

government. Commonwealth status for the Northern Marianas had far-reaching implications for the future political status not only of Guam but also of the Virgin Islands in the Caribbean and was resisted.

Willens and Ballendorf comment on the Interior Department's "remarkable lack of candor" in dealing with Guam (121). In their assessment: "Even if Interior had been favorably disposed towards the Guam study and its implementation, its personnel basically lacked the capacity and the stature to handle such an assignment" (119). Their text provides a richly detailed account of events, and the most relevant documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act are found in the volume's ten appendixes.

Well over half a century since its implementation, Guam remains under the Organic Act of 1950. For a three-year period beginning in late 1973, there was a unique opportunity to improve the political status of Guam and allow greater self-determination for the people of Guam as a commonwealth. That opportunity was intentionally thwarted by a self-serving US government agency, and the people of Guam have paid the price. The volume at hand is a valuable contribution to the history of Guam and of the relations of the United States with its overseas territories. An index would have enhanced the value of the work.

ROBERT C KISTE  
*East-West Center*

\* \* \*

*L'art des échanges: Penser le lien sociale chez les Sulka (Papouasie Nouvelle-Guinée)*, by Monique Judy-Ballini. Lausanne: Éditions Payot, Anthropologie-Terrains, 2004. ISBN 2-601-03319-3; 348 pages, tables, figures, maps, photographs, appendixes, written in French, bibliography, index. €27.00.

A few years ago, at a conference on intellectual and cultural property rights, a Papua New Guinean lawyer referred to the ethnographic corpus of the country as composed of baseline studies. One can appreciate his logic from the particular concern with property rights. First-time ethnographies, often defining ethnographies in the sense of establishing a group name and boundary, map out recognizable claims to knowledge and cultural practices, which are, themselves, modified through various historical influences. In this sense, the first professional ethnography of a group of people becomes the base against which various forms of social and cultural change can be measured. The effectiveness of first-time ethnographies hinges on the establishment of the uniqueness of the cultural group in question, and various practices and institutions become iconic of the group and cultural region.

Some areas of Papua New Guinea provide better examples of this phenomenon than others. Areas such as East New Britain Province present a patchwork of studies undertaken at different historical periods and reflecting diverse interests and goals. The ethnography of this province is characterized by amateur and missionary ethnography in the early contact

period, with classic ethnography of the politically dominant group, the Tolai, not emerging until the late 1960s and early 1970s. Significantly, the East New Britain corpus boasts a group of people, the Baining, who defied Gregory Bateson's efforts at ethnographic research in the late 1920s as well as those of Jeremy Poole, a doctoral candidate, some forty years later. A definitive monograph of the Baining did not appear until 1997, published by Jane Fajans.

Jeudy-Ballini's ethnographic monograph of the Sulka people of the Wide Bay region of the Pomio District of the province is a welcome addition to the provincial ethnographic corpus, and its contribution is shaped by the particular configuration of this larger body of work. The Pomio District contains some of the most disadvantaged populations of the country and has until recently been generally ignored by ethnographers. A significant exception is the work of Michel Panoff, who published extensively on the Maenge in the 1970s and 1980s. Jeudy-Ballini bases her monograph on two years of research carried out from 1980 to 1994. Her work joins that of Panoff in locating distinguishing customs and practices of Pomio peoples in the larger historical setting, shaped by the political economy of the large-scale, nineteenth-century plantation enterprise based on the Gazelle Peninsula. Like Panoff, Jeudy-Ballini ranges between historical accounts, her own fieldwork, and informants' memories in an effort to contextualize present practices thus constituting a Sulka ethnography.

The Sulka today live largely in two disparate communities, one on Wide

Bay and the other in the Mope area of the Gazelle Peninsula. The original Mope settlers were refugees from incessant conflict with the Gatke, a Baining group, as well as forced recruits for plantation labor in the early German colonial period. In accordance with the historical mix of the Gazelle resulting in the concentration of plantation labor drawn from a variety of groups from the south coast, Jeudy-Ballini is forced to consider Sulka identity in relation to Baining and Tolai identities. A common theme that permeates ethnography of the region is the social and cultural superiority of the coastal populations in comparison with the inland populations. Jeudy-Ballini invokes this theme in her discussion of the Sulka. Her treatment of the Sulka is historically sensitive and she worries about the amnesia of the people of Milim village in not informing her that Gregory Bateson, himself, conducted research in that village for five months in 1927–1928. She reports that Bateson published nothing based on this research and expressed a sentiment that the culture was in a state of decay. In spite of this, Bateson also found the Sulka more welcoming and easier to study than the Baining whom he had left in defeat just prior to his stay at Milim.

There are two features of Jeudy-Ballini's treatment of the Sulka that structure her monograph. The first is her evocation of the constructed nature of ethnographic knowledge in the introduction and manifested throughout the monograph in a self-conscious depiction of the conditions and relations that generated her understanding of the "art" of

exchange. The second feature addresses the problem of undertaking a first-time ethnography that has to take into account over one hundred years of a relatively well known and disruptive history. She admits to a number of assumptions justifying her focus on exchange, foremost among them that the study of exchange relations and ritual will lead to an understanding of the society in general. Although exchange has been the focus of many ethnographies of Papua New Guinean peoples, she argues, it has not been the focus of an ethnography written about an East New Britain people. Her understanding of exchange in relation to group formation is that exchange itself is the manifestation of the group and not a mechanism for maintaining extant boundaries.

Most importantly, she presents the hypothesis that the institution of the chiefdom, having passed into history, must have been based on a mode of social relations analogous to that which underlies ceremonial exchanges today (28). She draws a parallel between the historic "father of the village, or taven," and the contemporary "father of the feast" or man who organizes the ritual exchange. The argument is developed through the discussion of the social structure, material life, social hierarchies, life-cycle rituals, and forms of cooperation. She introduces two types of contributions to ritual exchange that figure in Sulka notions of group identity and political strategy. The first is called *mokpon*, which is unsolicited, follows the "route" of the ancestors, and does not require direct reciprocity. The second is *turang*, which is

solicited and requires direct exchange (234; elsewhere in passing). *Turang* may become *mokpon* through proper manipulation.

Although Judy-Ballini admits in the conclusion of her monograph that her hypothesis is itself unverifiable, she argues that the importance placed on *mokpon* as a defining principle of Sulka identity suggests historical continuity in the forms of cooperation underlying warfare and contemporary ritual exchange (282). Perhaps it is better to view the proposed hypothesis more as a device to suggest a continuity in identity that has, at least in the view of the ethnographer's oldest informants, withstood the vicissitudes of time.

Central in distinguishing a unique Sulka cultural character are the institutions of the *taven* and the *kheng*. Judy-Ballini writes that today these statuses survive only in the memories of aged informants. The *taven* is the term for a "father of the village" and the *kheng* stands for the "mother of the village." Children inherited this title from their parents and were ritually inducted into the status, which afforded particular privileges especially for women. *Kheng* were able to enter the men's house, given access to male esoteric knowledge, and spared hard labor. Such ethnographic features are echoed in the ethnographies of neighboring peoples, and the author draws on Baining ethnography as well as that of some groups of West New Britain in comparison. As much as the status of *taven* historically may be seen as central to exchange, the author does not explore its significance in intervillage and interethnic exchanges. Further

down the south coast, at Uvol, similarly exalted males linked inland mountain villages with coastal villages in a series of inherited trade partnerships.

MARTA ROHATYNSKYJ  
*University of Guelph*

\* \* \*

*Approches autour de culture et nature dans le Pacifique Sud*, edited by Hamid Mokaddem. Actes du XIIIe colloque CORAIL. Nouméa: Expressions; CORAIL in partnership with the Northern Province, Secretariat of the Pacific Community, and the University of New Caledonia, 2003. ISBN 2-9519371-0-5; 406 pages, tables, figures, map, abbreviations, notes, written in French, bibliographies, index. 3500 CFP francs.

The book is a compilation of papers presented at the thirteenth meeting of CORAIL (Coordination pour l'Océanie des Recherches sur les Arts, les Idées et les Littératures), which was held in 2001 in Nouméa at the Secretariat of the Pacific Community and in two sites in northern New Caledonia: the Provincial headquarters and the Goama Bwarhat cultural center established by Jean-Marie Tjibaou in Hienghène. As stated by Hamid Mokaddem in his preface, the organizers of the meeting (which Mokaddem qualifies as "an exceptional intellectual adventure" [13]) deliberately sought to practice decentralization and rebalancing by holding sessions outside of Nouméa. Their objective was to open channels of communication so as to break down the legacy of the Western

"binary models of the world based on the nature-culture dichotomy" which, according to Mokaddem, have in New Caledonia led to a vision and discourse of "us versus them" and "South versus North" (15). In addition, the organizers deliberately invited a wide range of academic and nonacademic participants with specialized knowledge ranging from traditional medicine, epidemiology, anthropology, geology, history, dance, archeology, law, literature, and cultural geography, including members of various nongovernmental organizations and cultural centers.

While the broad range of participants would have been invaluable for the actual meeting, the attempt to put together such a large number of papers into a single volume has proven difficult. Although the book is divided into five distinct parts—(1) anthropological approaches; (2) scientific and technical approaches; (3) legal approaches; (4) literary approaches; and (5) field approaches—the volume lacks coherence and continuity. The chapters are unequal in nature, quality, and depth of analysis, and the range of topics covered is extensive.

This drawback is compounded by the fact that while most chapters focus on New Caledonia, the book also contains a few chapters dealing with other parts of the Pacific (Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Australia, and Oceania in general). These chapters don't really seem to fit, and the book may have benefited by focusing solely on providing an up-to-date snapshot of how the nature and culture dichotomy is viewed by various actors and thinkers grounded in contemporary

Monique Jeudy-Ballini is a Director of Research at CNRS and a member of the Laboratory of Social Anthropology, (CNRS/EHESS/Collège de France). She conducted numerous ethnographic studies among the Sulka people of New Britain between 1980 and 1994. Her principal research themes concerned representations of sexual identity, the status of chief's daughters, the mythology of work, the process of Christianisation, the system of ceremonial exchange and of Sulka aesthetic ritual. *Social Mediations in Oceania* (Carolina Academic Press, Durham, 2002) with Bernard Juillerat and is the author of *L'art des changements: Penser le lien social chez les Sulka* (Payot, Lausanne, 2004). Her recent research concerns the anthropology of art; she co-edited *Les cultures à l'œuvre. Bitesize. Arts. Taster. Local. Three. Bitesize. All Bitesize. Change language. Art and Design. Biology (Single Science). Business. Chemistry (Single Science). Combined Science. Computer Science. Design and Technology. Voir plus d'idées sur le thème papouasie nouvelle guinée, nouvelle guinée, papouasie. Voici de nombreuses idées d'activités pour développer l'estime de soi (et par la même occasion la confiance) chez les enfants : jeux, activités, etc Papouasie Nouvelle Guinée. Humour De Voyage. Destinations De Voyage. Conseils De Voyage. Papouasie-nouvelle-guinée. Chars De Combat. Conseils. Subjects: Anthropology, Social Sciences. Collections: Arts & Sciences VI Collection, JSTOR Archival Journal & Primary Source Collection. — Close Overlay. Table of Contents. A Propos. Parenté, rivalité et changements en Nouvelle-Guinée. Parenté, rivalité et changements en Nouvelle-Guinée (pp. 117-125). Pierre Lemonnier. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25132774>. Review by: Monique Jeudy-Ballini. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25132796>.*