

tively packaged. There is truth in the adage “You can’t *tell* a book by its cover, but you can *sell* a book by its cover.” While the cover deficiency is trivial, the lack of an index for *Moral Communities* is serious. Being published as a special issue of a journal does not reduce the need for an index.

A minor problem in *Pacific Diaspora* lies in the tables of Pacific Islander populations abroad (19–20), which are based on census figures ten to twenty years out of date when the book was published. Moreover, census figures for Pacific migrants are very unreliable. The table shows 30,000 Pacific Islanders in Australia, when in fact Cook Islanders alone total many more than that, not to mention Samoans, Tongans, Fijians, Tuvaluans, Papua New Guineans, Solomon Islanders, and many others. However, this is not a criticism of the author, as few of the estimated 40,000 or more Cook Islanders in Australia show up as Cook Islanders in the census.

Already, except for Māori, more Polynesians live abroad than in their home countries. That is likely to be so also for Micronesians before long. A growing number of Melanesians is migrating too. Both books make major positive contributions to the growing understanding of the adjustments they find best suit their needs in the new locations.

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*Materializing the Nation: Commodities, Consumption, and Media in Papua New Guinea*, by Robert J Foster. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002. ISBN 0-253-21549-8; x + 202 pages, figures, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, US\$22.95.

*Materializing the Nation* is a theory-challenging perspective on “everyday nation making” in Papua New Guinea. Foster focuses on how Papua New Guineans, from state officials to office workers, use commodities and mass media to define, promote, and often contradict particular visions of “the nation” and its “national citizens.” He argues against observations that “PNG” is little more than a rhetorical figure of speech and that its diverse peoples are more consumers than “citizens.” He reminds us that despite troubling political and law-and-order crises, procedural democracy continues to exist more than twenty-five years after independence, and that a national consciousness is clearly present, with “the nation” used as a frame of reference for staging collective and personal identities. All seven chapters in this book began as conference or seminar papers. The first five were published elsewhere. Bringing them together, Foster makes his work accessible and proves that banal, everyday nation making can constitute a base for more dramatic forms of nationalism and citizenship.

Part I of the book looks at two state-sponsored projects of nation making and how these efforts at moral education were received. Chapter 1 describes the first National Law Week in 1984. As part of a campaign to

educate people on their *individual* rights and obligations to “the nation,” National Law Week organizers took aim at an existing collective activity—betel-nut chewing. Reminding citizens that it was a criminal offense to lean out of a car to spit betel-nut juice on the road, the committee further defined the indiscriminate spitting of betel-nut chewers as “uncaring, anti-social behavior.” Popular dissent focused on whose definition of social morality was being foisted on Papua New Guinea—indigenous or European?

Shortly before independence, in April 1975, Papua New Guinea issued its new currency. The new money was filled with images of traditional wealth items and named after kina and toea shells. In chapter 2 we learn that the state’s use of monetary symbolism to make connections between Papua New Guineans was a first step in its efforts to convince them that the new currency was more convenient than locally based forms of wealth, and that men with money in the bank were morally superior to men who do not save. The preferred bank, of course, is the Papua New Guinea Banking Corporation, representing the nation and its wealth. The morally superior individual is one with a bankbook-and-identity-card, an individual belonging to a community of individuals making up the “nation.” Again, Papua New Guineans have exerted control over the process, treating denominations differently and determining, for example, that twenty-kina notes be directed to socially reproductive ends.

The chapters in part II support Foster’s faith in the instrumental

effects of advertising and mass-consumption practices in nation making in Papua New Guinea. Chapter 3 looks at how advertising forms reflect and constitute both relationships between subjects and objects and relationships between subjects and other persons and communities. While there is as yet no “Sears catalog” standardizing tastes and connecting the most remote farmers to an expansive network of consumers (as happened, according to historian Daniel Boorstin, in late-nineteenth-century America), Papua New Guinea’s advertising industry reaches large segments of the country with the same ads and same radio and TV personalities. One frame of reference for nationalizing commodities is a metaphorical equation between citizen-consumers and advertised products or services. Examples include ad campaigns for “Our National Airline” (Air Niugini) and “Our Country, Our Bank” (PNG Banking Corporation). In the Air Niugini ad, male and female employees—all apparently Papua New Guinean—are shown touching some piece of airline equipment, signifying—along with text—that they along with all other Papua New Guineans are the owners of Air Niugini. Another nationalizing frame of reference puts Papua New Guinea’s celebrated diversity to work legitimizing mass consumption for specific consumers. In a campaign to sell coffee beans grown in the highlands, one ad publicized “PNG’s Magnificent 5”: five different brands of PNG coffee for Papua New Guineans to consume—the generic practice of coffee drinking promoted alongside singularity and the consumption of particular

brands. The generic consumer is absent, however, in the exclusionary POSH ad in Air Niugini's in-flight magazine, *Paradise*, offering "personalized [travel] service for VIPs, executives, overseas visitors, and businessmen" (82).

Chapter 4 looks at the national worries over the mass media's potential for altering individual and collective conceptions of agency, bodies, and health. In 1988, the state enacted the Commercial Advertising Act, aiming to protect the nation from overwhelming western influences by regulating the production of all commercial advertising and requiring that most ads be produced locally. A study of television viewers in two villages near Port Moresby reported that most families feel there are too many commercials and that some ads—like those for Coke and Pepsi—are "too western." Viewers also criticized ads that portrayed Papua New Guineans walking or driving around town in grass skirts and carrying pigs in a "primitive" [sic] manner.

A vibrant arena in Papua New Guinea's emergent public culture is the discourse on health. Ad industries play off of this discourse promoting three different—but not exclusive—conceptions of healthy bodies: athletic and competitively fit, medically sound, and morally acceptable. A Shell ad running on EMTV in 1992 showed moving images of powerful male and female PNG athletes dressed in the national colors—red, black, and gold—alongside Shell's similarly colored logo and synchronized with pulsating guitar music. The imagery (there was no voiceover) was all that was required to send the message that

Shell gasoline is best for Papua New Guinea. A PK chewing gum ad urged consumers to choose the more hygienic and less life-threatening alternative to betel-nut chewing by juxtaposing images of a man with mouth cancer to one of two boys in clean T-shirts decorated with a picture of the chewing gum and saying, "When we want to chew, we chew PK." The relationship between Christianity and health surfaces in Seventh Day Adventist ads urging temperance over the use of such health- and strength-destroying substances as drugs, tobacco, and alcohol.

In chapter 5, Foster shows how consumption practices play an instrumental role in generating a sense of equivalence, both within a multicultural nation whose citizens often oppose "tradition" to "modernity," and on a global level, with the consumption of certain commodities signifying an equivalence among "nations." Honoring diverse traditions and yet linking consumer-citizens to a wider world, an ad from the program of the 1992 Port Moresby Show depicts five participants decorated in distinct styles and representing different physical and cultural groupings in Papua New Guinea, all under the encompassing, global commodity label—Coca-Cola.

In part III, Foster considers PNG nation making more explicitly in the context of contemporary globalization. Chapter 6 looks at how Papua New Guineans assert membership in the global community, some by embracing Millenarian Christianity imported from the United States, others by participating in and showcasing transnational media events like

the Olympic Torch Relay that led up to the 2000 Games in Sydney. Drawing upon Joel Robbins's work, Foster describes how the Urapmin—a group of only about 375 persons living in a remote part of West Sepik Province—transcend a sense of "negative nationalism" and disappointment with the state's neglect through participation in a "white religion" that makes them Christians, not Papua New Guineans, and sinners who must repent and prepare themselves for the time when Christ will save the worthy. Participation in the Olympic Torch Relay offered Papua New Guinea a chance to show the world that it is a viable nation state and that Papua New Guineans are "one people." Australia's efforts, however, to use the event to demonstrate the special relationship between Australia and Papua New Guinea threatened to produce a negative image of the latter as a nation of "fuzzy-wuzzy angels," a people typified by their loyal wartime services to Australia, rather than a more positive and equal image as a national ally of Australia. The struggle ended when Australia's proposal that the torch visit war memorials along the mountainous Kokoda Trail was cut back to a brief ceremony at the end of the trail before the torch was flown to the outskirts of Port Moresby and then run into the city's stadium. A raskol attack on a group of Australian tourists near the start of the trail led the Australian committee to reconsider its proposal. Requests for compensation payments by the governor of Oro Province and the closure of the portion of the trail that runs through Oro two days before the relay quashed the deal. In the event,

the torch relay was a proud moment for Papua New Guineans.

In chapter 7, Foster qualifies a statement made in a 1989 speech by the late Coca-Cola Company Chairman and CEO Roberto Goizueta, that "people around the world are today connected to each other by brand-name consumer products as much as by anything else" (151). Countering Goizueta's bubbly perspective with a Papua New Guinean woman's negative sentiments—"I do not like Coke because Coke makes you burp like beer the men drink" (182)—Foster notes that although both CEO and woman occupy positions in the same commodityscape, each sees their connections and the commodity in radically different ways. Foster then ponders how anthropologists are to trace and understand such multiple perspectives and how they are to accomplish this task in the field. For answers, he looks to Ulf Hannerz's suggestions (in a 1989 article in *Ethnos* 54 [3–4])—that we use the metaphor of networks to understand the diverse and asymmetrical flow of ideas and meaning within the global ecumene (that is, the world as an interconnected place) and that we trace culture making its way through links of different kinds from centers to peripheries and sometimes back again (Hannerz 1989, 213). Foster then demonstrates how people produce what Hannerz called "approximate mappings of other people's meanings" by discussing the planning and imaginings of companies like Coca-Cola. In Coke CEO Goizueta's vision of a limitless global market, Papua New Guinea is an emerging market eager to catch up with "mature" soft-drink

markets like the United States. While Papua New Guineans are consuming more soft drinks in such urban contexts as scheduled “lunch” breaks or during pleasure outings with friends, Coke is not yet a household staple or a desired part of individual consumption. Demonstrating that drinking soft drinks is a social and not an individual practice, a university student—when asked when he last drank a soft drink—replied, “The last time I had a soft drink was on 27-07-97 [3 days earlier]. I had a Coke. It was for lunch. At about 1 p.m. . . . I was with two other boys who bought me the Coke. . . . Actually the guys bought the Cokes. I had half of each bottle” (160–161).

Written over a ten-year period from 1991 to 2000, each chapter has its own theoretical concerns. Chapter 1, for example, clarifies Benedict Anderson’s point (in *Imagined Communities*, 1991) that “the nation” is a model capable of being copied anywhere in the world by demonstrating the hybrid nature of PNG nation making, with the state not quite rejecting the national custom of betel-nut chewing but rather favoring “delicacy” in choosing where to spit the juice. In chapter 2, Foster then shifts to a complex theoretical discussion of “fetish discourse,” colonial education, and state efforts to merge traditional fetishisms with the “modern economy” in the form of its “new money.” Foster largely succeeds in preparing the reader for such theoretical disjunctions in his introduction. College teachers, however, may wish for a concluding section where each chapter is more clearly related to a general theoretical discussion. This minor

quibble aside, the book is a must for both those PNG scholars who whisk through Port Moresby and other PNG cities on their way to “the field” as well as other scholars and students interested in nation making.

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*Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, by Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo’ole Osorio. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002. ISBN 0-8248-2549-7; x + 310 pages, tables, figures, notes, photographs, glossary, bibliography, index. Paper, US\$21.95.

Jon Osorio’s *Dismembering Lāhui* marks the coming of age of the Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. It signifies continuity and progress in Hawaiian scholarship and bodes well for the future of Pacific scholarship: continuity in that Osorio builds on the passionate, consciousness-raising studies published in the early 1990s by his mentors, Haunani-Kay Trask and Lilikalā Kame‘elehiwa, who sought to galvanize and rally Hawaiian sentiment, and to articulate their contemporary feelings of disempowerment, loss, and anger; progress in that, while addressing his own people, Osorio’s passion is also channeled into quite profound scholarship that examines neglected sources and adds a new dimension to our understanding of the Hawaiian past that has wider methodological and theoretical implications. In this respect, Osorio’s work resembles that of his colleague Kanalu Terry