

発表 1

Presentation 1

**Island Microcosms and Global Forces:
Nukulaelae Islanders and Changing Communicative Technologies**

Niko BESNIER*

**Kagoshima University Research Center for the Pacific Islands
and Victoria University of Wellington**

1. Globalization and the Pacific Islands

As is commonly stated, persons, ideas, symbols, and materials are moving at an unprecedented rate around the world at the dawn of the third millenium. To conjure often-cited images, people in vastly different parts of the world are now eating the same food made by the same transnational corporations. Consumers are wearing clothing cut in Thailand and assembled in Mexico from materials woven in India, but sporting an American brand name. And villagers in remote rural regions of the Indian subcontinent become emotionally involved in the plot of soap operas filmed in Brazil and Mexico. These movements and juxtapositions have affected every corner of the globe (albeit in different ways, to different extents, and with different results). Thus it is no longer surprising to find latest-model VCRs in mud huts, and Papua New Guinean or Kenyan warriors in full ceremonial regalia sporting fancy watches and computerized gadgets (despite the exotic appeal that TV documentaries and magazines like *National Geographic* still insist on finding in these images). This new transnationalism and globalization, it is commonly said, are currently challenging, for the first time since the dawn of modernity, hitherto unassailable social, political, and geographical boundaries. In particular, the borders of the nation-state, through which governments have contained and constrained movements for several centuries, are being undermined by forces as diverse as grass-root illegal immigration and capital-fueled corporatism.

At first glance, the islands and island groups of the Pacific appear to have been largely immune to the forces of globalization. Many islands and island groups continue to be isolated from the rest of the world because of scarce and inconvenient transport links. Numerous communities (outside of urban centers) have no easy access to what many people around the world today see as essential necessities: a constant supply of water that does not depend on weather conditions; electrical lighting; medical services within reach in emergencies; and other basic facilities for the maintenance of everyday life. The very appearance of an island, whose boundaries are so literally demarcated by reefs, beaches, and cliffs, bears within itself the symbolism of isolation, in-

*Present address: Department of Anthropology, Victoria University of Wellington, P.O. Box 600, Wellington 6000, New Zealand (e-mail address: besniern@matai.vuw.ac.nz)

sulation, and inwardness. And anyone who has spent any length of time on an “outer” Pacific island will know how the slow pace of life, the monotony of work and play activities, and the seemingly local nature of concerns reinforce the symbolic and material insularity of insular life. However, upon closer inspection, it soon becomes obvious that, like other “peripheral” regions of the world, the Pacific Islands are deeply involved in processes of globalization. On the larger scale of the nation-state, economic geographers have identified amongst small states of the Pacific a certain type of economic system, commonly referred to with the acronym MIRAB, which captures the cornerstones of small-state economic systems: migrations, remittances, foreign aid, and bureaucracy (BERTRAM and WATTERS 1985). While the model has been the target of some criticism (e.g., SUDO and YOSHIDA, eds., 1997), it does nevertheless capture, at a descriptive level if nothing else, the fact that the survival of Pacific Island nation-states is inextricably bound to their interplay with the rest of the world. This interplay manifests itself in migrations, i.e., movements of people; remittances, i.e., movements of cash; foreign aid, i.e., movement of cash again, often coupled with movement of symbols; and bureaucracy, the purpose of which, in Pacific states, is significantly to meet the expectations of larger states.

Furthermore, as historians and historically-informed social scientists have insisted for some time, globalization and transnationalism are not new to the Pacific. It is uncontroversial that the lives of Pacific Islanders were deeply affected by globalization (traditionally referred to as “early contacts” in the historical literature) from the dawn of the colonial era. The most obvious symptoms of this were the dramatic events that quickly followed first contact in many parts of the Pacific: the “fatal impact,” characterized by the spread of hitherto unknown diseases, the introduction of firearms, and the rapid population decline and social chaos that island groups like the Marquesas and Hawai’i experienced. But a detailed historical analysis also reveals that Pacific Islanders were not just passive victims in the process, but approached the new horizons they were exposed to with a view on how useful these could be to serve their own interests and purposes: by exploiting new situations and resources for their own benefit, by resisting colonial and post-colonial domination and authority, and by often embracing the new possibilities that access to the outside world offered. Indeed, the possibility and actuality of transnational movement have become part and parcel of the social structures, cultural systems, and daily lives of island populations, a symptom of Pacific Islanders’ agentic response to globalization.

2. Nukulaelae Atoll and globalization

I now turn my attention to aspects of historical and contemporary interactions between the inhabitants of a tiny, geographically remote island of the Central Pacific, and the outside world. Nukulaelae Atoll, where I have conducted approximately 3½ years of field research since 1979, lies 65 nautical miles from its nearest neighbour. Nukulaelae, a classic atoll in its geographical morphology, has no conveniently exploitable resources besides what is needed to maintain comfortably the subsistence needs of its 350 inhabitants (although subsistence has long been supplemented by imports from the outside). With only 1100 hectares of barely dry land, Nukulaelae does not offer enough space and resources for an airstrip, let alone an air service. The atoll is today linked to the rest of the world through about 10 ship visits a year. Nukulaelae nowadays

is part of Tuvalu, one of the smallest micro-states of the Pacific, both in terms of its population (9,000) and area (25km²).

Despite the isolation and remoteness of their home, Nukulaelae Islanders have long understood the importance of the outside world and incorporated this world in the conduct of their daily lives. Nevertheless, the history of their interaction with this outside world has not been devoid of drama. A couple of vignettes from Nukulaelae's 19th century history will suffice as illustration. The atoll's first recorded contact with the non-Pacific world occurred in 1821, when a whaling ship registered at Nantucket (Massachusetts) called at the island. However, until the mid-nineteenth century, while other islands around the globe were being colonized, settled, planted, exploited, and reconfigured, Nukulaelae (as well as the rest of Tuvalu) was left very much to its own devices, despite the fact that American, Australian, and European whalers roamed the surrounding oceans. Atolls of the size of Nukulaelae had very little to offer to these travelers, either in terms of markets to tap into or resources to exploit.

The picture began changing during the second half of that momentous century. Christianity was gradually introduced by various agents in the early 1860s, a process that culminated in the London Missionary Society (LMS) disembarking on Nukulaelae a "Religious Teacher" in 1865. This missionary was a Samoan, not a European, as English missionaries thought then that Westerners could not survive in atoll environments, and that Pacific Islanders could do much better. (In this judgement, of course, they naively ignored the significant differences between island groups and between their inhabitants.)

However, by 1865, two other events had taken place that would have momentous and protracted repercussions for life on Nukulaelae. One is a raid by slavers from Peru, one of the infamous "Blackbirding" ships that roamed the Pacific in the early 1860s, looking for hapless victims to take to guano mines on the islands of Sala y Gomez, off the coast of Peru. In the space of a single dark day, the Peruvian Blackbirders forcibly took captive 70 to 80% of the atoll's population, all of whom perished within months, succumbing to the rigours of slave life and diseases like smallpox. The population that remained on Nukulaelae consisted of a handful of women, old men, and children, whom the Peruvians had not deemed suitable as slaves. This tiny and non-viable community then had another catastrophic experience: probably out of desperation, they leased out about a fourth of the atoll's already tiny area to the German company Godeffroy und Sohn. This Hamburg-based plantation conglomerate was developing a virtual monopoly over the production and trade of coconut oil in the Pacific Islands at the time, a precursor to the transnational corporations that dominate the world economic scene at the dawn of the 21st century. Having signed a lease that they obviously failed to understand, Nukulaelae Islanders were deprived of access to a major part of their island and experienced serious famines and conflicts with the plantation representatives, which successive hurricanes exacerbated.

Events like the arrival of a missionary, the forced enslavement of over 200 people, and the leasing of a few hectares of bush would be inconsequential in other contexts, but they become matters of tremendous importance for a tiny community like Nukulaelae. Among other things, they had the effect of involving Nukulaelae and its inhabitants in world-wide structures of various nature. Missionizing strategies developed in London, business ventures controlled from Hamburg, and the international politics of slaving in the New World all could determine the

course of life on an atoll in the Central Pacific, the availability of locally-grown food, and the very viability of the community.

Less dramatically, but just as significantly, these various events created social relations linking Nukulaelae Islanders to persons and institutions in faraway lands, social relations which could span vast distances. The slaving raid, for example, left the Nukulaelae community in serious need of extra hands to continue performing the traditional exploitation of land and sea, and to ensure that the population could regain its numerary momentum. The opportunity to recruit new members came with one of the very events which otherwise caused Nukulaelae Islanders so much grief, namely the German lease on a large portion of the atoll. As was customary in nineteenth-century plantation economies around the colonial world (WOLF 1982: 368-70), the planters did not rely on locally available labor, which in this case might not have been available anyway; rather, they imported contractual laborers from other Pacific islands, including the Gilbert Islands, Kosrae, Niue, Rotuma, Samoa, Hawaii, and the Marshall Islands, as well as further afield (e.g., Jamaica). Many of these men opted to stay on Nukulaelae at the end of their contracts, establishing affinal ties with the inhabitants that had been spared by the Peruvian raid, amongst which, conveniently, women were in a majority. It is probably the case that the diminutive Nukulaelae community aggressively sought out exogamous ties with the plantation workers. As a result, contemporary Nukulaelae Islanders have numerous kinship ties with a large array of island communities scattered throughout the Pacific, which many continue maintaining over vast geographical distances and numerous generations. And the situation in which the atoll community found itself at the end of the nineteenth century is an interesting one: virtually every inhabitant of the atoll could claim ancestry elsewhere. We are thus dealing with the ultimate prototype of a transnational society, on one of the most isolated corners of the globe!

The social linkages that Nukulaelae Islanders forged were often complex, even in the nineteenth century, when contacts with the external world were rare. Illustrative of this complexity were the yearly visits by the Samoa-based English missionary who, in the space of a couple of hours, would engage in all sorts of activities at a furious rate: examining islanders' knowledge of the Bible, baptizing converts whom they thought were "ready," and excommunicating prior converts who had transgressed. At the same time, the visiting missionary would evaluate the work of the Samoan teacher in the past twelve months, as evidenced in the cleanliness, orderliness, and general performance of members of his flock. If the visitor found the Samoan teacher's work wanting, he could ask for his removal. Nukulaelae people had thus become part of a fraught triangle whose other two apexes were the English missionary and the Samoan teacher. This triangular relationship was complex and nuanced, in that Samoan missionaries sent to Tuvalu typically behaved like little tyrants towards Nukulaelae Islanders . . . except for one day a year, when an even more powerful person would show up who could ask the Samoan religious teacher to pack his bags if the congregation did not display a modicum of Christian and "civilized" behaviour. On that day, the Samoan teacher needed all the cooperation he could get from the people he otherwise lorded over. Clearly, the social relations in which Nukulaelae Islanders entered as a result of contact with the outside world in the nineteenth century were as multi-layered and complex as any other social relations, despite their dramatic lack of frequency and seemingly tenuous nature.

This multi-layering continues to characterize Nukulaelae's relations with the outside world, which are today considerably more frequent and complex. Nukulaelae is embedded in a nation-state, Tuvalu, which frequently has to compete for its authority over Nukulaelae affairs both with local resistance to intrusions from the outside and with a powerful church hierarchy, now based in the nation's capital. Nukulaelae is fast becoming a transnational community, as more and more of its members migrate, somewhat precariously, to places like New Zealand and the United States. Migrations are not new to the atoll, as Nukulaelae people now have a three-decade-old history of temporary labour migrations to Ocean Island until 1980 and Nauru until 1997. And many of the more ambitious Nukulaelae Islanders have settled in the country's overcrowded capital-atoll, Funafuti, to seek salaried employment in the government bureaucracy or with the handful of other employers.

The depiction I have provided may leave the impression that global forces, be they missionization, slavers' raids, or labour migration, are phenomena which *act upon* Nukulaelae. In other words, that the atoll is essentially at the mercy of forces from the outside, in the same fashion that models of globalization predicated on a contrast between a centre and a periphery view the centre acting upon a more or less homogeneous periphery. What I have come to realize in the work I have conducted in various areas of inquiry is that Nukulaelae Islanders exert a great more agency than over-simplified models of center—periphery would allow them to exert. I have already hinted in this paper at the finely textured relationship that nineteenth-century Nukulaelae Islanders established with missionizing agents. A simplistic depiction would identify atoll dwellers as being at the mercy of both an authoritarian tyrant from Samoa and quasi-mythical church figures who appeared over the horizon once a year and dictated the course of their lives by quizzing them about Adam, Eve, Christ, and the Virgin Mary. However, the power structure of these encounters was more subtle than that. It was not lost on Nukulaelae Islanders that their pastor's job was actually on the line should they not perform to the satisfaction of the English church official. In other words, the social relations between atoll dwellers, Samoan and English missionaries were hardly a simplistic top—down structure of domination.

3. Communication technologies

An area of social life in which one finds fascinating evidence of Nukulaelae Islanders taking control of the globalization process is the ways in which communicative technologies have been shaped by the inhabitants of the atoll. I must state right away that the term "communicative technology" must be taken in its broadest sense here, to include reading and writing on paper, for example.

As elsewhere in the Pacific and other parts of the world, reading and writing were introduced to Nukulaelae as part and parcel of Christianity. Literacy skills figured prominently amongst the signs of progress towards a Christianized civilization that the visiting LMS officials would look for. Significantly, the literacy skills that they focused on exclusively were Islanders' ability to read the Bible. Yet, barely twenty years after the initial introduction of literacy to the atoll, a visiting American ship captain recorded in his journal for 1883 that "the Nukulailai [*sic*] people. . . are all well educated, can all read, and are most persistent letter writers. No present is more acceptable to them than a few sheets of paper and some pens . . . We nearly ran out of

ink before we got clear of the group” (BRIDGE 1886: 554). What is remarkable is that, while literacy was brought to Nukulaelae Islanders for the sole purpose of reading the Bible, they were clearly able to apply the newly acquired skills within the space of a few years to suit their own purposes and social designs, thus empowering the technology and giving it, from the very beginning, a meaning that was related only remotely to the meaning that the agents of introduction intended it to have.

Crucially, literacy, particularly as manifested in letter writing, is an important way in which Nukulaelae Islanders have always claimed control over globalization in its various manifestations. (Letters are addressed exclusively to the outside world, letters are never sent within the tiny atoll community save for highly exceptional circumstances.) I now turn the clock very rapidly to the time of my fieldwork on Nukulaelae literacy, the mid-1980s, during which I collected a large corpus of letters which I have analyzed in detail (BESNIER 1995). Letters fill a variety of social and communicative functions. Like letters in any society of the world, they provide news to distant relatives, and convey feelings of longing for the addressee’s presence. But a very important motivation for letter-writing is to monitor the flow of resources between atoll dwellers and their correspondents over the seas. Most simply, the most salient motive for writing letters is to monitor, record, control, and stimulate economic transactions associated with the exchange of gifts. (I am making no claim about the uniqueness of this situation, which is probably mirrored in many other societies of the world.) Thus hand-delivered letters invariably accompany food baskets, packages, and gifts of money. Food usually travels *from* the atoll, while money usually travels in the other direction. Letters often contain lists of items being delivered, more or less subtle hints about obligations of reciprocity, and attempts to track down items that have gone astray. Letters sent to salaried relatives overseas are often demanding shopping lists whose scope is frequently disproportionate to the income of the recipient, and answers often point this out in not-so-subtle ways. In short, letter writing has become deeply embedded in the economic structure of the community and its dependence on a system of exchange that reaches far beyond the boundaries of the atoll itself. Letters, in short, provide the opportunity for Nukulaelae Islanders to tap into economic networks of wide scope, thereby laying claims on what the global has to offer.

The resources that letters manipulate can also be of a symbolic nature. For example, gossip plays a crucial role in the formation of personal identities, in the local political process, and in all forms of interpersonal dynamics on the atoll. Letter writing can explode the geographical restrictions placed on the furtive exchange of scandalous information in cooking huts at night, which Nukulaelae Islanders have developed into a fine art by all accounts. Gossipy letters can be exchanged between Nukulaelae and Funafuti, Funafuti and New Zealand, and from New Zealand back to Nukulaelae. In these various locations, recipients can spitefully show letters to their authors’ rivals, sometimes creating a *dramatis personae* of extreme complexity. The intricate communicative networks that such exchanges create and sustain span great distances between several islands and countries, and straddle several modes of communication, including letters, face-to-face conversations, and radio-telephone calls. The resulting interactional webs allow individuals to negotiate, manipulate, distort, and destroy personal reputations, interpersonal relationships, and political and economic ambitions. (It’s almost as bad as amongst

academics.) Clearly, we are very far from the passive reading of the Bible which nineteenth-century missionaries intended literacy to consist of on the atoll.

There is another way to communicate with the outside world on the atoll, which in the last decade has become an important alternative to letter-writing. During my fieldwork, a short-wave radio-telephone linked Nukulaelae and Funafuti, the capital of the country, for two hours every day. Since 1996, individual telephones have been installed in households that can afford them, and can now be used to make overseas calls. Because I have not been back to the atoll since these developments, I can only comment on the use of the radio-telephone up to the early 1990s.

The social meaning of this technology both resembled and differed from that of letter-writing. In particular, although letters are frequently shared amongst many people at the receiving end, the radio telephone was a much more public form of communication. The telephone station was a major social focus, where people congregated, ostensibly to make and receive calls, but more importantly to hear what other people said, and to whom. The presence of these overhearers was not lost on many callers, who used telephone communication with the outside to skillfully manipulate the information that circulated on the atoll to accrue their own prestige, knowing full well that whatever they said into the receiver would be divulged within minutes throughout the community. We thus have here an interesting twist in the local—global interface: global communication being utilized to fuel local communicative networks. (There were other differences between letter-writing and telephone communication, which space concerns do not allow me to go into.)

More technologically sophisticated means of communication have not yet reached the Outer Islands of Tuvalu including Nukulaelae, because of lack of funds. Even resources that are basic prerequisites for more global communication technologies, such as a dependable source of electricity, are still lacking on atolls such as Nukulaelae. In this respect, the Outer Islands of Tuvalu contrast with more fortunate Pacific Island communities such as the highly diasporic Rotuman society, whose various members, scattered around the Pacific Basin and further afield, are in the process of creating a genuine virtual community, as Alan Howard and Jan Rensel have documented (HOWARD 1999, HOWARD and RENSEL, moderators, ongoing). While Rotuma is also a remote island, the island itself is home to only a fraction of Rotuman society, which is made up of widely dispersed, and often economically successful, members based in Fiji and scattered around the world. As members of a Pacific Island elite, Rotumans have access to electronic technologies far beyond the reach of Nukulaelae Islanders and the inhabitants of islands with fewer opportunities.

The contrast between the communicative possibilities offered in main centers of the Pacific on the one hand and, on the other hand, those available on peripheral islands such as Nukulaelae is becoming sharper and more dramatic. While newer means of communicating, such as e-mail, faxing, and affordable telephone links, open new communicative horizons in theory, they are in practice deepening the gap between urban and rural life, rich and poor, and center and periphery. Far from creating a world in which equality of access to information and communication reigns, new technologies run the risk of deepening existent inequalities, in the Pacific and elsewhere.

However, the contrast is not limited to the technological and communicational gap separating the First World from the Third World, or the Center from the Periphery. It is even more

complex than that. If one searches the World Wide Web with the key word “Tuvalu,” one finds in fact a host of information, of a particularly amazing nature in light of the picture I have painted in this paper. Every token of communication relating to Tuvalu is for sale, from Tuvaluan stamps (many of which are never been seen in the country) to the telephone country code (688). Most importantly, the Web “domain name” suffix, .TV, was recently sold to a Canadian corporation, a process which was full of complexities which will take some time to unravel. “Forget about .COM! www.YourNameHere.tv! Register Your ‘dot TV’ Name Today!” clamours the relevant Web page (<http://www.dottelevision.com/>), advertising “.TV” domains for an initial US\$1,000 (of which the Tuvaluan government is supposed to receive a cut, which, if all goes well, will multiply the national budget several times).

The resulting picture of people around the First World using on sophisticated computers and reliable telephone services with the help of symbols associated with a nation-state that barely manages with the most basic communicative technologies, is not without irony. Perhaps it is a symptom of the anachronistic juxtapositions we have come to expect of our age.

4 . Conclusion

I hope to have made a number of points in this paper. First, areas of the world that were marginal to communications, trades routes, and colonizing efforts in the age of expansion, the nineteenth century, were nevertheless deeply touched by incipient processes of globalization. Of course, we have ample and sophisticated illustrations of the ways in which the periphery of the world was affected by globalization. However, the assumption frequently made is that the periphery is only affected insofar as it is more or less directly exploitable by colonizing and similar agents. What I have attempted to demonstrate here is that a remote corner of the world of no obvious interest to agents of globalization was also deeply affected by globalization, and still is.

Secondly, I have attempted to illustrate the contention that the interface between the local and the global is one in which agentive control can be exerted in multiplex fashion. One is not simply dealing with the exertion of domination of local conditions and dynamics by the agents of globalization. Rather, when addressing the interface between the global and the local, one is faced with a dynamic and subtle struggle over who controls what tools and to what ends.

Finally, I have given glimpses of the interconnectedness of the Center and the Periphery, in which the technology-poor Periphery comes into “virtual” contact with the technology-rich Center, a virtual contact that is full of ironies and inconsistencies. Ultimately, such contact will not level out inequalities between the haves and have-nots. Rather, it runs the risk of highlighting these inequalities in every more dramatic fashion than ever before.

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英語による発表1の和文全訳版

島嶼小宇宙と地球規模の影響力： ヌクラエラエ島（ツバル）民と変わりゆく伝達技術

ニコ ベズニエ

鹿児島大学多島圏研究センター、
ウェリントン ヴィクトリア大学

翻訳者：青山 亨

鹿児島大学多島圏研究センター

1. 地球規模化と太平洋島嶼

この第3千年紀のあけぼのの時期に、誰もが口にするように、これまでなかったような調子で人も発想も物も世界をめぐっているのです。よく引きあいに出されるイメージを頭に浮かべてみると、人びとは今世界のかけはなれた所で世界をまたにかけた同じ大企業がこしらえた同じ食品を食べています。消費者は、インドで織った素材をタイ国で裁断してメキシコで縫製した服を着ているのに、アメリカ製ブランド名を見せびらかしています。インド亜大陸のかたいなかの村人がみなブラジルとメキシコで撮影した通俗的なメロドラマの話しの筋に心そこ一喜一憂します。取りよせて取り合わせるというこれらの作業が地球上のどこに対しても影響するようになってしまったのです（異なった

やり方で、異なった程度に、また異なった結果をもって)。こうした調子で、泥でこしらえた小屋に最新型のカセットビデオデッキがあるのを見ても、全身古来の礼装を身につけたパプアニューギニアとかケニアの部族戦士が腕時計やコンピュータをしこんだ小道具を見せびらかすのを見ても、もはや何もびっくりすることではないのです(テレビのドキュメンタリー番組や「ナショナル・ジオグラフィック」とかの雑誌が依然としてこれらの映像を追いまわすことでエキゾチックな感情に訴えかけてはいるのですが)。この新しい国家超越主義と地球規模化は、誰もが口にするように、近代のあけぼの以来はじめて、これまでがんと動かなかった社会的、政治的、また地理的境界を現在ゆるがそうとしています。特に、国民国家の境界線、それを楯に数世紀もの間政府は移動を抑制してきたのですが、その国境は草の根の不法移民から資本力にものを言わせた大企業主義に至るさまざまな力によってむしばまれつつあります。

ちょっと目には、太平洋上の島嶼や多島群は概して地球規模化の影響からは免れていたように見えます。少なくとも数々の島嶼や多島群はたまにしか来ないしかも不便な交通連絡のせいで世界のほかからは隔離され続けています。枚挙にいとまもないほどの数の地域社会(都市の中心部は別として)では、世界中の少なくとも数々の人びとが今日あたりまえの必需品とみなしている物を得るのがむずかしいのです。天候に左右されずにいつも得られる水にしても、電気による照明にしても、救急医療にしても、そのほか毎日の暮らしを維持するための基本的な設備にしても同様です。ひとつの島、その境界はさんご礁や砂浜、また、断崖でまさに文字どおり区切られているのですが、その島の姿そのものの内に隔絶性、孤立性、内向性を象徴するものがそなわっています。そして、太平洋のどこかの“外”島にちょっとでも過ごしたことのある人は誰でも、どんなにそのくらしぶりがスローペースか、仕事と遊びが単調かが身にしみるのですが、さらに、いつもかかわる事のいかにもその土地らしい事柄が象徴的にも実質的にも島でのくらしの孤立性を浮き立たせるのです。

しかしながら、精査してみるとすぐに世界のほかの“周縁”部のように、太平洋島嶼も深く地球規模化の過程に巻きこまれていることがはっきりします。国民国家というやや大きな基準をもとに、経済地理学者は太平洋の小国から、通常 MIRAB という頭文字で言われている経済システムのある型を識別しました。MIRAB は小国経済システムの本質についています。すなわち、移出民 (MI)、海外からの送金 (R)、外国からの援助 (A)、官僚組織 (B) です (BERTRAM and WATTERS 1985)。一部からは批判の対象ではありますが(たとえば SUDO and YOSHIDA, eds., 1997)、それでもなお、このモデルは単純に記述的な水準では、太平洋島嶼国の生き残りがことばでは言いつくせないほど外部世界との相互作用に結びついているという事実をとらえているのです。この相互作用とは、移出民、つまり人びとの移動、海外からの送金、つまり現金の動き、海外からの援助、つまりまたまた現金の動き(しばしば価値観などの目に見えないシンボルを伴って動きます)、官僚組織(太平洋諸国では、その目指すところは大国の意図に十分沿うことにはありますが)といった現象を具体的には言っています。

さらにまた、歴史家や歴史にくわしい社会学者が事あれば主張するように、地球規模化と国家超越主義は太平洋にとっては目新しいことではありません。太平洋島嶼民が植民地時代のあけぼのからの地球規模化(旧来の歴史文献では“早期接触”といわれています)によってひどいめにあったのは議論の余地がありません。その最も明白なあらわれは、太平洋の少なからぬ部分で最初の接触にすぐさま引き続いて起った劇的なでき

ごとでした。それは、それまでは知られていなかった病気の蔓延、銃火器の導入、またマルケサスやハワイのような島嶼群が経験した急速な人口減少と社会混乱といったような“致命的な衝撃”にほかなりません。とは言え、歴史をくわしく分析すると次に述べることもまたわかるのです。すなわち、太平洋島嶼民はそうした過程で、ただ受け身の犠牲者であったというのではなく、自分達自身の利益と目指すところに役立たせるのにどのくらい有益かという観点から新たな局面へと立ち向かったのです。具体的には、自分たち自身の利益のために新事態と新資源を利用することで、植民地時代とその解放後の支配者と権威に抵抗することで、またしばしば外部世界へとつながる道筋がもたらす新たな可能性に飛びつくことでといった具合です。まったく、国家をまたにかけた移動の可能性と現実性は島嶼の人びとの社会構造、文化体系、また毎日のくらしの部品として組みこまれてしまっており、それは太平洋島嶼民の地球規模化に対する主体的な反応のあらわれです。

2. ヌクラエラエ環礁と地球規模化

ここで私は、ちっぽけで、中部太平洋にあって外部世界からは地理的にずっと離れた島の住民間の歴史的、また現代的な相互関係という側面に話題を移します。ヌクラエラエ環礁、そこで私は1979年以来約3年半にわたり現地調査をしたことがあるのですが、そこは一番近いとなりの島からでも65海里（120キロ）のところにあります。地形学的に言って古典的な環礁のヌクラエラエには、そこに住む350人の生計必需品を支障なく安定供給していくのに必要なもののほかには容易に利用できる資源はなにもありません（もっとも、生計は長い間外界からの輸入によって補なわれてはいるのですけれども）。たった1,100ヘクタールの乾いた裸地では、ヌクラエラエが滑走路のために十分な空間と資源を提供する余地はないので、定期航空便は手つかずのままです。その環礁は今日よその世界とは年に10回程度の便船をとおしてつながっているのです。ヌクラエラエは今日、太平洋小独立国のひとつで、人口9,000と面積25平方キロのツバルの一部です。

自分達の住み家の隔絶性と遠隔性にもかかわらず、ヌクラエラエ島民は外部世界の重要性を長い間にわたって理解しており、毎日のくらしぶりにそれを組み入れてきました。にもかかわらず、外部世界と彼等との相互関係史を見てみると、ドラマにはこと欠きません。ヌクラエラエの19世紀の歴史からのいくつかのスケッチが図解として十分に役立つことでしょう。この環礁と非太平洋世界との記録にある最初の接触は1821年に起こりましたが、それはナントウケット（マサチューセッツ州）に登録してあった捕鯨船がその島を訪れたことによるものです。しかしながら、全地球上のほかの島じまが植民地化され、定着化され、入植され、開発され、改変されつつあったのに対し、アメリカ、オーストラリアまたヨーロッパの捕鯨船がまわりで白波をけたてていたにもかかわらず、19世紀のなかばまでは、ヌクラエラエ（ツバルのほかの島と同様に）はまったく自分たちの意のままに取りしきっていたと言ってよいほどでした。ヌクラエラエくらいの大きさの環礁には、開発する市場という点、あるいは利用する資源の点から見ても、旅人のためになるものが少ししかなかったのです。

様相はあのゆゆしい世紀の後半中に変わり始めました。1860年代初期にはさまざまな担い手により、徐々にキリスト教が紹介されました。その過程の中での頂点は、1865年になってロンドン伝道協会（London Missionary Society, LMS）がヌクラエラエに“宗教教師”を上陸させたことです。この伝道師はヨーロッパ人ではなく、サモア人でした。

というのは、イギリスの伝道師たちが当時西洋人は環礁の環境には耐えられないが、太平洋島嶼民ならずともうまくできると考えたからです（この判断では、もち論、彼らが幼稚にも島嶼群間、また、その住民間にある重大なちがいを無視したのですけれども）。

しかしながら1865年までに、ヌクラエラエでの暮らしに対してずっと尾を引くことになった暗い影のもととなるほかのゆゆしいできごとが2件起っていたのです。そのひとつはペルーからの奴隷狩りの来寇で、それは1860年代初期に太平洋を荒らしまわっていた悪名高い“黒鳥”船（奴隷船）の一艘でしたが、ペルー沖にあるゴメス諸島の隣山へ連れて行く不運な犠牲者を探しまわっているところでした。たった1日という暗黒の時間のうちに、ペルーの奴隷狩りたちはその環礁人口の70~80%を無理やりつかまえました。つかまった全員が何か月かの内に奴隷ぐらしのひどさと天然痘のような病気に倒れてしまいました。ヌクラエラエに残った人びとはといえば、ペルー人たちが奴隷には不向きと見たひと握りの女性、老人、子供たちでした。このちっぽけで存続もおぼつかなくなった共同体はまたほかのひどいめにあったのです。すなわち、多分上に述べた事件で絶望したせいでしょう、島民はこのちっぽけな面積の環礁の約4分の1をドイツのゴデフロイ父子会社へ貸し与えてしまったのです。このハンブルクに本社のあるプランテーションの巨大企業は、その当時太平洋島嶼のココヤシ油の生産と取り引きに関して事実上の独占に向かいつつありました。つまりその会社は21世紀のあけぼのに世界経済の舞台で突出した存在である多国籍企業の前身なものでした。島民は明きらかにその貸与協定の結果どんなことが起るか理解できていなかったのですが、一たんサインをしまった以上、ヌクラエラエ島民は自分たちの島の主要部への立ち入りができなくなったため、ひどい飢えにあい、プランテーション幹部とのいさかいが起きるようになったあげく、続いてやってきたハリケーンで事態はますますひどいことになったのです。

伝道師の来航、200名以上が無理やり奴隷として連れていかれたこと、また、数ヘクタールのやぶを貸し与えるといったようなできごとはほかの所では大したことにはつながらなかったでしょう。けれども、ヌクラエラエのようなちっぽけな共同体では圧倒されるほど重大なこととなったのです。ロンドンで企画された伝道戦略、ハンブルクからの制御を受ける冒険の事業、また新世界での奴隷に関する国際的政争、これらはみな中部太平洋にある環礁のくらしぶり、その土地で取れる食物の入手、そして陸で働き海で漁をする十分な働き手のいる存続可能な共同体の存在そのものを左右したのです。

それほど劇的ではないのですが、意味のあることとして、これらのいろいろなできごとのために、ヌクラエラエ島民とはるか離れた土地にいる人たちや団体とつながる社会的関係、つまり途方もない距離に糸をかけるような社会的関係ができあがったということがあります。たとえば奴隷狩りの結果、ヌクラエラエ共同体は陸と海の資源の伝統的利用を続けるのに労働力を新たに特加し、人口がその退勢を回復できるよう見通しをつけるさしせまった必要性が生じたのです。新たな構成員を補充する機会は、あとから話すようなことが起らなかったならば、ヌクラエラエ島民を悲しみのどん底へとつき落とすだけで終わったであろうまさにそのできごと、つまり環礁の大きな部分のドイツ人への貸与をきっかけとしてやって来たのです。植民地世界をめぐる19世紀のプランテーション経済の通例どおり (WOLF 1982: 268-70)、入植者たちは現場で得られる労働力はあてにしていまませんでした。もっとも、今話をしている例では、どっちみち手に入らなかったでしょう。それよりもむしろ、彼らはほかの太平洋島嶼から契約労働者を移入しました。その労働者たちの供給源としては、ギルバート諸島、コスラエ、ロトゥーマ、サモ

ア、ハワイ、マーシャル諸島を含みますが、中にははるか圏外（たとえば、ジャマイカ）からもやって来ました。これらの男達の少なからぬ者は契約期間が終わってもヌクラエラエに残る道を選び、ペルー人の来寇で人口が疎となった住民（好都合なことに、大半は女性であったのですが、）と婚姻による結びつきを築きました。その小さいヌクラエラエ共同体の方から積極的にプランテーション労働者との外婚的結びつきを追い求めたというのが多分あたっているでしょう。その結果、現代のヌクラエラエ島民は太平洋中の広い範囲に散らばる島嶼社会と枚挙にいとまないほどの親族関係があり、そのような関係の極めて遠い地理的距離と何世代にも渡る時間をも乗り越えてそのまま続いていることが少なくないのです。従がって、その環礁共同体が19世紀末に立ち至った事態は、ほとんどの住民が祖先は外からやってきたと言い張れるほどで、興味深いものです。私たちはこのようにして、地球上のもっとも隔絶した片隅のひとつで、超国家的社会の本源的な祖型を話の対象としているのです！

ヌクラエラエ島民が鍛造した社会的結びつきは、外界との接触がまれであった19世紀でも、しばしば錯綜しています。この錯綜性はふだんはサモアにいるイギリス人の伝道師の毎年の来航を例にとります。彼らは、2、3時間というあいだに猛烈な調子であらゆる活動をやってのけるのが常でした。たとえば、島民の聖書に関しての知識の試験、自分でもう“準備はできた”と言った改宗者への洗礼、洗礼はすんでいるが、宗教上の罪を犯した者を破門するといったことです。同時に、やってくるたびに伝道師はサモア人教師のそれまでの12か月間の仕事に評点をつけたのです。それは自分の信徒たちに潔白さ、規律正しさ、全般的な職務遂行の証拠として見せてみたものでした。もし、その伝道師がサモア人の教師の仕事が不足であると判断したならば、彼は教師がそこを立ちのくよう指示もできました。ヌクラエラエの人びとはこのようにして張りつめた三角形の1角に位置するようになりました。その三角形のほかのふたつの角はイギリス人の伝道師とサモア人の教師でした。この三角形の関係は、ツバルへ送られたサモア人の伝道師がヌクラエラエ島民に対して1年のうちの1日を除いては小暴君の典型がするように振るまったということで、錯綜し微妙な意味あいを持っていました。その1日とはすなわち、もし一般信徒がキリスト教並びに“文明”的行為を全然表に出さなかったら、サモア人教師に自分の荷物をまとめて出て行くよう言いつけることができる一層権力のある人が現われる日のことです。その日には、サモア人の教師は、伝道師が目の前にいなければいばりくさる対象相手から精一杯の協力を得る必要がありました。ヌクラエラエ島民が19世紀の外部世界との接触の結果持ち始めた社会的関係は、回数では劇的に少なかったし見かけ上細ぼそとした性質のものであったにもかかわらず、はっきりと、よそで見られた社会的関係と同じ位、重層にして錯綜的であったのです。

この重層性がヌクラエラエと外部世界との関係の特徴であり続けています。そうした関係は今日ではかなり一層頻繁であり錯綜しています。ヌクラエラエは国民国家としてのツバルに埋め込まれているのですが、ツバルの方は、ヌクラエラエ関連事柄をめぐる国家権力の行使に際して外部から口をはさまれることに対する地元の抵抗並びに、現在は国の首都を基盤としている強力な教会階層制と頻繁に張り合わなければならないのです。ヌクラエラエは急速に多国籍共同体となりつつあります。というのは、その構成員が幾分不用意にどんどんニュージーランドとかアメリカ合衆国のような所へと出て行ってしまふからです。移民はその環礁にとって目新しいものではありません。というのは、ヌクラエラエの人びとには、1980年まではオーシャン島、それに1997年まではナウルへ