
Reviews

Biodiversity and Ecological Economics: participation, values and resource management

Luca Tacconi (ed.), Earthscan, London, 2000, 254pp, ISBN 1 85383 676 1, £14.95 (PB), ISBN 1 85383 675 3, £40.00 (HB)

A contributor to this edited volume, Sango Mahanty, explains that ‘the exploratory, qualitative research’ of the type she reports ‘might appear unfamiliar, unreliable and biased’ (p.183). Certainly for many readers, this will be the case for her chapter and many others in the book. It will be particularly the case for those who are comfortable with the positivist approach to research that is familiar to economists trained in the neoclassical tradition and others with a single disciplinary background. Readers looking for ‘conventional’ economic analysis involving cost-benefit analysis market simulations and the like will be disappointed.

However, that is the nature of this book. It sets out to raise questions regarding the ways in which biodiversity conservation specifically is considered and more generally about the applicability of what is defined as neoclassical economics.

The book is structured in two parts. In the first, Tacconi considers methodological issues. Emphasis is given in this part to the consideration of what ecological economics is and what contribution it can make to the analysis of biodiversity conservation. In the second part, a number of authors provide their analyses of case studies involving biodiversity conservation in both industrial and developing countries.

In the spirit of the book, notably the observation that the ‘world view we hold influences how we construe reality’ (p.3), I should note that I am an economist who was trained in the neoclassical tradition but also one who has published in the journal *Ecological Economics*. Perhaps this ‘world view’ indicates that I am not inclined to reject positivism to the extent that Tacconi suggests. But neither am I inclined to accept the tenets

of ecological economics as wholeheartedly as Tacconi.

Whilst Tacconi advocates a pragmatic approach to the consideration of biodiversity conservation—one that embodies the strengths of a wide range of paradigms within the broad church of economics—he is keen to dismiss neoclassical economics. This is contradictory to his appeal to avoid the ‘argument culture’ that appears to have arisen between proponents of neoclassical and ecological economics. Hence the spirit of reconciliation that pervades Tacconi’s early pages of Chapter 3 quickly turns to one of criticism toward neoclassical economics and praise for ecological economics.

The source of the ‘argument culture’ appears to be largely found in the definitions of the alternative ‘economics’. Many ecological economists have been at pains to differentiate their product from the neoclassical ‘competitor’. In doing so, they have been apt to fall into the trap of creating neoclassical economics as a ‘straw man’. The definition of neoclassical economics is hence a very limited one. For instance, the neoclassical school is criticised for being devoid of reference to the bio-physical environment. This would certainly cause offence to the agricultural economists who have close interactions with biophysical scientists in their analyses of farm production. It would also seem strange to the editors of a neoclassical journal such as the *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* who receive submissions from authors whose research interests are directly related to environmental issues.

Similarly, the criticisms directed at neoclassical analysis by writers such as Etzionni and Sagoff (cited extensively by Tacconi) regarding the limitations of neoclassical models based on assumptions of self-interest appear to be directed at a very simplistic notion of what neoclassical economics attempts to do. These ecological economists discuss people acting as ‘citizens’ rather than self-interested individuals and so

Reviews

reject the analyses of neoclassical economists. What they fail to do is to recognise the analyses of charitable givings, the bequest motive and other actions that are not aimed at direct self-improvement by neoclassical economists. Many criticisms of neoclassical economics seem to be more motivated by a rejection of the outcomes of peoples' choices that neoclassical economists seek to understand rather than a rejection of the analysis itself. In other words, it is more a case of shooting the messenger.

Hence, whilst Tacconi offers some most useful insights into the analysis of biodiversity conservation, it is somewhat clouded by an unnecessarily divisive approach to the contribution that economics as a discipline can offer.

One of the most valuable insights Tacconi offers is the importance of integrating economics with other relevant disciplines. This is a notable feature of the second part of the book. Many of the authors featured in that part would not consider themselves to be economists—either ecological or neoclassical. However, their backgrounds in political science, sociology, social anthropology, ecology makes for an interesting compilation of approaches to the issue of biodiversity conservation. Add to the mixture of discipline backgrounds, a diverse array of case study sites—ranging from Australian forests and marine reserves through to protected areas in Vanuatu, India, Papua New Guinea, Indonesia and the United States—and the result is a smorgasbord of possible approaches to the issue.

A point worth noting about the contributions in Part 2 is the dearth of quantitative analysis. It is really only in Tacconi's own chapter on protected areas in Vanuatu that any calculations involving money values are presented. This no doubt reflects Tacconi's rejection of cost-benefit analysis as a technique that is useful in the consideration of biodiversity issues. Moreover, the contributions in Part 2 may be regarded by some readers as more in the

realm of sociology or social anthropology than economics, albeit of an ecological bent. For instance, the analysis of forest issues in Australia set out in Chapter 6 makes no mention of any economic assessment of the forested regions apart from a brief (one paragraph) description of the process used to value alternative timber harvesting regimes. No mention is made of the economic values forest-protected areas provide. Similarly, in Chapter 7 a useful review of Australian Marine Park policy is provided but little quantitative evidence of the economic impacts of alternative resource use options is provided.

A recurrent theme through the chapters of Part 2 is the importance of the 'participation' of stakeholders in the determination of biodiversity conservation strategies. This comes in part as a reaction against the top-down or 'command and control' approach that has proven so unsuccessful in the past. In essence, the authors are suggesting that through the involvement of people directly affected by biodiversity strategies in the development of those strategies, a greater success rate will be achieved. One element that is lacking in these analyses is a consideration of the costs that the participation imposes. In other words, are the transaction costs imposed by the institutional arrangements set in place to ensure the negotiations worth the benefits they produce? Such a question implies a cost-benefit analysis of the type rejected by Tacconi, but such an analysis would seem to be important in gaining an appreciation of the success or otherwise of the participatory approach.

There are aspects of this book (particularly those relating to the rejection of what neoclassical economics can offer) that I find difficult to accept. Yet there are aspects which I found very useful. For instance, the methodological aspects of Part 1 make a strong contribution in that they provide a context in which the reader can clarify their thinking on the role of economics in the

R e v i e w s

consideration of biodiversity conservation. The more applied Part 2 provides a rich array of case study material as a source of both potential approaches and information regarding strengths and weaknesses.

The book therefore should find a wide audience. Those with a direct interest in matters relating to the conservation of biodiversity will find it a useful resource. Those with a wider interest in research methods in economics will find it either a source of direction or a means of clarifying their own thoughts on the nature of the economics discipline.

Jeff Bennett
National Centre for Development Studies
The Australian National University

Governance in Samoa: pulega I Samoa

Elise Huffer and Asofou So'o (eds), 2000, Asia Pacific Press, ANU and Institute of Pacific Studies, USP, Canberra and Suva, ISBN 0 7315 36517 (APP) and 982 02 0156 X (USP) pp.222, index, A\$32

This collection, comprising an Introduction and eleven essays, deserves appreciation as one of the first attempts to apply the currently important idea of governance to one South Pacific country. At the same time, a number of the individual contributions neatly demonstrate how governance has displaced earlier, more substantial and critical, expressions for describing the construction and exercise of power.

From the outset, the editors show their awareness of this effect of employing governance to describe Samoan politics, and even seem to embrace the idea for its utility as a form of concealment. They note (p.2), with what is as much a warning for readers of the collection as anyone else, that

Governance...has its advantages, not only for its active promoters...but also for the observers and actors of public life.' In the (South) Pacific, where 'politics remains a delicate issue', with

'open discussion...hampered by a high degree of sensitivity linked to status, kinship and small communities', governance lets the 'observers and actors of public life...discuss sensitive issues without appearing to do so (p.3).

In order to maintain this delicacy, 'the onus of examining current governance issues should lie with the Samoan people themselves' or at least the 'Samoan contributors...who have an 'insider' understanding of the topics they discuss' (p.3).

Certainly the modern history of the idea of governance contains the editors' justification for employing governance, that is, its role as a disguise, a form of concealment. The idea was first employed and then pressed into service by the World Bank so that its direct interventions into the national politics of debtor nations could be constructed as governance reforms, rather than political reforms. To have directly urged the latter would have been to contravene a key section of the Bank's founding charter, as well as make it easier for opponents to raise the banner of national sovereignty to block proposed changes.

That is, couching 'sensitive issues' in terms of governance reforms facilitated changes in the nature of state power, power exercised to advance the accumulation of capital on a global scale, including in Samoa. How much merit there is in essays which disguise this central purpose of the idea of governance will depend upon the inclinations of individual readers.

The best of the essays in the collection recognise that governance is a means for reshaping political authority in terms of international criteria associated with liberal democracy. Michael Goldsmith ('Codes of governance in the Pacific'), Cluny and La'avasa Macpherson ('Where theory meets practice: the limits of the good governance program') and Asofou So'o ('Civil and political liberty: the case of Samoa') neatly demonstrate the interplay

R e v i e w s

between international and local which is at the centre of governance. The last two essays deal with key political struggles, in which suppression and repression were foremost as regime opponents sought to overcome some of the more stifling dimensions of contemporary Samoan politics. Significantly, perhaps, So'oto managed to consider these matters without even referring to governance.

Chapter 3, by Huffer and Alfred Schuster ('*Pule'aga: views of governance in Samoa*') uses a public opinion study, heavily weighted to élite views, to see to what extent these corresponded with what might be termed a mid 1990s international consensus on governance, that is managerialism plus civil society exerting weight for further reform. The authors conclude that the twenty-six 'interviewees were not fundamentally dissatisfied with Samoa's political system' which seems 'to demonstrate (its) political plurality'.

Three other essays, by Lati Lati ('The good governance agenda for civil society: implications for the *fa'aSamoa*'), Donovan Storey ('Urban governance: the case of Apia') and Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop ('Women's NGOs within the new governance agenda: are they still based on *alofa*?') acknowledge the international derivation of governance and then seek to examine important aspects of Samoan existence in terms of its effects. However the examinations are strangely, at least to this reader, light and lacking in substance.

Storey, for instance, commences by suggesting that urbanisation and urban government is atypical in Samoa because of the continued dominance of villages, thus models imported from 'the West' are inappropriate. For instance (p.87): 'Apia's decentralised growth presents particular problems for urban administration and models based on centralised administrative systems.' By comparison to Apia, and other urban centres in 'developing countries', cities 'in industrialised countries are generally centralised and compact' (p.84).

Why the mega-cities of today's world, with urban sprawl extending for hundreds of kilometres, have no relevance for the study of rapid urbanisation in Samoa requires more explanation than appears in Storey's essay.

In sum then, a mixed collection, which generally shows how an international idea intended to deflect criticism and opposition is employed to effect in a country where the struggle for democratic depth, beyond the trappings of constitutions, parliaments and elections, has only just begun.

Scott MacWilliam
University of the South Pacific

***Designing Performance Appraisals:
assessing needs and designing
performance management systems in
the public sector***

Commonwealth Secretariat, London

Designing Performance Appraisals was prepared by the Management and Training Services Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat. It looks at the ways and means of designing appropriate performance appraisal systems for the public sector in Commonwealth countries. The questions the publication seeks to answer are as follows. How do you measure performance? How do you identify performance indicators? How do you design performance appraisal systems? It includes some recommendations on how best to design and institutionalise performance management measures into organisational culture, systems, structures, processes and procedures in the public service. Also included are case studies of the performance management systems in Barbados, Samoa and Tonga.

Designing Performance Appraisals is set in the context of the globalisation process, the focus on good governance, and the questioning of the role of the state. The disintegration of the pre-independence appraisal systems in the Commonwealth

R e v i e w s

countries is also discussed. The underlying assumption is that no longer is the state to have a dominant role in the strategy of economic development but rather it should concentrate on those activities in which it has 'comparative advantage', and in particular it should make way for expanded private sector involvement. The focus is on efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of public services. This approach is also seen to be a deterrent to corruption, because it enables the development of institutional systems and instruments that aim to eliminate the opportunities for fraudulent activities in the public service. The publication aims to

- respond to the pressures for improvement in the provision of services at three levels—national, organisation and individual
- contribute to ongoing attempts to design performance appraisal instruments to suit particular countries, states, organisations and employers and employees
- demonstrate how to measure performance in the delivery of public services to the people
- discuss how performance management systems can be institutionalised and be made part of an organisation's culture.

Designing Performance Appraisals highlights the pressures many organisations are under, from internal and external sources, to improve their performance and achieve set goals and objectives. It defines performance management as 'a concept that has come into popular use in the management of an organisation's human, material and financial resources for the benefit of the public or consumers. Globally defined performance management is the use of performance measurement in shaping the performance of organisations and people' (p.1). It is stressed that many organisations use performance measurement—the process of assessing progress towards achieving predetermined goals—to gain insight into,

and make judgments about, the effectiveness and efficiency of programs, and procedures. The essential lessons which are highlighted by the publication, from designing and installing performance appraisal systems, are that

- individuals are ultimately responsible for their own learning
- the benefits of individual learning will never become organisational benefits unless the organisation itself can provide the culture and circumstances to translate individual learning into organisational thought and practice
- instilling the culture of continuous learning can be achieved by benchmarking, and identifying ways to work faster
- inculcating appropriate values to employees by such means as 'service-oriented values', professionalism and 'work-place democracy'(pp5–6).

It advocates an approach to develop performance appraisal systems using a process of involving employees and their managers in design to ensure that everyone has a sense of 'ownership' and 'assures a high degree of sustainability'. It recognises that a number of different approaches may need to be used within the same organisation, but argues that

[t]he performance management model for the post-industrial era emphasises cross-functional, self-directed teamwork in a flat structure. Its practitioners communicate using complex interpersonal relationships rather than rigid terminology. People demand leadership and coaching rather than management and supervision. Knowledge professionals are recognised and rewarded for contributing diverse creature (sic) and intellectual potential to help their organisations succeed in the search for investment and customers (p.7).

Designing Performance Appraisals identifies some of the critical stages and steps that should be included in the design of an

R e v i e w s

appraisal system (pp.37–39). These include a review of the organisation's goals, selection of appropriate performance indicators, the identification of barriers to implementing performance measures and benchmarking. Particularly, the need for participation in identifying and solving problems is stressed, and 'when the performance measurement has been designed, managers need to use the result to drive a continuous change within the organisation' (p.16).

The public service worldwide increasingly faces declining resources and the improvement in employee productivity has become an important issue. This publication advocates the adoption of performance systems that aim to increase efficiency and effectiveness primarily by the means of performance-related incentives. It also assumes that the public services of Commonwealth countries are founded on similar principles and operating procedures, and that they operate with similar shared values.

The ideas in the publication are not new to anyone who has been involved in performance management in recent years and conform to the wider body of ideas of the New Public Management (NPM). It does try to address the controversial issue as to whether the NPM is able to change organisational culture (Turner and Hulme 1997:233). However, the major concern remains that many of the ideas proposed are increasingly being re-examined in the context of developed 'Western' public service systems. For example, Lane identifies the major failures of the performance management systems adopted by the United States Federal Public Service. In particular, he finds that the adoption of the techniques and practices of performance management have not achieved the desired results in the United States. A number of reasons are given for this failure but particularly he criticises the underlying assumption that by their very nature the public service is 'ponderous, nonresponsive and incompetent' (Lane 1994:28) and that 'the reliance on economic

incentives contained an implicit assumption about the motivational wellsprings of public employment' (Lane 1994:29). Similar reservations can be expressed in the context of the Australian Public Service where similar assumptions about worker motivation have been made. In the developing country context Judith Tendler found that good public service performance was more closely related to worker dedication, the customisation of work, and trust between workers and citizens, rather than other kinds of internal and external controls (Tendler 1997:20).

While the Commonwealth Secretariat's publication does recognise the importance of participation and employee involvement, which were largely absent in earlier versions of performance management, the approach advocated still takes a fairly narrow perspective about the issue of improving public service performance. The strategies proposed also ignore the political context in which most public service decision making occurs, and the reality that public service managers are often responding to the demands of their Minister, and therefore often unable to apply the principles of 'best practice management'. Clearly the publication recognises that earlier versions of performance management, which focus on 'controlling' employees, were unsuccessful and what is required is an approach which emphasises participative efforts to engage employees in improvement efforts. However, given that the approaches discussed seem to have been fairly ineffective when applied to the public services of 'Western' countries they would seem to be less likely to achieve the desired results in a developing country. Despite its generally narrow approach, *Designing Performance Appraisals* makes a valuable contribution to what is a critical ongoing debate about public service performance and good governance.

Robert Phillpot
National Centre for Development Studies
The Australian National University

R e v i e w s

References

- Lane, L.M., 1994. 'Old failures and new opportunities: public sector performance management', *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, Summer:26–45.
- Tendler, J., 1997. *Good Government in the Tropics*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- Turner, M. and Hulme, D., 1997. *Governance, Administration and Development: making the state work*, Kumarian Press, Bloomfield.

Social Change in Melanesia: development and history

Paul Sillitoe, 2000, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 284pp, figures, plates, maps, index. ISBN 0 521 77806 9, A\$43.90

This book by Paul Sillitoe, a leading anthropologist, is in many ways a companion volume to his recent *An Introduction to the Anthropology of Melanesia* (Sillitoe 1998). Sillitoe has worked in and published widely on the Wola people of the Papua New Guinea highlands for many years. In this volume he extends the traditional anthropological scope to deal with the post-contact history and development of the region, dealing with 'issues and problems that have traditionally been the concerns of human geography, sociology, development studies and economics' (p. xvii–xviii).

Based around a series of lectures—like the anthropology of Melanesia volume—it is intended as an introduction to contemporary issues in Melanesia, presumably particularly for anthropology undergraduates, although it may well have a broader readership. Sillitoe argues that anthropology can no longer ignore the changes and development process that Melanesian societies are going through, and hence needs to expand the themes and issues

of interest beyond what anthropology traditionally covered. At the same time he is pessimistic in terms of the role for anthropologists in mediating or influencing development processes, commenting that 'anthropologists commonly find themselves acting as weak brakes on the development juggernaut' (p. 8). As a consequence, 'the idea that social scientists, and anthropologists in particular, can help move less developed countries relatively painlessly into the industrial world is a dangerous myth?' (p.9). The most positive role for anthropological knowledge in this process, then, is 'to couple it with a knowledge of some other field such as agriculture, engineering, medicine or economics' (p.8). This view, I believe, somewhat undersells the potential contribution of anthropology in terms of providing an indigenous view of development processes, a theme that comes out elsewhere throughout the volume. The point is well made, though, that the Melanesian people are thoroughly implicated in contemporary global processes and, as a result, an understanding of these processes is required in contemporary anthropology. With this volume Sillitoe has provided a useful starting point for coming to grips with the implications of these broader processes for both Melanesian societies and anthropology.

After an introductory chapter that sets up the rationale and thrust of the book, the second and third chapters outline the impact of the arrival of Europeans on societies in the region. Here Sillitoe juxtaposes European and indigenous accounts to give a sense of the ways in which local communities made sense of and incorporated the arrival of Europeans within existing indigenous world views. The following chapters pick up other key themes associated with the contemporary region: land rights, business, mining, forestry, migration and urbanisation, cargo cults, the role and impact of the church, the developing national states, and issues of custom and identity. Each of these chapters

R e v i e w s

is well illustrated with a case study drawn from previous anthropology on a particular ethnic group from the region. This has the advantage of highlighting both the diversity of development encounters and experiences of people in the region, as well as the variety of approaches and subjects adopted by anthropologists working in Melanesia.

Sillitoe is at his best in this volume in chapters such as 'Forestry and local knowledge' where he clearly illustrates the potential light that anthropology can throw on local understandings of resources and development processes. In this chapter he outlines how forests are valued differently in Melanesian societies and why this is important for development processes such as logging or conservation. The cultural awareness promoted by an anthropological background, Sillitoe argues, allows for the meshing of western technical competence with community values and perspectives, leading to a greater sense of community control over their experience of change and development.

The book does have weaknesses: a personal gripe as a geographer is the maps. I have yet to see a more redundant set (14!) of maps in a book. Likewise the many useful plates are accompanied by frustratingly poor annotations, with places and dates rarely noted. The regional coverage, as must usually be the case in such overview volumes, is somewhat uneven, although given its dominance demographically and territorially the amount of material on Papua New Guinea is justified. One downside of the case study approach is that the enormous diversity of development experiences (in terms of logging or mining, for example) within the region tends to become blurred. There is also the curious (and erroneous) decision to use the name Tembagapura to talk about the Grasberg gold and copper deposit in West Papua (Irian Jaya). Tembagapura is the name of the township constructed close to the mine, but the operation is far better known as the

Freeport mine, after the American operator. Finally, the bulk of the further readings, and some of the case study material, is a little dated: the chapter on mining for example, makes no reference to the huge literature from the mid to late 1990s, including the excellent accessible chapters contained in Toft's (1997) volume.

Leaving aside these quibbles, this volume is a useful introduction to an anthropological perspective on change and development in the region, providing many insights into why 'development' in Melanesia rarely matches the aims and expectations of external planners and development agencies. For this reason it would be very useful as an introductory anthropological text, as well as being of value to other, non-anthropological, social scientists working in the region.

Glenn Banks
School of Geography and Oceanography
University College, University of New
South Wales
Australian Defence Force Academy

References

- Sillitoe, P., 1998. *An Introduction to the Anthropology of Melanesia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Toft, S. (ed.), 1997. *Compensation for Resource Development in Papua New Guinea*, Law Reform Commission, Port Moresby and National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra.

Economics and Culture

David Throsby, 2001, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, ISBN 0 521 58406 X, A\$37.95

Economics and Culture is here reviewed by a specialist in cultural heritage conservation, with little expertise in the field of economics. To quote from the Foreword, '[i]n an increasingly globalised world, economic and

Reviews

cultural imperatives can be seen as two of the most powerful forces shaping human behaviour...the book explores the economic dimensions of culture and the cultural context of economics'.

Two timely developments which occurred while the author was writing the book were first, an international meeting in Stockholm in 1998, when it was agreed that cultural policy should be one of the key components in human development strategies to expand the capabilities of people to lead the sorts of lives they desire. Then there was the announcement by the World Bank in 1999 'that culture was an essential component of economic development, and that henceforward culture would play a stronger role in shaping and conditioning the Bank's economic operations'.

The author introduces the book by discussing the relationship between economics and culture, both theoretically and from the human perspective. He then defines economics—which, it appears, is well accepted by economists—whereas culture is more difficult to define, being both tangible and intangible. Until recently economic theorists completely ignored the role of culture in economic performance, today they admit it matters but they cannot explain how. Chapter 2 lays the theoretical basis for the book by considering notions of value in economics and in culture and how they are codified and assessed. Next, culture is conceptualised in a form which captures its essential characteristics but which is also amenable to economic manipulation and analysis. Here the notion of 'cultural capital' is introduced as a means of representing both tangible and intangible culture. Cultural capital recognises the economic and cultural importance of cultural goods, services and activities. Chapters 4 and 5 consider culture in economic development and then look at the economics of cultural heritage. In Chapter 6 the process of creativity is discussed in relation to its mainspring of cultural growth

and development but also as it affects economics as a motivating force in innovation and technological change. The author returns to the notion of cultural industries as a means of representing cultural activity in economic terms in Chapter 7, broadening the concept to include urban development, tourism and trade. The contribution of culture to the economic development of the developing world—promoted by the recent involvement by the World Bank is also discussed, using the music industry as a case study. In Chapter 8 the role of the state is introduced, looking in particular at the implementation and impact of cultural policies. Finally, in Chapter 9, the author brings together the preceding arguments to show the role that economics and culture might play in the future of contemporary society.

Every cultural object, whether movable or immovable has an economic value created by factors such as how long it took to make, the cost of the materials, the public opinion of artistic/architectural/spiritual quality etc. However, there can be many exceptions to these basic concepts such as to why the public will have different preferences for an art work or building, and therefore it is probably better to not use the term 'cultural value' but to break it down into basic elements only. In general it can be argued that an object of considered high cultural value will also have a high economic value, but immediately there are opposites to this. One only has to consider the relatively low popularity ratings of the classical high culture programs on the ABC compared with the soaps on independent radio and TV stations.

The consideration of both the tangible and intangible aspects of culture has led to the currently popular use of the term 'culture capital'. A cultural group will have its works of art, craft, historic buildings, music, song and dance which can all be given an ordinary capital economic value. Works of art have a cost of production and a return

Reviews

when sold. Music and dance performances also have a production cost and here the return is from selling tickets to performances. However, there are also the spiritual, linguistic and social aspects of the culture on which it is difficult to place any specific economic value. These may in fact be playing a more important role in preserving a culture, and the whole can be considered a cultural industry providing cultural goods and services. It is therefore necessary to combine all these tangible and intangible components to form capital culture, which has both economic and cultural values.

The author then stresses the necessity for cultural capital to be sustainable from both the material and spiritual point of view. Actions today should not deny future generations access to cultural resources. Similarly, maintenance of cultural capital is essential otherwise cultural practices and systems may break down.

Managers of cultural heritage appear to have little time for economists, yet economic analysis, provided it is sensitive, can assist with resource allocation, policy issues relating to financing and management of public property etc. However, there is the danger that this may generate the 'bean counters' who will only look at the economics of a project and not its cultural capital value.

Cost-benefit analysis is perhaps irrelevant for the care and maintenance of unique heritage items, yet it can be of significant use for other items, especially when conservation resources are limited. When formulating sustainable heritage management strategies it is necessary to recognise both the economic and cultural values produced by the project. Consideration of heritage as cultural capital can provide a means of integrating interests of heritage practitioners who are concerned with the protection of cultural value, and economists who look at heritage projects as problems of allocation of scarce resources. Recognition of both is important.

The impacts of cultural tourism and the need for this to be sustainable are thoroughly discussed, as the pressures of tourism can easily destroy a heritage site. Sustainable cultural tourism has to be sensitive to local values, be non-intrusive and non-degrading of sites—this can enhance and preserve what attracts tourists, leading to long-term benefits for both cultural values and economic profitability.

The book brings together the view of culture and economics from both perspectives and does it well. There is a good bibliography, list of names referred to in the book, plus indexes. In a few places economics come through a little strong, and for example, the inclusion of an economic model of artistic production will be meaningless to artists, especially as all the terms are not defined. There are those from the many cultural industries who might be put off by the title and such as the above, but the conclusions, contained in only 15 pages, summarise well the main aims and objectives of the book. This is a valuable contribution to economists and cultural practitioners, and can only lead to better understanding of each other's role in society.

It would have been useful to comment on the low esteem held by cultural heritage when funds are being provided. In many less developed countries, such as Pacific island states, cultural heritage it is not even on the list of priorities, and it is extremely difficult to raise funds for urgent conservation projects and for training. Interestingly, whenever there are visits by dignitaries from foreign countries they are invariably welcomed by the host nation's highest cultural experience, and given a gift of cultural significance. Also, in order to foster trade between countries this is definitely facilitated by better understanding and appreciation of each others culture—without this trade with some countries would be virtually impossible—but then try to find funds for the promotion and conservation of this cultural capital! This

R e v i e w s

book will hopefully convince those controlling the purse strings that the promotion and preservation of cultural capital is good economic sense and follow the World Bank's lead.

Colin Pearson
Co-director, Cultural Heritage Research Centre
University of Canberra

Protection of Intellectual, Biological and Cultural Property in Papua New Guinea

Kathy Whimp and Mark Busse (eds), 2000, Asia Pacific Press, The Australian National University, Canberra and Conservation Melanesia Inc., Port Moresby, 230 pp, references, index, ISBN 0 7315 3663 0, A\$32

The papers in this volume were first presented at a seminar on intellectual property rights in biological and cultural materials, held in Port Moresby in August 1997. The seminar was arranged by Conservation Melanesia, a non-government organisation based in Papua New Guinea, but also involved contributions from the National Research Institute, the University of Papua New Guinea, the PNG Institute of Medical Research, the PNG Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the PNG Biodiversity Data Management Project (implemented by the Department of Environment and Conservation and funded by the United Nations Development Programme).

The introduction to this volume, notes that the popular, usually decontextualised, view of indigenous knowledge is one in which knowledge can be saved in isolation from the cultural and social contexts in which it is produced and used. They paraphrase Dwyer (1994) who argues that by representing indigenous environmental knowledge as the basis for indigenous conservation of the environment, conservationists ignore critical differences in underlying assumptions and purposes

between themselves and indigenous peoples. In doing so, conservationists place indigenous people in untenable positions.

What is often absent from any general discussion of indigenous knowledge are issues of intellectual property rights and issues of property and ownership. But these are vital issues of past, present and future importance in Melanesian societies. Carrier, for example, explains the major difference in property relations in Melanesian and Western societies in terms of 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' ideas of property (1998:86–88). The 'inclusive' approach in Melanesians is one in which objects reflect and are embedded in lasting relationships between people involved in the objects' histories. Thus a previous owner of an object continues to be associated with that object even after it leaves his or her possession. Objects are also seen as a vital part of a person's relationships with other people. Carrier contrasts this with the 'exclusive' modern Western view of property in which an object is controlled by and associated with only the person who owns it at the moment. This major contrast between 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' views of property underlies, if not directly then certainly by implication, many of the papers presented in this volume. In addition, this continues to be a crucial contrast underlying much of modern Melanesian society.

The papers here collected raise a range of issues critical both for Papua New Guinea and for other developing countries. All but one of the chapters reflect the PNG context in which they are written, not only in context but also in the social and historical contexts that are usually taken for granted. All chapters are linked by their concern with the concept of property and property rights in intangible things. But they also take up wider debates which are at the cutting edge of the development of international property law (including globalisation and deregulation of trade) and link in with the balance of economic interests between industrialised and developing countries, and the rights of

R e v i e w s

indigenous peoples both internationally and in relation to the nation states of which they are citizens. In particular, these essays bring into focus the question of how such developments might be applied in Papua New Guinea.

To illustrate the breadth of the issues taken up, there are papers on intellectual property rights in Papua New Guinea (Harroun), multiple perspectives on intellectual property (Strathern), questioning the copyrighting traditional Tolai knowledge (Simet), the National Cultural Property (Preservation) Act (Busse), the ownership of ideas and things [focusing on a case study of the politics of the Kuk prehistoric site] (Muke), stealing music from/in Papua New Guinea (Niles), plant genetic resources (Kambuou), on genetic, biochemical and medicinal resources (Matainaho), the legal and policy issues dealing with access to genetic resources (Whimp) and the search for an interim solution (Tobin). That this was a successful seminar can be further seen in the summaries of the small group discussions which are reproduced as an appendix.

This is a very valuable and challenging volume, dealing as it does with a wide range of issues focusing on intellectual property rights. These are issues which in the past have been part of 'custom' and individual societies' knowledge base but which will, over time, become much more commonly known and understood. This volume makes an excellent start to this process.

Hartmut Holzknecht
 Visiting Fellow, Resource Management in
 Asia Pacific Project, Research School of
 Pacific and Asian Studies
 The Australian National University

References

- Carrier, J., 1998. 'Property and social relations in Melanesia', in C. Hann (ed.), *Property Relations: renewing the anthropological tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:85–103.
- Dwyer, P., 1994. 'Modern conservation and indigenous peoples: in search of wisdom', *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 1:91–97.