ileges space in one dimension, the first pushed construction, without giving adequate attention to the more nuanced and dynamic relationships of land/sea, people/chiefs, insiders/outsiders, owners/strangers, and so on, of adult Fijian life. This affects the argument about larger historical transformations—it is in variations of these dynamic relationships (as well as in relations with Indo-Fijians and colonizers) that history has been made in Fiji—more than it does the compelling claims about cognitive beginnings.

Toren argues persuasively (p. 245) that notions of rank and seniority are constructed concurrently with notions of gender by Fijian children, and also, in her final chapters, describes an interesting gender transformation under way: perhaps influenced by Christian ritual space relations, Fijian girls conceive of women's place in the hierarchy differently from boys. Overall, this book is a stimulating contribution to the study of cognition and cultural space, and also to the study of Pacific hierarchy, especially in its attention to the gendered complexities of hierarchy in Fijian communities.

Christianity in Oceania: Ethnographic Perspectives. *John Barker,* ed. ASAO Monograph, No. 12. Lanham, MD: University Press of America/Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, 1990. 330 pp. $38.50 (cloth), $24.50 (paper).

FRANCIS X. HEZEL, SJ
Micronesian Seminar
Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia

Some years ago, at a meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO), one of the participants called for a reassessment of field research priorities in the Pacific. As the cultural frontier steadily receded in the Pacific and everywhere else in the world, as the number of unstudied societies diminished by the year, it was thought that anthropologists should seriously consider doing ethnographies of foreign institutions as they had been adapted and subsumed by island peoples. This volume is an attempt to respond to that call by looking at Christianity in the Pacific in a new light. Where an earlier volume in the ASAO Monograph series, *Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania* (Boutilier, Hughes, and Tiffany, eds., University of Michigan Press, 1978), saw Christian churches as essentially Western impositions on the island cultures and focused largely on the process of missionization with its attendant conflicts, this book studies Christian churches as aspects of the indigenous cultures. Its subject matter is Christianity as it is practiced in the villages of the Pacific today, and its goal is to learn what we may from the sometimes astonishing transformations that have taken place as what was originally a foreign introduction has been configured to the shape and form of the island cultures that embraced it.

This anthology, although weighted toward Melanesia, resists the temptation to plod through descriptions of the endless variations of cargo cultism. The authors who deal with the subject do so selectively. They point out that cargo cultism, while seemingly in contradiction with the tenets of Christianity, complements the lived Christian faith of islanders, not so much by its promise of material reward as through the spiritualistic element it introduces. Christian denominations seem to coexist with the cults in a curious and productive kind of tension. In many parts of the Pacific, the Ten Commandments serve as a common creed, shared not only by members of different denominations but by adherents of cargo cults and other local religious movements as well. Yet, the same commandments are ingeniously reinterpreted from one place to another. For the Maenge in East New Britain, for example, "honoring one's father and mother" is extended to the ancestral spirits, and the injunction to "keep holy the Lord's day" is applied to Thursday, the weekly holiday of the local cargo cult. The Christian God frequently takes on some of the characteristics of the local gods and, in the case of Drauniivi of Fiji, is believed to have begotten the local gods. The local pantheon has not been displaced by Jehovah, as earlier anthropologists may have feared, but has been absorbed into Christian life and practice in a variety of ways documented by the authors of this volume.

As for the Christian churches themselves, they affirm and reinforce socially significant values and attitudes. One author (Thune) analyzes the content of prayers and readings at United Church services among the people of Normanby Island to show that they are intended to build up "expansive social relations." On the tiny island of Pulap in central Micronesia, the Catholicism Flinn portrays supports the traditional virtues of nurturing, sharing, and cooperation. Everywhere, the authors suggest, islanders have emphasized the compatibility and continuity between custom and Christianity. Indeed, among present-day Fijians, Kaplan suggests, Christianity is seen as actually constituting national identity, as

numerous speeches during the recent coups in Fiji attest.

Whatever its weaknesses, this anthology holds together better than most such collections of essays. Its focus is clearly stated and the chapters avoid both the simplistic opposition of foreign and indigenous religions and the equally simplistic reductionism of Christianity to local religious traditions. This volume charts the way for further studies into the present-day religious systems of Pacific Islanders, which at last are recognized as a valid focus of anthropological inquiry.

Knowledge and Power in a South Pacific Society. *Lamont Lindstrom.* Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990. 240 pp. $29.95 (cloth), $16.95 (paper).

ROBERT BOROFSKY
Hawaii Loa College

Works by such French scholars as Durkheim, Mauss, Lévi-Strauss, and Bourdieu are commonly acknowledged to have significantly influenced general anthropological thought. But only recently one finds such recognition given to the works of Michel Foucault, except perhaps in medical anthropology. In this book—appropriately titled *Knowledge and Power*—Lindstrom seeks to enlarge Foucault's impact. He uses Foucault's writings on discourse, knowledge, and power (especially "The Discourse on Language," in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Harper Colophon, 1972) to describe the processes of "talk" on the Melanesian island of Tanna. It is a bold, provocative attempt that raises significant questions for general anthropology.

The book is divided into six chapters. In chapter 1, "Knowledge and Power," Lindstrom frames his argument in relation to Foucault's work. Discourse and power are discussed. And Lindstrom enunciates the purpose of his book—"to uncover local procedures that manage the practice of saying itself: the conditions that govern the making, circulation, and hearing (consumption) of island talk" (p. 9). (The preface makes clear that Lindstrom prefers to substitute discourse for culture in his analysis and to frame it in terms of economic metaphors [pp. xii–xiii].)

Chapter 2 fleshes out the ethnographic and historical Tannese contexts. A distinction is drawn between discipline and doctrine. And we learn that conversational dynamics are significant indications of power on the island because limited economic differentials exist. Ways of talking become markers of power.

The third, fourth, and fifth chapters elaborate on the organization of such talking. Chapter 3, "Statement Production," deals with the "regulatory discursive procedures that enfranchise a speaker to formulate or repeat knowledge" (p. 66). In it Lindstrom discusses who has the authority to enunciate, cite, and/or produce knowledge statements. Chapter 4, "Statement Circulation," examines the discursive procedures that allow knowledge "to circulate within the information market" (p. 66). Following Lindstrom's economic metaphor, we learn how information is stored, distributed, and exchanged. And we perceive how these processes maintain unequal power relations. Chapter 5, "Statement Consumption," examines the discursive procedures that make statements authentic and attractive to listeners. "Within regimes of truth," Lindstrom asserts, "the powerful maintain and reproduce their conversational positions and functions by managing the material and the interpretive requirements of cultural consumption" (p. 141).

In chapter 6, "Changing Conversations," Lindstrom explores how discourse conveys a sense of power by the changing patterns of what people discuss: "Changing talk may change the world. When one regime of truth replaces another, things, persons, desires, strategies, and existing powers can all transform" (p. 176).

Knowledge and Power is a provocative book in the positive sense of the word. Implicitly and explicitly it raises important questions about the relation of power to discourse. Some will have trouble equating power with talk and accepting conversation as a major signifier of power relations. (The problem is one that confounds some of Foucault's work as well—see Dreyfus and Rabinow's *Michel Foucault*, University of Chicago Press, 1982, pp. xi–100.) Others will question Lindstrom's economic and information-centered metaphors (in which the world information market replaces the world economic system). But the analysis leads to intriguing insights. When Western traders came to Tanna in the 19th century, for example, Lindstrom points out that they needed to introduce new ways of knowing—relating to copra production and money's significance—in order to reap economic profit. Stimulating exchange required not only offering exotic goods but also teaching exotic knowledge. From Lindstrom's book we gain a clearer understanding of how power and knowing become entwined in the colonizing,