

Oceania remains an important publication. It should become a necessary acquisition for all serious scholars of Pacific literature and for libraries in all academic institutions professing a scholarly interest in the literary arts of the Pacific region.

ARLENE GRIFFEN

University of the South Pacific

* * *

Pacific 2010: Urbanisation in Polynesia, by John Connell and John P. Lea. Pacific Policy Paper 14. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, 1995. ISSN 0817-0444, viii + 161 pages, maps, tables, glossary, references. Paper, A\$25.

Urbanisation is another in the series Pacific 2010 produced by the National Centre for Development Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra. The Pacific 2010 project is concerned with development issues facing the Pacific Island countries, particularly the matter of population growth and its likely impact on development over the next two decades.

The authors of *Urbanisation in Polynesia* are among the best known of the small band of authors on Pacific urbanization and development. John Connell, associate professor of geography at Sydney University, has been writing on the Pacific since the mid-1970s when he worked with the Siwai people on Bougainville. In the 1980s he directed the South Pacific Commission-International Labor Organization project on Migration, Employment and Development in the South Pacific, which resulted in more than twenty

country reports still widely referred to. In recent years he has published on Bougainville and New Caledonia, to mention just a few of his major works, and most recently coauthored with John Lea *Planning the Future: Melanesian Cities in 2010* (1993) in the same Pacific 2010 series. John Lea, director of the Ian Buchan Fell Research Centre and associate professor of urban and regional planning at Sydney University, is also widely published, writing on third world urbanization, housing, tourism and development, and the impacts of mining on Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory of Australia.

Urbanisation in Polynesia stresses the issue of urban management as the fundamental cause for the problems facing the centers in Polynesia today. Interestingly, the experience of the small towns of Polynesia is not far removed from that of other developing countries with much greater urban centers. The United Nations, for example, has listed the key strategies for dealing with urban development as including the improvement of urban management (*UNDP Cities, People, and Poverty*, 1991). Graphic illustrations of the breakdown of urban management are provided by Connell and Lea, giving this book personal touches that go a long way toward exploding the prevailing myths that the Pacific has no or few urban problems. In many ways this book is more "human" than *Planning the Future*. Why this should be the case is unclear to this reader, given the dynamism and diversity of Melanesian towns and cities. The book presents in interesting detail evidence of the inertia of Polyne-

sian towns, where the impossibility of changing the system has become so ingrained in some cases that there can, for example, be three urban plans developed, but none ever put into place. Despite this apparent inertia in planning, as depicted by Connell and Lea, there were obviously enough concerned people around when they were carrying out their fieldwork to fuel skepticism and concern about deteriorating conditions. That in itself is a positive sign.

In the earlier book on Melanesian urban centers, Connell and Lea reported that population growth and rural–urban migration were the driving forces behind urbanization. For Polynesia, however, the picture is different. Urban growth is taking place much more slowly because of low population growth and low rural–urban migration, but because of the smallness of Polynesian towns, recognition of serious problems is often delayed. Of critical importance is the high level of international migration from the Polynesian countries. In many ways Polynesians are more highly urbanized than other Pacific Islanders if their concentrations in Auckland, Honolulu, Sydney, and the west coast of the United States are included. More particularly (while they last), the cash remittances that fuel the economies of the small Polynesian countries are urban-derived and encourage urban growth in the recipient countries. When the remittances end, there will be increasing stress on urban areas as people leave rural villages in search of employment and income. Frequently, however, national development policies focus most on economic growth

and the rural sector and have not yet incorporated the issues of urban growth and management into long-term strategies, despite the obvious linkages between economic growth, urban development, and the pressures on infrastructure and human resources.

Apart from addressing issues of management, planning, and the provision of services, Connell and Lea also provide historical background and some useful and up-to-date references on three of the Polynesian towns, Nuku‘alofa in Tonga, Apia in Western Samoa, and Funafuti in Tuvalu. Of particular note is that despite the relatively small size of each of these centers, they are all exhibiting quite recent population growth and obvious urban environmental problems. The availability of land for development, the problems of both solid and human waste disposal, mangrove destruction, and related health problems are endemic. Planning and the provision of services are piecemeal at best, with few urban planners trained or still working in the Polynesian capitals. According to Connell and Lea, only one urban land use plan has been devised in the last decade, and there is no legislation for urban centers in Polynesia. Tonga has at least twelve urban planning reports gathering dust, Tuvalu at least three. As Connell and Lea state “piecemeal development is the norm . . . there is no integration of physical, economic and environmental planning—and little hint of the first and last of these—despite worsening urban, social, economic and environmental conditions” (136). The absence of skilled human resources, the costs of

the urban bureaucracy, and the need for resolution of customary land ownership with the needs of urban development are fundamental. Too little attention has been paid to the implementation of plans, and at the core of planning in Polynesia is politics.

Connell and Lea offer some practical suggestions for change, including the funding of urban local government, the issues of town boundaries, community participation, environmental management, and human resource development. Now that urban issues are apparently on the political agenda of Polynesian towns (although in reality they seem to be at the bottom of that agenda when it comes to implementation), it is to be hoped that nationally devised means of effective urban management can be developed.

Overall the book is welcome and provides a great deal of information not previously readily available to the wider audience. It should be distributed throughout the region to provoke comment from the countries studied, and will hopefully stimulate planners to seek practical, appropriate, and logical solutions for the issues facing their countries.

JENNY BRYANT-TOKALAU
*United Nations Development
Programme, Suva*

* * *

Sustainable Development or Malignant Growth? Perspectives of Pacific Island Women, edited by 'Atu Emberson-Bain. Suva: Marama Publications, 1994. ISBN 982-326-001-X, 290 pages, photographs, notes, bibliography. Paper, F\$18.

This collection of essays and poetry by Pacific Island women researchers and writers raises issues that should be of concern to everyone, but which seem most frequently to have been raised by women since 1975. Its inspiration lies in the work of the international third world feminist network DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era), which in 1985, at the Women's NGO Forum at Nairobi, called for "a world where inequality based on class, gender and race is absent from every country and from relationships among countries . . . where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated . . . and where the massive resources now used as a means of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression both inside and outside the home."

The theme encapsulated in the book's title is summarized in the introduction by the editor, 'Atu Emberson-Bain, who points out that small island states are "being sucked ever more deeply into the whirlpool of the global market-driven economy, our natural resources and environment being plundered on a scale like never before, and the social consequences of continuing down what is essentially the old colonial road are making themselves felt."

Most of the contributors directly or indirectly criticize the current remedies