

one learns almost nothing about the nature of the colonial order here, except for what can be decoded about it from Kaliai cargo beliefs. This may in part respond to Bush Kaliai experience, for there are hints here that one of the perceived difficulties the rural Bush Kaliai faced during the colonial era was that the colonial powers remained at too great a distance to be engaged rather than simply observed. This perhaps accounts for why the cargo cultists were so concerned to mimic the colonial order and in doing so bring it closer to home. However, the lack of focus on the details of the colonial experience is also linked to the fact that this book focuses almost exclusively on the realm of “story;” it treats Bush Kaliai talk about cargo and cargo ritual without for the most part situating that talk in relation to action of either the “cultic” or the everyday sort. In addressing the experience of colonialism and its aftermath, and in general ethnographic terms, a bit of contextualization of Bush Kaliai beliefs in relation both to the world of their day-to-day social lives and to the role of the colonial and postcolonial orders within those social lives would have been welcome.

But these few critical remarks should not be allowed to obscure the important contribution this book makes to Pacific anthropology. A powerful study of the way religion mediates the colonial encounter, it restores vitality to the study of cargo cults and confronts Melanesianists with issues of racial and other kinds of domination that they too often ignore. At once strikingly original in its arguments and familiar enough in its data to be of comparative value, it

is a book that is destined to have an important impact on the anthropology of the region.

JOEL ROBBINS

University of California, San Diego

* * *

Music at the Borders: Not Drowning, Waving and Their Engagement with Papua New Guinean Culture (1986–96), by Philip Hayward. Sydney: John Libbey, 1998. ISBN 1-86462-012-9; vii + 216 pages, photographs, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, A\$29.95.

Sound Alliances: Indigenous Peoples, Cultural Politics and Popular Music in the Pacific, edited by Philip Hayward. London and New York: Cassell, 1998. ISBN 0-304-70055-x, cloth; 0-304-70050-9, paper; x + 220 pages, tables, figures, notes, bibliography, discographies, index. Cloth, US\$79.50; paper, US\$21.95.

Throughout the 1990s, Philip Hayward has been the driving force behind popular music studies in Australia, founding *Perfect Beat: The Pacific Journal of Research into Contemporary Music and Popular Culture* in 1992, continuing to edit that journal until 1998, the year in which the Centre for Contemporary Music Studies (at Macquarie University, Sydney) was established under his directorship. These two publications—the first the result of Hayward’s own PhD research, and the second an anthology of significant publications from the first five years of *Perfect Beat*—are, together, a significant milestone and achievement. Hayward’s scholarship elegantly com-

bines the (often divergent, if not mutually exclusive) ethnographic and musical streams of contemporary music studies to create a convincing, sophisticated and eminently readable postcolonial analysis of the engagement of the Melbourne band Not Drowning, Waving with Papua Guinean culture. As well, these volumes mark the vigor and rigorousness of the burgeoning popular music studies scene in Australia.

The *Sound Alliances* anthology (and indeed, the *Perfect Beat* project in total), as Hayward observes in the collection's introduction, responds to the limits of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music's supposedly global purview: the association's graphics, circulated in 1993, depicted the (musical) world as "two spheres, overlapping around the mid-Atlantic," from which the Pacific, Australia, New Zealand, and Southeast Asia had been "[f]illeted out" (3). Seeking to redress this marginalization, *Sound Alliances* makes no claim to "overarching hypothesis about the complex interaction of Western, (post)-colonial cultures and indigenous peoples," instead bringing together thematically linked contributions to the early phase of an ongoing research project: that of "mapping diversity and documenting and/or reconstructing a largely unrecorded history" (5–6). Similarly, Hayward positions his own book as "a corrective to perceptions processed through the lens of the North Atlantic" (199).

It would not be fair to single out any particular contribution to *Sound Alliances* for comment: the strength of the collection lies in the layering up of a sense of a community of inquiry,

and the fostering of an intertextual head of steam, grounded in a set of empirical, rather than theoretical, concerns. The first section of the book comprises a series of historical analyses of particular music cultures, with a focus on the role of music in the construction, retrieval, and certainly maintenance of cultural identities, from Koori music in Melbourne to *Kanaké* music in New Caledonia, to surveys of Hawaiian popular musics. The second contextualizes this historiographic project within the field of music as an industry, weighing the tensions between the articulation of indigenous identities and the syncretizing (if not colonializing) vicissitudes of global commercial, media, and cultural flows. The four concluding contributions are organized as a case study of the Australian Aboriginal rock group Yothu Yindi. Taken together, these essays lay out a field of research that will both benefit from the directions indicated by this substantial empirical groundwork, and, over time, build more sophisticated theoretical and methodological models with which to address the exchange of local and transnational musical culture into the twenty-first century.

Hayward's own book makes a weightier contribution to the field of popular music studies, and, as I have already suggested, to a broader set of postcolonial concerns with processes of cultural syncretism in the age of globalization. Departing from Steven Feld's pathbreaking treatment of (what Feld distinguishes as a genuinely syncretic) "world beat" and (the exploitative commodification of exotic musics as) "world music" (Feld 1988 in *Public Culture Bulletin*, 31–37; 1994 in

Music Grooves, edited with Charles Keil, 257–290), Hayward acknowledges the asymmetry of any encounter between first world and developing world musicians, and builds on Feld’s account of the “double line” sung by any such encounter, combining the “melody of admiration” and the “harmonising countermelody of power . . . control and domination” (Feld in *Music at the Borders*, 180).

Hayward does not shirk the implications of this fundamental asymmetry in order to produce a purely celebratory account, registering instead the shortcomings of all involved: “the process is a complex one. None of the parties involved emerge as ‘angels,’ only as participants involved in lived cultural production” (201).

Through careful (and, most significantly within the field, *readable*) musicological analyses, Hayward develops a narrative of the development of Not Drowning, Waving’s affinity with Papua New Guinean music. On this account, emerging from a potent postmodern brew of influences on the Melbourne pub-rock scene in the early 1980s, ranging from John Cage and Steve Reich’s experiments in *musique concrète*, through the art rock of Brian Eno and (to a lesser extent) David Byrne, the band enacted its own self-marginalization from popular music orthodoxy. Here, Hayward uses a double analysis, combining interviews with the founding members of the band to understand what Hayward calls their own “poietic” discourse (such as founding member David Bridie’s claim to a non-systematic, intuitive, and subjective work practice), and a musicological analysis identifying immanent features

of the musical texts themselves corresponding to these discourses. Bridie and fellow founding member John Phillip consciously rejected popular musical conventions and clichés, Hayward argues (48). They positioned the band, working within an activist political zeitgeist, to engage with Papua New Guinean musics (and musicians such as George Telek) primarily as *musicians*—independently of, or at least prior to, an ideological commitment to transcultural practices per se.

What emerges in Not Drowning, Waving’s work, argues Hayward, is not so much a (postmodern, neocolonialist) imitation, nor an appropriation of an Other’s music, but the presence of a nonwestern influence in the *thinking behind*, rather than *in* the music. Here, Hayward places the band in a tradition from Debussy through to Reich, for which the imaginative and creative stimulus of nonwestern musics are more significant than the musical material itself. The result is the synergic creation of something new—a “Fourth World Music,” an “ambitious” approach, writes Hayward, “which identifies and advocates a new syncretic aesthetic which does not dilute difference. It is flexible, intuitive and inspirational yet culturally and ideologically informal, respectful and astute” (42–43).

A certain European discourse of the artist-musician is present here, of course, in Hayward’s privileging of the categories of “intuition” and “inspiration”; I certainly have no problem with that. Indeed, Hayward’s figuring of the band’s project within a decidedly modernist European tradition is one of the most important

features of his account. The limits imposed by colonialism are found not so much in these discourses of the artist as in the reterritorialization of the idealistic sensitivity of the approach by the “‘real’ world of [the multinational music] industry and its profit imperatives” (43). The bulk of Hayward’s analysis places the openness of the collaborative process (including accounts of studio sessions and performances) within the context of these limits, with particular attention to the marketing of the music through track selections, album packaging, and video production. The result is a highly significant, engaging, and passionate account. The overall effect on me was one of recognizing the absolute significance of this encounter, in all its vicissitudes, for the thinking of cultural sustainability into the new century.

IAN MAXWELL
University of Sydney

* * *

To Labour with the State: The Fiji Public Service Association, by Jacqueline Leckie. Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press, 1997. ISBN 1-877133-32-9, 221 pages, illustrations, maps, photographs, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. Paper, US\$29.95.

Fiji is a deceptively small place that invites superficial commentary. Focusing on exotic cultural traits, the outside observer generally comes away with a tourist viewpoint—a superficial, shallow impression. Scholars have begun to penetrate this fog and are producing incisive studies of a very complex political economy. Studies

such as Brij Lal’s *Girmitiyas: The Origins of the Fiji Indians* have opened the complex society to a better understanding. British colonial rule in Fiji and the attendant, dominant sugar economy set the pattern of economic and political development for modern Fiji. The Australian sugar company, Colonial Sugar Refinery, initially used a mix of Melanesian and Gilbert Islanders for its workforce. Indian indentured labor proved to be a more reliable and convenient labor source, beginning in 1879 and becoming the dominant source after 1886. Increasing costs of Melanesian labor and the political outcry against “native labour” abuses made the shift necessary (Moore, Leckie, and Munro: *Labour in the South Pacific*, 1990).

At the beginning of the twentieth century Fiji was a multiethnic society dominated by the British colonial civil service and monolithic sugar production. The end of indentured labor in 1916 led Colonial Sugar Refinery to gradually withdraw to sugar milling, leaving the cane production to small, family farms.

The gradual changes in the British colonial world system were reflected in Fiji. The indirect British rule established in 1874 encouraged a native administration, depending on Fijian chiefs to maintain “traditional authority” (29). Gradually a new type of civil servant developed. Education and experience were the sources of authority rather than hereditary status. Leckie traces the slow development of the public service sector unions through the 1920s and 1930s. The early origins were encouraged by the state so long as the organization remained a salaried association, care-