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TOURISM AS CONFLICT IN POLYNESIA:
STATUS DEGRADATION AMONG TONGAN
HANDICRAFT SELLERS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN ANTHROPOLOGY
AUGUST 1984

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I became interested in the acculturative potential of tourism one afternoon in Carbondale, Illinois when my then thesis chairman and employer, Edwin A. Cook, suggested I write a book-note for the American Anthropologist. Without turning from his work, he handed me *A New Kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific*, edited by Ben Finney and Karen Watson. With the reading of that seminal study and the encouragement of Ed Cook, my interests in the sociological consequences of tourism were piqued.

As with any study of this kind there are many individuals who must be thanked and acknowledged for their encouragement and support. First of all, I must express my gratitude to His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV and the members of his Cabinet for graciously granting permission to conduct research in Tonga. This research was made possible by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health (MN10469) administered by S. Alan Howard of the University of Hawaii.
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Sadly, I must note that the untimely death of Edwin A. Cook in April, 1984 has made this last expression of thanks the most difficult...this dissertation is dedicated to Ed, a mentor and true friend who will be sorely missed.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation, which focuses on social encounters in a tourist handicraft market in the West Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga, illustrates how interaction with tourists demeans Tongan hosts, or, in other words, how interaction between Tongans and tourists lowers the social status of these Tongans in the eyes of their Tongan peers. This is accomplished by first considering how such contemporary developmental constraints as overpopulation, underemployment and limited natural resources severely restrict the economic options available to modern Tongans. Consequently, in order to earn cash many Tongans exploit the increasing tourist trade by selling handicrafts on a part-time basis. Of the twenty-six Tongans interviewed for this study, all cited economic need as the primary factor in their decision to become handicraft sellers. Indeed, it is this very association with economic necessity that initiates the status degradation of Tongan sellers. For many, selling handicrafts is a public admission of poverty
and of one's inability (for whatever reason) to succeed in culturally valued occupations.

Interactional analysis of encounters between Tongans and tourists and, between Tongans, in the handicraft market located at Fa'onelua Gardens in Nuku'alofa, revealed that the status degradation of Tongan sellers is furthered when, faced with uninformed tourists intent on bargaining, Tongan sellers are frequently forced into what they regard as unduly competitive and culturally inappropriate behavior. As in the Talamahu Produce Market (also in Nuku'alofa), social relations between buyers and sellers and, between sellers in the Fa'onelua Handicraft Market are "ideally" characterized by a lack of overt competition, cooperation and mutual trust. Such ideals are manifest through passive selling approaches and somewhat uniform prices for given items. Although the potential for peer criticism maintains the behavior of most sellers within the boundaries of this informal code of ethics, some willingly employ aggressive selling strategies, e.g., hawking, or undercut other sellers by asking unrealistically low selling prices. These individuals are considered in violation of the code of market etiquette, are condemned as socially disruptive and as "without empathy" for other sellers.
Yet tourist insistence on bargaining often induces even some sellers striving to maintain market etiquette into violating their own cultural rules. Tourists, who are uninformed about prices and quality, approach their transactions with Tongans using an antagonistic and competitive market model. As strangers, they often inform each other of "appropriate" buying and selling behavior, and are suspicious of Tongan prices. Consequently, in order to insure a fair deal for themselves, they offer unrealistically low prices which Tongans, forced by economic need, often accept. However, by lowering their prices to meet tourist demand, sellers are further humiliated because this display of culturally inappropriate behavior suggests overt competition.

Interactional analysis revealed, however, that sellers manage this status degradation by using covert ridicule to disqualify tourist statements and actions as irrelevant. Covert ridicule is conducted in Tongan for a Tongan audience and is unknown to tourists. This later fact is significant since tourist awareness of this frequently humiliating ridicule would violate the Tongan code of market etiquette by antagonizing social relations between buyers and sellers. Tongans also engage in other types of "talk" about tourists much of which publically reinforces
Tongan cultural values by accentuating the differences between Tongan and tourist behavior.

In addition to ethnographic field techniques, ethnohistoric materials documenting early contact between Tongans and European voyagers were also used in this study which also addresses broader anthropological issues in the study of tourism, in general, and in the Pacific, specifically. In particular it reveals the importance of considering an all but neglected dimension of the touristic encounter, interaction between hosts, when assessing the sociological consequences of tourism.
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Soana had walked early to Fa'onelua Gardens in order to sweep and prepare the small area in which she would spend the next nine hours. It was only 7:30 am, yet the work crews had already finished their hasty construction of the open-sided shelters that would frame the day's events. Glancing at the heavy, threatening clouds, Soana struggled to drape a plastic tarp over the roof of her selling area as a precaution against possible rain. Aided by a man from a neighboring stall she succeeded in this task just minutes before a sudden downpour. Her son arrived shortly thereafter with her boxes of handicrafts.

Soana made one final sweep of the sandy ground with her coconut midribbed broom and unfolded a pandanus mat upon the cleared area. She strung a small rope at about chest level between the two posts that bounded one side of her stall. To this rope she attached ten 'ukulele, string
instruments she had fabricated from coconut shells and wood. Soana was careful to make sure that the instruments faced forward displaying their hand-painted decorations.

Her 'ukulele display complete, Soana arranged several pandanus hats, which had been plaited by her sister, beneath the 'ukulele. She also displayed some seed necklaces and tablemats on another side of her stall, which was strategically situated at the intersection of two pathways. Her preparations completed, Soana sat back, nibbled on the bread and butter her grand-daughter had just left with her on her way to school, and watched the other men and women prepare their selling displays. It was 8:15 am, and "they" would arrive soon.

"They" were the passengers of the Australian cruise liner Fairstar, who finally began appearing in Fa'onelua at around 9:00 am. Soana seemed relaxed as she watched the first tourists wander into the garden, past the selling stalls, occasionally asking a seller for a price but primarily just meandering along. After about a half an hour, she casually reached for one of her 'ukulele and sat back at first aimlessly strumming, then playing more vigorously. Soana called out to the many tourists who passed her, "Hello lady, nice lady, buy a 'ukulele for
you?" "Hello," and again, "Hello lady." All the while she kept strumming the 'ukulele which led one of her neighbor sellers to remark "It is nice the way you play the 'ukulele and attract the tourists to us."

But time passed, perhaps an hour or so, and Soana had not sold any 'ukulele. Some tourists had stopped and asked for prices or commented that they liked her music, but none had bought her 'ukulele nor any of her other handicrafts. Soana then decided on a different tack. She held up some necklaces saying "Nice necklaces for you lady," "Nice tablemats," to which one tourist responded, "One dollar?" holding up one finger. "No," responded Soana, "two dollars"; the tourist waved Soana away and left. Soana, falling back upon her haunches, was clearly agitated and commented to a neighbor that the tourist thought the price too high. A short time later, two women stopped and examined Soana's 'ukulele as she stood to help them. One tourist said to the other, "They'd be much nicer if they didn't put all this stuff on it," pointing to Soana's hand painting. Soana then showed the women a 'ukulele with a different decorative pattern to which the tourist said "She doesn't understand," implying that Soana's knowledge of English was limited. Both women walked away without buying anything.
By now it was mid-afternoon and Soana had made few sales. She had managed to sell a seed necklace and one 'ukulele to a family with a small child who's obvious delight with the instrument had made Soana smile. But at this rate, Soana would barely earn enough cash to cover the cost of the varnish and paint she had bought last week to adorn the 'ukulele, let alone to buy the basket of yams she needed for her family's Sunday dinner. Thus, as the day wore on, Soana became more and more aggressive in her selling style. Gone was her seated, soft strumming of the 'ukulele. Standing now in the pathway in front of her stall, she vehemently plucked the 'ukulele strings, calling out to the passing tourists "Buy this lady, it's good."

Such "hawking" is not typical of the selling approaches in the Fa'onelua Gardens Boat Day Handicraft Market and is generally disapproved of. Yet on this day it worked for Soana as she attracted a group of four elderly Australian women to her stall. They were intrigued with Soana's 'ukulele, examining all in her display and commenting about the "clever" construction and "lovely" decorations. Soana found herself standing in the midst of these ladies, bumping shoulders with them as she pointed out the fine points of the 'ukulele designs. While three
of the women continued to scrutinize the 'ukulele, the fourth had wandered over to the other side of Soana's stall and was examining these seed tablemats displayed there. Soana quickly joined this woman and was explaining how the tablemats were made when a Tongan policeman approached and beckoned her away from the woman. "Stop your holding of the tourists," he reprimanded. "I'm not doing anything wrong" Soana responded somewhat indignantly, at which point, taking no notice of her defense, he walked away. She returned to the four elderly women and completed her transactions with two of them, thanking them for buying the 'ukulele. Obviously disturbed by the policeman's accusation, a serious one which smacks of competition, she began shouting in Tongan, not to any one listener in particular, but rather to anyone who was within hearing distance. "The people always say something malicious about me," she started, "but when the tourists come on this side (meaning the other side of her stall), I will run over to there. And then I just stand with my necklaces," she continued, "but I am not doing a bad thing. They malign me because I am old but my mind (or heart) is still strong." No one responded to this outburst and once finished, Soana emphatically plopped down on the mat inside her stall. She
sat, visibly distressed, no longer playing the 'ukulele but just quietly sitting.

By 4:00 pm most of the tourists had returned to the **Fairstar**. A few stragglers still wandered about trying to take advantage of the lowered prices many sellers were now asking for their goods. Soana had just sold a necklace for twenty cents, thirty cents less than she had wanted this morning, but it was better than nothing and necklaces really were not very expensive to make. As she packed up her handicrafts Soana calculated her earnings for the day: two necklaces, three 'ukulele, and a set of tablemats, about twenty Australian dollars all together. Not much, but it would at least pay for that basket of yams she needed and perhaps for some meat for the grandchildren and some kerosene for cooking. Fortunately, another cruise ship was scheduled in two weeks and she would try to sell her remaining 'ukulele then. It had been a successful day for Soana economically, yet the incident with the policeman had left her disturbed; she felt ashamed. But her son had arrived and it was time to leave, so she folded the mat and plastic tarp and helped him load her boxes of handicrafts into his car. She decided not to ride home however, but to walk to the vegetable market to buy some oranges for the
grandchildren. Oranges were particularly sweet this time of year.

**STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

The events depicted in the preceding scenario are real, although the character of "Soana" is a composite of several female handicraft sellers in the Kingdom of Tonga, West Polynesia. Soana's experiences, her poverty, frustrations, humiliation, anger and pride are shared by many Tongans who, in a society with limited economic options, exploit the growing tourist market in order to satisfy economic needs. Yet as Soana's scenario suggests, these economic benefits are accompanied by social costs, costs which may indeed be personally demeaning.

Of the many studies that have focused on the social costs of tourism for host communities, few have adequately described the personal conflicts which underlie such cultural disruptions. In addition, of those dealing with the demeaning nature of the touristic encounter, most have dealt primarily with interaction between hosts and
tourists, all but neglecting interaction among hosts in similar tourism contexts. In this dissertation I examine how tourism demeans Tongans, how, in other words, the interactions between tourists and their Tongan hosts lowers the social status of these hosts in the eyes of their Tongan peers. I do this by focussing on social encounters at a Tongan handicraft market, one of the sites of most frequent and intensive interaction between Tongans and the cruise ship passengers who comprise the bulk of the Kingdom's tourists. Here is where Tongan values clash with those of tourists bent on driving hard bargains, and where Tongans to their dismay find that in trying to earn tourist dollars they are forced into what they regard to be culturally inappropriate behavior.

The Problem: Demeaning Elements of the Touristic Encounter

For many developing countries faced with the apparent necessity of generating foreign exchange in order to further internal economic growth, mass tourism has a special appeal. It promises both to bring in an ample flow of foreign exchange, and to provide jobs, both directly in the hotels, bars and other tourist centers, and indirectly
in construction, handicrafts and other segments of the local economy. Because of these promises, since the introduction of mass tourism in the mid-1960's many developing countries have vigorously competed for the tourist trade, but typically without consideration for the social and cultural ramification tourism might have in their own communities. Government leaders, both colonial and indigenous, in the Pacific region have not been immune from these promises, and a number of Pacific countries and territories rushed headlong into tourism once jet aircraft routes connected their islands directly with New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States (Finney and Watson 1975:4)

This fervent quest for tourism dollars, plus the fact that tourism quickly proved to be a potent force for social change, prompted anthropologists, sociologists and others to explore the consequences of tourism development for the social and cultural systems of the host country (Beier 1975, Cohen 1972, Donehower 1969, Farrell 1977, Finney and Watson 1975, Forster 1964, Johnson 1976, Nunez 1963, 1977, Rajotte 1980, Smith 1977). In examining how this new mass industry disrupts the social and cultural fabric of host communities, several of the studies have focused on the tourist-host encounter and in particular on how the tourist
is in effect an agent of cultural change. Nunez first portrayed tourists as agents of change in his provocative study of weekendismo in the Mexican village of Cajititlences (1963:347). For Nunez, tourists were perpetrators of asymmetrical acculturation in that the lifestyles of the host population gradually assumed features of the tourist lifestyle (1977:208). Frequently perceived as affluent because they are leisured and appear to spend money freely, tourists and their demand for modern accommodation facilities apparently become role models for their hosts who may in turn aspire to the higher standard of living they represent (deKadt 1973:34-65, Jafari 1973:182, Nash 1977:43, Nunez 1977:208). According to Rajotte, this type of "demonstration effect" is particularly marked in such places as the Pacific where differences in standards of living between hosts and tourists are great (1980:11).

Although these studies indeed clarify the broader picture of how tourism potentially disrupts host cultural system by stimulating social change, they fail to illuminate the personal conflicts which underlie such change. However, several researchers have partially addressed this issue by examining the nature of the "touristic encounter," here referring specifically to
features of interaction between hosts and tourists (Cohen 1972, Manning 1979, Nash 1977, Nettekoven 1979). The characteristic features of such encounters may be summarized as superficial interaction between strangers of unequal status occurring for short periods of time. Several scholars concerned with the potential for tourism to personally demean hosts and disrupt their cultural systems have stressed that the touristic encounter is, above all, an encounter between strangers (Cohen 1972:177, Nash 1977:40, Smith 1977:6). Thus, in international tourism there is often very little shared information between host and tourist about each other's cultural behavior, except perhaps what is available in promotional brochures. This issue of shared knowledge or, the lack thereof, is of direct relevance to my thesis and is a topic I will discuss again later. In addition, given that tourists usually visit a host community for short periods (indeed, cruise-ship tourists visit only for a few hours), and interact with their hosts on a very superficial level (for example, as waitresses, souvenir sellers or tour guides), there is great potential for stereotyping and cultural misunderstandings (Farrell 1979:127, Moronha 1979:182, Smith 1977:6). Tourists consequently run the risk of becoming dehumanized objects tolerated for economic gain

The fact that interaction between hosts and tourists is essentially an encounter between unequal partners (one of whom is at leisure and the other at work), also contributes to the demeaning of hosts (deKadt 1979:58-61, Nash 1977:41). Host perception of tourists as affluent, when coupled with the fact that hosts frequently must serve these occasionally arrogant tourists, may also generate feelings of inferiority for members of the host population (deKadt 1979:60-61). Hosts may react to their apparently inferior status in a variety of ways including violence directed against tourists, xenophobia which is the undue fear and resentment of all foreigners (Jafari 1973:182), or merely by ignoring them, a phenomenon Farrell terms "habituation" (1982:270). As I will argue in Chapter 6, ridiculing tourists is also an effective way for hosts to manage their inferior position in the touristic encounter.

MacNaught has noted that evidence supporting such assertions regarding the demeaning nature of the touristic encounter is limited and inconclusive for the Pacific region (1982:365). One aim of my dissertation is thus to
evaluate the applicability of the above assertions to the tourism situation in Tonga where the industry is still relatively undeveloped.

Given the emphasis of earlier studies on host-tourist interaction, I had initially expected this interactive pair to be the crucial one for isolating the personal conflicts that underlie tourism in Tonga as well. However, after only a short time I realized that another equally significant interactive pair, viz., host and host, had been neglected in earlier studies. This dimension of the touristic encounter was obvious given that I was using a contextual model based on the metaphors of "life as theatre" to examine and interpret the interaction I observed. According to this dramaturgical approach, human interaction is conceptualized in terms of actors, audiences and performances, the latter of which occur in social establishments or areas "surrounded by fixed barriers to perception in which a kind of activity regularly takes place" (Goffman 1959:106). The boat day handicraft market at Fa'onelua Gardens in Nuku'alofa, Tonga is one such social establishment. Participants in cultural dramas are distinguishable by their location in the social establishment and their activities during performances.
Nunez suggests that both hosts and tourists prepare for their performances "back stage" very often employing interactive patterns "front stage" that they would never use when interacting with their peers (1977:213). Thus, when interacting with tourists, hosts may adopt what Goffman terms "risky lines" or behave in ways which would otherwise discredit or humiliate them if they were to re-encounter these same individuals (1967:7). Such behavior is not unexpected given that tourists are strangers. Yet why then, would assuming "risky lines" with strangers (individuals they will not likely encounter again) be demeaning for hosts? It is here that we return to the main argument of this dissertation, namely, that interaction with tourist strangers is demeaning for Tongans not because of host-tourist interaction per se or because of the social image the Tongan gives the tourist, but rather because it necessitates displays of culturally inappropriate behavior and thus, discrepant social images in front of a peer audience of Tongans.

However, prior to explaining my strategy for isolating culturally inappropriate behavior during handicraft selling, I must emphasize an additional key dimension of this market interaction, namely, interaction which occurs between tourists. It was only during the write-up period
and with the dramaturgical model and its emphasis on context in mind, that I realized the significance of this interactive pair. For it is the tourist and his peer audience who arrives virtually ignorant of market dynamics in the host community. He thus structures his interaction with Tongan hosts on the basis of past experiences or according to what he has learned from other tourists. Consequently, in a sense, there is a tourist subculture which includes a marketing model that more closely matches the substantivist's ideal of the price-setting market fraught with competition, antagonism and suspicion and which is in direct conflict with the Tongan market system. Thus, the tourist comiserates with his peers over high prices and shares knowledge based on past experiences as to how to "deal with the natives" and gain the best bargain.

Theoretical Approaches to Traditional and Tourist Markets

Since the 1957 publication of *Trade and Markets in the Early Empires* (Polanyi et al.), anthropologists have somewhat pointedly debated the feasibility of applying general economic principles derived from the study of
modern capitalist societies to primitive economic systems. Critics of this approach argue that primitive economic systems operate differently and thus the same theoretical assumptions are not applicable (Dalton 1969, Kaplan 1968, Sahlins 1972). Rather than a model based on economizing choices made by individuals, Polanyi argues for an approach which emphasizes the "process and institutedness" of the economy: that is, how the flow of economic goods and services achieves "unity and stability" in any particular time and place (1957:248). For Polanyi, economic institutions are not separable from other social institutions but integrated or "embedded" in them (1957:250). Thus, Polanyi and his followers proposed a new scheme which they believed more appropriate for the study of primitive economies and which came to be known as substantivist economics. According to this substantivist model which, as I will later demonstrate, most closely approximates the tourist's model of a market, there are three transactional modes that produce a flow of goods and services: integrative exchange, redistribution and reciprocity. This latter mode is useful for describing traditional Tongan exchange.
Polanyi defines reciprocity as "...movements (of resources, goods, and services) between correlative points of symmetrical groupings" (1957:250). In societies with economies based on this principle, social groups are nearly structural equivalents, passing goods and services back and forth between one another (Davis 1973:8). Although these exchanges may indeed involve the transfer of material goods, the social relationships they incur are the motivating factors behind them rather than an idea of personal gain or profit. Reciprocal exchanges are thus transactions lacking in individual choice, with socially-defined ends and which are constrained by custom. Bargaining for purposes of maximum gain consequently contradicts the ethics of the "reciprocity setting" (Davis 1973:8).

Marshall Sahlins, expanding upon Polanyi's original definition of reciprocity, distinguishes three types: generalized, balanced and negative reciprocity (1972:193-196). Traditional Tongan exchange most closely approximates Sahlins' interpretation of generalized reciprocity. Accordingly, "transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given, and if possible and necessary, assistance
returned" are based on generalized reciprocity (1972:193-194). In this form of exchange, variably designated by anthropologists as hospitality, generosity or sharing, "the material side of the transaction is repressed by the social" with reciprocation not immediate but frequently delayed (Sahlins 1972:194). The following description by Bollard clearly indicates the operation and significance of generalized reciprocity in pre-Christianized (1826) Tonga:

"it was common for a Tongan simply to ask a friend or relative for something he wanted....It might be a request for use,...or else a request for full possession of an article (or later even money); it was often preceded by a gift. Known as kole, this request could rarely be refused without incurring social disapproval, unless the owner himself needed the item. At the same time the recipient was binding himself, in a vague way, to return any such request in the future" (1974:21).

As I will argue later, this social element still operates in contemporary Tongan economic relations.

For Polanyi it is this very social element, the fact that "transactions are constrained by custom..." which distinguishes reciprocal (as well as redistributive) economies from those based on market principles (Davis 1973:8). Thus," the market is decentralized and free from the 'irrational restraints' of authority, custom and
sentiment...the market becomes a self-regulating institution [which] 'dismembeds' the economy by removing allocation from jurisdiction of custom and public authority, cosigning it to the mechanical 'laws' of supply and demand" (Davis 1973:12).

Social relationships in the market are highly competitive, casual and impersonal with the usual mode of transaction overt bargaining. Transactions are guided by self-interest, with few opportunities for the development of integrated social and economic relationships. In the economic relationships of reciprocal and redistributive systems, however, such antagonistic expressions of competition and self-interest are lacking. Instead these relationships are characterized by social solidarity and cohesiveness (Davis 1973:12-14).

Noting the lack of case materials substantiating the existence of the substantivist's market, several anthropologists have claimed that it is merely an ideal construct which is unsuitable for the analysis of primitive economies (Cook 1966, Davis 1973). Perhaps one of the most convincing and intriguing attacks on the substantivist view is William Davis' analysis of social relations in the Philippine market city of Baguio. Focussing on specific
transactions in the marketplace, Davis isolates a "code of ethics" which constrains behavior between buyers and sellers, as well as between neighboring sellers. He notes that sellers rarely cry their wares, and directly competitive bidding between them is culturally inappropriate (Davis 1973:161). In addition, for one seller to interrupt the transactions of another is considered rude and violates market etiquette. In many cases, Davis concludes, "adjacent sellers in the marketplace have long-standing associations of cooperation and restrained competition" (1973:244).

Relations between buyer and seller in the Baguio marketplace are likewise constrained by social norms. Thus, although the main transactional mode in the market is overt bargaining, it is an informed bargaining, informed in the sense that both buyer and seller have shared knowledge of prices (Davis 1973:82). As Davis notes,

"A bid well outside the range of realistic selling prices usually draws a laugh from the seller, calculated to show the buyer that his bid was accepted as an attempt at humor, but occasionally such a bid stimulates sarcasm. But considerable agreement on price usually exists, and only the superficial or unknowledgeable buyer is taken advantage of in the haggling process" (emphasis added, 1973:161).
Transactions between buyers and sellers in Baguio are sufficiently constrained to the point that there are some buyers with whom sellers will not bargain (Davis 1973:161). These buyers habitually trade with the same sellers and represent their suki. Davis characterizes such suki relationships as based on mutual trust and obligation (1973:218, see also Szanton 1972). Thus, a seller will often save his best quality for his suki, will occasionally give them something extra and often at a lower price. In return, his suki are expected to provide him with repeated business and perhaps introduce new customers. As Davis argues, "partners in long-standing suki relationships are careful to meet their obligations in order to avoid shame" (1973:218). Thus, for Davis, "the marketplace, like other enduring social associations, has become constrained by a system of norms which, though not explicitly and precisely agreed upon, influence behavior" (1973:244). Given these observations, Davis concludes that in a market which substantivists would view as purely competitive, "personal obligations and sociocultural constraints are common features of economic relationships" (1973:260).

While the substantivist view of the market may indeed approximate the model employed by tourists in their
encounters with hosts, the model proposed by Davis is more applicable to the Tongan market. Scholars have characterized Pacific markets (of which the Tongan handicraft market is one variety) as lacking in overt competition and antagonism (Brookfield 1969:18, Ross 1973:93). As Lasaqa (1969:81) notes for the town market of Honiara, Solomon Islands, "producers consider that after the produce is arranged there is no need for further advertisement, which would run counter for the traditional concept of reciprocity and exchange with certain chosen partners." He continues that producers consider it proper that prospective buyers should be unfettered in their choice of "partners" and their produce. Although Lasaqa does not indicate whether or not these "partners" constitute regular customers in the sense of those engaged in suki relationships in Baguio, Brookfield, Glick and Hart have documented a similar occurrence in Vila, Vanuatu (1969:130). These authors note that well-known and regular customers are sometimes sold goods at lower than standard prices. Finally, for Tonga, Hau'ofa indicates that in the large produce market at Talamahu in Nuku'alofa, "experience and tacit agreement between buyers and vendors has resulted in the sale units of each type of produce being sold at the same price whilst amazingly similar in size and weight"
(1979:122). Here, the implication is that shared knowledge between buyer and seller precludes unrealistically competitive behavior on the part of either party. Hence, I propose that Tongan handicraft sellers approach their encounters with tourists with a similarly non-competitive and socially constrained model of market behavior. It is thus the confrontation of these two models of market behavior -- the tourist's disembedded, impersonal and competitive market and the Tongan market as described above -- which is a major source of the personal conflict and humiliation Tongans experience when selling handicrafts to cruise ship tourists. For it is in this selling context that tourist bargaining induces competitive behavior between Tongan sellers.

Culturally Inappropriate Behavior during Handicraft Selling

In the preceding sections of this chapter I have suggested that tourism lowers the status of Tongan handicraft sellers by necessitating culturally inappropriate behavior in front of an audience of peers. In addition to "forced" bargaining however, there may be
other forms of culturally inappropriate behavior during handicraft selling, e.g., physical violence against tourists or swearing, which are also significant sources of personal conflict for Tongans. Even the very act of selling itself may be stressful and demeaning particularly if such behavior suggests to other Tongans the economic need or poverty of the seller. One strategy for exploring this latter proposition is to examine handicraft selling specifically, and tourism development in general, in their broader cultural and historical contexts. Thus, by focusing on such contemporary constraints to development as overpopulation, limited resources, and underemployment, we will begin to uncover the economic plight facing contemporary Tongans and the role of tourism in alleviating their economic needs. In addition, an historical perspective, focusing primarily on the antiquity of handicraft selling, may also illuminate Tongan sentiments about the act of selling handicraft items to outsiders and whether this act itself is culturally inappropriate. Indeed, as several scholars of tourism have noted, historical encounters between hosts and foreigners frequently color the perceptions and strategies of hosts when dealing with contemporary tourists (Cohen 1979:25, Farrell 1979:131, Manning 1979:169, 172).
Finally, the following contextual approach is a useful strategy for illuminating other types of culturally inappropriate behavior which occur during handicraft selling. Here, behavior is conceptualized in terms of a set of moral precepts which constrain the possible behavioral choices of individuals as they react to situational demands (Bennett 1976:273). Although there is room for manipulation within these culturally constrained patterns of choice, there are also contextual limits on behavior to which individuals are sensitive, and within which value systems must be maintained in order to perpetuate the cultural system (Bateson 1972:124, Bennett 1976:273, Marcus 1978a:246). Behavior is frequently maintained within these tolerable limits by a variety of external or internal controls, such as feelings of shame and guilt (internal) and public ridicule or gossip (external). The operation of these controls in Polynesian societies such as Tahiti, Samoa and Tonga has previously been documented (Levy 1973, Marcus 1978a, Shore 1982). Indeed Levy's description of the two types of situations which may produce shame in Tahiti may hold for Tonga as well, namely, (1) "the involvement of an individual in a situation which is not ordinary, familiar and in order," and (2) "a judgement on the individual's adequacy in his
presentation of self" (1973:337). Marcus has cogently described the sensitivity of Tongans "to appearing inadequate or incompetent in public" thus, some Tongans refrain from certain activities because they feel shame and fear ridicule (1978a:247). Marcus further notes that public sanctions, such as ridicule and gossip are frequently utilized if internal controls (shame) fail to prevent contextually inappropriate behavior (1978a:246). Thus, in this dissertation, sentiments of shame or expressions of ridicule either during informant interviews or in the market setting would indeed provide insight into behavior (including bargaining) considered culturally inappropriate by Tongans.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

The data collected for this study are based upon eleven months of research (June 1979-May 1980) in the Kingdom of Tonga, West Polynesia. I selected Tonga as the research area for the following reasons: (1) as an underdeveloped third world nation with limited resources, Tonga exemplifies the economic problems of many Pacific
island nations, (2) the oral traditions, ethnohistoric and ethnographic material describing previous and contemporary Tongan society are particularly rich, providing a baseline for evaluating the consequences of handicraft selling for the traditional value system and social relationships, and; (3) tourism in Tonga is predominantly characterized by one day cruise ship visits, which provide a context for many Tongans to participate in the industry on a part-time basis through handicraft selling; in addition, the industry is in its infancy, which facilitates description and investigation.

Like many anthropologists I began my field work as a tourist. Upon arrival at Fua'amotu Airport on Tongatapu Island, I was chauffeured to the International Dateline Hotel in Nuku'alofa where I assumed the role of a "typical" American tourist. During the four days which followed, I ate and conversed with tourists, adding their own experiences to mine, yet remaining sensitive to the reactions of Tongans around us. While walking along Vuna Road which borders the sea near the hotel, I encountered handicraft sellers who employed a variety of selling techniques in their attempted sales, and I even met with some verbal harrassment, which I later realized was the lot of all young women, European or Tongan alike. As I look
retrospectively on those first four days, I realize that I had experienced the brief, impersonal encounters which are the essence of tourism in the Kingdom of Tonga.

After a brief three week adjustment period with Tongan friends in a village in rural Tongatapu, I again moved into Nuku'alofa, the principal research site. In addition to being the seat of government, the largest town and major port in Tonga, Nuku'alofa is the main tourist center and as such provided the greatest opportunities for encountering tourists (of both resort and cruise ship varieties) and handicraft sellers.

The initial field work period was devoted to establishing proficiency in the Tongan language and to sensitizing myself to Tongans and the characteristic features of Tonga's tourism (a strategy almost necessitated by the nearly two month hiatus in cruise ship arrivals between early July and late August). During the first six months of fieldwork I made general observations in Fa'onelua Gardens, the large handicraft market located in Nuku'alofa, which exists as a large market only on cruise ship days. By sheer good fortune, on my first day of observation I met a young Tongan woman in Fa'onelua whose proficiency in English prompted me to hire her as a
language instructor. This woman later became my main research assistant and a key informant. Her family is heavily committed to the tourist industry; she and her mother sell handicrafts while her father rents bicycles to tourists on cruise ship days and also works part-time in a hotel. Many of my early insights into Tongan attitudes toward handicraft selling and sellers, and the economic plight of modern Tongans, were gained through the eyes of this Tongan family.

Sitting with Tongans in the back of the Fa'onelua selling stalls, I initially attempted to document all aspects of Tongan-tourist interaction I observed. These general observations were later replaced by directed investigations designed to answer specific inquiries, e.g., the selling techniques utilized by individuals, or the verbal and non-verbal reactions of sellers when a sale was not made. I attempted as well to document behavior at several smaller tourist markets in rural Tongatapu. Unfortunately, because of transport difficulties, I could only accomplish this by accompanying cruise ship tourists on their bus tours. Hence, my observations were limited to those I could make in a relatively short time period. By arriving at the wharf while the cruise ships were in the
process of docking, however, I was able to document the initial encounters of tourists with Tongans.

Once I had gained proficiency in Tongan language it became apparent that some of the most useful information concerning Tongan-tourist interaction and attitudes toward handicraft sellers was provided by conversations between sellers in Fa'onelua. Hence, during the last five months of fieldwork, in my Tongan best, I and my Tongan assistant recorded sellers remarks to each other and tourists as we sat in the selling stalls. Although tape recording would have been more accurate, this technique was not utilized because of the uneasiness which the presence of a tape recorder generated.

In addition to observations in the handicraft markets, I also conducted extensive informant interviews with handicraft sellers and non-sellers alike. These interviews were conducted during the latter half of field research after I had gained proficiency in Tongan, and after the sellers had accepted my presence in Fa'onelua. Informants were predominantly from three areas, two rural villages on Tongatapu and one village area within the confines of Nuku'alofa. Initial contacts with informants were made in Fa'onelua Gardens with additional interviews scheduled with
the assistance of key informants residing in the three areas. The interviews were conducted in Tongan in the homes of the informants with the aid of one of two Tongan assistants, and tape recorded. They were open-ended and lasted between 45-60 minutes. I divided these sessions into three main parts and elicited information on (1) socioeconomic background, (2) costs, manufacturing techniques and selling strategies and, (3) informant evaluations of tourists and Tongan attitudes toward handicraft selling. Informants provided additional relevant information after the interviewing period, either immediately, once I disengaged the tape recorder, or later when we met again in Fa'onelua.

Although interaction between Tongans and between Tongans and tourists in hotel settings was not a major focus of the research, I did observe such behavior in several hotels in Nuku'alofa, rural Tongatapu, and on brief visits to Vava'u and 'Eua. I also interviewed hotel staff, travel agents and Tongans employed at "tourist attractions" such as 'Oholei Beach. These additional interviews provided comparative data and suggested that while wage employment in the tourist industry was socially acceptable to Tongans, handicraft selling was more problematic, an observation which eventually led to the focus of this dissertation.
I also worked closely with the Tonga Visitors Bureau in Nuku'alofa. This strategy enabled me to keep abreast of tourism events in Tonga and to familiarize myself with governmental policies on tourism development. The radio program of the Tonga Visitors Bureau, 'Epoki Fo'ou, provided valuable information on governmental policies and helped to delineate problematic areas of Tonga-tourist relations. I also assisted the Tonga Visitors Bureau with "official" visitor surveys, conducted onboard cruise ships one hour prior to departure. The staff of the Tonga Visitors Bureau later graciously allowed access to these and previous survey results.

In addition to assisting the Tonga Visitors Bureau with their endeavors, conducting surveys onboard cruise ships also provided opportunities to actually discuss with tourists their experiences during the day. Although I occasionally accompanied tourists on their bus tours, I rarely questioned them, preferring instead to adopt the image of a tourist myself, thus altering their tourist experience as little as possible. I learned from experience that if I had acknowledged my knowledge of Tongan language and culture, the tourists would rely on my information rather than that which their tour guides
offered. Information on types of interaction between tourists and tour guides was too valuable to be lost through my interference! I also had opportunities to converse with tourists at various hotel functions or when I happened to encounter them walking down the streets of Nuku'alofa.

Finally, I must mention what was perhaps one of my most informative and deeply personal experiences in Tonga. In October of 1979 I became friendly with a Tongan woman who sold handicraft items (predominantly cloth dresses) in Fa'onelua Gardens every day. She referred to this as her pisinisi or business. Our friendship (although awkward at times because of his inability to speak English and my difficulties with Tongan at that early stage of fieldwork) strengthened until I found myself residing in a Tongan fale (house) which her family constructed for me on their residential property. I was thus able to continually observe the daily activities of a family who depended primarily upon handicraft sales for their income. More importantly, I became totally enmeshed in their lives and through their teaching and compassion finally began to understand 'anga fakatonga, the Tongan way.
ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

In Chapter 1 I have proposed a theoretical framework for evaluating how participation in the tourist industry is personally demeaning for hosts. Chapter 2 presents the background information necessary for evaluating the constraints to development in contemporary Tonga and the economic significance of handicraft selling for some Tongans. In Chapter 3 I describe the present state of Tonga's tourist industry and how it constrains intensive interaction between tourists and Tongan hosts. This chapter ends with a description of the scene in the large boat market which was the site of most of my observations.

Having thus defined the context and set the stage on which the cultural drama of handicraft selling unfolds, in Chapter 4 I examine the antiquity of handicraft selling in Tonga and profiles a representative sample of Tongan sellers in terms of their production costs and activities and their socio-economic status.

Chapter 5 explores the clash between Tongan market behavior and that of tourists. It begins with a brief
description of the Tongan marketing model as represented by behavior in the Talamahu Produce Market and then moves to a comparative analysis of Tongan behavior in the Fa'onelua Gardens Handicraft Market. Here, I focus primarily on bargaining sequences and how these are viewed as unduly competitive and thus contradicting Tongan cultural values. Chapter 6 is a suggestive evaluation of Tongan strategies for coping with the humiliation and degradation they experience as handicraft sellers.

In Chapter 7 I re-evaluate several assumptions present in existing Pacific island tourism studies in light of my research findings and suggest further research possibilities. Finally, I discuss how the Tongan handicraft market represents the "ideal" substantivist competitive market.
Chapter 2

THE SETTING: TRADITIONAL TONGAN SOCIETY AND CONTEMPORARY CONSTRAINTS TO DEVELOPMENT

The introductory scenario in Chapter 1 intimated that handicraft selling is humiliating for some Tongans. More importantly, it underscored the overriding need for cash among the majority of Tongans who sell handicrafts. In this chapter I will evaluate this economic need (and ultimately some of the reasons underlying the humiliation of handicraft selling), by examining the ecological, demographic and economic factors limiting economic development in contemporary Tonga. First, however, it is necessary to briefly characterize the salient features of both the traditional and contemporary Tongan economy and economic behavior. This cultural description will provide a baseline for illuminating kinds of economic behavior which are considered culturally "acceptable" or appropriate by contemporary Tongans. By "traditional" I refer to the period between initial contact with Europeans (A.D. 1616) and the beginning of the Christian era (A.D. 1826), after
which missionary influence dramatically altered Tongan society.

TRADITIONAL TONGAN SOCIETY:
A BRIEF DESCRIPTION

The Kingdom of Tonga, today a constitutional monarchy of approximately 90,000 individuals, spans 140,000 square miles of ocean between latitudes 15° S and 23.5° S and longitudes 173° W and 177° W. Of the 171 islands which total 256 square miles of land and reef, only 182 square miles are arable or suitable for cultivation and settlement (Central Planning Office 1981:7, Maude 1965:22).

Traditionally Tongan society was characterized by a highly stratified socio-political system based upon the rule of chiefs (Bott and Tavi 1982, Gifford 1929, Latukefu 1974, Marcus 1978b, Martin 1820). Although similar in this respect to other Polynesian societies, Tongan socio-political structure differed from such societies as Tahiti and Hawaii in that Tonga had a dual paramountship with spiritual and secular powers divided separately
between two distinct high chiefs (see Bott and Tavi 1982, Marcus 1978b, and P. Kirch 1984, for detailed accounts of the formation and operation of the pre-contact Tongan polity). The sacred paramount or Tu'i Tonga was believed to be descended from a semi-divine being, an absolute monarch in religious and civil affairs (Cummins 1977:64, Latukefu 1974:1, Martin 1820:317). The secular paramount, or hau, belonged to a collateral line which was allied to that of the Tu'i Tonga through formalized cross-cousin marriage. In 1852, after many years of inter-island warfare, the hau Taufa'ahau (later King George Tupou I) unified the islands under his sole rule, as a constitutional monarchy (Marcus 1978b, Rutherford 1977, Latukefu 1974).

Prior to the establishment of the modern Tongan constitution in 1875, at least five (and possibly six) social classes were distinguished in the Tongan social hierarchy. The class of chiefs, at the apex of the social pyramid, was further subdivided into "chiefs of highest rank" or Tu'i and "chiefs of lesser rank," the 'eiki. The matapule, or ceremonial attendants of the chiefs were intermediaries between the chiefs and the tu'a or commoners who formed the bulk of the population (Martin 1820:319). Some scholars identify another class, the mu'a, ranked
above commoners but below the matapule (Martin 1820:320). Finally, a sixth class ranked below the commoners may have existed. These were slaves designated as either popula (persons enslaved for punishment by a chief) or hopoate (prisoners of war) (Cummins 1977:67, Gifford 1929:111).

Tongan chiefs had differential access to privileges and valued resources such as land and produce (Gifford 1929, Marcus 1977:211). Chiefs also had the ultimate right of life or death over commoners (Beaglehole 1967:174 Part I, Gifford 1929:141). Commoners permanently toiled on tracts of land comprising the estates of the chiefs (Gifford 1929:110). Although these estates were effectively hereditary, in theory all land in Tonga belonged solely to the Tu'i Tonga.

Although much is known regarding chiefly protocol in pre-Christian Tonga, little was recorded concerning the daily routines and lifestyle of the commoners. This is partially because early explorers, such as Captain James Cook, and expatriate residents, e.g., beachcombers and captives, usually mingled and lived with Tongans of the chiefly class (Marcus 1977:214). Scholars generally agree, however, that commoners, as tillers of the soil and fishers of the sea, were subjected to the will of their chiefs and
expected to oblige their superiors with produce, fish, or any other valued resource upon demand and, particularly, on important ceremonial occasions (Gifford 1929:103). As Marcus notes, the idea that people should willingly give of their resources, either because of a feeling of 'ofa or loto mafana (love or warm emotions) or, from the honor they gained by successfully meeting this obligation (katongia) still underscores contemporary Tongan interpersonal relations, although altered to a certain extent (1977:212).

The traditional Tongan subsistence economy was based upon agricultural production and marine exploitation. From the seas and reefs surrounding their islands, Tongans secured fish and shellfish for food, shell for manufacturing ornaments and tools, and other items such as shark and whales’ teeth (Cummins 1977:78, Beaglehole 1967:113, 174 Part I). Whales' teeth, although used for religious purposes in Tonga (Cummins 1977:78), were extremely valued as exchange items in Fiji where they ranked as the most highly prized form of native wealth (P. Kirch 1984, Martin 1820:196, Sahlins 1982). Tongans also sought turtles which provided food for chiefs and carapace for manufacturing combs, jewelery and fishhooks (Cummins 1977:78 Beaglehole 1967:168 Part I).
The earliest European explorers attested to Tongan skills as cultivators. During his initial walk along the shores of Tongatapu on his first voyage to Tonga in 1773, Captain James Cook proclaimed:

I thought I was transported into one of the most fertile plains in Europe here was not an inch of waste ground, the roads occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary and each fence did not take up above 4 inches and even this was not wholly lost for in many of the fences were planted fruit trees and the cloth plant, these served as a support to them, it was every were the same, change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, no were appears in a more flourishing state than at this isle (Beaglehole 1969:252).

Cook reported that the Tongans cultivated a variety of crops including yams, breadfruit, bananas, coconut and sugar cane (Beaglehole 1967:161 Part I). Other early ethnographers added kava (a narcotic used by chiefs and on ceremonial occasions), pandanus, and papermulberry (used for matting and barkcloth respectively) to this list of traditionally cultivated crops (Cummins 1977:78). The husbandry of pigs and fowls was an integral part of the agricultural system.

Within the Tongan economy a number of trades and professions were recognized, several of these being restricted to individuals belonging to certain social classes (Cummins 1977:80, Gifford 1929:144, Martin
William Mariner, an English sailor captured after the massacre of the ship's crew of the American whaler the Port au Prince at Lifuka (Ha'apai) in 1806, organized Tongan occupations into the following classification scheme:

1. canoe builders Filled by matapule teeth or mu'a
2. cutters of whales' teeth
3. superintendents of funeral rites
4. stone masons and makers of stone burial vaults
5. netmakers Filled by mu'a or tu'a
6. fishermen
7. large house builders
8. tattooers
9. clubcarvers
10. barbers Filled only by tu'a
11. cooks
12. cultivators

According to Mariner, Tongan occupations were classified into a ranked system in which those individuals who were skilled in more prestigious occupations, such as canoe building, acquired more respect that those engaged in lesser occupations such as cultivation (1820:321). Mariner distinguished between hereditary occupations, in which titles such as tufunga fono lei (cutters of whales' teeth) were passed from father to eldest son (provided that son
showed aptitude for his father's profession) and, those which were not necessarily hereditary, e.g., club carving, but that could be practiced by an individual with the proper training and aptitude (1820:322). Mariner notes, however, that:

All individuals are not . . . esteemed according to their professions, but according to their abilities in it; for a clever man in one art will be sometimes more esteemed than a man of moderate abilities in a higher (1820:322).

I have emphasized Mariner's classification scheme of traditional Tongan occupations for two reasons. First, it illustrates a cultural tradition of preferred occupations such that eligible individuals may have actively sought those which commanded more respect. Second, it emphasizes the importance of quality, as a reflection of highly perfected skills, in gaining the respect of others. Although such traditional occupations as cutters of whales teeth, canoe builders and tattooers have all but disappeared in contemporary Tongan society, their place has been taken by other occupational avenues for gaining prestige which include skill in farming (as demonstrated by producing both cash and food in abundance), attainment of positions in the church hierarchy, and success in education or government employment (Marcus 1977:213).
The Contemporary Context

Tonga's entrance into the world market and the monetization of its economy, have stimulated higher cash incomes and new demands for material items. Modern Tongans need cash for items ranging from food, clothing, shelter, and other basic necessities to luxuries or status goods such as kerosene and cigarettes. Money is also required for church obligations and for school fees for children which are due three times per year. Modern Tongans depend upon a variety of strategies for generating income, including cash cropping, fishing, wage earning or some independent commercial venture such as taxi driving, shopkeeping or handicraft selling. In recent years, rapid population growth has taxed the productive capacity of the Tongan islands thus contributing to both unemployment and increased importation of foodstuffs in order to meet subsistence demands. Yet environmental constraints, such as limited land acreage available for cash-cropping, and limited employment alternatives have prevented many Tongans from earning the cash necessary for meeting their economic
needs. The economic significance of part-time handicraft selling in Tonga must be understood in the context of these contemporary constraints.

Environmental Constraints

Tonga consists of three major island groups: Tongatapu-'Eua in the south, Ha'apai in the central region, and Vava'u in the north. Three outliers, Niutoputapu, Niuafo'ou and Tafahi, lie at the extreme northern border of the Kingdom shown in Figure 1. The archipelago includes volcanic and coral islands which form two parallel chains, to the west and east respectively. Although lacking permanent streams, the islands of the Tongan archipelago receive adequate rainfall (variable seasonally) to support agriculture (Ward and Proctor 1980:384). Except for Niuafo'ou, a high volcanic island approximately 400 miles northwest of Tongatapu, the majority of the Tongan population has settled coral islands, particularly in the southern region. Deterrents to settlement on volcanic islands include lack of permanent fresh water streams, areas too steep for cultivation, poor landing places and
Figure 1. The Kingdom of Tonga
(Note: Northern Outliers are not indicated on map.)
the threat of volcanic eruptions such as the 1946 eruption on Niuafo'ou which destroyed property and resulted in evacuation of the entire population (Maude 1965:3, Walsh 1970:30).

Although the coral islands vary in the suitability of their soils for cultivation, they are more attractive to Tongan settlers for several reasons. In addition to water which may be tapped from the Ghyben-Herzberg aquifer, the larger, uplifted coral islands often provide extensive habitable areas and have deep soils which are enriched by volcanic ash. Tongatapu, 'Eua and Vava'u, for example, have developed clay soils which are fertile and suitable for cultivation of a variety of crops. In contrast, several of the Ha'apai islands are extremely sandy and unproductive. The reefs which surround the coral islands also yield subsistence resources and are additional incentives to settlement. Table 1 presents the number of square miles and proportion of the population settled in the various island groupings.
Table 1
Land in Square Miles and Proportion Of Population by Island Group*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island Group</th>
<th>Sq. Km.</th>
<th>% of Land in Kingdom</th>
<th>Proportion of 1976 Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongatapu- 'Eua</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>52.73</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha'apai</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>17.96</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vava'u</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>21.48</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niuatoputapu and Niuafo'ou</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.0 (approx)</td>
<td>2.5 (approx)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Central Planning Office 1981:7
The Modern Tongan Economy

In recent years, the monetary sector of the Tongan economy has increased, yet agricultural production--based largely upon subsistence production of root crops and the export of copra, bananas, tomatoes and dessicated coconut--continues to dominate the contemporary economy in terms of both employment and production. Agriculture, when coupled with fisheries and forestry, accounts for slightly more than 43 percent of Tongan's total Gross Domestic Product (Central Planning Office 1981:29). Although the reefs and seas surrounding Tonga have traditionally provided additional subsistence resources, development of a viable commercial fishing industry is still in its infancy (Central Planning Office 1981:179). Rather, government officials have focused efforts on satisfying increased local demands for fish, which often exceed catch rates (Central Planning Office 1981:176). Manufacturing and construction industries are also underdeveloped, although several small cottage industries, including furniture manufacture, sawmilling, biscuit production and saddle making are operating.
As previously mentioned, skill in agriculture, demonstrated by producing either cash or food in abundance, has become a strategy for social mobility in contemporary Tonga. Marcus attributes this agricultural avenue for social mobility to the land reforms of 1875 which parceled land to men on an individual basis (1977:213). However, given present agricultural techniques, overpopulation, and limited land acreage, agricultural as a strategy for gaining prestige is quickly losing its appeal.

Contemporary Tongan agriculture is based on an intensive, short-fallow swidden system in which second growth is cut, dried in the fields, and then burned for clearing. Staple annuals include several species of yam (Dioscorea alata and Dioscorea esculenta), cassava (Manihot esculenta), taro (Colocasia esculenta), giant taro (Alocasia macrorrhiza) and sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas). Breadfruit (Artocarpus altilis) and banana (Musa spp.) are additional staple crops which add a perennial component to the agricultural system. Supplementary food crops include coconut (also the main cash crop), maize, sugar cane, papaya, and kava (Piper methysticum).

The types of crops cultivated by Tongan farmers and the cycle of cultivation depend upon the individual and the
suitability of the soil for cultivating certain crops (Maude 1965:133). Whereas sandy soil is suitable for the cultivation of 'ufilei yam, (*D. esculenta*), it is not suitable for taro cultivation. Hence, soil type may restrict what crops a farmer may cultivate. The cropping period may last anywhere from two to five years or even longer in densely populated areas such as Ha'apai and western Tongatapu (Maude 1965:137-138). Bush fallowing is the only method utilized by Tongans for restoring soil fertility and may vary from a period of about one to six years. In areas of high population density the fallowing period is necessarily even shorter and again reflects the intensiveness of the cultivation cycle (Maude 1965:136-137).

Agricultural production is a male domain although women will occasionally assist men when additional labor is needed. The heavier tasks in gardening, e.g., clearing the land, are usually left to young men although an older man may remain an active gardener well into his sixties (Maude 1965:124). The agricultural labor unit may consist of a single individual or a larger group. In his extensive study of agricultural production in Tonga, Maude indicates that the size of the labor group varies from two to eight individuals and could include as many as twenty individuals.
as in a kautaha, or village labor unit which works for each member in turn (1965:124). According to Maude, when two or three men work together, they are often members of the same household, e.g., a father and his two sons, or two brothers, although this is not always the case (1965:124). For example, individuals who are related to a gardener yet not living in the same residential area may work his garden with him and share in the produce, particularly if the individual has no garden land of his own. In some instances, an individual may obtain use rights for a section of land which is allotted to a relative and will cultivate his own garden there. The necessity of using garden land allotted to another, or attaching to a household unit for the sake of gaining subsistence from the unit's garden, is one consequence of overpopulation and limited land resources. Although the Tongan constitution guarantees male the right to gardening land, these two factors have significantly affected the possibility of attaining such land for many Tongans thereby limiting their potential for generating cash and social prestige through agriculture. A brief discussion of the Tongan land tenure system will help underscore the dilemma faced by modern Tongan men.
Tongan Land Tenure

Maude defines land tenure as "...the system of rights and obligations determining the ways in which land is acquired, held and disposed of by individuals and groups." (1965:95). Although the exact nature of the pre-monarchial Tongan land tenure system is unknown, Nayacakalou (1959) provides a probable description based upon accounts by early explorers and missionaries, as well as early ethnographers. According to Nayacakalou:

"In terms of the traditional social and political organisation, all land in Tonga belonged to the sacred Tu'i Tonga. After the familiar feudal fashion (for traditional Tongan society was a 'fully developed feudal system'), there were chiefs who were 'lords of large districts of territory' and who held their lands from the king in return for taxes and military service. These 'principal barons,'...sublet their holdings to lesser kinsmen and followers, and everyone held land from his superior in a pattern similar to that between the king himself and his barons" (1959:95).

The contemporary Tongan land tenure system is not unlike the traditional system. According to Nayacakalou, the contemporary system merely codifies and clearly defines
the basic concepts of the traditional system (1959:97). All land belongs to the Tongan crown and is categorized into several types of estates. Such estates (tofi'a) may consist of a thousand or more acres and are in turn divided into allotments for individual Tongans. The types of estates include: 1) Royal estates, title to which is held by members of the Tongan Royal Family as their traditional holdings, 2) Noble estates which are held by members of the Tongan nobility and, 3) Government estates which are under direct control of the Tongan government (Nayacakalou 1959:98).

According to the Tongan Constitution of 1875, every Tongan male upon reaching the age of sixteen is entitled to use rights for a tax allotment of 8 and 1/4 hectares of farm land ('api tukuhau, 'api 'uta) and not more than 2/5 hectare of homestead land ('api kolo) (Central Planning Office 1981:19). Applications for allotments are made to the Minister of Lands and must be approved by the title holder of the estate in which the tax allotment in question is located (Maude 1965:105). Although a yearly tax is paid on the land and additional acreage is occasionally leased to individuals for a small fee, theoretically land may never be sold outright (Nayacakalou 1959:99).
Tax allotments by be inherited by a legitimate heir (viz., one born in wedlock) of the deceased titleholder. Preference in inheritance is from father to eldest son and then to his eldest son; if there is no son, then to the eldest surviving brother. If there are no male heirs, then the land will pass to an unmarried daughter and she may keep title to it unless the Land Court tries and convicts her of fornication. The widow of the deceased title holder is entitled to a life interest in his holdings but forfeits the right if she remarry or is convicted by the Land Court of having committed adultery (see Maude 1965:103-104).

According to the Tongan Government, approximately 66 percent of all land had been allotted by 1976 (Central Planning Office 1976:2). Rapid population growth in recent years, however, has increased the difficulties of providing tax allotments for Tongan males. During the inter-censal 1966-1976 period, government officials estimated that 65 percent of Tonga's eligible males were landless (Central Planning Office 1981:20). As a consequence in some of the more densely populated areas, such as Ha'apai, tax allotments have been subdivided into 4 and 1/8 hectare allotments, a strategy which has at least provided twice as many men with allotments (Maude 1965:166). However, the
continued utility of this strategy is questionable since, as Maude indicates, a tax allotment of 8 and 1/4 hectare is often insufficient for meeting familial subsistence needs particularly when fallowing time and family size are considered (1965:143). Consequently, if the size of the allotment is halved and a farmer does not have access to any other gardening land, he will necessarily have to extend his cropping periods and shorten his fallowing time in order to meet the subsistence needs of his family. In an already intensive cultivation system, this strategy results in reduced soil fertility. Also, such smaller subdivisions may inevitably thwart the cash cropping element of the agricultural section since all land will probably be used for subsistence (Central Planning Office 1981:20). However, even if as much as 90 percent of the land presently not allotted (which was less than 2 percent as of 1981) were subdivided into 4 and 1/8 hectare plots, approximately 40 percent of the male population would remain landless in the year 2000 merely because of overpopulation and limited land acreage (Central Planning Office 1976:3, 1981:20).
Overpopulation as a Development Constraint

The population of Tonga has increased steadily since the early 1890s and by 1976 had reached a total of 90,085 individuals, an increase of 12,390 over the inter-censal period of 1966-1976 (Central Planning Office 1981:7, Walsh 1970:32). Figure 2 presents the growth curve for the Tongan population. Population estimates for the period prior to European contact in A.D. 1616 are admittedly problematic. Two figures however have been suggested: a total population figure of 30,000 by Maude (1965:27) utilizing data from the accounts of early explorers and, a figure of between 18,000 to 24,000 for Tongatapu alone reached by Green (1973:73) on the basis of estimated agricultural carrying capacity. Scholars generally agree, however, that the steep decline in population which began after contact and reached its lowest point around 1840 reflects the introduction of foreign disease and heavy causalities during the dynastic civil wars of 1700-1852 (Maude 1965:45, McArthur 1968:71-74). Between 1891, the year when actual censal data begins, and 1931 the Tongan population increased at a steady pace with an annual average growth rate of 1.2 percent (McArthur 1968:45, for mathematical formula used to calculate annual average growth rate see Feeney 1975:54).
Figure 2. The growth curve for the Tongan population for 1890-1976.
The substantial increase in growth rate to 3.0 percent between 1931-1966 is a reflection of increased and effective medical care during this period resulting in lowered infant mortality and increased life expectancy (Wood and Ellem 1977:206). The period from 1966-1976 reflects a decline of the average annual growth rate to 1.5 percent probably due to a declining birth rate (Figure 3) and the migration of large numbers of Tongans overseas to seek employment (Central Planning Office 1981:104).

As previously mentioned, the pattern of population distribution has significant economic implications for contemporary Tongans. Of the 171 Tongan islands only 36 are inhabited, with the majority of the population residing in the Tongatapu-'Eua region in the south. As indicated by the 1976 census, 68.7 percent of the total population (90,085) inhabited these two islands with 20.3 percent of the Tongatapu population residing in the immediate Nuku'alofa area (Central Planning Office 1981:104, 106).

Figure 4 represents population distribution by island group for three periods: 1956, 1966 and 1976. As indicated, the only area which has shown substantial growth in population size over the three periods is the Tongatapu-'Eua region. The resettlement of people from
Figure 3. The Tongan birth rate.
Figure 4. Population distribution and proportion of land by island group for 1956, 1966, and 1976.
Niuafo'ou following a volcanic eruption and evacuation in 1946 accounts for the only other growth during the 1956-1966 period.

The pattern of population distribution presented in Figure 4 is largely a consequence of internal migration and has resulted in the population densities presented in Table 2. The basic stimuli for internal migration are: (1) land shortages and limited opportunities for earning money; (2) the desire to attend better educational facilities; and (3) the social attractions of Tongatapu and the Nuku'alofa area, including freedom from traditional obligations and restrictions of village life (Maude 1965:83, Walsh 1970:38). Prior to 1956, land shortage was apparently the predominant incentive to migration (Maude 1965:83), however, this is not necessarily the case for the period of 1966-1976.

Internal migration in the 1970s occurred not only from areas of land shortage and high population density, e.g., Ha'apai and Western Tongatapu, but also from areas with underutilized land such as some parts of Vava'u and 'Eua (Ward and Proctor 1980:32). Reasons for migration from these latter areas included difficulties in gaining title to tax allotments and limited opportunities for generating
### Table 2
Land Area and Population Density

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island Group</th>
<th>Total Acres</th>
<th>Est. No. of People Per Acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongatapu</td>
<td>64,733</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Eua</td>
<td>21,604</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha'apai</td>
<td>29,479</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vava'u</td>
<td>35,410</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niuafo'ou</td>
<td>8,582</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niuatoputapu and Tafahi</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Islands</td>
<td>4,650</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>165,288</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.54</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Central Planning Office 1976:35*
the cash necessary for meeting the changing economic needs of Tongan families (Walsh 1970:38, Ward and Proctor 1980:32). As Walsh states, "... if one single cause /for internal migration/ can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for money" (1970:38).

The factors which induce individuals to migrate to the Nuku'alofa area are similar to those leading individuals to Tongatapu in general, and include employment opportunities and education. As the main port, business, and government center for the Kingdom, Nuku'alofa is attractive to Tongans seeking the financial security of wage earning positions. In addition to the prestige such employment brings, wage earning positions are preferable given the uncertainties of crop production. Cash cropping is inevitably risky due to such uncontrollable factors as natural disasters, poor harvests, and the fluctuation of prices on the world market. Maude estimates that in 1956 approximately 48 percent of the men aged 20-64 in Nuku'alofa were employed in non-agricultural activities while those who stated agriculture as their main occupation would occasionally work for wages (1965:89). It must be emphasized here, however, that because of land shortages in Nuku'alofa (and Tongatapu in general), wage earning is quite often the only income generating option available to many Tongans.
Continued migration to Nuku'alofa will only exacerbate this situation, as more job seeking individuals compete for already limited employment positions.

Migration to attend educational institutions also contributes to the general problems of unemployment and overpopulation in the Nuku'alofa area. Nuku'alofa is the educational center of the Kingdom, housing several secondary schools including Queen Salote College, Tonga High School, and Tupou High School, as well as an extension branch of the University of the South Pacific, and the Government Teacher's Training College. Young Tongans often reside with relatives in Nuku'alofa while attending these institutions or may even board at the school. Not infrequently, entire families migrate in order to accompany children while they attend Nuku'alofa schools (Maude 1965:85). Such migration often becomes a problem when educated Tongans (and their families) remain in Nuku'alofa where they perceive greater chances of finding employment rather than return to their outer island homes. Unfortunately, these goals are rarely achieved given the limited job opportunities and stiff competition. Indeed, as one author notes, each year only 5 percent of the Tongans who graduate from secondary schools find wage employment (Urbanowicz 1977:86). Consequently, these
individually, along with other unemployed and landless people, further strain the subsistence and financial resources of the area.

THE OPTIONS

In this chapter I have briefly sketched the salient features of the traditional and modern Tongan economy. Serious constraints such as overpopulation, limited land resources, and underemployment effectively restrict the economic options available to most Tongans. Agricultural production and government-oriented employment (both important avenues for social mobility in contemporary Tonga) are not viable options for large segments of the qualified population, many of whom reside in and around Nuku'alofa. As a consequence, Tongans have begun to exploit a variety of new income-generating strategies, including taxi and bus driving, and handicraft selling. Although such strategies may not reward the individual in terms of social prestige, they do provide necessary cash which may in turn be used for socially valued activities.
At the national level, the government has proposed several strategies for alleviating these problems including: (1) diversification of agricultural production and the development of commercial methods for exploiting sea resources; (2) the development of light industry for processing agricultural commodities and sea harvests, as well as for other manufacturing ventures; and (3) the development of the tourist industry (Central Planning Office 1981:114, 180, 213). Several factors constrain the immediate realization of the first two strategies. First, diversification of agriculture and even regional specialization is difficult to achieve in Tonga. As indicated by the South Pacific Agricultural Survey of 1979, "...a very high proportion of the total land area is covered with coconut palms, although frequently at too high a density for successful monoculture let alone the lower densities required for intercultivation" (Ward and Proctor 1980:385). In addition, many of these palms are past their prime productive years, yet farmers often reluctant to cut them down because of the seven year maturation period for new palms (Ward and Proctor 1980:385).

Although Tongans export a variety of other agricultural products, such as bananas, vanilla, tomatoes, watermelon, taro and ginger, further expansion of this line
of exports necessitates meeting such requirements as continuity of supplies, quality control on products, and reliable external air and sea transport (Ward and Proctor 1980:390). Processing vegetable products in Tonga is an alternative but would necessitate technological inputs from overseas and a large-scale growing operation (Ward and Proctor 1980:390).

Fisheries development for subsistence and commercial export is another economic strategy supported by the Tongan government. As previously noted, fish and marine animals have always been an important staple food for Tongans yet recently demand has exceeded catch rates which, in turn, has stimulated a rise in imported canned fish. Since 1979, this problem has improved somewhat due to the introduction of larger fishing boats, ice plants, cold storage facilities and the exploitation of a previously underused fish, the skipjack (Central Planning Office 1981:176-177). In spite of these achievements in meeting local demand for fish, however, little progress has been made in establishing an economically viable commercial fishing (for export) industry (Central Planning Office 1981:179).

The Tongan government is also encouraging the development of light industries for processing agricultural
and sea harvests, as well as for such other activities as food and beverage production and the production of wood and wood productions. However, the development of the manufacturing sector is again constrained by several factors including a lack of experienced industrial managers, supervisors and technicians, limited funds, expensive transport costs because of remoteness from market and resource bases and regional competition from other Pacific island producers (Central Planning Office 1981:211-212).

Although these various economic options are potential realities with time, tourism development "... offers the most immediate prospects for rapid expansion" (Central Planning Office 1976:55, emphasis added), and has great potential for the Kingdom as an employer of labor and a source of foreign exchange (Kingdom of Tonga 1970:35). However, tourism has its economic and social risks, risks perhaps more accurately described as "costs." In subsequent chapters I will examine the economic and social costs of handicraft selling for Tongans against the background presented above.
Chapter 3

TOURISM IN TONGA:
PRELUDE TO CULTURAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS

In Chapter 1 I suggested that tourists and Tongans approach handicraft selling with two opposing models of markets, one which is highly competitive and guided by self-interest (the tourist model) and the other, non-competitive and constrained by social norms based upon mutual trust and obligations (the Tongan model). I also suggested that limited knowledge concerning Tongan rules of market etiquette results in tourists forcing Tongan sellers to bargain, behavior considered inappropriately competitive. In this chapter, I describe how Tonga's present state of tourism development predisposes such cultural misunderstandings.
THE STATE OF TOURISM IN TONGA

Tourism as a significant factor in Tonga's economic development is a relatively recent phenomenon. The number of tourists visiting Tonga has increased steadily since 1958 when the earliest recorded figures indicate that 1,175 individuals arrived on three cruise ships, with an additional 64 passengers arriving by air (Urbanowicz 1977:87). In 1969 a total of 18,930 visitors arrived via cruise ships, yachts, cargo vessels or by air (Palu 1977:55) and by 1979 the total number of visitors was 48,360 (Central Planning Office 1981:253, see Table 3 for a complete listing of visitor statistics). In 1979 these visitors generated $T3,919,226 in foreign exchange or approximately 57 percent of Tonga's exports (Central Planning Office 1981:47, Tonga Visitors Bureau 1980:3, 5). The current projections for earnings from tourism by 1983-1984 indicate an increase to between eight and nine million foreign dollars (Central Planning Office 1981:258). The majority tourists visit only Tongatapu, however, in recent years there has been an increase in visitors to other island groups in particular Vava'u.
Table 3
Visitor Statistics for Tonga 1971-1979*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cruise Ships</th>
<th>Air Flights</th>
<th>Earnings From Tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Ships</td>
<td>No. of Passen.</td>
<td>No. of Flights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25,655</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36,308</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>44,968</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33,024</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27,269</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33,435</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29,890</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**n.d. = data not available
Although the first Five-Year Development plan of the Kingdom (1965-1970) allotted funds for the construction of the International Dateline Hotel and the Queen Salote Wharf (Wallis 1971:12), full government encouragement of tourism as a source of economic revenue did not occur until Tonga's Second Five-Year Development Plan (1970-1975) (Palu 1977:55). Under this plan, the Tonga Visitors Bureau was created and charged with responsibility for control of the tourist industry. Tonga's Third Five-Year Development Plan (1975-1980) further endorsed tourism development by encouraging the construction of additional accommodation and recreational facilities, promoting an increase in the numbers of air visitors to Tonga, and the expansion of the Tonga Visitors Bureau as a statistical, planning and educational agency (Central Planning Office 1976:269). Additional legislation by the Tongan Parliament has since created the Tongan Tourist Authority which is comprised of government and private enterprise representatives who assist and advise the government regarding problematic areas of tourist development (Kingdom of Tonga 1977:2). Future development plans are aimed at improving existing tourist facilities and roads. They also include a provision for a 50 percent increase in the number of international standard hotel rooms and an increased
frequency of flights to the Kingdom over the 1980-1985 period (Taumoepeau 1980 pers. comm.).

Given the recent development of the industry, it is not surprising that a major function of the Tonga Visitors Bureau is to develop programs designed to prepare Tongans for tourism, as well as to promote Tonga as a tourist destination. Concerning the former goal, the Tonga Visitors Bureau has offered a variety of educational services including language seminars, tour guide training programs and tourism-related printed materials. The aim of these activities is to familiarize the Tongan populace with the more technical aspects of the tourist industry, the benefits of tourism to the Tongan economy and appropriate ways of interacting with tourists. In addition, the Tonga Visitors Bureau also coordinates a radio program, 'Epoki Fo'ou (the New Epoch), which broadcasts information regarding tourism events and government tourism policies. External promotional strategies are directed to New Zealand, Australian and North American markets and emphasize the lifestyle of the Tongan people and only secondarily, the scenic environmental features of the islands.
Accommodations and Transportation

Sixty-nine percent of Tonga's tourists arrive via cruise ships and spend between 7-10 hours in the Kingdom (percentage calculated using Tonga Visitor Bureau statistics 1979:1). Several shipping companies including P & O Lines, Stimar Lines, Royal Viking Lines, CTC Lines and Linblad Explorer serve the Kingdom and although passenger capacities of these ships vary, it is not unusual for as many as 1800 tourists to arrive via one cruise liner for a one day visit. Air visitors, 45 percent of whom spend an average of 1-3 days (Tonga Visitors Bureau 1979:9), fly to Tonga from New Zealand, Fiji, Nauru, Apia (Western Samoa) and Pago Pago (American Samoa) via several regional carriers including, Air Nauru, Air New Zealand, Air Pacific, Polynesian Airlines and South Pacific Island Airways. Although the predominance of cruise as opposed to air visitors limits employment opportunities in accommodation facilities, it does provide many Tongans with opportunities to participate in the industry on a part-time basis (see Chapter 4).
Accommodation facilities include seventeen hotels and guest houses (most of which are very small) on Tongatapu and twelve facilities on several other islands including 'Eua, and islands in the Vava'u and Ha'apai groups (Tonga Visitors Bureau 1981). The majority of Tongatapu's hotels are located in the urbanized Nuku'alofa area although at least one facility, the Good Samaritan Inn, is located in a distant Tongatapu village. Tourists may use a variety of transport facilities to venture out of Nuku'alofa including taxis, buses and trucks. The majority of these buses and trucks are privately owned and follow various routes covering the distance from Nuku'alofa to the furthest villages on both east and west sides of Tongatapu. In addition, there is a privately owned city bus service originating at the Talamahu Produce Market in the heart of Nuku'alofa that operates vehicles through the outer city limits, including Vaiola Hospital. Although a recent fare hike from $T.10 to $T.15 for a city bus ride was widely discussed among low-income Tongans, these fares remain relatively inexpensive for tourists.

Tongan buses, which are rickety, uncomfortable and open-air, but, at least for this anthropologist, fun to ride in, run at the whim of their owners and are not
scheduled at any regular intervals. Thus there is an abundance of vehicles traveling from outer villages and back during the peak "rush hours," (usually prior to 8:30 am and then again between 3:30 pm and 6:00 pm), and a scarcity of vehicles at other times. Transportation to outer villages virtually stops after 7:30 pm, although city buses run until 9:00 pm. Buses traveling the Niutoua-Nuku'alofa route or the Ha'atafu-Nuku'alofa route often stay in Nuku'alofa for two hours before returning to these remote outer villages. Thus, anyone, Tongan or tourist alike, wishing to visit a cultural attraction such as the Ha'amonga 'a Maui or the Flying Fox Sanctuary in Kolovai or any village along the way, risks being stranded for a few hours waiting for a bus to return them to Nuku'alofa. This situation may provide tourists with opportunities to meet with Tongan villagers, however, according to informants such chance encounters are apparently quite rare.

In addition to the irregularity of bus schedules, Tongan bus routes are restricted to the main roads along which most of the villages are situated. Although many of Tonga's tourist attractions are on these main roads -- for example the Terraced Tombs of the *Tu'i Tonga* and Captain Cook's Landing Place -- several of Tonga's more scenic
spots and swimming areas, including the Blow Holes, the Good Smaritan Inn and Ha'atafu Beach, are often one to two miles seaward of the main road. These areas are thus virtually inaccessible to tourists who travel by bus unless they have the inclination to walk down the coral roads. The combination of these factors, viz., scarcity of information about routes, irregularity of bus schedules and a lack of direct routes to swimming beaches and resort areas, contributes to the limited use of buses by tourists on a daily basis. However, more significantly, these factors essentially minimize tourist opportunities to interact with Tongans on a more personal level, in their village areas for example.

Tourist Activities and Attractions

Activities available to Tonga's tourists are limited and include sightseeing, sunbathing, and several beach feast and entertainment packages. The actual activities tourists engage in are of course influenced by the length of their visit to the Kingdom. Whereas air visitors have a greater chance to leisurely mingle with Tongans in their
shops and villages and while sightseeing, cruise ship passengers rarely have opportunities to engage Tongans in such personal encounters, the majority of them spending the entire length of their stay sightseeing and sunbathing at one of Tongatapu's outlying beaches. Although statistics as to the exact number of cruise ship tourists who book such tour packages are unavailable, it is not uncommon for as many as 800 out of 1000 tourists to partake in these types of activities. Indeed, Tongan handicraft sellers frequently complain about this practice arguing that the shipping agencies which schedule such tours are monopolizing the tourists and preventing the majority of them from shipping for handicrafts in Nuku'alofa.

Cruise ship tourists' tours typically begin soon after the ship docks at Queen Salote Wharf where Tongan buses await them. These busses are pulled from their usual Nuku'alofa-rural routes. They have been swept clean, their seats wiped and their interiors and exteriors decorated with flowers. Inspite of these efforts to enhance tourist comfort, however, bumpy and dusty Tongatapu roads color tourist perception and many inevitably complain about the "rough and dirty ride."
Approximately 25-30 tourists may be seated on one bus and, once settled, they begin their journey in the company of a Tongan driver and a tour guide, the latter recruited for the day's work from one of the local high schools. Much to tourist disappointment, however, these untrained tour guides frequently remain silent during the entire tour. This occurs for a variety of reasons including their embarrassment over speaking English. On both days when I accompanied cruise-ship tourists on their bus tours, the lack of information provided by their tour guides was the major complaint they voiced at the end of their trip. This lack of information from tour guides, when coupled with the lack of descriptive signs at attractions, results in tourists coming away from their tours having "seen" the countryside but having developed little appreciation for the Tongan people and culture. This conclusion is further substantiated by the following detailed description of a typical tour.

Tour buses leave Queen Salote Wharf driving along the seashore toward Nuku'alofa. The buses skirt the busy business district, however, and arrive at the Royal Palace via back residential streets. Upon arriving there for a brief ten minute stop, the bus is met by a handful of
Tongan women with flower leis for sale. Some tourists buy the leis through paneless windows while others leave the bus to photograph each other and the Palace. After this brief photo session the bus begins its trip through the Tongan countryside stopping next at Captain Cook's Landing Place near Mu'a, approximately twenty miles from Nuku'alofa. It was at this place in 1773 that Captain James Cook first landed in a small boat after anchoring the Endeavor off Tongatapu. Contemporary tourists see a tree and a plaque commemorating the spot and approximately 75 Tongan sellers and their handicrafts lining either side of the road. While a few tourists may read the plaque, most will wander directly to the sellers to peruse their handicraft displays.

The tour begins again after approximately twenty minutes and travels the short distance to the Ha'amonga 'a Maui, two erect limestone slabs connected with a horizontal slab and, as of yet, of an undetermined function. Tongan legend attributes the construction of the Ha'amonga Trilithon to the 11th Tu'i Tonga, Tuitatui, who ruled around 1200 A.D. and constructed the monument to remind his sons of the inseparable bond of brotherhood (Gifford 1924:52). However, the present King, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, believes it was a seasonal calendar "as notches carved on
the lintel point directly to the rising sun on the longest and shortest days of the year" (Tonga Visitors Bureau 1980:4). Whether most tourists ever learn of this information is questionable since, again, the majority of those observed gravitated immediately toward the Tongan sellers and their handicrafts displayed opposite the Ha'amonga. Although they may interact with sellers, as in other markets, this interaction is restricted to the buying and selling process.

The tour bus again spends about twenty minutes at the Ha'amonga finally moving on to 'Oholei Beach where the tourists spend the remainder of their day. Again, immediately upon disembarking from their buses, they encounter Tongan handicraft sellers. Although some tourists slowly peruse the selection of items, the majority head directly to the beach where they will enjoy sunshine, Tongan food and entertainment. The 'Oholei Beach Tour and Feast is by far the most popular tourist attraction in Tonga and is scheduled two nights a week in addition to cruise ship days (see Burke 1980 for a comprehensive description of the activities at 'Oholei). 'Oholei is indeed one of Tongatapu's most beautiful beaches with fine, white sand forming a glistening contrast to the clean, clear turquoise sea it borders. Visitors to 'Oholei enjoy
the surf, Tongan entertainment including dancing and a string band who's members sing "sweet songs" (hiva kakala), and a well prepared Tongan feast. This feast includes such delicacies as _lupulu_ (corned beef, coconut milk and onions wrapped in young taro leaves), octopus, clams, _faikakai_ (a Tongan pudding made with coconut milk, sugar and various root crops such as, tapioca) and suckling pig roasted on large poles over a burning pit. Some Tongan staff attempt to explain the cooking processes and to offer a bit of information about their songs but aside from this there is very little other interaction between tourists and Tongan hosts. As departure time approaches, the tourists ascend the pathway from the beach to their buses, again encountering the same group of sellers they had met previously. Tourists are more inclined to buy handicrafts at this point since they have finished their tour and will drive directly back to the ship without stopping at the large handicraft market at Fa'onelua or any other place along the way. Thus ends the typical cruise ship tourist's day in Tonga. He has seen the countryside, enjoyed a beach, some food and entertainment, and only minimally interacted with Tongans. Even those encounters were superficial and primarily economic in nature providing few chances for sharing cultural knowledge. The minority of tourists who
elect not to sightsee fare little better as they wander toward Nuku'alofa and the cultural drama which awaits them in the large handicraft market at Fa'onelua Gardens.

FA'ONELUA GARDENS: THE SCENE

As previously mentioned, a small percentage of cruise ship tourists do not take bus tours, preferring instead to walk to Nuku'alofa sightseeing as they go. Some rent bicycles and horses from the many Tongans waiting near the entrance of the wharf road. Others hire taxis to drive them specifically to Fa'onelua, or just to take them sightseeing. It is this small percentage of tourists which comprises a major and unknowing component of the drama in Fa'onelua Gardens.

I previously referred to Fa'onelua as a social establishment or a place with fixed boundaries to perception where a given activity, in this case handicraft selling, regularly takes place. Fa'onelua is a large, oval, grassy area planted with a variety of hibiscus and shadowed with coconut trees, located one mile from Queen
Salote Wharf. Although it houses only four permanent structures, on cruise ship days it is ringed with selling stalls (*palepale*) that are hastily constructed, open-sided and covered with corrugated iron (Plate I). The physical structure of these stalls is significant since it not only segregates tourists in a central area but also facilitates interaction between neighboring sellers, presenting a relatively unobstructed view of activities for all participants.

The participants in the Fa'onelua drama fall into several categories. As noted in Chapter 1, participants (actors and audiences) may be distinguished in terms of their location in social establishments and their activities during performances. Actors or teams (individuals cooperating to present a desired image) prepare for their performances in a back region of the social establishment which is off-limits to members of the audience. Similarly, they perform, for their audiences in a front region (Goffman 1959:239). However, it is not easy to make this distinction for Fa'onelua, since there may be two different sets of actors and audiences depending upon whether one utilizes the tourists' or the sellers' perspective. Thus, while tourists distinguish two categories of participants, Tongans and tourists, Tongans,
distinguish three categories. The first is an inclusive category of Europeans regardless of whether they are tourist or resident. The second category consists of sellers, and the third of Tongans present in Fa'onelua but not selling handicrafts. This latter group, comprised of friends and/or relatives of sellers, sits in the regions behind the selling stalls, observing the market activities and occasionally interacting with the sellers. Other Tongans sporadically wander through the central part of the garden or drive past sellers seated near the road. Although tourists may perceive these non-selling Tongans as part of the Tongan team, I recorded many comments in Fa'onelua which indicate that these Tongans, along with other sellers, essentially constitute a second (peer) audience for any one handicraft seller. Thus, some sellers will offer other Tongans selling advice such as the middle-aged woman who reprimanded a young Tongan seller with "Stand up girl, and sell your things. Look at how the tourists are waiting for you." Or another woman who stated the following and thus cautioned a friend against lowering her prices at a tourist's request: "Lupe, your basket is desireable, don't lower your price because there are many Europeans and one will give you your price." And still another who, outraged at a tourist bargaining attempt,
urged: "Don't Palu, they are trying to cheat you. They want to lower the price way down. Such behavior is truly bad."

Other comments demonstrating the existence of a secondary peer audience for Tongan sellers in Fa'onelua describe the selling successes of some Tongans. For example, one cruise ship day the seller I usually sat with noted to her daughter that Ana (another informant) "only weaves a few baskets but every [cruise ship] day she sells nearly all of them." And later, another informant remarked that the woman she had been watching had sold three sets of table mats to a tourist couple. Although not explicitly stated, the implication of these and other similar comments is that the tourists purchased the items because they were of good quality, a reflection on the seller's skill as a craftsman. The significance of producing quality handicrafts which appeal to tourists will become apparent in later chapters.

Still other comments recorded in Fa'onelua illustrate sellers sensitivity to evaluation of their behavior by other non-selling Tongans who may just be sitting in the background observing the scene or who may just be passing by the garden. Thus, I recorded the following conversation
between two sellers seated near the road by the entrance of Fa'onelua. Noting some Tongans driving by in a car, one seller questioned, "Why do those Tongan people riding by ridicule us?" to which the other responded, "they are laughing at us because we are sitting here selling baskets in the dust. Perhaps they look down on us." These comments thus clearly indicate that sellers (or non-sellers) observe each other in Fa'onelua and constitute a second audience comprised of peers. It is my contention that status degradation of Tongan handicraft sellers is due to culturally inappropriate behavior displayed in front of this peer audience.

Having thus outlined the categories of participants who partake of activities in Fa'onelua, I now describe the opening scene of the cultural drama which occurs there.

The Setting

It is 7:30 in the morning on a scheduled cruise ship day and there is already movement in previously empty Fa'onelua Gardens. Sellers arrive by bus, van, taxi, car
and on foot, encumbered by a variety of items such as baskets, mats, sacks of carvings, boxes of dresses, which they are eager to sell. Some initially sweep out their stall areas, others drape plastic tarps above the stall roofs and spread mats or blankets on the sand or grass inside the stalls. Others simply sit and wait. Slowly the number of sellers increases until all the stalls are full and the late-comers must set up their handicrafts in empty grassy areas near the stalls. Suddenly, a noticeable din rises from the garden as word is passed that the ship has been sighted on the horizon. This hubbub reaches a crescendo when a stark white hull fills the visual corridor from the garden to the lagoon, and the ship passes Fa'onelua on its course to dock at Queen Salote Wharf. There is now a flurry of activity in the garden, baskets are set in neat orderly rows, smallest in the front, largest in the back. Last minute polish is applied to carvings which are also placed in orderly rows. Informants emphasize the importance of setting handicrafts in neat rows in order to "ensnare the tourists" (tauhele'ī) by the attraction of their handicrafts alone (Plate II). Hands tidy hair, straighten dresses, tuck shirts, all of this in preparation for the impending arrival of tourists. And then the waiting begins.
Plate II. Sellers arrange handicrafts neatly to "ensnare" tourists.
It is usually one hour from the time the cruise ship passes Fa'onelua to the time the first tourists arrive. During this interim sellers converse with each other, often remarking about how slow the tourists are to arrive in Fa'onelua, and speculating about how many will actually come there as opposed to touring and spending the day at one of the outlying beaches such as 'Oholei. Sellers dread hearing radio broadcasts the day before a scheduled cruise ship in which many bus drivers are notified of the need for their services in transporting visitors, since this suggests that not many tourists will visit Fa'onelua.

During this period prior to the arrival of the first tourists in Fa'onelua, the sellers speculate as to which ethnic group the majority of tourists will belong to. Informants usually favor Australian visitors because they are nima homo, open-handed and generous, and "they buy everything." These tourists are frequently compared to Americans and New Zealanders who are nima ma'u or stingy, "they just walk around and look." This characterization apparently holds well for New Zealanders but is less definitive of Americans who are occasionally referred to as generous. Sellers are disappointed when many tourists are non-English speakers, such as Italians or Germans, because communication with them is much more difficult.
The first tourists finally arrive, and casually stroll around the garden. While tourists wander, the majority of sellers continue to sit and wait, eating, cat-napping, conversing and observing tourists.

DISCUSSION

In this chapter I have discussed the structure of the Tongan tourist industry in terms of the types of tourists that visit the Kingdom (cruise as opposed to resort) and their activities while in Tonga. I have also described the setting of the public arena of Fa'onelua, the large handicraft market which is the site of the most frequent and intensive interaction between Tongan sellers and cruise ship tourists.

In Chapter 1, following other scholars of tourism, I characterized host-tourist encounters as superficial interaction between strangers of unequal status which occurs for short periods of time. I also suggested that due to these characteristic features, there is great potential for stereotyping and cultural misunderstandings.
in which tourists run the risk of becoming dehumanized objects tolerated for economic gain and hosts, of becoming objects of curiosity. Tonga's tourism as described in this chapter essentially exhibits these features. Thus, the short duration of most visits and their superficial nature restricted primarily to economic transactions, minimizes the exchange of cultural knowledge. Thus, the members of the two groups inevitably remain strangers. In the following chapters, I illustrate how this lack of shared cultural knowledge coupled with the presence of a peer audience of Tongans (as described in this chapter), results in the status degradation of Tongan handicraft sellers.
Chapter 4

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF HANDICRAFT SELLERS
AND HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION IN TONGA

In the preceding chapter I illuminated the general features of Tonga's tourist industry and briefly described the setting of Tongan handicraft markets. In this chapter, I examine how Tongans manufacture handicrafts and prepare for the activities which occur in the context of these markets, and also profile the social and economic status of a representative sample of the sellers in Fa'onelua Gardens. Although I observed activities at several other handicraft markets on Tongatapu and Vava'u, Fa'onelua afforded the best research opportunities being the largest market (in terms of numbers of sellers) and, also the most accessible to visitors. Its location within walking distance from Queen Salote wharf essentially insures a steady, although uneven, stream of visitors throughout the day. In contrast, other markets receive visitors more sporadically and for shorter time periods as, for example, during tour bus stops at cultural attractions. While such
information is also significant, Fa'onelua provides the best opportunities for observing a wide range of activities over a longer period of time.

I will begin my discussion of handicraft sellers and handicraft selling in Tonga with a brief step back into Tongan history. Such an historical analysis will enable us to evaluate the social conflicts of handicraft selling against the frequent claim that such conflicts arise when previously unencountered behavioral models (tourists) are introduced to host communities. Here, we must remember that past encounters potentially familiarize the indigenous population with non-indigenous cultural values and also, that such encounters may provide a repertoire of behavioral strategies potentially employable with contemporary tourists. As I will demonstrate below, the sale of indigenous handicraft items to visiting Europeans in Tonga is not solely due to the phenomenon of contemporary cruise-ship tourism but is an activity with an historical precedent. Following this historical analysis I will present case materials which demonstrate that modern Tongans, who are primarily commoners without access to land, participate in the tourist industry as handicraft sellers economic reasons.
THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF HANDICRAFT SELLING

The period of contact between Tongans and European voyagers and before the arrival of the first settlers in 1796 is of particular interest to the study of contemporary tourism. The usually short duration of these early visits, and their predominantly economic character, provides certain parallels with contemporary cruise-ship visits and transactions with tourists.

Tongan contact with Europeans (papalangi, European, belonging to any white-skinned race, Churchward 1959:403) dates to 1616 when the Dutch navigators Willem Schouten and Jacob LeMaire encountered a Tongan double-hulled sailing canoe in the vicinity of the northern outliers of the Tongan group, Niuatoputapu and Tafahi (Langdon 1977:41-42, Schouten 1968:36). The initial encounter was marked by confusion and hostility. Believing the canoe to be a European barque, the Dutchmen fired upon it, wounding one Tongan man in the process. The remaining Tongans immediately threw all their possessions into the sea and jumped overboard. The Dutchmen rescued all but two of them.
however, and then gave the Tongans "...Beades (which they hung about their neckes), and some knives, and shewed them all the friendship we could...," to which the Tongans responded by offering coconuts and herrings (Schouten 1968:37). Although Schouten and LeMaire remained in Tongan waters for three days exchanging nails and beads for coconuts and yams (Schouten 1968:39-40), these exchanges were far from peaceful and resulted in several attacks on their ship plus the deaths of three Tongans. Although Schouten and LeMaire and the navigators who followed (see Table 4) acquired primarily provisions and very few Tongan handicraft items, this pattern changed by the time of the Cook expeditions in 1773, 1774 and 1777.

Captain James Cook, in command of the Resolution and Adventure, first visited Tonga in October 1773, spending five days in 'Eua and Tongatapu before sailing on to New Zealand. Cook later returned to Nomuka (Ha'apai) in 1774 for one week, and again visited Nomuka and Tongatapu with the Resolution and Discovery for two months in 1777. Cook originally anchored at 'Eua in 1773 in order to secure provisions for his ships. However, he was disappointed to find that the Tongans were apparently eagerly prepared to eagerly exchange "Cloth (ngatu) and other Curiosities...for Nails, etc..." (Beaglehole 1969:245 Part II). Indeed as
# Table 4

Chronological Listing of European Voyages to Tonga for the Period from 1616 to 1797

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voyagers</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Area of Tonga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schouten and LeMaire</td>
<td>1616</td>
<td>Niuatoputapu, Niuafo'ou, Tafahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Tasman</td>
<td>1643</td>
<td>Ata, 'Eua, Tongatapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallis</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>Niuatoputapu, Tafahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Cook</td>
<td>1773</td>
<td>'Eua, Tongatapu, Ha'apai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1774</td>
<td>Ha'apai, Tongatapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mourelle</td>
<td>1781</td>
<td>Vava'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de LaPerouse</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Vava'u, Niuatoputapu, Tongatapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bligh</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Tofua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Vava'u, Ha'apai, Tongatapu, 'Eua, Ata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'Entrecasteaux</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Tongatapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaspina</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Vava'u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cook writes "...we were welcomed ashore by acclamations from an immense crowd of Men and Women not one of which had so much as a stick in their hands, they crowded so thick round the boats with Cloth, Matting, etc. to exchange for Nails that it was some time before we could get room to land,..." (Beaglehole 1969:244 Part II).

Cook left 'Eua without the provisions he desired, and sailing to neighboring Tongatapu, he was met with a similiar reception. After an initial gift of kava, the ships were surrounded by many Tongans "...some coming off in Canoes and others swimming off, bringing little else with them but Cloth and other curiosities things which I did not come here fore and for which the Seamen only bartered away their clothes" (Beaglehole 1969:249 Part II). Although the reasons for these overwhelming offerings of traditional wealth remain unclear, Cook determinedly remedied the situation by giving an order

"...that no Curiosities should be purchased by any person whatever aboard or along side the Sloops or at the landing place on shore; this had the desired effect for in the morning the Natives came off with Bananas and Cocoanuts in abundance and some Fowls and Pigs which they exchanged for Nails, and pieces of Cloth" (Beaglehole 1969:249 Part II).

Once Cook had adequately provisioned his ships, and again permitted trade for Curiosities, his men acquired a
variety of Tongan handicrafts. Many of these survived to the present and were traced by Kaeppler (1978) in an exhaustive search of museum and private collections. A partial list of these items includes: whalebone breast plates, combs, wooden vessels, wooden neckrests, adzes, fishhooks, fly whisks, mats, and decorative girdles (Kaeppler 1978:206-241). In addition, large quantities of Tongan barkcloth were collected (Beaglehole 1969:249 Part II), some of which is still exists (Kaeppler 1978:217). Interestingly, Kaeppler notes that the iron tools traded by Cook's men during the second voyage may have stimulated the production of native crafts and that "...by the third voyage, wooden objects are noticeably different" (Kaeppler 1978:206).

The exchange of European material goods (particularly by way of barter) for Tongan handicrafts remained a prominent feature of Tongan encounters with visiting Europeans after the Cook visits. Although only visiting Tonga for a short period in 1787, J.F.G. de La Perouse and the ships companies of the Boussole and Astrolabe, for example, apparently "bought" several "patow-patow" (throwing clubs) in addition to food items (La Perouse 1969:172-173 Vol 2). Five years later, another French expedition, in search of the missing La Perouse and
commanded by Admiral d'Entrecasteaux, anchored at Tongatapu for two weeks and collected a variety of handicrafts. According to Labillardiere, the expedition's botanist, they bartered for "...a great number of clubs of various shapes and made in a workman-like manner,...We saw several who were employed in carving others with shark's teeth fixed into the extremity of a piece of wood" (1802:147). Captain James Wilson of the Duff, arriving in Tongatapu in 1797 to leave ten members of the London Mission Society, noted that the Tongans offered to barter a variety of items including "...spears, clubs (which none were without), and various articles ingeniously manufactured, but their demands were so high that little was purchased" (1966:97). Trading for Tongan handicrafts persisted after the arrival of the missionaries who, along with five convicts from the American ship Otter which arrived in Tonga in 1796, constituted the first European settlers. Indeed, the overseas sale of Tongan handicrafts may have found such a lucrative market as early as the 19th century that some traders sailed specifically to Tonga in order to buy handicrafts. "Chevalier" Peter Dillon, for example, had intended to sail to Tongatapu in 1826 "...to buy Tongan artefacts for sale in Calcutta...," but a leaking ship forced him to sail directly to India without the scheduled
Tongan stop (Davidson 1975:106). Although trade for handicrafts continued, the presence of these early settlers, and the traders and whalers who followed, changed the medium of the exchange to money (Erskine 1967:116, Maude 1964:270).

In sum, in addition to introducing Tongans to European material goods, encounters with early European visitors established the practice of exchanging Tongan handicrafts for European material items. Therefore, to a certain extent, the commercialization of traditional objects began at least 200 years before the advent of contemporary cruise-ship tourism in the mid-1960's (the exact date for the initiation of cruise liner service to Tonga is unavailable; Wallis notes that such information is difficult to determine given the lack of reliable visitor statistics prior to the mid-1960's [1971:25]; cruise liner service may indeed have started a decade or so earlier). These encounters are also significant for another reason, however, since they introduced Tongans to a new type of exchange, namely exchange which was immediate and based on price-making marketing principles as opposed to those of generalized reciprocity.
European Influence on Traditional Tongan Exchange

As previously described in Chapter 1, traditional Tongan reciprocal exchange was primarily of a generalized nature in which the significance of the social relationship established or perpetuated through the transaction was far greater than any material outcome. Early chroniclers of Tongan society frequently noted this generalized nature of Tongan exchanges. For example, George Vason of the London Mission Society who began his mission in 1797 and who had abandoned it by 1799 in favor of the Tongan lifestyle, described the importance of sharing and hospitality for Tongans. Referring to a large catch of fish, Vason notes,

"But this large quantity of fishes was no private emolument to me; for at Tonga, though there is not a community of goods, yet it is the custom, where a person has much, for numbers to flock to him; and it would be looked upon as contrary to nature to refuse them. If I was sitting at my door, or at the entrance of my abbe ('api) with my attendents, and eating, and a stranger passed, he would come and sit himself down by me, without ceremony and expect a meal with me. In a scarce season, members resorted to me for my yams; and it would have been a transgression of the laws of hospitality to have refused them, as long as they lasted" (Orange 1973:146).

Another example is provided by William Mariner, a near contemporary of Vason's and a survivor of the capture and
massacre of the crew of the Port au Prince in Ha'apai in 1806. According to Mariner:

"the general conduct of chiefs and others towards one another seems to turn upon this principle of liberality. If one chief sees something in the possession of another which he has a strong desire to have, he has only to ask him for it, and in all probability it is readily and liberally given. The very tributes which the chiefs received from inferiors come as much as possible in the form of presents" (Martin 1972:153 Vol.2).

Indeed, the spirit of generosity and hospitality as described above has persisted among contemporary Tongans as well. Generosity in hosting and ceremonial gift-giving are, for example, valued behavioral strategies used by modern Tongans to enhance their social status and prestige (Marcus 1978a:243). However, such generosity is perhaps characteristic of exchange between Tongans only, since it is not typical of Tongan and tourist transactions in contemporary boat markets. These transactions are instead characterized by negative reciprocity in which one or both parties try "...to get something for nothing" (Sahlins 1972:195).

The shift from exchange initially characterized by generalized reciprocity to that based on impersonal, supply and demand price-making markets apparently occurred quite rapidly in the history of Tongan encounters with visiting
Europeans. Upon his arrival at 'Eua in 1773, Cook describes the generalized nature of Tongan exchange, namely that Tongans "...seemed to be more desireous to give than receive, for many who could not get near the Boats threw into them whole bales of cloth and then retired without either asking or waiting to get anything in exchange" (Beaglehole 1969:247 Part II). Yet four short years later, Samwell; surgeon on the Discovery, intimates a change when describing that "...the strong Desire they have for Iron manufacture of all Kinds surmounts every other and makes them forget the rights of Friendship and Hospitality" (Beaglehole 1967:1029). After this period there are increased reportings of violent incidents such as beatings and robberies, which support Samwell's observation (Anderson in Beaglehole 1967:964, Bligh 1938:107-108, Edwards 1915:132, Labillardiere 1802:134, 160-161) and culminate in the murderous attacks on the crews of whaling and trading vessels during the first quarter of the 19th century (Gunson 1977:106,111-112).

This shift to exchange based on supply and demand price-making markets is further underscored by accounts of Tongan haggling and insistence on compensation for their labor. Thus Anderson, surgeon on board the Resolution, writes in 1777 of some Tongans who were requested to roll
water casks to shore, that "...they seem'd to understand Trade so perfectly that they would not do or give the smallest trifle unless they were paid" (Beaglehole 1967:864). Again Anderson remarks, "It would appear that they have already by some means learnt the true spirit of traffic, for they would not even part with the twig of a tree to us without asking something in exchange" (Beaglehole 1967:959). Captain Edward Edwards of H.M.S. Pandora provides a similar observation nearly fifteen years later noting that "...a party was sent on shore to cut wood for fuel and grass for sheep, but they [Tongans] would not permit a blade of grass to be cut till they were paid for it" (1915:134). Concerning Tongan propensity for bargaining, Labillardiere of d'Entrecasteaux's expedition, remarked that the purchase of provisions at Tongatapu was difficult: although the Frenchmen had set a fixed value for each article, "...the natives, thinking always to sell dearer never parted with their commodities till after they had for a long time haggled about the price" (1802:107).

To summarize briefly, contact with European voyagers, traders and whalers not only introduced Tongans to European material items and the idea of exchanging provisions and indigenous handicrafts to obtain those items, but it also heralded the development of a new type of exchange in
Tonga. This exchange was based on price-making marketing principles in which the significance of the social relationships between exchange partners was reduced in favor of the material outcome. Although traditional Tongan exchange (based on generalized reciprocity) persisted between Tongans, it was rapidly replaced by European introduced exchange in transactions involving Europeans. As will soon become obvious, these early encounters therefore established a precedent for the types of transactions that occur in contemporary Tongan handicraft markets. However, they are significantly different in that, as I will discuss later, transactions between Tongans and European explorers were essentially transactions between equals. Contemporary exchanges are not, being instead, between leisured and frequently affluent tourists and their indigent hosts. As I will argue later, the inequality of this exchange relationship is a major factor contributing to the status degradation of Tongan handicraft sellers in contemporary boat markets.
HANDICRAFT SELLERS AND SELLING

Although the sale of indigenous handicrafts to visiting Europeans has occurred intermittently in Tonga over the past 200 years, its acceptance as a legitimate income generating strategy has been slow to materialize. The relatively late appearance of a word for handicraft selling in the Tongan language supports this general observation. According to the Honorable S. Langi Kavaliku, Minister of Education, Public Works and Transportation, the term fakameili is indeed recent, appearing in the spoken language in the late 1950's (1982 pers. comm.). The absence of a word denoting this activity in Churchward's comprehensive Tongan-English Dictionary published in 1959 (but compiled earlier, ca. 1955), also supports this claim.

The term fakameili is derived from the causative prefix faka, denoting likeness or causation and, the noun meili, referring to mail or a ship which brings mail (Churchward 1959:24, 353). A literal meaning of the term fakameili is therefore "pertaining to or doing it to, or doing it for the mail ship." It is probable that selection
of this particular term refers to the fact that prior to the initiation of cruise liner service to Tonga, steamers frequently brought mail and visitors to Tonga. The term is used in the following contexts:

1. as a verb to refer to the activity of actually selling handicrafts, e.g., "'Alu 'o fakameili" -- Go and sell handicrafts or, "ke fakameili ai" -- to sell handicrafts there

2. as a noun
   a) to refer to the category of individuals who sell handicrafts; here the term is preceded by kau, the plural marker before nouns denoting people, e.g., kau fakameili -- handicraft sellers
   b) to refer to handicraft items; here the term is preceded by me'a, the noun referring to "things," e.g., me'a fakameili -- handicrafts

In sum, this brief etymological analysis indicates that since the late 1950's terms referring specifically to handicraft selling and to the individuals who partake in this activity have become part of the Tongan language. The apparent recent origin of these terms, when coupled with regular and increased cruise ship arrivals, suggests that cruise ship tourism has contributed not only to another income generating strategy for Tongans but also has resulted in a new cultural category of individuals, the kau fakameili.
At the present time, estimates of the number of Tongans who engage in handicraft selling are not available. This is not surprising given that many Tongans participate in such activities on a part-time basis, such as when cash is urgently needed for impending expenses (e.g., school fees for children or church contributions) or when they have no other pressing obligations. Indeed, the ease with which one can choose or, choose not to participate, is one of the more appealing features of handicraft selling since it enables individuals to pursue other employment activities as well. This flexibility is important since, as Urbanowicz has noted, dependence upon income from selling handicrafts may indeed be risky (1977:88). In addition to such uncontrollable variables as cancellation of scheduled cruise ship arrivals, additional factors peculiar to the local cultural system, e.g., culturally appropriate selling strategies, and type of tourism also influence the outcome of handicraft sales.

In the following section I will present data concerning the types of handicrafts produced by Tongan handicraft sellers and their production costs. This information is based on data collected from a group of 26 handicraft sellers (18 women and 8 men) representative of
the sellers in Fa'onelua Gardens. They are predominantly from three regions of Tongatapu: the first, a remote, rural village approximately 10 miles from Nuku'alofa on the western side of the island; the second, a more centrally located village approximately 5 and 1/2 miles from Nuku'alofa; and the third, a village area within Nukua'lofa itself.

"Being a Fakameili"

Handicraft selling in Tonga assumes a variety of forms with some Tongans selling on a daily basis (except Sundays), others selling only on cruise ship days (the majority of sellers), and still others primarily on cruise ship days but occasionally on other days as well. Reasons for selling on a daily or semi-daily basis (as opposed to solely on cruise ship days) include economic need due to unexpected expenses or merely the desire to insure a more steady flow of cash. Thus, by strategically displaying handicrafts in front of hotels, guest houses or other visitor attractions, sellers potentially exploit the overnight visitors market, as well as the cruise ship visitor market. Overnight visitors walk past sellers on
their way into the business district of Nuku'alofa and frequently return to seller's stalls in Fa'onelua or where they have improvised with an outstretched mat on the grass opposite the hotel. Although such selling strategies are not always rewarding (several informants bemoaned the fact that when they occasionally set up their handicrafts in such a manner, they did not sell anything), a small handful of Tongans habitually set up selling stalls day after day in the hopes of earning some cash. As I discuss in Case Study 1 later in this chapter, some sellers may earn as much as $T50.00 (exchange rates for Tongan dollars ranged from $US.86 to .92 during the fieldwork period) in one non-cruise ship day.

Another alternative for exploiting the overnight visitor market is by producing handicrafts for the women's cooperative organization of Langa Fonua 'a Fefine Tonga, which is located in downtown Nuku'alofa. Women join the cooperative for an annual fee of $T2.00 which permits them to sell any type of handicraft (including items manufactured by their husbands) as often as they like. Individual sellers establish their prices and give a 10 percent commission to the cooperative, which is used for charitable donations, maintaining the facilities and employee salaries.
Tongan handicraft sellers offer a variety of items for sale including plaited and coiled pandanus baskets, fans, tablemats, slippers, hats, hula skirts (made of either cellophane or hibiscus), plaited horses, circular mats, tapa (of either the traditional variety or handpainted rectangular pieces created specifically for sale to tourists), necklaces and bracelets made of shells, seed or turtle shell, shirts and dresses and wood carvings. As illustrated by Plate III, variation within each type of handicraft item is frequently quite limited with style being dictated by visitor taste. The Tonga Visitors Bureau is concerned with this lack of variety and the issue is frequently addressed on the 'Epoki Fo'ou radio talk show. Sellers are frequently urged to produce a range of items that differ both in size and features in the hopes that the variety will appeal to visitors with different tastes therefore providing greater profits for sellers. However, whether sellers will heed this advice remains to be seen.

The issue of a lack of variety in handicraft items manufactured for sale to visitors is also of concern to academics. In his study of the influence of tourism on Tongan art styles, Johnson laments that Tongans may lose their skills in producing other types of handicrafts if the
Plate III. A variety of handicrafts for sale.
knowledge is not passed on and they continue producing only those types with visitor appeal (1976:4). Both Johnson (1978) and Kaeppler (1977) have noted that tourism has indeed stimulated the production of airport art in Tonga -- in terms of the items produced and their method of manufacture -- and they express concern for the long range significance for Tongan art styles. Apparently, the Tonga Visitors Bureau does not consider this a major problem, stressing instead that tourism has stimulated interest in the production of native crafts (Kioa 1980 pers. comm.).

Production Costs

The production costs and the amount of time spent by Tongans in the preparation of their handicrafts is difficult to determine and often varies significantly according to the items produced and the time available for production. Most female informants sandwich handicraft production between other daily activities such as housecleaning, cooking, child care and participation in village cooperative women's activities. Time devoted to handicraft production usually increases, however, as scheduled cruise ship days approach. Completion of one
large kato'uli (laundry basket and lid), for example, varies from a period of two weeks to one month. Smaller baskets can be completed in one week or even in one day. Other items such as shell and seed necklaces, pandanus slippers, and plaited horses can be completed in a few hours, particularly when undertaken as a cooperative family project involving both children and adults. The size of a carving usually determines the amount of time used in producing it from the initial "roughing out" to sanding and polishing the finished product. For smaller pieces, e.g., 6" or 12" tiki, this could take only a matter of hours yet larger pieces could take four to five days to produce.

The cost of producing handicrafts also varies among sellers and is dependent upon the item produced, the material requirements, and whether the seller has access to raw materials in the bush or has to purchase them. Three women stated that they expend no cash in producing their items (baskets, tablemats and shells), since they have access to the necessary pandanus on their agricultural allotments. Women who produce necklaces and bracelets also list minimal costs per item, e.g., T$.10 or T$.15. These women collect the seeds and shells they used in the necklaces from the bush and beaches, purchasing only the line necessary to string them. Costs increase
significantly, however, if the seller has to purchase pandanus, wood or cloth (which could cost between T$8.00-9.00 for the yardage necessary to produce one mumu [dress]). Seventy-nine percent of my informants who were able to provide cost evaluations, however, estimate that they spend less than T$.55 per handicraft item.

Although prices received for handicraft items vary according to the type of item, and are established by the individual seller, certain "base" prices for given items exist. For example, plaited horses are usually priced at T$2.00 for a small 12" horse and T$4.00 for a large 24" horse. Small baskets range in price from T$1.50 to T$6.00 and some large laundry baskets are as much as T$25.00. Small carvings start at T$2.00, with medium size carvings priced between T$7.00-10.00 and the largest size between T$20.00-35.00. Bracelets and necklaces are priced anywhere from T$.20 to T$5.00. These base prices, informally accepted by most sellers, are established by such variables as size, quality of craftsmanship and time spent in manufacture. However, the actual price received by the seller is also determined by such other factors as (1) the frequency of scheduled cruise ship arrivals, (2) the number of potential visitors to the boat market on that day, (3) the time of day (4) the seller's evaluation of the
particular buyer and, (5) the willingness of the seller to bargain. In Chapter 5 I will discuss these factors further.

The Study Group

In Table 5 I present demographic and economic data pertaining to my study group of 26 handicraft sellers. Of the 26 individuals, 24 were married with one young male still single and one female a widow. The average household size for the informants was 7 and the mean number of children was 6.5. The mean age was 40.4 years for females and 46 years for males. The fact that the majority of my informants were middle-aged is significant and suggests that the tourist industry indeed provides employment for a segment of the population which might otherwise be unemployed, namely middle-aged females and landless males. As in other Polynesian societies, once Tongan women marry (usually in their early 20's) their primary obligations are familial, to their children and husbands, and to household care. They are also expected to participate in women's cooperative activities such as barkcloth manufacture, mat
Table 5
Sources of Income for Fakameili

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*C, cultivation; W, wage employment, O, other income producing strategy
**n.d. = data not available
weaving and church events. Thus, although many unmarried women find employment in government offices, retail shops, restaurants, factories and educational institutions, they usually retire from such activities once married. Indeed, the part-time nature of handicraft selling and the fact that handicrafts can be produced at home during spare time are two factors which attract Tongan women to the activity. Through handicraft production, they are thus able to contribute income without neglecting other familial responsibilities. This casual nature of the handicraft industry is also attractive to men since it theoretically enables them to engage in other part-time income generating activities when not producing handicrafts. However, as Table 6 indicates, only one male informant listed income in addition to handicraft selling. The overwhelming attraction of handicraft selling for both female and male informants, however, is that it is an immediate, albeit uncertain, source of much needed cash with low costs to the producer. A closer look at the economic status of my informants will illuminate just how "crucial" such cash is for modern Tongans with limited economic options.

All informants claimed membership in the lowest ranked class in the Tongan social hierarchy, viz., the class of commoners. As I discussed earlier in Chapter 2, commoners
Table 6
Demographic and Economic Status of Fakameili

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*marital status: M=married, W=widow, S= single  
**c=car, t=truck, s=shop, x=taxi, b=bicycles  
***data not available
have traditionally had limited access to land and, given the present conditions of overpopulation and limited land available for tax allotments, a large percentage of the contemporary population of Tongan men remains landless. The study group, with only 10 out of 26 informants or their spouses having title to agricultural allotments, underscores this problem. However, 16 out of 26 at least have title to residential allotments. For my informants the economic implications of limited access to agricultural lands must not be underemphasized since they are not only denied the potential of producing subsistence resources but also of generating income through cash-cropping. Even one informant with title to agricultural lands bemoaned the fact that his allotment was only 4 hectares (rather than the usual 8 and 1/4 hectares) and was too small to adequately supply his family of seven with enough food. Thus, he too was faced with having to purchase food, to cultivate a kinsmen's allotment or to rent land. Although most informants without title to agricultural land stated that they occasionally procured subsistence resources from a landed kinsmen, they just as frequently were forced to buy food, hence the critical need for cash.

In addition to limited access to land for subsistence or cash-cropping purposes, the informants also had limited
resources for initiating other potentially income producing business ventures such as shop-keeping, fishing or taxi driving. Although four informants listed additional assets such as trucks, shops or bicycles which they used for business purposes, they also noted that much of the money they earned from such activities was used to repay bank loans they assumed in order to start their businesses. All informants lived in either concrete, wooden or fiber-board homes yet again, many of them noted that these had been constructed with financial assistance from the bank. Consequently, much of their income went immediately to repay these loans.

Shopkeepers also had economic difficulties, although not as much with the bank as with their customers. Small shops (fale koloa) are invariably found in every Tongan village and provide foodstuffs and other essential items such as soap and kerosene. Although these shops are initially perceived as a sound economic investment, profits are tenuous since the owners are frequently beset with requests from relatives for food contributions during weddings, funerals and for other ceremonial events (Hau'ofa 1979). On several occasions during my fieldwork, I noted small shops nearly depleted of their stock due to such familial obligations. In addition, true to the Tongan
value of sharing, many shopkeepers extend credit to their neighbors with remuneration frequently slow in materializing. It is not surprising then, that when questioned as to why they had decided to sell handicrafts to tourists, my informants unanimously cited economic need as the primary reason!

In Table 6 I have presented informant estimates for the amount of cash received from handicraft sales on an average cruise ship day, as well as their estimated gross monthly income. The proportion of monthly income contributed through handicraft sales of course depends upon many factors, (which I will discuss in Chapter 5), including the number of cruise ships which visit Tonga during the month and the seller's particular success in selling. Although admittedly rough estimates (based upon a hypothetical arrival of two cruise ships per month), these figures indicate that 54 percent of the informants derive more than two-thirds of their monthly income from handicraft sales. Eight informants depend solely on handicraft sales for their income.

In the two case studies which follow I underscore the economic significance of handicraft selling for modern Tongans by examining the economic status, manufacturing and
selling activities of several informants. In addition, the case studies also illuminate some of the humiliating aspects of handicraft selling as revealed by the informants themselves.

CASE STUDIES

It was 6:00 am as Mele stumbled across the compound to the cookhouse, dodging mud puddles in the early morning light. Her mother, slow-moving and frail, had already started the morning's fire and sat placidly watching the smoke curl into the early morning sky. The two women exchanged greetings and Mele inquired about the whereabouts of her sister-in-law Ana who was usually up with the dawn's light preparing food for the children. "She is in the house" replied the mother, returning her gaze to the curling smoke. Suddenly conscious of the soft whirring of Ana's sewing machine, Mele asked, "Has she slept yet?" "No," replied her mother who then added as if an afterthought, "Si!, the way we must work to get money from the tourists."
Mele and Ana are Tongan handicraft sellers and like many other sellers they typically stay up all night manufacturing handicrafts (in their cases, dresses) in anticipation of selling them to cruise ship tourists the following day. Ana, the younger of the two at 35, is married to Mele's brother Sifa and is the mother of three young children. Mele is 45 and the mother of seven children, six of whom reside with her and her husband Lopeti on the residential lands of her father, Sione. These three nuclear families are part of a larger, dispersed extended family headed by Sione, the members of whom often share resources and responsibilities. This type of sharing, so characteristic of Tongan cultural behavior, is more and more a necessity for those Tongans who, like Sifa and Lopeti, lack title to agricultural allotments. Lopeti, unemployed and with no land for cash cropping, helps Mele in her business by cutting material into the patterned pieces, whereas Sifa uses his car as a taxi and contributes much of his variable income to the extended family pot. It was indeed the desire to help their husbands meet economic demands that prompted both Mele and Ana to begin selling dresses to tourists in the first place. Unskilled and with no previous employment experiences, Mele believed her only choice for contributing to her family's income was to
participate in the growing tourist trade. Ana, although well-educated and fluent in English, also had few employment options and turned to the tourist trade to supplement her earnings as a shop-keeper.

Mele began her career as a handicraft seller in 1972 when she sold Tongan baskets in the government operated boat market formerly located in the center of Nuku'alofa. After two years, she switched from selling baskets to dresses when she noticed other women earning more cash from the sale of dresses than she was earning with her baskets. She had learned to sew when she was about eight years old and, considering that she could sew dresses much faster than she could plait baskets, she decided the former was more profitable and to concentrate on selling dresses only. Indeed the speed with which Mele sews her dresses is quite remarkable, taking only 10-12 minutes to complete one on a manual machine once the material has been cut into the dress pattern.

Mele is one of a handful of Tongan handicraft sellers who sell items daily (except Sundays) in Fa'onelua Gardens. Ana, on the other hand, tends her small shop on other days, selling dresses only on cruise ship days. By 7:30 every morning Mele loads her boxes of dresses and sewing machine
into Lopeti's truck and travels the short distance from her home in Nuku'alofa to Fa'onelua Gardens where she will spend the day. Upon arriving there she first sweeps her selling area, located under a large banyan tree, and then spreads a pandanus mat over the dirt floor. Mele hangs her dresses, which are primarily loose-fitting shifts, according to style -- with sleeves, without sleeves or just wrap-around skirts -- with their colorful display forming a fluttering wall behind which Mele and others sit, playing cards, chatting and sharing food. It was behind this wall of dresses, frequently rippled by the sea breezes, that I often sat with Mele and shared her thoughts and frustrations as a Tongan handicraft seller.

One boat day, for example, I was sitting at the end of Mele's selling stall somewhat behind her dresses but at a good spot for watching her interact with tourists. As usual, she stayed in the background, quietly watching the passing tourists for signs of interest in her dresses. Mele's knowledge of English is quite limited and, as she expressed several times, she is "shy" (ma, shy, embarrassed, ashamed) about speaking to tourists because she is afraid she will make a mistake. Thus, she waits until she is absolutely certain they are interested in her dresses before she initiates conversation with them. On
this particular day, beaming an infectious yet shy smile
Mele typically greeted two tourist women in halting
English, "Hello, may I help you?" One woman quickly
responded, "Yes, how much is this dress?" "Nine dollars"
was Mele's answer. "And this one?" queried the second
woman, "Ten dollars" responded Mele. Perhaps thinking to
strike a bargain, the first woman asked, "Can we have two
[of the $9.00 dresses] for $15.00?" "The price is $9.00"
came the response and again from the tourist, this time
dramatically holding up two dresses, "Can we have these two
for $15.00?" Mele, turning to Lopeti who had just arrived,
asked in Tongan, "They want two for that price?" "Yes"
responded Lopeti, "we lose three dollars." At this point,
Mele somewhat hesitantly agreed, selling two dresses for
$15.00 ending the transaction with a smile and a thank
you. She wasted no time in voicing her displeasure with
the sale, however. "Oiauwe, they do not realize the cost
of our dresses. They must think we pay nothing for the
material," she began. "They try to lower the prices down
to nothing. It angers me," she continued, "because it is
my price and it is none of their business to lower the
price!" "But you know Tepola," directing her comments and
frustration to me, "sometimes when they buy in quantity I
do not mind lowering the price, I am happy and it is the
Tongan custom. But sometimes, when they ask (kole, to make a request, to ask or beg) to lower the price from $10.00 to $8.00 I know I must give it to them for $6.00 even though I lose money because it is the Tongan way of showing 'ofa to them."

On other days Mele's frustrations are not so much with the tourists as they are with other handicraft sellers. She particularly disapproves of sellers who use deceptive ploys to earn cash such as pretending to give tourists gifts and then asking money for the "gift" items. According to Mele such behavior is shameful and culturally inappropriate because it is disrespectful of the tourists and chases them away from other honest handicraft sellers. I will discuss such deceptive ploys further in Chapter 5.

As I have already noted, Mele turned to handicraft selling out of economic necessity. She estimates that 75 percent of her household's monthly income is derived from handicraft sales. Her eldest son contributes some money from his work as a government clerk and she occasionally, maybe two or three times a year, receives remittances from relatives in the United States and New Zealand. The bulk of her family's income, however, is from selling dresses. Mele has expressed some reservations about earning money in
this way which I will discuss shortly yet, she vehemently stresses the economic and social importance of her activities for her family's welfare. Mele firmly believes that tourists bring much money to the Tongan people and that if it were not for her selling activities she and her family would still be living in a Tongan thatched house rather than the more modern and prestigious cinder-block house they had recently constructed. Mele notes that the money she earns from the tourists helps improve the lives of her children, it helps pay for their school fees and to provide for their basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing. This money also helps her family participate in those traditional activities that are still socially valued such as sponsoring village barkcloth manufacturing sessions and making church donations. Since Lopeti aspires to the position of lay minister in their church, these contributions, either in the form of cash or in mats and barkcloth (the traditional forms of wealth), are essential for achieving his goals. Hence, selling dresses to tourists has become an avenue of social mobility for Lopeti and Mele, who lacking land and the potential for success in cash cropping, would otherwise be severely handicapped in their quest for social advancement.
The amount of money Mele earns by selling dresses varies from day to day and is dependent upon a variety of factors which I will discuss below. Mele estimates the cost of making one dress depends primarily upon the price of yardage and usually varies from $T7.00-10.00. Her usual asking price is between $T9.00-12.00 and therefore she expects a profit of between $T1.00-2.00 per dress. However, as previously indicated, she does not always realize such a profit and occasionally must take a loss due to such factors as tourist bargaining, low exchange rates, difficulties communicating with non-English speaking tourists, gift-giving by Mele and tourist thievery. Given that I discuss these and other related issues in depth in the following chapter, I will only underscore a point made earlier, namely, that Mele and Lopeti deplore tourist persistence in bargaining.

On any given non-cruise ship day Mele may gross between $T0.00-50.00 while sitting in Fa'onelua. The major portion of her household's monthly income, however, is derived from cruise-ship day sales. On such days, Mele, with the help of Lopeti and their eldest daughter Kalo, set up selling stalls in four different boat markets on Tongatapu. In 1979-1980, this system of dispersed sales
resulted in a gross income of between $T50.00 to $T1,035.00 per cruise ship day. Although days in which she earns $T1,000 or more are indeed rare, it is not unusual for Mele to earn between $T50.00-700.00 on a cruise-ship day. After such successful selling, Mele typically re-invests part of her money into material for more dresses and may save some while using the rest to satisfy her family's economic needs. For example, of the $T1035.00 she earned on a boat day in October, 1979, Mele deposited $T500.00 in the bank, spending the rest on material (about $T250.00), food, kerosene, soap and church donations.

In spite of the obvious economic advantages handicraft selling provides Mele and her family, these advantages have social costs. Both Lopeti and Mele frequently expressed humiliation at having to "sit in the dirt with dust on their faces" waiting for tourists to buy their dresses. Mele noted that many times she has felt shamed by tourists whom she thought were looking down (sio ma'ulalo) on her perhaps because she was sitting there in the dirt or, perhaps because they thought her dresses were not very good quality. She becomes upset (loto kovi'i) if the tourists look at and try on her dresses, then move a little distance away and laugh. She believes they are laughing at her, that they are mocking. However, it is not only such
tourist behavior which disturbs Mele but also the behavior of other Tongans some of whom she believes mock her for "doing the fakameili." Mele suggests that perhaps they wonder why she doesn't have anything else to do but sit by the sea."

* * * * * * * *

It was the third time the two female tourists had walked around the circle of handicraft displays in Fa'onelua and they were visibly tired. The sun, intensely burning through a cloudless sky, heightened their exhaustion prompting one to call for shade and a place to sit. However, there were few shady spots in the central arena of Fa'onelua and there were no benches anywhere. "If I don't sit soon, I'll faint" remarked one woman to the other as the latter bent to examine a small plaited pandanus purse. Still kneeling she countered, "Well, I don't see any place to sit or shade except back there" pointing to the grass behind the selling stall. The seller, a young Tongan woman of about 21, had been eavesdropping on their conversation and, sensitive to the first woman's plight, offered to arrange a spot for her to
sit in the shade. "If you like," she began, "I can put this mat over there for you." "Oh my, aren't you sweet, thank you, that would be nice" responded the first woman. Her companion, no longer interested in the pandanus purse, moved on, telling her she would return shortly.

The woman had been sitting for about ten minutes when the young Tongan girl whose name was Lute, joined her on the mat. She and her mother Sela, who was also there to sell handicrafts, had been shyly watching the tourist woman. "She is so tired," Lute had commented in Tongan to her mother. "The poor thing, perhaps she is thirsty" responded Sela. "Do you think she would drink a coconut?" questioned Lute. "Maybe," shrugged Sela. Picking out a small drinking coconut from her food basket, Lute somewhat apologetically approached the woman. "I think you must be thirsty," she began. "I am sorry I do not have a straw for you but if you drink from here (pointing to the small hole at the base of the coconut) you will get the juice. I hope you like the coconut. It is all we have." The tourist, obviously touched by the gesture, thanked Lute and attempted to extract the liquid from the coconut. "I don't seem to be getting anything. Am I doing something wrong?" To this Lute gigglingly responded, "You have to suck the liquid out." "Oh," responded the tourist, who after some
initial difficulties finally managed to drink the liquid. "It is sort of carbonated isn't it?" she remarked to Lute who responded "Yes" although she wasn't sure what carbonated meant. At this point the tourist noticed her companion returning and standing up from the mat, she thanked Lute for her kindness. Upon rejoining her companion she asked "Don't you think we should buy something from them, they were so nice to me?" "No" responded the other woman, "you can get a better price elsewhere." "Oh I suppose you're right" and with a smile and a wave they were gone. Lute went back to the mat, picked up the empty coconut and smashed it open giving the meat to the small children in the next stall.

Sela and Lute, the mother and daughter team I frequently sat with in Fa'onelua, typically extend such generosity to Tonga's visitors. Indeed, it was a similar circumstance that engendered my introduction to Lute in the first place. On my first boat day in Tonga, I had been wandering through Fa'onelua snapping photographs and surveying the general situation. As with the two tourist women described above, I had also been looking for a place to sit and observe and finding nothing available, I kept walking. I was just about to leave Fa'oneuila having reached the entrance way to the garden when I stopped to
take one final picture of a particularly attractive young woman who was smiling up at me from her handicraft display. Rather than just take the photo, however, I asked her permission first, after which she invited me to sit on her mat with her to talk. Fluent in English, she questioned who I was, where I was from and why I was in Tonga. When I explained that I was conducting research on tourism, she began describing her activities as a fakameili and invited me to her home to meet her mother who was also a handicraft seller. The following week I found my way to her village, located within the confines of Nuku'alofa itself, to meet her family and begin my edification about Tongan handicraft sellers.

Lute is the oldest daughter of Sela and her husband Pita. Lute, her eight brothers and sisters, a female relative of her mother's and her mother's father live together with her parents on the residential tax allotment to which Pita has title. The main house, of fiberboard construction, has a living room and one walled off bedroom, with a cooking area under a tinned roof extension outside the back door. Toilet and shower facilities are separate and situated away from the main house. There are also two other separate one room structures in the back of the main
house, one where Lute's brothers sleep and the other, the private residence of Sela's father.

She and Lute sell small plaited horses and slippers to the tourists and estimate that they earn between $T10.00-20.00 on an average cruise ship day. They manufacture these items by first plaiting rectangular mats and then tracing differently sized patterned cardboard pieces cut in the shapes of slippers and horses onto the mats. These are cut and sewn together and then the horses are filled with wood shavings before final sewing. Pandanus braids are attached to form bridles and saddles with cellophane pompoms and streamers forming the manes and tails (see Plate IV). The slippers are also decorated with pompoms or occasionally lined and edged with cloth. Although they must purchase the pandanus and cellophane, Sela estimates the cost is little more than $T.70 per item. Their asking price to tourists is $2.00 per horse and per one pair of slippers.

When I first arrived at Lute's house on my first venture to her village, her mother's relative was stripping pandanus in preparation for weaving. At my intrusion, this activity stopped and Lute quickly swept the mat clear of any stray remnants of pandanus prior to inviting me in. Her
A seller offers her plaited horse for sale. Notice other sellers in background who form part of the secondary audience.
female relative quickly moved outside leaving Lute to explain that the woman could not speak English and was concerned that I might try to speak with her which would embarrass her. Thus, she left to avoid the situation.

Lute and I were soon joined by Pita who, in excellent English, openly discussed Sela's activities as a handicraft seller and his own renting of bicycles to tourists on cruise ship days. Pita explained that Sela and Lute sold little pandanus horses, slippers and mats to the tourists because of their need for cash. He quickly added that many people in his village are handicraft sellers for the same reason. He noted that it is difficult for the unemployed to get money in order to pay for things like their children's school fees which, in some of the private schools, are as high as $T25.00 per term. Although the fees are lower in the government schools, for example, between $T10.00-17.00, they are still expensive for people with many children because the fees are due three times per year!

Pita noted that on cruise ship days while Sela and Lute are selling handicrafts in Fa'onelua, he usually takes his bicycles to the wharf and rents them to tourists. In 1967, he had only one bicycle which he rented for fifty
cents per hour but he was eventually able to buy a second one from his profits and now has a fleet of ten bikes. He now charges $T2.00 per hour, but if the tourist will rent the bicycle longer, e.g., for four hours, he will give them a discount, perhaps only charging $T1.00 per hour. He then added with a laugh, "If the tourists were only here all the time, I would be a millionaire," estimating that he could make as much as $T270.00 per day by renting all his bicycles!

During our later conversations the economic importance of handicraft selling for Pita and his family became quite obvious. Sela stated that she started selling handicrafts about 15 years ago because she wanted to help Pita provide food and other necessities for their children. Thus, in spite of the fact that, as the first woman in her village to engage in such activities, she was ridiculed, she still persisted because her family's economic need was great. Although Pita had title to residential lands, he did not then and still does not have title to agricultural lands nor access to any other land for cultivation. Handicraft selling is thus, by necessity, one of several income producing strategies used by Pita and various members of his family to meet their economic demands. Additional income is provided by Pita's eldest son who receives wages
from his training program at the Teacher's Training College in Nuku'alofa, from Lute's temporary work as a translator and from Pita's own part-time employment as a bartender in a small hotel in Nuku'alofa. Sela estimates that her family's income may reach $T300.00 per month if their handicraft sales have been profitable.

In addition to providing cash for such essentials as food, clothing, soap and for the school fees of their children, handicraft selling also enables Sela and Pita to continue participating in traditionally valued village and church activities. Sela, for example, often sponsors barkcloth manufacturing sessions such as the one I witnessed one sunny day in September. Sela was particularly concerned about augmenting her supply of barkcloth since Pita's presentation at the recent church opening had depleted her collection. Given that barkcloth and mats are still traditionally important as wedding gifts and at funerals, Sela always strives to keep an adequate supply on hand, either for her own needs or for the needs of her extended family.

Prior to beginning the barkcloth manufacturing session, which consists of joining together and decorating the pounded white pieces of barkcloth, the women
participants meet for a breakfast meal which includes a variety of cakes, cookies and sweet fruit juices (‘otai). It is the responsibility of the woman who is sponsoring the session and who will receive the barkcloth to provide this food. Even if some of the food items are procured from the bush (e.g., coconuts, bananas and papaya), much of the rest (including butter, flour, sugar, baking powder and pre-packaged cookies) must be purchased and, when considering the amount necessary to feed approximately 15 women, such costs may indeed run high (see Hau'ofa 1979:38 for costs of such items). To Sela's advantage, however, a few days prior to her planned barkcloth manufacturing session, a cruise ship had visited Tonga at which time she and Lute were able to sell some handicrafts and Pita, to rent some bicycles. She thus had approximately $T35.00 to purchase food for the breakfast.

In spite of such economic advantages, however, Sela laments that she occasionally feels humiliated because she is a handicraft seller. She is frequently ridiculed (katakata'i) by other Tongans who "look down" (sio ma'ulalo) on her for selling handicrafts. When asked why this happens, Sela responded, "because I am poor." She also added that some Tongans also laugh at her when they
hear her speaking English because she is not fluent in the language and speaks quite hesitantly.

Lute is also sensitive about the association between poverty and selling handicrafts. She independently described how some Tongans ridicule her for selling handicrafts and also gossip about her and her family because they frequently befriend Europeans. Perhaps these people think her family is trying to take advantage of the Europeans but they are only extending their empathy and love (ofa) to them. Lute believes that such people are jealous, and of bad hearts or minds (mehēka lofo kovi).

She also mentioned that many young women are ashamed or embarrassed (ma) to sit in Fa'onelua where young men may see them and think they are so poor that they are forced to sell handicrafts to the tourists. Inspite of this Lute still helps Sela sell handicrafts because the money they earn provides food for the family and helps pay the school fees of her brothers and sisters. She would, however, prefer some other job and has tried without success to find employment at the International Dateline Hotel.

Here, then, is the crux of the problem for Sela and Lute and, as I will argue shortly, for other handicraft sellers as well: selling handicrafts to tourists is a
public admission of poverty. This admission, coupled with the fact that sellers necessarily must communicate with tourists in a language in which they are not fluent, suggest to their fellow Tongans that they are not skilled in two of the more prestigious avenues for social advancement in contemporary Tonga, namely, cash-cropping and education.

**DISCUSSION**

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: (1) to present the historical context of handicraft selling, and (2) to profile a group of handicraft sellers and evaluate the significance of their selling activities for enabling them to satisfy the economic demands of every day life in Tonga.

All of the sellers interviewed are commoners who possess few material assets, including title to agricultural tax allotments. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 2, such constraints as overpopulation, limited resources and unemployment, have severely restricted the options for earning a living available to many of these
Tongans. Many sellers and other family members consequently exploit a variety of income generating strategies in order to earn sufficient cash for meeting their daily and ceremonial needs. Handicraft selling is thus economically adaptive for the study group since it occurs on a part-time basis and permits participation in other income generating activities as well. Cash earned from handicraft selling is used not only to provide subsistence resources and other necessary items and to pay the school fees of children, but also for continued participation in such traditionally valued activities as feasts, church activities and barkcloth manufacturing sessions. However, as indicated in the two case studies, these economic benefits are underscored by social costs particularly if handicraft selling suggests to others that the sellers are impoverished.

Historically, the sale of handicrafts to visiting Europeans has occurred intermittently and in a similar form for more than two hundred years. Although traditionally, exchange in Tonga was characterized by generalized and/or balanced reciprocity (and still is to a certain extent), early encounters with visiting Europeans quickly introduced an impersonal exchange based on supply and demand price-making marketing. A precedent was therefore
established for transactions in which the importance of the social relationship between exchange partners was reduced in favor of the material outcome. Transactions in contemporary boat markets are typically characterized by such economic motivation. These early encounters also enabled the development of Tongan sophistication in the art of trade.

However, there are several crucial differences between these early encounters and those of contemporary handicraft sellers and cruise ship tourists. First, the regularity of scheduling and an increased number of cruise ship visitors enables participation on a more regular basis. Second, the nature of the dependency relationship between exchange partners in terms of respective needs for each other's resources has changed in the contemporary setting. Exchanges between Tongans and early visitors were, for the most part, predicated on equal terms such that each equally needed the resources of the other. Although handicrafts were predominantly secondary trade items, the provisions which Tongans could provide were essential to the survival of the sailors. Similarly, Tongans needed European material items for prestige purposes and later for use in warfare. Such equality in exchange relationships is typical of markets in which "transactions are characterized
by mutual trust among participants" (Befu 1977:273). As suggested by data presented in this chapter, however, the exchange relationships in contemporary boat markets are not characterized by such equality and, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, mutual trust. Although the informants designated economic need as their reason for selling handicrafts and are dependent upon income earned through selling, tourists, on the other hand, "Come to see the sights" and not specifically to buy handicrafts or provision their ships. Consequently, tourists may be viewed as the superior partners in the transaction while Tongans are the inferior partners (cf. Befu 1977:273).

Finally, encounters with early European visitors differed from those with contemporary tourists in terms of the shared knowledge between participants. Given that early explorers, traders and whalers often returned to Tongan in order to rest and provision their ships they inevitably acquired some sense for judging both quality and price. As in contemporary markets this shared knowledge may have precluded unrealistic and potentially antagonistic bargaining attempts. As I will illustrate in the following chapter, tourists are uninformed buyers. Consequently, much of the social conflict which handicraft sellers experience in the context of handicraft selling, is
attributable to the inequality of the parties in such touristic exchange relationships and the unrealistic bargaining attempts of uninformed tourist buyers.
Chapter 5
BARGAINING AND THE STATUS DEGRADATION
OF TONGAN HANDICRAFT SELLERS

In Chapter 1 I proposed that handicraft selling results in the status degradation of some Tongans because it necessitates behavior which contradicts Tongan cultural values. I emphasized that this behavior is frequently stimulated by tourists who, approaching the situation with a disembedded, impersonal and competitive model of a market in mind, are bent on driving hard bargains with Tongan sellers. I have also suggested that forced by economic necessity Tongans frequently engage in such bargaining exchanges inspite of the fact that these exchanges are competitive and thus, in the Tongan market framework, culturally inappropriate. Having demonstrated the economic need of Tongan handicraft sellers in the last chapter, I now focus specifically on interaction in Fa'onelua and how the confrontation of two market systems shames Tongan hosts. In order to achieve this I necessarily begin my analysis with a description of the Tongan marketing model
as represented by behavior in the Talamahu Produce Market in central Nuku'alofa.

TONGAN MARKETS AND MARKET ETIQUETTE

As mentioned previously Pacific market behavior is similar to that observed by Davis (1973) and Szanton (1972) in Philippine marketplaces where social relations are non-competitive and characterized by mutual trust and obligation. Like other Pacific markets, social relations in the Tongan produce market at Talamahu also lack overt competition and are characterized by a type of market etiquette. It is my contention that this market etiquette is carried over to Fa'onelua where handicraft sellers use a similar behavioral framework to structure their relations with tourists and other sellers. Prior to elaborating this latter framework, however, it is essential to first examine interaction in the Talamahu produce market. Given that this was not originally a focal area of my research, I will rely heavily on the 1976 study of Talamahu conducted by Tongan anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa to supplement my observations.
Talamahu Produce Market

Situated across from the two main trading firms of Morris Hedstrom Limited and Burns Philp Company Limited, the concrete rectangle of open-aired stalls that comprise Talamahu Market is centrally located in the heart of the Nuku'alofa business district. Public transportation facilities, including both buses and taxis, initiate and/or terminate routes outside the market entrance thus adding to its role as a central meeting place for residents of town and country alike. It is frequently aboard such Tongan buses that Talamahu's vendors travel in the early morning light with their produce to the marketplace.

Talamahu is open every day except Sunday although its hours of operation vary. From Monday to Thursday the market is open from 8:00 am to 6:00 pm and on Friday remains open until 10:00 pm to allow vendors to bring in their produce for the big market day on Saturday (Hau'ofa 1979:85). Saturday is by far the busiest day in terms of both numbers of sellers and buyers, as well as volume of
produce. Hau'ofa notes that most vendors attend the market only on Saturdays thus offering the average buyer a better selection of produce from which to choose and usually at a lower price (1979:101). Given that the majority of Tongan buyers also attend Talamahu on Saturdays in order to buy their weekly supply of staple root crops (Hau'ofa 1979:101), the market frequently teems with a swift moving, gayly colored mass of boisterous humanity winding its way through mazes of selling stalls stacked with assorted fruits, pyramids of peppers and tomatoes and precariously heaped piles of tubers!

As its name implies, the majority of items sold in Talamahu are edible although a variety of other items, including perfumed coconut oils, coral and tortoise shell jewelry, and handicrafts are also available. Hau'ofa notes that approximately 57 percent of the 482 vendors surveyed are male and sell primarily produce, whereas the majority of female vendors sell handicrafts (1979:86-87, 124). He suggests this separation concurs with the traditional division of labor in which females tend to their houses and children and men, to food production (1979:87). This may also suggest why two-thirds of the handicraft sellers in Fa'onelua are women.
The male vendors at Talamahu are younger and older than their female counterparts, the majority of whom are between the ages of 30 and 49 (Hau'ofa 1979:86, 124). Hau'ofa attributes the absence of older and younger women from Talamahu to Tongan values regarding feminine behavior. In addition to the fact that older women are highly respected in Tongan society, they are also physically weaker than their younger, middle-aged counterparts and thus must be protected from the "rough-and-tumble" life of the marketplace (Hau'ofa 1979:86). Young, unmarried women, on the other hand, must be morally protected since "if they were to work there [in the market] they would not only lower themselves socially, but would probably be teased or accosted by rapacious young males, or exposed to all manner of evil and temptation, risking a fall from the grace not only of God but also and especially of the more desirable eligible men" (Hau'ofa 1979:87). Thus, market vending, like itinerant peanut selling, is a low status occupation beneath the dignity of respected older females and female teenagers (Hau'ofa 1979:86, 118). Indeed, as Lute's comments suggested in the previous chapter, similar concerns may also account for the relatively few unmarried and older females observed in the handicraft market at Fa'onelua.
Hau'ofa distinguishes between permanent vendors, who sell six days a week and comprise approximately one-fourth of the vendors interviewed and, irregular vendors who may attend the market only once a week. Three-fourths of the permanent vendors are middle-aged and old people who "have done their share of hard work and are now enjoying their hard-earned rest sitting in the market all day while their young do the work at home or in the bush sending produce for them to sell" (Hau'ofa 1979:87-88). In addition to selling things which their families send them, permanent vendors also buy items for resale although Hau'ofa notes that due to the relative newness of the market (established in 1970), most Tongans have not yet accepted this middleman role (1979:89-90). Hau'ofa attributes this attitude to "a sense of shame associated with selling what one has bought and an unfounded fear that the practice is illegal" (1979:90). Perhaps the shame associated with such activities is best described by the Tongan concept of kainikavea which literally translates as a parasitic plant of any kind (Churchward 1959:244) and figuratively refers to a person who lives from the work of others. Yet, inspite of these potential attitudinal problems most permanent sellers willingly engage in the resale of produce especially when the original producers bring their goods to
the market specifically to sell them to permanent vendors there. As Hau'ofa notes, some villagers are impatient with the frequently slow process of selling especially during the week and would rather receive money quickly and just return home leaving the selling to others (1979:90). Some permanent vendors also sell produce that belongs to someone else, e.g., a friend or relative, who for whatever reason cannot stay in the market to sell the produce themselves. In these situations it is inappropriate to offer the permanent vendor payment but rather a "gift" which Hau'ofa believes is more in line with the Tongan cultural framework (1979:92). Of the 25 permanent vendors interviewed, however, only 6 engaged in such activities given that demand is low due to rumors that people selling for others have given owners less than they had received from the sale (Hau'ofa 1979:92, 130). One permanent vendor also noted that he occasionally acted as a money lender to villagers who needed cash urgently for school fees or their annual church collection (Hau'ofa 1979:90). Repayment is in the form of produce and often exceeds the value of the loan. According to Hau'ofa, "they do this not because of an agreement but because they feel gratitude and know they will be able to borrow money from the same vendor again" (1979:90). Here, then, is an indication of habitual
association between buyers and vendors in Talamahu. As my own experiences indicate such associations, although perhaps not as elaborate as the suki relationships described by Davis (1973:218), are not unusual, with vendors frequently trying to insure repeated business by throwing in an extra piece of produce as a "gift."

Market Etiquette in Talamahu

Hau'ofa discusses several important elements of interactional dynamics in the market that reveal facets of market etiquette. First, the market is a social place for both buyers and sellers. Hau'ofa notes that for the predominantly teenage buyers a trip to the market is a social occasion, a place to meet friends, to talk, to parade or "simply to ogle each other" (1979:119). For vendors, who routinely occupy the same stall or at least a stall in the same vicinity every week, the market provides the opportunity to renew old acquaintances and to exchange gossip. It also provides a place for the elderly to be amused while staying out of the way (Hau'ofa 1979:88). Many permanent vendors admit that the market is indeed an
an exciting place where "they meet daily, people from all over Tonga, and not infrequently, visitors from other lands" (Hau'ofa 1979:88).

Given that permanent vendors routinely sell their produce from the same stall and are usually in the market six days a week, they often are well-acquainted and occasionally co-operate in storing each other's or an irregular vendor's produce. Hau'ofa details such co-operation in a case study involving an irregular vendor who left his ten unsold baskets of yams with a permanent vendor either for the latter to sell the following day, or to keep until the owner returned to sell them himself (1979:103).

Co-operation between vendors is also indicated by the obviously lack of overt competition between them as reflected by their passive selling strategies and basically uniform prices. During the field period I attended the Saturday market at Talamahu regularly, shopping either by myself or with a Tongan friend. I also wandered into the market one or two days a week in search of vegetables or fruit. On these occasions I invariably found sellers sitting behind their produce, calling out only to greet me with "Hello" or an eye-brow raise but never to "hawk" their produce with a
sales pitch. On Saturdays the scene was more chaotic with sellers frequently standing, involved in discussions with each other or potential customers but again, rarely hawking their produce. Indeed, I observed only five instances of "hawking" in Talamahu.

Lengthy discussions between buyers and sellers essentially concern the quality of items rather than their price. Just as hawking is minimal, bargaining or haggling over prices is virtually non-existent in Talamahu. Given that weekly prices for staple root crops and vegetables are announced over the radio, few Tongans are unaware of the expected price for a given item. Although prices may fluctuate during the day due to variations in supply and the perishability of the items, Tongan buyers are at least able to anticipate the appropriate range of price variation. Thus, the Tongan buyer is able to put a certain amount of trust in his transactions with a vendor given that both have shared knowledge about prices and quality produce. Consequently, the potential for monetary exploitation only arises when the buyer has limited knowledge about price structure or the quality of goods. Hau'ofa provides an excellent example which clearly demonstrates this point. Noting that only inferior quality
bananas are sold in Talamahu the better quality being exported, he states:

"Permanent sellers buy bunches of bananas at about a dollar for a good quality bunch. They then divide the bunches into hands for ripening and sell them at rip-off prices ranging from 20 cents to 60 cents a hand. No sensible Tongan buys them; they are mainly for the rich local Europeans and occasionally tourists, who can be heard to ooh! and aah! at how cheap they are!" (1979:99).

What, then, are the characteristic features of market etiquette in Talamahu? First, the lack of antagonism between buyers and sellers and, between sellers is obvious. As evidence presented by Hau'ofa indicates, the market provides an arena for social exchange, a place for friendly discourse between buyers, between buyers and sellers and between sellers. This is partially due to the fact that most individuals, be they buyer or vendor attend the market on a weekly basis and some, on a daily basis. Much time is spent sitting and waiting for customers, for example, providing many opportunities to engage in conversations with fellow sellers. Thus, rather than impersonal and antagonistic, transactions in Talamahu are frequently characterized by co-operation, either between sellers who assist each other with sales or in storing produce, or between buyers and sellers who have a mutual understanding about prices and quality. Although the roles
of middlemen and money-lenders are still undeveloped in Talamahu, these also suggest co-operation and that social relationships in the marketplace are not necessarily guided by self-interest. The difficulty with accepting the middleman role may indeed be that it suggests self-interest and thus contradicts Tongan notions of sharing.

The absence of bargaining, which also suggests self-interest, is another obvious indication of the lack of competitiveness in the Tongan market. Although vendors may lower their prices or add more produce to retain a price, this usually only occurs near the end of the day and particularly if the produce is highly perishable (Hau'ofa 1979). Both vendor and buyer are informed of appropriate prices thus, they can expect a fair deal from each other. Rather than haggle over price, the buyer can question the quality of the produce with the vendor free to respond by either maintaining his price or obliging the buyer with a little extra produce or a slightly lower price. This practice of giving a little extra is one used by vendors to establish habitual associations with buyers.

The preceding discussion thus indicates that social relations in Talamahu more closely approximate those described by Davis (1973) for the Philippines and by
Brookfield (1969), Ross (1973) and Lasaqa (1969) for other Pacific societies. Rather than being disembedded, competitive and impersonal, the Talamahu produce market is characterized by a lack of overt competition between vendors, embeddedness and transactions between buyers and sellers of a personalized nature.

Social Relations in Fa'onelua

Malia had arrived late to Fa'onelua finding her usual selling stall already occupied. Fortunately another stall located further into the garden stood vacant and she moved swiftly to claim it lumbering across the grass as fast as she could carry her handicrafts. Malia, a middle aged mother of eleven children, had traveled by bus to Nuku'alofa and her cumbersome handicrafts, a large kato'uli basket filled with tablemats and a small piece of tapa, had been awkward to manage on the long ride from her remote village. As she neatly arranged her handicrafts, Malia remarked to a neighboring seller that she hoped to sell
everything today so that she would not have to cart the items back on the bus again.

Malia had selected a stall next to where I was sitting and the seller she had spoken to was Sela, the subject of an earlier case study. On this particular day, Malia (who I later interviewed), was a bundle of gregarious energy, calling out to nearly every tourist who passed, occasionally to "hawk" her goods or just to make conversation. Throughout the day she fused this curious mixture of polite friendliness with an aggressive selling style. For example, once she suggested to a middle-aged couple as they leisurely strolled passed her, "Hang the tapa on your wall and remember Tonga." They walked on seemingly taking no notice of her. A few moments later, holding out her plaited place mats she called to another woman, "Nice Table Mats." This woman stopped to examine the mats and then asked "How much?" to which Malia responded "$4.00 for a set of seven." "No, I don't want to go that high" came the tourist's answer and as she turned to walk away, Malia said "I'm sorry." She continued, "Hello," "Hello, welcome to Tonga," to the passerbys. At one point she observed a middle-aged woman and a small child who had stopped in front of Sela's plaited horses. Swiftly moving to the tourist's side, she proclaimed as she gestured over
the horses, "Here we have some nice horses, a nice pony for your boy." The woman, who up until that moment had been handling the horses, put them down, looked at Malia and then quickly walked away. Sela said barely anything about this incident, her only comment even after prodding was "It doesn't matter" and she continued fabricating small pompoms to adorn her plaied slippers.

Interference in another seller's transactions with tourists is rare in Fa'onelua and, for reasons I will discuss below, violates market etiquette. In addition, Malia's style of "hawking" and even her seemingly innocent greeting of tourists is also partially inappropriate. Some handicraft sellers consider such behavior as unfairly competitive because it tries to attract tourists to one particular seller. As in Talamahu, sellers in Fa'onelua are reluctant to compete with each other either by using aggressive selling strategies, undercutting each other's prices or by bargaining with tourists. However, different circumstances in Fa'onelua often provoke and necessitate such behavior by sellers. Whereas in Talamahu buyers and sellers share knowledge about prices, quality and appropriate market etiquette which essentially stifles unrealistic haggling, tourist clientelle of handicraft sellers are virtually ignorant of the quality of crafts.
their expected price range and Tongan rules of market
etiquette. Thus, operating under their own marketing
principles tourist attempts to bargain frequently provokes
competitive and culturally inappropriate behavior on the
part of Tongan sellers. Prior to further elaborating this
confrontation, however, it is necessary to first consider
how Tongan notions of competition and status rivalry
influence their behavior in Fa'onelua.

Competition and Status Rivalry

George Marcus (1978a) has described Tongan society as
a "steady state" employing concepts first applied to social
behavior by Bateson (1972) in his analysis of Balinese
ethos and later by Levy (1973) in his stimulating treatment
of Tahitian psychocultural organization. In a steady state
society a variety of controls (either external or internal)
operate to maintain behavior within tolerable limits in
order to retain the parameters of the system (Marcus
1978a:246). With this in mind, Marcus thus describes
Tongans as, "self-controlled, cautious, timid, sensitive to
proper presentation of self in the presence of others, and
above all, ... oriented to the maintenance of a smooth, trouble-free social world" (1978a:242). However, he notes a seeming paradox in Tongan interpersonal relations, namely, rivalry for "higher social status" between individuals with mutual claims to a particular social identity, e.g., between commoners, or more specifically fisherman, farmers (1978a:244) and handicraft sellers. Tongans compete for status by demonstrating their superior skills in such culturally valued activities as farming, managing social relationships in the form of exchanges of goods and services, generosity in hosting and sponsoring feasts, giving tribute to church, or acquiring valuable objects or resources, e.g., title to land, church or government office, and a concrete or fiber board house (Marcus 1978a:243). The fact that Tongans, especially women, also compete for status by demonstrating superior skills in handicraft manufacture, is not surprising since, as I have discussed in Chapter 2, skilled craftsmanship was traditionally an avenue for acquiring social prestige. Informant statements indicate that a skilled craftsmen will sell nearly all his items merely by displaying them and without having to "hawk" them because their outstanding quality will attract tourists. This philosophy has obvious
implications for Tongan notions of culturally appropriate selling strategies which I will discuss shortly.

Returning to the issue of status rivalry, Marcus notes that such sequences of behavior necessarily involve competition (1978a:246). However, given that Tongans are sensitive to contextual constraints on their behavior, they try to appear less than overtly competitive. "Individuals assess their own and others' behavior and actions as to appearance (in terms of competence and appropriateness) on the one hand, and to degree of disruptiveness on the other" (Marcus 1978a:247).

In the context of handicraft selling, Tongans use the following criteria to evaluate their own and each other's behavior: (1) competency - as indicated by the production of quality handicrafts and success in selling; (2) appropriateness - the selection of low key selling strategies (as opposed to overtly competitive ones); and, (3) degree of social disruptiveness - the extent to which actions are conducted with 'ofa (compassion, empathy, love) indicating sensitivity to the repercussions of one's own behavior for both other handicraft sellers and tourists. Marcus eloquently describes the fundamental importance of the concept of 'ofa in Tongan interpersonal relations and
since the concept is crucial to our understanding of Tongan behavior in Fa'onelua, I quote his discussion at length:

"The Tongan concept 'ofa (roughly glossed as 'love,' or more accurately 'empathy') expressed the sensitivity of a person to the consequences of his own and others' actions. If a person's actions are perceived (by himself or others) as excessive or as being performed without a sense of the situation or context, then he has done harm generally, or more specifically has disrupted the calm, relaxed tone of Tongan situations. The public accusation or the feeling (a kind of guilt) of being ta'e 'ofa ('without empathy') is a serious condemnation in a system of relationships oriented toward steady-state values" (1978a:247).

Thus, there is a tendency for Tongans to avoid all situations where one might have to perform under "public scrutiny" in order to minimize the risk of appearing socially inept (vale) or socially disruptive (Marcus 1978a:267), behavior which is shaming and results in status degradation. In the context of handicraft selling this translates into a passive, non-competitive selling approach similar to that used by vendors in Talamahu. Indeed the majority of my informants agree that assuming a passive "sit and wait" approach is the appropriate way to sell handicrafts. Thus, rather than actively soliciting sales, which sellers consider overtly competitive and in conflict with the cultural values of social harmony as described above, sellers merely need to produce quality handicrafts.
and to display them neatly. Their quality alone will attract tourists who will be free to purchase those items they like best without unnecessary pressuring on the part of sellers. Informants further note that if this strategy is followed, it will effectively distribute the wealth tourists bring to Tonga. Thus, in addition to enabling sellers to gain prestige through public sales of quality handicrafts, this passive approach also permits them to show their compassion ('ofa) for both tourists and other sellers as evidenced by their willingness to "share the wealth." Hence, for most of the day, Tongan handicraft sellers sit somewhat languidly behind their handicrafts waiting for tourists to approach their items. During these waiting periods some may continue producing handicrafts, adding finishing touches or starting new pieces. Others may casually strum string instruments, pausing occasionally for a word with their neighbors or for a bite to eat. And still others, arms outstretched, elegantly recline, catnapping in the heat of the day. Yet, as Malia's scenario indicates, not all Tongan sellers employ this passive approach, choosing instead aggressive and occasionally deceptive selling strategies which are overtly competitive and considered by others as inappropriate and socially harmful.
Pua had been sitting near the entrance of Fa'onelua since about 8:30 am and was patiently awaiting the arrival of the day's first tourists. She had no handicrafts displayed in front of her but only a small basket at her side which led neighboring sellers to wonder why she was there. Although clean, she was disheveled, her braided hair astray, her dress torn, and her decorative girdle (kiekie) slightly soiled. She was indeed a curious sight as she sat barefoot, munching on a piece of tapioca with some difficulty (because of missing front teeth) while she waited for the tourists.

One by one they slowly trickled into Fa'onelua. Pua, in her seat at the entrance way, was often the first to greet them: "Hello, welcome to Tonga, where are you from?" she began. One elderly woman responded "Australia" and before she could pass by Pua called her over, "Here, come here, I have a gift for you from the people of Tonga." Smiling, the woman unhesitatingly walked over to Pua who then reached into her basket and pulled out a bracelet for the woman. "Here, have this gift from Tonga" she said as she wrapped the seed and shell bracelet around the woman's
wrist. "Remember Tonga and me with this gift" she added. The tourist, apparently pleased with Pua's gesture, thanked her and told her she would remember Tonga with the bracelet. However, as she turned to leave, Pua reached up and lightly touched her forearm, stating: "Now that I have given you a gift from Tonga, you give me a gift from your country. The bracelet is $1.50." Somewhat surprised, the tourist responded, "Oh, is that what this is, is it? You want money for this. Well, it is a nice bracelet but, no thank you" and, unclipping the bracelet she handed it back to Pua and walked away passing many of the neighboring stalls without a glance.

Pua is one of a small minority of sellers who use an overtly aggressive and deceptive selling approach with tourists. Informants unanimously label such selling techniques, referred to as fakamalohi (to bring pressure to bear upon, to force), as shameful (fakama) and inappropriate because they are competitive and indicate both a lack of empathy and respect for tourists as well as other sellers. Concerning the impersonal, disrespectful and exploitative nature of such behavior, one informant remarked: "before, the Tongan people treated tourists like VIPs, as someone to look up to; now Tongans do not look
upon the tourist as a person anymore, people just try to trick them to get money from them."

The general disapproval of such behavior is evident in the following conversation between two sellers who were sitting near Pua and had been watching her repeatedly call tourists over to put bracelets on them. Thus, they remarked:

"The Europeans are angry at those who annoy them. But if they really desire our things they will certainly buy them. But because of this harassment they are not able to buy our handicrafts."

"Mele, look, the shameful thing of that woman does not stop! She forces the tourists [to buy her bracelets] and then eats from them [like a parasite, kainikavea]. She is charging $1.50 for one necklace!"

Later these women plus a third who had recently joined them continued discussing Pua's behavior:

"Even the police cannot stop those who sell bracelets and necklaces from running to the road [out of Fa'onelua] where they continue doing this shameful thing. And the tourists still run wild from out things."

"Really, they should chase the people who sell bracelets and necklaces from here."

"Yes, chase the Tongan people [those like Pua] away, so that the Europeans are free and have room to come look at our things."

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Consequently, although such extremely aggressive selling approaches (and even the minimally aggressive ones in which sellers merely greet tourists) may, as I repeatedly observed, attract tourists or embarrass them into giving sellers money, they also anger other sellers. As the above comments suggest, such strategies often discourage sales for those Tongans employing the appropriately passive selling approach. Given that in many instances, the first Tongan the tourist encounters attempts to "rip them off," it is not surprising that they are somewhat suspicious of other sellers in Fa'onelua. When such experiences are coupled with what tourists may have heard about Tongan sellers beforehand or what they have experienced previously in other destination areas, their encounters with sellers are justifiably characterized by mistrust. Consequently, Tongans who utilize such blantly exploitative and competitive selling techniques risk being branded as socially inept (vale) and without compassion (ta'ē 'ofa) for both tourists and other sellers since they not only cheat tourists but also their fellows by acting solely for their own economic benefit.

Sellers are also branded as "without compassion or empathy" (ta'ē 'ofa) for their fellow sellers if they initially ask very low prices for their handicrafts or if
they bargain with tourists. Since I address the issue of bargaining later in depth, I will just briefly mention it here in the context of pricing.

In Chapter 4 I discussed how sellers establish prices for their handicrafts based upon their material costs and the amount of time they have taken to produce the item. Although individual sellers set their own prices, these are usually based upon the generally accepted price range for the given item. For example, the accepted price range for small plaited horses is from $1.50-2.00, for small baskets, $2.00-5.00 and for the the large kato'uli, the range is from about $20.00-35.00. Sellers who initially ask a price far below this range or one that is too high are labeled by other sellers as greedy (havala), selfish (siokita) or ignorant (vale). Take, for example, the following interchange which occurred between an older woman (Mala) and a younger seller (Nina) seated near each other in Fa'onelua. Both women were selling large kato'uli of about the same quality and only slightly different in size. Mala had been watching Nina's encounters with tourists and thought she heard Nina asking an unusually low price for her basket. "How much is your basket?" she demanded. Nina, somewhat startled replied, "$18.00." "Why is your basket so cheap?" responded Mala, "my basket is $35.00,"
she continued. "Don't lower your price, your basket is nearly the same as my basket," and turning to another seller who was listening to the conversation, Mala remarked "it is bad this kind of selling -- it is a strange thing. Her basket is too cheap and then no one will buy our baskets." To this Nina sharply replied, "Thirty dollars is too expensive. I made this basket in three days, not in one month. Stop your greediness like this, it is shameful." Thus ended the conversation. Nina sold her basket for $18.00 and by the end of the day, Mala had dropped her price to $25.00 but had still not sold the basket.

This practice of lowering prices as the departure time of the ship approaches is quite common in Fa'onelua although not totally appropriate since it suggests competition. Sellers are more likely to lower their prices at the end of the day depending upon the urgency of their financial need, and the future scheduling of cruise ships. Thus, if another ship is due the following day or even the next week, sellers are more reluctant to lower their prices than if the next ship is due in a month. For example, during one week in January when no less than four cruise ships called in Nuku'alofa on four separate days, I noted very few sellers lowering their prices of their own accord
and very few agreeing to bargain with tourists as the first and second selling days drew to a close. However, on the last day before a week's hiatus in ship arrivals, many sellers again lowered prices as the ship's departure time approached. Sellers may also lower their prices if few tourists are expected in the garden. Thus, as discussed earlier, sellers may lower their prices if cruise ship arrivals are scheduled far apart or, if few visitors are expected in the garden. Thus, if most are scheduled to spend all day touring the countryside and attending beach feasts, sellers may more willingly lower their prices for those tourists who visit Fa'onelua. On the other hand, they will be less likely to lower prices if many visitors are expected in Fa'onelua since they will have many opportunities to sell their items for the price originally set.

Paradoxically, however, at the same time that lowering prices is a type of competition which violates market etiquette, some sellers view it as a way of showing compassion ('ofa) for tourists. Thus, a small minority of informants refer to tourist bargaining attempts as kole or kolekole which is defined as "to make a request, to ask for or, to beg for" (Churchward 1959:270). As discussed in Chapter 1, to refuse such a request is to risk social
disapproval hence, sellers lament that they feel obligated to lower their prices when tourists ask because it is correct to have empathy and compassion ('ofa) for them. Informants add that perhaps the tourists are being truthful when they say they have little money left; thus, the sellers will lower their prices. However, more significantly, such behavior by sellers is also a face-saving strategy for them since, by lowering their prices, they are demonstrating their compassion and empathy for tourists, (which is culturally valued behavior) and are not necessarily competing with other sellers by doing so. I will further discuss Tongan face-saving ploys and strategies for managing the humiliation they experience in Fa'onelua in Chapter 6.

What, then, may we say about rules of market etiquette in Fa'onelua? As in the Talamahu Produce Market, social relations between sellers in Fa'onelua are "ideally" characterized by a lack of overt competition and cooperation between sellers as manifest through passive selling approaches and somewhat uniform prices for given items. However, as I will now demonstrate, relations between buyers and sellers are not based on cooperation and mutual trust but rather, are characterized by suspicion and antagonism as reflected in bargaining sequences. Prior to
examining these relations in detail and their implications for Tongan sellers, however, it is essential to first consider the tourist's marketing model.

CONFRONTATION IN FA'ONELUA

Ellen and Susan were teachers in their mid-twenties and "on holiday." They had decided not to sign up for a bus tour today feeling the need for a walk and some exercise. "It is pretty flat, isn't it?" Ellen commented, noting the lack of hills on Tongatapu as she and Susan walked from the ship to Vuna Road. Upon reaching the intersection of the wharf road and Vuna Road, which led to Nuku'alofa, they were greeted by some women who draped them and others from the ship with plumeria leis. "What a nice gesture" Ellen said to Susan as she thanked the smiling woman for the flowers. Although the woman's teeth were stained yellow, she was cleanly dressed in an ankle-length skirt and overdress and her smile appeared genuine. But as Ellen turned to leave, the woman held up one finger and said "One dollar, you take, one dollar." At first Ellen was not sure of exactly what the woman wanted but soon
realized the flower lei had a price. Quickly removing the lei, she angrily handed it back to the woman mumbling, "I thought you were just being friendly, I don't want it."

Susan, on the other hand, reacted differently and although she too was surprised by the seller's price, she decided to buy the lei. The flowers were, after all, quite lovely and their sweet scent was refreshing and the woman, well, her dress was all ragged and torn on the bottom...

The women walked on. Many Tongan women had set up handicraft displays along the side of Vuna Road near the wharf. Some of their baskets were quite beautiful but they had heard from tourists who had been here before that there was a much larger handicraft market further down the road. Thus, rather than purchase souvenirs now, they would take advantage of the glorious bright blue day and walk unencumbered to the other market. Perhaps they would find some good bargains there.

After about twenty minutes of continuous walking along Vuna Road which bordered the sea, they arrived at a large, oval, grassy area which obviously was the handicraft market they had heard of. Turning down the dirt path that led into the area, the women stopped to examine a dress display in the first selling stall to their left. The seller had
strung her dresses according to dress type and interspersed their colors so as to attract the tourist's eye. Her strategy had worked, for Susan was particularly enamored with a vibrant black and red wrap-around skirt which was fluttering there. As she stood, engrossed in her examination of the stitching, a Tongan woman "popped" out from under and behind the dresses. She was dressed as the others near the wharf had been, in a long skirt and over-dress and was also barefoot. However, she was wearing one of the most peculiar and comical hairstyles Susan had ever seen, with her somewhat frizzy hair coiled into three pointed pig tails with two coming out of the top of her head and the other out the back reminiscent of devils horns! A startled Susan stammered, "What is the price of this skirt?" to which the seller, perhaps perceiving Susan's surprise, laughingly responded, "Six dollars."
"I'll give you four dollars for it," Susan suggested but "six dollars" was again the seller's response. "No, I can buy it cheaper somewhere else" and she walked away.

The women had barely taken ten steps when another Tongan woman seated on an empty gasoline can to their right beckoned them over with a sweeping motion of her arm. "Hello, where do you come from?" she asked them. "From Australia" responded Ellen. "Is this your first time to
"Tonga?" the seller queried. "Yes" the women jointly responded. "Well then here," the seller said as she gently lifted Ellen's arm. "Have some nice Tongan bracelets. These are made from the shells and seeds of Tonga. Have a necklace too," as she draped them across Ellen's wrist. "These are a gift from the people of Tonga to you." Ellen and Susan looked at each other. After that incident with the flowers at the wharf they were wondering about the sincerity of the woman's generosity. Cautiously, Ellen turned to the woman and thanked her for the lovely things and then turned to resume her trip around the market. "But wait" said the seller with a light tug at the side of Ellen's dress. "I have given you a gift from my country, now you give me a gift from your country. It is five dollars for the bracelet and the necklace." "Oh, I thought so, you do want money for these," responded Ellen. "Well, you can keep these silly things and try your trick on someone else" she angrily retorted. "Are they all out to get you here?" she remarked to Susan who just shrugged her shoulders and walked on.

They were now in the central area of the market. It was a pretty place, large coconut trees and lots of hibiscus flowers. But it was getting hot and they wanted to sit and rest in the shade for awhile. Unfortunately,
there were virtually no shady spots and no benches except behind the selling stalls and they were not sure they wanted to go back there. So, they continued to walk in the searing sun, past the handicraft displays, displays of baskets, carvings with hideous faces, table mats, more baskets and still more baskets. Finally they came upon a woman who was selling some little stuffed horses. They were cute little items, woven from pandanus and topped with brightly colored manes and tails. Ellen had two small nieces and Susan had thought that her first graders might enjoy them so they decided to stop and ask a price. The seller wanted two dollars for each horse. After confering with Susan, Ellen offered her eight dollars for five horses. The seller hesitated for a moment but then agreed, eight dollars for five horses. Susan then offered six dollars for four horses and again the seller hesitated this time, however, confering with another woman in her stall. She then declined the offer, countering with her own of four horses for $7.50. Susan did not like this price and adamantly stated "No, I said four horses for six dollars," to which the seller replied, "No, I am sorry." Susan walked away in a huff determined to try this same approach with another seller. After all, there were many women selling horses and surely one would want her price.
They continued walking, more baskets, more carvings, not much in the way of variety. Occasionally they heard someone say "Hello" or "Good morning" but after that woman with the bracelets they did not look at the sellers but just down at the handicrafts. Finally, another woman selling horses. "I'll give you six dollars for four horses," Susan began. The seller, who was fairly fluent in English, responded "No, my price is two dollars for each horse." "Are you sure?" countered Susan. "Yes" responded the seller, "eight dollars for four horses." "Oh, I really don't want them anyway" grumbled Susan as she and Ellen walked on.

By now they had walked the full circle of the market and it was 11:30 am, close to lunchtime. The women decided to go back to the ship for lunch but first Susan wanted to check about that black and red skirt she had liked so much. When she returned to the stall, however, it was gone. The seller, noting her obvious disappointment, tried to show Susan similar skirts but none captivated her the way the first one had. "I'm sorry, so sorry" the seller said. "Well," remarked Susan to Ellen as they began walking back to the ship, "at least she was friendly."
The preceding scenario highlights several crucial, somewhat overlapping, elements of tourist marketing behavior. First, it indicates that tourist transactions with sellers are brief, superficial and of an impersonal nature. Second, tourists approach their transactions with Tongans suspiciously, often assuming the sellers are trying to maximize their economic gains and third, they insist on bargaining.

That transactions with Tongans are impersonal is not surprising given that most cruise-ship visitors are only in the Kingdom for a few hours. In addition, as previously described in Chapter 3, tourist activities often provide few opportunities for becoming acquainted with Tongans. During my conversations with tourists either in hotels, Fa'onelua or on board cruise ships, many often expressed regret at having few opportunities to actually speak with Tongans or wander into their villages. For example, two tourists from Denver, Colorado explained that they had taken a bus tour in the hopes of having a chance to talk with Tongans and to see something of village life. However, they were disappointed because the bus only stopped briefly (about 15 minutes) at a few cultural sites with not enough time to talk with the sellers there. On
another occasion, three young men from Australia explained that they had toured the island on a bus and the only Tongan they really had an opportunity to speak with was the tour guide, a high school student, "and even he didn't speak very much." Even sellers, when questioned regarding their knowledge of tourist behavior are hard put for answers, either responding in very general terms, e.g., they are friendly and kind or acknowledging that they do not know much about tourist behavior. I must emphasize here that I am not implying that Tongans know nothing of European behavior. In fact, my data indicate the opposite, that instead, Tongans are quite knowledgeable about Western lifestyles as a result of exposure to films, radio, magazines, resident expatriots, educational programs and their own migration experiences. Here, my question referred specifically to tourists in Fa'onelua and the answer was almost unanimously that since tourists are in Tonga for such a short time, and given that they usually walk through Fa'onelua only once, there are very few opportunities to know them personally.

This impersonal nature of encounters between Tongans and tourists is quite obvious in Fa'onelua especially when some tourists even forego eye contact with sellers preferring instead to stare down at the handicrafts as they
walk through the garden. In one sense this lack of eye contact with sellers is understandable given that such contact essentially "opens one up" for interaction (Goffman 1963:95). Thus, tourists who may have previously had experiences (either in Tonga or elsewhere) with over-zealous sellers just waiting for any indication of "potential" interest in order to start their sales pitches, avoid eye contact as a way to prevent such behavior. Although this strategy allows tourists to walk unharrassed through Fa'onelua, Tongan sellers consider it disrespectful and rude, since it suggests that tourists have no interest in them as individuals or for the Tongan people in general.

For the most part tourists pass through Fa'onelua fairly quickly stopping only to converse with sellers about the prices of their handicrafts and rarely for any other reason. For example, inspite of the fact that many sellers continue producing handicrafts while in Fa'onelua, I recorded only two demonstrations for tourists of the techniques used in manufacturing the various handicrafts. The first case involved a female tourist of about 55 years of age who had stopped to admire a large kato'uli basket. She asked the two women seated behind it how they made it and whether the leaves used in the weaving "came from
trees." As she kneeled beside them, one woman explained while the other demonstrated the process, winding strips of pandanus around the coconut leaf mid-ribs which were to form the inner tubing of the basket's lid. The tourist remained with the women for about ten minutes whereupon he thanked them and left.

The second discussion of manufacturing techniques involved Sela and Lute and a female tourist who first asked their permission to enter their stall in order to watch Sela fabricate cellophane pompoms. As discussed in a previous case study, Sela and Lute sell cellophane hula skirts, and plaited horses and slippers decorated with cellophane manes and pompoms. On this particular day they were seated next to a woman who was also selling cellophane hula skirts plus matching pandanus bikini tops. She had just sold one set to a middle-age tourist couple. The couple walked past Sela and Lute and continued around Fa'onelua but soon returned to the neighboring seller in the hopes of buying a child's hula skirt and top. However, the woman did not have a small hula skirt but suggested that the tourist buy one from Sela and Lute. The tourist purchased a small bikini top from the woman and then moved on to Sela's stall in search of a small hula skirt. Sela did not have a small skirt which was the same color as the
pompom on the tourist's newly purchased bikini top. However, through Lute (as an interpreter), she offered to make a new pompom for the top that would match the small skirt she hoped to sell. With the woman kneeling by her side (after first asking permission to do so) Sela demonstrated how to make the pompoms. During this time the tourist tried to engage Sela in conversation asking her where she learned to make the pompoms, whether in school or from her mother. Lute explained that Sela did not speak English and then that she (Lute) had learned to make the pompoms from her mother, Sela. The three women laughed over this and as a parting gesture, the tourist gave Sela a plastic bag filled with lipsticks to share with her neighbors. Sela and Lute were quite touched by this act since gift-giving by tourists is a rare event in Fa'onelua. I noted only one other case of tourist gift-giving which involved an elderly couple who distributed oranges to six children in the garden.

Given that tourists arrive in Fa'onelua ignorant of both the price structure for various categories of handicrafts and of ways for assessing their quality, it is not surprising that their transactions with Tongan sellers are marked by suspicion. Previous encounters with sellers using deceptive "gift-giving" ploys may also add to their
suspicions of being "ripped off." As strangers, tourists are inevitably in such vulnerable, information-less situations, a factor which contributes to their finding security in numbers (of tourists) and to the formation of a shared tourist sub-culture. As part of this sub-cultural framework, tourists use an aberrant version of the Western marketing model to structure their transactions with Tongan sellers. Essentially expecting to be drastically overcharged, tourists pre-empt such behavior by giving ridiculously low and unrealistic buying prices for handicrafts. Indeed, I often recorded tourists telling Tongan sellers that their prices were "too high" or "too steep" or that they would "find it cheaper elsewhere."

Interestingly enough, as the following examples illustrate, tourists often instruct each other in "their" sub-cultural rules particularly with regard to buying practices.

Many cruise ship tourists believe that it is appropriate to bargain with sellers. Although I did not specifically question tourists regarding their opinions on this issue, the fact that tourists rarely give sellers their first price validates this assumption. The following two incidents which I recorded in Fa'onelua clearly illustrate this point. The first case involves a female tourist of about 45 years of age who had mistaken me for a
tourist. I was walking around the central area of Fa'onelua as I often did on cruise ship days noting the types of handicrafts being offered for sale. I had stopped to examine a particularly intriguing basket decorated with alternating rows of dark brown and light pandanus in a complex checkered design. The seller was asking $4.00 which was a very fair price considering the exceptional quality of its pattern. I decided to buy it and was just about to pay the seller when the aforementioned female tourist walked up to me and said "Don't buy it outright, they come down." I was startled and didn't respond, and, disregarding her advice, purchased the basket for $4.00 as she walked away.

The second incident was much more unnerving for both myself and the seller involved. On this occasion I was standing with a seller from whom I had previously bought a small basket. We were discussing the possibility of her making me another basket similar to the first although slightly larger. A female tourist about thirty years old walked up to the seller next to the woman I was speaking with and began examining a wide brimmed pandanus hat she was selling. The second seller wanted $2.00 per hat which, again, was not unreasonable considering that she first had to weave the strips of pandanus into a braided design and
then sew them by machine into a hat. The tourist tried to lower the price to $1.00, telling the seller she could find the same thing elsewhere in the market for $1.00. The seller responded that she would lower the price to $1.50 but the tourist again very arrogantly insisted on $1.00. The seller became slightly agitated over the situation and was somewhat embarrassed, sensing the total silence around her and that her fellow sellers were watching the transaction. The tourist, apparently tired of the seller's hesitation, adamantly and quite angrily stated, "Do you want my dollar or not?" When the seller responded no, she said "Okay, I'll buy it somewhere else," throwing the hat down and walking off in a huff. This was by far one of the rudest bargaining exchanges I had observed in Fa'one lua hence, I decided to pursue the tourist to inquire as to why she had acted so abruptly. I very quickly caught up with her and pointedly noted that it really was not necessary to be so rude with the sellers. I explained that the woman had asked a fair price and then added that many of the sellers in Fa'one lua have little money and need what they ask for. To my surprise the woman responded to my philanthropic appeal just as rudely as she had responded to the seller stating, "It really doesn't matter. If I give them $2.00 now, the next time I come here it will be much
higher. I've been to all the islands and you can buy things lower elsewhere. By giving them the price they initially want you'll spoil it for all the tourists who come after you." In controlled anger I wished her a nice trip and walked away returning to the seller she had harrassed. She and other sellers had heard my conversation with the tourist and she thanked me, somewhat apologetically, for trying to talk to the tourist. She then added that some of the tourists really look down (sio ma'ulalo) on the Tongan people because they think their handicrafts are not good.

Tongan sellers often remark that tourists "look down on them," an attitude which many note is reflected through their insistence on lowering prices. Hence, we come to the third and perhaps most detrimental element of tourist marketing behavior, namely, their insistence on bargaining. I have labeled this element as detrimental because it is here that many Tongans, forced by economic necessity, frequently violate their own rules of market etiquette by lowering prices at the insistence of tourists (and thus undercutting other sellers) in order to earn cash.
Bargaining for Handicrafts in Fa'onelua

During my many hours of observation in Fa'onelua I recorded one case of bargaining after another and only very rarely transactions in which tourists purchased items for the sellers original prices without first haggling with them. The following three examples are typical of bargaining sequences in Fa'onelua.

The first example is representative of those in which tourists try, in the words of one informant, "to lower the price all the way down." A young man in his early 20's stopped in front of the stall where I was sitting and questioned the seller about the prices of the plaited horses she was selling. She explained that the small ones were $2.00 and the large three foot horse was $15.00. When the young man began examining the large horse the seller commented, "the price is $15.00 but I'll take $10.00 for it." The tourist offered her $4.00 at which point the seller burst out laughing and said in Tongan to those around her, "he's telling me $4.00!" Turning back to the tourist, she said no that it was $10.00. The young man shook his head and walked away.
The second incident involved two female tourists approximately thirty years old and a middle-aged seller. These tourists used another type of bargaining approach in which their apparent aim was to confuse the seller. The Tongan woman in this case was selling a variety of items including a large kato'uli basket, serving trays, hula skirts and open baskets with handles (Plate 5). One tourist, intrigued with a large open basket, asked the seller her price. She responded, "Six dollars." The tourist, stating that she would check her purse to see how much money she had, consequently announced that she only had four dollars and would give that for the basket. The seller responded no, that the price was $6.00. "Well, then," continued the tourist pointing to a similar but smaller basket, "how much for that basket?" "Four dollars" replied the seller. Pointing to the large kato'uli basket, the tourist asked, "And this?" "Twelve dollars" came the response. "I see," continued the tourist, "and how much is this basket?" pointing to the one she had wanted originally. "Six dollars." This exchange continued for another five minutes with the tourist repeatedly asking the prices of all the other items and then finally returning to the six dollar basket. At this point another seller who had been quietly observing this scene from the back of the
selling stall interjected, "There is another ship
tomorrow." Ignoring this, the tourist again stated, "I'll
give you $4.00 for the basket." To this the first seller
finally replied "It is not mine to sell." With this the
tourists departed, muttering to each other that they would
buy a similar basket in Fiji for less money. The seller
fell back on her haunches uttering "Si!" an untranslatable
exclamation indicating her disgust.

Another type of bargaining strategy used by tourists
in Fa'omelua consists of trying to buy quantity at a lower
price. This incident involved a middle-aged couple wanting
to buy two kato'uli baskets from one seller who originally
asked $20.00 per basket. The tourists offered the seller
$30.00 for the two baskets which she declined, explaining
that two different people owned the baskets and thus it was
not up to her to lower their prices by that much. She said
that her final offer was $17.00 per basket. The tourists
said they would buy the baskets for that price and asked
the seller to hold them in the back of her stall while they
went to the bank to exchange their money. As they walked
away the seller loudly proclaimed, "Goodbye you two, don't
come back in awhile." However, the tourists returned
buying two baskets for $34.00.
Tongan sellers suggest that tourists try to lower their prices for one or more of the following reasons. First, some sellers state that perhaps the tourists do not have enough money to meet their price. Thus, the seller in the first bargaining incident just described which involved a young man's attempt to lower the price on a large pandanus horse, stated that although she was uncertain why tourists insisted on lowering seller's prices, she believed that some tourists really do not have enough money. On the other hand, she stated, perhaps they realize the Tongan sellers are so poor that they well accept almost any price. This seller also commented that tourist attempts to lower prices "almost cause her to become angry and to chase the tourists away telling them not to come back to Fa'onelua." She does not usually lower her prices preferring instead to make the best quality handicrafts in order to attract tourists who will willingly pay her price.

Whereas some sellers believe that tourists want to lower prices because of insufficient funds, others state that they are instead trying to cheat the sellers and refer to them as deceptive (kaka) liars. The following incident involving Eseta, the sister of Mele (the subject of an earlier case study) clearly illustrates this attitude.
Eseta, who speaks English fluently, had walked over to two young female tourists as they examined some of Mele's cloth skirts. Eseta explained that the price was $9.00 per skirt. The women responded that her price was too high and that in New Zealand such skirts sell for $5.00 a piece. Eseta immediately became angry, uncharacteristically shouting at the women, "We have many more cruise ships next week and we have nothing prepared for them. We don't need to sell to you!" To this one tourist responded, "Oh, well then next week you'll be rich." "Of course," came Eseta's sarcastic answer. The two tourists walked away and as Eseta walked back behind the dresses she turned to me and angrily stated, "You know, Tepola, the papalangi (Europeans) really look down on us. We are not Negroes." She and Mele then characterized Europeans as liars because Eseta had been to New Zealand and _she_ knew that skirts cost much more than $5.00!

Finally, the third explanation provided by Tongan sellers as to why tourists repeatedly try to lower their prices is that they think their handicrafts are not worth the price the sellers ask. I witnessed one bargaining sequence after which the young female seller explained to me that she felt ashamed (ma) after her encounter with the tourist. The Tongan girl was selling woven purses, a
smaller one made from just pandanus and another from pandanus and barkcloth. The tourist, bending down to examine the purses, picked up the smaller one and asked its price. The seller responded that it was $1.00. Dropping down the purse (and leaving it where it landed) the tourist picked up the larger one and asked, "$1.00?" The seller responded "No, it is $1.50," at which point the tourist threw down the purse and walked away. The seller explained that she felt ashamed because the tourist did not like her work and that it suggested to those around her that she was not skilled in handicraft production. She also added that the tourist seemed a bit arrogant (fie 'eiki) and that she was "looking down" (sio ma'ulalo) on her. During interviews other sellers also associated tourist attempts to lower prices with "looking down on them" and considered it indicative of a negative evaluation of their handicrafts and also that they were sitting "with dust on their faces."

How, then, may we characterize social relations between buyers and sellers in Fa'onelua? As indicated by data presented above, these relations are impersonal, antagonistic, lacking in mutual trust and disembedded. As such, they contradict the Tongan marketing model and more
closely approximate the tourist's aberrant competitive marketing mode.

THE STATUS DEGRADATION OF TONGAN HANDICRAFT SELLERS

In Chapter 1 I proposed to examine how tourism, and specifically handicraft selling, demeans Tongan hosts by lowering their social status in the eyes of their Tongan peers. I suggested that this status degradation results when Tongans, forced by economic necessity and faced with bargaining tourists, must publically display culturally inappropriate behavior in order to earn tourist dollars. In Chapter 4, I demonstrated the economic contribution of handicraft selling for those Tongans whose limited economic options make meeting economic demands difficult. In this chapter I have illustrated how tourist insistence on bargaining essentially forces Tongans to violate their own code of market etiquette. As discussed in this chapter, social relations between buyers and sellers in Talamahu and between sellers in both Talamahu and Fa'onelua, are based on cooperation rather than competition, are personal, and
characterized by shared knowledge and mutual trust. The are embedded and bound by a code of social ethics. Thus, in Fa'onelua, sellers cooperate by occasionally assisting each other with sales and through tacit agreements over selling strategies and price structures for given items. Competition, either by aggressive selling strategies which attempt to attract tourists away from the handicraft displays of other sellers or by undercutting other sellers with lower prices, is disapproved of and considered socially disruptive to the harmony of activities in the market. Tongans who engage in such competitive activities risk being condemned as socially inept, as selfish and as without compassion or empathy for their fellow Tongans.

Herein lies the moral dilemma for Tongan handicraft sellers. Tourists, who are ignorant of both Tongan market etiquette as well as standards of quality and appropriate prices, approach their transactions with Tongan handicraft sellers determined to bargain and convinced that they will be offered an outrageously high price. They therefore adopt a defensive posture of hard bargaining. Since the Tongans have not adopted the common practice of a special inflated opening bid for tourists, the return offer given by the tourist is unrealistically low. Thus sellers, who are already ashamed by their presence in Fa'onelua which is
a public admission of poverty, must further humiliate themselves by lowering their prices to meet tourist demands. Here, I must stress that lowering prices is humiliating to Tongan sellers for several reasons. First, if a seller's asking price to the tourist is far below the "normal" price range, she is condemned by her peer audience as unduly competitive, selfish and unwilling to "share" the wealth with others. If she lowers her prices because of persistent tourist bargaining, however, she is humiliated either because the tourist's price insults her craftsmanship or because it necessitates her own devaluation of the quality of her goods. As stressed earlier, quality craft production is an avenue for acquiring social prestige among Tongans hence, to insult the worth of one's crafts is to degrade one's status. In any case, in the process they inevitably violate their own rules of market etiquette and thus behave inappropriately in front of their Tongan peers. If they refuse to meet tourist demands they risk losing the sale and, at the same time, of being condemned as without compassion for the tourist, who, afterall, really may not have enough money to meet the seller's price. If they bargain, they are without compassion for other Tongans. Economic need, however, frequently overrides the latter concern.

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Given that Tongan sellers are frequently "forced" into operating in the tourist's marketing mode, we may surmise that tourists have control of the situation in Fa'onelua and consequently are the superior partners in the transactions which occur there. This conclusion is not unwarranted given that the nature of the encounter prevents Tongan sellers from embedding their relationships with tourist buyers. As argued in Chapter 3 and illustrated by descriptive examples presented in this chapter, encounters between Tongan sellers and tourists in Fa'onelua, are superficial, providing few opportunities for personal involvement or sharing cultural knowledge. The fact that the majority of Tongan's tourists are cruise ship passengers who visit the Kingdom once and even then only for a few hours, also prevents habitual associations from developing between sellers and these tourists. Social relations between buyers and sellers in Fa'onelua therefore remain unembedded such that "commercial relations are not tied to any other aspect of the social system" (Dewey 1968:34). Consequently, there are no social obligations between transaction participants and no mutually accepted system of social sanctions constraining each other's behavior. Tourists, exempt from the "irrational restraints of authority, custom and sentiment" (Davis 1973:12) are
thus free, to a certain extent, to conduct their transactions with Tongan sellers as they wish. Sellers, on the other hand, are bound to each other, and to their buyers by a code of ethics sanctioning certain forms of behavior. Yet, it is the tourist who, inspite of his demand for behavioral responses which contradict this Tongan code of market ethics, most often directs the outcome of transactions in Fa'onelua. It is the tourist who has what Tongan sellers need, money.

Herein lies a crucial difference between Tongan encounters with modern cruise ship tourists and their 17th and 18th century European maritime predecessors. Those earlier transactions were predicated on an equal partnership with European sailors needing Tongan provisions and Tongans needing prestige goods and later, weapons. Contemporary cruise ship tourists, however, are merely shopping for "souvenirs," for something to remind them of one particular island stop on a vacation cruise. Yet the money they provide Tongan sellers through the purchase of these souvenirs is, in many cases, crucial to the sellers' daily survival both in terms of sustenance and participation in culturally valued activities. Hence, the unequal, tourist-dominated partnership in the Fa'onelua marketplace.
Chapter 6
THE IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT OF STATUS DEGRADATION:
A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF COVERT RIDICULE IN FA'ONELUA

In Chapter 1 I noted that the host-tourist relationship is characterized by an unequal partnership similar to what I have just described for handicraft sellers and tourists in Fa'onelua. Scholars of tourism attribute these status inequalities to the fact that one member of the encounter is at leisure while the other is at work (deKadt 1979, Nash 1977). Several individuals have argued that hosts may respond to these perceived inequalities in a variety of ways, including physical violence against tourists, xenophobia or through habituation (Farrell 1982, Jafari 1973), reactions that usually develop with time and the expansion of the industry. Given the relative infancy of Tonga's tourist industry, the absence of such responses is not surprising. However, preliminary analysis of additional field data, namely comments made by sellers during handicraft selling, suggests that these sellers have indeed devised strategies
for responding to the status degradation they suffer in Fa'onelua. Thus by covertly ridiculing tourists, Tongan sellers manage to disqualify tourist statements and actions as irrelevant, inverting status inequalities in the process.

**STATUS DEGRADATION AND COVERT RIDICULE**

I have previously used the term "status degradation" to refer to situations in which encounters with tourists lower the social status of Tongan hosts in the eyes of their Tongan peers. My use of this concept stems largely from the early work of Harold Garfinkel. Garfinkel, in discussing "status degradation ceremonies," defines these activities as "any communicative work between persons whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social types" (1956:420). These degradation ceremonies fall into the realm of moral indignation (which among other things includes shame and guilt) and result in the ritual destruction of the person or persons being denounced (Garfinkel 1956:421). Garfinkel notes that through a
complicated process of ritually separating those being
denounced from the legitimate order and emphasizing
cultural values by way of comparison, status degradation
ceremonies ultimately reinforce group solidarity

Whereas Garfinkel focuses on formalized ceremonial
acts of status degradation, I am more concerned with
informal and non-ritualized varieties, such as might occur
spontaneously between individuals engaged in casual
conversation or in economic transactions involving status
inequalities such as we find in Fa'onelua. Here, rather
than enacting elaborate ceremonies which emphasize cultural
values through comparison and ritual separation, Tongan
handicraft sellers use conversation and covert ridicule to
denounce tourist statements and behavior. I have stressed
that their ridicule is covert because it is conducted in
Tongan for a Tongan audience and is unknown to tourists.
This latter fact is significant since tourist awareness of
such ridicule, which is often humiliating in character,
would antagonize social relations in Fa'onelua and
therefore be socially disruptive. As discussed in Chapter
5, sellers strive to avoid such disruptions, structuring
their relations with both other sellers and tourists as
much as possible with respect and 'ofa (empathy).
The use of covert ridicule or other forms of disparagement by parties in situations involving inequalities, such as the inferior-superior partnership which characterizes seller-tourist encounters in Fa'onelua, is not surprising and has been noted by anthropologists and historians for Tonga and elsewhere. In a stimulating study of ritual humor in Highland Chiapas, Mexico, for example, Brickert notes that the local Indians frequently degrade Ladinos in response to the latter's claims to superiority. According to Brickert:

"Ladinos use economic transactions as occasions for expressing symbolically their superiority over the Indians by engaging in aggressive bargaining behavior, even when both parties realize that the economic outcome will not be affected. The messages being communicated are loaded with expressions of Ladino superiority and Indian inferiority in a social situation....In their ritual humor Indians ridicule Ladino values and Ladino claims to superiority" (1973:163).

In a similar vein, Basso has characterized Western Apache joking performances as "dramatized denunciations of the ways in which Anglo-Americans conduct themselves in the presence of Indian people" (1979:56). Performed spontaneously for Apache audiences, these joking incidents are, Basso concludes "little morality plays in which
Western Apaches affirm their conception of what is 'right' and proper by dramatizing their conception of what is 'wrong' and inappropriate" (1979:76). Although less obviously dramatic, the covert ridicule of tourists by Tongan handicraft sellers in Fa'onelua serves similar functions.

Ethnohistoric sources indicate a precedent for such disparagement of either open or covert varieties in situations involving status inequalities between Tongans and outsiders and also, between Tongans. Thus, on his first visit to Tonga in 1773, Captain James Cook describes what is perhaps the first documented use of ridicule to degrade or denounce visiting Europeans of obvious technological superiority. In this case, however, it is overt rather than covert ridicule. According to Cook:

"The different tradeing parties were so successfull to day as to procure for both Sloops a tollerable supply of refreshements in consequence of which I gave the next morning every one leave to purchass what curiosities and other things they pleased, after this it was astonishing to see with what eagerness every one caught at everything they saw, it even went so far as to become the ridicule of the Natives by offering pieces of sticks stones and what not to exchange, one waggish Boy took a piece of human excrement on the end of a stick and hild it out to every one of our people he met with" (Beaglehole 1967:255, Part II).
Sir Basil Thomson who was Deputy Premier in Tonga from 1890 to 1900, provides an interesting example of covert ridicule between Tongans in situations of status inequalities. In his description of the members of a Tongan colony in Fiji he notes:

"The real Tongans patronise their colonials [namely, Tongans residing in Fiji], and speak of them behind their backs as barbarians, ignorant of the usages of polite society. The colonists effect to ridicule Tongan aristocracy as effete and effeminate, and envy them in secret, bestowing on them the involuntary flattery of imitation. A Tongan colonist who has been to Nuku'alofa and conversed with the great of the earth returns home to be a nuisance to his fellows, who try to disguise their feelings of inferiority by disparagement of the intercourse which they so much envy" (1968:376).

In light of the above, it is thus not surprising that contemporary handicraft sellers use similar forms of covert ridicule to disguise their feelings of inferiority and to manage the status degradation they suffer in Fa'onelua.

**TALK IN FA'ONELUA**

As mentioned in Chapter 1, during the last five months of my field research, my Tongan assistant and I recorded
sellers remarks to each other and tourists throughout the day as we sat in their selling stalls. One hundred and seventy-five comments were recorded in this manner on 15 separate cruise ship days. These comments may be roughly divided into two broad and somewhat overlapping categories. The first consists of general observations of tourist behavior which, although comparative, are not openly derogatory and the second category consists of those which are overtly hostile or which covertly ridicule tourists.

General Observations of Tourist Behavior

George Marcus (1980) has previously noted the Tongan propensity for "ethnography in reverse" which he argues enables them to maintain a distinct cultural identity in the face of acculturative influences from the West. Thus, "the maintenance of such boundaries has involved Tongans in a self-conscious inquiry and reflection upon the nature and values of Western culture as well as the characteristics and the accumulation and assessment of information from Tongan travelers and Western visitors during different
periods of contact" (Marcus 1980:56). Given the visually unobstructed setting in Fa'onelua, it is not surprising that Tongan sellers engage in reverse ethnography, observing and discussing tourist behavior between sales. Although many of these conversations and comments merely circulate information about tourist behavior or their physical characteristics, others compare this observed behavior with culturally valued Tongan behavior. I must emphasize, however, that these two categories are by no means mutually exclusive.

Comments which essentially circulate information include observations on the physical characteristics of tourists, their buying preferences and their attire. They also include comments relating to preconceived ethnic stereotypes Tongans hold of different ethnic groups. Comments regarding the physical characteristics of tourists most frequently concern their ages and any obvious physical or mental abnormalities or afflictions. Thus, one seller exclaimed as she watched a tall man (by Tongan standards) riding a bicycle through Fa'onelua, "Si!" (untranslatable exclamation), "that fellow is too tall. His feet are touching the ground as he is riding the bicycle. He is a truly big fellow!" Or, as Ana (the subject of an incident described in Chapter 5) remarked upon seeing a young man
with a club-foot hobble by her, "Look at his foot! Praise be, it is surprising that he still walks around." I recorded a similar comment on a different day in reference to an over-weight middle-aged man who walked with a pronounced limp. Thus, a female seller noted that, "He has polio but he still travels around. With that big round stomach, it is already time for him to stay in his house!"

And finally, as Sela pronounced to Lute and I after watching an elderly woman with a shriveled leg limp past her, "Look at that fat woman there. If she were a Tongan woman she would have already stayed in her house for a long time just laying there. But the Europeans still come and tour."

This latter comment provides the first direct example of how sellers' remarks frequently compare observed tourist behavior with Tongan behavior. Although I will shortly present additional examples of directly comparative comments, here I must note a particularly revealing conversation between two female sellers. These two sellers had been sitting quietly watching a transaction between a neighboring seller and three elderly tourists, one of whom suffered from some physical affliction which caused her to limp quite noticeably. After approximately five minutes one seller remarked to the other, "You know, these
Europeans really like to take their 'polios.' (Although this construction sounds odd in English, it is the best translation for the term kau polio which refers to people afflicted with physical deformities. I also believe this construction expresses the flavor of the Tongan terms.)

around with them but we Tongans are too ashamed to take our 'polios' around. Look, they are buying something the [person with] polio likes and it is a little pitiful thing (me'a faka'ofa)." To this the second seller responded, "Yes we can see that the [person with] polio has alot of money and that the others try to comfort the little polio."

While these and other similar comments indeed circulate information about tourist behavior and often compare it to Tongan behavior as well, they also permit Tongans to express their 'ofa (empathy or compassion) for tourists and thus exhibit culturally valued behavior. The following statement made in reference to an elderly female tourist with a severe spinal malformation which prevented her from standing erect also demonstrates this point. "Sela, look at that old woman, it is truly pitiful (faka'ofa)." And again, in reference to a tourist couple who accompanied a young boy with a shriveled leg, one seller remarked, "Ana, look at that boy. Perhaps that is
his mother. He has polio and it is pitiful." After a short pause she continued, "The boy and his parents, it is truly pitiful." Here, such comments are essentially face-saving strategies which indicate to one's peers your respect and compassion for tourists and thus your willingness to maintain behavior within culturally-appropriate parameters.

Other types of comments in Fa'onelua consist of stereotypic observations concerning the spending habits of tourists belonging to certain ethnic groups. I have labeled these observations as stereotypic because they are typically generalized to all members of particular ethnic groups. One example of such observations involve a middle-aged Tongan male who was selling jewelry made from either tortoise shell, coral or other shell varieties. One morning he sat patiently while three young women examined and discussed his jewelry, occasionally responding to their price inquiries. After approximately twenty minutes the women walked away without buying anything at which point he turned to his neighbor and said, "I suspect these tourists are from New Zealand." During interviews, informants frequently characterized New Zealanders as stingy or nima ma'u.
In a similar vein after sitting and observing tourists for approximately one hour without selling anything, one seller stated to another, "This ship is American [referring to the ethnicity of the tourists] which is bad because Americans are cheap." The other seller responded, "Americans do not want to waste their money. They are different from Australians who buy alot. Last week's ship was Australian and I sold eight necklaces." I recorded other comments that similarly compared Australian and American buying habits. One day, another seller said to Ana, "This is a good ship, they buy alot. Perhaps they are Australians. We make our own prices and they buy [without attempting to bargain]. It is a good ship." To this Ana replied, "Australians are good people because they buy alot. Americans are okay but they only buy a little."

Similar sentiments were expressed during informant interviews. Hence when asked to compare the behavior of tourists from different ethnic groups one woman responded, that "Australians are good, they buy alot of things and talk with me. Americans just go around Fa'onelua, they don't speak to me or ask about my handicrafts. Italians and Russian people are the same, they just walk around and look." A second informant offered a similar characterization, noting that Australians are good-natured
(anga-lelei). "The Indians and Russian people just say 'no' and walk away all the time but the Australians will come and talk. Even if they don't want to buy anything they still talk." Thus, in addition to the fact that these comments inform us of the behavior of tourists from different ethnic groups, they also implicitly compare the culturally valued Tongan ability to show compassion and respect toward others with the apparent lack of such interpersonal involvement among tourists.

This comparison, which is frequently made in Fa'onelua and by informants during formal interview sessions or in my casual conversations with them, expresses what Tongans perceive as a fundamental difference between themselves and papalangi (the inclusive category of white-skinned peoples). Tongans are preoccupied with what they interpret as an incongruity: a relative abundance of money overseas (when compared to Tonga), yet an unwillingness to share with those less fortunate. Take, for example, the following remark of one of my neighbors while he perused a Newsweek magazine in my house one afternoon. Pointing to a photograph of some homeless children in an unnamed place in the urban United States, he noted in halting English, that "in Tonga this would never happen. If people are hungry or need a place to sleep they will go to their neighbors and
the neighbors will provide for them. This is because in Tonga there is much 'ofa (empathy, love) for people. But in America," he continued, "you cannot do this. There is too much tension in America."

Informants frequently made similar comparisons during interviews. Hence, one woman told me that "Life in Tonga is a life of 'ofa. I can go to Lupe's house and request food without paying for it and she will give it to me. Overseas it is not like this. They have many more ways of earning money and more money too but if you do not have money, there is no living." Similarly, another informant noted that "Overseas if you do not have money you cannot eat but in Tonga, if you are hungry you can always go to your neighbor's home and they will feed you. Tonga is a land of 'ofa." Finally, perhaps the words of my "adopted" grandfather best summarize the Tongan perception of life overseas as a life without 'ofa:

"God gave the people of Tonga this beautiful land and he isolate it so it would be away from the rest of the world, this is why it is safe. We can grow everything we need here. Although we are poor, we still love each other and out King who also loves us and takes care of us. Your know, every Tongan man receives bush and town land when he reaches the age of 16. And the people do what the King says. Once an American president came to visit Tonga and there was a big celebration with dancing and feasting. The American asked the King if he paid the people to dance and prepare the food and he answered no,
that if he tells them to do something they will do it without pay. Some will make the shelters and some the feast (pola) and it is the Tongan way without payment. God gave the Tongan people Tonga so that they could be free and sleep, eat and work when they want to. If they do not work, they will not starve, if they have no food, they can still eat with their neighbors. In Tonga we are poor but we are alive. Overseas, if you are poor, you will die. There is no 'ofa overseas, there is no helping each other. Without a job, you cannot live."

Comments made by sellers in Fa'onelua are similarly paradigmatic of the culturally valued ability of Tongans to structure their interpersonal relations with empathy and compassion. More specifically, many comments illuminate the perceived unwillingness of tourists to share their resources with others, an understandable focus given that leisured tourists frequently insist on lowering the prices of "needier" handicraft sellers. One exemplary comment referred to sharing food, an activity intrinsic to social relations in Tonga as in other Polynesian societies (see Bell 1931, Firth 1939, and Hanson 1970 for in depth discussions of the significance food in Polynesia). Thus, as she watched a female tourist and her twin daughters walk by eating apples, the woman commented, "They do not want to bring us some apples but they come and eat greedily."

Hence, we are reminded of a quote originally presented in Chapter 4 in which the renegade missionary Vason remarks that when "a person has much" numbers will flock to him or,
upon seeing him eating, a passing stranger will "sit himself down... and expect a meal..." and to refuse such requests would be "a transgression of the laws of hospitality" (Ora-fee 1973:146). My informants confirmed Vason's early observations, often stating that refusing to offer food to someone is an insult. Others note that although poor, they could still express their 'ofa for each other by sharing food. In contrast, sellers comments frequently characterize tourists as stingy (nima ma'u) or greedy.

Other comparative comments made by sellers in Fa'onelua refer to tourist dress styles and public displays of affection between men and women, e.g., kissing or holding hands. Tourists arrive in Tonga modeling a variety of clothing styles ranging from "tube" or bikini tops and short-shorts to strapless sundresses for women, to shorts and tee-shirts for men. Such clothing stands in marked contrast to what Tongans consider appropriate public attire for Tongans. For women this consists of a waist to ankle underskirt, a below the knee over dress with sleeves and a waist mat. Men wear either a shirt and mid-calved skirt and a waist mat or a shirt and trousers depending upon their activities, e.g., men often wear trousers to work in the bush. Sellers frequently comment on tourist attire
either complementing it, such as the woman who remarked "her dress fits well, she is a beautiful girl" in reference to a somewhat plump brunette, or by noting its "appropriateness." Thus, as one seller opined in reference to a young woman wearing a bikini top and extremely short-shorts, "the Europeans desire the cool clothes because they fit with them. But for us Tongans, it would be inappropriate to go in bra and panties." This statement supports the general opinion expressed by many informants, that they were not necessarily embarrassed by such tourist attire nor did they consider it inappropriate given that it is essentially part of the tourist's habitual behavior or customs ('ulunganga). This contradicts an earlier conclusion drawn by Johnson that "Tongans are profoundly embarrassed by a wide spectrum of tourist activity," including both public displays of affection between men and women and the scantiness of tourist attire which they "repeatedly disapproved of" (1978:68). Whereas my informants fail to condemn such attire for tourists, they agree that it is shameful and inappropriate for Tongans to imitate this style of dress.

Finally handicraft sellers often refer to public displays of affection by tourists as the latter wander through the garden. During the course of a cruise ship day...
it is not unusual to see many tourist couples walking through the garden hand in hand or arm in arm with sellers frequently commenting about such individuals as they walk by. However, these comments are not judgemental but mere observations, such as "Look at those two tourists, they are holding hands as they go." Although perhaps not an unusual gesture to the reader, Tongan sellers notice such behavior because, again, it contrasts sharply with their rules concerning culturally appropriate behavior between men and women in public. According to the Tongan cultural framework, physical contact between men and women (including husbands and wives) is inappropriate in a public setting and strictly avoided. Public displays of kissing are equally stressful and considered shameful by Tongans. However, as their comments suggest, sellers apparently do not consider such behavior as inappropriate for tourists because it is part of their cultural system. Thus, as one informant stated, "a husband may walk down the road holding hands with his wife and he may kiss her and it is morally pure (anga ma'a)." Tongans stress, however, that there are dangers in permitting tourists to engage in such behavior particularly in the presence of a man and his sister. Tongans follow strict rules of brother-sister avoidance and
any sexual references in the presence of, or about the other is a major source of conflict and shame.

To briefly summarize then, the comments presented above essentially serve two functions. First, they circulate information about tourist behavior which is significant because it adds to the sellers' fund of cultural knowledge and also enables them to re-evaluate or re-affirm their preconceived ethnic stereotypes. These comments also function to publically reinforce Tongan cultural values by accentuating the differences between Tongan and tourist behavior.

Covert Ridicule and Hostility in Fa'onelua

The sellers' comments presented in the preceding sections are basically benign in character given that they are primarily general observations of tourist behavior which, although evaluative, are not usually derogatory. The comments presented below are characterized instead by overt hostility or covert ridicule.
Given that the majority of Tongan handicraft sellers are in Fa'onelua to earn cash, it is not surprising that some express their frustrations over tourist bargaining and missed sales with some type of verbal abuse, such as swearing. Such was the case with Siu and a bargaining female tourist who insistently argued for a lower price than Siu wanted for her large basket. After arguing with Siu for ten minutes, she finally walked away without buying the basket at which point Siu shouted after her, "Fart, you are tiring, you go now. You are wasting my time." Another example of such swearing involved a female seller who perceived me as a tourist. The seller called out to my assistant and I as we walked through the central arena of Fa'onelua, "Tell your friend to buy my basket." My assistant responded, "We have no money." "That European smells like shit and makes me tired" shouted the seller. Finally, I observed a carver call out in English to a balding middle-aged man as he walked by, "Wood carving? It's good." When the tourist shook his head no and continued walking, the carver quickly retorted in Tongan, "Let's eat your father," a Tongan insult.

These three incidents each provoked criticism and expressions of shame from other sellers who witnessed
them. During interviews informants also noted that swearing (kapecape) or "speaking badly" (le'a kovi'i) to tourists and other foreigners is disrespectful and culturally inappropriate. Individuals who engage in such forms of verbal abuse are branded as "without empathy" (ta'e 'ofa). The following conversation recorded one day in Fa'onelua clearly demonstrates this point.

Lupe: "It is truly strange, we all wish that the Europeans would come and buy our Tongan handicrafts. And then we are angry with them when they do not buy our things. But perhaps they just come to tour."

Kalo: "The tourists bring happy faces [to the sellers] but the faces of the sellers are sad," (at which point the other sellers laughed). "If perhaps the tourists bought alot, the faces of the sellers would be happy. But some people make themselves tired by making the Tongan things at home. They expect that these will be sold. But when they come here, and their things are not sold, they quickly become angry and give alot of opinions to the tourists without them having done anything bad."

Kasa: "It is right to chase those sellers [away] with that strange behavior. They come with their poverty and make the tourists angry and swear and force the tourists (fakamalohi) and it is shameful for the tourists to see this."

Hifo: "Such people are without empathy (ta'e 'ofa) and not good people."
Even sellers who just angrily shout after tourists are considered without empathy and socially disruptive. This point is further underscored by the following examples. Hence, one seller met with the disapproval of her peers when she shouted after a tourist to change her Australian coins into a bill, "Hey European, stop being fakamaahuahu (to sling off in a pompous manner, Churchward 1959:65). I just called to you, just go. Goodbye!" Similarly, another woman was criticized for again angrily shouting at a tourist, "Don't first shake your head at me, European, because you should come here and we will talk." Hence, as we have seen, such comments are inappropriate because they contradict market etiquette, suggesting aggression and disrespect for tourists' rights to choose freely between quality handicrafts. Finally, the following translated excerpt from 'Epoki Fo'ou, the government sponsored tourism radio program clearly emphasizes this observation.

"The story has been spreading about people who have been speaking bad words to tourists after they visit their tables and leave without buying anything. Please stop this behavior. Do not change our good virtues such as love and respect because these tourists have not offended you. Perhaps their rooms are full and perhaps they still have other countries to visit. Maybe they do not have enough money to buy anything else. Perhaps, in their hearts, they truly
desire your goods but they aim only to tour rather than to buy..." (Manu 1980 pers. comm.)

Tongan sensitivity to appearing "without empathy" and socially disruptive in the public arena of Fa'onelua deters the occurrence of overtly hostile remarks, since it is the seller, rather than the tourist who's status is degraded. However, as I argued earlier in this chapter, Tongans have indeed devised a culturally acceptable strategy for discrediting (and thus degrading) tourists, namely, by covertly ridiculing them.

Ridicule, or what Radcliffe-Brown calls the "satirical sanction" (1968:211), has long been considered by anthropologists (Brickert 1973, Hammond 1964, Miller 1967) as a potent mechanism of social control functioning as "a direct affirmation of social sentiments by the community...[and] thereby constituting an important, possibly essential, mechanism for maintaining these sentiments" (Radcliffe-Brown 1968:211). Yet, as I have argued earlier, in addition to its function as an internal mechanism of social control, ridicule is also an effective device in circumstances involving status inequalities (Basso 1979, Brickert 1973). It is through ridicule or "permitted disrespect" (Radcliffe-Brown 1968:91) that individuals may be degraded, portrayed as grossly
incompetent in the conduct of social relations (Basso 1979:48), attitudes deflated (Miller 1967:265), and claims to superiority denounced (Brickert 1973:163). For example, in his discussion of Western Apache joking imitations of Anglo-Americans, Basso notes how "by presenting the behavior of Anglo-Americans as something laughable and 'wrong,' by displaying with the help of butts how and why it violates the rights of others, they denounce these standards as morally deficient and unworthy of emulation" (1979:64). Sellers covert ridicule of tourists in Fa'onelua essentially achieves the same ends.

One method Tongan sellers use to covertly ridicule tourists is to conjure up humorous images by mixing cultural categories. Hence, one sellers noted that a passing male tourist had "a really bad body, his torso is like a can of beef and his legs a can of fish." Neighboring sellers laughed heartily at the portly man standing on spindly legs. Similar laughter abounded when a carver, amused by the apparent resemblance between an approaching tourist and his tiki carvings bellowed in Tongan to the tourist, "Hello, bald thing, bald thing. Buy a tiki?" Then turning to his neighbors, "Look at the many standing brothers. They have the same face" he howled. There was also a case of an old woman who's "hair was
nearly finished and falling out," an observation made by
the seller to whom the woman repeatedly returned attempting
to lower the prices of her 'ukulele.

Sellers also covertly ridicule the sexual mores of
tourists which stand in marked contrast to Tongan values
about sexual behavior. Such comments most frequently refer
to tourist attire which, as discussed previously, is
immodest by Tongan standards. For example, on one
particularly hot and cloudless day, one seller called to
another, "Lupe, tell Mele, that girl there is without
underwear." Lupe and Mele, both within hearing distance,
noticed the young woman who was braless, wearing a
sleeveless top with matching jogging shorts that barely
covered her behind and laughed. "Yes, without underwear,"
responded Mele. On the other hand, Palu, who was also
sitting with the women refrained from engaging in the
degradation of the tourist, offering instead an
explantion. "It is just too hot," she remarked, "and she
is just trying to please herself."

A similar reference to underwear was made by another
female seller who, having observed a young man attempt to
lower the price on a basket in the stall next to her,
commented as he walked by, "His underwear smells bad from
the heat." And again, on one rainy day, a seller commented to another about a passing tourist couple, "His trousers are already wet and the make-up on her face is finished. Her face is the same as a devil's." Whereas this latter comment could quiet logically refer to the fact that the tourists had been caught in the rain, another possibility is that it refers to their sexual behavior. Tongans frequently use the metaphor of "already wet are the trousers of" to refer to ejaculation. Indeed when discussing this comment with my assistant she suggested this sexual connotation.

One final example clearly demonstrates how some comments question the sexual mores of tourists. This comment was made by a female seller who first called, in English, to a middle-aged male tourist, "Hey come here, I want to talk with you." After he did not respond she commented to my assistant, "It seems as if his mind is busy with something. Perhaps he wants a prostitute." She then added, "But his standing like that is pitiful," and then turning to my assistant said, "Ask him girl, what does he want. You can speak the language, find out what he wants and then we can help him." This comment is significant for several reasons including the fact that it is a statement about "supposed" promiscuity among tourists and Europeans.
in general. However, it is even more interesting since it typifies a seller's attempt to save face. As discussed in Chapter 5, her initial English directive is viewed as an aggressive selling ploy and hence, is culturally inappropriate. The fact that surrounding sellers disapproved of this with untranslatable exclamations and gutteral noises, confirms this observation. She then covertly ridicules the tourist, however, her angry tone confuses the intent of her ridicule. Finally she takes pity on the tourist, asking my assistant to find out what he wants so they can help him. This latter statement is a reversal from her initial one and indicates to other sellers that she indeed has empathy ('ofa) for the tourist.

The comment brings us to the question of the "appropriateness" of covert ridicule and overt hostility for Tongan sellers. In the latter case and as indicated during interviews and by the above example, such behavior is disapproved of. It is condemned as socially disruptive, as culturally inappropriate and indicative of the seller's lack of empathy and respect for both tourists and other sellers. Yet there is no such condemnation of covert ridicule which, as humor, constitutes permitted disrespect, signaling "play" (Bateson 1972). It is only when sellers
abuse their "privileged licence" (Basso 1979:73) with aggressive, non-humorous comments suggesting total disrespect that they further jeopardize their own status in the eyes of other sellers in Fa'onelua.

MANAGING STATUS DEGRADATION

The comments presented in this chapter essentially enable Tongan handicraft sellers to manage status degradation in one of two ways: by attempting to bring their relationships with tourists more in line with their own marketing model or, by using covert ridicule to discredit and disqualify tourist statements and behavior.

In Chapter 5 I demonstrated that handicraft selling often requires behavior by sellers which violates the rules of market etiquette and as such is culturally inappropriate. I noted that much of this stems from the fact that there is little shared knowledge between tourist and Tongans and few opportunities for embedding or developing personal relations between them. Hence, social relations in Fa'onelua are in opposition to those
appropriate to the Tongan marketing model being instead antagonistic, impersonal and characterized by inequality. However, by circulating information about tourist behavior (no matter how superficial), sellers attempt to bridge the gap of cultural understanding and to pacify their transactions with expressions of 'ofa (empathy). Hence, tourists are made more social and more human. Their willingness to please the handicapped is noted, they are given excuses for their attire and for not buying handicrafts. They are pited. Yet, at the same time, others are covertly ridiculed, their "claims" to superiority denounced by the dismissal of their behavior as irrelevant and unimportant in Tongan cultural contexts. They are portrayed as laughable and rejected for being imperfect.

Hence the significance of the sellers' comments and conversations in Fa'onelua. Although they frequently must suffer the shame and humiliation derived from culturally inappropriate performances in front of their Tongan peers, sellers do not sit idly by suffering such indignities in respectful silence. On the contrary, they actively manage their status degradation through conversation which not only denounces tourist behavior and their claims to superiority but also, reaffirms the significance of Tongan
cultural values and the attachment of sellers to those values. Thus, for sellers, these comments represent an effective device for maintaining their distinct cultural identity in the face of the acculturative influences of tourists and their competitive marketing model.
Chapter 7
THE DISEMBEDDED TOURIST MARKET

At a time when integration into the world economy and continued exposure to western values has stimulated new economic demands for Tongans, overpopulation, underemployment, and limited land and exploitable natural resources have severely restricted the options available for meeting those demands. Hence, forced by economic necessity, Tongans are increasingly turning to the tourist trade in the hopes of earning cash. Indeed, informants unanimously cited economic need as the primary factor in their decision to become handicraft sellers. As members of the lowest ranked class in the Tongan social hierarchy, that of commoners, these individuals have limited access to traditionally valued resources, especially land. Although 16 out of 24 informants or their spouses have title to residential land allotments, only 10 out of 24 have title to farming lands; most are consequently denied income from cash cropping unless they are able to cultivate someone else's land. However, many of these landless handicraft
sellers do not even have access to the agricultural lands of a kinsmen which they might use to obtain subsistence resources, let alone for cash cropping.

In addition to emphasizing the economic significance of handicraft selling for modern Tongans, the above data also demonstrate the importance of examining other contextual factors, including developmental constraints as well as modernizing influences, when assessing the social and economic consequences of tourism within any particular community. Attention to these details may reveal the extent to which tourism is a disruptive factor siphoning labor from more traditional occupations as some have claimed (Graburn 1977, Rajotte 1980) or, whether it essentially provides hosts with another option for generating the income necessary for insuring their daily survival and meeting traditional obligations. Hence, this contextural perspective, has revealed that Tongans, landless and unemployed, are not necessarily attracted to jobs in the tourist industry because of their desire to emulate some aspect of the tourist's western lifestyle, but rather because of their needs for money. The fact that handicraft selling is part-time makes it even more attractive since it affords sellers the opportunity to pursue other income-generating options when available.
Although a lucrative strategy enabling Tongans to meet their economic demands, handicraft selling also has its social costs, characterized by personal degradation and cultural disruption. Although similar observations have been made by other tourism researchers (Farrell 1977, Forster 1963, Rajotte 1980), few have unraveled the personal conflicts which underlie these disruptions, preferring instead to merely document the tangible evidence of tourism-related social change. Those who have ventured beyond such documentation have isolated several features of the touristic encounter which partially explain how interaction with tourists is demeaning for hosts. These features include the duration and intensity of contact, with the touristic encounter accordingly characterized as superficial interaction between strangers of unequal status for short periods of time. Although the delineation of these features is important to our understanding of the social costs of tourism, they only reveal a partial picture, and all but neglect an equally significant and frequently stressful area of interpersonal relations -- those between hosts. In delineating how handicraft selling demeans Tongans, the significance of the indigenous peer audience and the importance of examining host-host behavior in tourism contexts must not be underestimated. Tongans
are sensitive to contextual constraints on their behavior, and therefore tend to avoid situations in which they risk performing in culturally inappropriate ways. However, the context of handicraft selling frequently poses such situations.

As described in this study, interaction between Tongan handicraft sellers and cruise-ship tourists is essentially a one-shot encounter between strangers. The nature of Tonga's tourist industry and particularly the activities of Tonga's tourists, effectively preclude the development of intensive interaction between Tongans and tourists. Consequently, there are few opportunities for developing a body of shared cultural knowledge between these two groups. Although a few sellers attempt to develop such a fund of cultural knowledge by circulating information about tourists in Fa'onelua, tourist visits are brief and their conversational exchanges limited. Consequently, sellers and tourists remain strangers and their encounters, superficial.

Tongan handicraft sellers generally perceive tourists as affluent or, at least economically better-off than themselves. Some researchers have suggested that the cultural degradation of hosts lies in the coupling of this
perceived affluence of tourists with their occasional arrogance both of which contribute to feelings of inferiority for hosts (Cowen 1975:82, Farrell 1977:5). Data presented above clearly support this view. Although I did not focus on tourist affluence per se, informants frequently referred to their affluence during conversation. This perception of affluence is also implicit in my characterization of transactions between tourists and Tongan sellers as being one between unequal partners. Hence, while tourists are free to buy souvenirs -- luxuries not essential to their survival -- Tongans engage in handicraft selling primarily to procure the means to their economic and social survival. As demonstrated by some of the encounters described in Chapters 4 and 5, tourist arrogance, particularly in the form of persistent and successful bargaining, contributes to sentiments of inferiority often expressed as shame by sellers.

Such expressions of inferiority and shame stem from either of two factors. Tourists have the upper hand in their transactions with Tongan sellers, due to the fact that the tourist, as buyer, has the choice of spending his money where he pleases. The seller, bounded by cultural rules of market etiquette, must only sit and wait; in this sense, he or she is at the mercy of the buyer. Secondly,
Tongan sentiments of shame and inferiority also result from the confrontational nature of encounters, especially since tourists predominantly approach sellers suspiciously and intent on bargaining. As discussed in detail in Chapter 5, unrealistic and uninformed bargaining, is considered competitive and culturally inappropriate according to the Tongan market framework. The significant distinction is that the shame experienced by Tongan handicraft sellers is not because of tourist evaluations of their behavior, but rather because of peer evaluations. This perspective, although innovative, is perhaps not surprising, given that Tongan-tourist encounters are indeed defined by the conditions of strangerhood as previously described. Whereas several scholars have argued that the degradation experienced by hosts is a consequence of encounters between strangers in which tourists become dehumanized objects tolerated for the sake of economic gain, and hosts become objects of curiosity (Nash 1977, Smith 1977), evidence presented above suggests otherwise. Rather, conversational materials presented in Chapter 6 indicate that sellers attempt to "humanize" tourists, to embed their relationships with them, and (at this stage in their tourism development) do not necessarily view them as objects. More importantly, we must ask ourselves -- if
these are encounters between strangers, why would sellers feel ashamed in front of people they will probably never encounter again? As Goffman cogently argues, when interacting with strangers people frequently assume risky lines or behave in ways which would otherwise discredit or humiliate them if they were to re-encounter these same individuals (1967:7). But as we have seen in Fa'onelua, most sellers do not assume such risks in their encounters with tourist strangers. Rather, sensitive to peer evaluation, they struggle to maintain their behavior within limits deemed culturally appropriate. I believe that although stimulated by tourist behavior, negative peer evaluation (or the potential for it) is the source of much of the degradation sellers experience in Fa'onelua.

Why are some activities associated with handicraft selling considered culturally inappropriate? The answer lies in the nature of the Tongan-tourist selling transaction which is best described as a clash between marketing models. In Chapter 5 I combined comparative data from the work of Tongan anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa (1979) with my own observations on selling behavior in Fa'onelua to characterize social relations in the Tongan marketing model as based on cooperation, mutual trust, and lacking in overt competition. However, the tourist model is instead
based on suspicion, antagonism, and competition. It is not surprising that tourists are suspicious of their transactions with Tongan sellers given that the former arrive virtually ignorant of both the price structure for various handicrafts and ways for assessing their quality. In addition, the nature of tourist activities provides few opportunities for acquiring such knowledge or information about Tongan society in general. The fact that some tourists may have previously encountered "con-artists" either in Tonga or in some other destination makes them wary of their transactions with sellers who they believe may be trying to exploit them. Hence, tourists expecting to be overcharged, insist on lowering the prices of handicrafts in order to insure that they receive a fair deal.

Lowering prices, however, is viewed by the Tongan sellers as an aggressive selling strategy and, along with other ploys such as calling tourists over or trying to dupe them by first giving them a "gift", is regarded unduly competitive by other Tongans. Negative evaluations of such behavior relate to Tongan notions of status rivalry and equality, the latter referring in this context to giving others the chance to share in the financial resources of tourists. Those who compete by aggressive selling are
considered ta'e 'ofa, without compassion, empathy, and love for other Tongan sellers. Those who "passively sit and wait," competing only by producing quality handicrafts, are lauded.

Yet the tourists, with their competitive marketing model, arrive in Fa'onelua bent on driving hard bargains and persistently haggle with sellers until they lower their prices to a level acceptable to them. Clearly, such bargaining poses a dilemma for Tongan handicraft sellers: because of tourist insistence, sellers are frequently unable to sell handicrafts unless they lower their prices; if they want to earn cash (which is why they are in Fa'onelua in the first place), they must bargain. By bargaining, however, they are essentially undercutting other sellers and therefore run the risk of being condemned as behaving inappropriately, of being ta'e 'ofa. Herein lies the degradation of Tongan handicraft sellers: handicraft selling is not only degrading because some Tongans associate it with poverty, but also because it provides contexts for public displays of behavior which is considered socially disruptive and morally wrong.

If we accept previous suggestions as to how members of host communities respond to such status degradation, we
might expect the following to occur in Tonga: (1) the development of xenophobia, an intense dislike or hatred of foreigners, often accompanied by hostilities (Jafari 1973:182) or, (2) the withdrawal of hosts into a "private world" where behavior integral to their cultural value system is protected from tourist view. Thus, echoing the sentiments of Jafari (1973:188-189) and Nunez (1977:213) Smith notes, "to protect the integrity of their value system as the basis of group solidarity, the people whose culture is the object of tourism may try to transfer what Nunez terms 'front stage' in their lives to a private sector removed from tourist view" (1977:3). Although definitive ethnographic data concerning such a strategy has yet to appear, I suspect it is most likely in places heavily penetrated by resort-based tourism, such as Hawaii. It is clearly not the case in Tonga where cruise-ship tourists are present only for a limited time and have minimal contact with Tongans. Nor are displays of xenophobia prevalent, although they occasionally occur in the form of verbal hostilities directed at tourists. As I demonstrated in Chapter 6, such xenophobic behavior is socially inappropriate and therefore an unlikely response for protecting cultural integrity.
Yet Tongans do respond to the degradation they experience as handicraft sellers. They respond, however, not by ignoring tourists (habituation) or passively withdrawing into private worlds where they can perform their culture unmolested by tourist intruders but rather, by actively displaying their culture in the public arena created by tourism, the handicraft markets. For, in such markets as Fa'onelua, we have cultural drama at its best -- actors on stage for their tourist guests, yet performing simultaneously for a secondary (but more significant) audience comprised of Tongan peers. This secondary performance is accomplished primarily through talk -- talk which compares culturally valued Tongan behavior to that of tourists and Europeans in general -- talk which attempts to make tourists more human or covertly degrades them through ridicule -- talk which ultimately reinforces group values. In Tonga, hosts refuse to retreat into private worlds, choosing instead to confront the degrading consequences of tourism head-on. Accomplished within socially approved behavioral boundaries, Tongan handicraft sellers actively manipulate the outcome of exchanges in Fa'onelua by inverting the social order, emphasizing the importance of Tongan values and thereby labeling tourists and the
lifestyle they represent as insignificant, thus relegating them to an inferior social position in the process.

This use of talk to covertly ridicule tourists in Fa'onelua was an unexpected result of my analysis of field data. I plan to further explore the function of ridicule in Tongan society in future research, and also to determine whether it continues as an effective strategy for coping with tourists or, whether future increases in tourism lead Tongans into stages of apathy and habituation in which tourists indeed become objects tolerated for economic gain.

SOME THOUGHTS ON MARKETS AND COVERT RIDICULE

William Davis has argued that proponents of the substantivist school of economics have labeled marketplace social relations as impersonal, atomistic, and conflict producing. However, his own intriguing analysis of social relations in the Baguio marketplace in the Philippines indicates that in "a market of the type commonly held to be purely competitive, personal obligations and sociocultural
constraints are common features of economic relationships" (1973:260). My analysis of social relations in Fa'onelua suggest a similar but somewhat different interpretation.

As in the Baguio marketplace, relations between buyers and sellers, and between sellers in the Talamahu Produce Market in Nuku'alofa are characterized by mutual trust and cooperation, and are not overtly competitive. Although sellers are obviously in the market for economic gain, knowledgeable buyers (about prices and quality) and sanctions on their behavior prevent them from maximizing their gains to the point of being exploitative which would contradict Tongan cultural behavior in particular their notions of reciprocity. Social relations between sellers in Fa'onelua are likewise constrained by a system of market etiquette such that the behavior of sellers who are unduly competitive is negatively sanctioned. Tourist buyers in Fa'onelua, lacking knowledge about prices and quality, follow no such rules of market etiquette. It is this lack of shared knowledge which is an important element generating the suspicion and antagonism that characterizes relations between tourist buyers and Tongan sellers in Fa'onelua. In addition, the brief and superficial nature of these transactions prevents the development of any habitual associations between buyer and seller, a factor which does
little to stimulate mutual trust between participants in such transactions (Davis 1973:165). Hence, in Fa'onelua we see a disembedded substantivist market, where "social relations are not bound by commensal goals and a system of social ethics internalized through habitual association," but rather, they are "highly competitive, casual and impersonal" (Davis 1973:12-13). Rather than contributing to social continuity, the tourist market is a potential source of social conflict and disruption (Polanyi 1957:255).

But do such disruptions necessarily constitute a threat to social solidarity as suggested by Polanyi? My analysis of conversation and covert ridicule in Fa'onelua suggests not. Let us briefly reconsider Davis's analysis of suki relations in the Baguio marketplace. Suki relationships, habitual associations between buyers and sellers, essentially induce sellers and buyers to conform to the rules of market etiquette. This is due to the fact that suki partners want to maintain their partnership and avoid shame, and thus keep their behavior within culturally defined parameters (Davis 1973:218). Although the brief and limited nature of transactions between buyers and sellers in Fa'onelua essentially prevents the development of similar relations, the presence of a watchful peer audience functions to keep behavior within culturally appropriate
parameters in Fa'onelua. Thus, although social harmony in the Philippines in partially played out in the buyer-seller relationship, in Fa'onelua that harmony is played out primarily between sellers. In addition, Tongan sellers manage social disruptions in Fa'onelua through conversation and covert ridicule in which they evaluate tourists according to Tongan cultural standards. Such evaluations are essentially attempts to humanize tourists, to bring them under control, to embed their relationships with them. At the same time, these strategies re-emphasize culturally-valued behavior and thus contribute to the maintainance of cultural integrity.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING SOCIAL RELATIONS IN TONGAN HANDICRAFT MARKETS

Relations between buyers and sellers in Tongan handicraft markets might be improved by providing opportunities for more intensive and personalized encounters between the two groups. This approach would further Tongan attempts to embed their relationships with tourists by enhancing cross-cultural understanding, and
would minimize the confrontational nature of their encounters by developing a sense of trust between transaction partners. A resting area in Fa'onelua might prove useful in this regard. In such an area tourists could sit and observe sellers as they conduct their transactions with other tourists giving them some comparative basis to judge how they have been treated. Or, while resting, they may have opportunities to engage sellers in conversation. A refreshment stand and eating area would also provide similar opportunities. As the above data indicate, many tourists would welcome such accommodations. Indeed, the fact that tourists are often tired and hot and have no place to sit and rest may add to antagonism and their fear of sellers.

Another way of minimizing confrontation between buyers and sellers in Fa'onelua is to provide tourist with pricing information and some basis for judging the quality of Tongan handicrafts. Organized manufacturing displays, centrally located to catch tourist attention would provide them with a sense of the time and effort necessary for producing various handicraft items and also with some sense of the worth of the various items for sale. Such knowledge might preclude tourist attempts to lower prices to levels unacceptable to Tongan sellers. Other strategies for
detering tourist bargaining attempts include establishing a price range for various items which all sellers would agree to and also to establish a practice of "tagging" items. These actions would provide tourists with pricing information and some basis upon which to judge whether sellers are asking a fair price. Consequently some tourists may be less suspicious of their transactions with Tongan sellers. Tagging items would also minimize competition between sellers since buyers would also be aware of acceptable prices.

These strategies would effectively lessen the antagonism which characterizes most seller-tourist encounters in Fa'onelua and hopefully minimize the status degradation of Tongan handicraft sellers. By offering tourists more information about prices and quality and by providing opportunities for more intensive interaction between tourists and Tongans, the aforementioned suggestions would create greater cultural understanding between the two groups and thus bring social relations in the Fa'onelua market more in line with the Tongan marketing model.
ASSESSING THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES
OF PACIFIC TOURISM

I began this dissertation with a review of the orthodox characterization of tourists as agents of culture change in the Pacific, and it is perhaps fitting to conclude with a reassessment of that characterization. I will emphasize four points which I believe investigators must consider in order to accurately assess the sociological consequences of tourism development in the Pacific.

1. There is a need to document the specific nature of tourism within each community, particularly in terms of the length of stay of visitors, the extent of accommodation facilities, and the type and extent of tourist activities. This perspective is crucial since assumptions drawn from observations of resort-based tourism are not always applicable to cruise ship tourism. For example, given that Tonga's tourism is primarily of the cruise ship variety, we might expect the acculturative potential of the demonstration effect of tourism to be less than in a community with many overnight visitors since demands for
accommodation facilities are limited. Also, given that activities for these short term cruise ship tourists are restricted primarily to sightseeing and handicraft shopping, we might surmise the disruptive effects of direct tourist intrusion into the private lives of Tongans to be minimal. However, although this may indeed be the case, such brief and superficial encounters also prevent indepth cultural understanding from developing between the two groups. As I have demonstrated above, this lack of shared cultural knowledge is a major source of the personal conflicts which underlie the status degradation of Tongan handicraft sellers. Whereas several scholars have assumed that interaction limited to economic transactions provides few opportunities for "bridging" the gap of cultural understanding, my analysis of the conversations of Tongan handicraft sellers suggests this is not necessarily the case. Rather, sellers attempt to circulate information about tourists, making them more human, managing their status degradation in the process.

2. Consideration of the social effects of tourism in terms of its specific historical context, as well as other acculturative forces operating simultaneously within the host community is also necessary. An historical perspective is critical to the successful assessment of the
effects of tourism since previous contact with non-indigenous beliefs (which in the Pacific have been of primarily Western origin) may familiarize hosts with the values of contemporary tourists. Also, past encounters with foreigners set a precedent for interactive strategies employable when dealing with modern tourists. For example: failure to consider the history of Tonga's contact with foreigners might lead to the supposition that handicraft selling was degrading for sellers because it necessitated their participation in a type of exchange totally new to them, namely, one based upon principles of impersonal supply and demand price-making markets. Or, the problem might lie in the fact that some handicrafts, e.g., barkcloth and mats, were traditional items of wealth, not something to be bought and sold to foreigners. However, by attending to historical details this study has demonstrated that in Tonga the sale of indigenous handicrafts to visiting Europeans has occurred for more than two hundred years and, it was these early explorers, traders and whalers who introduced Tongans to exchange based on impersonal supply and demand price-making marketing and not contemporary tourists. Although based on such supply and demand price-making marketing principles, the tourist market is different still, being an aberrant form where
social relations more closely approximate Sahlins' (1972) concept of negative reciprocity.

3. It is necessary to examine the social consequences of tourism in terms of the specific contextual constraints to development for particular communities. Here I am essentially taking issue with what I perceive as a misrepresentation of the factors influencing host decisions to participate in the tourist industry. Although a few individuals seek employment in the industry because of the attractiveness of the Western tourist environment with its modern facilities, most, lacking agricultural lands or wage earning positions, are attracted for economic reasons and not necessarily because they desire to emulate the lifestyle the tourist represents. Assessing these factors for other Pacific communities is clearly a fertile area for further research. This also alludes to a related characterization of Pacific hosts, namely, as passive recipients of culture change, waiting with open arms to willingly embrace the cultural values and Western lifestyle of tourist representatives. Attention to contextual constraints operating within host communities would paint a different picture, one of hosts with few options turning to tourism (somewhat reluctantly) to insure their survival and their continued participation in traditional activities.
But even this contextual perspective will not uncover the total complexity of host-tourist interaction or illuminate how hosts actively manipulate these situations to their own advantage. Here, we must examine the specifics of tourist encounters, detailing not only interaction between hosts and tourists but also, between hosts.

4. Detailed analyses of interaction among hosts (in the context of tourism) and between hosts and tourists, with particular attention to causes for social stress and indigenous responses to such stress are needed. Analysis of interaction between hosts who participate in the tourist industry and, the potential for occurrences of interpersonal conflict between them has been a neglected element in past studies of Pacific tourism. Yet, as I have demonstrated for Tonga, much of the degradation hosts experience as a result of tourism is due to negative peer evaluation of behavior (or the potential for it) and not just negative tourist evaluation. Although tourists expect Tongans to bargain with them, sellers are reluctant because such behavior is viewed by other sellers as a competitive threat to the equal distribution of sales in Fa'onelua. Consequently, many sellers would rather risk angering tourists and/or losing sales than risk condemnation by their peers as being without empathy for other sellers.
(however, economic need frequently negates this concern for some sellers). Interaction between hosts is a significant element of the touristic encounter -- one which may also produce social conflict and consequently, must also be evaluated when investigating the social consequences of tourism. It would seriously misrepresent the status degradation experienced by Tongan handicraft sellers to focus merely on Tongan-tourist interaction -- on superficial reflections of social stress, e.g., anger during bargaining incidents -- rather than the cultural reasons behind such stress. Attention to interaction between hosts also illuminates indigenous responses to the interpersonal conflicts they experience by participating in the tourism industry.

Here is a neglected area in Pacific tourism studies, one which has unwarrantedly resulted in the characterization of hosts as passive recipients of culture change, degraded, helplessly watching their culture disintegrate and unable to manipulate the situation in their favor. The Tongan data illuminates a different scenario -- one of hosts actively minimizing the disruptive effects of tourism by employing strategies that not only degrade tourists but reaffirm their own cultural integrity. The wider and more significant question is
whether such active efforts by Tongan hosts to affirm their ethnic identity will in the long run stay the process of social disruption so often gloomily predicted by students of Pacific tourism.
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