

similar in climate and topography demonstrates how the success or failure of ecological exchange is dependent on not only environmental factors but also the people involved. It shows how the introduction of a species to a new environment does not necessarily spell disaster for the land, a point reiterated in Part Three, 'Out of Tahiti'.

'Out of Tahiti' looks at the transfer of breadfruit by William Bligh and the trade in salted pork. Alongside the familiar tale of mutiny and securing British interests in the Caribbean are fascinating details relating to the transfer of plants during the nineteenth century. Bligh's success in procuring, propagating and successfully transplanting over one thousand plants appears impressive. Finally, Newell examines the salted pork trade, looking at both the economics of trade and the role pigs played in traditional and contemporary Tahitian society. The evolution of the pig from an animal that represents the voice of god to a commodity that provides both financial and political gain is discussed.

Overall this book effectively illustrates how anthropological research can support an environmental history by providing an alternative perspective that has not arisen through Western analysis. Further references to work by historians such as Richard Grove would have supported and strengthened Newell's analysis, particularly her chapter on conceptual landscapes.² Also, the failure to address the impact of introduced disease is most surely an oversight. Introduced diseases are briefly mentioned in the conclusion to Part Two and were, according to Newell, proof to Maohi that their gods had withdrawn their support. Despite this, Newell's skill as a writer and researcher and her commitment to include a Pacific voice make this book both a pleasure to read and a valuable contribution to environmental historical scholarship.

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NOTES

1 See Alan Moorhead, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific*, Harmondsworth, 1987; Andrew Mitchell, *The Fragile South Pacific: An Ecological Odyssey*, Austin, 1989 (originally published in 1966).

2 Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860*, Cambridge, 1995.

Pacific Ways: Government and Politics in the Pacific Islands. Edited by Stephen Levine. Victoria University Press, Wellington. 2009. 302pp. NZ price: \$74.99. ISBN 978-0-864736-17-8.

PACIFIC WAYS ENCOMPASSES STUDIES from 25 different countries, territories and colonies across Oceania. My initial reaction was to relate the volume to the Pacific Way ideology advanced by the late Ratu Sir Kamasese Mara, which became the foundation for Pacific regionalism. On closer reading, however, it does not focus on that socio-political ideology, but is a meticulous assessment of modern political and legal systems, institutions and processes in Oceania. Moreover, it is a descriptive appraisal of politics and governance in respective countries and of their interactions with the outside world.

The contributors successfully highlight issues that do not stand out in similar publications. The diverse political culture, languages, geographical size, colonial heritage, constitutions and institutions in Oceania resonate throughout the book. It effectively blends information on political histories, legal systems and future outlooks of countries, colonies and territories from various parts of Oceania. The political history tells of experiences with colonialism in

the region, where cultures, ways of knowing and world-views were historically different. Even the now-accepted sub-regions of Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia were insufficient to capture the diversity that existed prior to first contact and in the postcolonial era.

Pacific Ways covers the entrenched colonial legacies and links these with postcolonial politics and governments. With some exceptions, the book concentrates on modern histories, commencing with colonization and independence. Its authors effectively recount the important events, transition periods and historical changes that determined the present political statuses of these states and territories. The collection also includes cases where modern government structures are challenged by indigenous arrangements. Asofou So'o, for instance, observes that centralized power under modern government is often in conflict with the existing indigenous political structures in the form of village governments in Samoa. The frequent incompatibility between modern political systems and local systems is also acknowledged by Alphonse Gelu when discussing Papua New Guinea's modern politics and how the 'bigman' culture plays a role in undemocratic practices. Moreover, there is general agreement that political divisions and units found in most of these countries are colonial hangovers. Robert Norton shows that the fear of possible Indo-Fijian domination gave way to a British political system of representation in postcolonial Fiji and how this was partly blamed for some of the coups and the need for reform. Jennifer Corrin makes reference to tensions in the Solomon Islands in the 1990s, with subsequent efforts to reform the constitution in ways that cater for local systems in modern government structures. Even the decentralized systems of government such as the one in Vanuatu, outlined here by Don Paterson, are colonial creations.

Pacific Ways also stands out among other books because it covers a large number of territories and colonies that are still under the control of colonial powers. Examples are New Caledonia, Rapa Nui and Pitcairn Island. This is a critical point, as other regions have moved on while some Pacific islanders are still under colonial rule. Nick Maclellan provides a fascinating history of developments in New Caledonia from the 1980s onwards, including the possibility of 'kanaks' gaining political autonomy. In this and other French colonies and territories, important political decisions are made by a parliament located elsewhere, as described for Wallis and Futuna by Frédéric Angleviel, and by Lorenz Gonschor for French Polynesia.

Colonization brought with it electoral systems that are variations of metropolitan systems. Malakai Koloamatangi reveals that Tonga, a constitutional monarchy, has limited free elections, while Tony Angelo examines Pitcairn Island's simple colonial system of government, with the Governor and Secretary of State for Overseas Territories ruling on behalf of the British monarch. Stephen Levine and Nigel Roberts, on the other hand, cite successful modern democracies which developed political party systems similar to those in New Zealand and Australia. Elsewhere, Alphonse Gelu (on Papua New Guinea), Jon Jonassen (on the Cook Islands) and Max Quanchi (on Nauru) explore key aspects of political culture and governance. The collection thus covers a range of political and legal systems and institutions that will interest students and researchers of constitutional development, electoral systems and political science generally.

The movement of people between islands and to metropolitan countries has been facilitated or restricted by colonial heritage. Niue, for instance, is described by Takelesi Hima as a country suffering from depopulation because young people prefer New Zealand to Niue. Some Polynesian and Micronesian countries have access to work and reside in Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, France and the United States through formal and informal arrangements. The *Compact of Free Association* between the United States and Guam, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia and Palau are summarized by Donald Shuster, Kristina Stege, Glenn Petersen and Graham Hassall respectively. These colonial and postcolonial understandings gave way to both heavy dependency on aid and

remittances, a characteristic of most Pacific Island governments and people.

There are some oversights in the book. First, many of the essays lack an appreciation of indigenous people's history, systems and practices. *Pacific Ways* is a compilation of succinct pieces of work written by prominent individuals, most of whom have extensive experience of and insider information about the countries they write about. But the treatment of politics and governments in the Pacific Islands is incomplete without discussion of indigenous Pacific Islanders' systems and practices. What of indigenous Australians, New Zealand Māori, the indigenous Fijians, the 'kanaks' of New Caledonia and so forth? What indigenous government and political institutions were there, and how do these influence modern political processes? These are very relevant and critical issues that warrant coverage in such a book covering the 'Pacific Ways'.

Another shortcoming is the book's failure to include government and politics in West Papua. While it may be considered part of Indonesia, it has a similar status to Rapa Nui, New Caledonia and Pitcairn Island covered in this volume. The only difference is that it has a much bigger Melanesian population than most of the Melanesian countries put together. Not to have some coverage of West Papua, and to an extent Hawai'i, in a book that focuses on 'Pacific Ways', is a clear oversight. The plight of indigenous populations and political systems, and how they are integrated or displaced by modern systems in some of the countries covered, are integral to discussions of politics and government in Oceania. There is at least some emphasis on the adaptation of indigenous political institutions to modern systems in Samoa, Tonga, and to an extent New Caledonia, and in Manahi Pakarati-Novoa's chapter on Rapa Nui. Yet more needs to be done to distinguish 'Pacific Ways' from 'Other Ways'.

Despite these weaknesses, *Pacific Ways* is a valuable resource for those interested in modern government and politics in Oceania. It is a 'one-stop shop' for information on constitutions, political development and postcolonial arrangements in the Pacific Islands. As such, the volume constitutes an excellent introduction to the field of modern Pacific politics for both students and researchers.

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