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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 pre-formed 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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