

Book and Media Reviews

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urges further scholarly research to replace emotional concerns with more “Cartesian” analysis, saying that nuclear accidents clearly occurred but Paris has not been transparent on the issue. He even proposes a French Polynesian version of the Noumea Accord, to rectify the silences and shady actions of Paris, for example in the case of Pouvana’a’s trumped-up imprisonment.

In the final section of the book, Regnault examines the search for an appropriate country name for French Polynesia. Because of the political and cultural differences among its five archipelagoes, Regnault asks whether an internal federation is in order. He presents an overview of fluctuations in French policy toward the territory since 1842, from military conquest through tight control to a glimpse of autonomy to retrenchment after 1958 (as in New Caledonia, this time due to plans for nuclear testing). Restored autonomy has evolved since 1977, but French state interests remain paramount in policy making (as in Paris’s criticism of Temaru’s trip to the United Nations in 2011 to promote independence). In his concluding reflection on France in the region, Regnault retains his opening critique of Parisian views of indigenous peoples: “We teach them that universal suffrage is the best of all things, but we defeat the [electoral] result in authoritarian ways—when we have not twisted it—if it displeases the French authorities. . . . How can we find ourselves again and make colonizing nations loved?” (222).

Based on my knowledge of Jean-Marc, I would suggest that final sentence starts off sincere and then turns partly sardonic, perhaps express-

ing a hope for better relationships in the future. Although a French state employee, Regnault is also a historian worth listening to because of his hardworking scholarship, even if we might not share all of his interpretations.

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Steadfast Movement around Micronesia: Satowan Enlargements beyond Migration, by Lola Quan Bautista. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010. ISBN cloth, 978-0-7391-3477-1; ISBN e-book, 978-0-7391-3479-5; xv + 177 pages, figures, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, US\$65.00; e-book, US\$64.99.

The underlying and timely theoretical question of *Steadfast Movement around Micronesia* is how cultures integrate and interpret mobility on their own terms. In Micronesia, where societies are commonly matrilineal—that is, social, political, and economic life and identity are focused foremost on female lines of descent, their land holdings, and named homesites—it seems that women stay and men move to provide labor for their own and their wives’ lineages and clans. Altogether, Bautista argues, the question of mobility has been obscured by anthropologists’ depictions of these small island societies as being immobile (45). Consequently, this book provides us with an invaluable case study of “[h]ow people from Chuuk move about, and their cultural interpretations of movement itself” (2).

Bautista first encountered Chuukese

migrant workers in 1987. Young men from the island of Satowan (which is located in the southern part of Chuuk State, in an island group called the Mortlocks) had sought employment on her father's cucumber farm on Guam. The year before, the four island states of Yap, Chuuk (formerly Truk), Pohnpei, and Kosrae had formed the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), a young nation established in free association with the United States. The status of Freely Associated State (FAS) allowed for "open immigration to the United States and its territories," where FSM people could "live and work freely as a nonimmigrant under a status called 'habitual resident'" (28). Overnight, many Chuukese Islanders moved to the US territory of Guam in search of employment, and by the year 2000 Chuukese accounted for around 5,000 of Guam's 155,000 citizens (28). Guam, Bautista explains, should not be considered a final "destination" of FSM and Chuukese migrants but rather their "reach" (3), a perspective that leaves room for cultural, economic, and human flows between dispersed migrant communities and their place of origin.

Bautista's working experience with Chuukese on her father's farm eventually led her to Chuuk for undergraduate research in sociology, which eventually culminated in the eleven months of doctoral fieldwork in 1997–1998 that forms the basis of this study. Altogether Bautista spent four months in Chuuk, two on Satowan Island, and two in a Satowan community on Chuuk's capital island of Weno, which serves as a hub for Satowanese citizens' movement between Guam and Satowan. Bautista employs

two theoretical and methodological underpinnings for this study: The first, circular mobility, is taken from human geography, while the second, the idea of transnationalism, is taken from anthropology and sociology. She relies heavily on both sources of literature throughout her book.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first gives a brief history of Satowan mobility in its historical, economic, and political context from the Second World War to the late 1990s and includes reference to the author's research methods, contact persons, and field experience in the dispersed homesites of Satowanese in Chuuk and abroad (Guam, Chuuk, and Hawai'i). The title of chapter 1 is a famous Chuukese chant commonly used when talking about mobility and migration today: "Fetanin Weno, Sefanin Weno." Bautista explains its meaning literally as describing "the process of moving *and* returning" (2). (I would portray it proverbially: "Once from Weno, always from Weno.") This chant or proverb simultaneously sums up Chuukese sentiment related to mobility and rootedness. Bautista also introduces the reader to the Chuukese concept of the clan hearth (*falang*), the heart of a homesite, which remains the center of lineage and clan activities today.

Chapter 2 introduces Guam as the first "reach" for Satowanese and other FAS citizens from the Republic of Palau, the Federated States, and the Republic of the Marshall Islands. Here Bautista looks at why FSM and other Micronesian citizens have moved to Guam and seeks "to describe the web of social expectations and reciprocal obligations between

sending and receiving communities or . . . the continuum between ‘home-and-reach’” (19). The survey data she presents on remittances and on patterns of flow and reciprocity between home and reach are among the first for this time period and cannot be underestimated in terms of their value in promoting an understanding of continuity and change in Chuukese social network activities.

In chapter 3, Bautista turns the attention back to Chuuk’s urban center of Weno and to Satowan itself in search of emic interpretations of mobility and configurations of social space on Satowan compared to urban space on Weno. Essentially, Bautista finds that the principle of territorial mobility on Satowan—the moving along lines of well-charted (social) networks of relatives and their places, for example—is extended to the urban context.

Chapter 4 looks at Satowanese understandings of proper and improper movement or mobility of persons. The ethics of movement Bautista finds is gendered, attached to the respective life cycle of persons, and influenced by locale (church, men’s house, etc). Although Bautista says that the concept *uruur* (wandering) “best captures these aspects” (96), I find the concept of *peche sisset* more central to the emic view of how mobility is integrated (or not integrated) into culture. *Peche sisset* is the synonym used for “immigrant” or “new resident,” as opposed to someone who “wanders by” a certain place or locale (100–105). I wish Bautista had discussed this emic concept in greater depth and with

greater accuracy. A *peche sisset* is not, generally speaking, “one who is without roots” (100) but rather one without roots *in a certain place* to which the person has relocated for the time being. This would apply equally to Chuukese who leave their natal island to live elsewhere in Chuuk and to those who move beyond the borders of the Federated States. This point, though, is well reflected in Bautista’s next chapter. In chapter 5 she describes Chuukese conceptions of social groups, the homesite, and the household and the pivotal role these conceptions play in mediating movement, thereby promoting cultural and territorial transformations as a result of the flows between the “reach” and the “home” communities. Even while abroad, they remain rooted within their community. Chuukese rootedness and belonging to a social group such as a homesite basically forms the basis for mobility, which is organized more by social groups than by individuals.

Chapter 6 nicely sums up the links Bautista makes visible in her study between the macro and the micro levels of mobility—the former referred to as transnationalism and the latter as circular mobility. Looking at “the household as a social organization” (and not the individual) as “mediating transformations” (145) is a useful tool in helping us to adequately analyze and understand Islanders’ steadfast movement around Micronesia.

A clarifying note on the orthography and pronunciation of Mortlockese and Chuukese terms would have been helpful, as well as reference to and use of the 1980 Chuukese dictionary by Ward Goodenough, Hiroshi

Sugita, and Samuel Elbert or Good-enough and Sugita's 1990 supplementary volume for the spelling of important terms and emic concepts used in the book. Key works apparently not consulted that might have strengthened Bautista's fine analysis of mobility in Micronesia include Bruce Larson's 1989 doctoral study of college students from Chuuk as they returned home in search of employment and Alice Oleson's 2007 dissertation on Mortlockese migrants who were relocated to Sokehs on Pohnpei after the devastating typhoon in 1907 that killed over 200 residents on Satowan alone.

Bautista's ethnographic research on Chuukese population movement among their various dispersed communities and households is invaluable. It not only documents but also adds to our understanding of the first fifteen years of FSM migration history (1986–2001) under the Compact of Free Association. Those conducting future studies in mobility, migration, and culture change in Micronesia will find this book a useful starting point for the observation of longitudinal developments among the increasing networks of dispersed Micronesian communities in the United States.

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Natives and Exotics: World War II and Environment in the Southern Pacific, by Judith A Bennett. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009. 439 + xxvi pages, bibliography, index. ISBN cloth, 978-0-8248-3265-0; ISBN paper, 978-0-8248-3350-3. Cloth, US\$60.00; paper, US\$30.00.

Judy Bennett's *Natives and Exotics* is a superb piece of environmental scholarship that deserves a wide audience. Bennett has long established herself as the best environmental historian of the Pacific with her work on Solomon Islands forestry in particular. Her work is always characterized by meticulous research, precision of detail and expression, and an endearing honesty and modesty. Bennett wryly notes that her research and writing for this book took longer to complete than World War II itself. Her archival research incorporated records in San Bruno (California), College Park (Maryland), Washington DC, Columbus (Ohio), Oxford, Cambridge, London, Suva, Noumea, Canberra, Sydney, Melbourne, Wellington, Waiouru, and Auckland. The result was well worth the wait. With this volume she not only cements her leading role in contemporary Pacific scholarship but also moves up a tier by producing a work that can also serve as a model for reconceptualizing warfare and its environmental restraints and consequences worldwide.

The outbreak of fighting in the Pacific in December 1941 ushered in a new era of warfare in which logistical and technological efficiency were decisive factors. The industrial power