Low-lying island countries have become synonymous with climate change impacts. Even if they are not entirely inundated due to rising seas, changes which are detrimental, severe, and irreversible are expected to occur to their communities, so the islanders might need to move. Much has been written speculating and asking questions about the various social, political, and livelihood implications. Legal implications are much less studied, often with non-lawyers authoring pieces.

To provide legal expertise regarding what happens to peoples, nations, and countries if their islands are no longer habitable under climate change, the Center for Climate Change Law at Columbia University’s Law School, USA, joined forces with the Government of the Republic of the Marshall Islands to organize a conference in May 2011 in New York, on the theme “Threatened Island Nations: Legal Implications of Rising Seas and a Changing Climate”. This book, with the same title, publishes several edited papers based on this conference’s presentations.

The editors and all lead authors, except for those of one chapter, are either lawyers or work in the law field. They include academics and practitioners, some who are both, as well as others who hail from an interdisciplinary background involving law. Lawyers from, or working directly with, island states are well-represented. A good balance is achieved between male and female authors, as well as a wide geographic scope of contributors.

The seventeen chapters are divided into four sections. First, an editorial introduction offers an overview of the book plus, from the only non-lawyer lead author, a summary of scientific knowledge on climate change and sea-level rise. The next three sections cover the main content, divided into “Part II: Sovereignty and Territorial Concerns”, “Part III: Resettlement Protections and Proposed Solutions”, and “Part IV: Establishing Accountability”, each comprising five chapters.

Part II represents one of the most thorough, pragmatic, and creative discussions that I have seen on what the legal implications are for states that disappear. It is immensely sad to be reading such material, but somewhat heartening that there might be legal prospects for continuing a state structure or state-based access to resources in the absence of land set aside for that state. Due to the dearth of precedents, and the lack of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms for the suggested legal principles, islanders might not wish to be too optimistic about putting the principles into practice—but congratulations to the chapter authors for providing some possibilities.

Islanders potentially displaced by climate change are discussed in Part III. Prospects for supporting displaced people include a human rights approach, a formal convention, the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) negotiations, international law, domestic law, and immigration policies. As with Part II, the extent of possibilities and the depth to which they are covered is impressive, again tempered by the fact that such discussion is needed.
Part IV’s topics cover an island state suing an emitter, the UNFCCC’s loss and damage mechanism, the potential role of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, a focus on the legal aspects of future generations, and transboundary environmental impact assessment. These chapters provide insights into accountability for climate change from a legal perspective, which could be useful for island lawyers considering how to prioritize their options for legal recourse.

There is no conclusion or overall synthesis, so this book becomes a toolkit providing a wide repertoire for the reader. As the editors explain in the Preface and Acknowledgements, they do not agree with everything in the book; and sometimes contributing authors disagree with each other. The differences of opinion ensure that readers are exposed to various viewpoints, can formulate their own questions, and can consider answers for themselves based on the material presented.

The result is a thick volume, dense with important material, interpretations, and discussions. Yet the chapters are not dense and do not become mired in inscrutable legal nomenclature. Instead, the contributions include plenty of legal terminology which, however, is defined, explained, and applied in such a way that it is understandable to educated readers. The chapters are replete with practical examples, demonstrating what the legal terms and debates mean in practice, directly for the people and locations affected. The text’s readability and pragmatism mean that the book would be a useful addition to the shelves of island governments, and other institutions, that may be grappling with an uncertain island future under climate change.

It is particularly helpful that the chapter authors do not simply present standard arguments and measures. Those are there, but they are interspersed with more innovative approaches and critical thinking, while usually avoiding common clichés. Mercifully, only one chapter is pervaded by the unfortunate (and incorrect) phrase “sinking islands” or variations. Similarly, despite the popularity of the phrases “climate refugees” and “climate change refugees” in many media and academic circles, many authors in this volume raise apposite and convincing concerns about those terms. Despite those arguments, it is amusing that the index includes the entry “Climate change displaced persons (CCDPs). See refugees”.

The thoroughness of the book’s coverage of legal perspectives on “Threatened Island Nations” deserves kudos. Although the volume’s taglines and the introductions of many chapters emphasize sea-level rise, a notable strength of the material is the exploration of other potential threats from climate change. Ocean acidification is one example, although it would have been useful to see more discussion on food and water throughout the chapters. Additionally, the text commendably integrates history into the contemporary examples, by identifying precedents and by exploring the aspects of those case studies which do and do not apply to climate change. This is refreshing, considering how much climate change literature neglects the past in order to recommend actions for the future.

The disciplinary perspective from law is prominent throughout Threatened Island Nations. While readers of this journal might prefer more engagement with island studies, it is hard to criticize the disciplinary focus considering that the literature has previous lacked much from law. Consequently, the book admirably fulfils its mandate of considering the legal questions of what happens to the statehood and people of island countries which no longer exist - either physically, politically, or both - due to climate change. Highlighted topics include how the affected states and nations might continue to exist, who would make decisions about people moving and re-establishing themselves, who might take responsibility for climate
change impacts (and who would be expected to pay). All those questions are answered, sometimes in many different ways.

This book provides a solid basis to interact with other disciplines, including island studies, from a law perspective in order to seek actions on, and hopefully long-term solutions for, low-lying island communities dealing with climate change. Such actions are geared towards what some islanders are requesting, aiming to decide and implement for themselves, albeit with external support in many cases. Climate change is indeed a major threat to many islands and islanders, both the physical manifestation and the social and political construction of the topic. This book represents an important contribution, demonstrating how an island government can work with external experts on an equal footing, to tackle these major threats.

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As I was getting to the final chapters of this book, I was getting quite overwhelmed by the continuous assault of negative language on my senses, whether in the form of dramatic action nouns (collapses, catastrophes, departures, disappearances, eruptions, extinctions, extirpations, hazards, insecurities, threats, uncertainties) – or in the form of evocative adjectives (absent, corrupt, lacking, powerless, unsustainable, vulnerable, weak). But then, all these words are lifted from the titles of the books, reports and articles listed in the reference section. Hence, with Connell crafting this book to review the literature, one should not be astonished.

It is an understatement to claim that Connell advises islanders to “be wary” (p. 228). But I was pleasantly surprised – and my state of depression lifted – by a quite carefully written and more optimistic conclusion, where islanders are acknowledged for also being proactive and opportunistic citizens, and not just wretched victims of forces beyond their control. This scoreboard, at the end of the day, perhaps explains why there is a haunting question mark in the book’s title: islands are at risk, and very much so; the range of what appear to be insurmountable challenges is simply bewildering. And yet, even in such ‘perfect storm’ conditions, as long as there is life, there is hope: we should not hold our breath until the last islander switches off the proverbial lights.

This was not an easy book to write. But Connell – the most prolific small island studies scholar I know – has finally come up with a comprehensive guide to contemporary small island livelihoods, cataloguing the various ills – all, he says, traceable to globalization (p. 245) – as well as the social capital and local wisdom that could still afford, in a flourish of cultural hybridity, some viable management of modernity and its discontents. This book is a tour de force, a vastly expanded version of his 1988 monograph *Sovereignty and Survival* which introduced me to his work.

One perennial difficulty in writing about islands is: which islands to write about – and therefore, also which islands not to write about. In this case, and guided by exemplars with which he could claim some familiarity, Connell limits his scope to the three regions with the world’s largest concentration of sovereign island states: the Caribbean Sea (but including all
the United Kingdom Overseas Territories in the North, South and mid-Atlantic), the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. He also organizes his material into two categories, one being a sub-set of the other: a set of 59 SISIs (or small islands and small island states) with resident populations of one million or less, of which 24 are SIS (small island states). Like every classification, this has weaknesses: it is a convenience sample, an admittedly arbitrary collection that eliminates many of the world’s subnational island jurisdictions (of which there are over 110, including Greenland, the world’s largest non-continental island), as well as some small island states which are relatively rich and/or lie in non-tropical zones (Bahrain, Cyprus, Iceland, Malta). And perhaps part of the doom and gloom scenario of the first seven chapters (out of a total of eight) lies precisely with this unwillingness to connect with the ‘developed’ (for want of a better term) island states and territories – which perhaps provide some important lessons as to how some islands could graduate to a status that is at less risk? (I will not drop the interrogative mark). In any case, no selected grouping of islands will entirely satisfy. After the obligatory definition-setting introduction (Chapter 1), and to chart the limits and problems of the possible (p. 43), Connell delves into a political economy overview, affirming the inextricable relationship between power and wealth in island contexts that have been constructed, to a fault, as colonial platforms, geo-engineered to feed, revictual, defend or otherwise service empires. This chapter (Chapter 2) already identifies one of the foundational dilemmas of critiquing small island jurisdictions – many are inherently unsustainable, depending for their livelihoods on largesse – material, financial, human, touristic – forthcoming from other locations beyond the horizon: “one way or another, the fate and future of SISI are at least partly in the hands of others” (p. 20). Next (Chapters 3-4) is a journey through the three broad sectors of economic activity – the primary (agriculture, forestry, fishery and, increasingly of late, aquaculture), now very much in decline with the almost complete removal of preferential tariffs under the neo-liberal WTO regime; the secondary (manufacturing), also in decline after some optimism in the 1980s; and the default option of the tertiary sector, dominated by tourism (and allied industries, including construction, craft and catering), but including various other intangibles, such as financial services, electronic gaming, bunkering, and military infrastructure. (Strangely enough, mining, which is an extractive industry, is placed alongside manufacturing in this discussion; whereas I see it fit more closely to agriculture). The following three chapters (Chapters 5-7) review what are perhaps the three most significant challenges to small island living in the 21st century: urbanization; international migration (out, in, and circular) and climate change (particularly sea level rise). Indeed, and in spite of many unknowns, a ‘triple whammy’ outcome of these demographic and environmental trends can lead to rural and out-island depopulation, creeping urban sprawl with its high (especially youth) unemployment and pernicious poverty rates, especially for those who have lost touch with traditional forms of social support, solidarity and self-reliance. And, for good measure, the environmental woes are added in, creating a toxic cocktail of dismal existence: “… gloom hangs over degraded ecosystems and fractured cultures, unemployment, drugs, corruption, crime and uneven terms of trade” (p. 245). Is one to be excused wondering who would want to live in such dire straits? This is where Connell perhaps goes overboard with his morality, eschewing an island way of life that was purportedly better when less impacted by modernity. Even McDonald’s, he tells us, “that paragon of globalization”, has only set up shop in three of his 24 SISIs (p. 245).

Now, I am no fan of fast food chains; but it does sound a tad paternalistic and disingenuous to adopt such a tone. If he is arguing for “culturally sensitive forms of
accommodation” (p. 248) to the challenges and opportunities presented by change, who then gets to decide on the balance between local and foreign, past and present? Surely, it should be the locals, for better or for worse? And it would be just as naïve to ascribe all woes to exogenous variables (all fitting neatly under the rubric of globalization).

“Small islands were never paradise” (p.230); and they seem to be increasingly less so for their residents, even if touted as much to potential and visiting tourists. Nicely signposted and authoritatively written, Islands at risk? will get you thinking hard and gingerly about the promises and pitfalls of island development. You will also not be lost for a reference: Connell does not disappoint with a reference list of almost 1,000 entries, stretching over 74 pages.

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This book had its origins in the 15th annual conference of the Victorian Interdisciplinary Studies Association of the Western United States (VISAWUS) held on the island of Hawai‘i in October 2010. Strangely though (except for a single footnote), the fact that all twelve essays had their genesis in papers delivered at the conference is not signalled anywhere between the book’s covers. On the one hand this doesn’t matter; but on the other it is worth mentioning, I think, because the structure and content of the book are evidently determined by the VISAWUS programme.

The broader topic of the conference, ‘Oceania and the East in the Victorian Imagination,’ is prudently contained here to focus only on the Victorian engagement with Oceania, and the way that the Victorians’ interactions with Oceania impacted on their literature, and on their culture generally. The central argument of the book as a whole is that, while studies of Oceania have thus far been peripheral to Victorian Studies (taking a back seat behind studies of the influence of India or Africa on the Victorian imagination), Oceania was anything but peripheral in the formation of Victorian culture. Given its prominence in the book’s title, the choice of the inclusive term Oceania might usefully have been explained; instead it is employed interchangeably with the geographically defined term South Pacific. Yet while the geographical span of the South Pacific is, as Rod Edmond explains in his 1997 book Representing the South Pacific, often anachronistically defined as the Polynesian triangle – a vast area stretching from Hawaii in the north, to New Zealand in the south-west, and Easter Island in the east – here, Australasia is included in its generous embrace.

The focus of the book, however, is clear, and consistently considered across the range of essays: the way contact with Oceania/the Pacific was significant in the Victorian imagination and across a range of cultural forms. The book is divided into three (four-essay) parts, each of which holds interest for island studies scholars, particularly those based in literary or cultural studies. The first section explores the way the Victorians represented the Pacific and themselves in the Pacific through photography, travel writing, and exhibitions; the second looks at the way the Pacific and Pacific Islanders were represented in Victorian fiction;
while the third focuses on the way the Pacific was introduced to Victorian children. All the essays are concerned with the myriad encounters between Victorian Britain and the far-flung reaches of Oceania, and are, first and foremost, about cross-cultural contact.

In the first section, the essays by Mandy Treagus and Peter H. Hoffenberg focus on the display and consumption of South Pacific island cultures at world fairs or international exhibitions in the final quarter of the nineteenth century. These essays sit neatly alongside Carla Manfredi’s essay on Robert Louis Stevenson’s Pacific photographs, from his cruises aboard the *Casco* in 1889, and the more extensive trip aboard the *Equator* the following year. In her essay, Manfredi sets out to situate these important nineteenth-century images of the South Pacific within Stevenson’s Pacific oeuvre, and to demonstrate the complexity of Stevenson’s photographic representation of the Pacific through close analysis of three photographs, including shots of Anaho Bay and Ua-Pu on the island of Nuka Hiva, the largest of the Marquesas Islands. Anna Johnston’s essay on late-imperial travel writing is an altogether more ambitious project. Through carefully nuanced readings of several texts, including Charles Dilke’s *Greater Britain* and James Fourde’s *Oceana*, Johnston explores the imperial politics behind the phrase ‘Greater Britain,’ and the role of travel writing in mapping the colonial experience for a home audience. However, with its strong focus on the settler colonies of the southern hemisphere, and Australia in particular, it may be of indirect rather than direct interest to island studies scholars.

The second section shifts the focus to fictional representations of the Pacific Islands in works by several popular Victorian writers. Sumangala Bhattacharya considers the relationships between white men and brown women, and issues of masculinity and degeneration in the short fiction collection *By Reef and Palm* by the neglected Australian writer Louis Becke. Still on the theme of masculinity and domesticity, Ingrid Ranum persuasively explores the connection between the frequently quarantined spheres of masculine adventure and domestic space in two better-known works from the last decade of the nineteenth century, Joseph Conrad’s *Almayer’s Folly* and Stevenson story ‘The Beach of Falesá.’ In her discussion of the island mythos in H.G. Wells’s *The Island of Doctor Moreau*, Genie Babb successfully argues that the Oceanic setting gave Wells the imaginative space he needed to explore late-Victorian controversies. However, in reading the novel against nineteenth-century debates about science and religion, and against fictional and historical prototypes for Moreau – William Attwater in Stevenson’s *The Ebb-Tide*, and the post-Darwinian naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace – she inevitably shows that Wells was more interested in critiquing religiously inflected science than Oceania.

Of all the essays in this book, Sylvie Largeaud-Ortega’s essay on Stevenson’s ‘The Isle of Voices’ in perhaps the one that most directly addresses the volume’s central theme: how Victorians perceived Oceania and in turn how they were perceived in Oceania. Her approach to this question, as she indicates at the outset, is largely rooted in Pacific cultural studies. In this light, she considers in particular the extent to which Stevenson’s story offers a ‘true’ picture of a Pacific island, and the extent to which he ‘felt authorized to speak for native Pacific islanders.’ By resisting closure at the end of his tale, she argues, Stevenson left the way open for Pacific islanders to speak for themselves, which was not commonly the case in Victorian Britain’s relationship with Oceania.

The final section, on childhood and children in a range of Victorian juvenile fictions, is probably the most specialized of the three, but not the most island focussed. Michelle Patricia Beissel Heath’s beautifully titled essay, ‘Cooks and Queens and Dreams: The South Sea
Islands as Fairy Islands of Fancy,’ offers interesting insights into the three texts she discusses: Stevenson’s *Treasure Island*, Edith Nesbit’s *The Phoenix and the Carpet*, and Charlotte Yonge’s *The Trial*. But it is difficult to see how her discussion of these texts extends our understanding of the Victorians’ engagement with the Pacific. Stevenson’s assertion (which Heath quotes) that ‘Treasure Island … is not in the Pacific’ is compelling, and Oceania is far from central to Yonge’s story. Even in Nesbit’s (not strictly Victorian) tale, the tropical island is only one of a number of locations for the children’s adventures, and probably less important than London. Richard Fulton’s own essay compellingly argues that, while much of the Empire – from Africa to India, and from Canada to Australia – was ‘known’ to Victorian children, Oceania was ‘unknown,’ a kind of Neverland or Wonderland of adventure, a place of the imagination. For many Victorians, their connection to Oceania was ‘more often fictional than factual’; their engagement with this imagined space on the edge of the known empire less significant, perhaps, than the thesis of the book would have us believe. Judith Johnston’s piece focuses on the first of William Howlitt’s books based on his experiences in Australia, a fictional work entitled *A Boy’s Adventures in the Wilds of Australia*, and consequently, as with her namesake’s essay in the first section, will not be of as much interest to island studies scholars as some of the other essays gathered here. Michelle Elleray’s essay on Robert Michael Ballantyne’s *The Coral Island*, however, takes us to the heart of the matter for literary proponents of island studies. Through a close reading of that section of the novel which deals with the boys’ chivalric mission to rescue Avatea (chapter 30 on), Elleray succinctly demonstrates her contention that Ballantyne’s best-known novel is an ‘imperative to Christian devotion,’ directed at both ‘the brown Pacific heathen’ and ‘the white, nominally Christian, boy reader.’ In making visible the ‘watermark’ (Ann Laura Stoler’s term) of missionary culture in the South Pacific, Elleray shines light on a neglected aspect of the Victorian engagement with Oceania.

Overall, though not intended as an intervention in island studies, many of the essays in this volume will be of interest to literary scholars working in the area of island studies.

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The island of Brasil made its first appearance on a sea chart drawn by Angelino Dulcert or Dalorto in 1330. It was located in the Atlantic Ocean, west of Ireland. The island continued to appear on sea charts from the 14th to the 16th centuries, most often in this location (51° north), but sometimes as part of the Azores (37°), just west of Brittany (48°), or further west, closer to North America, near Newfoundland (circa 41°). It always appeared in a suspiciously abstract circular shape, sometimes colored bright red or blue or both, and some charts put it in as many as three different places (e.g. the Pizzigani chart of 1367). Barbara Freitag undertakes to elucidate the history of this imaginary island, and most of the book is dedicated to searching through Irish folklore, pursuing the tradition that Brasil was an ancient Irish name for the Western paradise.
The 14th and 15th centuries saw the opening of the Atlantic Ocean to systematic exploration, beginning with the successful re-discovery of the Canary Islands in 1336, shortly before Dulcert drew his sea chart. Real island groups, such as the Madeiras, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Azores followed, as did the purported discovery of numerous islands which proved to be imaginary, like Brasil. It would have been interesting for Freitag to discuss the existence of these other phantom islands, explaining how they cast light on the phenomenon of Brasil.

She believes the name of the island derived from the brazilwood tree, a source of a valuable red dye. The name brasil comes from the Genoese dialect, and refers to the glowing embers of a fire. The brazilwood tree originated in the Near East, and eventually was transplanted to Europe. European adventurers were always on the lookout for another source of this commodity, which was at last found in Brazil itself and gave the modern country its name. Freitag notes several other sources of red dye, including a red lichen or orchil, which was found in quantity on the Canary Islands and the Azores in the 15th century. Indeed the island of Terceira in the Azores was briefly known in the early days as Brasil.

Several colour illustrations in the book show 16th century sea charts on which Brasil appears to the west of Ireland, which location Freitag asserts was the most common. There is an appendix with a list of sea charts on which Brasil appears, coded to show the three variant locations.

Brasil was the purported object of John Cabot’s voyage from Bristol to the west in 1497, but the author thinks that the name was possibly a code word for the more valuable and plentiful codfish to be found on the Grand Banks. In English literature, Brasil became a byword for an alluring but unattainable goal.

Turning to her main theme, Freitag does a thorough and fascinating search through Irish folklore, where she finds mysterious islands a-plenty, such as the islands of St. Brendan, and otherworldly and undersea kingdoms, but no Brasil. In the 18th century the embattled Irish, struggling to preserve their cultural traditions against the onslaught of the English, were reduced to fabricating legends. Indeed, “[t]he notion that Brasil had an Irish history was too tempting to let go of” (p. 217). After this time Brazil, or in its Gaelicized version, Hy Brasil, does indeed appear in Irish literature and art, but Freitag asserts that this construct was not part of ancient Gaelic culture and no trace of it can be found in the Gaelic-speaking west of Ireland. She concludes with examples of the use of Brasil as a trope in modern Irish culture.

The lengthy section on Irish folklore is afflicted with the failure to find any trace of Hy Brasil. Freitag digresses down winding side alleys to describe the various folk tales in which Brasil does not appear. Anyone not primarily interested in early Irish folklore will find this section of the book tough going. This book should put to rest the continuing idea of Brasil as the Irish western paradise, but more work remains to be done on the sea charts: how the island appeared when and where it did, and how it eventually (and quietly) vanished.

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I never had the privilege of meeting the Marshallese visionary Darlene Keju, the subject of Giff Johnson’s *Don’t Ever Whisper*. Her life was cut short by cancer fourteen years before I first visited the Marshall Islands for my research on the history of the U.S. missile-testing program on Kwajalein Atoll. But in my first trip to Ebeye Island (part of Kwajalein Atoll) in 2010, I was welcomed with warmth by Darlene’s brother Deonaire Keju without whose support I could not have completed my research. This 2010 trip also gave me the opportunity to interview Giff Johnson about Kwajalein’s history. Little did I know during our Majuro interview that he was likely busy at work on this biography about his late wife; his homage to the legacy of this Marshallese pioneer.

The title of Johnson’s book comes from words Darlene offered a former Marshallese teen participating in the innovative grassroots health education program, Youth to Youth in Health (YTYIH), which Darlene launched in 1986. During a 1992 YTYIH meeting Darlene called on a shy Omita Jorlang to say grace before the group who complied but in a barely audible voice. Darlene encouraged her “to let us hear your voice, your needs and your ideas. Don’t ever whisper because if I can’t hear you, nobody else will” (p. 264). Her advice to Jorlang reflected Darlene’s own trajectory from an early age that found her speaking up as a child living on Ebeye Island. During the 1950s the U.S. military transformed Ebeye into a repository for its segregated labour sector and by the 1960s for those Marshallese the army displaced to enable missile testing to expand in Kwajalein Atoll. The structure of segregation between Americans living and working on Kwajalein Island and Marshallese commuting to Kwajalein from Ebeye emerged during the post-World War II era of U.S. colonial rule in the Marshall Islands, which was sanctioned through a 1947 U.N. Trusteeship Agreement. Following the conclusion of its 12-year nuclear testing campaign in the Northern Marshall Islands in 1958, the U.S. military developed an intercontinental ballistic missile range on Kwajalein. As a young girl living on Ebeye, Darlene wondered why the Marshallese had to wear badges to go onto Kwajalein and why the Marshallese could not go [to Kwajalein] with “ribelles” (Americans, p. 16). Darlene’s curiosity about Kwajalein’s segregation policies as a child shifted to devastation as a young adult after losing her sister to a high-risk labor turned deadly by Ebeye’s inadequate hospital facilities compounded by the segregation barrier preventing immediate care in Kwajalein’s superior facilities three miles away.

Johnson traces Darlene’s historic path towards becoming an early voice on a global stage, raising awareness about U.S. colonial neglect for Ebeye and discriminatory conditions on Kwajalein, and the legacy of death, destruction and illness facing Marshallese exposed to radiation during the U.S. nuclear testing campaign. Between 1946 and 1958, the U.S. Navy detonated 67 bombs in the Northern Marshall Islands, causing the complete evaporation of some islands and the contamination of many others. Since that period, the Marshallese have faced disproportionately high rates of cancer, miscarriages and birth deformities. In her 30s, Darlene emerged as a force to be reckoned with, driven by an urgent mission to advocate for the health and survival of her people. During the mid-80s, Darlene’s focus moved beyond the global work of raising awareness on nuclear testing to a local mission of developing outreach education around preventive health care in the Marshalls. She created YTYIH as a grassroots program, training Marshallese teens to educate peers about family planning, STDs, and
substance abuse in the urban centers of Majuro and Ebeye, and the rural outer islands. Her success came through equal attention to medium and message as Darlene had teens engage culturally meaningful practices of song, dance and skit performance to educate about taboo topics.

Johnson’s book draws upon a vast array of sources to detail the progression of Darlene’s politicization and her advocacy work over time. His research includes interviews with countless individuals who Darlene touched over a lifetime. Their testimonials reflect her local influence in the Marshalls and the global reach of her non-whispering voice. Johnson merges these interviews with news articles, journal entries, political speeches and meeting minutes among other materials to offer readers a lens into Marshallese history from World War II through the 1990s. Darlene’s story provides a vessel for learning the political history of the region as the Marshalls transitioned from Japanese to American colonial rule during World War II and eventual decolonization through the Compact of Free Association in 1986. Through her journey, Johnson also details the social and cultural changes taking place as the region accommodated the increasing influence of a cash economy and urbanization. His book further documents the sustainability of cultural traditions in the outer islands and Darlene’s work in using this rich wealth of Marshallese customs that influenced her early upbringing, to help teens negotiate public health challenges emerging in the wake of increasing urbanization.

For a book review, this is not an easy work to critique. While I can imagine the book’s density and length as a barrier for some readers, I very much appreciated the layers of depth Johnson provided to familiarize readers with Darlene’s character. In fact it is this richness of detail, the intimate portrait of Darlene’s complexity, grace and humanity, that sets this work apart. Amidst all of the attention to her work, readers also learn of her no-nonsense attitude when at age 30 she said to Johnson: “You want to get married? You know I’m not getting any younger” (p. 94). We learn how a steady diet of Humphrey Bogart, Lauren Bacall and Ingrid Bergman movies helped her through early radiation treatments in Honolulu. And we feel her anguish as she tries to climb into her father’s open gravesite at his funeral. Just as the success of Darlene’s grassroots programming resided in her attention to the medium of her message, Johnson’s success in familiarizing readers with this inspiring woman is rooted in the way he tells her story. Readers get a multi-dimensional view of Darlene’s journey amidst an expansive historical context that illuminates how she openly engaged with the changing world around her and in doing so became a global change-maker herself.

Knowing Darlene died young from cancer before reading the book did not prepare me for the sense of loss I felt in reading Johnson’s concluding chapters. Having devoured hundreds of pages detailing the revolutionary work packed into her 45 short years, I could not help but feel the depth of tragedy in her passing. Throughout the book, Johnson traced how Darlene coped with loss while remaining focused on the task at hand. Likewise, Johnson quickly turns this moment of sadness into a message of urgency to pick up where Darlene’s work left off. He positions Darlene’s tragedy as the crime of a life cut short through his final chapter’s exposé on the U.S. government cover-up of the nuclear testing legacy in the Marshalls. Drawing upon recently declassified government documents, Johnson’s narrative merges with cutting edge work coming out of anthropology (see Holly M. Barker and Barbara Rose Johnston) to reveal the intentional use of Marshallese as guinea pigs to test the impact of radiation on human beings during the 1950s. Johnson details how it took nearly 40 years for the United States to declassify information showing the extent of radiation contamination beyond what had been mythologized as the contamination of only four atolls following the
tests. This declassified information showed that Wotje Atoll, where Darlene lived during the
time of the tests, “received an external exposure level of radiation 15 times higher than what
U.S. guidelines set as maximum allowable exposure for the American public on an annual
basis…U.S. officials ignored the dose to Wotje and close to 20 other inhabited atolls” (p. 376).
Having multiple breast tumors removed over her lifetime, a malignant tumor ultimately spread
and took Darlene’s life in 1996. As countless testimonies in the book reveal, Darlene lives on
in the lives of those she inspired and in the thriving state of Youth to Youth in Health, which
continues to promote sustainable healthy living in the Marshalls 17 years after her passing.

Don’t Ever Whisper chronicles post-war Marshallese political, cultural and social
histories as these merged with Darlene’s social impact on a local and global stage. The book
provides a model, as has Darlenes’ life, for effective grassroots organizing. Ultimately the
book is a love story documenting one woman’s love for her people and one man’s love for that
woman. If Darlene was driven by a sense of urgency to dedicate her life to the health and well
being of the Marshallese, Johnson has furthered that cause by sharing her story with the
Marshall Islands and the world.

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There have been numerous accounts of colonial encounters in the Pacific Islands region,
mostly from the colonizer’s perspective. Vanessa Smith adds to the corpus by providing a
detailed literary and anthropological critique of the subject of ‘friendship’ through the analysis
of European eighteenth-century texts. First encounters between culturally-distinctive groups
were often characterized by mutual feelings of apprehension, which subsequently evolved into
varying degrees of understanding or misunderstanding.

Emphasizing early contacts and friendships on Tahiti, ‘because of its centrality to the
European encounter with Pacific cultures’ (p.3), Smith examines the concept of taio, a specific
notion of friendship between two individuals (usually men of similar social status) with
reciprocal rights and obligations. As noted by the Pacific historian, Ian Campbell, in Worlds
Apart (2003), the discovery of Tahiti coincided with European political philosophers’
speculations about life ‘in a state of nature’ and the search for the best form of government. As
a result, Tahitian society quickly acquired a privileged position in European romantic
imagination, with ‘friendship’ as a defining characteristic.

Described as an archaic term by virtue of its absence from the contemporary Tahitian
lexicon, taio was appropriated by early European explorers to forge enduring bonds with local
individuals primarily to establish and then consolidate the exchange of goods and service. Like
all concepts played out in cross-cultural encounters, friendship as understood by both parties,
displayed meanings that ‘were shaped, agreed and contested performatively’ (p.16).
From the ‘crowd scenes’ that usually greeted visitors, Europeans were eager to discern
individuals of distinction; those who controlled resources in order to curtail theft and initiate
trade. Captain Cook and other travelers sought to cultivate friendship as a means to encourage trade, and thus entered into *taio* relationships. Recognizing that feelings and emotions can be difficult to translate, the author asserts that *taio* formed the basis of cross-cultural friendship. Anthropologists Ben Finney and Douglas Oliver have previously argued that *taio* relationships with Europeans mirrored ties between individuals of non-kin groups and thus functioned successfully in the new situation of encounter. The concept is described as a friendship pact formalized by the traditional exchange of bark cloth, for example and of names. As noted by Johann and George Forster on Cook’s second voyage and subsequently by Bligh, however, the meaning shifted from ‘a friendship *predicated* on exchange to … [one] resisting the pressure of exchange’ (p. 87), exemplified by the refusal of a Tahitian *taio* to be compensated for a gift as a sign of friendship.

Smith sheds light on women’s role in *taio* relationships, moving away from being the object of exchange to becoming activate participants, indirectly or with self-conscious manipulation. For example, the ability of women of rank to forge friendship bonds to political advantage. On the broader topic of indigenous manipulation of local power relationships through negotiated contact, we are reminded that Pacific encounters were not one-sided, despite the technological advantage held by outsiders. This is well illustrated by an encounter on Kauai in the Hawaiian Islands when friendly gestures had been directed to the *Discovery*’s astronomer, along with a gift. Upon hearing that he was not the highest-ranking officer, both were withdrawn.

As is the case among other textual analyses, Smith inevitably says more about European thoughts, perceptions, values, and emotions than Tahitian experiences of friendship. Nevertheless, the book provides an interesting perspective on friendship within a cross-cultural frame, before the advent of a growing number of visitors to the islands and the attendant transformation of relationships brought about by the increasing complexity of culture contact in terms of motives and expectations.

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Casting a wide net on both sides of the Atlantic, the publisher of *Islanded Identities*, Rodopi, is committed to “research which does not follow trends but anticipates new directions, and in projects aimed at further improving a vision towards cross-disciplinarity.” Including *Islanded Identities* in its forward-looking Cross/Cultures series – rich in breadth and depth with 169 volumes published since 1990 – is yet another demonstration (if one were needed) that island studies has landed.

Editors Maeve McCusker and Anthony Soares co-direct the interdisciplinary Postcolonial Research Forum at Queen’s University Belfast, Northern Ireland, where they also teach: McCusker is a Senior Lecturer in French Studies with research interests in Caribbean writing; and Soares is a Lecturer in Portuguese Studies, with a focus on postcolonial theory and literatures, specializing in contemporary East Timor. That both should explore islandness
through the lenses of their primary research interests may or may not have something to do with the fact that Professor Stephen Royle, one of the granddaddies of island studies and author of the seminal *A Geography of Islands* (2001), is also a lecturer at Queen’s. If it is more than just a coincidence, thank you, Steve.

The opening pages of McCusker and Soares’ Introduction create a concise compendia of island studies theory, citing the works of pioneers Dening (1980), Bongie (1998), Cosgrove (2001), Edmond & Smith (2003), DeLoughery (2007), and Baldacchino & Royle (2010), among others, to enumerate the various island tropes inherent in the discourse. With a focus on postcolonial islands, they write how islands are sites ripe for colonization, since they were often viewed as “chip[s] off the old block of the mainland[s]”; “inferior, marginal or easily dominated space, obvious site[s] for subjugation and organization by the colonizer.” And islands have been equally attractive to their colonizers for seemingly opposite traits: as sea-defined they are “unified and unitary,” “uniquely sovereign space[s]” that “enshrine the inevitability of self-possession and self-determination,” with the seas surrounding them “guarantors of separateness” and “conduits facilitating movement.” By selecting papers that explore islands in this arguably postcolonial period, McCusker and Soares are able to tease out how island identity is constructed, even among diverse islands that are replete with “anomalies, paradoxes, and tensions.”

The volume’s ten papers range in discipline, from literary studies and anthropology to history and cultural studies, while focusing on the islands of Ireland, Montserrat, Martinique, Mauritius, and East Timor, as well as on some metaphorical islands. All are worthy contributions to interdisciplinary island studies: Maeve McCusker on how the work of Caribbean writer Patrick Chamoiseau demonstrates some of the binaries inherent in island theorizing, in particular, local versus global; Jonathan Skinner on how feelings toward British colonizers are embodied in the disaster literature of Montserrat; Ritu Tyagi on island mythology that overrides modern concepts of identity and belonging in Mauritius; Burkhard and Cornelia Schnepel on the impacts of commodification of identity symbols (in particular, the *séga* dance) in Mauritius; Ralph Crane on the colonizing British as a “human island” in India; Mark Wehrly on the media’s effect on changing ‘island mentality’ in postcolonial Ireland; Lyn Innes on the creation of national literary canons – a process that is subject to some of the same internal and external forces that shape island cultures and identities – and Paulo de Medeiros who explores identity, belonging, and racism by looking at Europe as an archipelago. While Pete Hay has argued against the privileging of “metaphoric islands” over the experience of actual islands (in the inaugural and current issues of *Island Studies Journal*), the metaphorical islands described by Crane, Innes, and de Medeiros mirror actual islands to the extent that insights gleaned add enough to the discourse to ensure their rightful place in this volume.

For me, two papers stand out: Matthew Boyd Goldie’s imaginative and well-executed “Island Theory: The Antipodes,” and Anthony Soares’ fascinating “Western Blood in an Eastern Island: Affective Identities in Timor-Leste.” The first section of Goldie’s paper is another island theory lesson, citing further island studies theoreticians Deleuze (1953), Braithwaite (1983), Benitez-Rojo (1989), Hau’ofa (1997), Jolly (2001), Gillis (2003), and Beer (2003), to describe island space, habitation, and culture, communication among islands, islander agency, and island temporality. He goes on to explore Greek, Roman, and medieval ideas about islands – in particular, how they viewed the Antipodes (“those whose feet are opposite”) – in order to “weigh unexamined truisms and stereotypes, remember forgotten subjects and approaches, and begin to think through underlying dilemmas that remain in island
discourse.” I found Goldie’s argument a bit obscure at times, but his hypotheses are intriguing enough for me to want to return to the paper and try harder to tease out the connections he’s making. Anthony Soares’ contribution is a cogent discussion about how island identities are created – and how they shift over time. Originally inhabited by Malay, Makassarese, and Papuan peoples, the island of East and West Timor was colonized by the Portuguese and the Dutch, respectively, in the early 16th century. In 1914, the division was made official, with the creation of a porous border splitting traditional Timorese kingdoms; politically, if not in practice. In 1975, East Timor was colonized again – this time by Indonesian forces that invaded and brutally occupied it. In 2002, Timor-Leste won its independence. In trying to create a new national identity, this “half island” – in keeping with the idea of islands as “laboratory” – offers an excellent case study in identity construction, demonstrating how the “crude basis” of blood, generational change, language, economics, and shifting outside influences (with the centre of power now Brazil, not Portugal) all contribute.

In sum, Islanded Identities lives up to its promotional material: there is enough in this volume to warrant “required reading” for scholars working in island studies.

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The book opens with a quote by Adolph Gottlieb, an American abstract expressionist, which nicely sets the scene and tone of the book: “Certain people always say we should go back to nature. I notice they never say we should go forward to nature. It seems to me they are more concerned that we should go back, than about nature” (p. 3). This encapsulates what to me is the main message of this edited volume: in the Anthropocene, to successfully manage biodiversity in a changing world, we should focus as much on restoring and maintaining overall ecosystem functioning and dynamics (processes) as on conserving its original parts (species): anathema to many conservationists. Grossly simplified, ‘novel ecosystems’ is an umbrella term for any non-historical, more-or-less clearly delimited assemblage of species that arose via anthropogenic activities, such as land-use change, species extinctions, or species introductions. Which is to say nearly all of this planet’s ecosystems, and islands especially so.

Fittingly for a book with important messages for islands, it was born from a workshop held in May 2011 on Pender Island, British Columbia, Canada, where a multidisciplinary host of biologists, social scientists, and other researchers met to discuss the meaning and implications of the novel ecosystems concept. In the introduction, Richard Hobbs et al. define the overarching theme of the book as a discussion about the conundrum of managing ecosystems that defy “conventional management approaches, and demands a new way of thinking about our interventions in and responsibilities toward [them]” (p. 3). ‘Oh no, not another book by biologist hippies about saving nature’, I hear some sociologists and economists groan. However, the fact that novel ecosystems have such a strong human dimension also makes their management an excellent subject for cultural, economic, political,
or social studies. And this shines through in several chapters of the book, even though the main emphasis is on ecological issues.

The 42 chapters of the book are written by a total of 50 authors, and are organized into seven parts, with the middle five providing the ‘meat’ of the book, sandwiched between an introduction and a concluding synthesis. The main sections address, roughly, the following five questions: what are novel ecosystems, what are their key characteristics, when and how to intervene in their ecology, how are they valued and perceived, and what lies ahead? In each section larger, heavy chapters intermingle with lighter, quite personal accounts of science and practice in novel ecosystems.

To me, the book is like a hefty burger with everything. As I am an omnivore, I happily devoured it; maybe pondered whether the cheese was too smelly, or if there were too few onions or too much bacon. Overall, I felt very satisfied after the meal. However, I can easily see that some researchers and practitioners would react like vegans if applying the same metaphor to the book. After all, it does tread in some controversial waters. For conservationists, moving from a blanket dismissal of introduced species towards accepting or even embracing them can certainly feel like a betrayal of core values. Patricia Kennedy perhaps put it best in the title of her short, personal perspective, “Moving to the dark side” (ch. 28).

Though global in scope, the book contains many nuggets for people with any interest in islands. To anyone with an island bent, it is glaringly obvious that many of the world’s islands are home to particularly highly transformed novel ecosystems; a fact condensed in the title of chapter 4, written by John Ewel and colleagues: “Islands: where novelty is the norm”. They recapitulate and speculate on the various lines of evidence for the island situation, as compared to continents: Islands have simpler ecosystems; their inhabitants are often ‘ecologically naive’ (unprepared for competing with mainland species, or unable to escape falling prey to introduced predators, as described in David Quammen’s wonderful Song of the Dodo); islands, especially low lying ones, often have larger uniformity of soils, which may facilitate rapid spread of introduced plants, and so on. This chapter is immediately applicable to improving our understanding of island ecosystems worldwide. Additionally, the authors draw attention to the use of islands as canaries in the global coal mine, stating that “… what we see on islands today may indicate what can be expected on continents tomorrow. In many ways, islands are the window to the future” (p. 30).

One of the book’s strengths is the plethora of case studies from around the world. They range from lessons to be learnt from abandoned agricultural wetlands in the Florida Everglades to ruminations about Arctic tundra in the face of global change. Many of them are set on islands from around the world. Sebastián Martinuzzi et al. discuss novel forests in Puerto Rico (ch. 9), and Joseph Mascaro provides a short and personal reflection on lessons to be learnt in Hawaii (ch. 17). The island troupe also includes contributions that discuss management of novel island ecosystems, or propose solutions to some of the problems associated with introduced species. Kristin Hulvey recounts the story of reconciling introduced reindeer and the local Aleut population on St. George Island, Alaska (ch. 21); Christoph Kueffer et al. discuss how conservation management of endangered rainforests in the Seychelles can be improved by embracing, or at least contemplating, the novel ecosystem concept (ch. 27); and Mark Gardener cautions that even the Galápagos Islands, one of the world’s crown jewels of biodiversity, is now home to several novel ecosystems that can no longer feasibly be managed according to a strict, traditional ‘backwards’ restoration and conservation regime (ch. 22). The
cast of islands even contains a man-made one, Cei Ballast in Wales, whose industrial origins belie its current importance as a plant haven: for native as well as introduced species (ch. 32).

Apart from the specific island case studies, there are several general chapters of interest to island people. I especially found the contributions by David Richardson & Mirijam Gaertner (“Plant invasions as builders and shapers of novel ecosystems”, ch. 11); Laurie Yung et al. (“Engaging the public in novel ecosystems”, ch. 30); and Peter Bridgewater and Laurie Yung (“The policy context: building laws and rules that embrace novelty”, ch. 33) engaging and useful. Especially for the world’s many small island developing states, ‘ecosystem services’ is not just a concept, but the only way to ensure their long-term sustainability and survival.

What I saw as one of the book’s strong points—its many and varied chapters—may well be perceived as a weakness by others. However, a natural tendency for an edited volume with this many chapters to read like a dishevelled haystack is kept in check by a certain overlap in authors between the many multi-authored chapters, as well as gentle but pervasive editing throughout by Hobbs, Higgs and Hall.

To summarize, the book is a multi-disciplinary stab at the overall question of whether the concept of ‘novel ecosystems’ is a socio-ecological buzzword of the early 21st century, or whether it can become a unifying framework and a driver of change in conservation and restoration biology. The simple version of an answer is that it all boils down to “whether or not the existence of novel ecosystems should be acknowledged in conservation practices” (p. 296). It is still a common misconception among conservation and restoration biologists that accepting or even embracing introduced species and novel ecosystems automatically means giving up on conserving endangered native and endemic biodiversity. That this is not the case is amply stated, and stated again, in many of the chapters throughout the book; perhaps most elegantly by John Ewel and co-workers in chapter 4: “Goal-setting for intervention efforts is complicated by the fact that it is not uncommon for transformations (or the species that lead to them) to be valued as positive by some sectors of society and negative by others. Should a minority value judgment ever override that of the majority? Where unique products of evolution are threatened and where intervention might sustain them, the morally responsible answer is ‘yes’.” (p. 33).

As an island conservation biologist, I find myself torn between wanting to conserve the maximum number of the wonderful, quirky endemic species that attracted me to islands in the first place, and the pragmatic need to learn how to live together with introduced species, of which many are on islands to stay. This dilemma, though, is also the main reason I thoroughly enjoyed the book; it reads like a long, informed discussion between people who do not all agree on the best way to manage the Earth’s ecosystems; but who all share the same fundamental passion for life on our planet.

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This is a most welcome publication particularly given the woeful treatment of microstates in the scholarship of both international relations and comparative political science. As the author notes in his excellent and exhaustive literature review, this neglect of microstates, even by distinguished scholars, is typically because of spurious and intuitive assumptions that are not grounded in persuasive reasoning or careful empirical research. This is an good example then of the case for the publication of a doctoral dissertation that will reach a broader readership which in turn should contribute significantly to the discussion of microstates. That discussion in this study is centred on the consequences of a small population size for the nature of democratic contestation and inclusiveness. Contestation is viewed within two sub-dimensions: the presence of political alternatives and the horizontal balance of power between institutions. Inclusiveness is similarly assessed within two sub-dimensions: the relations between citizens and politicians and the political participation of citizens. The four case studies draw upon very different microstate experiences in very different settings: St. Kitts and Nevis, the Seychelles, Palau and San Marino. The inclusion of a European microstate is particularly welcome as the small state sub-field was in danger of becoming a branch of development studies. In such a broad and varied selection, the focus on small size is significantly reinforced precisely because these four states are very different from each other in terms of other possible explanatory factors such as political history, economic development, geographical location and institutional structures. As much of a contribution as the author’s innovative case selection may be, his use of field research and extensive empirical evidence is particularly revealing. Both lead to the conclusion that informal democratic practices are critical to an understanding of democracy at work in microstates. These are not accounted for in aggregate indices of democracy, such as those of Freedom House.

Veenendaal has employed “quantitative within-case analysis” based on extensive interviews across a broad range of political participants in each case. This field research has clearly yielded a rich volume of insights that would otherwise remain beyond an approach confined to formal political analysis. His observations and conclusions run counter to many of the prevailing assumptions about small size and democracy dating back to the classical literature. These include the notion that small size fosters social cohesion, consensus and even homogeneity. But often these impressions are cosmetic. In microstates, politics are likely to be highly personalized rather than ideological or programmatic. This opens the paths to clientelism, nepotism and even corruption, however nuanced or disguised these may be. And these patterns occur in varying degrees in all four microstates. In the context of contestation, this means a weakened political opposition, little political competition and person-based polarization. As to the second sub-dimension of contestation, the horizontal power relations between institutions, personalized politics lead to executive domination not only over parliament but certainly the media, the civil service and to a lesser degree the judiciary. In general, the executive circumvents other institutions. In terms of the issue of inclusiveness, political participation, the arguments are largely based on interviews alone, which, given their quotations in the text, seem credible enough. Veenendaal argues persuasively that citizens have regular, frequent (and probably inevitable) contacts with microstate politicians, and in a variety
of overlapping contexts: family, friends, business. But the second sub-division of inclusiveness, political participation, is much more ambiguous given the absence of data. While participation as reflected in voting turnouts, rallies and demonstrations seems comparatively high, the author’s own impressions suggest that this participation is also particularistic and person motivated. The author’s central argument is that all these patterns are directly attributable to very small size.

Finally, some mention should be made about the correlation between island geography and small size. All but the four European microstates of the 21 in Veenendaal’s microstate classification are island states clustered in the Caribbean and the South Pacific. Even using the more familiar classification of up to one million resident population, it is obvious that most microstates are small island states. Is there a correlation between insularity as a consequence of islandness and the conditions for democracy? While Veenendaal recognizes the difficulties in “disentangling” island states and microstates, he includes this part of the discussion under the heading of “spurious correlations”, particularly the assumption that islands in their insularity are more likely to foster social cohesion which could explain the prevalence of democracy in small island states. He argues that, even with the overlap (island states and microstates), size is likely the more salient explanatory factor since many larger islands are not democracies. This is another reason why the inclusion of San Marino is useful in this study. The correlation between small size and democracy and islandness and democracy begs for further exploration which should include continental microstates.

This is an engaging study which certainly underscores the weaknesses of current small state studies in general and the almost complete neglect and ignorance of microstates in particular. Moreover, it is clear that the whole discussion on the relationship between size and democracy needs to be revisited with greater attention to the informal dimensions of politics which are so critical in this study. In this volume, however, Veenendaal has significantly advanced the research agenda in microstate studies.

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