Stith Thompson's seminal classification system (1932–1936), Tobin presents one of the most thorough listing of motifs of Pacific oral stories. This kind of detail may seem superfluous to the immediate publication but reveals a generous responsibility to those who will follow, for it will prove an indispensable resource for comparative research locally, regionally, and globally.

In all the attempts to provide these general contexts, Tobin avoids any identification of the generic contexts of his stories, other than to explain that they fall within the indigenous category *"bwebwenato"* (talk, story). He resists utilizing indigenous genre terms such as *inoñ, bwebwenato in mol, bwebwenato in etto, bwebwenato bajjik,* and so forth, because, I am sure, he views

these categories as slippery and inconsistent in use. A study (Davenport 1953) that preceded Tobin tried to account for indigenous classifications but in the end simply translated them into Western analytical categories (i.e., myth, legend, folktale, etc.) and essentially obscured their local meaning. But to avoid the slipperiness of genre labels may distance us from how the narratives are employed by the *dri bwebwenato* (storytellers) in contemporary social life. The boundaries between genres are never stable in terms of content and form, but in the Marshall Islands case the terms do seem to register an attitude toward the status of truth about what is being said. Consequently, when the boundary between the discourses of fiction, history, metaphorical truth, sacred origins, and so forth is ambiguous and apparently context-dependent, I propose that this is the status of the past, or "the truth," for the storytellers as they negotiate it.

What is missing in Tobin's account is how each of his "informants" categorized their stories, and herein lies the other half of the tension: how to represent individuals in a cultural study. It is very easy in oral history, ethnography, and folkloristics to generalize from individual utterances to cultural and social patters, systems, epistemologies, and so forth. When the primary objective, however, is to provide representative culture examples and general contextual information, the individual performers blur and disappear. They become seen as representatives of tradition rather than creative poets. At best, we would hope that both the parameters of traditions (motifs, culturally salient performance stylistics, tale types, cultural and historical contexts, explicated meanings) and the emergent qualities of performance and text (as the direct result of creativity and sensitivity to the performer and performance context) receive careful attention.

Admirably, Tobin identifies the name of the storyteller before presenting each narrative and provides an informative individual biography in an appendix. The range of tellers utilized is commendable; however, as with any of us who have attempted to study storytelling, clearly the overwhelming number of texts tend to come from one or two key individuals who are both knowledgeable and amenable to satisfying our requests. But *Stories from the Marshall Islands* represents an effort to place texts in broader contexts, and Tobin successfully provides a wealth of information through copious footnotes and commentary at the end of many narratives. Even so, in all this great contextual information our individual performer is lost, since the one context neglected is the performance context, which not only reveals the art of communication but shows how the tellers position themselves vis-à-vis the past, their culture, and even those present as audience (including the outside ethnographer).

While I do not fault Tobin for the lack of reflexivity (he is so good at showing his presence through translation), the lack of careful attention to the subtleties of performance may have actually led to a mis-presentation of Marshallese storytelling. In the preface he indicates that while the storytellers will use the present tense to render a narrative situated in the past, he has translated the actions in the past tense when it is more "meaningful" and "clearly the intent of the narrator to be past action" (p. xii). This was an unfortunate choice for two reasons: first, he is assuming much about the choice of the narrator; and second, the performance of the narrat*ed* event (past) in the narrat*ive* event (present) by using the present tense is a salient poetic device used by Marshallese storytellers to bring the past into the present, and in this way an important dialogue ensues between the two time frames. It makes the past present, and in the process permits reading the present through a past lens. And at the level of experience, it is just more fun and engaging. Use of the present tense allows the action to move as we listen and come to feel part of it. It borders on mimesis (especially with reported speech), a participation in the past, and provides an alternative to the diegetic telling, or simply looking "back at" the past. Manipulating tense obscures one of the ways the stories become meaningful for the Marshall Islanders.

Despite this choice in representation, Jack Tobin has provided a monumental collection of oral stories that will prove a useful resource for education in the Pacific Islands and for scholarship. He has presented Marshallese voices with grace and conviction, and has represented their culture with depth and insight. If more collections could be as thorough in coverage, competent in translation, and ethnographically rich, the study of vernacular tradition in Oceania will achieve a most significant renewal and productively engage islander voices with ethnographic and historical discourse.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, FEBRUARY–APRIL 2002

THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University–Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian Studies Resource Center of the University of California–San Diego, Radboud University of Nijmegen Centre for Pacific and Asian Studies, and Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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INDEX, VOLUMES 21–25

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Includes ***Vol. 21 (1998):*** *nos. 1/2 (Mar./Jun.), no. 3 (Sept.), no. 4 (Dec.);* ***Vol. 22 (1999):*** *no. 1 (Mar.), no. 2 (Jun.), nos. 3/4 (Sept./Dec.);* ***Vol. 23 (2000):*** *nos. 1/2 (Mar./Jun.), nos. 3/4 (Sept./Dec.);* ***Vol. 24 (2001):*** *nos. 1/2 (Mar./Jun.), nos. 3/4 (Sept./Dec.);* ***Vol. 25 (2002):*** *nos. 1/2 (Mar./Jun.), no. 3 (Sept.), no. 4 (Dec.).*

AUTHOR INDEX

SUBJECT INDEX

CONTRIBUTORS

Russ Clement, Art Collection, Northwestern University Library, 1970 Campus Dr., Evanston, IL 60208 U.S. E-mail: r-clement@northwestern.edu

Steve Francis, School of Anthropology, Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Melbourne, 221 Bouverie St., Parkville, Vic., 3010, Australia. E-mail: kingtubby@optusnet.com.au

Robert S. Means, 5525 Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602 U.S. E-mail: robert_means@byu.edu

Ernest Olson, Sociology/Anthropology, Wells College, Aurora, NY 30126 U.S. E-mail: eolson@wells.edu

Cathy Small, Department of Anthropology, Box 15200, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ 86011, U.S. E-mail: cathy.small@nau.edu

Frank R. Thomas, Historic Preservation Office, PO Box 1454, Majuro, Marshall Islands 96960. E-mail: <f.r.thomas@sympatico.ca>

David Wetherell, Faculty of Social Sciences, Deakin University, Geelong, Vic. 3217, Australia. E-mail: david.wetherell@deakin.edu.au

Heather Young Leslie, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawai'i, Saunders Hall 306, Honolulu, HI 96822, U.S.
E-mail: hyleslie@hawaii.edu