

demonstrates that this was a nationalist project, that turned equally on Dutch pillarization ideology and on then current notions of culture, pre-logical thought, and the conceived limits of Christian conversion; as much as it was any religious devotion.

Part 2 examines how by highlighting structure over practice, the church influenced changing local cultural configurations: kin-centered moral economy, traditional leadership, and the feasting practices through which these are expressed. It examines how class hierarchy that might have led from the commodification of agricultural inputs and outputs has instead been articulated through seniority relations within kin networks. Power sites for these articulations include the wedding, labor exchanges, and household composition. For example, in appropriating traditional leaders (*kabosenya*) within its hierarchy, the church, while ignoring the feasting and exchange (*posintuwu*) practices necessary for the maintenance of leadership, opened sites where the leveling of wealth through *posintuwu* exchanges actually leads away from kinship based consensus building to the social reproduction of patron-client type relationships within kin networks.

Part 3 explores the rationalization of To Pama Christian institutions and the development of a separated religious bureaucracy and nationalism: its religious pillar whose colonization of the civil sphere sets it at odds with the modern(ist) Indonesian state. This view is alternated with an exploration of the rationalization of belief. Schrauwens explains that because of its appropriation of local authoritative forms of speaking, like the *montuwu* (a form of speaking to/about the ancestors) for its liturgical uses, the church ignored the practical contexts, constraints and consequences of these forms, hoping instead that a substitution of outward signs would lead to a change in internal dispositions. What in fact seems to have happened is that "true" conversion is continually deferred because the appropriation of cultural forms only subordinates local meanings to church liturgy without confronting or replacing pre-Christian beliefs. Therefore, pre-Christian beliefs still exist for the construction of a multiplicity of personal meanings.

This book has important theoretical contributions to make. In working through his goal of challenging the Weberian secularization hypothesis, Schrauwens introduces innovative approaches to reinterpreting Weber from economic and ritual angles, while showing that the two are not clearly separate. On one hand, there is a critical revision of the Geertzian (1963) shared poverty model of peasantization, which reorganizes the propositions of Geertz's model: the household is not the basic unit of production and consumption, but rather a multi-local kinship network of carefully calculated (though sometimes hidden) exchanges. This kinship network becomes a political unit, subsidized through economic surpluses and centered on a powerful patron. Peasantization is not the result of a lingering traditional economic mode ultimately to be displaced, but the result of strategic responses to capitalist maximizing within the system.

On the other hand, Schrauwens challenges interpretive analyses of ritual as a system of readable signs and notions of religious conversion as the exchange of one autonomous system of signs for another. Take again for example the *montuwu*, by appropriating its structure and form as a point of access for Christian liturgy, while at the same time ignoring the constraints on its practice, the heterodoxy of individual dispositions remains invisible. Schrauwens shows with his analysis of practices that the church's (and state's) over-emphasis on rules and liturgies leaves private interpretations intact.

My only regret with the book, and perhaps this is only a minor point, is that Schrauwens never reveals how his own Reform Church of Canada background influences his interpretive framework. Other than giving us a rapid gloss of Reform Church of Canada (a daughter Dutch Calvinist church) history and informing us that this background gave him privileged access to GKST activities, on this aspect Schrauwens remains quiet. This additional analysis might have made for an interesting comparison but it might also be more appropriate for another book. But all this leads to a more general and perhaps more important point. I think that a more detailed exposition of the history of Reform Church of Canada attempts at pillarization might have given the reader broader insights into the effects of the pillarization process and how Weber's secularization hypothesis can be challenged more generally. Although, to his credit, his comments about corresponding historical changes in Islamic communities elsewhere in Indonesia certainly fill this gap in one respect.

This book will be of interest to those whose research focuses on the negotiation of ethnicity generally, but especially in the Indonesian context. It will also be of interest to political economists from a broad range of disciplines, especially those interested in peasant studies and development studies. Interestingly, because of its focus on practice theory, ritual, and the rationalization of belief, this book will also be useful for anthropologists of religion and religious studies scholars, especially those interested in historicizing missiological work. It is the constant shifting and refocusing of the ethnographer's gaze that holds this work together, and its emphasis on examining practice over structure that makes it an excellent example of a modern strategy for ethnographic writing.

Paul Sillitoe, *Social Change in Melanesia: Development and History*, Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000, xx + 246 pages, ISBN 0-521-77806-9 (paper).

Reviewer: Naomi M. McPherson
Okanagan University College

A companion volume to the author's *An Introduction to the Anthropology of Melanesia* (1998, Cambridge University Press) focussed on "traditional cultural orders," this volume offers an anthropological perspective on issues common to

contemporary Melanesian societies. Always aware of the extent of diversity in Melanesia, each chapter provides an overview of an issue illustrated by a specific case study, most of which are situated in Papua New Guinea.

Chapter 1, "Change and Development," sets up the theoretical framework, the concept of social change, and the contribution of anthropology to understanding social change in Melanesia. Key concepts such as economic development, modernization theory, dependency theory are critically defined and the notion of an applied anthropology is succinctly flailed. Social change here focuses on "forced" change occasioned by 200 years of colonial intrusions and acculturation in Melanesia. Chapter 2, "The Arrival of the Europeans," briefly reviews the history of colonial contact economically (whalers, traders and blackbirders), spiritually (missionaries) and politically (the annexation of territory and development of administrative infrastructures to claim and properly extract the region's resources). To counter this European (Orientalist) interpretation of interaction with Melanesian peoples and cultures, Chapter 3 offers "another history" from the perspectives and perceptions of the Wola whose first experience of European intrusion in their lives came in the guise of the Hides and O'Malley patrol into the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea in 1936. The two accounts differ radically; however, this "democratization of representations" both acknowledges and celebrates differences and permits a more complex and nuanced rendering of the same historical events. In the process, it enhances understanding and tolerance of cultural differences. From here the text focuses on Melanesian understandings of and responses to technological innovation (chapters 4-6), the economic and social consequences of technological change (chapters 7-10), and indigenous rationalisations of the socioeconomic changes (chapters 11-14).

Chapter 4 explores technological change and economic growth to show that, contrary to assumptions of Western economic development theory, new technologies and social conditions do not propel less developed countries along the same developmental trajectory experienced by the West consequent with the industrial revolution. This is a succinct discussion of technological innovations and, from the perspective of modernization theory, failed economic development. The assumptions of modernization theory are also subjected to a "democratization of representations" in order to understand social obstacles and cultural attitudes that might explain the failure of development initiatives and, conversely, to understand indigenous factors that might create incentives that facilitate economic development. Contextualized in a discussion of the traditional system of land tenure and use rights, kinship and community, Chapter 5 considers the ethnocentric assumptions embedded in modernization theory and its failure to consider local responses and accommodations to social change. Land is central to Melanesians, and the point is made clearly that disrupting traditional land tenure systems undermines the very existence of social groups and communities. The question "development for whom?" enjoins those

involved in development schemes to consider "what they are doing and why" (p. 89).

Situating the discussion within the coffee-growing regions of Eastern Highlands Province, Chapter 6 looks at whether the characteristics of the traditional big men comprise a positive model for emerging entrepreneurial businessmen. The answer is no. Successful businessmen are individualistic and invest in their own enterprises. They act contrary to big men ideals embedded in the obligations of reciprocity which militate against the accumulation of individual wealth, capital and profit. In the end, big men entrepreneurs have a limited impact on economic growth and social change.

To be sure, there are many successful businessmen in Melanesia which leads to a discussion in Chapter 7 of an emergent class system and a Melanesian peasantry that holds tenaciously to a self-sufficient subsistence base as security in an increasingly unpredictable world. Dependency theory is taken to task for its universalist and ethnocentric assumptions. Features of Melanesian societies that inhibit class stratification include traditional land tenure, the obligation of reciprocity and sociopolitical exchange which serves as leveling device, and, interestingly, the persistence of tribal warfare. On the other hand, the economically successful are the most active in local and state politics. This "nascent elite class" has a vested interest in promoting land tenure changes, has access to foreign aid to purchase alienated land for commercial purposes, and can legislate away all traces of the old egalitarian order in favour of class and economic success as the basis of renown.

Enlarging on this theme, Chapter 8 looks at national governments and incomes, multinational consortia, foreign investment and centrally planned development within the context of mining and gas and oil fields. This is an even-handed discussion of the benefits (wage labour, education and training, improved services) and distresses (pollution and destruction of the land and waters, loss of land, social disruption and inter-group strife) of development. The massive mine and bloody rebellion at Bougainville feature prominently. Another major resource extraction and source of foreign income is forestry (chapter 9). Again, land is a central issue and development is really about transformation of the traditional order which is contrary to the goals of the foreign interests. While change is inevitable, clearly it may not entail "progress," and the ethics of development are scrutinized. The contributions of anthropology to understanding indigenous knowledge and advocating its inclusion in programs for development are well presented.

All large scale development projects require a large and mobile work force which is associated with problems of migration, urban drift (chapter 10) and, in Papua New Guinea urban centres, a form of tribalism known as the *wantok* system. Urbanites who do not maintain their rural ties lose their rights to village land and related resources and, equally landless in the urban environment, struggle for a sense of identity.

Tribalism, as ethnic enclaves and source of community among the landless in urban areas, provides identity. Tribalism substitutes for class as groups from less developed areas see themselves disadvantaged relative to those with a longer history of development who are thus more sophisticated, educated and experienced, able to access better paying jobs and to exercise more social and political control. These urban ethnic blocks promote hostility and violence, an increasing problem of 'law and order' in Melanesian urban centres.

Melanesian responses to past and present experiences of change would be incomplete without the discussion of the phenomenon of cargo cults and millennial politics in Chapter 11 and exemplified by the John Frum movement on Tanna, Vanuatu. Perhaps the whole topic of cargo cults is stale as this is the least inspired analysis and the usual explanations of anomie, relative deprivation, and incipient nationalism are given as "explanations" of cargo cults. Millenarianism and cargo cults are also caught up in changing Melanesian cosmologies and belief systems as a result of Christian proselytization, and Chapter 12 reviews the considerable impact of missions and missionaries on Melanesian world views. Until the 1950s, missions were the sole providers of medical and educational services and did much good in promoting literacy and improving health. In more contemporary times, Melanesian versions of Christian teachings and values play a role in the politics of independence and decolonization.

Chapter 13 looks at the relationship between tribal and state political systems. In Papua New Guinea, politics is "a game of opportunism" where abuse of power, bribery and corruption flourish along with political incompetence as exposed in the Barnett Report into the forestry industry. Following on is a provocative discussion on the imposition of the European state system as somehow "better" or more conducive to "progress," the unseemly haste of past colonial administrations to transfer political power to inadequately prepared subject populations, and whether tribal values of equality and political power can survive the pressures of a stratified state system of democracy. Since there can be no "conclusion" to a volume of this nature, it is entirely appropriate that the last chapter focuses on the concept of *kastom* as cultural heritage and as part of a "search for identity in the contemporary world" (p. 241) as Melanesians create continuity in change.

Although each chapter is topically oriented, Sillitoe's analytical skill deftly integrates issues and ideas across topics to present a holistic and complex analysis of contemporary Melanesia. This book is written to be accessible to the non-specialist and does that very successfully. It is excellent as a text introducing undergraduates to contemporary Melanesia societies. There is a comprehensive index but, unfortunately for the specialist, very few citations in the body of the text and no comprehensive bibliography although each chapter ends with a list of references and suggestions for further readings. An unusual but most welcome feature in some chapters is suggested films. I have seen 11 of the 21 films listed, and each is an excellent choice to accompany the text. This

book works on many levels for the specialist and non-specialist alike. Highly recommended.

Steve Verovec and Robin Cohen (eds.), *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1999, xxviii + 663 pages, ISBN 1-858-98859-1 (cloth).

Reviewer: David Timothy Duval
University of Otago

Readers of this journal are no doubt familiar with recent emphases on the transnational nature of diasporic communities worldwide. For the most part, this emphasis has been associated with studies of migration and has been conceptually linked to disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and cultural studies. The notion of diasporic populations has, rather recently, enjoyed somewhat of a conceptual revival, largely due to complex political and economic changes that lead to substantial numbers of emigrants. The end result has been the ability to emphasise the transnational nature, that is, the construction and maintenance of social fields across and independent of modern geo-political boundaries, of these identities.

Vertovec and Cohen's edited volume provides a useful overview of the three distinct yet closely related themes identified in the title. Conceptually linked to the well-established (and highly productive) United Kingdom-based ESRC Research Programme on Transnational Communities, of which the senior editor is the Director, the volume is a compilation of previously published articles from various journals and other volumes that the authors have compiled in order to address the growth and breadth of studies in which the central foci revolve around migration, diasporas and transnationalism.

As pointed out by the editors (p. xiii-xiv), the background for a transnational approach can be found, more or less, in the wider understanding and recognition of the issues surrounding pressures in global economic and political arenas. To borrow from Appadurai (p. 463, this volume), the recognition of global ethnoscapings (i.e., "changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity"), formed as a result of substantial population movements (both voluntary and involuntary), led to an increase in attention given to the transnational social spaces that were ultimately created. The only new material in the volume can be found in the editors' own introduction, which is of particular merit. Vertovec and Cohen engage the current state of diasporic studies by focusing on the various meanings of diasporas, suggesting that a diaspora can be viewed as a social form (characterized by specific social relationships, political orientations, and/or economic strategies), a type of consciousness (consisting of negative experiences of discrimination or exclusion and positive experiences of heritage or ethnic affiliations), and a mode of production (the globalization from below, or the "world-wide flow of cultural objects, images and meanings" [p.xix]).