– BOOK REVIEW –

THE WARM WINDS OF CHANGE:
GLOBALISATION IN CONTEMPORARY SAMOA

by Cluny and La'avasa Macpherson

Auckland University Press, 2009. 260 pp. RRP $42, ISBN 9781869404451

Reviewed by
Melani Anae, University of Auckland

Well written and enlivened with engaging personal anecdotes, *The Warm Winds of Change* is an accessible sociological study and an excellent choice for undergraduate readers, but also much more: an important study of economic and cultural dilemmas common to many Pacific Island societies. The Macphersons present an impressive array of original and significant data on personal experiences, perspectives and experiences of Samoan people/families/villages undergoing immense ideological, technological and social change in Samoa, making this book a 'must-read' not only for students of Samoa, but also for anyone who wants to understand the complexities and paradoxes faced by contemporary Pacific Islanders.

Based on findings from a 40-year research partnership, illustrating the effects of globalisation from the perspective of a typical Samoan village and documenting Samoa's shift from baskets to buckets, from religious authority to a questioning democracy, and from in-kind work to a cash economy, *The Warm Winds of Change* seeks to debunk the notion that Samoa has remained Samoan despite the onslaught of the three major ideological and real forces of the three 'C's' – Christianity, Capitalism and Colonialism, because of Samoa's famous cultural conservatism. Rather, the authors concentrate on Samoa's dynamism and its capacity for change. A refreshing approach given that cultural conservatism's focus on continuity understates real changes and the dynamism evident in society's engagement with challenges that it has faced in its exposure to global forces; misrepresents Samoan society as wholly committed to tradition and continuity; and finally in focussing on confidence in the resilience of Samoan culture, and its ability to resist external challenges, may 'lead people to postpone discussions about how to respond to processes that deserve careful consideration and discussion' (p.188).

The Macphersons' most original and significant contributions are on the social transformations due to migration, ideas and technology detailed in chapters 3, 4 and 5. Using a methodology of the accretion of poignant information that came to them in the course of daily life from family/friends/villagers/acquaintances, the Macphersons go to some length in arguing that regarding migration 6 major processes have occurred: the 'new' globalisation of the village and its extended reach (p.72); changing perceptions of the 'self' and 'other' which provides 'a larger social mirror in which to reflect on social conduct' (p.75); the socio-demographic consequences of recent migration, and the more permanent migration away, which in effect relieves some pressure on scarce resources thus arresting environmental degradation (p.82); the reconfiguration of families and villages (p.82); the economic impact of migration where globalisation has created a transnational economy and more efficient village economy (p.86); and finally, the creation of a 'new' global transnational village operating through a MIRAB[1] economic system (p.91). Regarding social transformation of ideas, the authors contend that Samoan society was changed early and fundamentally by such ideologies as Christianity, Capitalism and Colonialism, but that these were appropriated and managed by Samoan leaders in Samoan society in ways that limited their impact on the organisation of society (p.99). In their chapter on technology and social transformation the authors assert that although Samoan society has embraced and incorporated significant new technology over the last 150 years, that this has had limited impacts on social relations within both family and village (p.149).

In disproving Samoans' resilience in the face of globalising forces as the attachment to a 'cult of custom,' the authors debunk many ideals long cited as characteristic of Samoan society: that elements of Samoan social organisation that allowed it to engage with and manage external influences in the past have lost some of their resiliency and flexibility; that the range of globalising forces is increasing and their influence is intensifying resulting in Samoa becoming increasingly plural and less able, or willing to agree on how to confront and manage these forces. Moreover the following questions are posed: 'Can a society of some 185,000 people hope to resist, or even control these global forces?' (p.58), and 'whether modern transnational villages and families are sustainable realities, or brief windows of opportunity that may close as quickly as they are opened…' (p.94).

The Warm Winds of Change does a good job of not only introducing Samoa, but also is an excellent sociological account of the global complexities – the swaying of the bamboo in the high winds of change (p.9) – that Samoa is experiencing. This book is an excellent read. The writing style is both engag-

ing and informative. My only quibble is in the organisation of some of the early chapters which leave one wanting more; the short, episodic sections are apparently intended to be easily digested, but they end too soon, raising tangential issues but not adequately addressing them. The repetition especially of sections readdressing the three 'C's' Christianity, Capitalism and Colonialism in chapter 4 (p.99), initially raised and dealt with in some detail in chapter 2 (p.25) slightly interrupted the flow.

One will find no quandaries here about dilemmas of representation or narrative authority. Although the authors are dedicated to debunking some received notions about Samoa, they seem to accept other idealisations. In outlining two ways to view 'Samoa's engagement with global forces', as reasonably successful in confronting and managing these forces; and outlining a view that Samoan society is so flexible that although undergoing significant and real changes, it has emerged without a sense of historical disjunction and is able to assert that its cultural foundations remain intact (p.57), they write 'But despite which view one takes…Samoa is now confronted with new and rapidly intensifying incursions and impacts…Increased level of migration…new ideologies… which impose new norms and values on Samoan society…new technologies which redistribute productivity and…undermine traditional social, economic and political relations and organisation' (p.58).

This is illustrated by the authors' repeatedly reminding the reader and providing real examples that Samoans have undergone tremendous social, economic and political upheavals/transformations. Delving into questions such as 'When do Pacific emigrants stop sending money to their home village? Do villagers stop giving away fish when they get a refrigerator?' and, 'How do cell phones change villages?' and outlining contemporary perceptions of *matai*, or chiefly authority, this argument contends that contemporary changes are presenting a more profound challenge to Samoan social institutions and society than at any other time in the past. I would contest this view.

After several such reminders, I found myself troubled by the implicit dichotomization of cultural ideology and economic rationality as motivations for behaviour. To strengthen this thesis, the authors seem compelled to reject the possibility of any cultural behaviour not founded in political-economic self-interest, at least nowadays. In the modern context Samoan cultural ideology about the behaviour of transnational families (especially those in the diaspora and those who holiday/or attend *fa'alavelave*[2] in Samoa), the culture, village flora and fauna, technology, village diet, land tenure, the faces of the people, linguistic markers, traditional authority of *matai*, ceremonial exchange, ap-

pears as an empty shell, a set of meaningless protocols that people as *matai* and people in families/villages/diaspora use to pursue their advantage. For example, this quote from a Samoan villager 'People thought more and more about money and less and less about their obligations as kin. Money she speculated was now becoming more important than kinship in Samoa' (p.99).

While this is indeed happening in some contexts, peel back the layers and one will find other changing discourses. After all, the Macphersons' main concern has been with the main vectors producing change in contemporary Samoa: the movement of people, ideologies and technologies. They have sought to show that each of these has altered the social, economic and political organisation of family and village for at least 180 years. Some of these changes they suggest, are that many Samoan people in their view overlook evidence of significant historical and social transformations and take a shallower view of the nature and extent of change (p.189); that Samoa confronts powerful new forms of each of these three forces and at a time when traditional elites, who have so far 'managed' change, appear to be less able, and less willing to agree on how to manage them. They argue that because the criteria for membership in traditional elites have shifted over time, membership of family and village elites is no longer as homogeneous as they once were; and that acrimonious debates over appropriate courses of action occurring amongst members further divide formerly untied elites (p.191). The authors cite challenges from NGOs, international financial and development agencies, better educated youth, groups with new social agendas such as gender, sexual orientation and political philosophy (p.192) as fuelling this anomaly. Basically the changes outlined almost point to essentialist arguments ruing modern changes as anathema to a pristine age, or a golden age, when things were done more traditionally.

I contend that this overarching concern – that Samoans should be more worried about sorting out what is 'authentic' and 'indigenous' and what is not, and to throw up their hands in horror as modernity encroaches into their 'spaces' (p.69) – is misguided. Change is intrinsic to the human condition. Cultures, peoples, people's attitudes and identities change as encapsulated in the quote '*ua 'ese a le mafaufau o tagata Samoa i lenei vaitaimi*'[3](p.100). Samoans since the time when our ancestors settled in the archipelago enjoying close ties with Tonga and Fiji and others and even since the 'time of light' in 1830 no matter whether in Samoa or elsewhere in the diaspora, were then, and are now, more concerned with survival and remaining Samoan in an ever changing world. Change at a plethora of levels is inevitable but relative. What is more important is how change in introduced ideologies and realities are perceived and managed over time and space. The authors provide a hint of an answer when they

say, 'It is probably because the impacts of these earlier introductions seem to have been so incorporated into the life and organisation of the village that they are now practically invisible' (p.70), and 'Eventually…all were incorporated on the village's terms into the genealogy, polity, and eventually, the history of the village' (p.71).

What is actually happening in this globalising instance lies in Sahlins' (2000) notion of the indigenisation of modernity. In this view, Samoans have 'indigenised' or 'Samoanised' the three forces of Christianity, Capitalism, and Colonialism. But then the problem becomes what changes and what stays the same? If one takes on board Firth's (2000) thesis that in the Pacific there have been two periods of globalisation; the first – from 1850s to early 1900s – and the second – from 1970 onwards involving free trade, technological revolution in communications, and freedom of capital movement – then one can begin to understand that what contemporary Samoans are experiencing now in terms of the onslaught of different ideologies, technologies and social change, is not new. What Samoa and Samoans faced in the Firth's (2000) first period of globalisation was as revolutionary then as that which Samoa and Samoans are facing in the twenty-first century.

I agree that the resiliency of Samoans to forces of globalisation is not due to cultural conservatism per se. I contend instead that it is due to the unchanging primordial (spiritual, emotional) understandings (existing in the hearts, minds souls and praxis of Samoan people) of Samoan institutions and their concomitant values (Anae 1998). Grounded in the centrality of *aiga* and kin relationships, transnational corporations of kin underpin the rational and successful MIRAB economy which enables Samoans to survive comfortably at home. What is changing is the rational and justified circumstantial extent and scope (economic, social and political) of these institutions and values and how they are played out in global time and spaces where Samoans live, work, play and reproduce. This Samoan persistent identity system is the force behind the Samoanising of the three C's and is exactly what the authors are describing in their observation that, 'This raises the question of how profound changes have become so embodied in the worldview and lifestyle that they are effectively 'invisible' in daily discourse…New knowledge was grafted onto existing paradigms which shifted slightly of course but which showed how Samoans dominated the discourse in both social and political spheres' (p.105).

Much has already been written about the indigenisation/Samoanising of Christianity, Capitalism and Colonialism. In the 1800s – then as now in 2010 – globalisation is being Samoanised at pace. And there is no doubt that changes

in ideologies, technologies and social transformations will be managed and appropriate courses of action will be decided by local/transnational Samoan leaders and the local/transnational Samoan *aiga* – individuals, families, village and community members who put them there.

NOTES

1 See, for example, Bertram and Watters (1985, 1986).

2 Literally 'anything which interrupts normal activity' e.g. weddings, funerals, Church openings, title bestowals etc.

3 Glossed as 'Samoan people think differently now' (p.100).

REFERENCES

Anae, M. 1998 'Fofoaivaoese: The identity journeys of NZ-born Samoans.' Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Auckland.

Bertram G. and R. F. Watters. 1985 'The MIRAB economy in Pacific Microstates', *Pacific Viewpoint* 27 (3): 497–512.

Bertram G. and R. F. Watters 1986 'The MIRAB process: Some earlier analysis and context', *Pacific Viewpoint* 27 (1): 47–57.

Firth, S. 2000 'The Pacific Islands and the Globalisation agenda', *Contemporary Pacific* 12 (1): 178–192.

Sahlins, M. 1999 'What is Anthropological Enlightenment? Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28: i–xxiii.

Spicer, E.H. 1971, 'Persistent Cultural Systems', *Science* 174 (4011): 795–800

– BOOK REVIEW –

RETHINKING WOMEN AND POLITICS:
NEW ZEALAND AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Edited by K. McMillan, J. Leslie, and E. McLeay
Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2009. 344 pp. RRP $50,
ISBN 978-0-864-73610-9

Reviewed by
Associate Professor Sharyn Graham Davies,
Auckland University of Technology (AUT)

On the cover of this book, a photograph taken in 1984 shows four women peering out of a tent erected on the grounds of New Zealand's Parliament. The Parliament building, colloquially known as the Beehive, looms above the tent serving as a metaphor both of women's gradual emergence into the world of politics and the overwhelming dominance of institutional barriers.

The popular image of New Zealand women is framed by borders of equality and equity. As evidence of such parity, advocates frequently iterate that in 1893 New Zealand women were the first anywhere to be given the right to vote in formal political elections. Moreover, fifteen years later, New Zealand became the first country in the British Empire to award a bachelors degree to a woman. More recently, evidence of New Zealand women's political and social power is drawn from the fact that in the early 2000s, the top five positions in the public arena were occupied by women: the Governor-General was Silvia Cartwright, the Prime Minister was Helen Clark, the Chief Justice was Sian Elias, the Attorney-General was Margaret Wilson, and the CEO of Telecom was Theresa Gattung. If we left the story here it would be easy to assume that New Zealand women and men enjoy equal access to positions of political power. But we cannot leave the story here; *Rethinking Women and Politics* awakens us to a less equitable reality.

Rethinking Women and Politics has twelve chapters divided into four substantive sections: New Zealand Feminism, Past, Present, Future: Political and Personal; Voting and Representation; Pathways and Quotas: Overseas Experiences; and Sites of Conflict and Cooperation. As is often the case with edited

volumes, rather than read the book cover-to-cover I first scanned the contents page. Being on parental leave while still trying to meet publishing and other deadlines, it is no surprise that the first chapter I read was Tania Domett's 'Gender Equality and the Politics of Work-Life Balance in New Zealand.' Having a flexible job and a supportive husband, who is currently a stay-at-home dad, and being surrounded by many similarly privileged women, it is easy to forget that for a majority of Kiwi women work-life balance really entails shouldering a double burden of familial and employment obligations and responsibilities. As a case in point, Domett draws on published research to show that New Zealand women undertake around 4.8 hours of unpaid work per day compared to men's 2.8 hours. Furthermore, while men's hours of unpaid work stay constant throughout their lifetime, women's sharply increase during childbearing and childrearing years. Due to this increase, Domett reveals that many women have little option but to withdraw from paid employment. When later women have the opportunity to re-enter the workforce, they play catch-up with men whose uninterrupted careers have enabled them to reach senior positions. While Domett gives a number of examples of workplaces that proactively encourage parental flexibility, she concludes that work-life balance policies and measures primarily focus on women. One example given, which I am only too well aware of, is New Zealand's paid *parental* leave scheme. While leave can be transferred from one parent to another, it is awarded to the mother in the first instance. Furthermore, paid parental leave is linked to the mother's paid employment history; if the mother has not been engaged in paid work, there is no entitlement even if the father has been in continuous paid employment (p. 264). As part of her conclusion, Domett argues that in order to ensure that work-life balance policies become more than merely band-aids that facilitate women's dual roles, men need to become both actively involved in home-life and demand work-life policies that work for them too.

The second chapter that I read, and again no surprise given its focus, was Jenny Neale's 'Women and the Politics of University Careers.' With university classes often filled with a majority of women students (indeed in my Applied Media Ethics class of 400 students, 90 percent are women) and roughly half of all lecturers being women, it is easy to assume that university is a bastion of gender equality. Alas, the New Zealand statistics Neale presents provide a corrective to this assumption. At the levels of Associate Professor and Professor in 2007, a mere 23.2 percent and 15.2 percent were women respectively. Reflecting Domett's earlier arguments, Neale asserts that in part women's familial responsibilities form substantial obstacles to reaching senior academic positions.

The remaining ten chapters are all similarly interesting. For instance, Heather Devere and Jennifer Curtin examine connections between women, friendship and politics in New Zealand. One intriguing question this chapter raised for me was the cross-over between the positive value generally given to friendship and the negative value given to its close cousins, collusion and nepotism. Indeed, in the early 2000s, Cartwright, Clark, Elias, Wilson, and Gattung were often disparagingly referred to as 'The Girls' Club', suggesting that for the media at least, women in power bond together to the detriment of wider society.

Other chapters look at liberation activism (Sandra Grey), violence against women (Prue Hyman), gender and voting patterns (Anne Else), young women voters (Nicola Wilson-Kelly and Bronwyn Hayward), women and local government (Jean Drage), women ministers and representation (Jennifer Curtin), gender quotas and the UK (Ana Gilling), and women's activism (John Leslie and Sarah Elise Wiliarty). The final chapter by Kate McMillan is a captivating yet depressing analysis of gender and the media in New Zealand. Having watched TV3's news broadcast last night McMillan's findings rang true; not only did sports coverage cross over into the main bulletin, but women were completely absent from the coverage. As McMillan reveals, in the media category of 'Celebrity, Arts and Sport,' where sport alone took up to 36.3 percent of news time on TV3's primetime newscasts in 2003, 95 percent of the coverage was of men. Drawing on other research, McMillan further reveals that on one night of news across New Zealand's three major networks, there were 29 sports news subjects and only one of these subjects was a woman. This chapter, like the broader book, forces readers to open their eyes to the reality that while New Zealand is progressive in many respects in terms of gender equality in the political realm substantial gaps persist.

– BOOK REVIEW –

CHILDREN AS CITIZENS? INTERNATIONAL VOICES

Edited by Nicola Taylor and Anne Smith
University of Otago Press, 2009. 221 pp. RRP $45, ISBN 978-1-877372-62-9

Reviewed by
Associate Professor Mike O'Brien,
Social Policy and Social Work Programme, Massey University, Auckland

Academics and advocates working on children's issues and children's rights have contributed to a significant body of literature and practice exploring dimensions of children's citizenship, especially in relation to children's participation as citizens now, not as citizens in the making. This publication adds to that body of literature and that practice, but in a slightly different way. It brings together a collection of material from a diverse range of countries as the authors examine children's understanding about the idea of citizenship and what that means in their particular geographical, political and social context. The authors come from New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Palestine, Norway and Brazil; an anticipated contribution from the United States did not eventuate. The research and the subsequent publication were undertaken as part of the programme of the Childwatch International Citizenship Study Group. The national case studies are introduced through an introductory chapter on the nature of citizenship, especially in relation to the work on children's citizenship. The book concludes by drawing on the national case studies as the basis for a general exploration of emerging issues for children's citizenship.

One issue to be noted at the beginning, is the obvious and significant diversity of the countries involved. The data from Norway and Palestine clearly demonstrate the significance of political, social and economic contexts in shaping priorities about what constitutes children's citizenship experiences and aspirations. While this diversity makes for some difficulties in establishing meaningful comparisons across countries, it also highlights the importance of context in establishing and shaping (a) the ways in which children experience themselves as citizens and (b) their citizenship priorities. This is a salutary reminder, for much of the literature on children's citizenship is from affluent countries.

As part of the Childwatch project, all the researchers engaged in a similar exercise with children, asking them in a Rawlsian-like thought experiment to describe what they would expect and look for in an imaginary country and identify the rights and responsibilities of this country and its difference from their own country. This 'thought experiment' provides an interesting common dimension to the research. In addition, children's focus groups explored rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship in their own country. Furthermore, extensive efforts were made to establish focus groups with marginalised groups such as homeless children in Brazil, but, as the authors note, this was not always possible. Surveys were also used with parents and teachers in four of the six countries to explore adult perceptions of children's citizenship, but this data is not reported as extensively as the data from the children.

The research questions informing the work are clearly set out in the brief discussion of methodology (p.40). Some of the country chapters return explicitly to these questions, but not always in the way set out in the introduction, raising a question as to the extent to which there is a consistent framework shaping and driving the research. In some respects the differences are insignificant, but in others they are more substantial. For example, the methodology refers to a focus on how 'parents and teachers encourage and support children's enactment and understanding of citizenship' (p.140) while the South African chapter refers to 'parents (and teachers) perspectives on children's rights, responsibilities and citizenship' (p.151). The difference here is more than semantic. There is one annoying omission in the review copy, namely the notes for chapter nine, some of which allude to interesting discussions which I was unable to follow up.

As indicated above, the six country chapters provide a range of very interesting and rich insights into the lives of children in these countries and how those lives are shaped, and how that shaping in turn is reflected in the experiences and expectations surrounding citizenship, despite what the legal requirements might be as in the Brazilian case, for example. There are here too some interesting, and to my mind, unexpected, findings, such as the reported absence of any attention to legal rights among Australian children's discussion of rights (see p.56). Indeed, the discussion of the Australian civics curriculum (and the lack of identification of legal rights) suggests that it is perhaps the responsibilities dimension of citizenship rather than rights which dominates their education.

The discussions about children's citizenship and of the data from the country studies adopt an approach to citizenship based on individual rights and responsibilities. With the occasional exception, the wider social dimensions of

citizenship (central to the historical and academic development of the concept) are largely missing from both the data and the general discussion. Citizenship seems to be understood as an individualised property rather than being linked with relations between the citizen and the state, an observation highlighted in the final chapter when the authors state 'generally, citizenship was described as a characteristic which was attached to a person' (p.171). This is consistent with the definition of citizenship on p.15 in which the authors define citizenship as 'an entitlement to recognition, respect and participation'. This definition stands in contrast to the international literature on citizenship where the focus is on the relationship between the citizen and the state and the rights and responsibilities inherent in each party in that relationship, suggesting that a discussion of citizenship in relation to children requires a rather different approach to citizenship, something which is hinted at but not developed in the concluding chapter.

The concluding chapter raises a series of interesting and important questions for research, theory and practice. It sets out important challenges on a number of dimensions in these three areas. They argue that 'post-millennial conceptions of children as citizens are now entrenched in contemporary discourses of childhood' (p.180). It would be nice to be so confident, but the recent experience in New Zealand of a farcical referendum and accompanying public debate on law changes in relation to use of physical force in relation to children suggests that such certainty is somewhat shaky, to say the least.

This is an interesting, important and readable book which I will certainly use in my own work and with students and I would encourage those interested in issues surrounding children to read and reflect on its implications for their research, teaching and advocacy activities and, perhaps more importantly, as a pointer to the very variable position of children internationally.

– BOOK REVIEW –

STATE OF SUFFERING:
POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND COMMUNITY SURVIVAL IN FIJI

by Susanna Trnka
Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008.
214 pp. RRP $46. ISBN 9780801474989.

Reviewed by
Eleanor Rimoldi, Massey University

De-colonization in the Pacific region has proven to be as disruptive to people's lives as the colonial tsunami that swept through these islands in the last century. As the waters recede the dawn of independence reveals the damage done to land, to custom, and to a sense of community constructed on the basis of everyday negotiations.

Susanna Trnka's book centers this history on the dramatic events of the 2000 coup in Fiji. In order to explain these events, she takes us back to British colonization in 1874 when Arthur Gordon, the first governor, imported Indian laborers to 'provide the backbone of the colony's labor force, and...allow Fiji's native inhabitants, who practiced subsistence-based lifestyle, to remain outside of market-based labor' (p. 32). Whether this policy was influenced by British idealist preservationists to 'protect' the indigenous Fijian culture, or by the desire of the British administration to maintain control of the economic wealth of the islands (the indentured laborers were meant to return to India), the result has been two deeply divided communities. To the present day, 'the majority of land can be owned only by those who are officially identified as indigenous Fijian' (p. 33) whereas Indo-Fijians have continued to dominate in the area of wage labor and business, as well as in public service, teaching etc. As both Indo-Fijians and indigenous Fijians began to compete for a variety of commercial, political, and tertiary positions, representative groups such as unions and political parties became ethnically segregated. Post independence, Fiji's constitution of 1970 allocated communal seats in Parliament to indigenous Fijians (the Alliance Party) and this advantage remained until the elections of 1987 when Timoci Bavadra was elected with the support of a multiethnic coalition. A series of coups have followed (twice in 1987, in 2000, and

in 2006). Although commentators are divided on the politics and interests behind the coups, the impact on Fijian and Indo-Fijian relations has been severe.

It is against this background (the focus of the first two chapters of her book) that Trnka tells her story of fieldwork in an Indo-Fijian community during the 1987 coup. The rest of the book is a much more personal account of the experience of living through a time of civil conflict primarily experienced from the perspective of the Indian community. Trnka collects stories, rumours, and jokes to illustrate the fear, disorientation, and physical harm experienced by Indians in her village. In the chapter 'Living in Fantastic Times' she says for many people 'the crisis … stripped away the familiarity and comprehensibility of daily life, plunging people into a space in which it was difficult to differentiate between rumors and reality, where real life often seemed more like something out of a fantasy novel or a Bollywood movie' (p. 63). This seems to be an increasingly common reaction to the exposure of 'realpolitik' in a world where power has many disguises.

It is an intimate and sorry tale of rape, intimidation, and the appeal to ethnic stereotypes. That Trnka was there with her young family (pregnant with her second child) contributes to the intensity of her experience. Reliant on her Indian community for support, she was able to comprehend their fear of the 'rebels' and their dread of watching Fiji return to jungle overturning their (Indian) years of labor and economic development. This is the advantage of the anthropological immersion in the community, the way of life, the point of view of a people. Yet, under conditions of violent civil conflict, the risk is that the balance will tip towards subjective experience, and privilege suffering close at hand at the expense of understanding the wider picture and instead become the politics of suffering. For example, Trnka associates the 'politics of pain' with the anguish of Indo-Fijians at the destruction and looting of Suva businesses that they had built up from years of hard labour on plantations and commercial enterprise. Trnka focuses on rumours that can not always be verified, and fear induced stereotypes of indigenous Fijians as lazy, violent, cannibalistic 'jungli', and although she critiques these as responses to stress, they linger as somehow (experientially) 'true'.

The book ends with Bainimarama's coup and his rejection by New Zealand and Australia. Alexander Downer called 'for Fiji's citizens to undertake acts of passive resistance against the military government' (p. 184) but the divisions that Trnka makes evident in her book make it difficult to grasp any notion of a united citizenry in Fiji but rather a likelihood that people will revert to their own particular fantasy as to what 'normalcy' was and who is responsible for

destroying it. The silence that Trnka experienced on a return trip, a refusal to go over the pain and suffering of the coups, is interpreted as a means of:

> promoting healing – an effective means of communicating collective solidarity around one's pain … but also a political act that relegated an unbridgeable rupture between past and present. To break the silence would have been to bring these moments of trauma back into the present, something that the men and women of Darshan Gaon were not willing to do (p. 180)

but, of course, Trnka has. In her intimate description of the trauma experienced by Indo-Fijians it could be said that Trnka privileged their suffering as hapless victims of history. But history will have its way, and there is no end in sight.

– BOOK REVIEW –

REMAKING THE TASMAN WORLD

by Philippa Mein-Smith, Peter Hempenstall and Shaun Goldfinch
Canterbury University Press, 2008.
296 pp. RRP $39.95, ISBN 978-1-877257-62-9.

Reviewed by
Simon Sigley, Massey University, Auckland

Remaking the Tasman World should be widely read for its insights and information regarding the varied 'communities of interest' that have plied their various trades in Australia and New Zealand from the colonial period to the present day, whether in material commodities, public policy transfers or symbolic exchanges that fashion popular stereotypes.

One of the book's principal aims is to reinscribe the Tasman world's lengthy, myriad and multilayered history into contemporary consciences, adding to, if not necessarily undermining (although it does have a subversive thread) the ostensibly separate national histories that have dominated (or clouded) each nation's historiography and popular cultural imaginary.

In that aim, it is successful. It clearly proves that there have always been multiple ties that bind the two countries, although the strength of those ties has varied over time. The ten chapters have been conceived to provide a welter of facts and figures to support the central thesis of the book, namely that there are many ways in which the two countries share similar social, economic, political and cultural histories – notwithstanding the considerable differences of geography and circumstance. But this is no simple statistician's nirvana. As in any argument with powerful suasive force, such empirical data is there to buttress the various themes and ideas that the different chapters develop; and the conclusions that each draws will thus be harder to dispute.

Chapters 1 and 10, 'Rediscovering the Tasman world' and 'Australasia Dreaming', provide broad conceptual frameworks of understanding and orientation with which to begin and conclude one's voyage through the Tasman world, a term the authors have chosen to highlight the fact that in the asymmetrical

relationship between Australia and New Zealand, it is the latter who is in greater need of the former, however unpalatable such recognition may be for New Zealanders.

The book contends that there has been more practical trans-Tasman learning and recognition of commonalities than ideological or mythological misrecognition 'in a process that political scientists call policy learning, lesson drawing, diffusion or policy transfer'. However, as the title of another of the rare books to look 'sideways' rather than north made clear a few years ago, the 'prickly pair' have engaged in many instances of exaggeration of difference (McLean 2003).

The second chapter highlights this by examining the representation of national stereotypes in cartoons, which typically exaggerate national differences in the interests of constructing dramatic effect; such rhetorical structures obscure, however, the persistence of similarities in the Tasman world, which the book is fundamentally concerned to reveal. The textual analysis of the images is richly thematic and reveals their historically conditioned political and cultural significance. It may be asking too much of an historian untrained in art history, but combining form and content in the analysis of images is widespread, if not *de rigueur*, and some attention paid to the more formal signifying practices of the cartoonists would increase our understanding of the ways in which their meanings are made and conveyed.

The next chapter, 'Living Together' studies the movement of people and popular culture across the Tasman (making use of Rollo Arnold's notion of 'perennial interchange' to characterise this trans-Tasman flow), now heavily weighted in favour of Australia, but it was not always so, and this chapter notes those periods when Australians crossed the 'ditch' in search of better lives, as in the early 1900s.

This chapter, along with the others, contains both broad historical trends and particular case studies, with the latter providing nuggets of cultural history, such as Tex Morton – a New Zealander revered in Australia as the 'Father of Australian Country Music' – who yet elected to be buried next to his parents in Nelson. Tourism, gambling and horse racing are also covered, with the origins and culture of harness racing contrasted with thoroughbred racing to reveal distinctions based on class and 'taste'.

The notion that New Zealand was 'recolonised' by British culture from the 1880s to the 1960s (James Belich is the most recent of New Zealand histori-

ans to have advanced this influential thesis) also receives further reappraisal. 'Living Together' makes it clear that Australian (popular) culture has made longstanding and major contributions to New Zealand's culture and identity. To cite but one instance, the 'man alone' theme, cherished as a distinctively local literary trope, is as contested as the pavlova with regards to its antipodean origins.

Miles Fairburn has elsewhere claimed that there is nothing autochthonous in New Zealand culture, described as a 'pastiche' comprising Australian, American and British elements. When one sees, for example, that Australia was easily the largest supplier of recorded music between 1914 and 1980, and that the *Bulletin, Women's Weekly* and *Pix* (all Australian), as well as the *New Zealand Truth* (based on and owned by its Australian parent company), were also the most popular magazines in New Zealand, then one has to acknowledge that the British 'recolonisation' was only partial.

Radio programmes from Australia, typically scheduled on the commercial ZB network, were also more numerous than those from either Britain or the USA. For the teenager that I was, however, listening to revivals of BBC radio's *The Goon Show* and dramatisations of C.S. Forester's *Horatio Hornblower* on the YA stations in Auckland, Australian serials were rare sonic offerings indeed, which suggests a distinct aural line of demarcation between low- and middlebrow on state radio. This distinction continues to this day even though the current Australian CEO of Radio New Zealand seems inclined to fudge its sharper edges.

'Shared State Experiments' discusses the many layers and levels of information sharing with regard to public policy. It is surprising how extensive the copying, learning and improvement is in many areas. Fiscal responsibility legislation, for example, which came into force in New Zealand in 1994 and required the government to formulate and report its fiscal policy objectives and strategies to parliament, 'provided a model for the Australian Charter of Budget Honesty Act 1998'. There is also a longstanding 'habit of consultation' with Australia. New Zealand representatives participate in many standing committees of federal and state ministers and meetings between select committees of the respective parliaments.

The significant economic impact that patterns of trans-Tasman trade have had in the past – the aptly named Tasman Pulp and Paper Company would not have been so big and bold without Australian co-operation – and continue to have in the present, are the subjects of chapter five. The author of this chapter, Philippa Mein-Smith, also suggests that former PM, Robert Muldoon, be given

a 'Project Manager Award' for the role he played in achieving Closer Economic Relations (1983); this is surprising because Muldoon is more commonly seen as an impediment to CER given his command economy and arch-regulator persona.

Chapter Six, 'Doing Business', explores to what degree the government rhetoric of an inexorable move towards a single trans-Tasman economic market is founded in empirical evidence. Shaun Goldfinch tests the rhetoric against a variety of indices to determine the degree to which there is a shared 'business culture', the existence of which is considered a facilitator of business integration. The chapter also examines the degree of 'policy isomorphism and the existence of networks among business elites – interlocking directorships, shared memberships of business and other associations and trans-Tasman business managers'. He finds that there is indeed a trans-Tasman business world and that, moreover, it is likely to accelerate in the future.

'Learning Together', the title of chapter seven, explores how Rollo Arnold's concept of perennial interchange can be applied to 'a common learning environment' where 'a consistent movement of ideas, institutions and people' across the Tasman has been 'most dynamic'. There is good material on Catholic, Christian Brothers, Adventists and Evangelical school systems. Peter Hempenstall notes that insufficient attention has been paid to religious history in accounts of the Tasman world's development. It is a rueful observation given the extent to which various religions have engaged with the great themes of New Zealand and Australian history, including the relationships of antipodean settler societies to the land and its primary migrants (Aboriginal and Maori), the impact of the world wars, economic depression and societal transformations.

Chapter Eight, 'Playing Together', outlines the trans-Tasman competition in four major sporting codes: rugby, rugby league, cricket and netball. It offers historical analyses of the sports' arrival and evolution, and cultural explanations for similarities and differences in development and organisation. The symbolic role they play in each nation's imaginary is also noted: Australian sports fan culture praises individual sporting heroes whereas New Zealanders are more muted in such praise, reserving their best for team pursuits.

I found it strange that no mention was made of the fiasco that overtook the 2003 Rugby World Cup, which was originally to have been co-hosted by both Australia and New Zealand but ended up being an entirely Australian-hosted sporting event. The text also erroneously describes New Zealander Robbie

Deans, the current coach of the Australian national rugby team, as 'mentor' to the Wallabies.

Chapter Nine, 'Defending the Realm', concludes the thematic organisation of the book by examining trans-Tasman defence arrangements. The nuclear ships debate, which followed the 1985 New Zealand decision to refuse entry to a American warship on the grounds it might be nuclear armed, was an obvious watershed moment in the defence and security arrangement between Australia and New Zealand. Common security interests, however, have significantly diminished the shadow that difference cast, and CDR (Closer Defence Relations) now characterises more recent regional military interventions in such places as East Timor and the Solomon Islands.

There is much to like, learn and discover in the pages of this cleverly conceived and timely book, which should interest a wide readership from undergraduates to policy analysts and parents. For many New Zealanders, Australia is a country one looked beyond rather than to. We seem to have made a prickly point of ignoring one another's proximity in favour of more distant 'significant others' for reassurance of our worth and place, as if looking closely at one another were a discomforting experience. The 'crimson thread of kinship' that united the Anglo-Celtic peoples who migrated to this side of the earth, and the family metaphor it bespeaks, suggests that families are not easy things to live with. Why this should be so is undoubtedly a complex concatenation of history and psychology that a closer study of our cultures as 'born modern' white settler societies might reveal. This leads me to a reserve I have about the content of this otherwise admirable book: it pays no attention to the shared screen histories in film and television and the construction and diffusion of culture that takes place in the production of cinematic narratives and the televisual flow of programmes. If we are remaking the Tasman world, then the long and varied histories of these economically substantial, ideologically significant and culturally vital screen media arts and industries should be on the map.

REFERENCES

Fairburn, M. 2006 'Is there a Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?', in T. Ballantyne and B. Moloughney (eds) *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press: 143–167.

McLean, D. 2003 *The Prickly Pair: Making Nationalism in Australia and New Zealand*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

– BOOK REVIEW –

SECULAR SERMONS:
ESSAYS ON SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

by Alan Musgrave

Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2009. 216 pp. RRP $40,
ISBN 978187737270.

Reviewed by
Dr Warwick Tie
School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University, Auckland.

In their anticipation of a lay audience for this book, the two opening statements of this text – the Foreword and the Preface – make much of the title's religious register. In one, the title is observed to be 'intriguing' (presumably for a book that works in defence of the rationality of science); and the second notes that the title derives from the fact that the first chapter was initially delivered from the pulpit of Dunedin's Knox Church, thereby qualifying it as a secular kind of sermon. This religious idiom endures as an unbidden sub-text beneath the book's surface intention, that intention being to reinforce the status of scepticism as the core scientific attitude (as articulated by Karl Popper's philosophy of science) while providing reasonable grounds for believing in particular theories (as is associated with the modification of Popper's philosophy by Imre Lakatos). The religious register persists as it becomes evident that these two elements coexist uneasily and that the boundary between them has an unsymbolisable quality to it such that the text finds itself haunted by a spectral object with which it must on occasion negotiate.

Beyond the brief foreword and preface, the text opens into a series of papers that were delivered to audiences across university and public settings during, for the most part, the 1970s and 1980s. Their subject material covers a range of fascinating debates and issues relevant to the sciences: the nature of belief, of science itself, the role of ideas in science, the prospects for progressive scientific education, the relationship of science to religion, and more besides. Of special interest to a reader such as myself, whose education began in the fundamental sciences, is the impressively broad spectrum of fields within which these debates and issues are lucidly considered: physics, chemistry, biology,

astronomy, and mathematics. We have at work in the assemblage of these discussions an obviously catholic and incisive mind, and one that delights in the sharing of knowledge.

Appearing to motivate the text is an intention to counter what the author perceives to be the deracinating effect upon the logic of rational inquiry of two forms of thought: belief in the possibility of axiomatic truth (associated with the logics of induction and verification) and irrationalism (most notably organised religion). The particular logic of rational inquiry Musgrave wishes to defend is falsification. It is at the level of the book's work in defending this specific logic that interest really begins for a social scientist such as myself, on account of the socio-political implications that accompany the challenges posed by the act of defending falsification.

The primary strategy deployed in *Secular Sermons* is to demonstrate the unreasonable character of falsification's main rivals – of the logics of induction and irrationalism – such that findings generated by those approaches show themselves to be susceptible to logical refutation. In terms of strategy, it is possibly the easiest to make and Musgrave repeatedly demonstrates his mastery of it. As a tangential observation with regard to this strategy, spectacular in its absence from these discussions is the critical realism spanning Rom Harré, Roy Bhaskar, and Margaret Archer. This omission appears significant for a text that seeks to present falsification as the one true methodology given that the critical realism of Bhaskar, in particular, strongly rivals falsification in the social sciences on account of its ability to get beyond falsification's necessary presumption that systems, at the point of experimentation, are closed (see Baert 1998: 189–97).

A second strategy, that could have enlarged the book's brief such it could speak equally to social scientists, would be to pose and refute the sources of immanent critique faced by falsification: that the logic of falsification cannot itself be falsified and that it only persists by way of non-falsifying forms of logic. While Musgrave does not tackle this issue directly here, a discussion that he mounts in support of evolutionary theory might suggest how he would do so if he were concerned to offer an internal defence to his position. His support for evolutionary theory as a grand narrative (my words, not his) employs Lakatos' notion of a 'scientific research programme'. At the core of such programmes sits an agreement to hold to a set of hypothesis as if they were axiomatic truths, to place them beyond refutation. As a consequence, those propositions in effect become metaphysical, disciplining the research practices immediately deployed under their auspices.

From the conceptual resources provided by *Secular Sermons*, we could well expect a similar kind of argument offered by Musgrave with regard to the apparent paradox of falsification, that its existence as a coherent philosophy depends upon the suspension of scepticism towards the scepticism through which falsification functions as a research methodology. The concession required in order for a practice of unremitting scepticism to take the form of a coherent philosophy is that it thereby finds itself not as the one true pathway towards understanding but, instead, as part of the 'web of belief' within which each and every philosophy of science finds itself (McLennan 2007: 859).

What becomes interesting at this point is the kind of argumentative strategy deployed to shore up falsification as it totters on the edge of what the author's defensive strategies have otherwise been calling metaphysical irrationality. We have Musgrave's discussion on evolutionism to predict a possible response: '*(t)he fact is* … evolutionary theory is the only scientific game in town' (p.196, emphasis added). We might thereby well expect this same unexpected doff towards an inductive mode of expression in respect of falsification's status in relation to the logics of induction and irrationalism: 'The fact is, falsification is the only scientific game in town'. Clearly, it isn't though, if the domain of scientific endeavour were to be expanded to include the full panoply of the social sciences.

The weight of this issue impresses itself upon the reader far beyond intellectually interesting questions about the means through which the internal coherence of falsification might be sustained in the face of possible dislocation. That weight has a more important socio-political bearing, concerning the implications for intellectual work of this strategy as it comes to be deployed within the context of the knowledge-based economy (Osborne and McLennan 2003; Osborne 2004; McLennan 2004). In the terms proffered by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, the defence of singular philosophies, such as we have in *Secular Sermons*, comprises a legislative form of academic labour (Bauman 1987). Its product is less big ideas that might have the capacity to exceed the horizons of an increasingly commodified social life than a prescription for correct methodological procedure. Musgrave's superior authorial and analytic skills in presenting such a position marks this text as being unambiguously 'oracular' in just this way (Osborne 2004: 443). The breadth of knowledge displayed, and problem-solving skills to which a number of chapters speak, indicates also a good measure of 'the expert' within Musgrave's intellectual position (Osborne 2004: 439–40). And the production of short-range mediating ideas that has come to typify much media-oriented social science (Osborne 2004: 440–41; McLennan 2004), with its ultimately regressive reduction of meanings to the

contexts within which they emerge, could also easily figure within this text as just that kind of irrationalism for which falsification stands as the appropriate antidote.

Adherence to a single such form of knowledge production in any of these guises runs the risk of producing questionable political outcomes in the context of a knowledge-driven economy: methodolatry, elitism, pragmatism. What would enable this text to really stand out as being attuned to its times, would be attention not to the relation of its core programme (falsification) to its external others (of induction and irrationalism), but of the relation of that core to its internal other – the unsymbolisable boundary that persists between falsification's ethos of scepticism and the aspiration towards discursive coherence. Attention of this kind would illuminate the potentially dialectical movement of ideas-work in relation to its contexts. Pitched as this text is to a lay audience, that obligation to speak clearly about the dynamic and socio-politically contextualised character of science philosophy becomes all the more important if the general public are to understand science as a living entity. In the absence of such an engagement, however, the reader in the end might just feel a little preached at.

REFERENCES

Baert, P. 1998 *Social Theory in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Polity.

Bauman, Z. 1987 *Legislators and Interpretors: On Modernity, Post-modernity and Intellectuals*, Cambridge: Polity.

Osborne, T. 2004 'On mediators: intellectuals and the ideas trade in the knowledge society', *Economy and Society*, 33(4): 430–447.

Osborne, T. and McLennan, G. 2003 'Contemporary "vehicularity" and "romanticism": debating the status of ideas and intellectuals', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 6(4): 51–66.

McLennan, G. 2004 'Travelling with vehicular ideas: The case of the Third Way', *Economy and Society*, 33(4): 484–499.

McLennan, G. 2007 'Towards postsecular sociology?', *Sociology*, 41(5): 857–780.