

unfortunate, then, that in chapter 5 there is also a long and unsuccessful digression into trying to incorporate biomedicine's worldviews and activities into some sort of direct comparison with Yupno thoughts and actions. An extensive table "matches" Yupno terms for various symptoms with their alleged biomedical equivalents. The language of biomedicine invoked here is not only overly precise, even jargonesque, but it is also inconsistently applied. For example, headache is described as "cephalgia," yet fever is not equivalently labeled as "pyrexia," and one simply has to wonder how many Westerners, whether health professionals or not, actually refer to burns as "combustio" (or is this an unnoticed typo?). Moreover, a single term is often used for symptoms that in fact would require a process of examination and differentiation among several possible diagnoses in order to establish the correct one (for example, the Yupno term "bad eyesight" might indeed be the Western "loss of vision, pterygium, or cataracts," but it could also conceivably be diplopia, optic neuritis, or a series of other visual abnormalities). The utility of this kind of comparison between two entirely separate epistemological systems is dubious at best, and odious at worst, for it is not clear just exactly what such a comparison is intended to convey.

The epidemiology of disorders brought to Teptep Health Centre is interesting, as are the historical excerpts from patrol officers' reports, but they simply do not belong in direct comparison with Yupno concepts and medical understandings. Indeed, the information about Teptep Health

Centre, its staff, their training and attitudes to the Yupno, the difficulties encountered by the Yupno in accessing services, and so forth, is a very revealing account. But it should have been relegated to its own short chapter and not placed in unfortunate juxtaposition with an otherwise important and thought-provoking exposition of the structure of Yupno medicine. Or, far more provocatively, it would have worked well had the health center staff's attitudes and Yupno difficulties with their services been extensively discussed as another form of "oppressing illness" imposed on the Yupno. It would be a mistake, however, to let this relatively small section in chapter 5—some 20 pages out of over 300—dominate one's perspective and overly detract from what is otherwise a stellar accomplishment and very important addition to the literature, not just on Papua New Guinea but in medical ethnography in general.

JUDITH C BARKER
*University of California,
 San Francisco*

* * *

Les Javanais du Caillou, Des affres de l'exil aux aléas de l'intégration: Sociologie historique de la communauté indonésienne de Nouvelle Calédonie / The Javanese of the Rock: From the Hazards of Exile to the Hazards of Integration, by Jean Luc Maurer, in collaboration with Marcel Magi and with a contribution by Marie-Jo Siban. Paris: Association Archipel, EHESS, 2006. ISBN 2-910513-47-5; 367 pages, figures, maps, tables, photographs, written in French, references, index. €30.00.

Jean Luc Maurer has been a specialist in development studies and Indonesia since the 1970s, and has also had long experience in New Caledonia. Thus, his study is well documented from both viewpoints: those of the sending and receiving communities of Indonesian workers in New Caledonia. His methodology includes classical historical research on documents; interviews with migrants and their descendants settled in New Caledonia as well as with return migrants in Indonesia (with extensive summaries in text boxes); a survey of two hundred Caledonian Javanese; and, finally, analysis of culture change and sociopolitical integration based on events and media documents since 1950.

After the failure of various efforts to increase the New Caledonia workforce, including the free colonization strategy from 1853, the convict colonization in 1864–1897, the short-lived Malabar migration in the 1880s, and the attempt to involve Kanaks in paid work through head taxation from 1898, New Caledonia called in Japanese and Vietnamese contract workers beginning in 1891. Then, after the mid-1890s, Governor Feillet turned to Indonesia. The Dutch colonial policy had ruined the Javanese economy by the late nineteenth century and poverty had become widespread, with thousands of landless people having no other resource to sell than their labor. The “Kolonisatie” (transmigration) and its ethnic, irrigation, and education components had all failed, and transmigration itself remained the last resort to alleviate population pressure in Java. This process of Indonesian transmigration was consistently organized by the Dutch colonial gov-

ernment with the aim of increasing the population of other low-density Indonesian islands and Surinam, and was associated with the government refusal from 1887 to let Indonesians emigrate to work for foreign companies or colonies. However, the English—for their plantations and mines in Malaysia and Borneo, and later the island of New Caledonia—could hire Indonesian workers under legal work contracts. Actually, New Caledonia had already implemented such contracts for Asian workers (noted above), but the agreement with the Dutch colony had to be revised in 1901. This book provides detailed information on the administrative side of the recruitment of Indonesians, regarding both the recruiting agencies’ practices in Indonesia and the employment contracts in New Caledonia.

However, this legal framework, coordinated at departure and destination, did not prevent the conditions of recruitment in villages and conditions of work in New Caledonia from being very close to abduction and slavery. Originally, Indonesians were to work in New Caledonia only in agriculture and domestic services for women. They were soon also employed in mines for “surface work” (not underground work, but transporting ore after extraction). Then, after 1909, they were allowed to work freely (that is, without a contract) if they had completed an 8-year contract. Contracts, originally for 5 years, became 3 + 2 years from 1928 (which opened the possibility of workers leaving after 3 years). And, beginning in 1927, part of a worker’s salary was to be “saved” and supposedly paid to them at the end of their contract. The main hard-

ships for these Indonesian workers in New Caledonia were the restrictions on their movements and also the work required of children along with their parents (children were not allowed to attend local schools until the late 1930s). Flows of Indonesian migrants were very irregular, following the ups and downs of the economic situation in New Caledonia, as shown by data of arrivals and departures of all ships with Javanese on board.

The freedom of the Indonesian migrants' movement and residence in New Caledonia, granted to them in 1945, was not enough to make them forget unpaid savings at the end of their contracts and the harsh work conditions they had experienced; most Javanese left after their homeland gained independence. Many of them had been awaiting their end-of-contract repatriation during World War II and the subsequent independence "war," and they had no interest in staying further in New Caledonia under the recession that followed the boom of the US presence there in 1942–1945. However, despite the Indonesian government's sending ships and encouraging them to return, the situation back home was still very bad, with no structures set up to help them, the villages destroyed by the Japanese army and desolated, and relatives impossible to locate. Some Indonesians actually re-emigrated to New Caledonia, but these numbers were small, because most of the returnees were elderly or could not afford yet another trip. Testimonies of thirteen returnees and the members of one association of return migrants from New Caledonia (Ikatan Keluarga-besar Kaledoni Baru [IKKB], that is,

the "Association of the Great Family of New Caledonia") show that many who returned to Indonesia regretted their choice during the economic decline of the Sukarno era. However, widows of contract workers (former mail-order brides) enjoy living back home on their husbands' pensions.

Altogether, nearly 20,000 Javanese had migrated to New Caledonia; but in 1955 fewer than 2,000 remained there. Some "wong baru" (new migrants) migrated after 1955, including mail-order brides, but their numbers are difficult to estimate. The size of the Javanese community in New Caledonia is difficult to assess since that time, due to their adoption of French citizenship and *métissage* (mixed marriage, producing children of mixed heritage).

Twenty-six interviews of Indonesian migrants and heads of one migrants association living in New Caledonia today show a wide variety of situations. (The association is the Association Indonésienne de Nouvelle Calédonie [AINC] established in 1984. There is no name in Indonesian for this association.) The sociopolitical analysis of the situation in New Caledonia after the 1950s parallels the Javanese community in its rise from an unqualified contract workers' community, to lower-middle class, and later to middle class.

Despite imbalanced sex ratios of the contract period (three males to one female), there was limited *métissage*; but with no imam (Moslem cleric) to celebrate religious marriages before 1937, many women had several successive partners. The Javanese community was thus somewhat closed in on itself. Unlike the Vietnamese, they

did not turn to retail trade but instead worked as salary earners in transport (as drivers and repairers), following their experience with the US Army, where they had gained a good reputation for reliability in these fields. With freedom of residence, many moved to Nouméa and métissage increased rapidly. But it was the events of the 1980s that really brought the Javanese community onto the local New Caledonian scene. They were courted by the Europeans to support the loyalist side, and, forgetting the harsh conditions of the contract period and seeing that they had no place in the Kanak independence project, they backed the Europeans. But they were disappointed to be forgotten when the crisis was over.

The Javanese in New Caledonia still consider their culture as important and wish to preserve their identity, but a growing number of youth just want to live like local Europeans. Islam is still practiced by a majority, but only a small number consider religion the main part of their cultural identity. Many visit their families in Indonesia and send remittances. An Indonesian consulate in Nouméa, an impressive celebration of the centennial in 1996, and several associations whose leaders have served elected functions in the government of New Caledonia help the Javanese to “integrate by adjunction” (meaning not real integration, but simply a juxtaposition of cultures) into a New Caledonian culture that does not yet exist (267). Their choice to keep their tradition appears to be an example of “traditionalism for tomorrow” (287)—a way for the community to survive as such, to avoid being just any immigrant community.

The author goes too far, however, when he considers the Javanese—over 80 percent of whom live in greater Nouméa—to have integrated into the New Caledonian melting pot, or more precisely, the Noumean melting pot. But other than this assertion, the study is precise and well documented, with abundant demographic and economic data in the text and numerous facsimiles of historical documents included. It also offers a very relevant analysis of the colonization processes and the integration of a former contract worker community into the still unstable New Caledonian society.

JEAN-LOUIS RALLU
*Institut National d'Études
 Démographiques, Paris*

* * *

Shifting Images of Identity in the Pacific, edited by Toon van Meijl and Jelle Miedema. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004. ISBN 90-6718-244-3; viii + 269 pages, tables, figures, maps, photographs, notes, bibliographies, index. €30.00.

This collection of timely, sometimes splendid essays was culled from a variety of workshops at the 1999 conference of the European Society for Oceanists (ESfO) in Leiden, the Netherlands. The papers focus on the shifting dynamics of Pacific identity within some sort of political context. Each essay presents a case study of change and often continuity in how a Pacific Island community defines itself on the stage of globalization.

Several aspects of the volume are commendable. First, the papers incorporate varying degrees of con-