

the Gebusi. Here, though, it is underdeveloped. It certainly seems inadequate as a core idea for this book.

There are other problems.

Although it is valuable to deal with unique cases of change in a detailed way, the lack of generalization and comparison make the book less interesting for those with more general interests in social change in the Pacific. Even the unique case is marred by focusing exclusively on a small part of a small population—about 121 at the focal community of Gasumi Corners out of a total of about 615 Gebusi. The other approximately 494 people live further from Nomad and apparently have a somewhat less continuous or intense encounter with the institutions of modernity. Also, the brief discussion of time needs much further development to be convincing.

It should be clear that I find the book a disappointment after Knauff's previous excellent ethnographic and theoretical work. Despite all my misgivings regarding style, problem, and argument, I would still suggest reading this book for a glimpse of some changes in a remote part of Papua New Guinea.

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*Identity and Development: Tongan Culture, Agriculture, and the Perenniality of the Gift*, by Paul van der Grijp. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004. ISBN 90-6718-215-X; x + 225 pages, tables, figures, maps, notes, bibliography, index. €35.00.

Paul van der Grijp's *Identity and Development* is an important contribution to the growing literature on the incorporation of world-system institutions into Tongan culture and economy. It is a significant monograph-length treatment of cash crop production and its results over the last ten years (for squash pumpkin) to twenty years (for vanilla and bananas). To a lesser extent the book also deals with migration, aid, and remittances, the other key elements of the monetized parts of the contemporary Tongan economy. The work explicitly emphasizes the value of ethnographic and empirical work in these areas, goes some way to contributing ethnographic data to the literature, and uses a number of case studies to critically appraise the utility of a number of other works.

Two major themes animate the monograph. First, van der Grijp is concerned to undermine the use and abuse of the MIRAB (Migration, Remittances, Aid, and Bureaucracy) model currently in vogue for describing Tonga and many other Pacific Island economies. The author also seeks to challenge the notions that Tongan culture is either an unchanged and unchanging product of tradition, or a simple reproduction of capitalist ideology and practice. The vehicle for accomplishing these ends is, oddly, a protracted discussion of the role of

the middle and entrepreneurial “classes” in relation to both economy and culture.

Although van der Grijp makes a bit of a straw man of MIRAB theory, his insistence on exploring the impact of cash crop production is helpful in rounding out existing anthropological treatments of contemporary Tonga. Indeed, consistent with the intentions of the author, the strongest elements of the work are its care and attention to detailed descriptions of people working in cash crop production. Having worked on similar issues elsewhere in Tonga, I very much appreciated learning about the multiple ways in which people have attempted to produce cash crops and the stresses that they have negotiated. Van der Grijp demonstrates empirically his theoretical claim—that Tongan identity and practice emerge in a dialectical fashion, from operating within the strains of producing and marketing via capitalist structures while still embedded in noncapitalist relations of production. To his credit, van der Grijp maintains a relatively even hand in his description of this dialectic, illuminating the ways that people have negotiated change without necessarily assuming the direction or overdetermining outcomes of these negotiations. These are the best aspects of the book. There are some questionable empirical statements about decreasing remittances (64), and the amount of land in cash crop production (145), but overall the data mobilized here make a lasting contribution to the literature.

I also found the book’s focuses on the middle and entrepreneurial classes warranted and useful in ethnographic

terms, but problematic in theoretical ones. In spite of appearances to the contrary, entrepreneurs are primarily defined in cultural rather than economic terms; the analysis is thus plagued by liberal economics. Having established that entrepreneurs are not easily understood in traditional political economy (read Marxist) terms, the author goes on to argue that the middle classes are culturally and economically innovative and have used cash cropping as a vehicle for challenging entrenched elites. This point has been made a few times over the years and I am not sure we learn too much more here. Nowhere does the author deal systematically with the differing ramifications of the introduction of capitalist markets versus the use of capitalist social relations of production; in fact at times he appears to confuse the two (121, 189). This is important not so much from the point of view of how entrepreneurs are capable of innovation, as in terms of the capacity of others to resist, deflect, or modify bourgeois attempts to commodify previously noncommodified relationships. Given that the effects of a moral economy appear significant in van der Grijp’s descriptions of nominally market-oriented behavior (137, 157), there is some question whether fully commoditized relationships are prevalent even in the case studies he mobilizes. Van der Grijp supports his point—that there is a dialectical movement between Tongan and capitalist values underway in Tonga—by pointing to the use of partially commodified relations to access land and labor for producing cash crops (155–169), but the ascription of the results of this dialectic to

entrepreneurial innovation falls short of a fully satisfying explication. Nonetheless, the ethnographic elements of the book make this volume a welcome addition to what is rapidly becoming a well-populated discussion of contemporary Tongan economy and culture in the context of the world system. In this I must wholeheartedly agree that the literature is best served by the sharing of solid ethnographic materials like those presented in van der Grijp's *Identity and Development*.

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*Anuta: Polynesian Lifeways for the 21st Century*, by Richard Feinberg. Second Edition. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc, 2004. ISBN 1-57766-266-0; xii + 247 pages, maps, tables, figures, photographs, endnotes, glossary, notes, and bibliography. US\$16.95.

In his new book, Feinberg remembers his first encounters with the small island, Anuta, that he was going to study and become very attached to in the following years. Understandably enough, now he wishes to revise his earlier studies and share his new observations with his readers.

I remember when Raymond Firth and I were preparing to leave Tikopia in 1966. We had decided to board a boat that was going to Anuta before returning us to Kirakira, the main port of Makira Island in the central Solomon Islands. We wanted to go to Anuta to investigate whether anthropological fieldwork ought to be done there.

We had welcomed this opportunity to visit the 0.4 square kilometer volcanic island with its approximately 200 Polynesian inhabitants, because Firth had previously been there for only a few days. But a warning of bad weather had been sent out, so the ship left Tikopia without us. That night, a storm rose and prevented the ship from passing through the fringing reef of Anuta; it therefore had to return to Tikopia to pick us up before heading back to Kirakira. Back in Honiara, Firth mentioned that he was still determined to find an able person to do fieldwork on Anuta.

Fortunately, years later Sir Raymond managed to encourage one of his bright, young American colleagues, Richard Feinberg, to go to Anuta and conduct an anthropological study of its people. Feinberg began his fieldwork on Anuta in March 1972 and stayed until January 1973. He followed these studies up in Honiara and on Anuta on several occasions (1983–84, 1988, 1993, and 2000), accompanied by his wife, Nancy, and their two then small children.

This latest book contains an updated version of chapters 2–7 of his substantial 1981 publication, *Anuta: Social Structure of a Polynesian Island*. In this new context Feinberg includes data on events, social changes, and ideas that have come into existence since he published the first volume. In a persuasive way, Feinberg convinces his readers that “Anutans have maintained a classically Polynesian culture, emphasizing principles of hereditary rank, supernaturally derived power, and kinship as defined in terms of genealogical connection and *aropa* (affection).