

Kingdom merely as a prelude to US colonialism, rendering the overthrow of 1893 simply as the culmination of a process long in the making. Beamer presents overwhelming evidence that such analyses are inaccurate. He also uses a new comparative framework for the Hawaiian Kingdom, refusing inappropriate comparisons of the Hawaiian Kingdom to colonies of European powers but rather stressing its similarity to other non-Western independent countries of the period, such as Thailand and Japan. As such, the period under American occupation past 1898 should best be described as “faux-colonial”—a status similar to colonialism in its socioeconomic consequences but in fact an illegal occupation of an independent nation-state.

Some readers might find the use of the word “indigenous” for aboriginal Hawaiian people and institutions confusing, since other proponents of the “Hawaiian agency” school consider the term “indigenous” inappropriate for the majority citizenry of an independent nation-state. However, one might see Beamer’s careful employment of the term as an attempt to bridge competing and often mutually hostile “indigenous” and “state-centered” schools of contemporary Hawaiian studies—a worthwhile goal in the face of ongoing US occupation. As hinted in the book’s subtitle, Beamer, a Hawaiian studies professor and community activist, does not merely engage in an academic exercise in historiography but also participates in a movement to turn the tide and lead to the eventual end of the US occupation of the archipelago.

In summary, *No Mākou Ka Mana* provides a refreshing view of

Hawai‘i’s past. Beamer’s work highlights the comparative importance of the Hawaiian Kingdom for nineteenth-century Pacific history. Indeed, the Hawaiian Kingdom is a crucial subject of research without which the “Islander-oriented” story would not be complete. Moreover, as shown by recent events such as the controversy over the letter written by the chief executive officer of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to the US secretary of state in May 2014, Beamer’s analysis has equally far-reaching implications for contemporary Hawai‘i.

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Islands at Risk? Environments, Economies and Contemporary Change, by John Connell. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013. ISBN 9781-78100-350-3; ix + 351 pages. Cloth, £93.00.

Islands at Risk? Environments, Economies and Contemporary Change is a concise examination of the many contentious issues facing small island states (SIS) across the globe. Although these geographically and historically diverse states may be difficult to categorize uniformly beyond basic geographical descriptors, John Connell’s work tackles the paradoxes of classification head-on by mapping out common SIS trends (and exceptions) in migration, economic prospects, and environmental vulnerability. Noting that one is hard pressed to come by a comprehensive and fine-grained comparative analysis of many SIS contem-

porary situations, Connell describes a political ecology entangled in development, agriculture, industrialization, urbanization, migration, and climate change.

Connell's introduction subtly argues that small island states, and notably those experiencing "development" (called small island developing states, or SIDS), truly appear to be at risk. These states are particularly disadvantaged in liberalized global markets, leading to unemployment and the emigration of skilled workers. In chapter 2, Connell discusses how uncertain economics often undermine political stability. The liberalization of local and regional economies, inefficient aid, and nepotism have left many small island states with maladministered land and ocean resources, foreign monies, under-equipped bureaucracies, and economies dependent on fluctuating global markets. Though agriculture, fishing, and other resource-extraction regimes have long sustained small island states, these sectors are quickly becoming inadequate to support local communities' contemporary needs and desires for full incorporation in cosmopolitan lifestyles. Climate change, mismanagement of land and ocean resources, and preferences for imported foods and more socially profitable professions have made subsistence farming unattractive or in some cases impossible. Even commercial farming of cash crops is vulnerable to outcompetition by larger and better-positioned states in the global market. However, some small island states are returning to subsistence farming despite these trends, as Connell explores in chapter 3.

More typically, movement from subsistence agriculture to manufacturing or service-industry jobs such as tourism is a characteristic of modernizing economies. Tracking this in chapter 4, Connell examines tourism and remittances as significant sources of income for many small island states. SIDS "modernization" is further challenged by "brain drain" migration, high energy costs, few natural resources, and small economies. Migration to national centers and the more global cities of host states abroad has led to an intense period of urbanization for SIDS communities. Though elites are well insulated against many of the threats to quality of life and economic depression, both intra- and inter-regional mobility, too frequently and with a dark irony, can lead to a lower quality of life. For instance, jobs can be difficult to find, resulting in the erection of temporary housing areas.

The social costs of the ongoing transformations are readily visible within the larger dynamics of urbanization, which is the focus of chapter 5. Notably, what are called "structural adjustments" in the language of development are leaving many people, especially youth, under-engaged and disenfranchised. Urbanization, weak bureaucracies, and poor economic prospects are exacerbated by the mass migration of SIDS populations from rural to urban spaces, while, as Connell reports in chapter 6, there is also a broader trend indicating large-scale international immigration. In the Pacific, cities such as Auckland or Honolulu are becoming "centers of social change and headquarters of transnational companies" (149), and,

for many, SIDS migration has meant a steady influx of remittances that secure greater social capital for the family. Connell notes signs of migration back to small island states as well, motivated by the desire to return home, whether because of prejudice abroad, cultural revitalization, or lack of jobs. Although migration home has been looked down on in the past, attitudes toward return migration are slowly reversing. Chapter 7 examines the implications of environmental changes for small island states. Rapid climate change, especially rising temperatures and sea levels, increases the frequency and intensity of cyclones, storms, and flooding. This has led many Islanders to retreat further inland (if possible) to avoid inundation. In a few cases, complete populations have had to relocate to other islands or states. Worrisome for many, but especially for tourist industries, is the widespread coral bleaching and loss of diversity due to rising temperatures and ocean acidification.

In the final chapter, "Islands at Risk?" Connell presents hybridity and diversity as important variables to measure the resilience of small island states. Diversity and hybridity, he explains, involve encouraging multiple occupations, growing both cash and subsistence crops, endorsing traditional or hybridized legal systems, and other strategies. He notes that "while cultures shift, citizenship changes and new loyalties emerge, economic and social ties to home have remained remarkably resilient" (257). Despite heterogeneous and unpredictable challenges, Connell shows that communities respond with innovation and creativity and that these aspects

deserve more than a passing glance in SIS research.

Islands at Risk? especially addresses several of the conceptually confounding if not contradictory positions with which contemporary scholars grapple. For one, Connell strikes a delicate balance between presenting an overview of large-scale trends and respecting issues of exceptionalism and comparative advantage. He finesses this tension by meticulously presenting examples and counterexamples across different island regions. Connell does not shy away from the positive outcomes of remittances, including their use in supporting public works, erecting houses, and even providing seed money for small businesses (160). Nor does he ignore the unstable nature and future for MIRAB (Migration, Remittance, And Bureaucracy)-based economies, including the forecasted decrease in willingness to remit, vulnerability to international financial crises, and "leakages" of money through modes of transfer (163-164). His approach shows that the complexities within islands, between island groups, and between islands and more powerful states can and must be teased out despite the challenges posed by data sets and analyses.

Islands at Risk? also addresses tensions between pragmatism and optimism in Island scholarly literatures across disciplines. Over two decades ago, Epeli Hau'ofa's article "Our Sea of Islands" set forth a new attitude and approach to Island studies defined by a shift away from grim prospects, smallness, and remoteness and toward unity, hope, and cultural richness. Connell's book pragmatically and compassionately engages with

this challenge with mixed and controversial results. The chapters strikingly intersect with Hau'ofa's enumeration of one-dimensional, foreclosed misrepresentations of contemporary Island life and social, economic, and political systems. However, despite Connell's efforts to be culturally and historically sensitive, provide counterexamples, examine hybridity and diversity, and even echo Hau'ofa's ethos in his conclusion, his analyses often call to mind the statistics Hau'ofa and his students found so disheartening.

Taken as a whole, Connell's work does not present a static and foregone conclusion. Instead, a reader might consider it a timely call to reevaluate the tension between the risks evident in Connell's analyses and Hau'ofa's challenge toward holism and hope. How well do academic models reflect reality? What effects flow from scholarly work? Connell's evidence suggests a lot of risks and high stakes for

small island developing states, but his emphasis on resilience and flexibility is determinedly hopeful. As an authoritative source, Connell is acutely sensitive to these questions, and his work substantiates Island scholars' delicate, politically charged positions and their responsibilities to conduct self-aware research that does some good.

Readers will easily locate pertinent information, identify proxies, and contextualize their own interests within the frameworks explored here. Ultimately, researchers will appreciate Connell's forthright approach to uncertainty and his hopeful endnote encouraging communities to maintain the flexibility and ingenuity that characterize their resilience.

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