

Book and Media Reviews

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and technology seemingly overcame nature and an opponent less endowed with resources.

Throughout the book, Bennett focuses on the logistical and health challenges that remote, scattered, undeveloped, tropical islands posed for combatants and those provisioning them. She shows how this demanding environment spurred the invention or refinement of mitigating technology such as portable refrigeration units, as well as technologically advanced weaponry in an environment where control of the air and sea-lanes determined the fate of troops on land. Transport also enhanced the movement of exotic species into the Pacific, most noticeably the brown tree snake that was introduced to Guam via US transport planes. In the absence of competitors and predators, and with an abundance of prey, the brown tree snake multiplied to unprecedented levels. The refuse of war remains today as silent witness to a violent past and also as environmental hazards in the form of unexploded munitions and fuel. Vintage firearms from the Pacific War have been recycled and reused in recent conflicts on Bougainville. Bennett also interweaves the interaction of preconceptions and perceptions of the environment and the creation of memories of place after events into the interactions of people, technology, and environment.

Bennett has produced an innovative, multidimensional, and highly informative study that should serve as a model for this relatively new combination of environmental perspectives on war zones for years to come. It is also a model for future Pacific studies

in the way it effectively blends environmental and cultural orientations.

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Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment: Sequencing Peace in Bougainville, by John Braithwaite, Hilary Charlesworth, Peter Reddy, and Leah Dunn. Canberra, ACT: The ANU E Press, 2010. ISBN paper 978-1-921666-68-1; ISBN PDF 978-1-921666-69-8; xiii + 161 pages, map, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, A\$19.95; free download from http://epress.anu.edu.au/titles/peacebuilding-compared/bougainville_citation

The second monograph of the Peacebuilding Compared Project of the Australian National University, *Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment* examines the Bougainville Peace Process. The Bougainville peace is tentatively characterized as a restorative peace based on a “virtuous circle” (137) between a top-down political settlement and bottom-up restorative justice. Represented as a model peace in the eyes of many international observers, John Braithwaite, Hilary Charlesworth, Peter Reddy, and Leah Dunn argue that it nevertheless requires international attention. Indeed, according to the authors, preventive diplomacy in preparation is now urgently required.

Taking a strong collective stance, the authors begin with a clear statement of what they consider to be the fundamental strength of the Bou-

gainville peace process: the symbiotic relation between “bottom-up traditional and Christian reconciliation practices and a carefully crafted top-down political settlement” (1). They signal the relevance beyond Bougainville of this case of peacemaking, which demonstrates “the potential of indigenous restorative justice in peacebuilding” (2) combined with a slow, sequenced approach to political negotiations. At the same time, they draw attention throughout the volume to the fact that violence may return to Bougainville if the Papua New Guinea (PNG) Parliament does not honor the outcome of a referendum on Bougainville’s political future. The necessary referendum was deferred when the peace agreement was signed in 2001.

The opening chapter places the volume in the context of the Peacebuilding Compared Project, an ambitious, long-term comparative project whose aim is to identify the variables that contribute most to enduring peace. The type of comparison between conflicts and peace processes is methodologically innovative, with the authors drawing on both in-depth qualitative studies and methods from large-scale quantitative comparisons. Specifically, they construct a narrative of a particular conflict from available studies and firsthand interviews with key players. The narrative is put to a panel of expert advisers for comments and is then published, in the hope that it will trigger debate among a broad audience. Variables are derived from this narrative and are coded for comparison with other cases. The aim is to code 670 variables in relation to the major armed conflicts that have occurred worldwide since 1990. The

volume on Bougainville is an early-stage, primarily narrative, analytic presentation of the project’s findings on this particular conflict.

The next three chapters introduce the historical background of the conflict, the descent into civil war, and early peace initiatives, unsuccessful at the time. Due attention is given to the increasing complexity of the conflict on the ground and to the entanglement of other issues such as sorcery accusations or older conflicts over land or power in local conflict histories that often predate the conflict and are considered primary by local people. At the same time, the authors avoid a simplified account of the role of the state by adopting Colin Filer’s notion of particular “bits of state” (*The Bougainville Crisis: 1991 Update*, 1992), such as politicians or military personnel, acting in particular and often mutually contradictory ways at different moments in the conflict.

A focal chapter is concerned with the top-down architecture of peace in Bougainville as it developed in three phases from 1997 to the present. The authors highlight, first of all, the positive evaluation by Bougainvilleans of the role played by the unarmed Truce Monitoring Group (TMG) and Peace Monitoring Group (PMG) and present details on their strategies. Next, the authors discuss the formal peace negotiations and their outcome. Central to the peace agreement of 2001, they argue, was the specification of a careful sequencing of steps toward peace, with each side committing to taking a particular action after the other side had completed the stage preceding it. The authors laud this “contextually attuned architecture of linkages” (60),

even though they warn that it may falter at a critical point, when the PNG Parliament will be asked to approve of the outcome of the deferred Bougainvillean referendum on the question of independence. Another source of concern they note is the only partial success of weapons disposal.

Chapter 6 complements the account of the top-down peace architecture with a discussion of bottom-up reconciliation, which drew on both traditional and Christian sources. Through the use of particular examples, the authors caution against assuming the top-down process as the master narrative of peace in Bougainville and argue that the bottom-up process infused the latter, rather than merely following it. They link this argument to Paul Lederach's notion of webs of relationships (*The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*, 2005) and activities that eventually take a peace process over a tipping point toward peace. Finally, some limitations of this process, mostly concerning the reintegration of ex-combatants and the rehabilitation of refugees, are discussed.

In the final four chapters, the authors discuss various estimates of the costs of the conflict, including economic costs and costs to women in particular. They also highlight the political motivations behind some of the estimates of numbers of conflict deaths that have been circulating. In Chapter 8, the authors suggest that both the bottom-up and the top-down aspect of the Bougainville peace process can be understood as identity work. Specifically, the identities invoked locally were gendered and family identities, big-man and chiefly

identities, Bougainvillean and Papua New Guinean identities, which are briefly discussed in turn. The authors note the complexity of the processes by which these identities have been mobilized and their variety across locations, which the TGM and PMG wisely recognized and took into consideration in their strategies. Finally, the authors suggest that a national truth and reconciliation commission might help extend the benefits of restorative justice to those who have not taken part in reconciliation within Bougainville, including PNG riot police, national leaders, the leaders of Bougainville Copper Limited, and the Australian government that initially supported the war.

The volume is a helpful resource for researchers interested in peace-building and in the Bougainville case in particular. At times, readers may wish that the authors had given more space to a particular issue. Perhaps most importantly, interesting and key methodological issues are discussed in a rather condensed form and have partly been banished to footnotes. An important section in Chapter 9 on the limitations of purely quantitative analyses of peace processes makes up for some of the loss, but details of data collection could have been given greater prominence. Also, the authors might have made more of what must have been fascinating data on the peace process as a process of identity work. For instance, anthropologists might want to know more about the relation between the local specificity of these processes that the authors highlight, on the one hand, and the development of a strong and apparently widely shared, though not

uncontested, “script ‘mother’” (93), on the other.

The volume is likely to achieve its aim of triggering questions from readers and encouraging debate. The reference to the project’s website is helpful for this purpose. The volume is, moreover, a timely reminder that the peace process in Bougainville is ongoing, requiring further attention and diplomacy.

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Out of Place: Madness in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, by Michael Goddard. Social Identities 6. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011. ISBN cloth, 978-0-85745-094-4; xiv + 173 pages, preface, acknowledgments, map, appendixes, references, index. Cloth, US\$70.00.

This unique exploration of madness in Papua New Guinea stands out for several reasons. While its central insight is not surprising—that in the mid-1980s the Kakoli people of the Upper Kaugel Valley lacked a concept of “mental illness” and, on the rare occasions when they used psychiatric services, saw them chiefly as a means of restraining destructive or violent madpeople—the data collected by Michael Goddard is both fascinating and sensitively presented. Though framed by the author as an anthropological critique of the premises and practice of transcultural psychiatry, I would suggest that this book’s strongest feature is its careful rendering of the unknowns of ethnographic fieldwork—those situations

and circumstances in which the gap between ways of being in the world is so profound as to thwart efforts at interpretation. Having had a quarter century to reevaluate these materials (the book is based on his PhD thesis), the author remains uncertain of what, if anything, precipitated the madness of his informants. This radical uncertainty is an epistemologically positive posture in an increasingly “applied” scholarly context in which cultural explanations for disorder are both ready-to-hand and too often essentially vacant.

In his introduction, Goddard notes that the people among whom he lived in 1985–1986 found his research topic puzzling. For the Kakoli, there was nothing to learn about the mad. Not only were their problems nonmental in nature, they appeared to lack any knowable cause that could be generalized across cases. The madpeople known to the Kakoli were so different from one another that they did not comprise a social or natural “type.” Though all were described as kekelepa—an Umbu Ungu term Goddard translates roughly as “leaving a group or place” (70)—so were the intoxicated, the estranged, and the disobedient. To refurbish a phrase from Michel Foucault on homosexuality, kekelepa people were not a species. To the extent that they permit explanation, kekelepa episodes are for Goddard “part of the dialectics of Kakoli sociality” (6), collectively constructed “exercise[s] in moral iconography” (3) rather than forms of individual pathology or cultural disorder.

Chapter 1 outlines the history of psychiatry in Papua New Guinea, from early twentieth century concerns