

benefited from tighter editing in parts and much greater economy in the use of footnotes that are not references. A glossary would also have greatly aided the reader, especially for the several Spanish terms used in Wells and Joseph's otherwise excellent chapter.

Overall, the volume works well and makes an important contribution to labor history by moving into more cultural and contradictory areas, although much more is still needed here. One of the biggest deficiencies is that almost all the contributors are blind to gender issues; except for the chapters by Bennett and Lal, there is virtually no reference to possible associations between gender and labor control and resistance. Munro rather cursorily dismisses the little work that has been done on this topic by Shaista Shameem, but does not pursue some of the important questions she raises. The majority of plantation workers may have been men, but there were still areas where women were recruited or where familial relations were part of plantation life.

Aside from this main criticism, this collection is a valuable contribution to regional and comparative labor history, presenting insightful detail and raising controversial theoretical debates. It highlights the need for a richer reading of the complexity of comparative labor history and, in the Pacific, to move outside the plantations and explore many other aspects of workers' lives and identities.

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Tabitian Transformation: Gender and Capitalist Development in a Rural Society, by Victoria S Lockwood. Women and Change in the Developing World Series. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993. ISBN 1-55587-317-0, xii + 179 pages, figures, maps, tables, photographs, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. Cloth, US\$35.00; paper, US\$15.95.

In a style that is clear, well-organized, and refreshingly accessible, this book tackles the ways in which macro and micro systems articulate. As her starting point, Lockwood explores, and eventually challenges, Wallerstein's (1974) world system model, which suggests that colonization of the non-western world resulted in a redistribution of labor based on Europe's extraction of wealth from its colonies, leading to one integrated "capitalist world system." Because a world system macro-model neglects nuances about responses to capitalism at the micro-level, Lockwood chooses to explore variability in these small-scale, local-level processes. To argue her case, she unravels and clarifies the creative strategies local people have adopted to deal with capitalist domination in French Polynesia, where she conducted several periods of field research on the island of Tubuai between 1980 and 1991.

The first half of the book discusses, with historical thoroughness and clarity, the complex structures that link present circumstances to their historical and political roots. The transformations that took place in French Polynesia during the colonial era Lockwood describes, in Bertram and

Watters' (1985) term, as "welfare state colonialism," referring to the way France has cemented its ties to its foreign possessions by integrating them administratively into the French state. As part of the French citizenry, Tahitians uniformly receive free education and health care, welfare subsidies, high government salaries, and heavily subsidized development programs from France. This form of financial benevolence generates a neocolonial dependency relationship and artificial prosperity. The one Tahitian stronghold that resisted—and continues to resist—influenced by outsiders is the kin-based system of joint ownership of land. Try as they might, the French fail to replace communal systems of land tenure with a system where land is an individually owned commodity.

In the second half of the book, Lockwood shifts away from a historical perspective on structural transformations to focus on a contemporary rural community. She describes the potato cultivation project, a government-sponsored program that was started on Tubuai in the late 1970s. She argues convincingly that the integration into a capital-based market, instead of bringing local-level capitalism, reinforced a peasant mode of production in which both capitalist and noncapitalist relations of production are articulated. As a viable and resilient noncapitalist form, the peasant mode of production can thrive within encompassing capitalist economies. As Lockwood says, "On Tubuai, household production of potatoes can compete with other producers . . . precisely because it does not have to compete" (135). Tahitians continually

maximize their economic options, which include wage-labor, government subsidies, and the small-scale production of export commodities. Land ownership emerges as the key to the stability of the peasant economy. Although the household is integrated into a market system, peasant households own their land and provide their own labor. Lockwood doubts that a true capitalist system will ever take hold unless land tenure changes.

Much of Lockwood's discussion about Tahitians' adherence to a "mixed" mode of production is a reminder of the persistence of shifting cultivation practices in Oceania. Outsiders, failing to understand the adaptive value of shifting cultivation, have doggedly—and unsuccessfully—tried to introduce single-crop cultivation. The flexibility and dependability of shifting cultivation is much like that of a mixed-base economy where households can opportunistically activate several modes of production.

Gender relations and theories about the social, economic, and political subordination of women that often accompany westernization provide a secondary thread in Lockwood's discussion of capitalist transformation. A decade after the inception of the potato project, for example, almost half of all potato farmers were women. However, the exploration of gender issues is the stickier part of the book in part because of our own cultural obsession with figuring out whether women are—or are not—subordinate to men and in part because of the jumpiness of a relativist perspective in that quest.

One of the greatest pleasures in

reading the book is that, in spite of her statement that her study is a "critique of capitalism's impact on non-Western societies" (11), nowhere does Lockwood argue aggressively or polemically. She writes with remarkable balance and with an abundance of historical and ethnographic detail. She discusses potentially political facts, such as France's decision to build its nuclear-testing installation in French Polynesia (a fact that underlies the entire welfare-state colonialism), without seeming judgmental.

If there is anything more that Lockwood might have done in her book it is to return in the conclusion to the world system model. What does our understanding of regional details on Tubuai tell us about Wallerstein's model? It is still unclear at the end whether the conclusions Lockwood reaches about Tubuai are unique to Tubuai or common to other communities. In referring to the Tubuai case, Lockwood oscillates between saying that Tubuai stands for "a community" and for "rural communities." So much of what she has written about Tubuai is reminiscent not only of the rest of French Polynesia and Oceania, but of other peasant economies as well. An even more powerful conclusion might have acknowledged and explored the myriad other challenges to Wallerstein's model that are rooted in detailed arguments from local cultures. It is surprising that these are absent from the book.

On a more mundane level, Lockwood might have enlivened the book by including Tahitian voices more than she does. Individuals enter the picture only in two brief, but welcome, sec-

tions on households (88-90, 115-121), where three families are presented through vignettes about their economic options and choices. Also, more detail on beliefs about land and people's spiritual ties to land would round out the discussions on land tenure.

These criticisms aside, this book will make a marvelous text for anyone teaching, especially at the undergraduate level, about Oceania, economic anthropology, "development," or the complex linkages between political history and economic structures. Methodologically rigorous, focused on historical particulars, yet responsive to theoretical concerns, this book provides a model of what ethnography can be.

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Kava: The Pacific Drug, by Vincent Lebot, Mark Merlin, and Lamont Lindstrom. *Psychoactive Plants of the World Series*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. ISBN 0-300-05213-8, vii + 255 pages, photographs, tables, figures, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. US\$45.

"Kava (*Piper methysticum* Forst.f) . . . is an outstanding ethnopharmacological species" (1) begins the most comprehensive treatise to date on the biogeographical, cultural, and socioeconomic aspects of this important plant. With local variations, the beverage kava is prepared by chewing, grinding, grating, or pounding the roots and infusing with cold water. Once widespread throughout