I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own original work. It contains no material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any other University or institution. All material previously published or written by another person that is referred to in this thesis is duly acknowledged.

................................. Helen Kavapalu
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ABSTRACT

Child socialisation in Tonga is examined in this thesis from the perspective of the hierarchical relations that are a pervasive feature of Tongan social life. Social competence in Tonga is, to a great extent, the ability to behave according to one’s social status in any given context. This thesis discusses the kinds of knowledge that enable children to develop this ability, including the cultural values of ‘love’, respect and obedience, and the concepts and roles associated with kinship and gender. The primary ways in which this knowledge is acquired are also analysed, and include observation and imitation, language socialisation, play, punishment, and the socialisation of emotion. The thesis also explores the notion of personhood in Tonga, particularly in relation to the chief/commoner distinction.

In order to contextualise this analysis of socialisation, broader aspects of the ethnography of childhood in Tonga are also addressed. Attitudes to marriage and reproduction, the beliefs and practices associated with pregnancy and birth, and the physical care of infants are discussed. The details of children’s everyday lives are described: their work, play, schooling, health and nutrition. Throughout the thesis the process of social change is considered, and its impact on Tongans’ perceptions of their ‘cultural identity’ is assessed.
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CHAPTER ONE

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF CHILDHOOD

Our neglect of the child as a person, participant, and locus of important events in the process of a culture is probably even greater than our neglect until recently of women ... at present we know surprisingly little of the cultural competence and content of children as constituent participants in culture. The ethnography of childhood remains a genuine frontier (Schwartz 1981: 10, 16).

The study of socialisation, a central concern in the ethnography of childhood, has become 'one of the principal points of convergence among psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists' (Wentworth 1980: 24). As these disciplines emerged and developed, they confronted the fundamental philosophical problem of the relationship between the individual and society by 'scientifically' investigating the process by which individuals become functioning adult members of society. The approaches they have taken over time, in examining the processes of socialisation, reflect changing views of the individual and society, embodying assumptions about the intrinsic 'nature' of humans and their interactions.¹ That socialisation continues throughout life is being given increasing recognition in developmental research (e.g. McClelland 1981). However childhood is a period of particularly intensive and influential socialisation, and it is this period on which I focus in my thesis.

In exploring the 'frontier' of socialisation, multiple paths can be taken, which intersect within and between disciplines. Not only psychology, anthropology and

sociology, but other disciplines such as history and linguistics lend their influences. My own approach, in this study of childhood in Tonga, derives from a number of routes that converge in their concern with indigenous theories and with the interactive nature of socialisation. The aim of the present chapter is to introduce briefly the theories influencing my work. The latter part of the chapter surveys previous studies of childhood in Polynesia, Tonga’s ‘culture area’.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO CHILDHOOD

Anthropologists have included descriptions of aspects of childhood in their ethnographic studies since at least 1900 (Le Vine 1980: 71). No comprehensive theoretical approach to the study of child socialisation developed within anthropology until the mid-1920s, when the ‘culture and personality’ approach emerged in America. Strongly influenced by psychoanalytic theory, this approach had its greatest influence in the 1930s and ’40s. Although there was considerable variation within the culture and personality ‘school’ (Le Vine 1973; Jahoda 1982), its underlying assumption was that child socialisation integrated individual development with societal norms. Another central tenet was that ‘child training practices result in personality’ (Harrington and Whiting 1972: 472). Apart from personality, there were attempts to establish a causal relationship between socialisation and many other variables of adult life, from religious beliefs, art forms, and styles of music to the incidence of polygamy, notions of illness causation, and adult height (Harrington and Whiting 1972). A great deal of ethnographic data was collected on weaning, toilet training and sleeping practices, mother-infant relationships, and responses to projective tests (Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test, doll play, and so on) (Barnouw 1963; Harkness and Kilbride 1983: 216; Hsu 1961). Well known studies influenced by this approach include Childhood in contemporary cultures (Mead and Wolfenstein 1955), Patterns of child rearing (Sears, Maccoby and Levin 1957), and the work of the Six Cultures project (Minturn and Lambert 1964; B. Whiting 1963;
Numerous studies were based on the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) established by Murdock and White (1969), such as the ‘Cross Cultural Codes’ published by Barry and his colleagues, mainly in *Ethnology* during the 1970s and early 1980s (e.g. Barry and Paxson 1971; Barry, Josephson, Laver, and Marshall 1976, 1977; Rohner and Rohner 1981). There are also many studies by individual ethnographers, one of the earliest being Mead’s study of Samoa in 1923 (1966). As will be shown later, the culture and personality approach came to have a strong influence on Pacific ethnography.

During the 1960s and '70s numerous critiques appeared from both within and outside the culture and personality school (e.g. Pelto and Pelto 1975; for summaries of the critiques see Draguns 1979; Jahoda 1982; Le Vine 1973; Shweder 1979a, 1979b, 1980; Wentworth 1980) Some researchers within the field began to revise their approaches, incorporating social learning theory, cognitive psychology and other theoretical developments into their work (e.g. Lancy and Madson 1981; Wallace 1970; J. Whiting 1977, 1990).

With the decline of the culture and personality approach, socialisation studies increasingly focused on cognitive development, becoming part of the general field of ‘psychological anthropology’ (e.g. Williams 1975). Research into ‘cross-cultural psychology’ applied the universal ‘laws’ of development proposed by theorists such as...

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2 The data collected during the Six Cultures project is still used in some socialisation studies (e.g.: Lambert and Tan 1979 and Seymour 1988). Beatrice Whiting, one of the initiators of the project, has continued to refine and reformulate the approach, expanding it to consider how cultural processes interact with biological and cognitive processes, and using a ‘contextual model of social behavior’ (Whiting and Edwards 1988: 279). In her work with Edwards, she has focused on ‘settings’, arguing that ‘characteristic patterns of interpersonal behaviour’ are greatly determined by factors such as the age, sex, and kin relations of the people with whom children most frequently interact (B. Whiting 1980: 97; and Edwards and Whiting 1980; Whiting and Edwards 1988). The concept of setting has been expanded by Harkness and Super in their work on the impact of the ‘developmental niche’ in which socialisation occurs (Harkness and Super 1983; Super and Harkness 1980).

3 See Davidson (1979), Jahoda (1982) and Leiderman, Tulkin and Rosenfeld (1977), for critiques of the HRAF, and Tobin (1990) for an alternative view.

4 The transition between the culture and personality approach and psychological anthropology can be seen clearly in the two editions of Hsu’s *Psychological Anthropology* (1961, 1972) and in Le Vine (1974). Useful surveys of socialisation research by culture and personality theorists and psychological anthropologists can be found in Aberle (1961), and Harrington and Whiting (1972).
as Piaget and Kohlberg to various cultures (e.g. Al-Issa and Dennis 1970; Dawson and Lonner 1974; Kagan 1981). As the universality of these 'laws' came into question (Harkness 1980; Super 1980) studies began to focus instead on the measurement of social and biological effects on cognitive, affective and motor development (e.g. Cole, Gay, Glick and Sharp 1971; Field, Sostek, Vietze and Leiderman 1981; Leiderman et al 1977). This research often employed ethnographic data in order to refute or support current psychological theories (e.g. Montagu 1978). Psychological anthropology was strongly influenced by social learning theorists such as Bandura (1973), and by Bowlby's work on attachment (1973; e.g. Ainsworth 1977a; 1977b). The work of feminist scholars concerned with the origin of gender-based differences was another important influence (e.g. Maccoby and Jacklin 1974).

Psychological anthropology, like the culture and personality approach preceding it, has been subjected to wide-ranging criticism. The most crucial problem with this work, as Leiderman et al claim for many of the empirical studies by social scientists at this time, is its 'overly Western, middle-class emphasis in techniques, assumptions, and interpretations' (1977: 112; see Strauss 1984). The theories underlying the research were developed using predominantly white, middle-class subjects, and often embody assumptions about the nature of persons and society that do not hold in other cultures, or even in sub-groups of Euro-American society.

These critiques can be seen as elements of a more general 'crisis of cultural authority, specifically of the authority vested in Western European culture and its institutions' (Owens 1985: 57). That psychological theories and concepts have begun to 'lose their status as potential reflectors of reality' (Gergen 1985: 11) has

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5 Bowlby's attachment theory had an almost exclusive focus on the mother-infant relationship, as did many culture-and-personality studies. As Scheper-Hughes has pointed out: 'The classical maternal bonding model focuses altogether too much attention on too few critical variables and on too brief a period in the mother-child life cycle. The model grossly underestimates the power and significance of social and cultural factors that influence and shape maternal thinking over time: the cultural meanings of sexuality, fertility, death, and survival; mother's assessment of her economic, social support, and psychological resources; family size and composition; characteristics and evaluation of the infant...' (1987b: 205).
had a profound effect on psychologically-oriented anthropology. One of the specific aims of the ethnopsychological approach influencing my own work is to loosen ‘the grip of Western construct on psychological theorising’ (Howard 1985a: 409). Recent work in cognitive science has also attempted to overcome the Eurocentric nature of much previous research, leading to an emphasis on ‘cultural models’, or ‘folk theory’ (e.g. Holland and Quinn 1987; LeVine 1984; and see Keesing 1987 for a critique of this work).

Anthropologists eschewing psychological theories have failed to develop an alternative approach to the study of socialisation, and have often preferred to ignore childhood altogether. As Schwartz has commented: ‘anthropology [has] ignored children in culture while developmental psychologists [have] ignored culture in children’ (1981: 4). Even anthropologists concerned with cognition have often tended to ‘peer over the heads of children’ in order to ‘look at the way adults think in other cultures’ (Super 1980: 59). In 1970, Mayer observed that British anthropologists had been reluctant ‘to confront the subject of socialization – to recognise it as a fit subject for analysis in the British anthropological tradition, or even as a major theme of human society at all’ (1970: xi).

The reproduction of the socio-cultural system was analysed through ritual, seen as a process in which actors internalised appropriate norms and values and dealt with ‘dissident sentiments’ (Ortner 1984: 154). Childhood was often mentioned only as part of ‘life-cycle’ descriptions. In many cases birth and initiation rituals were described, and the intervening years ignored (Richards 1970). Those who did attempt to describe socialisation did so in functionalist terms, with individuals

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6 The wider implications of the ‘crisis’ of representation for anthropology have received considerable attention in recent years (e.g. Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986).

7 The ‘social constructionist’ approach in social psychology regards psychological theories and concepts as themselves ‘a form of ethnopsychology, historically and culturally situated, institutionally useful, normatively sustained, and subject to deterioration and decay as social history unfolds’ (Gergen 1985: 11; and see Shweder and Miller 1985).

8 Mayer attributes this to these anthropologists’ ‘fear’ of psychology, and their assumption that socialisation is a psychological subject (1970: xvi).
viewed as basically passive and malleable, internalising the values of their society during childhood. As Wentworth points out, creativity, deviance, alienation and other factors that did not fit into a given ‘system’ remained unaccounted for (1980: 71).9

Until the late 1970s, most approaches to the study of socialisation shared this tendency to portray children as passive recipients of social training.10 Social learning theorists then began to criticise this ‘unidirectional model’ of socialisation (Perry and Bussey 1984: 29), and became concerned with the ‘continuous reciprocal interaction between behavior and its controlling conditions ... in the social learning view, man is neither driven by inner forces nor buffeted helplessly by environmental influences’ (Bandura 1973: 43).

Developmental psychologists adopted an ‘interactional model of development’, which stresses that ‘social development is a process of reciprocal influences’ (Perry and Bussey 1984: 29-30). ‘Children are the architects as well as the victims of their own environments ... children contribute to their own socialisation’ (ibid; and see Goodnow and Cashmore 1982).11 Bell has shown that the findings of socialisation research over many decades can be reinterpreted in terms of the effects of infants and children on their caregivers (1977a; see also Bugental 1985; Mussen, Conger, Kagan, and Huston 1979, 1984; Goodnow and Cashmore 1982; Lewis and Rosenblum 1974;

9 See Wentworth (1980) for an historical survey of approaches to socialisation in sociology. He shows that the prevailing perspective is similar to the functionalist approach in anthropology, although psychology has had some influence. The distinction made by Talcott Parsons between primary (childhood) and secondary (adult) socialisation has influenced some anthropological work (e.g. Levy 1984: 234, fn5). More recent trends, which Wentworth glosses as ‘interpretive sociology’ (including the dramaturgical school, symbolic interactionism, and ethnomethodology) have stressed the active, creative nature of individuals (1980).

10 Schwartzman provides a fascinating survey of the metaphors used to portray children throughout anthropology’s history, including the primitive, the copycat, the personality trainee, the monkey and the critic (1978).

11 The notion that the individual in the process of socialisation has ‘relative power and control ... in managing the content of socializing interactions’ (Wentworth 1980: 84) can be found in some early work, including Piaget, some behaviourists such as Skinner, and Ego Psychologists (for reviews see Bell 1977b, Ochs 1986a), but remained undeveloped until the 1970s.
This view of socialisation has also influenced sociological theory. Wentworth’s ‘socialization-as-interaction’ model views socialisation in terms of ‘the interaction that in fact constitutes its process’ (1980: 29; and see Hurrelmann’s ‘contextualistic-interactive model’, 1988). In some recent sociological research the traditional model of socialisation as a process of development toward an ideal ‘endpoint’ is rejected entirely. In this ‘re-visioning of children’ (Thorne 1987), ‘children are not defined as undergoing socialisation, but rather as human actors negotiating within and sometimes resisting institutional structures – schools, families, wage labor’ (ibid.: 101).

Language is an important aspect of the interactions occurring during socialisation, and a number of studies have examined ‘the role language plays in the acquisition of and transmission of sociocultural knowledge’ (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984: 276). Influenced by Wentworth (1980) and Vygotskian sociohistorical psychology (Holland and Valsiner 1988; Vygotsky 1978; Wertsch 1985), Ochs and Schieffelin emphasise the interactional nature of language acquisition, ‘the negotiation of meaning by caregiver and child’ (1984: 286). They are also concerned with the context of discourse, including the semantic-pragmatic content of interactions (teasing, shaming, instructing, and so on), the number of actors involved and their social relationships, the setting (inside/outside, formal/informal, etc.), and the length and frequency of communications (Ochs 1986a: 10; also see Ochs and Schieffelin 1983; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). My analysis of language socialisation in Tonga, in Chapter Six, is strongly influenced by the work of Ochs and Schieffelin, and others in this field.

12 An example of the interactive approach can be found in a recent American study of the use of physical punishment on children, which found ‘that children contribute to the type and intensity of punishment, not only in their initial behaviour ... but also by their responses to the parents’ attempts to discipline’ (Mussen et al 1984: 391; and see Bell 1977b). This approach has informed my discussion of punishment in Tonga, in Chapter Seven.
ETHNOPSCHOLOGY

The emphasis on interaction, agency, and context that is a feature of language socialisation studies, and recent psychological and sociological approaches to socialisation, is a feature of ethnopsychological research in anthropology. These approaches also share a concern with the contested and negotiable character of meaning and knowledge. The editors of a volume that 'explores' Pacific ethnopsychologies have summarised the ethnopsychological approach as seeking 'to understand and describe the cultural significance of social and psychological events as they are actively interpreted in social context ... to understand just how, and in what contexts, people do formulate conscious interpretations of social experience' (Kirkpatrick and White 1985: 4). 'Ethnopsychology' and 'cultural psychology' are similar, and Shweder claims that 'many ethnopsychologists today are in fact doing cultural psychology' (1990a: 17; and see Shweder 1991). His description of the latter as concerned with the relationship between 'reality-constituting psyches (intentional persons) and culturally constituted realities (intentional worlds)' (1990a: 27) does fit closely with the approach used by the authors in Person, self, and experience (White and Kirkpatrick 1985). However, since many of these authors identify themselves as ethnopsychologists I will continue to use this term.

Lutz has pointed out that 'ethnopsychological beliefs range from the elaborate, overt, and widely shared, to the posthoc, idiosyncratic, and covert' (1983: 250, fn 3). Such beliefs, which Heelas and Lock (1981) call 'indigenous psychologies', can include 'the cultural views, theories, conjectures, classifications, assumptions, and metaphors - together with the notions embedded in social institutions - which bear on psychological topics' (Heelas 1981a: 3). The ethnopsychological approach shares

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13 'Ethnopsychology' is not a new term, but recent work is significantly different to previous research referred to as such. Ernest Beaglehole and James Ritchie called themselves ethnopsychologists in their Rakau Maori studies (1958: 134), but their culture and personality approach is incompatible with recent ethnopsychological work. Another early example of an 'ethnopsychological' study, Valentine's 1963 study of the Lakalai of Papua New Guinea, focuses initially on indigenous concepts and categories but proceeds to translate these into 'Western' terms, and concludes by recommending research methods such as 'objective tests, quantifiable measurements, and controlled experimental situations' (1963: 470).
the social constructionist assumption that "reality" does not dictate how it is to be categorized or represented' (Shweder and Miller 1985: 60; and see Gergen and Davis 1985). However it also recognises the continual interplay between cultural meanings and the world of experience, including bodily and psychological experiences, as well as 'external' events (D'Andrade 1984: 114). Therefore, it does not assume that social experiences are the only determinants of subjectivity.

The focus of ethnopsychological studies on concepts of person, self and emotion follows the increasing recognition within the social sciences of the importance of subjective experience (in both 'observer' and 'observed'). The phenomenological-existential perspective, which emphasises individuals' 'subjective views of themselves grounded in a particular historical-cultural context' (Watson 1978: 11) has clearly influenced the ethnopsychological approach. Ethnopsychologists are particularly interested in persons as 'points of intersection between the subjective and the social ... persons are cultural bases for formulating and exploring subjective experience. Equally, persons are recognizable as elements of social life, as occupying statuses and participating in social groups and events' (Kirkpatrick and White 1985: 9). Ethnopsychology also draws on the 'culture and self' literature (e.g. Heelas and Lock 1981; Marsella, De Vos and Hsu 1985; Rosaldo 1980; Shweder and LeVine 1984; Staub 1980) which is influenced by Hallowell, who, as early as 1955, argued that self-awareness and concepts of the person are both universal and culturally variable (1955).

One of the problems of the 'culture and self' literature that needs to be addressed by ethnopsychologists is the very concept of 'self'. There is a tendency for anthropologists 'to identify the concept of an autonomous, cohesive, bounded self as the Western concept of self' (Ewing 1990: 256, emphasis in original), with which the concept of 'self' in some other culture can be contrasted. Ewing has argued that the culturally-shaped 'self' that is the focus of anthropological study is better understood.

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as 'self-representation' (ibid.: 255). In all cultures 'self' is subjectively *experienced* as whole and continuous, Ewing argues, but people actually construct and project 'multiple, inconsistent self-representations that are context-dependent and may shift rapidly' (ibid.: 251). Thus, not only persons' subjectivity, but also their self-representations - and the dialectic between subjectivity and representation - need to be examined.

One of the most difficult aspects of 'experience' to deal with in an ethnographic project is the influence of unconscious processes on the individual's psychological functioning and behaviour. Studies of 'self' have tended to overemphasise conscious interpretations of selfhood and experience, whilst neglecting 'less conscious, more tacit and affect laden aspects' (Smith 1985: 75). Studies of ethnopsychology place great importance on language, especially 'the lexicon of the self and interaction' and 'the metaphors and modifiers used in talking about human functioning' (Lutz 1985: 39). The 'unsaid', the presuppositions and implications of every 'act of saying' (Tyler 1978), is equally important. One task of an ethnopsychological study is to make explicit the 'cultural assumptions that often go unspoken and social practices that often go unrecognized, but that make ordinary speech interpretable, pertinent, and socially forceful' (Kirkpatrick and White 1985: 14). White argues that 'inferences about matters of shared importance and personal concern are a connective tissue giving shape and durability to the body of ethnopsychological interpretation' (1985: 358).

One of the obvious dangers of such an approach is the imposition of the ethnographer's own (unrecognised) assumptions to impose a false order onto the material. As Howard states:

to the extent to which we do intervene with propositions of our own and force the strands of our observations into a coherent package, we subvert the intent of ethnopsychological analysis ... Instead of logical consistency and systematic coherence, order must be sought in praxis, in the way our subjects *do* psychology (1985a: 411, emphasis in the original).
The emphasis on indigenous terms and concepts, and the care taken in translation, are features of ethnopsychological studies that attempt to avoid such dangers as much as possible. Wierzbicka provides a useful discussion of the problems associated with translating indigenous concepts into English (1989). As Keesing has pointed out, misrepresentation can occur when too much is read into language. He also comments that 'the stuff of daily life and talk ... is deeply and multiply ambiguous, allowing of alternative, perspectival interpretations' (1989b: 463). The problems that this can present to the ethnopsychological project obviously require a great deal of care and caution, and can be offset to some extent by incorporating other approaches.

Another central feature of ethnopsychological research is an emphasis on the context-dependent nature of knowledge, with attention being paid to aspects of context such as the extent to which theories are shared, their historical development and change (for individuals throughout the life-cycle, and for whole societies or sub-groups over time), and their degree of salience and daily use (Lutz 1985: 41). However, some ethnopsychological studies have neglected broader historical processes such as conversion to Christianity, colonialism, and post- (or neo-) colonialism, and the impact of their associated ideologies. Close attention also needs to be paid to the existence of competing interpretations and their ability to be manipulated by individuals or groups. Both 'extraordinary practice', such as rituals and the treatment of mentally-ill or 'deviant' community members, and the ordinary praxis of everyday life require investigation.

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15 Clearly, there is an enormous range of elements that can comprise 'context'. Tulkin has listed aspects of context that can be considered in studies of infancy and early childhood, under the categories of medical-biological, behavioural-situational, and ideological contexts (1977). An examination of his list reveals that no one study could attempt to account for every aspect of 'context', so any research involves decisions as to which aspects are most salient.

16 As such, ethnopsychology can be seen as a variant of the 'practice' approach, influenced by Bourdieu, which regards the repeatedly enacted 'routines and scenarios' of ordinary life as predicated on and embodying the basic cultural concepts of a society or sub-group (Ortner 1984: 154).
Very few ethnopsychological studies have focused on child socialisation, though several contributors to White and Kirkpatrick (1985) acknowledge the value of such an approach (Gerber, Kirkpatrick, Lutz, and Poole in ibid.). An examination of the cultural construction of the self inevitably leads to a consideration of child socialisation, since it is through socialisation, especially during childhood, that the constitution of subjectivity takes place. As Howard points out, 'the primary means of becoming a person is, of course, to be born and socialized' (1985a: 416). The emphasis in the ethnopsychological literature on concepts of personhood ties in well with the concept of 'cultural identity' (Howard 1990; Linnekin and Poyer 1990a). Again, the associated literature tends to ignore childhood, but it raises the important question of how cultural identity is constructed, which is addressed in this thesis.

Lutz argues that examining the way in which 'the course of development is explicitly conceptualized, classified, and explained' can point to 'ways in which children and adults are seen to differ', revealing 'important ethnotheoretical dimensions that might otherwise go undiscovered' (1985: 58-9). Beliefs about the process of development can also reveal theories of how and why behaviour can change, how 'aspects of personhood vary within and across adults', and can provide 'statements of values' (ibid.: 59). Lutz adds that 'an examination of the life course reveals the ways in which a culturally specific self-awareness is built up' (ibid.).

While socialisation reveals important aspects of ethnopsychology, the reverse is also true. Particular beliefs and practices associated with child socialisation become comprehensible in the light of the wider ethnopsychological context. Attempts to affect children's development — by instructing, disciplining, and so on — are conceived in terms of broader notions of personhood and culturally appropriate behaviour. Lutz argues that 'the strong evaluative weight on terms for feeling and acting indicates that the role of ethnopsychology is not simply to describe and explain but also to evaluate behavior vis-a-vis cultural values, and thereby to begin to exercise some control over that behavior' (1988: 102).
An examination of the ways in which children's behaviour is evaluated and controlled is both illumined by and offers insights into power relations in the wider society. Power relations play a central role in the construction of subjectivity but this dimension is often lacking in the ethnopsychological and other 'culture and self' literature. It is important to consider 'the production, control, distribution and ideological force of cultural knowledge' (Keesing 1987: 388). In language socialisation, for example, the bidirectionality of influence between 'member' and 'novice' (or adult and child) is asymmetrical (Ochs 1990: 302). An examination of the nature of this asymmetry can reveal much about the power relations between the participants in interactions, an element that cannot be excluded from analyses of the interactional nature of socialisation. The importance of addressing power relations in child socialisation has also been acknowledged in recent work on emotion discourse (see below), and by feminist scholars concerned with 'the harsh realities of children's subordination' (Thorne 1987: 98; and see Ennew 1986). Influenced by this concern, a number of recent anthropological studies of 'the darker side of parenting' (Scheper-Hughes 1987a: 7) have emerged, and I will discuss this literature further in Chapter Seven. Furthermore, this concern with power relations has led to the recognition that attention to adult/child and child/child relations 'may expand our overall notions of "the political"' (Thorne 1987: 100).

There are important links between cultural values, power relations, and indigenous theories of emotion. These links can usefully be examined in the context of socialisation, as can the relationship between emotion theories and broader concepts of personhood.

As ethnopsychological theories of emotion constitute the model that adults use in understanding the nature, course, and ideal end points of development, they can play a crucial role in the cultural construction of emotional reality for and by the child ... the emotions can be seen as both the medium and the message of socialization ... emotions serve as principles for organizing social life and as vehicles by which children are integrated into adult understandings and activities (Lutz 1983: 247, 260-1).
Theories of emotions, and the links they constitute between behaviour and values and patterns of relationships (see Averill 1980a, 1908b; Gerber 1985; Lutz 1987) are an essential element of ethnopsychology, as can be seen in the White and Kirkpatrick collection (1985), the papers in the Ethos issue on ‘Self and Emotion’ (1983: vol.11, no.3), and major works such as Lutz’s Unnatural Emotions (1988). Such works view emotions as ‘a primary idiom for defining and negotiating social relations of the self in a moral order’ (Lutz and White 1986: 417). Emotion concepts, Lutz argues, serve ‘complex communicative, moral, and cultural purposes’ (1988: 5). Indigenous theories of emotion also ‘constitute key inferential links in interpretations of motivation and interpersonal process’ (Kirkpatrick and White 1985: 17). Emotion words act as ‘guideposts to cultural knowledge about social and affective experience’ (ibid.). White has argued that ‘analysis of patterns of unspoken meaning in emotive discourse may also provide a means of investigating less "visible" transformations of personal experience’ (1990: 64).

Recent work focusing on emotion as discursive practice (e.g. Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990) distinguishes between ‘discourses on emotion (local theories about emotion) and emotional discourses (situated deployments of emotional linguistic forms)’ (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990: 13). This work emphasises that emotion is tied to sociability and to power relations (ibid.), and that emotion discourse can be ‘conceptualized as an interactional process’ (Brenneis 1990: 115). An examination of emotion discourse can therefore be incorporated with the socialisation-as-interaction approach, to account for the ways in which children interpret and utilize the ‘messages’ of emotions, and the ways in which they can influence and even manipulate affect and behaviour in others. This approach also allows for factors such as ambivalence and creativity, rather than assuming that emotions become neatly integrated within the dominant cultural conceptual framework.

Incorporating the interactional approach to socialisation with an ethnopsychological study merges a sociologically-oriented account of ‘practice’ with a form of psychological anthropology (see Ortner 1984: 151). Such a combined
approach seems particularly appropriate for the study of Pacific cultures where, Strathern argues, 'discourse focuses ... on emotions as lying in between people, in their relationships. Emotions are not personal, but interpersonal, and therefore become an integral part of the handling of social relations in general' (A. Strathern 1987: 158; see Lutz 1988: 81). The 'relational' nature of personhood and the way in which 'self' is defined and experienced through relationships with others has been a common focus of recent work in Pacific cultures (e.g. Battaglia 1990; Linnekin and Poyer 1990b; Lutz 1988). The interpersonal is, however, inextricably bound up with the personal, and Howard has rightly suggested that 'we have exaggerated the extent to which Polynesians are communal in their personal orientations, at the expense of understanding the ways in which they organize experience as individuals' (1985b: 431). It is important not to neglect 'individualised selves' by overemphasising the social nature of persons (ibid.: 415).

PREVIOUS RESEARCH IN TONGA AND POLYNESIA

My thesis is concerned with both 'individualised selves' and social persons, as it explores one part of the 'frontier' of the ethnography of childhood, that of socialisation in the Kingdom of Tonga. More specifically, my central focus is on the acquisition of the knowledge and skills required to achieve social competence in Tonga. I will show that this competence is defined in relation to the hierarchical system of rank and status which permeates virtually every aspect of social and cultural life.

There has been no previous comprehensive study of Tongan socialisation, though there are occasional references to aspects of childhood throughout the extant literature. The earliest accounts of Tonga, by castaways, explorers and missionaries, seldom gave descriptions of the daily lives of the *tu'a* (commoner) population, and even less often mentioned *tu'a* children. The early references to children tend to

17 The fact that these early visitors to Tonga were almost all male gave their observations an androcentric bias that often excluded women, as well as children. Another factor influencing their accounts was the Europeans' 'appropriation' by chiefly persons, limiting their access the *tu'a* population. For many early observers the brevity of their stay limited their view of
be of three types: generalised portrayals of children as primitive, carefree innocents; detailed descriptions of child sacrifice and finger amputation; and scattered references to particular aspects of childhood, such as children’s games. Wherever possible, throughout my thesis these early accounts are used to give some indication of the context of socialisation at the time of European contact and the effects of historical processes within the Tongan social system (see Thomas 1989). However, it must be noted that I have not undertaken an extensive archival search, since my central concern in this thesis is with contemporary Tonga, and I have relied mainly on published primary material and secondary sources for historical data.18

On the whole, references to children in accounts of twentieth-century Tonga tend to be as scarce and scattered as those in the historical literature. Gifford’s *Tongan Society* includes a brief section on ‘Life Crises’, with descriptions of birthing practices and ‘puberty observances’ but very little else on children (1971b [1929]). In any case, this account must be used with caution – as Thomas notes:

> Gifford’s work was a competent but quite ahistorical distillation of cultural reconstruction, subsequent reinterpretation, and folklore, which like other Bishop Museum Bulletins abstracted particular facts from practices in creating a generalized representation of native culture (1990: 198).

Like many subsequent ethnographies of Tonga, Gifford’s account presents a ‘noble view’ (Decktor Korn 1974) which largely neglects the everyday lives of the *tu’a* population.

The Beagleholes’ ethnography of Pangai village (1941b) is influenced by the culture and personality approach, but as a broad-based village study does not focus on socialisation. The authors admit that ‘no systematic study was made of the life of children’ (ibid.: 82), and their ‘life-cycle’ description contains only two pages on ‘growing up’. Somewhat more useful is Elizabeth Bott’s ‘Report on Brief Study of

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18 There have been some previous attempts to distill from the historical material a reconstruction of ‘traditional’ Tonga, such as Bott with Tavi (1982), Ferdon (1987), and Gailey (1987b), though these retain the chiefly bias of the early accounts as well as largely neglecting childhood and family life.
Mother-Child Relationships in Tonga’ (1958), prepared for the World Health Organization, in which she details practices concerning pregnancy, birth, feeding, and so on. Her report deals mostly with the first year of life, and Bott states that she ‘made no special study of older children’ (ibid.: 61). An unpublished study, contemporary with Bott’s, deals specifically with ‘pre-adolescent’ children (9-13 years old), giving a brief and rather superficial description of socialisation during that period (Lovett 1958).

In some of the literature on Tonga the absence of information on childhood is puzzling – for example, Cummins’ thesis on Wesleyan mission schools (1977) looks at the development of Tonga’s education system, but makes virtually no mention of children or child socialisation. Popular accounts also tend to ignore children. Neill, for example, does not mention children at all in his chapter on ‘Daily life in a Tongan village’ (1955).

The anthropological literature on Tonga includes material that is useful for contextualising my own work, such as the literature on social organisation (see Chapter Two) and kinship (see Chapter Five). Several accounts deal with adoption, though they tend to portray children as the passive objects of adults’ transactions, focusing on the form of adoption rather than its effects on people’s (and especially children’s) lives (see Chapter Two). A recent doctoral thesis, ‘On being Tongan: responses to concepts of tradition’ (Cowling 1990c) complements my own study of ‘becoming Tongan’. While I have focused on childhood, Cowling examines concepts of ‘tradition’ and ‘identity’ in a broader societal context. There has been very little in the way of ‘psychological anthropology’ in Tonga; however Bott has offered a psychoanalytic perspective of the kava ceremony and attendant myths (1972; cf. Leach 1972 and Valeri 1989) and, more useful to my own research, Marcus has addressed adult male ‘psychocultural organisation’ (1978, 1980b).
Tonga is, in fact, one of the few Polynesian societies for which there are no
detailed accounts of childhood. Since Margaret Mead’s work on adolescents in
Samoa (1966), a number of studies of socialisation have been undertaken throughout
the area, as the following brief survey indicates. Many of these studies are not
exclusively on child socialisation; for example Mead was primarily concerned with
adolescents, and Firth’s detailed functionalist account of socialisation on Tikopia is
part of a general monograph (1970). The early accounts are nearly all culture-and-
personality studies, including Mead’s work on Samoa (and, for Melanesia, New
Guinea [1963]); the work of Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole on Pukapuka (1938, 1941a)
and the Kowhai Maori (1946); and the Rakau Maori studies (Beaglehole and Ritchie
1958; Earle 1958; Jane Ritchie 1957; James Ritchie 1963). In these early accounts
Western practices were often explicitly and unfavourably compared to the more
‘natural’ Polynesian child rearing.

Other work during this early wave of ethnographies was more simply descriptive
and was often funded by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum or the Polynesian Society as
part of their ‘salvage’ operation on Pacific Island cultures. Much of this work was
not concerned with socialisation but, like Gifford’s account of Tonga, with ‘life
crises’. Beliefs and practices, especially rituals, surrounding pregnancy, birth, and
puberty, were described, and detailed accounts of kinship provided. In some cases
this was as part of a more general account (e.g. Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1938;
Gifford 1971b), but in other cases constituted a separate study, as in Pukui’s account

19 Accounts dealing with Tonga are notable for their absence in the survey of socialisation
studies in Polynesia by the Ritchies (1989), and their earlier account of childhood in
Polynesia (1979). Several studies of formal education in Tonga have been made (as post-
graduate theses) but to my knowledge no comprehensive study has been made of child
socialisation.

20 My survey covers the main works, and neglects, for lack of space, the many articles and
chapters that contribute to the body of material on Polynesian socialisation. I have also
omitted any discussion of collections of papers on specific themes such as siblingship (M.
Marshall 1985), adoption (Brady 1976; Carroll 1970), and infant feeding (L. Marshall 1985),
though some papers from these collections are referred to in the body of the thesis.

21 Surveys of culture and personality studies in the Pacific can be found in Gladwin (1961)
and Levy (1969a, for Polynesia and Micronesia). A later survey that includes studies
broadly defined as psychological anthropology is provided by Langness and Gladwin (1972).
of Hawaiian beliefs and customs during birth, infancy, and childhood (1942), and the account of The Polynesian family system in Ka‘u, Hawaii by Handy and Pukui (1958). Other accounts from this period looked at childhood from the limited perspective of such cultural features as adoption practices and attitudes to illegitimacy (e.g. Beaglehole 1937).

Since this work was intended to record ‘traditional’ cultures before their anticipated demise, there is little in many of these accounts to indicate the impact of social change on socialisation, family life, and related topics. Much of the culture and personality literature also focuses on traditional customs, and even in some later work there was a tendency to assume that ‘domestic life’ had remained unchanged (Jolly and Macintyre 1989b: 1). More recent work by anthropologists and historians has challenged this view, and has closely examined the transformations in domestic life brought about by contact and colonisation (e.g. Jolly and Macintyre 1989a). Other work examines how such transformations are continuing in contemporary Pacific societies (e.g. Baker, Hanna and Baker 1986).

Much Pacific anthropology in the 1960s and '70s continued to be influenced by the culture-and-personality approach, but incorporated later theoretical developments such as social learning theory. This research also addressed the impact of social change on family organisation and patterns of socialisation, as in the work of Ronald Gallimore and his associates on Hawaiian children, which focused on formal education (Gallimore, Boggs and Jordan 1974; Gallimore and Howard 1969a).22 Ritchie and Ritchie’s Growing Up in Polynesia (1979) retains a strong culture-and-personality flavour.

Howard’s study of Rotuma (1970) is heavily influenced by social learning theory, and explicitly contrasts Rotuman and ‘middle-class Western, and particularly American, culture’ (ibid.: 8). His account of childhood is embedded in a broader study of the Rotuman life-cycle and ‘world view’.

22 A more recent study of part-Hawaiian children by one of these associates (Boggs, with Watson-Gegeo and McMillen 1985) investigates the role of language in development.
In his psychodynamic study of Tahitians, Levy noted that he was not interested in infancy and childhood 'for their own sake but, a very different matter, for the illumination they throw on adults' worlds' (1973: 434). His discussion of socialisation in his monograph is sketchy (as he admits, ibid.: 460), but nonetheless valuable, and in his other work he discusses socialisation in relation to Tahitian concepts of emotion (1969b; 1972).23

More recently, Freeman's challenge to Mead's account of Samoa (1983) dealt at length with childhood in Samoa, and in the spate of articles written in response to the ensuing 'controversy' some aspects of socialisation (particularly punishment) have been debated (see Kavapalu 1987). Borofsky's account of Pukapukan 'constructions of knowledge' (1987) includes a useful analysis of how 'traditional knowledge' is acquired and validated, with some discussion of child socialisation.

Also contributing to the field of socialisation research in Polynesia, and elsewhere in the Pacific, is the recent ethnopsychological and related work on indigenous theories of personhood and emotion. As stated previously, most of this work is not directly concerned with child socialisation, but brief accounts are often included within the wider study. Since my own work on socialisation in Tonga incorporates material on concepts of personhood and theories of emotion, much of this literature is valuable despite its neglect of childhood. Particularly useful work includes the White and Kirkpatrick volume (1985), Lutz's work on the Micronesian Ifaluk (1983, 1988), Gerber's on Samoa (1975), Mageo's work, also on Samoa (1988, 1989a, 1989b), and Kirkpatrick's work on the Marquesas (1983).24 There is also useful material in the related 'culture and self' literature, such as Jean Smith's 'Self and experience in Maori culture' (1981).

Some of the language socialisation literature mentioned previously deals with Pacific societies, including Kulick's study of the Gapun of Papua New Guinea

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23 See Levy's comparison of his work with other research carried out during the late 1950s and '60s, such as that by the Ritchies, Earle, and Howard (Levy 1969a).

24 Kirkpatrick has also carried out some interesting early childhood research with Martini (Martini and Kirkpatrick 1981).
The substantial literature on Polynesian childhood and socialisation reveals an enormous diversity throughout the area, but also significant similarities. Rather than attempt to make detailed comparisons throughout this thesis, which would necessitate numerous footnotes and considerably increase the length of the text, I will briefly indicate some of the general similarities at this point.

Common throughout the area were *tapu* associated with pregnancy, including proscriptions on pregnant women's ingestion of certain foods. Care of neonates usually involved feeding with coconut cream for two or more days immediately after birth, before breastfeeding began. Mother and child were secluded for some time, often a period of months, after the birth. Intense affection and attention were given to infants, followed by a transition toward peer socialisation, increasingly harsh discipline, and demands for conformity to status-appropriate behaviour and for contributions of labour to the household and kin group. Important aspects of 'teaching' children included the use of teasing and shaming, and an emphasis on listening and observation.

The Ritchies have summarised the basic 'themes' of Polynesian socialisation as the importance of community, multiple parenting, early indulgence, early independence, and peer socialisation (1979). In a later work, a comprehensive synthesis of socialisation studies in Polynesia up to the late 1980s, they described broader themes (1989; and see 1985). These are based on the Maori 'worldview', but the Ritchies claim they are shared by other Polynesian cultures: 'relatedness/kinship', 'unity through consensus', 'sharing and caring', and 'status and respect' (ibid.). Although I have not attempted to focus specifically on these 'themes', my thesis will show that they are all evident, to some extent, in Tongan socialisation. The Ritchies also singled out the transition from infancy to childhood

25 The similarities are described in the past tense since considerable variability now occurs in the differentially 'modernised' areas.
as a 'major theme in Polynesian socialisation' (1979: 57). Further consideration is
given to the comparative material on this 'transition' in Chapter Four, in which I
argue that in Tonga it is neither abrupt nor particularly significant.

THESIS OUTLINE

As stated previously, my thesis examines the acquisition of knowledge and skills
in the process of becoming a socially and culturally competent Tongan. Having
introduced my theoretical perspective and surveyed the relevant literature in this first
chapter, the second chapter proceeds to introduce the social 'setting' of the thesis.
Chapter Two briefly describes modern Tonga, and examines social hierarchy and
features of social organisation to provide a broader context for my study of
childhood. I also introduce the two main sites of my fieldwork, Holonga and
Nuku'alofa.

Chapter Three describes the 'preconditions' of childhood: attitudes to marriage
and reproduction, beliefs and practices associated with pregnancy and birth, and the
physical care of the infant during the first year. The next chapter begins by
considering the way in which children and their development are perceived, and
broader notions of personhood in Tonga. The so-called 'transition' between infancy
and later childhood in Polynesia is then re-examined in regard to Tonga. Chapter
Four also describes the daily lives of Tongan children — their work, schooling, play,
and health — and the ways in which the end of childhood is socially marked.

Since my concern is with what kinds of knowledge are acquired as well as how
knowledge is acquired, Chapter Five builds on the previous chapter by analysing the
cultural values which underlie the practical skills and behavioural 'rules' children
learn as they work and play. Values and associated behaviour are also examined in
relation to gender differences and kinship, before concluding with a discussion of
perceptions of changing values in modern Tonga.

Chapters Six and Seven detail the ways in which knowledge is acquired. In
Chapter Six several forms of learning are examined: performance, observation,
language socialisation, and learning through play. The following chapter focuses on physical punishment, which I argue is central to Tongan children's socialisation. Chapter Seven also considers other forms of violence, and their relationship to socialisation.

Chapter Eight analyses the socialisation of emotion, drawing together a number of threads from previous chapters. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the relationship between self and other in Tonga, and addresses the notion of restraint as a component of self-representation. In my conclusion, Chapter Nine, I argue that the power relations, value-orientations, and concepts of competent personhood evident in the context of child socialisation, are also features of relations within the wider social hierarchy. Finally, I address the implications of rapid social change for Tongan children and their families.
MAP 2: TONGA
(Cartography Unit, ANU)
CHAPTER TWO

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA

When Taufa'ahau Tupou IV succeeded to Tonga's throne in 1967, he ended a period of conservatism and international isolation, and began what one Tongan academic has called 'an era of uncertainty and confusion' (Hau'ofa 1978: 160). The new era has brought many changes to Tonga's 'compromise culture'; the 'early, stable complex of institutions, ideas, and practices, which integrated Tongan culture with a version of European culture' (Marcus 1977: 222). This 'compromise culture', which lasted during the reign of the first three monarchs of the Tupou dynasty, meant that in Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, 'older institutions and customs were censored, reorganized and retraditionalized' (Marcus 1989: 197). Two crucial and interrelated elements of change were the Tongans' conversion to Christianity, and the political change that led to the promulgation of the 1875 constitution (Howe 1984; Lātūkefu 1974, 1975; Rutherford 1977; Urbanowicz 1977a). One significant result of this change was the diffusion of many chiefly customs throughout the population. Activities, language forms, and kinship rules that were previously used only by or to chiefly persons came to be widely adopted by 'commoners' (Lātūkefu 1980: 74; further examples are given in this thesis). As Marcus has pointed out for Polynesia, many of the beliefs and practices associated with 'compromise cultures' came to 'represent, in indigenous perception, the traditions being subjected to rapid change' (Marcus 1989: 197). Thus, as I show in Chapter Five, much of the Tongan
ideology concerning ‘traditional’ gender distinctions is in fact strongly influenced by the Christian ideologies introduced by Wesleyan missionaries.

The European missionaries were not the only, nor the first, instigators of transformations of Tongan ‘tradition’. Both before and after contact with Europeans there was considerable mutual influence between Tonga and several other Pacific societies, particularly Fiji and Samoa (Gunson 1990; Kaeppler 1978a; Kirch 1984). European influences have been diverse, from missionary to tourist, and government official to beachcomber, and have included many nationalities, such as British missionaries and officials, French Marists, and German traders. Since American troops were stationed in Tonga in World War Two (Weeks 1987), American Peace Corps volunteers, Mormon missionaries, and others have also lent their influence. In popular discourse these different foreigners are collectively referred to as pālangi, and their diverse beliefs and customs are simply ‘the pālangi way’, anga fakapālangi.1 Tongan ‘tradition’ is referred to as ‘the Tongan way’, anga fakatonga, and these two ‘ways’ are often explicitly contrasted, signifying respectively the ‘new’ and the ‘old’. Yet they have been interwoven to such an extent in contemporary Tonga that to disentangle the ‘Tongan’ or ‘European’ (or for that matter ‘Fijian’ or ‘Samoan’) strands is often difficult. Of all the factors contributing to the historical transformation of anga fakatonga, it is the Tongans’ adoption, and adaptation, of Christianity that has wrought the deepest and most pervasive changes; so much so that the categories of ‘tradition’ and ‘Christianity’ are now inseparable in the minds of many Tongans.2

In recent years Tongans have become increasingly concerned with their cultural identity, in the context of Tonga’s diverse political and economic ties, and

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1 Europeans were formerly called papālangi, but this is now commonly shortened to pālangi.

participation in regional and international cultural and sporting events. There has been a renewed concern with asserting the strength and importance of 'Tongan culture', but at the same time growing fears of a 'weakening' or even loss of culture (see Chapter Five). Part of my concern in this thesis is with what, in the process of socialising their children, Tongans value as 'Tongan', and with how and why they perceive their culture to be changing. Poyer has argued that 'cultural identity reflects local ideas of personhood' (1990: 129), and Tongan notions of personhood are also explored.

The 'new era' in Tonga has meant the development of international trade and other relations, increasing internal and international travel and migration, the introduction of technologies such as television, video, and direct-dial international telephone systems, and a massive inflow of imported foodstuffs and manufactured goods, as well as the reliance on aid, the unemployment, land shortages and other problems associated with a 'developing' economy (Benguigui 1989; Fifth Five-Year Development Plan 1986-1990 [DPV]; Hau'ofa 1977). The influx of tourists has had wide-ranging effects (Bolland 1974; Urbanowicz 1977b, 1978, 1979), which will expand with the current push for increased tourism.

Tongan children of the current generation are growing up amidst these changes, which cannot be ignored in a study of socialisation. My thesis examines Tongan socialisation in the context of continuing change, from the period described in the earliest written records to the present. However, my primary focus, as stated in the previous chapter, is on contemporary Tonga and I therefore consider, at different points in the thesis, current social problems associated with rapid social change.

The aim of the present chapter is to describe aspects of modern Tongan society that are salient to my thesis, and to introduce the two main locations of my fieldwork. Most of my time in Tonga has been spent on Tongatapu, the main island

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3 A 1978 study that examined Tongans' 'identity' found that national identity was a component of 37.6 per cent of the 976 respondents' answers, and Polynesian identity only 9.3 per cent (Parr 1981, cited in Helu 1983). Gender, religion and occupation were the most frequent responses. I believe that a similar study carried out today would reveal a far stronger national and regional identity.
of the archipelago (see Maps 1-3). In 1986, 67.3 per cent of the total population of 94,535 dwelt on Tongatapu, and 30.6 per cent lived in Nuku'alofa, the capital (Population Census 1986 Bulletin 1 1987: 2, Table 2). The continuing influx of migrants from the outer islands is increasing that proportion yearly, despite government attempts to stem the flow by directing aid-funded rural development schemes to those areas.

Prior to commencing doctoral research in 1988, I was in Tonga for two years, in 1979-1980. In 1979 I lived and taught in a girls' boarding school, and in 1980 lived with my Tongan affines in their 'api (household compound) in Kolomotu'a, part of Nuku'alofa. Although Nuku'alofa is the capital of Tonga, its residential areas are more like villages than urban 'suburbs'. Kolomotu'a, the 'old village', is one of the earliest areas of settlement of the capital. In 1986 I stayed for two months in the village of Holonga (see Map 4), with friends I had met in 1980. I returned to Tonga for fieldwork from June 1988 to March 1989, staying for part of that time in Holonga, with the same friends in their newly-built house (the composition of these households is described later in this chapter). In 1986 and 1988-9 I was accompanied by my son (born in Tonga in 1980). My daughter was born during the latter stay, in 1989.

Whilst in the field (1988-9), I spent the final months living in Nuku'alofa, though I continued my intensive study of Holonga, only half an hour distant by bus. In Holonga I conducted a household survey and compiled genealogies in order to collect data on household composition, family sizes, patterns of migration, adoption, residence after marriage, and so on. I did not collect such data in Nuku'alofa, but my

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4 By February 1991 the full 1986 Census results had not been published; my data comes from the Population Census Bulletin no. 1, published in August 1987, and henceforth denoted as PC Bulletin.

5 See Butler and Turner (1987), Cassell (1987), and Whitehead and Conaway (1986) for collections of papers discussing the advantages and disadvantages of children accompanying fieldworkers and of being pregnant 'in the field'. My own experience supports the observation made by Whitehead and Price (1986: 301), that 'children often make valuable contributions in observing the attitudes and behavior of their peers in the host community'. I also found, as did the authors in these collections, that children and pregnancy both facilitated and hindered fieldwork in numerous ways.
research was not confined to a village study. With the co-operation of the Department of Education, and school principals and teachers, I was able to administer a questionnaire to 235 students from seven high schools in Tongatapu and Vava‘u (full details in Appendix One). I also visited classes in Holonga and Nuku‘alofa primary schools, and the Mata‘aho kindergarten in Nuku‘alofa. Formal interviews were conducted with school principals and teachers; with staff of the Departments of Health, Education, Police, Central Planning, and Agriculture, Fisheries and Forests; with representatives of non-government organisations; and with church ministers and stewards. I was able to conduct formal and informal interviews and be a ‘participant observer’ in Holonga and Nuku‘alofa, as well as in ’Eua (during a two-week stay with relatives of my Holongan friends), and in Vava‘u (staying in a small guest-house for two weeks). I was also both participant and observer in the antenatal clinic and maternity ward at Vaiola hospital. Whilst in Nuku‘alofa I lived for several weeks in the household of my former affines, and for nearly four months in the household of others of my son’s paternal kin. Each of the households in which I lived was made up of tu‘a, or ‘commoners’,6 and my work deals primarily with child socialisation in tu‘a families.7 I was particularly concerned to avoid presenting ‘the noble view’, that is, the chiefly view, which has predominated in previous research (see Decktor Korn 1974).8

Decktor Korn has rightly pointed out the importance of recognising variability at the local level, in terms of factors such as household composition, religious

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6 The plural of tu‘a is properly kau tu‘a or kakai tu‘a, but tu‘a is also acceptable.

7 During my fieldwork I deliberately avoided associations with hou‘eiki (chiefly people) for various reasons. Most important was my belief that such an association would make it more difficult for me to be accepted in Holonga.

8 The chiefly bias of historical studies of Tonga is partly due to the Tongans’ own view of history. As Herda notes, ‘the traditional Tongan construction of the past was concerned with only those things which were connected with the hou‘eiki (aristocracy) ... the non-chiefly view is sparsely recorded indeed’ (1988: 13). Another important factor was that the early visitors to Tonga, including castaways, explorers, missionaries, and even ethnographers (e.g. Gifford) associated primarily with chiefly people and presented the chiefly view in their written accounts. This tendency to present ‘the noble view’ continues to influence much historical and anthropological research even today (e.g. papers in Herda, Terrell and Gunson 1990).
denomination, and types of voluntary associations (1977). It is possible to argue, nevertheless, that most villages share basic similarities, and that Holonga is in many ways a fairly typical village (see also Tupouniu 1977). The local variability that occurs can be seen as the villages' particular configurations within a similar range of house types, economic and social activities, church denominations, and so on. After the following brief discussion of social hierarchy and social organisation in Tonga, I will proceed to describe Holonga in more detail, and to make some brief comparisons of village life with 'urban' living in Nuku'alofa. A more general problem of local variability is the extent to which culture can be said to be shared. In Tonga, there is a high degree of cultural similarity (sometimes referred to as 'homogeneity'), but my thesis is also very much concerned with variability within such broad categories as 'Tongan socialisation' and 'Tongan values'.

SOCIAL HIERARCHY

'Traditional' Tongan social organisation has been described in many previous works, as have the changes wrought by the transition to the modern system (e.g. Afeaki 1983; Bott 1981, 1982; Coult 1959; Decktor Korn 1978b; Ferdon 1987; Gailey 1981, 1987b; Gifford 1971b; Kaeppler 1971a; Lätukefu 1974; Marcus 1975a, 1977, 1980a). No attempt will be made here to summarise this literature; relevant aspects are discussed at various points in the body of my thesis. What will be considered briefly here are the social ranking and status systems, and social organisation at the level of the household, extended family and village.

Tonga is an intrinsically hierarchical society. Kaeppler has referred to hierarchical ranking as 'the most pervasive concept in Tongan culture' (1971a: 174), governing all interpersonal relationships. Hierarchical organisation is also a feature of the basic social institutions such as church and family. Bott has observed that in Tonga 'the several forms of social differentiation overlap but do not coincide and are often contradictory' (1981: 8). This tends to make a thorough explication of social

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9 The proportion of Tongans living in villages in 1984 was 73.4 per cent (DPV: 111).
hierarchy complicated, and for the purposes of my thesis only two basic dimensions are discussed: rank, or fixed social category, and status, or contextual social position.\(^\text{10}\)

The most fundamental distinction made in the ranking system is that between 'eiki (chief) and tu'a (commoner). Tu'i (paramount chief, or 'monarch') and matāpule (chiefs' ceremonial attendants) actually constitute separate categories, but unless otherwise specified they are here encompassed within the category of hou eiki (chiefly people). The ranking system was significantly altered and complicated by the 1875 constitution, which established the nopele, or 'nobles' as the legally entitled, landed 'aristocracy'. This has meant that legally-inherited rank and socially-recognised rank do not always coincide (Bott 1982; Marcus 1975b, 1977, 1980a).\(^\text{11}\)

Cutting across the ranking system is the system of social differentiation based on status. Status is calculated in context and is 'relative': that is, in any given context, a person's status is relative to that of whoever else is present. Status is primarily determined according to the factors of seniority (chronological or genealogical), gender, and kinship. The latter includes the 'side' or 'line' of one's descent. Another more flexibly determined factor is reputation, which can be enhanced by education, wealth, generosity, and involvement in church-related activities. Unlike ranked relations, status relations can sometimes involve competition and rivalry, particularly in regard to this more readily contested criterion of reputation (cf. Bernstein 1983).

\(^{10}\) My use of the terms 'rank' and 'status' differs considerably from previous analyses of hierarchical relations in Tonga, including those by Bernstein (1983), Bott (1981), Kaeppler (1971), and Marcus (1978), mainly by substantially simplifying the complexities of Tongan hierarchy. However, my understanding of rank and status in Tonga has greatly benefitted from their work.

\(^{11}\) Some people who are now legally tu'a are 'eiki in pre-contact reckoning, since they are descended from the Tu'i Tonga or related to the present Royal Family. On the other hand, some nopele are not sino'i 'eiki (of chiefly 'body' or blood). A further complication to the ranking system is that some tu'a are now referred to as 'eiki by virtue of their social position, as with government ministers.
This cross-cutting system means that in certain contexts, such as funerals or weddings, a titled chief may be of lower status than some of his tu'a relatives. Since the status system is conceptualised in terms of the 'eiki/tu'a (rank) distinction, the chief would be 'tu'a' in those contexts. Theoretically, 'every relation and interaction between two social actors [is] premised on one being 'eiki to the other as tu'a in that context or interaction' (James 1987: 2). However, as will be shown in this thesis, status distinctions are not foregrounded in some contexts, in which participants behave as coequals (e.g. in children’s play).

The distinction in status relations between 'eiki and tu'a reflects relations of rank, in that the 'eiki person in any interaction has a certain amount of authority. The extent of this authority, and the prerogatives it involves, vary according to context. The behaviour of the lower status person is ideally respectful, obedient and submissive. Since children occupy one of the lowest status positions in Tongan society, learning this behaviour is a crucial element of their socialisation. A major focus of this thesis is the way in which such learning occurs, as well as the kinds of behaviour it entails.

My analysis also draws out the elements of ambivalence associated with the values and behaviour appropriate to hierarchical relationships in Tonga. Although my focus is on adult/child relationships, this ambivalence is also a feature of wider rank and status relations. It can be seen clearly in the ways in which the chief/commoner relationship is characterised, both by Tongans and in the literature on Tongan society. On the one hand is the ideal of unchallengable authority and unquestioning subservience. On the other hand is the ideal of reciprocity, of mutual dependency, sacrifice and service, in which both 'eiki and tu'a work for one another's benefit, motivated by warm emotion and loyalty (Biersack 1990a, 1990c: 49-50; Lätükefu 1974: 32). Herda (1988: 89-90) has pointed out the difficulty of assessing just how the tu'a perceived their duties (fatongia) in pre-contact Tonga.

12 Overlapping the status system is the kinship system, which as Marcus notes is also 'modelled on concepts of chiefly honor and authority' (1980: 161; see Chapter Five on kinship).
given the paucity of data on commoners and the conflicting nature of existing accounts. King, for example, argued in 1777 that ‘as the common people by no means appear dispirited or in any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness and benevolence of their masters, insures them against the ill-use of their Authority’ (in Beaglehole 1967: 174; cf. Anderson in ibid.: 951). Yet in 1783 Ellis wrote that ‘The lower class of people are kept in great subjection by the chiefs, who in fact do just as they please with them, and seem to regard them as an abject set of beings, over whom they have an unbounded right (cited in Cummins 1972: 27; and see Orange 1840: 180).13

During the nineteenth century, when Tonga’s laws were being encoded, the ideology of reciprocal fatongia (obligations) was not supported by legislation concerning the role of chiefs. ‘[W]hile the powers of the highest chiefs were spelled out and made enforceable, their obligations as chiefs could not be enforced’ (Powles 1990: 145). Despite the abolition of fatongia in the 1862 Code of Laws (Lätükefu 1974: 247), and the restraint of chiefly powers and privileges by the constitution, some chiefly demands upon commoners have continued to the present day.

The terms used by the hou’eiki to refer to the commoners were derogatory: me’avale (foolish thing) and lauwale (foolish talk), as well as kainanga o e fonua, or kaifonua, (eaters of the land/earth). The term tu’a itself has strongly negative connotations in Tonga. Tu’a also means ‘outside’ and ‘back’, and the term acts as a spatial metaphor when applied to social position. ’Eiki and tu’a are also conceptualised as, respectively, ‘high’ and ‘low’. This metaphor of height extends to the notion of ‘rising’ or ‘falling’ in rank or status, as in tō ki lalo, to ‘fall down’, or lose status. Gifford noted that the term tu’a was applied to anyone ‘who is not

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13 Cruelty of chiefs toward commoners is discussed in Chapter Seven. The problem of conflicting assessments of the ‘eiki/tu’a relationship is exacerbated by the fact that since the Tupou dynasty came to power it has been in the interests of the monarchy to emphasise the cruelty and tyranny inherent in the previous polity. The church has also had a vested interest in emphasising the negative features of the ’unenlightened’ past. These factors have influenced many accounts of pre-Tupou Tonga. In a careful assessment of the literature, Herda concludes that it was only pōpula and hopoate (slaves), and kau tu’avivi (low-born commoners) who were regarded as of no account and treated cruelly (1988: 90). She argues that ordinary tu’a were related to chiefs and therefore their lives and welfare ‘were an emotional matter of considerable concern’ (ibid.).
"clever in Tongan ways", who does not act according to the prescribed Tongan etiquette, or who is rude or boorish' (1971b: 108). Thus, although they are tu'a, commoners strive not to display anga fakatu'a, 'common' behaviour (see Chapter Eight).

Modern Tonga retains the basic social categories of 'eiki and tu'a, but also has a bourgeoning 'middle class' of tu'a who have gained a certain amount of wealth and prestige through education and employment (Benguigui 1989; Bott 1981; Marcus 1981). There is also a small 'commoner elite' who, with some of the nopele, have acquired high social status and hold important positions within the church and government bureaucracies (Marcus 1980a: 161). As Marcus notes, this group is 'the most culturally conservative' in terms of the recent rapid modernisation in Tonga (ibid.). The system of rank, the economic system, and the 'overlapping, independent principles of social differentiation' have prevented the full development of a European type of class structure (Bott 1981: 71).14 Within Holonga, there are very few families who are moving into the 'middle class', as those who aspire to greater wealth or success usually migrate to Nuku'alofa or overseas. The families with whom I lived in Nuku'alofa in 1988-9 are part of the emergent 'middle class', and have lived in the area for several generations. Some members of these families have wage employment and high academic qualifications, and all have an increasingly 'Western' lifestyle, including the acquisition of status symbols such as expensive consumer goods and good-quality European housing. They also maintain close kinship ties to successful migrants in several Western nations, with whom they often exchange visits.15

Although the 'eiki/tu'a distinction remains central to Tongan social organisation and ideology, in political terms it is slowly being eroded. As Marcus notes,

14 Marcus refers to a 'stunted middle class' in Tonga (1981: 58).
15 There is a tendency to activate kinship ties that will be advantageous, so that people may emphasise their kinship with members of the 'middle class' for material or other benefits. Similarly, Marcus has pointed out that many of the 'new elite' renew or elaborate distant or forgotten chiefly connections in order to further enhance their position (1981: 52).
chieftainship has weakened as chiefs lose their 'personal aura', and as their 'hold over channels of elite formation' is diminished (1989: 199). This has led to a 'general lessening of popular forbearance of chiefly power abuse' (ibid.). In Tonga, this is becoming increasingly apparent as church leaders and overseas-educated commoners speak out against economic inequality, the land tenure system, alleged government corruption, and other social issues (see Benguigui 1989; Fraser 1990; Tonga Council of Churches 1975; and numerous items in the Tongan newsheet *Kele'a*, as well as the *Pacific Islands Monthly* and *Islands Business* magazines during the past several years). Some of the latter group have even moved into government, as elected People's Representatives, and are calling for far-reaching reforms to Tonga's political system.

**SOCIAL ORGANISATION**

Having described the hierarchical aspects of Tongan social organisation, the following section examines social organisation at the level of residence and kinship. The precontact settlement pattern was of dispersed homesteads, with at least one nucleated chiefly settlement, at Mu'a (Tongatapu). The impact of widespread warfare at the end of the eighteenth century, and the political change influenced in part by European missionaries, led to the establishment of villages, many at the sites of fortresses built during the wars (Crawford 1969; Kennedy 1958; Walsh 1970).

Modern villages (*kolo*) are administrative units, which are not structured or organised on the basis of kinship. However, for most Tongans, their home village

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16 Marcus is discussing Polynesian cultures more generally, but his remarks are particularly apt for Tonga.

17 My discussion will not include *ha'a*, the ranked social groups comprising a title holder, 'his descendants, and descendants of former holders of that title' (Kaeppler 1971a: 180). Tongan villagers do not usually speak of themselves as belonging to a *ha'a*, or even know to which *ha'a* they belong. (For details of *ha'a* see Bott 1982; Decktor Kom 1974, 1978; Kaeppler 1971a; Marcus 1975.) Cowling has argued that commoners, in their claims to *kāinga* membership, by implication are also asserting *ha'a* affiliation (1990c: 122-4).
contains a significant portion of their immediate and extended family. Economic and other activities are not usually organised on a village-wide basis, but on the basis of various overlapping groups of kinsfolk and friends within the village (see Decktor Korn 1977). Marcus has described villages as comprising ‘a number of segments (manifested on the village level as households or domestic groups) of dispersed family estates’ (1974: 100). Concentrations of ‘segments’ form dominant factions by economic co-operation and land sharing (ibid.). Within the villages there are leaders, such as family heads and church ministers, who have little formal authority outside the village, but whose authority within their subsection of the village is subject to little outside intervention (see Decktor Korn 1977: 237).

Village identity is important to Tongans, as an aspect of their fonua (country/island/village) identity. As Marcus notes, the village is ‘a population unified by a local folk tradition’ (1975b: 60) and a ‘sense of historical heritage’ (ibid.: 37; but cf. Decktor Korn 1977: 230). The importance of this identity is revealed on occasions in which people from many different villages are involved. These are the only times when the village as a whole is the basis of organisation, and considerable rivalry develops between villages. However, the village with which a person identifies most closely may not be that in which he or she resides, if migration, marriage, or other factors have led to a change of residence.

Overlapping the village boundaries are social units known as käinga. James has described the käinga in modern Tonga as ‘based on extended and fictive kinship ties, ramifying through many degrees of kinship from an ego-centred bilateral kindred, and replicated conceptually throughout Tongan society’ (1987: 2). In precontact Tonga, ‘kainga relations were the dominant political ideology’ (ibid). Formerly, subjects of a chief were called his käinga, whether or not they were his kin.19 Today, since kinship ties, rather than allegiance to a chief, are the crucial feature,

18 Van der Grijp (1988) used the category of ‘the house’ to indicate that part of the käinga (extended family) living locally and interacting on a daily basis.

19 At that time people without blood rank (the tu'a) may not have been included in käinga membership (James 1990: 94 fn 10; but see note 13 above).
kāinga are not locally bounded. However, the term is still used sometimes to designate the population of a noble’s estate (Marcus 1980b: 451, fn 1), or simply the people from a particular place (Kavaliku 1977: 48). Despite the role of the kāinga today, as ‘a concept and core group for rallying support’ for various groups and causes, ‘kainga ties have been relegated more to the informal domestic and ceremonial spheres’ (James 1987: 15). Kāinga ties have also declined in importance in terms of local organisation, with the household increasingly becoming the focus of this organisation (Hau’ofa 1978: 161; Marcus 1974; Morton 1987). Morton’s characterisation of social relations beyond the household as ‘optative, temporary and ad hoc’ (1987: 48-9) is appropriate for kāinga, since kāinga ties are activated mainly for life crises, and other ceremonial occasions, and for specific purposes, as described above in the context of social mobility.

As the focus of kinship narrowed a new term, fāmili, was adopted (from ‘family’). Fāmili is variously used to indicate anything from the nuclear family group to virtually the entire kāinga. The term tautonu is often used with fāmili and kāinga to indicate immediate relatives. Most often, fāmili refers to a localised kin group, or a kin set maintaining close ties. In the latter sense, it includes immediate family members living elsewhere, even overseas, with whom economic and emotional links are maintained. Fāmili members give one another economic and other support, and membership can change over time, as when the fāmili fissions into smaller units due to factors such as conflict, the large size of the original group, or the disparate economic status of sections of the group (Aoyagi 1966; Decktor Korn 1974, 1977). The usage of ‘fāmili’ often closely overlaps with ‘api, or household. The term ‘api refers to the land allotment – the ‘api kolo (village allotment) and ‘api ‘uta

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20 However, if some, or all, tu’a were formerly excluded from kāinga there must have been some point at which kāinga ties expanded to include them.

21 The fāmili is headed by the ulu ‘i fāmili (or ulumotu’a) whose role nowadays, when recognised at all, is largely restricted to directing aspects of ceremonial events (see Aoyagi 1966: 151-4). For this reason I have not discussed the matakali, or group of households under the leadership of an ‘ulumotu’a (Morton 1972: 48-51).
(bush allotment)\textsuperscript{22} – but also refers to the people residing on the 'api kolo. (For details of the Tongan land tenure system see Decktor Korn 1977: 49-56; Maude 1971, 1973; Morgan 1985; Nayacakalou 1959). Household members may not all be closely related, and may be only short or long term visitors, but while they co-reside they normally eat together and co-operate economically and domestically (see Decktor Korn 1975, 1977; Sevele 1973).

Newly married young couples usually reside with the husband’s or wife’s parents or other relatives until they can afford to set up a separate household (see Chapter Three). Household composition is also subject to changes as children are ‘adopted’, as visiting relatives come and go, and as members migrate temporarily or permanently. Finau and Helenā, the young couple with whom I lived in 1986, were staying in the home of the wife’s great-aunt (MMZ)\textsuperscript{23} and her three adopted children. At that time they had two children, three-year-old twins Feleti (♂) and Vika (♀). By 1988 they had built their own house, and had another child, Mefa (♀). Helenā’s mother was on a year-long visit from Australia, having come to help with Mefa. Lätui, Helenā’s MZDD (aged 20) had come from 'Eua to stay with them while she attended the Catholic high school in Mu’a. In 1989 the entire household moved to Australia, where they lived with Helenā’s relatives for some time before the nuclear family unit moved to a separate house.

While there is a general trend toward nuclear-family households (Morton 1987), inter-island migration has slowed this trend to some extent on Tongatapu, especially in and around Nuku’alofa. Sevele (1973: 69) found that in 1970, 43.7 per cent of households on Tongatapu were ‘extended’, in comparison to only 28.5 per cent in Ha’apai and 23.9 per cent in Vava’u. The following table indicates the composition of the households in Holonga late in 1988:

\textsuperscript{22} Sometimes referred to as 'api tukuhau, or tax allotment.

\textsuperscript{23} In this paragraph and in Table One, below, I use the standard abbreviations for kinship terms; i.e. M=mother, F=father, S=son, D=daughter, B=brother, Z=sister, and C=child/ren.
TABLE 2A: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION IN HOLONGA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear family (NF)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF, grandchildren</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF, wife’s relatives</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF, husband’s relatives</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparents, grandchildren</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF, both parents’ relatives</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF, child’s spouse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman, F, ZC</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman, B, DC</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman, BC</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single man</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single woman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were actually 25 different household configurations, and Table 2A is simplified to show the overall pattern. (For comparison see Appendix, Table 6.) In the table nuclear family (NF), includes families in which one partner has died or is overseas. Table 2H, later in this chapter, gives further details of the migration pattern. Eight women in Holonga had the role of head of household, and five only had children under the age of 16 living with them. Of the eight women, two were widowed, one divorced, one unmarried, and four had husbands working overseas. Another woman in Holonga lived with her young children and her elderly mother, while her husband was overseas. To be alone with one’s children is regarded as faka’ofa (pitiable), and relatives usually provide some material, financial and emotional support. Most women without spouses (temporarily or permanently) live

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24 Includes families where married couples and their children live with the NF of one spouse, as well as NF where grandchildren’s parents are not resident.

25 Only includes married offspring without children.
with relatives. During my time in Tonga I only came across one instance of a single father looking after his children alone. He was a resident of Nuku’alofa whose wife worked overseas, and he had sole care of his son (7) and daughter (3). Eventually he returned both children to their mother, and lived alone. He explained that his family had disapproved of the situation, teasing him that his wife had become ‘the husband’, even though he was also working. He claimed they offered little help, and had watched and waited for him to make mistakes.

An important feature of household composition in Tonga is the frequent inclusion of adopted children. Several previous accounts have described the forms and procedures of ‘adoption’ (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941: 70-1; Morton 1976; Urbanowicz 1973). Pusiaki, usually glossed as ‘fosterage’, is the most common term used nowadays for both temporary and permanent movements of children between households. Temporary fosterage is sometimes referred to as ngāohi or ngāahi, terms that also mean bringing up one’s own children. When these terms are used the fostered child is said to still ‘belong’ to the mother; for example a woman may temporarily care for some of her grandchildren if their mother has many children. Tauhi, meaning to care for, also includes the care of both natural and adopted children.

Reasons for adopting children vary, and include childlessness, having children of only one gender, desire for companionship and household help when natural children are grown, and/or fondness for a particular child. The relinquishing parents also have varied motives, as when the child is illegitimate, the mother is ill or absent due to migration, divorce, or death, or if the household is overcrowded. Parents may also want their children to have educational and economic advantages they cannot provide. Sometimes parents living overseas send children to relatives in Tonga, to grow up ‘in the Tongan way’. Tongans emphasise the advantages of adoption to the adults concerned, in terms of the care and help the child can give the adoptive
parents, and the ofa (compassion, love) of the adults involved for one another (James 1983: 238; Kavaliku 1977: 63).26

Children of all ages can be 'adopted', though babies are not usually taken until they are weaned. Between four months and one year is a common age for adoption, though at times even newborns are taken. One adoptive mother I knew acted as midwife at the child's birth and took him home immediately afterwards. In many cases, the biological parents continue to see the child, and live nearby. Some children eventually return to their natural parents, and some go on to live with other adoptive parents. Tonotama means 'to take somebody else's adopted child and keep it as one's own' (Churchward 1959: 494).

In Holonga in 1988, 48 of the 258 children under 16 (18.6 per cent) were pusiaki. As the following table shows, in all but one case these children were grandchildren or relatives of the adoptive mother, with a tendency for the relationship to be through her brother.27 Of the 48 children, ten were illegitimate, and 29 were being looked after while their parents were overseas (eight were in both categories). Twelve households had one pusiaki child, four had two, five had three, two had four, and one had five. Those with four and five children were couples caring for grandchildren whose parents were overseas.

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26 I have stressed here the more pragmatic functions of adoption, as do Tongans. A great deal has been written about the social and psychological 'functions' of adoption in Polynesia (e.g. Brady 1976; Carroll 1970; Levy 1973: 483-5). For Tonga, Morton has suggested that adoptions increase the adoptees' 'options for group affiliation and access to resources' (1976: 77).

27 Comparative figures can be found in Morton (1976). Of 81 'adoption' transactions, he found that 68 per cent were related to the adoptive mother (ibid.: 68).
When the pattern of *pusiaki* relationships in Holonga is examined, it becomes clear that to talk of 'adoptive parents' is often misleading. The complexity of many households, shown in Table 2A, means that *pusiaki* children may be grandchildren, nieces, nephews, and so on, in relation to the various adult members of the household. Thus in Table 2B the 'adoptive parent/s' indicated is/are the person or couple most directly responsible for the child. An aspect of adoptive relationships that the table does not show is that sibling sets are not always kept together when moved to other households, and may be sent to different villages or even different countries.

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28 Indicates 'woman's'.
MAP 4: THE VILLAGE OF HOLONGA

KEY
C = concrete
W = Wood, iron roof
I = Iron
T = Thatch roof, wooden walls
WI = Wood and iron
F = Fiber
O = Tangen shape
FK = Fak Kolea (Shop)
OFK = Fak Kolea now closed

NOT TO SCALE
VILLAGE LIFE: HOLONGA.

Hologa figures in Tongan mythology in the myths concerning the exploits of Muni (Gifford 1971a: 120-138; Moulton n.d.:55-74). Muni was thrown into the sea as a foetus, when his pregnant mother was killed and eaten on board a craft sailing to Ha'apai. The baby floated to an island, where a plover pecked his face (hence his full name, Munimatamahae, Muni-of-the-torn-eye/face). He was adopted by an elderly couple, and grew to be strong but naughty. When the chiefs of the island plotted to kill him, Muni went to Tongatapu to find his father, who was living in the bush in hiding from Pungalotohoa, a cruel cannibal chief. Muni went to Punga’s house, had intercourse with Punga’s wives, and stole a huge kava plant. On the road at Holonga he shook the earth from the kava roots, forming the two mounds now to be seen on either side of the road. Punga, who had heard of Muni’s treachery and pursued him, caught up with him there and challenged him to contests of strength, which Muni won. Defeated, Punga surrendered his wives to Muni, who became ruler of Tonga, and Punga went into the sea and became coral rock (punaga).

Bott describes the establishment of Holonga, in the Hahake (eastern) district of Tongatapu, as a place for the Kanokupolu people to stay when taking food offerings to the Tu’i Tonga (1982: 122). She states that Holonga was established by Kapukava, one of the Ha’a Ngata Motu’a, who were responsible for guarding and protecting the Tu’i Tonga, appointing successive Tu’i Kanokupolu, and making the kava at the Tu’i Kanokupolu’s investiture (ibid.:122-4). The present-day Kapukava resides in Holonga and is still recognised by the villagers as chiefly and

29 Gifford stated that the Muni stories were ‘one of the most popular of the extant Tongan tales’ in the 1930s (1971a: 120).

30 Bott does not give a date for this event. Tongan traditions assert that the Tu’i Tonga was the paramount chief of Tonga. The title came to be that of the senior, sacred chief after the 24th Tu’i Tonga created the office of hau, or secular ruler, the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua. The sixth Tu’i Ha’atakalaua appointed another hau, the Tu’i Kanokupolu, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and this title is held by the present king (Lätükefu 1974: 2-3; and see Gunson 1979).

31 Bott claims that the original Kapukava was a son of the first Tu’i Kanokupolu, Ngata, and Kaupo’ou, a daughter of ’Ahome’e, a chief of Hihifo (1982: 120). Moulton, however, states that the first Kapukava was the grandson of Ngata and his second wife Kaupo’ou, and son of Kaumavae (n.d.: 48).
accorded due respect. However, the Kapukava title was, like others of the Ha’a Ngata Motu’a, not a high-ranking title. It was not chosen to be one of the *nopete* titles, and has no legal status or *tofi’a* (hereditary estate). Holonga is therefore on government land, and is not part of a noble’s *tofi’a*.\(^{32}\)

The 1986 population census (PC Bulletin: 4, Table 3) showed that there had been a slight population decline in Holonga and nearby villages between 1976 and 1986 (average annual growth rate minus 0.54 per cent). This continued between 1986 and 1989; the census gives Holonga’s population in 1986 as 505 (ibid.: 8, Table 4), and my own survey shows that in 1989 the population had dropped to 469. Figures for the number of households from these sources were, respectively, 85 and 77. In 1976 Holonga’s population was 529, with 69 households (ibid.). These figures show that while there has been a steady population decline, the number of households has fluctuated, with an overall increase. This suggests a decrease in household size due to the trend toward nuclear-family households.

Hlonga was one of the earliest sites of Catholicism in Tonga. Some Tongans who had converted to Catholicism while living in 'Uvea returned to Tonga in 1842 with Bishop Pompallier, to help found Catholic missions on Tongatapu. The first Catholic mission was established in Pea, and the Tongans returning from 'Uvea formed other Catholic centres in their own home villages, Holonga and Kolonga (Lätükefu 1974: 147). Some of their descendants remain in Holonga, which has retained a large proportion of Catholics, as shown in Table 2C.

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\(^{32}\) Compared to villagers living on nobles’ land, Holongans have fewer demands made on them for ‘gifts’ of food and services. They are still requested to provide food at celebrations involving the royal family, as well as for many other celebrations and fund-raising events.
TABLE 2C: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION IN HOLONGA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENOMINATION</th>
<th>HOLONGA</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>TONGA%33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormon</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Tonga</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'ama Fo'ou</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>469</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>--</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Decktor Korn's discussion of denomination-changing is applicable to the residents of Holonga, who typically change denomination to suit the school they attend, the religion of their spouse (usually to the husband's), or for 'personal retooling' (1977: 198, 203-4; and see Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 127-8). Such changes can be the source of family disharmony, since religious affiliation is an important component of Tongans' identity (see Helu 1983). However they are eventually accepted, particularly in the case of wives adopting husbands' denomination. Religious differences do not divide communities today as in the past (cf. Lätukefu 1974), and members of different congregations work together on various projects such as *tapa-*dying, feast preparation, and so on. Children may also attend different churches with different relations; for example, the children in our Holonga household attended Catholic services with their maternal relatives and Wesleyan services with their paternal relatives (although their mother had nominally joined the Wesleyan church after her marriage). I have not focused on religious differences as a component of child socialisation in Tonga, although I do discuss the

33 The figures in this column are from the 1986 Census (*Tonga Chronicle* October 28, 1988: 2). Denominations not represented in Holonga are Free Church of Tonga (11 per cent for Tonga) and Seventh Day Adventist (2.3 per cent), and those in the 'all others' category (5.1 per cent). These figures can also be compared with those in the Appendix, Table 3. Included in the 'all others' category are Baha'i, New Apostolic Church, and other movements with small numbers of adherents. The Tonga Muslim League was established in 1983 amidst controversy over funding (*Matangi Tonga* 1987: 24-5; 1988: 24). One man from Holonga was briefly a nominal Muslim but he later returned to the Wesleyan Church.
influence of Christianity at several points. 'Christianity', rather than particular denominations, is invoked in discourse concerning appropriate values and behaviour, so it is religion in this broader sense that I address.

The first settlement of Holonga was near the rocky lagoon shore, and as the population grew the village expanded toward what is now Hahake Road, the main road along the lagoon coast from Nuku'alofa to Kolonga. Today Holonga sprawls along both sides of Hahake Road, merging with the village of Malapo to the west and almost reaching Alaki to the east (see Maps 2 and 3). Houses are being built on sections of bush allotments, and some town allotments have more than one house crowded onto the land. As indicated on Map 3, and in Table 2D below, many of the houses are now 'European-style', with wooden or concrete walls and iron roofs, rectangular shapes, and divided interiors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSE TYPE</th>
<th>1988</th>
<th>1976</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brick/cement</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongan style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron roof/wood</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thatch roof/wood</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron roof/thatch</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thatch roof and walls</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34 Figures in this column are from Census of Population and Housing 1976: 205, Table 37.

35 Eight houses were unoccupied at the time of my survey, and 16 houses did not contain separate households, some being used by adolescent boys as sleeping houses and/or 'gang' houses, and others by single people attached to a main household.
European-style furniture such as beds, couches, and cupboards is becoming increasingly popular, and some homes now have whitegoods such as freezers and washing machines. A growing number of houses include kitchens, rather than having a separate cooking house, though many still retain the separate structure as well, for open-fire cooking. In most cases toilets and showers are separate from the house, the majority of toilets being pit-style. Access to water is a constant problem in Holonga. Most homes have access to the reticulated water system, with an outside tap and shower, and in a few cases, flush toilets. However the system often fails or is turned off, sometimes for weeks at a time. Rainwater tanks are often inadequate to meet the needs of the household during the dry months, and occasionally water has to be brought in from other villages. Electricity is available but also unreliable, with frequent blackouts. These interruptions to water and power supplies mean that newly acquired electrical goods, whitegoods, kitchens and flush toilets are often rendered temporarily useless. In the case of freezers that are repeatedly on and off, and flush toilets rendered inoperative, this can cause health problems.

Most households keep some animals on their town allotment, including pigs, goats and chickens, as well as pet cats and dogs. The gardens of many homes are well-cared for and attractive, and the plants are often used for decorative, medicinal, culinary and other purposes. Some of the 'bush' surrounding the village has been cultivated for food crops but much is lying unused. Many of the village men do not have bush allotments near the village, and they travel to their plantations by car or truck.

The conditions described for Holonga are similar to those in most villages on Tongatapu, and many of the other islands. Some of the more remote villages of the outer islands had no electricity or reticulated water at the time of my fieldwork, and had a greater proportion of Tongan-style dwellings. Villages in and around Nuku’alofa have a greater proportion of European-style homes, and fewer interruptions to their water and power supplies. The piped water is often
contaminated, though, especially in low-lying, swampy areas where sewage leaks into the water supply (see Fonua 1988: 29-31; Matangi Tonga 1989a: 3).

As Tonga's centre of business and government, Nuku'alofa is more densely populated than the villages. It is also contains the central bus station, the produce market and many retail stores, as well as services such as the Post Office and banks. Many villagers from all over Tongatapu travel to Nuku'alofa each day to work, shop, sell goods in the market, or seek various services. Despite their close proximity to this busy centre, the residential areas of Nuku'alofa are, as I have said, much like villages, and the daily lives of the residents are in many ways very similar to their counterparts elsewhere in Tonga. Members of the 'middle class' households in which I lived in Nuku'alofa maintained strong ties with family and church. Although more men and women were in wage employment than in Holonga, many women were also involved in the production of ngatu (dyed bark-cloth) and mats, and most households had some access to land for the cultivation of staple foods. It must be added, though, that some of the poorer areas of Nuku'alofa have worse conditions than most villages, with overcrowding, little or no access to agricultural land, high rates of unemployment, very poor quality housing, and related problems (Fonua 1991; Hau'ofa 1977; Lua 1987; Takau and Fungalei 1987).

Of the 77 households in Holonga in late 1988, three were one-generation households, 45 were two-generation, and 29 were three-generation. Table 2E, below, indicates the number of persons per household, and Table 2F shows the age structure of Holonga. Census figures for 1976 and 1986 show that the pattern of household sizes and age distribution in Holonga is similar to that in other villages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. IN HOUSEHOLD</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE: 6.1
TABLE 2F: AGE DISTRIBUTION IN HOLONGA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE GROUP</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-80</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81-90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>505</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>529</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The village (see Map 4) has four churches, three *falekoloa*, or stores, and a primary school. Most high school students travel to the Catholic college at Mu’a, and others travel to schools in other villages. Health needs are met at the Mu’a government-run health centre, or at Vaiola hospital, near Nuku’alofa.

As in all Tongan villages and towns, church activities take up a significant portion of people’s time, with various services, meetings, choir practices, and so on. Church activities are also an important context for status enhancement (see Decktor Korn 1978). As shown in Table 2G, below, many of the residents of Holonga have entered the paid workforce, though the major occupation for males is agriculture, and for women home duties and craft production. Most people in wage employment also spend some time on agricultural and/or craft work. Men working the land, and

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36 PC Bulletin: 8, Table 4.
women making *ngatu* sometimes work in co-operative groups (see Nayacakalou 1959), but small, household-based work units are more common.

Many women in Holonga, and elsewhere in Tonga, are becoming increasingly involved in economic activity, and are assuming a greater burden of responsibility for the support of their families (Faletau 1982; Fleming with Tuku’afu 1986). The 1976 census showed that only 6.6 per cent of the women in Holonga were in wage employment (p.146, Table 25), and the figure in 1988 was 18.2 per cent. However, the women of Holonga have not become involved in the recent mobilisation of Tongan women into women’s groups, in order to obtain funding through international aid agencies for local ‘development’ projects (Halatuituia, Latu and Moimoi 1982). Many of the families living in Holonga face the same problems described by Faletau (1982) for Tongan villagers generally: an insufficient family income, poor diet, poor water supply and inadequate housing, land shortage, and lack of opportunities for paid employment.

---

**TABLE 2G: HOLONGANS’ OCCUPATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>housework<em>37</em></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>office work</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpentry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>police/soldier</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nursing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taxi/truck driving</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shopkeeping</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled labour</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>109</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
<td><strong>230</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*37 The males in this category are all elderly males who help with cooking, childcare, etc.; the women almost all engage in craft production, as well as carrying out home duties, and many also do some agricultural work in their family’s plantation and gather seafood in the lagoon.*
Very few teenagers leave school early to seek employment. At the time of my survey, five adolescent girls were doing home duties, one aged 16, two aged 17 and two aged 18. One male (17) was working in an office, two (17, 18) were working as labourers, and one (18) was farming. Although few students go on to tertiary education, many remain in high school until they are 19 or 20 (see Chapter Five).

Holonga is not close enough to Nuku'alofa for its population to have been significantly swelled by migrants from outer islands, as has occurred in many villages nearer to town. The tendency is rather to migration out of Holonga. Most adults living in the village have travelled overseas at least once, for temporary employment and/or to visit relatives, and most also have several close relatives living overseas, as shown in Table 2H. Many villagers are reliant on the remittances sent by these migrants to cover not only daily expenses but also school fees, church contributions, and other expenditure. (For studies of the impact of migration in Tonga see Cowling 1990b; De Bres 1974; Fonua 1987; Lua 1987; Marcus 1974; Takau and Fungalei 1987.) Table 2H shows the number of Holongans living overseas at the time of my survey, who were immediate family members (parents, siblings and children) of residents of Holonga in late 1988.

The table is intended only as a rough indication of migration patterns, and obviously does not show the reasons for migration, length of migration, and so on. These factors are continually subject to change, in any case; for example when a student or visitor decides to seek employment and overstay, or to marry and settle overseas. Also, those described as ‘single’ on the table are those who left as unmarried (including divorced and widowed) persons; many marry and have families once overseas.
women making *ngatu* sometimes work in co-operative groups (see Nayacakalou 1959), but small, household-based work units are more common.

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>housework(^{37})</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>office work</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carpentry</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>police/soldier</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nursing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taxi/truck driving</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shopkeeping</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled labour</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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As the table clearly shows, individual males and whole families are most likely to migrate, but women are also well represented in the figures. Of the women remaining in the village with dependent children, six of the twelve ‘single parents’ had spouses overseas. Of the other six, two were unmarried, one was a widow, and three were divorced. Only one man was a single parent; his children’s mother lived overseas and he lived with his sister and her son. As well as migration overseas, there is considerable movement out of the village to other areas in Tonga, often to the home village of a spouse, and in the following chapter further details will be given of residence patterns after marriage.

Having described some aspects of modern Tongan society, thus establishing the broad context of my study, I now move on to consider the importance of marriage and children to Tongans, and to examine pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of infants.

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38 Not included in the table, except in the totals column, are individual families to Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and Canada, two single men to Samoa, and one single woman to Fiji.
Photograph 1: Holonga's Catholic church

Photograph 2: Holonga's Mormon church; tennis courts at rear
Photograph 3: One of Holonga's two main streets. At right, the only two-storey house in the village.

Photograph 4: Holonga from Hahake Road. The hut in the foreground is used by teenage boys as a 'gang' house. To its left, beside the road, is a falekoloa (shop).
Photograph 5: The house in which we stayed in Holonga, 1988

Photograph 6: Side view of a house and yard, showing concrete water tank, shower block attached to house, and separate cooking hut.
Photograph 7: Poor housing in the low-lying coastal outskirts of Nuku'alofa, settled by immigrants from the outer islands.
CHAPTER THREE

HAVING CHILDREN: ‘PARADISE ON EARTH’

Children are ‘me'a mahu'inga taha pe 'i māmani’, one grandmother told me; they are the most important things in this world. Her words were echoed by most of the women and men with whom I spoke in Tonga. ‘It is paradise (palataisi) for one’s stay on earth to have children’, another woman explained, and another said that without children, marriage, and life itself would be ta'eifo (uninteresting, boring). Children are sometimes referred to as koloa, valuables or wealth, and a woman, by having children, gives her husband’s käinga this special form of koloa (Bott n.d.: 15; James 1988: 34). Another way of referring to children is as an inheritance from God: ‘Ko e fānau ko e tofi’a mei he 'Otua’.

The support children provide as they get older is very important. An elderly woman stated: ‘As one gets older (hoholo hifo: gradually sink down), one’s children are the closest (taupotu) to you; there is no one else who is as close to one’s self (hoto sino: one’s body) in one’s old age’. Children are expected to work for their household from an early age (see Chapter Four), and as adults they should continue to support their parents financially, materially, and emotionally. This is one reason for the preference for larger families and the resistance to family planning that will be discussed later in this chapter. The high value placed on children, especially for the labour they contribute to their households, is also an important element both in initiating and refusing adoption requests. The prospective parents may wish to adopt a child, for the reasons discussed in the previous chapter, but the natural parents may
refuse their request. As one young mother said, ‘God may only give us this one child, and if we let someone adopt her who would look after us when we are old?’.

MARRIAGE

Marriages between commoners are seldom arranged by relatives, although ideally the father and father's sisters of both partners have some influence. Many marriages are elopements (*mali hola*), sometimes followed by a formal ceremony involving an exchange of food and *koloa* (valuables: mats and bark cloth) by the families. Since there have been many descriptions of Tongan weddings – chiefly and commoner, elopements and formal ceremonies, ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ – details will not be given here (e.g. Aoyagi 1966: 167-171; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 92-99; Collocott 1923b; Gifford 1971b: 191-196; Lawry 1852: 40; Marcus 1979; Martin 1981: 96-8; Orange 1840: 149-151).

Since the late nineteenth century, Christian ideology and codified laws have wrought significant changes in many aspects of Tongan marriage. As well as changes to the ceremony itself (formerly carried out only within *eiki* families), other changes included the abolition of polygamy, and the imposition of laws pertaining to divorce and remarriage. Categories of ineligible spouses are now set down in law, codifying ‘traditional’ incest *tapu* (*The Law of Tonga*, Cap. 61: Section 6, 7, and see Cap 15: Section 122, 123). Other laws prohibit adultery and ‘fornication’ (ibid.: Cap 139), and set a minimum age for marriage (currently 15, requiring guardians’ consent until 18 [ibid.: Cap 61: Section 5]).

Early observers of Tongan society reported that couples separated without formality (e.g. Martin 1981: 327). The Wesleyan missionaries, who quickly introduced Christian marriage ceremonies, ensured that the earliest written laws upheld their views on the sanctity of marriage. The 1850 Code of Laws stated: ‘Marriage is a covenant between man and woman, that they shall be one, and their

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1 Refusals of adoption requests are often made by the parent not related to the prospective adopters, since the related partner may feel they 'have no choice' but to agree.
property one, until the termination of the existence of one of them’ (Section 7, in Lätükefu 1974: 229). Adultery was the only grounds allowed for divorce, and even then neither party could remarry until one died (ibid.). Today the grounds for divorce include adultery, the sentencing of one partner to a prison term of over five years, bigamy, desertion, leprosy or another contagious, incurable disease, inability to consummate, or separation for five or more years (The Law of Tonga Cap 18: Section 2). In 1988 ‘unreasonable behaviour’ by one partner was added to this list (Matangi Tonga 1989c: 10).

Apart from altering marriage practices through their influence on the early laws, the Wesleyan missionaries had a no less direct effect through the Christian ideology they preached, which was filtered through their nineteenth century British ideals (predominantly those of the lower middle-class). They encouraged chastity before marriage, fidelity in marriage, and subservience of the wife to her husband (Kavapalu 1988: 100). Gailey has described at length the ‘assault on women’s autonomy’ (1981: 205) that she claims occurred during this period (and see Gailey 1980, 1987b). However, as James has pointed out, the changes that took place gave women ‘at once more and less freedom and securities as wives’ (James 1983: 241). Gailey argues that ‘missionary redefinitions of marital responsibilities particularly disfavoured wives’ (1980: 313). While this is so, it is also true that the role of wives has been reconfirmed and strengthened (James 1983; Kavapalu 1988).

Over time the criteria for choosing marital partners have also changed. Considerations of rank and kinship were formerly important, especially for hou'eiki, and continue to carry some weight today. As James asserts: ‘Educational achievement, Christian piety and income-earning capacities are among many other factors that are now also relevant but which have not by any means replaced the old sets of values’ (1983: 241; see Bott 1981: 65). The ‘old values’ also emphasised notions of femininity and masculinity which will be discussed in Chapter Five. Important ‘other factors’, which James does not specify, include romantic or sexual love (nowadays referred to as either ofa or manako), trust, and the good
nature/behaviour (angalelei) of the potential spouse. It is these more emotionally-oriented criteria that were unanimously cited by those with whom I discussed choice of marriage partner.

Today most marriages occur when both partners are aged between 15 and 24. Pulea cites Department of Justice figures for 1980, showing that 70.4 per cent of females and 51.6 per cent of males married between these ages (1986: 127). Newlyweds usually live with the parents of one partner until they have at least one child. Tensions often arise between the in-coming spouse and their partner’s family, especially when the wife moves in with her husband’s family. Being low-status in relation to her affines, especially her husband’s sisters, she is expected to be hardworking and submissive (Bernstein 1983; Decktor Korn 1975: 254). While many couples continue to live with various family members, a large proportion eventually move into their own home and reside as a nuclear family, or become heads of a new extended household.

In Holonga, I collected data on 254 couples, including those living in the village in late 1988, and those of their parents, siblings and children living elsewhere for whom I could obtain information. Of these couples, 57 (22.4 per cent) had married within Holonga. Figures for men and women from Holonga who chose partners from outside their village are given in Table 3A, below.

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2 The relationship between a woman and her husband’s sister is ideally one of avoidance, similar to that between the man and his sister. Thus, the wife should not share her sister-in-law’s clothes, comb, mats, and so on, and the women are tapu to one another at childbirth (Aoyagi 1966: 163; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 73). Today, as with the brothersister relationship (see Chapter Five), these restrictions are weakening, but the husband’s sister may still assert her higher status by making labour demands on her sister-in-law. On the other hand, a person’s relationship with his or her same-sex sibling’s spouse, and the same-sex siblings of his/her spouse ‘are characterised by license and joking’ (Bernstein 1983: 43).
TABLE 3A: HOLONGAN MARRIAGE PATTERNS

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<tr>
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<th>FEMALE</th>
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<tr>
<td>moved from Holonga</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>43.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>spouse to Holonga</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>34.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>total non-Holongan spouses</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>77.6</td>
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The official figures for total fertility rates show that in 1973-5 the estimated rate was 5.3, whereas in 1983 it was 4.5 (DPV: 74, and see Bakker 1979 and MacArthur 1967 for earlier trends). However, in 1983 Ikahihifo and Panuve found that for two villages (one urban and one rural) the average number of children was between five and eight (1983: 15). My own figures for Holonga in 1988, shown in Table 3B, show an average rate of 6.1 for the women aged over 55. For the women aged 40-54 the average rate was 3.9, and although many women continue to bear children during these years the rate would presumably not increase significantly. Very few women in Holonga, and in Tonga generally, are now having the larger families of eight or more children that were formerly common.

Tonga’s fertility rate continues to be relatively high, and more than half of the total population of Tonga is under 20: 54 per cent in 1984, with 41.7 per cent under 14 (DPV: 403, 85).3 The 1976 census showed that 14.8 per cent of women were under 20 when they bore their first live-born child, and 2.1 per cent were under 17 (Table 23: 27).

Since 1967, when the first family planning clinic was established in Nuku’alofa, the Tongan government has advocated reduced family sizes. The Ministry of Health now has a national family planning program, through its Mother and Child Health (MCH) clinics, offering free contraception. The most popular form of contraception

3 These figures should be higher, as the 0-4 age group was undercounted in the 1984 mini-census on which they are based (DPV: 73). The crude birth rate for 1987 was 28.3 per thousand (Report of the Ministry of Health for 1987: 32)
is Depo Provera, which in 1987 accounted for 36.3 per cent of users (Report of the Ministry of Health for 1987: 32). Associated with the family planning program is a public education drive, with posters, radio programs, seminars, and so on. There is also the aid-funded Tongan Family Planning Association (which uses mā'uli, traditional midwives, as 'motivators' in the villages), private clinics, the Roman Catholic family planning centre, and a Seventh Day Adventist mobile clinic. Family planning is even advocated through the school curriculum, with lessons on the advantages of small families, complete with songs to learn:

Always remember the family  
Father, mother and little children  
Will be better if there are few  
Enough food, happiness, and ability to go to school  
But many, and they will go short of things  
Hungry, and often sick, and away from school  
If you do not take the responsibility to be moderate  
It is a problem for the country  
(Environmental Science Social Studies lesson plans, class one, 1985: 3, my translation).

As indicated in this song, the association between fewer children and a higher living standard is a central theme of the family planning program, and increasing economic pressures are making this a realistic message for many couples. The movement of many women into the paid workforce has also affected average family size. One of the conflicts couples face in modern Tonga is between the 'acquisition of Western-style wealth and provision for many children' (James 1983: 241). Migration patterns have also had some effect, with spouses separating for varying periods during the woman's childbearing years.

There are also significant factors working against the acceptance of family planning. Both the Roman Catholic and Mormon churches forbid the use of contraceptives, and several people working in family planning programs reported a widespread reluctance on the part of males to accept the use of contraception. Reluctance to limit family size is also related to the high social value of children, particularly in their role as providers for the family. One elderly woman, who had only one natural child but adopted three children in her 60s, commented:
TABLE 3B: NUMBER OF CHILDREN

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TOTAL CHILDREN 8 25 31 46 13 29 13 252 148

N*: Number of children alive, for women living in Holonga 1988
~ Total number of women: 148
# Total number of children: 417
Yes, it's a good thing to have lots of children. The doctor says to be moderate. And it's partly true in that you can see to looking after them. But you see at this time, during this time, the people with lots of children are special (hau). They go to work, and work, and work, and bring you the means to shoulder the great burdens, and the parents can lie down and rest. One or two is just saddening (fakamamahi). The parents aren't able to rest, because there's only a little. The girl does a little work, the boy does a little work ... the father has to go to farm, not rest at any time. Same with the mother, like me, never stop working at home, beating bark cloth and doing other things. Because to help with the burdens the children must go to work, and get some money. It is true that money is important, to be able to get these things. But she/he is not able to shoulder the general responsibilities of the family, the land; without doubt it will just be the parents who shoulder them.

Abortions are illegal in Tonga (The Law of Tonga Cap 15: Sections 94-96). Cases involving abortion rarely reach the courts, with only one conviction (for supplying the means of abortion) from 1985 to 1987 (Reports of the Minister of Police for 1986: 78, and 1987: 74).4 A seminar in Tonga on 'The Socio-Economic Consequences of Rapid Population Growth', in 1976, produced a recommendation that abortions be legalized when the mother's health is in danger (Pulea 1986: 85). No legal reform has occurred in this regard, but one doctor told me that abortions are now performed in such cases. He added that most of the women who request abortions are unmarried, or are married women with unplanned pregnancies who are facing economic hardship, but these women cannot be helped under existing laws. The community attitude to abortion today is generally one of strong disapproval, not only because it is seen as un-Christian, but also because of the high value of children, and the relative ease with which illegitimate children are absorbed into the extended family.

PREGNANCY: 'PREPARING THE CHILD'

Most Tongan women conceive knowing little of the facts of conception, pregnancy, and birth. As girls they are not told 'the facts of life', and once they are

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4 Abortion was made illegal in Tonga's first written legal code, the 1839 Code of Vava'u (Lätukefu 1974: 222), and by the 1862 code the punishment for procuring an abortion was to work as a convict for life (ibid.: 243). Traditional methods involved herbal abortifacients and vigorous massage.
pregnant their female relatives tend to give them only practical advice, instructions about the various tapu to be followed, and warnings that the birth will be painful. There is a great deal of reluctance to discuss anything related to sex: 'It is a sacred thing', said one young woman. Girls are taught from an early age to be modest, and embarrassed/ashamed (mā) about their bodies. Pregnant women are given some information from mā'uli (midwives) and/or the antenatal clinics, but the greater part of women's knowledge is gained through experience.

Being pregnant is 'feitama', meaning preparing a child (tama). Formerly, this term may also have been used for conception, perhaps for the male role (Bott n.d.: 10). When people refer to a woman's pregnant state they more often use the term fo'i kete, 'round stomach'. This extends even to speaking of the kete (stomach), rather than the foetus, becoming weak or strong, or growing larger. There do not seem to have been any Tongan terms specifically for the embryo or foetus, the phrase tamasi'i kei 'i kete (little child still in the stomach) being used. Pēpē, from the English 'baby', is also used to refer to the foetus, sometimes as pēpē 'i loto (baby inside).

The process of becoming a Tongan 'person' thus begins in the womb. From the time a woman realises she is pregnant she refers to the growing embryo as a baby, or child, with its own will and anga (nature/behaviour, see Chapter Four). Her own behaviour during pregnancy is believed to influence the baby's development, both physically and temperamentally. Thus, her concern for her child is demonstrated even before it is born, in the care she takes in her behaviour and in the food, drink and medicines she consumes.

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5 It is interesting to note that one of the side-effects of the current public education program for AIDS awareness in Tonga may be a more thorough awareness about the facts of life. As Dr Puloka, an instigator of the program, commented; 'nothing is hidden ... there are no tapus at all' (Matangi Tonga 1989b: 4). Some of the educational films on AIDS, shown at antenatal clinics, high schools and other venues, are very explicit.

6 I consider Tongan ideas about conception, pregnancy and birth in fuller detail in a separate paper (Kavapalu 1990a).
Throughout the pregnancy, and especially during the early months, women avoid strenuous activities for fear of causing the foetus to tö hifo, drop down (i.e. miscarry). Tö can also be used to mean giving birth, particularly for premature births. The foetus is not considered to be faʻu (formed, made) until it begins to move. When women have a miscarriage during the early months (until the quickening) the foetus is buried without ceremony and, one midwife explained, it is accepted that the baby 'was not completed'. At that time the baby (or kete, stomach) is said to have been weak (vaivai). Late miscarriages and still births are given formal burials, but the infant is not usually named, and little ceremony accompanies the interment.

While she is pregnant, whatever a woman eats or drinks, and how she behaves, is believed to have a direct influence on the growing baby. In this way, any physical deformities, mental deficiencies or behavioural abnormalities of a child can be blamed on the mother, or, less often, on those she interacts with most closely, particularly her husband. In this sense, then, the child is seen as an extension of the mother. She plays an active role in determining the development of her child. The term 'tapu' is commonly used to describe these beliefs, but this term is used in a very general sense today, having virtually lost its 'sacred' quality in most contexts. Also, many women no longer hold these beliefs, and even those who do may ignore them at times. Some women, when asked about food tapu, replied that too much fat, salt or sugar is dangerous for the baby. These are the three 'don’ts' given in the public health education program of the Ministry of Health, which have been incorporated into the category of 'tapu'. For many younger women, they are the only tapu they will learn.

When a woman is observed doing something that is believed to adversely affect the baby her female relatives may mention it and warn her of the danger, but little disapproval is expressed, and there is no behaviour that is supposed to eradicate the disapproval.

7 Cowling states that some problems may be blamed on 'spirits' which may interfere 'at point of conception, birth or post-natally, with [the] child’s mind' (1990a: 76), but no woman I spoke with gave this explanation.
ill effects of her actions. The importance of *tapu* lies more in their use as post-hoc explanations for a baby's condition. The *tapu* tend to be followed most carefully during the early months of pregnancy, the *taimi fa'u* (building/forming time).

The *tapu* are based on a kind of 'sympathetic magic', in which a mother's actions or what she consumes can mark or damage the foetus in some related manner. If the mother ingests cold food and drink, or bathes in very cold water, the foetus is thought to become cold and sick. Eating octopus is said to cause the baby to have spotted skin (*kulokula*, or *pala*).\(^8\) If the mother cuts cloth or meat this is said to cause her baby to have part of its body cut off (*mutu*) or damaged; if she steals patterned cloth the baby will be covered with spots (*pulepule*); and if she wears things around her neck the umbilical cord could strangle the foetus. Frequent arguments with her husband during pregnancy may cause the child to be argumentative. There are many more *tapu* that could be listed: some are generally known, and some are the personal beliefs of particular women, some appear to have existed for many generations, and some are new (see Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 78-9; Bott n.d.: 14; Bott 1958: 15-16). Clearly, a common theme of the *tapu*, especially those concerning behaviour, is that the mother must obey social rules: they amount to injunctions against inappropriate expression of emotion, lack of self-control, dishonesty, disrespectful behaviour, and so on. In Tonga, it seems, it is the sins of the mother that are visited upon the children. For a Tongan woman, the 'observation of pregnancy *tapus* symbolize the constraints she herself is prepared to accept as a "good" mother and a "good" member of the household' (Parsons 1984: 78).

Women also assist the correct development of their babies by ensuring they are positioned properly *in utero*. Too much work and other activity, and bending and twisting the mother's body, are said to cause the foetus to draw up its knees (*fokou'utu'utu*) and bend double ('ono'ono), and cause the mother's abdomen to

\(^8\) For descriptions of *pala* and *kulokula* see Bott (1958: 30-31) and Shineberg (1978: 287). Even skin problems that occur in older children may be attributed to their mothers' diet during pregnancy and lactation.
extend (*hula*). When the mother or *mā'uli* (traditional midwife) suspect the baby is wrongly positioned, the *mā'uli* massages the mother’s abdomen with oil and manipulates the foetus to make it ‘spread out’ (*mafola*) and ‘sit’ properly. The mother also sleeps on her back to ensure the foetus can move freely. To keep the baby from pressing downward, and to ensure an easy birth, women wear a *tapa* or cloth band (*no'o tali*) around the abdomen and may have regular massage to lift the abdomen (*hiki kete*). Daily walks and light activity are encouraged, and though women who feel weak or ill may rest during the early months, no work at all is generally regarded with disapproval.

Women also take a number of herbal preparations during pregnancy, to ensure the proper growth of the child, to cure any pain or problem caused by the pregnancy, and to ease the delivery. These medicines are made by the woman, a *mā'uli* or *faito'o* (healer). Some *faito'o* sell prepared medicines at market stalls in the towns.9 Drinking a lot of fluids is believed to relieve pain during pregnancy and facilitate an easy delivery. Women are also encouraged to eat well, and members of a woman’s family may seek out the foods she craves, as an expression of their care and concern for her and the unborn child.

The active role the mother is believed to have in ensuring the proper development of the growing foetus is an important factor in the continued reliance of many women on *mā'uli*. These midwives see women throughout their pregnancies, sometimes daily, and provide advice, support, soothing massage, and herbal preparations. It is interesting to consider the role *mā'uli* played in pre-contact Tonga, in relation to the extent of women’s power more generally. As Rogers has noted, ‘Another unexplored domain [of women’s power] is that of midwives, senior women who hold the power of life and death over babies and parturient mothers’ (1977: 180). Rogers implies that the term *mā'uli* may be associated with ‘darkness’ or ‘black magic’ (ibid.: 180, fn 62). *Mā* translates best as ‘shame’, and *'uli* as

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9 For details of these medicines see Weiner (1971), and for an extensive discussion of these medicines and other treatments used during pregnancy, birth, antenatal, postnatal and neonatal care, see Ikahihifo and Panuve (1983).
‘black’ or ‘dirty’, suggesting that whatever power mā'uli held, it was indeed ‘dark’. An important aspect of this power was, and still is, their use of massage to promote fertility, induce abortions, perform external versions, and relieve pregnant women’s pain and discomfort.

Nowadays most women who see mā'uli also attend the ante-natal clinics run by the Ministry of Health. In 1987 there were 33 of these clinics throughout Tonga, as well as Public Health Nurses who travelled to the villages. The Ministry of Health claims 90 per cent of pregnant women sought antenatal care in 1987 (Report of the Ministry of Health for 1987: 32), but this figure may be inflated. Other surveys have shown rates varying from 37 per cent, for a rural village in Vava'u, to 83 per cent for a village close to the main hospital on Tongatapu (Ikahihifo and Panuve 1983; The 1986 National Nutrition Survey [NNS] 1987: 29). Young urban dwellers are the most likely to attend antenatal clinics, and are also less likely to visit a mā'uli. The antenatal clinics are busy and understaffed, and provide only basic check-ups and screening for problems. The major health problems faced by pregnant women in Tonga are diabetes, hepatitis B, high blood pressure, and anaemia. In 1989 there were only three doctors working in gynaecology and obstetrics (two male and one female) at Vaiola, the main hospital.

In recent years the Ministry of Health has begun trying to work with mā'uli, by offering training courses in basic midwifery. Mā'uli are also encouraged to promote family planning, and to advise women to attend antenatal clinics and have hospital births. As already stated, many women prefer to attend both the clinic and the mā'uli. The mā'uli offer greater privacy, and a close relationship often develops between client and midwife. The mā'uli have more time to answer questions and explain procedures, and many women favourably compared them to the rather authoritarian nursing staff. More pragmatically, it is often easier for a woman to see a mā'uli, who is likely to be living in the same or a nearby village. Visiting times are more flexible, and the long delays experienced at the overcrowded clinics can be avoided. However, it appears that women in Tonga will increasingly rely solely on
the antenatal clinics, with the rapidly decreasing number of mā'uli, and the dearth of young women interested in attaining their skills. In Holonga, for example, the last two mā'uli of the village died in recent years, leaving no successors.

**GIVING BIRTH: FĀ'ELE'I/FĀNAU'I**

The development of an extensive health care system in Tonga has seen a sharp rise in the number of women giving birth in hospital, or with trained medical staff attending them at home. In 1971 only 37 per cent of births were in a hospital, but by 1986 the figure was 89.2 per cent (Report of the Ministry of Health for 1986: 30). In 1987 this had dropped again to 80.1 per cent, due to the increase in the number of home births with medical assistance (not mā'uli), from 69.8 per cent of home births in 1986 to 85 per cent in 1987 (ibid.: 30; Report of the Ministry of Health for 1987: 32). By comparison, these figures were 9.7 per cent in hospital in 1954, with a further 12.4 per cent at home with a trained attendant (Bott 1958: 17).

A number of common themes emerged in women's discussion of their experiences of childbirth in hospital, centering on a general fear, dislike and distrust of the hospital staff and procedures. In striking contrast, women were unanimously positive in their evaluations of mā'uli-assisted births. Interactions between medical staff and patients follow the pattern of all status relations in Tonga, with the higher status person (nurse or doctor) issuing orders and offering little or no explanation, whilst the lower status person (patient) obeys unquestioningly. As a result, when complications arise, the mother may not even understand what is happening. The nursing staff are widely regarded as authoritarian, unkind and uncaring. Primiparas seem particularly likely to incur the wrath of the nursing staff, mainly because they are unprepared for childbirth. Childbirth for these women can be very confusing and traumatic. This is exacerbated by the fact that during labour, until they are moved to

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10 Procedures surrounding childbirth at the hospital thus fit in well with the Western model, in which childbirth is treated as a medical condition, and the women as passive objects, expected to follow the orders of medical staff (see McBride 1982). However, there is generally less technological intervention in Tonga.
a delivery room, women are attended mainly by trainee nurses, with little or no knowledge of midwifery.

However, the hospital is not seen in entirely negative terms. Some women regard hospital birth as a means of getting some rest after the birth, away from the demands of their other children. Others prefer the hospital because it has the equipment needed in case of difficulties, and because it is clean.\textsuperscript{11} Mā'uli tend to encourage women to give birth at the hospital if they diagnose complications; they also do so increasingly often for multiple births, first births, and for women who have had previous difficult births.

For women who choose home births, attended by either a nurse-midwife or a mā'uli, remaining near their families is an important factor. A fear of being away from home, the seat of a woman’s comfort and control, is hardly surprising, given the general view of the hospital as lacking both. A mā'uli explained:

If you go to the hospital your heart/mind (loto) stays with your children at home. They are used to you changing their clothes, cooking their food ... the same with your husband, you wonder who will look after his clothes, cook his meals ... At home the mā'uli and husband help the woman when she’s in difficulty (faingata'a'ia). But at the hospital you can go and cry but the nurses only come when they think its time. When you are ready to give birth you are irritable and angry (futefute), and cry a lot (tangitangi). And if something happens and you die, your heart/mind (loto) stays at home with your children, husband and family, and you die unhappy (mate mamahi).

Today mā'uli cut the umbilical cord (uho) with scissors and tie it with cotton thread. Formerly, the person cutting the cord would ‘squeeze it between the baby and the afterbirth ... drawing whatever liquid is there towards the baby as it was thought that the baby’s life comes from the afterbirth’ (Bott n.d.: 16). The cord was then tied with a tapa strip and cut with a bamboo sliver, on an implement that symbolised the child’s future: a tapa beater for a woman, a spade or hoe handle for a farmer, an oar handle for a fisherman, and so on. The person cutting would call out a wish that the child would do well in its future work and carry out its duties well (ibid.; Bott 1958: 18). This practice is still referred to when a child follows in its

\textsuperscript{11}The maternity ward was not in fact ‘clean’, having cockroach infestation, a poorly cleaned and maintained bathroom, and so on.
parent's footsteps. Of a boy following his father as a skilled fisherman, for example, people will comment: 'His cord must have been cut on his father's oar'. The Beagleholes reported that cutting the cord on a hoe or tapa-beater was still practised in Pangai in the late 1930s. They stated that as the cord was cut the mother called out 'Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava' (my breath and your breath) (1941b: 79-80).

This cutting of the uho was usually delayed until the placenta was delivered, and the Ministry of Health training program for mā'uli has attempted to discourage this practice. The afterbirth was then buried, and this continues today, with some parents taking it home from the hospital to bury. The Ritchies have pointed out that there is an important linguistic association between 'land' and 'placenta' in Polynesia (1979: 16). The Maori term for both is whenua, and the Tongan term is fonua (and cf. Kirkpatrick for the Marquesan pu henua [1983: 127], Kinloch for the Samoan fanua [1985: 209], and Williksen-Bakker for the Fijian vanua [1990]). A Tongan linguist has suggested that a complex linguistic relationship exists, between fonua (land/placenta/people), fanua (archaic/poetic term for land), and fänau (children), in which child-rearing is linguistically equated with caring for, and being loyal to, Tonga itself ('Opeti Taliai, personal communication).

After the birth, the mā'uli applies pressure around the woman's abdomen, by massaging downwards and by binding (ha'i) with tapa or cloth. Women who have hospital births also bind their abdomens. The mother and infant are washed, and the baby is rubbed with scented coconut oil ('Tongan oil') 'to make the blood flow

12 Collocott and Havea give the saying 'Kuo tā ki hono uho: it was struck to his navel cord', used 'when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some circumstances that have arisen' (1922: 81).

13 Breath is correctly spelt mānava; manava means womb, heart, or stomach.

14 In 1989 a woman died after the placenta was retained and the cord left uncut for several hours; both mother and infant bled to death despite eventually being taken to hospital (Dr S. Lātū, personal communication). Such incidents fuel the antagonism of hospital staff toward mā'uli and traditional birthing practices.

15 Some connection continued between the infant and the buried afterbirth: for example, it was thought that if the afterbirth was not buried correctly the baby would suffer from hiccups (Bott n.d.: 17). Thus, when a baby had hiccups the place of burial of its afterbirth was trampled (ibid.).
properly'. Formerly the mother and infant were not washed for several days, as they were considered too weak (*vaivai*). They were both rubbed with a mixture of turmeric (*enga*) and Tongan oil, after the birth and then daily for several weeks (Bott 1958: 18; Gifford 1971b: 185). The postparturient mother rested completely for about ten days (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 80; Bott n.d.: 18; Bott 1958: 21). She then began to move about more, but was still expected to rest as much as possible for up to three months. Many women only left the house to go to the toilet, especially if the child was the first-born (*olopo'ou*).16

Very few women stay confined to the house for as long as three months these days, but some older women confirmed that they had done so with their first child. 'It’s a good time', said one woman – after three months of rest and plenty of food, ‘you are beautiful’. ‘To the Tongan eye, this is the time when women are most beautiful – pale, smooth, and plump’ (Bott 1958: 21). The availability of other women to help with household chores is a critical factor in determining the length of women’s postpartum rest, with some resuming work within days of the birth, even the day after, if there is no-one to help. However brief the mother’s puerperium, the baby is kept within the house as much as possible during the first few months, cared for by the woman’s older children or other close relatives.

After childbirth the woman’s husband and the relatives who attended the birth bring her food and drink, and generally tend to her needs. On an informal level, various relatives may stay at or visit the house to keep the mother company, help care for the baby, and do the household chores – a gathering sometimes referred to as *pō tama*: literally, a meeting for the child. It is common for women who live overseas to return to Tonga when their adult daughters give birth, usually staying at least until the christening and often much longer. In two of the households I lived in during fieldwork the women’s mothers had come from Australia to help with their babies, staying for just over a year.

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16 The term *olopo'ou* is used for the first child, as well as for the primapara during pregnancy and after the birth. The second child is *oloua*. 
On a more formal level, the birth of a child is an occasion for an exchange of gifts between the parents' families, particularly for the olopo'ou. Ferdon claims that 'there is nothing to indicate that gifts were customarily given upon the birth of a child' except in certain (unspecified) circumstances for a high-ranking child (1987: 124). Given the paucity of data, it is difficult to refute this claim, but certainly by early this century such exchanges of gifts already occurred, especially within chiefly families. Bott refers to this exchange, in the case of the olopo'ou, as 'in essence the completion of the wedding ceremony' (1958: 21). Recently, however, this practice has become less common. (For accounts of such exchanges see Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 81; Biersack 1982: 192; Bott 1958: 19-21; Rogers 1977: 165).

The father's sister, the child's mehekitanga, figures prominently in the exchanges of gifts after a birth. The mehekitanga was, and to some extent still is, believed to have the power to make the delivery difficult. Bott records that if the labour was long and difficult, the father's sister would be asked to come and help massage the mother (1958: 18), overriding the usual tapu on her attendance at the birth. She would be asked if the parents had done anything to offend her, and if so, to forgive them (ibid.). A closely related belief was that a man's mehekitanga or his sister could make his wife barren, through their ability to curse her (mana'i). Many women now believe that if they are 'true' Christians such curses cannot affect them, and others, particularly young women, simply dismiss such ideas as 'the old way'.

Koloa is seldom exchanged after childbirth today, and food gifts usually consist of boiled fish or chicken with boiled yam or other root vegetables, rather than 'feast' food (roast pork and food cooked in the underground oven, the 'umu). Friends and relatives who vakai fa'ele (visit the mother after birth) take food, and sometimes baby clothes or bedding. Some younger women I spoke to did not know of the more traditional items of exchange, such as the kie hapo tama ('baby catching mat'; see Bott 1958: 20). A more important exchange of gifts occurs at the Christening, which

17 Mana'i: 'to bewitch, to bring evil upon by supernatural or occult means, to cast a spell upon...' (Churchward 1959: 331).
marks the end of the ideal three-month seclusion. Catholic christenings are usually held one week after birth. Again, the christening is especially important for the first-born, and involves some exchange of *koloa* and a feast, and a gift of *koloa* to the minister who conducts the service.\(^{18}\)

**ILLEGITIMACY**

Considering the apparent lack of formal marriage ceremonies for *tu‘a* in pre-Christian times, and the social acceptability of certain brief unions for the sake of procreation, it is problematic to speak of ‘illegitimacy’ in early Tonga. Some related concept may have existed, however. In one myth recorded by Gifford, the metaphor ‘bush yam’ (i.e. uncultivated, ‘wild’) is used to refer to what he translates as ‘illegitimate child’ (1971a: 44). The term commonly used for ‘illegitimate’ today is *fā‘ele tu‘utāmaki* (lit.: to give birth in adversity/danger) but Churchward (1959: 452) gives *tama tu‘utāmaki* (lit.: disastrous/dangerous child). *Tama angahala* (‘wrong way child’) is the abusive term (ibid.: 451). These terms, which were possibly used in earlier times, suggest that children born of ‘wrong’ unions signal trouble between or within families.

A common theme in Tongan mythology is of children being born to chiefly women after brief unions with male gods. In many myths the ‘illegitimate’ child later journeys to find the father, and undergoes some ordeal as a result of meeting him (see Collocott 1928, and Gifford 1971a for collections of myths, and Biersack 1990a, Bott 1972, and Valeri 1989 for some interpretations). The mothers in these unions were of lower status than their godly mates, a pattern replicated in the practice of commoner women bearing children to chiefly men (Bain 1967: 82; Bott n.d.: 2, 11). A child born of a commoner girl and chiefly male would establish or strengthen the ties between the chief and her *kāinga* and, in later times, her village.

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\(^{18}\) Gifford referred to a ceremony held when the *olo-po‘ou* was about two months old, which he claimed was the second part of the marriage ceremony (1971b: 191). A feast was held at the paternal grandfather’s home, and the child stayed with its mother’s relatives, not attending the celebration (ibid.). Like many of the practices Gifford describes, this ceremony may have only been carried out by *hou‘eiki*, and may not have taken place in pre-contact Tonga.
(Collocott 1923b: 226; Gifford 1971b: 114). Even today, 'women are still willing to become pregnant to nobles and powerful men in Tongan society for reasons of personal advancement, since their offspring are recognised with or without the benefit of wedlock' (James 1983: 240).

Despite the missionaries' efforts, Tongans remain generally accepting of illegitimate children, depending on the circumstances. There is far stronger disapproval of a married woman bearing another man’s child than of an unmarried couple having a child, particularly if they are living together.19 The sexual double standard in Tonga means that disapproval is directed most strongly at the mother, and for unmarried men it is, as Bott observed, 'rather a feather in a man's cap to have had several children by different women' (1958: 13). An unmarried woman who tells her parents she is pregnant may be beaten, and the parents may try to push the father, if known, to marry her. If she remains unmarried the child will usually be accepted into the family. Having an illegitimate child may reduce a woman's marriage prospects, though, and it is common for these young mothers to leave their children with grandparents or other relatives. Later, when the mother is married and settled she may take the child back.

Unless it occurs in particularly shameful circumstances, illegitimacy is openly discussed, and adults talk about a child's parentage within his or her hearing. Some people even view illegitimacy positively, pointing out that if a woman doesn't marry it is right (totonu) for her to have children to help her. ‘Some people think it is bad, but I think it is good’, one married woman told me: ‘Giving birth to an illegitimate child is a worthwhile, beneficial birth (fä'ele 'aonga)’. She added that legitimate children take their father's family name, whereas illegitimate children 'stay with you'.

19 A 'wrong' relationship between the parents seems a more important source of shame than giving birth out of wedlock. Infanticide is rare in Tonga, but one well-publicised case in 1986 involved a woman who had given birth to a child by her husband's brother (Report of the Minister of Police for 1987: 30; Tonga Chronicle 1986a). Public speculation focused on the shame she must have felt to be driven to killing the baby, and attempting to conceal the birth. She was sentenced to life imprisonment for murder.
It is considered important for an illegitimate child to know who her father is, though she does not take his name. This is so that she will know her place within the complexities of rights and obligations involved in Tongan kinship. However it is practice, but not law, for the father’s name not to appear on the child’s birth certificate. Within the modern legal system illegitimate children cannot inherit titles or their father’s tax allotment (‘api). The Maintenance of Illegitimate Children Act, by which the father can be ordered to pay maintenance until the child is 16, does allow for the father’s tax ‘api to be given to the mother (or other person applying on her behalf) in order for its produce to support the child (The Law of Tonga 1967: Cap 19). This law also covers the adoption of illegitimate children, through the Supreme Court. It stipulates that the mother’s consent is needed even for the child to be adopted by the father, and that the child will bear the same surname, and be of the same nationality, as the adopter.

CARE OF THE INFANT: TAUHI PĒPĒ

The Tongan term for baby, valevale, meaning ‘not yet able to think for itself’ (Churchward 1959: 533) has been almost entirely replaced by pēpē, from the English ‘baby’. To indicate gender, pēpē tangata (male baby) or pēpē fefine (female baby) can be used, or more commonly, tamasi‘i (boy) or ta‘ahine (girl). Pēpē tends to be used until the child is walking. To indicate kin relations, other terms are used: tama for a woman’s or couple’s child, especially a son, with tama fefine (female child) sometimes used for a daughter. A man refers to his son as fo'ha, and his daughter as 'ofefine (see Chapter Five, Figure Two).

Soon after birth, babies are named (fakahingoa), a process that reaffirms their embeddedness in a network of kinship. Often the name is that of a relative, living or dead, and there is a strong preference for the father’s family to name children, particularly the father’s sister or parents. In some families all the children are named by their father’s ‘side’, but in others the mother’s family, often her parents, also choose some of the children’s names. There is little formality about naming today,
and one of the parents simply asks a relative to *fakahingoa.*\(^{20}\) Sometimes a person of importance, whether related to the child or not, honours the family by giving a name. I have also heard of children being named after the midwife who delivered them, or even after one of her children (for other accounts of naming practices see Aoyagi 1966: 165-7; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 81; Rogers 1977: 164).

Rogers reports that several Niuatoputapu parents thought names affected the destiny and character of the child, and that the child could take after his or her namesake (1977:164). Since some children are treated with favouritism to honour their important namesake, or treated specially by that person, this may be a self-fulfilling prophesy. When *'eiki* children are given the name of a relative it can even affect the child’s rank, according to Bott (1958 :20).

Many Tongan names are not gender-specific (e.g. Tupou) but European names that have been adapted are used as in the West (e.g. Siale, Charlie, for boys, and Mele, Mary, for girls). Other names that are not usually gender-specific are those that refer to an incident occurring at the time of birth (e.g. Afa, hurricane) or Tongan versions of European words (e.g. Kalasine, kerosene; Pasifike, Pacific). Children are seldom given their parents’ first names, though this is becoming more popular, especially for boys, following the American usage of ‘Junior’. Children so named, or children named after a living relative, may be called *si’i* (little) or *leka* (small), used alone or after their name, and *lahi* (big) may be appended to the relative’s name.

The European missionaries introduced the use of surnames, though they were not formally adopted – e.g. for census purposes – until the 1950s (Neill 1955: 141). The manner in which surnames are used can be confusing. As elsewhere in the South Pacific, children often use their father’s first name as their surname, and many women adopt their husband’s first name as their surname. However, children may

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\(^{20}\) The young couple I lived with in 1988, whose first-born were twins, asked the father’s brother to name the boy and the mother’s mother’s sister to name the girl. The latter was reluctant to choose a name, saying the father’s family should choose the first-born’s names, but when the mother insisted she gave the baby her own name.
also use their father's father's first name or the name he used as his surname. The surname given on a child's birth certificate may thus be quite different to the name by which he or she is known in the village or at school.

During the first year, and especially the first few months, an enormous amount of care and attention is given to infants. For at least three months they are dressed and wrapped up very warmly, often with several layers of clothes, sheets and blankets. If taken outside, the blankets are held to shield the baby's face, and extral layers are added. When the baby is asleep the inner layers are wrapped more tightly. It seems likely that early missionaries influenced these practices, since swaddling was widely practiced in England during the nineteenth century. Prior to European influence babies were left naked, covered in tapa (Bott n.d.: 20). There may also be some connection between wrapping the baby and the decline in the practice of seclusion during the early months. Bott has speculated that, like seclusion, wrapping is 'an exaggerated form of protecting the baby', with a strong emotional basis (1958: 23). The mothers with whom I spoke claimed that wrapping acted as a protection against colds and coughs, and this belief seemed to be an extension of their fear of the foetus becoming cold in the womb. Similarly, great care is taken to keep babies warm when bathing them. As both Bott (ibid.: 22-3) and Morton (1976: 70) have pointed out, wrapping the baby signifies the mother's competence and concern. In recent years, however, there has been a noticable trend among younger mothers toward dressing and wrapping babies less warmly. Another rather surprising trend is toward the use of imported (and very expensive) disposable nappies (diapers).21 As babies become more mobile they are less warmly dressed in the home, and may be allowed to play in a nappy and singlet on hot days. On special occasions, and when they are

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21 Again, the influence seems to be current 'Western' trends, since there is a widespread assumption that all pālangi (Western) mothers use these nappies. Shoes for babies are also becoming popular, and are often sent as gifts by overseas relatives, as are clothes, toys and sweets.
taken out, they are dressed in fancy clothing sent by overseas relatives, such as tights and frilly dresses, or tiny suits (see the photographs at the end of the chapter).

Sleeping babies are often held in someone’s arms, or laid across the lap of a person seated cross-legged on the floor. Formerly, mothers carried their babies on their backs, in slings of tapa, which left their hands free to continue weaving or other work (MacKay n.d.: 2). Later, cloth slings were used, but this no longer seems to be practiced. When babies are put down to sleep the pae is still sometimes used in the early months: layers of soft mats surrounded by a tapa folded to form a wall to keep out draughts, and covered by a sheet or mosquito net.22 If a pae is not made, and when the baby is older, she sleeps with her mother.

The active role of the mother in ensuring her baby’s proper development, which began during pregnancy, continues as her infant grows. Tofo (or toforofoto) means ‘to massage (a baby) with a view to ensuring the proper formation of its limbs and head’ (Churchward 1959: 484). It includes massage of the legs to prevent knock-knee and to make the legs shapely, and massage of the nose and head. This massaging, usually done with Tongan oil, provides an important source of physical contact for babies, soothing them to sleep and even continuing as they sleep.

Other practices to shape the baby are rare today, such as the use of tapa binders on the arms, legs and waist when sleeping, or placing heavy tapa on top of the baby’s head when asleep to keep it from elongating (Bott n.d.:29-30) These practices may have been carried out only with babies of chiefly parentage. Care is still taken to prevent flattening the baby’s head (ulu toki: ‘axe-shaped head’) by turning the baby from side to side as it sleeps. This is also thought to keep the legs and back straight.

The fontanelle is a source of concern, since it is believed to be caused by the skull bones not growing together properly. Women explained that babies’ heads are ‘not fully formed inside’ and ‘do not close (mapuni)’, and the condition is called

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22 The pae was formerly tapa or ngatu used to keep the baby’s head in position when sleeping to enhance skull-shape.
mavaeua (‘split in two’). Parsons states that ‘mahaki mavae’ua’ [sic], the sickness resulting from an untreated fontanelle, was believed to cause the baby to be restless or sleepy, and to be fatal if left untreated (1985: 97). Treatment, also called mavaeua, is required to ensure the bones knit together as the baby grows. Mavaeua is usually done immediately after the birth or within the first month, by a faito’o (healer) or mä’uli. One method is to warm the baby’s head by holding it, or wrapping it in several layers of cloth, and another is to apply a herbal mixture or Tongan oil to the baby’s hands, feet and head, sometimes placing a little in its mouth. Mavaeua is still carried out for most babies, though some women said they didn’t really believe in it or even know why it was supposed to be important.

Feeding

Colostrum is regarded by most Tongan women as ‘bad’, and because of its yellowish colour is sometimes called pela (pus). Until medical staff began encouraging women to begin breastfeeding immediately after giving birth, it was common practice to feed the baby only coconut juice for several days. This juice, namoa, is prepared by chewing roasted coconut and placing it in tapa or cotton cloth for the baby to suck on, or squeezing it into the baby’s mouth. Namoa acts as a laxative, having a very high fat content, and is used to clear the baby of meconium, which is also seen as ‘bad’ or ‘waste’. The namoa thus cleanses the baby internally, and nourishes it until the breastmilk, described as ‘thick (fatu) and good’, replaces the colostrum. Giving namoa is still common for babies born at home, sometimes for up to three days, though some mothers give boiled or sweetened water instead. The 1986 Nutrition Survey reports that 26.2 per cent of mothers began breastfeeding immediately after giving birth, and 41.1 per cent some time during the first day. Another 14.4 per cent did not breastfeed until the second day, and 15.2 per cent until after that; and 73.7 per cent of babies received some other form of nourishment in those first two days (NNS: 33: total sample size is not indicated).

23 Thomson claimed that babies were force fed a mixture of candlenut and coconut juice to make them vomit immediately after birth, but no other accounts mention this (1894: 375).
Other substances given in these first days can include pre-masticated banana or root vegetable, and infusions of medicinal plants.

Women are encouraged to eat and rest well after giving birth. Warmth is believed to hasten and increase the supply of breastmilk, so the mother drinks *veifu* (warm coconut milk) and keeps her breasts warmly covered unless feeding the baby. According to Bott, ‘it is said that even women who have not just given birth to a child can be made to lactate if their breasts are kept warm’ (1958: 21). The *enga* formerly rubbed on the mother and infant for warmth was also supposed to encourage the breastmilk (Gifford 1971b: 185). Women who are unable to breastfeed use bottles, but in the past wet-nurses were used, most often from within the mother’s family (Bott n.d.: 17; Bott 1958:21).

The general attitude toward breastfeeding in Tonga is one of approval. Women are not usually embarrassed to feed their babies publicly, though they are discreet about it. Breastfeeding is treated calmly; a mother will offer the breast on demand, as well as to soothe or distract the baby, and will interrupt a feed if she needs to attend to something else.

Food *tapu* similar to those followed in pregnancy are, to greatly varying extents, followed by lactating women. The associations involved vary a good deal too, and are sometimes contradictory; for example some women said coconut milk was good to drink and others said it would make the baby sick. Illnesses are also believed to be transmitted through breastmilk, and this may lead to sudden weaning. One young mother suffering from boils weaned her baby overnight, when she discovered the child was also developing boils. The mother explained that if she continued feeding, her daughter would not get well. Another reason sometimes given for a baby’s ill-health is that the mother is too thin, causing her milk to be ‘thin and weak’ (Bott 1958: 28).

The age at which babies are first fed solid foods varies a great deal, and different reports have given average ages ranging from three to nine months (ibid.: 29; Engleberger 1983: 4; The 1986 National Nutrition Survey [NNS], 1987). In my own
informal survey, six months was the usual age. The foods first introduced are usually root crops, especially *kumala* (sweet potato) and yam, but breadfruit, banana, and other fruits are also frequently given (see NNS: 34, Table 14). These foods are usually chewed by the mother first — a practice known as *mama* — and contrary to Bott (1958: 29) I found this still common even in ‘urban’ Nuku’alofa. Another favourite food for babies is hard-tack biscuits or white bread, softened in warm water, sweetened with condensed milk or sugar, and made into a pulp.

Bott has stated that formerly babies were exclusively breastfed for about nine months and then suddenly weaned onto solids with only a few days’ overlap (ibid.: 33). To accomplish this the baby was taken away from the mother at night, and returned when it stopped crying for the breast, perhaps after several nights. If a mother became pregant again while still breastfeeding she immediately weaned the child (ibid.: 34). Bott suggests that these ‘sudden and drastic’ weaning practices were due to the demands on women’s time, with older children to care for and other work to do (ibid.: 33-34). She claims that this still occurred in the 1950s, and was told by staff at the health clinics that it caused a marked weight loss, diarrhoea, and listlessness in babies (ibid.: 35). The age at which weaning formerly occurred is unclear, however, and other data Bott collected indicates that babies were not weaned until they were a year old, or even up to three or four (Bott n.d.:19). This suggests that weaning may not have been ‘sudden and drastic’. The nature of women’s work in former times, primarily *koloa* production, would not have necessitated sudden weaning, but beliefs about the nature of breastmilk, particularly regarding illness-transmission, and work affecting its quality, may have been more important in determining how and when weaning occurred.24

Today babies are usually breastfed for eight to twelve months, and the Ministry of Health is encouraging women to continue well into the second year. The 1986 Nutrition survey found 100 per cent of babies were breastfed for the first three

[24] Thomson claimed that mothers were ‘secluded’ for ‘the whole period of lactation’, to prevent a second pregnancy and premature weaning (1894: 375). Here, ‘seclusion’ may mean post-partum sex avoidance, which today varies greatly in length.
months, with 10.8 per cent weaned at 3-5 months and a further 19.1 per cent by 6-8 months (NNS: 33; sample size not given). Mothers who introduce bottle-feeding and/or solids at an early age usually do so for convenience, particularly when working outside the home. Bottle feeds are mainly used as a supplement, as when the mother is away from home for periods during the day, rather than replacing the breast entirely. Formula, diluted condensed or evaporated milk, and even Milo and cocoa (often mixed only with water and sugar) are given in bottles. Weaning is usually only 'sudden and drastic' when the mother falls pregnant again, becomes ill, or cannot produce enough milk. When weaning causes the baby distress other household members distract him, soothe him when he cries, and offer other forms of nourishment.25

Nutrition surveys over the past thirty years have consistently reported a low incidence of infant malnutrition and undernutrition. The 1986 survey found that 'Tongan infants appear to be very healthy and well nourished clinically' (NNS: 47). Nevertheless, there are always rumours in the villages of babies who have died or become seriously ill because they were fed only Milo powder and water, or some other inadequate diet, such tales no doubt lending weight to the current push, initiated by the Ministry of Health, for long-term breastfeeding.

Caregivers in the first year

The great variation in household composition in Tonga means that there is also a good deal of variation in the number of people involved in caring for a child, and in their relationship to the child. Children's closest attachments are usually to their parents, even where other members of the household play important caregiving roles. The period of seclusion for mother and baby after the birth is obviously important for the 'bonding' between them, but even when little or no seclusion occurs several factors contribute to the primacy of the mother's role. Breastfeeding is very

25 Bott suggests that sudden weaning and the resultant fear of the withdrawal of something the child is dependent on, combined with the role of other relatives in helping the child through the crisis, is a factor contributing to what she described as Tongans' emotional dependence on their relatives (1958: 55).
important and, as noted previously, even when women work outside the home it is very common for them to continue to breastfeed, with other caregivers giving supplementary feeds during the day. When the mother is at home she tends to assume responsibility for the physical care of the baby, especially during the early months. She is very much ‘in charge’ of her baby, however much help she receives from others in the household, and even though older women of the household may actually hold the baby for much of the time.

Fathers have much less to do with babies, since they are often away from home, working, drinking kava, and so on. When at home, fathers will hold and play with their babies, increasingly so as they become more active and vocal. Other household members tend to encourage the baby’s primary attachment to its parents by themselves regarding them as the most important people in relation to the baby, and by often making the parents the focal point of verbal interactions with the baby, as will be described in Chapter Six. Although fathers see little of their babies, they are kept well informed of their development since this is a primary topic of conversation within the household.

Mothers are often helped in the day-to-day care of babies by their mothers, unmarried sisters and cousins, and other female relatives, as well as by older children, but in nuclear family households the latter are their only helpers. Mothers with no older children, who are living away from their own relatives, may have no help, since they are often unwilling to ask their affinal relations for assistance. Fleming and Tuku’afu found ‘there was a marked reluctance to elicit the support of any in-laws, where a woman has less say than with her own relatives, as she would relinquish some of her control over the children to her husband’s family’ (1986: 36). In Tonga, then, the ‘multiple parenting’ that the Ritchies (1989) distinguish as a major feature of Polynesian socialisation, is rapidly declining in importance. The term itself is misleading in the Tongan case, given the centrality awarded to the parents’ role.
When there are older children in the household they are expected to do the more active work involved in caring for a baby – fetching things like nappies and bottles, carrying the baby around, and running to rescue a crawling baby or toddler from mischief or danger. They quickly learn to keep a close eye on their younger siblings, as they are likely to be blamed if the baby is hurt, even if there are adults present. What Marcus has called ‘a supervisory hierarchy among siblings’ (1978: 258, fn 9) develops, with the older children delegating responsibility to younger ones, and punishing them for inadequate care of babies and toddlers. These sibling hierarchies become much more important once the child is about two years old, as will be seen in the following chapters.

THE FIRST BIRTHDAY

The end of infancy is marked by a first-birthday celebration (fai 'aho), more elaborate than the celebration of the Christening, and particularly important for a first-born child. There does not appear to have been any pre-Christian equivalent of this celebration but it has become very much a Tongan celebration, with an exchange of food and *koloa* between the parents' *kāinga*, and feasting. Bott noted that there was ‘a strong element of thanksgiving in the ceremony’ in the 1950s (1958: 61), and this is so even today, despite the decline in infant mortality.

In Bott’s account of the first birthday ceremony the father’s family provides food for the feast, and both families give *koloa*, the mother’s relatives giving special mats for the baby. A short service is held by a minister, then a feast is held (ibid.: 60-61). Today first birthdays are similar, though both families may contribute food. The exchange of *koloa* and the feast may be held at the parent’s home, or the father’s parents’ home.

A number of ‘Western’ elements have been added to the celebration of birthdays, particularly first birthdays, in recent years. Apart from the exchange of *koloa*, gifts of toys, clothes and sweets, purchased in town or sent from overseas, are often given
directly to the child. Some families now celebrate their children’s birthdays every year, though the first and twenty-first are considered the most important.

Birthdays are sometimes acknowledged by messages of good wishes (poopoaki talomonu) in the weekly newspaper. They are accompanied by a photograph of the child and often contain greetings from relatives living overseas. One example reads:

Hoping that you have a happy day on your first birthday, and we sincerely wish that your days will be happy in the future. Being of beautiful appearance is not a trustworthy thing, and being beautiful and well-proportioned is a rare thing, but a boy who respects and obeys Jehovah deserves thankfulness. We have no important gift for you, but we say together Psalm 23. It is a compass for your road to the future and for your journey. Our great love to your dear little face, from ...[his parents, seven mehekitanga, and 14 ‘grandparents’] (Tonga Chronicle 1988, my translation).

The following chapters will show that children’s ‘journey’ becomes increasingly difficult and harsh after their first birthday, as they learn the central importance of respect and obedience, not just for ‘Jehovah’ but for every person of higher status than themselves.
Photograph 8: During the preparations for her first-birthday celebration, Mefa (centre) is shown the pigs roasted for the feast.

Photograph 9: Some of Mefa's maternal kin beside the koloa (ngatu and mats) that have been presented at Mefa's first-birthday celebrations. They are facing members of her paternal kin, with whom they exchange the koloa after formal speeches.
Photograph I: Mefa and her young cousin dressed up for Mefa's first-birthday celebrations.

Photograph II: Mefa dressed in her new clothes, sent by relatives living overseas for her first birthday.
CHAPTER FOUR

CHILDREN: TAMA IKI

Once children are walking confidently and beginning to talk, they are referred to as tamaiki (children) rather than pēpē. Tamaiki is properly the dual and plural form of tamasi'i, a 'child or young person, esp. boy or youth' (Churchward 1959: 452). In common usage tamasi'i is used for boys and ta'ahine for girls. Gender distinctions can be further emphasised by the terms tamasi'i tangata (male boy) and ta'ahine fefine (female girl). This elaboration of gender-specific terms may be related to the fact that pronouns do not indicate gender, as in ia for he, she or it. Other plural terms for children are kauleka, meaning short people or dwarfs, and fānau. There are derogatory forms, too – pikilau, which is also used for grandchildren, and 'uhiki, a term usually used for the young of birds or animals. The latter is used only for the children of tu'a, and is another indication that tu'a were derided as being animal-like by hou'eiki (see Chapter Two).

Childhood ends in the early teens, around puberty, though groups of teenagers are still often called tamaiki, or tamaiki ako (school children). Males aged from about 14 until their early twenties (unless married) are called talavou, a term that can be used for both sexes to mean good-looking. Girls of the same age are finemui. As

1 See Bott 1982 for a discussion of the former use of tamasi'i, ta'ahine, and other gender-specific terms, to indicate degree of relatedness to the Tu'i Tonga.

2 Gifford states that finemui was the term for tu'a girls who were still virgins; chiefly girls were ta'ahine or tāupo'ou (1971b: 191). When no longer virgins the former were finemou'ia, the latter ta'ahine (ibid.). Today finemui is used more generally for unmarried girls.
a group youths may be referred to as to‘u tupu, the ‘rising generation, young people growing up at the same time’ (ibid.: 503).3

The beliefs and practices associated with child socialisation are related to ideas about the ‘nature’ of children and the way this must be accommodated, transformed, or replaced in order for them to become fully adult persons. This chapter begins, then, with a discussion of Tongan perceptions of the nature of children, and more generally of personhood. The transition between infancy and childhood is discussed, before briefly describing some broad contextual features of childhood in Tonga—children’s schooling, work, play and health—and the ways in which the end of childhood is marked.

CHILDREN AS PERSONS

Tongan babies are not regarded as ‘fully formed social beings’ (Bernstein 1983: 56), since they have not yet begun to learn the complexities of *anga fakatonga* (the Tongan way). However, they are certainly regarded as sociable, wilful persons, and are treated as such from birth. Babies are thought to be born with distinctive *anga*, which further develops as the child grows. The term *anga* refers to both nature and behaviour.4 Churchward’s definition reveals the polysemic nature of this term: ‘habit, custom, nature, quality, character, characteristic; way, form, style, manner, method; behaviour, conduct, demeanour, way(s) of acting’ (1959: 7). Innumerable compounds can be formed with *anga*, such as *angalelei*, ‘of good character or disposition, well behaved; kind’ (ibid.: 10). A basic gender distinction is made in the terms *anga fakafefine* (female nature/behaviour) and *anga fakatangata* (male nature/behaviour).

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3 For the purposes of government, ‘youth’ is defined as 10-24 (DPV: 402).

4 There is a linguistic relationship between the Tongan *anga* and other Polynesian cognates, such as the Maori *tikaitikanga* and Samoan *aga*. Shore describes these concepts as ‘a kind of Platonic form appropriate to each thing or activity’ (1989: 149; and cf. Mageo 1989a for an analysis of the Samoan *aga*). An important difference appears to be that these other terms imply *appropriate* conduct, form, etc., whereas *anga* is a non-evaluative term requiring specifying suffixes.
'Ulungaanga (characteristic behaviour or nature) is often used interchangeably with anga, although it implies a more lasting quality. However, neither anga nor 'ulungaanga imply a fixed 'essence', since they are impermanent and changeable. 'Ulungaanga also forms many compounds to describe specific aspects of a person's 'personality' and/or behaviour. The context of speech acts sometimes makes clear whether the speaker is referring to actual behaviour or to a person's 'nature', but nature and behaviour are not usually conceptually distinguished. The use of English glosses can therefore be inadequate or misleading, and the Tongan terms are used wherever possible in this text.

The way in which the origin and development of anga/'ulungaanga are conceptualised is revealed in the following statements by Tongan women:

Children already have their 'ulungaanga from nature (natula), it is in the children from nature, they come with good 'ulungaanga from nature, and there are some children who have bad 'ulungaanga.

Each child grows up with his/her own anga, girls and boys. I don't think the anga is the same for one boy and another boy, one girl and another girl ... and one little boy will grow with angalelei, and the angalelei will grow as he gets bigger ... Each one, each person, has his/her own anga and they are that way until they are grown (lalahi).

To some extent, then, anga is an inherited disposition. This is sometimes explicitly associated with certain ancestors, or the child's natal village or island. For example, a child may be said to have inherited a late grandparent's gift for poetry, or have a temperament typical of people from his village.

However, as well as their individual anga, children are believed to share certain innate characteristics. All children are perceived as vale (foolish, ignorant) and pau'u (naughty, mischievous). As mentioned in Chapter Three, babies were formerly referred to as valevale, meaning unable to think for themselves. Older children can think, but only foolish thoughts, and the central aim of socialisation is for them to become poto, clever or capable. Gender and rank are also believed to be inherited to some extent, but as with anga this is as a predisposition rather than a
fixed trait. In Tongan theories of development, the greatest emphasis is on the malleability of the person, not inherited characteristics.5

Koskinen has shown that vale is a pan-Polynesian term denoting ignorance, lack of skill, and madness (1968: 37). In Tonga, individuals of any age can be called vale when they have behaved foolishly or been 'socially inept' and in status rivalry, for example, the participants may be judged to be vale or poto (Marcus 1978: 266-7). Vale is also used for insane and mentally handicapped persons. Any form of incompetence tends to be treated impatiently or to be regarded as amusing or shameful. For example, if a child trips and falls, she may be laughed at or slapped for her clumsiness. As stated in Chapter Two, me'avale (foolish thing) is sometimes used to refer to commoners, and implies that they lack the proper social graces and knowledge of anga fakatonga. Concern with social competence is thus a pervasive theme in Tongan discourse, and is articulated most clearly in relation to children.

There is no consensus as to when children, as a group, are no longer vale. Churchward states that the term tamasi'i kei vale ( or tamasi'i vale), meaning 'child who is still foolish', is applied to children of three or four (1959: 452). The end of primary school was frequently cited to me as a turning point in children's progress in becoming poto, though others suggested ages ranging from four to eleven as the time when 'proper' learning begins.6 It can be said of older children 'kakato hono 'atama' (their mind/reason is whole).

Closely related to the concept of vale is that of pau'u. This is best glossed as mischievous, since it implies naughtiness with an element of cheekiness. Whenever

5 There is clearly a parallel between these theories of personal identity and what Linnekin and Poyer have called 'an Oceanic theory of cultural identity that privileges environment, behavior, and situational flexibility over descent, innate characteristics, and unchanging boundaries' (1990b: 6). They use Lamarckian theory as an analogy, to show that in Pacific cultures acquired characteristics are seen as inheritable, and identity as malleable (ibid.: 7-8).

6 The perception of children as crazy, foolish, etc is of course very widely found. Kirkpatrick states that for Marquesan children 'mature thought' is believed to appear after their first communion, and to begin properly with puberty (1983: 88). On Ifaluk in Micronesia children are said to be 'crazy' until five or six, and therefore not responsible for their actions (Lutz 1988: 106). Many other cross-cultural examples could be cited, such as Briggs' report of the Utku Eskimo belief that children have no ihuma (mind, thought, reason or understanding) (1970: 111).
I asked Tongan mothers how their babies were, their immediate reply was invariably 'pau'u'. When babies are thus described it is usually with affection and a certain pride. Although they are not believed to be old enough to be responsible for their behaviour, discipline of babies nevertheless begins within the first year, as will be described in Chapter Seven. Children are expected to be naughty, just as adults are often characterised as inherently 'bad'. One day, as I helped search for a missing tool, which its owner suspected had been stolen, several people helping in the hunt made passing comments about how 'bad' (kovi) Tongans are, how untrustworthy, and so on. Similarly, teachers discussing corporal punishment generally emphasised how bad, how käkä (cunning), the children are. My own son, I was frequently told, was 'a real Tongan boy' because he was so pau'u, and when my daughter was only a few hours old she was told by my Tongan friend how naughty she was, and how 'Mummy will have to smack you every day, e?'

The terms Tongans use to describe children, whether to or about them, constantly reiterate that they are stupid, silly and naughty. On one occasion during my fieldwork I jotted down the most frequently used of these terms, and quickly had a list of 18 words. In contrast, my list of positive terms had only three terms: poto, angalelei and 'ulungāanga lelei. Some of the negative terms are general – angal'ulungāanga kovi ('bad' nature/behaviour), loto kovi (bad heart/mind), and two terms meaning disobedient, leangata'a and talangata'a. More specific terms include fakahela (tiring), fakahoha'a (troublesome, annoying), fakapikopiko (lazy), and käkä (cunning). Many terms are prefixed by fa'a (often), such as fa'atangi (often crying), and fie (to want, with connotations of pretention), such as fiepoto (show-off, thinking oneself clever). Still other terms refer to the vale nature of children: fakaseele (silly), launoa (talking nonsense) and laupisi (talking rubbish).

These qualities are regarded as normal and natural in children, and there is thus a sense in which they are accepted. Of pau'u, Bernstein suggests that the term 'conveys the idea that the children are uncontrolled by adults, and therefore whatever they do is not the responsibility of their parents' (1983: 135). Whenever I expressed
concern about my son behaving in ways that might annoy other household members, they laughed and reassured me that ‘all children are like that’. Many of the negative terms are sometimes used affectionately, especially with babies and very young children.7

In another important sense, though, the negative attributes of children are not accepted, and long before they are thought to be able to understand properly, the process of teaching them correct values and behaviour begins. Children’s negatively-valued qualities are seen as ‘natural’ (fakanatula) and unsocialised, whereas socially-approved qualities such as respect must be learned. Even ‘correct’ predispositions — e.g. to gender or rank — must be fully developed through socialisation. A great deal of emphasis is therefore placed on actively teaching children correct values and behaviour, unlike the reliance on observation and imitation that characterises the acquisition of physical skills. These forms of learning are discussed fully in Chapter Six.

Acquiring a formal education is an important means of becoming poto, but even more important is learning appropriate (taau) anga/ulungāanga. One’s anga should be totonu (right, proper), fe’unga (befitting, suitable), and lelei (good). Becoming poto also involves learning to match behaviour to context. Churchward’s definition of poto as ‘to understand what to do and be able to do it’ (1959: 416) needs to be expanded to include knowing when to do it. Being poto involves both learning the ‘rules’ and learning how to manipulate them to one’s advantage. Like the English term ‘clever’, the meaning of poto can shade into cunning.8

Proper anga tends to be explained in terms of the importance of other people’s opinions. It is important, one woman said, ‘because when people come to your home, the children have learnt to be poto in their ulungāanga to different people’. Another woman explained; ‘when they [children] go to different homes they go and

7 Mariner tells of a man, about to strangle a child as a sacrifice, referring to it as ‘chi vale’ (si’i vale), which Mariner translates as ‘poor little innocent’ (Martin 1981: 140)

8 Käkä means deceit or trickery, but a combination of the two, potokäkä, means cunning and subtlety.
are clever in doing their duty (fatongia) in that home. They learn the duties to do at home and they go to different houses and are poto.'

Protecting and enhancing the reputation of self and family, and avoiding shame (mā) are central motives for proper behaviour in Tonga. As Bernstein has pointed out, 'an individual’s reputation is inexorably tied to his family’s reputation' (1983: 126). This reputation is to a great extent dependent on others’ judgements of the 'ulungāanga of individuals and their families. This is especially important for 'eiki children, who are often in the public eye at feasts, celebrations, and other events. Though some leeway is given to all children because of their vale nature, people are quick to criticise them and their families for the children’s incorrect behaviour. Much of this criticism is not intended as a slight on the family’s reputation, and information concerning the misdemeanours of children is frequently and freely exchanged between neighbouring households. There is a delicate balance, however, between this everyday commentary on children’s wrongdoings, and more serious criticism or gossip that could be damaging to a family’s reputation. Adults therefore tend to be constantly vigilant over the children in their household, as much, I suspect, to be seen to be monitoring the children’s behaviour, as to appease their own sense of propriety.

There is a tendency, then, to speak of values and behaviour such as faka'apa'apa (respect) in terms of how they influence other people’s opinions of self and family. Their importance in themselves is also recognised, and is often discussed in relation to the concept of mo’ui (life). Properanga was described to me as part of mo’ui 'aonga (a useful, worthwhile life), mo’ui 'ofa (a life of concern and love), mo’ui fai totonu (a life of doing right), and so on. To live in this way is to adhere to anga fakatonga, and to be a good Christian, which to many Tongans are now one and the same. Tongans’ wider identification with their kāinga and fonua (village/island/country) is also stressed in regard to the importance of proper anga. For example, some teenagers described their ambitions to ‘help my fonua’, or to help or have ‘ofa for ‘kakai kātoa pē’ (all people). Anga fakatonga, the Tongan way, is
also referred to as 'ulungāanga o e fonua or anga fakafonua: the way of the land/the people (cf. Williiken-Bakker 1990 on Fijian vanua).

Another concept that is crucial to the Tongan notion of the person, and thus to the nature and development of children, is that of loto. Loto is best glossed as heart/mind but also means 'desire, will, purpose; anger, ire, temper' (Churchward 1959: 302). As anger/ire it is seldom used nowadays without a qualifying adjective (e.g. loto 'ita, angry heart/mind), but it is interesting that loto has this connotation, particularly since anger has such a central place in Tongan theories of emotion, as will be shown in Chapter Eight. Loto also means inside, whether of the body (pepe 'i loto, baby inside), or of objects (loto fale, the inside of a house).

The loto is conceptualised as an entity, which can be hurt (loto lavea: 'broken hearted'), be 'big' or 'small' (i.e. brave or timid), be 'cold' or 'hot' (i.e. unsympathetic or angry), or 'poured out' (lingiloto) and so on (see Churchward 1959: 302-5). A person's loto can also be separated from the body – as when the loto of a woman giving birth in hospital 'stays at home' with her family (see Chapter Three, p.66). The term manava is similar to loto, though less often used, and means 'heart, bowels (in Old English), as the seat of affections or courage, etc.', as well as womb or stomach (ibid.: 330; cf. Smith 1981 on the cognate Maori term, manawa).

Loto is used in many compound terms to characterise persons' 'dispositions' in a temporary or permanent sense. To refer to someone as loto'ofa, for example, may mean a particular action was kind, or that the person is kind and loving in general. Many of the terms with which loto can be coupled indicate emotional states and behaviour, so that prefixing them with loto associates them with the inner state of a particular person. A woman describing the origin of her angry feelings revealed the association of loto with emotion when she said, 'I just feel it (ongo'i), feel it in me, it comes from my loto. Like feeling sad or happy'.

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9 The term for the physical organ of the heart is mafu, a term sometimes used metaphorically for 'sweetheart'. 
Clearly, *loto* is very similar to the terms *anga* and *'ulungāanga* and, like those terms, does not imply a fixed or permanent essence. *Anga'ofa*, kind and loving nature and behaviour, could thus be interpreted as almost synonymous with *loto'ofa*. The difference between these terms is that *loto* refers directly to a person’s emotional state, whereas *anga* is more closely associated with behaviour and therefore with social relations. Tongans who distinguished between the two using English glosses, gave *anga* as ‘manner’ and ‘behaviour’, whereas *loto* was defined as ‘heart’, ‘inside’, and ‘will’, as well as being ‘more serious’. One woman gave the example of *anga kovi* and *loto kovi*. The former, ‘bad nature/behaviour’, could describe a person refusing to share a mango, whereas the latter, ‘bad hearted’, could refer to jealousy. *Loto* is, in an important sense, ‘deeper within’ the person than *anga*. Mariner captured much of this sense of the term *loto* when he defined it as ‘disposition, inclination, passion, or sentiment’ (Martin 1941: 312).

He also uses it, however, as ‘mind’ (ibid.: 318), and this points to another crucial distinction between *loto* and *anga*. *Loto* is more intentional, more closely bound up with thought and will. Although babies are said to be born with certain *angal'ulungāanga*, it is much less common to refer to a newborn baby’s *loto*. The term for mind, understanding, and reason, *'atamai*, is used less often than *loto*, though when describing a thought or idea, *pēhē* or *fakakaukau* (to think) are commonly used. *Loto*, in its dual sense of heart and mind, is used to describe a person’s opinion, with a strong connotation of emotion. It could be described as ‘the emotional mind’ (Koskinen 1968: 77). A woman making her views known pressed her fist to her chest and said, ‘My *loto* as a person is ...’ (direct transcription). In a less forceful sense, *loto* adds stress to ordinary statements. To say ‘*oku ou fie ’alu*’ (I want to go) is less forceful than ‘*oku ou loto ke ’alu*’ (I desire to go).

The following statement from Mariner’s account suggests that *loto*, in its association with the heart, was also connected with the ‘soul’:

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10 Koskinen suggests that this ‘emotional mind’ is believed, throughout Polynesia, to be situated near the centre of the body, towards the lower body in Eastern Polynesia and higher in the west (1968: 77-8, and see p.55).
The soul is rather supposed to exist throughout the whole extension of the body, but particularly in the heart, the pulsation of which is the strength and power of the soul or mind. They have no clear distinction between the life and the soul, but they will tell you that the fotomanava (the right auricle of the heart) is the seat of life (Martin 1981: 312).

As in Samoa, loto constitutes ‘the subjective dimension of the person’, but in Tonga the loto is not only ‘the source of anti-social behavior’ (Mageo 1989a: 182; see Gerber 1975: 187-9, 1985: 135-7). Mageo describes socialisation in Samoa as ‘directed toward rooting out the child’s willfulness (loto)’ (1988: 49). Tongan socialisation is also directed toward children’s loto, but in the sense of moulding it, in order that it conform to Tongan values.

The aim of Tongan socialisation is for children to develop loto lelei, a ‘good’ loto. This term is used in the very general sense of ‘nice’, but more specifically means ‘agreeable, willing, favourably disposed’ (Churchward 1959: 303). The importance of this association between goodness and willingness lies especially in the ideals of obedience and submissiveness for children, as will become clear in the following chapters. Loto lelei is also regarded as essential for the maintenance of social harmony. The process of becoming poto, which incorporates this development of loto lelei, is in some respects very different for males and females. A detailed discussion of these differences is included in the section of Chapter Five dealing with gender.

**BECOMING A CHILD**

As stated in Chapter One, the Ritchies have claimed that the transition from infancy to childhood is a ‘major theme in Polynesian socialization’ (1979: 57). The notion that Polynesian socialisation involves a ‘dramatic transition’ after infancy has been widely accepted. In early accounts of this transition, notably in the Rakau Maori studies, it was portrayed as abrupt, and described in terms of parental ‘rejection’ (Beaglehole and Ritchie 1958; Earle 1958; Levy 1969c; Jane Ritchie 1957). Though James Ritchie later admitted ‘rejection’ was an inappropriate term (1963), its use persisted. Crocombe, for example, described Polynesian socialisation
in terms of 'the rejection phase', beginning at two to four years and persisting until 17-19, or marriage (1973: 18). He added that 'psychological studies so far indicate that this feeling of rejection is serious, and that the child continues to be influenced by it, in many cases for the rest of his life' (ibid.).

In the Ritchies' later work they portrayed the 'transition' as less abrupt. In 1979 they described it as a 'progression towards autonomy and competence by which the child learns to depend on many and balance that dependency with a sense of autonomy and independence' (1979: 57). Later they describe the transition from 'indulgence' in terms of 'distancing', though they add that 'the warmth and attention that surrounds young children is not normally sharply withdrawn' (1989: 111).

Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole have given several accounts of this transition. For Pukapuka they describe a pattern in which the transition from infancy to childhood is gradual and easy until age seven or eight, when there is a 'hardening of discipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children' (1941a: 286). For the Maori, they describe a transition at age three or four which 'gives something of a traumatic emotional shock' to the child (1946: 126). In this study, adult personality and behaviour is attributed in large part to this traumatic transition. Lastly, they have very briefly mentioned the transition period for Tongan children. 'As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can' (1941b: 82). In his field journal, Ernest Beaglehole described Tongan adults as 'mostly indifferent to children', adding that 'frequently they beat them severely' (1938-9: Dec 27).

Levy has described the transition period in Tahiti as occurring at the age of three to five, a period he says is characterised by 'disindulgence' (1978: 226-7; and see 1973: 456). In an earlier paper Levy indicated that this transition began as early as 18 months old (1969b: 374). During infancy, he reports, the Tahitian child 'is the centre of attention, highly stimulated and cherished', encouraged to be cheeky and mischievous, and is 'coached in fighting gestures' (1969b: 374). In the transition
period the child ‘is taught in various forcibly presented ways that he must accept
definite limitations. There is a dramatic and marked diminution of indulgence by his
caretakers, and he is pushed from the center of the household stage’ (1978: 227).
The early ‘indulgence’ children receive, Levy argues, reduces the trauma of this
‘disindulgence’ as well as leading to a tolerance of culturally-produced frustrations
later in life. After a brief period of anger and depression, the disindulged child
begins ‘active and happy interaction with his peers’ (ibid.). The encouragement of
exhibitionist, aggressive behaviour in infancy also gives children ‘latent capabilities’
for such behaviour in certain contexts later in life, according to Levy (1973: 459).

A very similar process of ‘transition’ has been described for Hawaiian children.
Infants and toddlers are described as being ‘catered to and indulged’, followed by a
rather abrupt decrease in indulgence and an expectation of independence (Jordan,
Gallimore, Sloggett and Kubany 1969: 57). Similarly, Gallimore and Howard
describe a ‘withdrawal of nurturance and rejection of dependency behaviour in early
childhood by parents’ (1969b: 14; and see Gallimore, Boggs and Jordan 1974).
Accounts of Samoan childhood echo those of other Polynesian societies (see
Kavapalu 1987: 56-64).

Common to all of these accounts is an emphasis on the attention, affection and
indulgence received in infancy, in contrast to later childhood, and on the use of
physical punishment and other forms of discipline as the means of effecting the
transition. I do not view the transition period as particularly significant in Tonga,
given the continuities that occur. I have already argued that according to Tongan
theory, children only gradually become poto (clever), as they acquire the range of
values and behaviours embraced by this concept. The remaining chapters of the
thesis will show that aspects of socialisation, including the encouragement of
‘performance’, the use of threats and physical punishments, the role of language
socialisation, and the handling of emotion, are all important from birth and
throughout childhood. It will also be shown that rather than a ‘withdrawal’ of
attention and affection by adults, there is a gradual change in their forms and expression.

Certainly, there is a period of transition during the second and third year, in which children must relinquish their place at centre stage and move, for the most part, to the periphery of the adult world. As Bott noted, the second year is particularly difficult when a new baby has taken over centre stage, and yet the toddler is unable to join properly the activities of the older children (1958: 61). Young children begin to be expected to contribute their labour to the household, and discipline becomes more frequent and severe. The transition is not usually 'traumatic', though, and children are by no means 'thrown on their own resources' (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 82). Peer socialisation is important in Tonga, as will be shown, but parents and other adults also remain highly involved with aspects of child socialisation, especially in their roles as disciplinarians and as moral instructors.

CHILDREN'S EVERYDAY LIVES: SOCIALISATION IN CONTEXT

The following section of this chapter deals with aspects of children's daily lives – their work, play, schooling, and health – to provide a setting for the more detailed examination, in the remaining chapters, of the knowledge regarded as important in becoming poto and the ways in which it is acquired.

Work

As soon as children are physically capable, they are expected to wash and dress themselves, though their caregivers may tell them when to do so. They may also be reminded to go to bed, but more often children are allowed to fall asleep wherever they are, and then woken and sent or carried to bed. Toilet training is accomplished with a minimum of fuss, and usually begins by the end of the first year.

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11 The 'grandparent syndrome' observed in Hawaii (Jordan et al 1969: 60) also occurs to some extent in Tonga. Older parents tend to prolong the 'indulgence' period, delaying stricter discipline and expectations of household work for the younger children, especially when there are many older children in the family.
Once children can walk, they are taught to follow the orders of other household members. At first this is incorporated into the 'performances' they are encouraged to give in infancy (described in Chapter Six), and rewarded with praise and affection, and further attention. Fetching things, and other simple errands, are the first tasks children learn, and as they become physically capable the range of tasks is increased. The younger household members are expected to be the most active. When young children are within calling distance adults generally remain in one place and tell the children to fetch and carry for them — though the adults are often busy themselves, preparing food, beating *tapa*, and so on. The relative immobility of the adults signifies their higher status. At first children's errands are within the house, then as they get older they are sent to neighbouring houses and even further afield. Most Tongan households do not store much food, so that before almost every meal the children are sent on one or more trips to the local *falekoloa* (shop) for supplies.

Kavaliku has claimed that Tongan children are not expected to begin working for their household until they are six (1977: 49). I would argue, though, that as soon as children can understand requests made of them they begin to 'work' and that before they are six they carry out a range of tasks, including running errands, watching out for younger children, carrying water, sweeping, and collecting and carrying rubbish. Children's work is highly valued by their families, and formerly a female's first mat or *tapa*, and a male's first-fruits (agricultural produce or fish) were presented to their chief, and a celebration was held (Bott n.d.: 22). Even today, young men and women sometimes present their first produce or craft work, or even their first wages, to their noble and/or high-status kin.

The age at which children are expected to do different tasks varies according to their physical capabilities, the composition of their household, and a number of personal factors such as individuals’ interests, favouritism, and inter-household relationships. These factors also influence the amount of work children are given. Oldest children often begin to do household chores at an earlier age, and have far more expected of them, than their younger siblings. They can lighten their load to
some extent by delegating tasks to the younger ones, but may be held responsible if chores are not done properly. A few adults told me that as children they hadn’t had to do any work at all; they all had been pele (favourites), who were especially indulged by their families (see Chapter Five, p.150). Many more, however, told me that they had worked very hard and were given little or no time to play. One man complained that he had had ‘no fun, no fun at all’.

Children, especially boys, often run away (hola) when they think they are going to be told to do some work. This can be effective if there are other children around who can do the work, but also carries a high risk of punishment. One woman told me that she had done a lot of work as a child because she was the only child in her household. The job she hated most was collecting the leaves from around the house and from the empty block next door each morning. She would hola to her aunt’s house further down the street to try to avoid this work, but another aunt, from her own household, would come every morning and find her, hit her, and make her do the work. Boys can avoid work far more successfully than girls, being freer to go away from the house. As the Beagleholes commented, the amount of work a boy does is partly dependent on ‘his ability to disappear with a gang of playmates whenever he senses his services may be in demand’ (1941b: 47). When there are enough females around boys are not expected to do ‘women’s work’. For example, at beach picnics boys are free to swim and play, while girls are often restricted by demands on them to help with food preparation and childcare.

Children who try to avoid work, or who work badly, may be accused of being fakapikopiko (lazy) and are very likely to be punished. The Wesleyan missionaries brought with them the sternest of work ethics and the early written laws sought to discourage laziness. The 1850 ‘Law referring to Men’ stated that ‘any man not willing to work, he shall be neither fed nor assisted; all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants; and unprofitable to their friends’ (Lätukefu 1974: 236). Similarly, ‘The Law referring to Women’ stated: ‘You must work, women, and persevere in labouring to clothe your husband and children; unmarried women shall
work to be useful to their relatives and parents. If they do not work, they shall not be
fed or assisted; for our assisting the indolent, is supporting that which is an evil’
(ibid.).

In Tonga today, the sexual division of labour is a crucial aspect of children’s
gender identification. In answer to the question, ‘In what ways do you think it is
different for boys and for girls growing up in Tonga?’, 101 of 216 replies (46.7 per
cent) either said simply ‘work’ or gave some variation of the formula ‘girls stay at
home and help the mother and boys go with the father and work in the bush’ (see
Chapter Five, Table 5C). There are very clear distinctions between ngāue fakafefine
(women’s work) and ngāue fakatangata (men’s work). The former is light, easy,
clean, and involves staying, whereas the latter is the opposite – heavy, tough, dirty,
and involves going (to ‘the bush’ or the sea). Men’s work is also described as
‘bigger’ or ‘greater’ (lahi ange) than women’s. There is a strong sense of these
being ‘natural’ distinctions, and I will argue in Chapter Five that they underlie
broader gender distinctions in Tonga.

It appears that a clear division of labour was a feature of pre-contact Tongan
society. The earliest period for which evidence is available is about 1200-1500 AD,
when it appears that women carried out the daily gardening tasks of weeding and
hoeing while men fished and traded by canoe (Spennemann 1986, 1990). Women
also combed the reefs for food, and produced koloa. Spennemann speculates that in
the shift to village settlement during the civil wars men took over the gardening
work, as they were better able to ‘defend themselves against marauding bands’
(1990: 108). The altered division of labour that developed was then supported by the
European missionaries, who saw women’s role as homemakers and men’s as
agriculturalists.

Significant changes were also wrought by the emergence of a cash economy
(Gailey 1980, 1987a; James 1988). The transformation is continuing today, as more
women enter paid employment, and move into spheres that have been predominantly
male during the post-contact period, such as the church, business and bureaucracy
(Faletau 1982; Fleming with Tuku’afu 1986; James 1983; Moengangongo 1988). However, women’s contribution to production has always been significant, and even during the conservative period of Queen Sálote’s reign, ‘women may have spent more hours in productive activities than men’ (Bollard 1974: 75).

The ideal sexual division of labour is taught in primary schools, as part of the social studies curriculum (see Figure One). In Class One children are taught to sing:

The mother’s work is always great
Sweeping, and collecting the rubbish
Always looking after us
Doing the washing and ironing
The father is the head of the family
Working hard, morning and afternoon
To meet the needs of the family
Food, clothes, happiness and learning
(My translation).

In the following song learned in Class Two, more ‘traditional’ work is emphasised:

The work to do in the family
Men do the hoeing and digging
Trying to get lots of food
Going to the sea to fish
To get food for the family
The women do the washing and sweeping
Tidying the house and cooking the food
Weaving mats, mats for the floor
Beating tapa, staining many tapa
To get coverings for the family
(My translation)

In early childhood, chores are not strongly gendered, with both sexes sweeping and picking up rubbish, carrying water, and running errands. Later, though, there is very little overlap between male and female tasks, with girls doing many household chores – cooking, sweeping, cleaning, washing dishes, helping with childcare, and so on – and boys helping with agricultural work, and collecting and cutting firewood. Girls are generally expected to help with chores earlier, and to do more work than boys. Boys are often not expected to do much work until they are old enough and strong enough to do properly ‘male’ tasks. Cooking, formerly a male task, is now divided into male and female tasks, the former being the ‘hard’, dirty, outside work such as killing and roasting pigs, and preparing the ’umu (underground oven).
The household work carried out by girls is often very tiring, and can leave them little or no time for school homework or recreation. By the time they are in their mid-teens many girls do the bulk of the household work, with the older women of the household occupied with *koloa* production and/or agriculture or wage employment. The teenage girls I knew frequently complained about their workload; it was too tiring, there were too many people in the house to wash and cook for, it was too hard carrying the heavy water containers, and the clothes they had to wash were always so dirty. Washing is still done by hand in most households, with water carried in buckets from the yard tap. Teenage girls who are *puke* (sick), suffering from tiredness, headache, and general malaise, are said to have worked too hard. The fact that this illness is attributed to overwork, and the concern and attention shown to girls at these times, act as an indirect form of praise for their hard work.

That girls do the bulk of the household work is not always obvious when discussing the division of labour with adults. Fleming and Tuku'afu, in their investigation of women's work in Tonga, found that women said that they did the housework, 'helped' by young girls, 'whereas in fact the younger women performed the bulk of these tasks' (1986: 50-1). 12 ‘It seems likely that the person controlling or deciding about an activity regards that work as primarily hers ... it is possible that the same mechanism is in operation in attitudes towards women’s involvement in agriculture, where they are seen as "helping" the men’ (ibid.).

When females are involved in agriculture, the older women of the household usually work on crop production while girls, young unmarried women and elderly women work at home. This is partly due to the avoidance between brothers and sisters, since brothers are likely to be working on the same plantation, but is also related to improving girls’ marriage prospects. ‘Mothers like to keep their marriageable daughters as fair-skinned as possible prior to marriage. Keeping your

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12 The role of adolescent girls at co-operative events such as *koka’anga* (*tapa*-dying sessions) is more clearly one of helping. While the adult women paste and dye the *tapa* the girls prepare and serve food and drink, clean up, hand around fresh dye and pasting materials, and look after babies and toddlers.
FIGURE ONE: HOLONGAN CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS OF FAMILY MEMBERS

Girl, aged 11: (clockwise) mother doing weaving, father hoeing, self at school, brother fishing, grandfather getting coconuts, grandmother ironing, self preparing food (centre) sister sweeping

Boy, aged 11: (Top row L to R) father building house, mother weaving, brother hoeing (Bottom row L to R) self getting water, brother burning rubbish, sister sweeping
FIGURE ONE: continued

Girl, aged 10: (L to R) child cooking food, father hoeing, mother bathing baby, sister sweeping, self collecting rubbish, mother beating tapa

Girl, aged 5: (L to R) father hoeing, mother beating tapa, self getting water (washing on line below), brother playing
Photograph I2: The presentation, display, and redistribution of highly valued women's products (koloa) such as ngatu (dyed tapa) and mats are central to most celebrations and ceremonies in Tonga. Here, quantities of koloa have been presented at the opening of Holonga's Youth Hall.
daughters at home, away from the bush (and physical work) also gives prestige which increases the chance of a high status marriage' (Fleming with Tuku’afu, 1986: 30). Fleming and Tuku’afu note that girls are more likely to do agricultural work on Tongatapu, where traditional beliefs are weaker and the need for female labour is greater due to the movement of many males into the cash economy. When males and females work together in the bush they usually do different tasks, as when women distribute the seedlings for the men to plant.

The movement of many men into wage employment, in Tonga and overseas, has also affected boys’ workload. In some cases it has increased their share of agricultural work, but where households engage in little subsistence production they may only work at intervals, especially when their family’s land is some distance from their house. A number of cross-cultural studies, surveyed by Whiting and Edwards (1988), revealed that, as in Tonga, ‘girls are generally more involved in economic and domestic work than are boys of the same age ... There is no question that girls are assigned more work than boys during the childhood years; to state the situation in the baldest terms, girls work while boys play’ (ibid.: 72, 125). Generally, Tongan boys have far more leisure time than girls, and though their agricultural work may be physically hard, it is viewed more positively than domestic work. Boys often work in groups, whereas girls, depending on household composition, may work alone or only with older women. There is also an element of fun evident in boy’s work that is absent from girls’ daily chores, and when girls do go to the bush they seem to thoroughly enjoy themselves. At harvest time, whole families may travel to their plantation, taking food to cook, and the trip takes on the excitement of a picnic despite the hard work involved.

**Education**

The first schools in Tonga were established by the Wesleyan missionaries from 1828, followed by the Roman Catholics in the 1850s. By 1838 adults and children were being taught in separate schools, and for a period after 1854 ‘the main emphasis was on the infant schools’ (Cummins 1977: 116, 122). The first secondary school
(Wesleyan) was opened in 1866, though it was not until 1870 that girls were admitted to secondary education (Fiefia 1981: 1; and see Cummins 1977, 1980, Paongo 1990, Roberts 1924 for the history of formal education in Tonga). In the 1862 Code of Laws education was made compulsory in response to a declining interest in schooling after the initial wave of enthusiasm (Lätükefu 1975: 36). Today, all children between six and fourteen living within two miles of a government primary school must attend that or a similar school, and complete six years of primary education (*The Law of Tonga* Act 23: Sections 52 & 53). Parents not sending children to school can be fined (ibid.: Section 56) but there are nevertheless problems of poor attendance, often due to family obligations, such as helping with childcare. Since 1944 teachers have been trained in Tonga at the Teachers’ Training College, though some have trained overseas and many remain untrained.

‘Education fever’ hit Tonga in the post World War Two period, as people’s aspirations for employment and migration grew (Afeaki 1975: 65). The Tongan government now claims a 100 per cent adult literacy rate (Throsby 1987: 9, Table 1.4). Education is regarded as a means to white-collar employment, creating a conservative attitude toward curriculum planning despite the fact that employment opportunities are very limited. Both parents and teachers are generally conservative in their approach to education, resisting any moves away from an academically oriented curriculum toward an emphasis on practical skills. Very few students who aspire to white-collar work actually attain their goal. Nearly half of all school leavers go overseas to seek employment, and those remaining face high rates of unemployment.14

13 In the 1903 Code of Law students over 12 were punished for non-attendance, by a fine or in default a 14-day prison term, with double this for nonattendance at an examination (Powles 1990: 163, fn 89).

14 Figures are difficult to establish. The 1984 mini-census gave the unemployment rate for 15-24 year olds as 12.9 per cent (4.9 per cent for total labour force), and for ‘young females’ as 25.4 per cent (DPV: 85). However, these rates are probably much higher, as they do not include the ‘economically inactive’ category (ibid.: 78, 85).
The perception of children as *vale* and unable to learn properly until the end of primary school has influenced attitudes toward education. Since 'real education' does not begin until secondary school, there has been a 'lack of learning intervention activities in the early years' (Tu'inukuaf 1990: 209-210). However, a number of kindergartens now operate in Tonga, mainly on Tongatapu. Giving children at least a year of pre-school education is becoming an increasingly popular means of improving their chances in the competitive education system. The primary education system is predominantly government-run, with 93.4 per cent of primary pupils at government schools in 1987 (Report of the Ministry of Education for 1987: 15). High schools are mainly church-run, with only 19.7 per cent of places being at government schools in 1987 (ibid.: 19). Today most high-schools are for day pupils, but in the 1950s Lovett (1958: 34) claimed that the majority of children aged from 13-19 lived away from home in boarding schools, leaving pre-adolescents with the bulk of household chores.

Selection to high-schools is competitive, and there is a high rate of repeating students in year six – 20 per cent of those who sat the Secondary School Entrance Examination in 1987 (Report of the Minister of Education for 1987: 11). A serious gap exists between the primary and secondary levels, leading the government to plan an extension of primary schooling into classes seven and eight (DPV: 400). The main problem lies in the poor grasp of English many students have on entering high school, where a lot of teaching is in English. High school education has also undergone a restructuring, towards more Tongan control of subject matter and examination, and away from dependence on the New Zealand curriculum, on which the system was previously based.

With this restructuring of the education system toward more Tongan control, there has also been a move toward increased Tongan content in the syllabus. There has been a revived emphasis on literacy in Tongan, and Tongan 'culture' in general, as a response to the widespread concern about cultural 'breakdown' (see Chapter Five). It has included cultural workshops for teachers, teaching of traditional singing
and dancing, and the development of a Tongan Studies curriculum for high schools. The new Environmental Science curriculum for primary schools has a social studies program that strongly emphasises 'traditional culture'.

The Tongan education system as a whole suffers from an unequal distribution of facilities and resources between urban and rural areas, adding to the internal migration to Tongatapu and particularly to Nuku'alofa, which has the most prestigious schools. Some students are sent to boarding colleges, and others are sent to live with relatives near their schools. Sometimes whole families migrate temporarily or permanently to be near schools. In Vava'u, for example, some families from outer islands set up temporary villages on the main island during school terms. Overcrowding in the classrooms is a problem, and most schools have an acute shortage of educational resources. Mormon and Seventh Day Adventist schools, funded from overseas, provide a sharp contrast to the other Tongan schools, with their sports facilities, new buildings, equipment and text-books, and extra-curricular activities for the students. In 1979-1980 government expenditure on primary students was $TOP47 per child,15 whereas in the Mormon schools it was $386 per child, and the S.D.A schools $478 (Fourth Five-Year Development Plan 1981: 312).

School fees and children's school stationery needs place a great financial strain on many families, and most rely on remittances from overseas relatives to cover these expenses. In government primary schools teachers must purchase most educational materials themselves, out of their already low wages. Despite the high value placed on education, teaching is a fairly low-status profession in Tonga, and the working conditions are poor. Many teachers, particularly in remote schools, rely on assistance from the community for their accommodation, or even use classrooms as living quarters.

Higher education institutions in Tonga include business, agricultural, theological and teachers' training colleges, a nursing school, police training school, and a

15 The Tongan pa'anga (TOP) is roughly equivalent to the Australian dollar.
Community Development and Training Centre (for adult education), as well as the Tongan extension centre of the University of the South Pacific and Tonga's independent university, 'Atenisi Institute. A Pacific and Asia Christian University is being built, and will include an early childhood education centre for curriculum development and teacher training. Many students also travel overseas for tertiary study.

Wages from employment are regarded as a return on school fees and other educational expenses. Education is thus perceived as a kind of 'investment' (Haberkorn 1981: 16). For this reason, agricultural work is often regarded as a waste of education. In his survey of 450 students throughout Tonga, Haberkorn found that the majority aspired to white-collar work (1981). The results of my own less extensive survey, shown in the following table, reveal the same preference for white-collar jobs and a lack of interest in farming. The question asked was, ‘What do you want to do when you finish school?’ It is interesting to note that nearly 30 per cent stated that they wanted to work to help their parents and family, whereas in Haberkorn’s survey only 18 per cent gave this answer (ibid.: 26, Table B). Haberkorn claimed that ‘to help one’s family though receives relatively little importance as an occupational motivation across sex, islands, and school systems. in contrast to what students perceive as being a significant factor in their parents’ choice’ (1981: 17). However, as well as the 18 per cent who answered ‘help family’, a further 71 per cent answered ‘help people, village, Tonga’ (31 per cent female, 40 per cent male) (ibid.). Haberkorn also suggested that respondents in Vava’u and Ha’apai showed ‘stronger other-centredness’ that those of Tongatapu (ibid.: 20), but my own survey showed no difference between responses from Tongatapu and Vava’u. My survey does give some support to his finding that boys were more ‘self-centred’ than girls (ibid.: 17), with 21.5 per cent of male and 39 per cent of female

16 Haberkorn’s survey was more specifically aimed at discovering employment aspirations than mine. Many respondents to my questionnaire answered simply ‘ngāue’ (work) or ‘look for a job’ without specifying the type of employment. Where respondents gave ‘to help parents’ (or family, country, etc.) it was noted separately to the occupation indicated.
respondents to my survey expressing a desire to help their parents, family, village or country.

**TABLE 4A: TEENAGERS’ ASPIRATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to help parents/family</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to help people/country</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look for a job</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngâue(^{17})</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work for church</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white collar</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marry</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘play’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go overseas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>further study</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entertainer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>police/soldier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farmer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other(^{18})</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>180</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Play

Children play in mixed-age groups of siblings and neighbours (who are often relations). When there are large groups of children they tend to separate into younger and older groups, but at other times children from toddlers to teenagers play together. While older children are at school, younger children play together and are expected to stay within an adult’s sight. It is taken for granted that neighbours keep an eye on each other’s children, and they either discipline each other’s children or report any problems to the children’s parents. Sometimes neighbours are explicitly

\(^{17}\) These answers did not specify whether ngâue meant unpaid labour or paid work.

\(^{18}\) Carpenter, ‘boss’, and pilot.
asked to *tokanga'i* (watch out for/care for) children, as when a mother leaves them while she goes to town to shop (Morton 1976: 66).

The Beagleholes claimed that in Pangai children from about 18-months-old were 'free to go where they will or where they can' and that gangs of mixed-age children roamed the bush and the beach (1941b: 82). Similarly, Bott stated that by four years of age children were 'allowed to roam all round the village and out to the plantations', but she did note that children in Nuku'alofa were kept closer to home (1958: 64). Nowhere did I see children under school age allowed to wander away from home, though they were sometimes allowed to go by themselves from one house to another in the village. Even older children are generally kept close to home — partly so they can be called to do jobs or run errands — and it is only boys, from about nine or ten years of age, who are sometimes allowed to wander far from home. A factor contributing to the closer surveillance of young children nowadays is the danger posed by the greatly increased number of vehicles on Tongan roads.

When they are about ten years old boys begin to avoid mixed-sex play groups, and even younger children tend to form same-sex groups whenever possible. This is partly because of the brother-sister avoidance that becomes particularly important at puberty and partly because boys and girls often play different games. Most girls' games are less active than boys', though when they are playing in mixed-sex groups there is little difference between boys' and girls' behaviour. Further consideration of brother-sister avoidance and gender differences can be found in Chapter Five.

Early accounts of games and sports in Tonga tended to focus on those played by chiefly men (e.g. Beaglehole 1967; Collocott 1928; Ferdon 1987; Gifford 1971a; Orange 1840). Children's games that were described include *matamatakupenga* (cat's cradle), walking on stilts of halved coconut shells, and a game called *sikaulutoa* (or *sika*), which was played by chiefly boys, using a reed throwing-stick with a head of *toa* (casuarina or ironwood) wood. *Hiko* (juggling) was accompanied by rhymes, examples of which can be found in Collocott (1928: 100) and Moyle (1987: 216-9). Whitcombe describes a number of games not listed in earlier reports,
including games of skill (bow and arrow, slingshot, etc.) played by boys, and a game played by children of both sexes, *fisi*, in which chips of wood were flicked over an upended, rolled mat (1930: 7-8). He also describes *aamoa*, in which an old woman covered herself with a *tapa* or *ngatu* and tried to frighten groups of little girls (ibid.: 8). Anderson, an officer with Cook’s 1777 expedition, mentioned that boys and girls boxed as adults did (Beaglehole 1976: 901), and another officer, Samwell, stated that wrestling tournaments began with boys of six or seven and progressed through age-groups up to old men (ibid.: 1027). Samwell notes: ‘These Exercises [wrestling and boxing] are held in great esteem among them, the children are brought up in the Practice of them from their Infancy, especially the Sons of Chiefs’ (ibid.: 1028).

In 1988 the most popular game for both sexes was marbles (*mapu*). (In some schools only boys were allowed to play.) *Mapu* was formerly played with round seeds from a *feta'u* (Callophyllum) tree or *tuitui* (Candlenut), but nowadays imported glass marbles are used. Popular girls’ games include *moa* (‘knucklebones’ or ‘jacks’, played with stones), juggling (with *tuitui* or small hard fruits such as limes, often six to eight at a time), and netball. Both boys and girls play cards, and more active games such as rounders (*lanitä*) and cricket (*kilikiti*). Football is very popular amongst older boys. Other games are made up on the spur of the moment, as when a group of girls invented a game using a tiny piece of straw one of them had found. They sat in a circle with their eyes shut as one girl hid the straw in the grass, then the others had a mad scramble to find it. (Games of make-believe are discussed in Chapter Six.) Moyle describes a number of games that are accompanied by sung or spoken rhymes (1987). Some ‘game songs’ refer to specific individuals or events (historical or contemporary) and others contain ‘nonsense’ words, often to provide rhythm for accompanying actions. Though both boys and girls sing game songs, they are most frequently sung by girls, to accompany hand-clapping games played in pairs.

A great deal of children’s play is not in the form of organised games or sports. They climb trees, chase one another, swim, and so on. Imported toys are now
available in some stores, especially in Nuku‘alofa and around Christmas time. Others are sent by relatives living overseas. The majority of village children do not have such toys, and any toys they do have are quickly broken and discarded. Toys are usually limited to marbles, perhaps a few balloons (or more often bits of burst balloon), playing cards, and slingshots constructed of wood and tyre-rubber. Some children also have bicycles. The most popular playthings are sticks, small stones (for moa) and other objects found lying around. Empty cans are sometimes nailed to sticks to make a long-handled wheel (see Photograph 14). Around Christmas-time each year older boys construct fana pitu (bamboo cannons), which make a booming sound when their kerosene contents are lit.

Adults seldom play with children, saying it would be ‘a waste of time’, and that they ‘don’t want to get down’ (i.e. demean themselves). For the most part adults watch children play, or play teasing or physically rough games, as discussed in Chapter Six. When adults play cards together they sometimes let older children and adolescents join in, but younger children are considered to be nuisances. The games I took with me to Tonga (board games, dice games, etc.) were quickly appropriated by adults, who excluded children unless there was no-one else to play with. Then the children were allowed to ‘play’ — to sit and watch as an adult rolled the dice and moved the pieces for them. Adults and children nevertheless share a considerable amount of leisure-time, watching videos, resting on mats, having beach picnics, and so on.

By the time Tongan children reach puberty their socialising, like their work, is almost entirely gender-segregated. They are expected to contribute a considerable amount of labour to their household by then and so have less time for recreation. This is especially so for girls, who by their teenage years spend most of their time at school or doing household chores. Netball is the most popular sport for adolescent girls, and the inter-school and inter-village competitions are taken very seriously. Before competition matches there is sometimes a formal exchange of koloa between
the two sides, and following the match the home side presents the visiting team with food (usually bread, cakes and biscuits) and softdrinks (see Photograph 15).

From as early as eight or nine years old boys form groups and spend their spare time together. They often attach themselves to groups of older boys (the talavou: see Marcus 1978: 257-9). These groups of boys wander into the bush to eat fruit, go swimming or fishing together, or go to town to hang around. They often have their own hut in the village, where they eat, sleep and socialise – play cards, tell stories, and so on. Many of these groups style themselves as ‘gangs’, in their own version of the gangs seen in popular American movies. Some even have their own identifying graffiti and names, like the ‘R.B.P.’ (Revenge of the Black Power) gang that existed for a while in Holonga in 1986-7.

Dances are one of the few mixed-sex forms of socialising for teenagers. Regular village dances and school social nights (fakasosiale) are popular amongst young Tongans, and have virtually replaced faikava (kava drinking) as the primary context for courting. However, for many Tongans, particularly of the older generation, they symbolise the change for the worse in Tonga today (see Chapter Five). Some teenagers also spend their free time in religious groups and youth organisations (Potongaue Talavou), the latter being mainly involved with agricultural activities.

An important new leisure activity in Tonga, for people of all ages, is watching video movies. By late 1989 up to 30 per cent of homes had video cassette recorders (VCRs), and there were 36 privately-run video libraries (Matangi Tonga 1989e: 29).19 In 1986 there were only a few homes with VCRs in Holonga, and whenever I visited them there were up to 30 people watching videos, including children and teenagers watching from outside, through the louvre windows. The most popular videos were ‘Ninja’ movies, though a wide range of others were watched. At that time films were still screened on occasion in the village hall, and the difference in

19 Tonga has also had a television station since 1988, screening daily within certain hours, with programs mainly from the American networks. To use this channel is expensive, requiring the purchase of an unscrambler and a monthly subscription. There were approximately 500 subscribers by late 1989 (Matangi Tonga 1989e: 31).
Photograph I3: Boys playing with tyres in the front yard of our Holonga house, on a rainy day. These boys were part of a group of boys aged between 7 and I3 who spent a great deal of time together.

Photograph I4: Boys playing with home-made stick-and-can toys (Photograph courtesy of S.Burt).
Photograph 15: Before an inter-village netball game, the visiting team presents koloa (mats and ngatu), food and drinks.

Photograph 16: Neighbourhood children play in the front yard of our Holonga home.
people's behaviour then was marked. These film screenings were social events, and people chatted to one another or listened to the radio whilst watching the pictures on the screen. In contrast, when watching a video in a home people tended to sit silently, only occasionally making comments about the movie or laughing.

This behaviour was still notable in 1989, when many more homes owned videos, and movies were viewed almost every night (sometimes all night) and throughout weekends. Often, the same movie is watched many times, and any videos newly rented, or sent from relatives overseas, are passed around among any neighbours with VCRs. The households I lived in during fieldwork all had VCRs. Children living in, or visiting these households, were frequently allowed to watch movies with the adults until they fell asleep late at night. Favourite movies included any with Chuck Norris ('Saki Nolisi') or Rambo, and the ever-popular martial-arts movies. The five-year-old boy in our Holonga household had learned to say 'Fuck you!' and 'Oh shit!' from movies (the only English words he used confidently!), and like other children loved to play 'kalate' (karate) and 'ninisa' (ninja) games.20

Home movies are very popular, and Tongan residents and their relatives overseas often send videos of important events to each other. This seems to contribute more to sustaining the ties between them than do letters or phone calls, and the emotional impact of the recorded scenes is sometimes intense. The viewers can watch together, and in an important sense participate together in the events they witness. Such occasions are also a context for instructing children on kinship, 'tradition', cultural values, and so on, as the people and events they observe are explained and interpreted for them. In a study of Tongan videographers in Utah, USA, Hammond (1988) showed that their videos emphasise their 'cultural heritage'. She suggests that 'Tongan video imagery will surely play a significant role in the self-definition of future generations of Tongans in the U.S.' (ibid.: 397). To a lesser extent, this could also be true for Tongans at home.

20 To assess the impact of videos would require a separate study. An American research scholar initiated such a study but was unfortunately unable to complete her work due to illness.
Children’s health

There has been a marked decline in infant mortality rates in Tonga. Between 1925 and 1957 the average rate was 76 per thousand (Bott 1958: Appendix One; and cf. Bakker 1979: 121). By 1983, the rate was 9.7 per thousand (DPV: 337). The Ministry of Health in collaboration with W.H.O. conducts an immunisation program, and there have been no reported deaths from neonatal tetanus or diptheria since 1977 (Report of the Ministry of Health for 1987: 34). In 1986 and 1987 there were no reported cases of poliomyelitis, rubella and pertussis (whooping cough), and only 26 cases of tuberculosis. Immunisation has now been carried out on 89 per cent of the targeted population (ibid.: 34). In 1988 immunisation for Hepatitis B was added to the program, and is currently being administered to neonates and school children.

School-aged children have also benefitted from the health programs in schools, which, when funding is available, include visits by the School Dental Services, Maternal and Child Health personnel, an immunisation team, and health education officers (Report of the Ministry of Health for 1986: 32). Nearly half of the in-service training given to primary school teachers is in nutrition and health, and the new Environmental Science curriculum for primary schools incorporates health education.

The major health problems for Tongan children are gastroenteritis and respiratory illnesses. The National Diarrhoeal Diseases Control Program promotes proper feeding of children during diarrhoea and convalescence, and reducing diarrhoeal morbidity through breastfeeding. Typhoid fever also remains a problem and, of the respiratory illnesses, bronchopneumonia is a major problem for infants, who made up 35 per cent of hospital admissions for this illness in 1986 (Report of the Ministry of Health for 1986: 6).

21 There was considerable variation during this period due to epidemics. The highest figure was 295.61 per thousand in 1925, and the lowest 33.67 per thousand in 1927 (Bott 1958: Appendix One).
Other common health problems for infants and children include parasitic infection (Englberger 1983: 20), accidental injuries, and skin diseases and infections. Burns are common, particularly for children under three, since some cooking is still done on open fires. Also, kettles, primus stoves, and containers of hot food are commonly kept at floor level. Many health problems are not reported to the hospitals or clinics, partly because some conditions, such as diarrhoea (unless severe) and various skin infections, are not perceived as sicknesses. Minor problems are either left untreated or are treated with herbal medicines prepared by a family member or faito‘o (healer). A faito‘o may also be called in for persistent crying during teething, for which tafa nifo, cutting through the gum, is still the most common cure (see Whitcombe 1930: 10-13, and Weiner 1971, for details of herbal treatments used for children’s illnesses).22

Skin diseases, as well as most respiratory and gastrointestinal illnesses, are generally regarded as ‘Tongan diseases’ (mahaki fakatonga: see Ikahihifo and Panuve 1983; Parsons 1985) and are therefore usually treated at home. Another category of ‘Tongan disease’ is the ’āvanga illnesses caused by ‘spirits’ (Cowling 1990a; Ikahihifo and Panuve 1983: 23; Parsons 1984: 75-7, 1985: 94-6; see Chapter Eight). There are several forms of ’āvanga and those most relevant to children’s health are te‘ia (depression, anxiety) and mental disability. The former is associated with symptoms such as persistent illness and tiredness, and the latter with conditions such as brain damage and Downs Syndrome (Cowling 1990a). Cowling claims that ‘debilitating illness in children is almost invariably explained in terms of spirit-affectedness by those who are believers in folk medicine’ (ibid.: 76, fn 12). Another explanation for children’s illnesses is family problems, and Parsons shows that disharmony in relationships between adult kin can adversely affect their children’s health, in Tongan theories of illness causation (1984: 81-2; see Chapter Eight).

22 The type of treatment different faito‘o use varies considerably. Also, each remedy may be used for several kinds of problems, and more than one faito‘o may be consulted in order to find a cure. Knowledge of medicinal plants is not confined to faito‘o and many Tongans know and use a variety of remedies for common complaints.
Medical assistance at a hospital or clinic is usually sought for more serious complaints, though many people fear and distrust hospital treatments and seek help with reluctance. Injections, particularly of penicillin, are regarded as dangerous, and I was frequently told stories of people dying after receiving them (and see Parsons 1985: 91). Tongan medicine is seen as safer and more rapidly effective than hospital treatments, as well as being the only means of curing 'Tongan diseases'.

Reluctance to take children to hospital can sometimes have tragic results. The majority of cases of mental retardation in Tonga are caused by complications of menigitis or infections of the central nervous system (Matangi Tonga 1989d: 38). A pediatrician from Viaola Hospital stated that 'these [are] often the result of a sick child taken to a doctor far too late for proper treatment, or in cases where treatment had not been aggressive enough and the infection had gone on to affect areas of the brain resulting in mental retardation, epilepsy, and cerebral palsy' (ibid.). Such complications may again be interpreted as spirit-caused. Cowling claims that these and other serious illnesses are rarely blamed on the child's caregivers, 'unless there is clear evidence of neglect and illtreatment' (1990a: 76, fn 12).

Nutrition

The 1986 National Nutrition Survey (NNS) did not examine the diets of males aged between four and twenty, or females between four and fifteen, so there are no recent statistics on children's diets. All nutrition surveys carried out in Tonga have noted the lack of fresh fruit and vegetables, other than root crops, in the diet (Englberger 1983; NNS). The 1986 survey suggested there may be a relationship between the consequent vitamin and mineral deficiencies, and the high incidence of skin infections and diarrhoea (NNS: 50).

Many children eat only one or two meals a day, usually bread or hard-tack biscuits in the morning and root vegetables with boiled mutton-flap (sipi) or 'soup'

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23 Parsons notes that because of the distinction between Tongan and European illnesses, Western medicine 'is unlikely to readily displace the traditional Tongan healing practices' (1985: 105).
(flour and water with canned fish or meat flavouring) in the evening. Sometimes a glut of cheap, imported food such as turkey wings adds variety to this otherwise monotonous diet. A nutritionist attached to Vaiola hospital claimed that the eating pattern of the many children who eat little until the main evening meal can affect their schooling, since they are tired and unable to concentrate (Fonua 1988b: 14).

Most families still prepare an 'umu (underground oven) on Sundays. Food cooked includes root vegetables and various lu (meat or fish with coconut cream, wrapped in taro leaves). This meal is the most nourishing of the week, with both protein foods and green vegetables (lu). The feasts that are held at any important event also provide foods that are not part of the daily diet, particularly protein foods such as pork, chicken, fish and eggs. At certain times of the year, such as Christmas-time, and Uike Lotu (prayer week, held early in the new year), people may attend several feasts in a week, and even at other times they would attend a feast every few weeks. However, children attending feasts do not tend to eat the more nutritious food offered. They prefer the lollies, Twisties (and similar processed snacks), and soft-drinks that decorate the pola (trays of food), and the ice-cream that has become a popular dessert at feasts, now that many homes have freezers. Children only benefit from feasts when their family is given a portion of the left-over food to take home.

Boys are more likely to consume fruit than girls, as they are more often in the bush, where they can gather fruit such aslesi (pawpaw). Children also eat fruit that they knock down from trees with rocks and sticks, though this is almost always long before the fruit ripens. Other snacks include certain edible seeds, bananas that have ripened on bunches kept for cooking, and imported snack foods and sweets, including chewing-gum, soft-drinks, Twisties and similar products. A recently introduced snack is uncooked instant noodles (nudolo) and the contents of their flavour sachets (referred to as fifisi, meaning spicy-hot, and consisting of salt, monosodium glutamate and spices).
The Tongan government's concern over diet-related health problems has led to a strong program of public nutrition education in recent years, and the formation of a National Food and Nutrition committee within the Central Planning Department. The increasing dependence on imported food, often of low nutritional value, has been associated with increasing health problems such as cancer, high blood pressure, heart disease, obesity and diabetes. Apart from the higher prestige of imported foodstuffs, other factors contributing to this consumption pattern include the decline in subsistence production, the lack of availability of some Tongan foods, and the fact that many Tongan foods are now more expensive to buy than imported products.

**THE END OF CHILDHOOD**

There are conflicting opinions about whether or not girls' first menstruation was, or is, celebrated in Tonga. Gifford claimed that a ceremony was formerly held by both 'eiki and tu'a, but by the 1920s only by 'eiki families (1971b: 180). He states that the girl's father would give her a feast, supervised by his sister. The girl was forbidden to bathe, 'because of the belief that it would stop the flow', and was painted with turmeric by her mother and put to bed until the flow ceased. Then she could bathe, having been rubbed with a masticated mixture of sweet-scented plants and tuitui. When the girl was the daughter of the Tu'i Tonga she would be given gifts by 'all the surrounding country people' (ibid.).

A similar description of this katoanga o e ngata (celebration of the end of childhood) states that it was only held for girls from 'eiki and matapule families (Bott n.d.: 27). The girl was tapu from preparing food, and not allowed to bathe. Her mother showed her how to prepare a pad (hafe) of tapa. While the girl was resting women who had been beating or pasting tapa were not allowed to enter her room, as this would stop the flow or cause the girl pain. When the flow stopped she was bathed, her hair was cut, and a feast was given, at which she was given koloa for her bed (ibid.).
The Beagleholes claimed that 'there is no ceremony connected with a girl’s first menstruation' but that her mother would tell her it was tapu to cook, work, or wash clothes whilst menstruating, and that her relationship of faka'apa'apa (respect) with her brother must begin (1941b: 83). In Tonga today, tu'a families hold no ceremony, and the tapu mentioned by the Beagleholes are seldom observed. However, menarche is usually acknowledged. A young father explained: 'When the girls have their first period the family make a good meal, and the father will say to the girl: "Now, you know ... you make any mistakes now ...!". It’s the time for giving information to the children'.

This 'information' takes the form of a moral discourse, stressing faka'apa'apa (respect), and fatongia (duty), and is also given to boys at the time of their circumcision. Before European contact supercision was performed on groups of boys between the ages of 12 and 16, or sometimes even younger. Unsupercised males were called kou or ta'etefe and 'would be forbidden to eat with the other members of the household, must not touch another’s food, and would be spurned by the girls' (Gifford 1971b: 187). Even today, uncircumcised boys are teased, and the term kota (scraped coconut), is a term of abuse. The Beagleholes claimed that an uncircumcised boy would 'suffer shame for the rest of his life as one abnormal and despised' (1941b: 84). The operation, called kaukau, which also means to cleanse, was performed by a male who was not the boy’s brother or cousin; usually a skilled elderly man, or the boy’s father or uncle. After six days the boys were given a feast and koloa for bedding. Descriptions of the operation and convalescence can be found in Gifford (1971b: 188-9), Martin (1981: 459), and Bott (n.d.: 23-6).

Today circumcision is carried out by medical officers at health clinics and hospitals, and scalpels have replaced bamboo slivers and shells as the instruments used. Despite an attempt to outlaw the operation in the Code of Vava’u (Section Eight, in Lätükefu 1974: 225) it retains its importance. As one man explained, 'from

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24 Circumcision is kamu (to cut around), and the vulgar term is tefe. Only the Tu’i Tonga was left unsupercised in pre-contact Tonga, unless the operation was performed when he was overseas.
that they treat you like a man’. Less ceremonial is attached these days, though for
the first son’s circumcision a feast may be given. Another man said: ‘I think its
getting a bit diluted now, but it used to be the first child of the family, a big feast is
put up, a big meal, just for the immediate family, and they come around ... just to
mark the coming of manhood of their eldest son. Some families still put it on’. Boys
also tend to be circumcised alone nowadays, rather than in groups. Those who have
just been circumcised are clearly proud of their new status and associate more and
more with the older boys, the talavou.

In pre-contact Tonga supercision was followed by another symbol of manhood:
tā tatau, tatooing from the hips to the thighs (Martin 1981: 459). Like circumcision,
this was outlawed in the Code of Vava’u (Lātūkefu 1974: 225). Some tatooing still
occurs, but is unlike the former tā tatau. The most common tatoos nowadays are the
initials or emblem of the boy’s high school. Tatooing had a revival in Holonga
during my visit in 1986, when one of the boys invented a tatooing gadget, using a
pen connected to wires and batteries cased in bamboo (see Photograph 23).
Throughout the school holidays adolescent boys from the village endured the agony
of this tatooing, covering their thighs, chests and arms with pictures copied from my
son’s Masters of the Universe colouring book. Some girls also have tatoos, but they
are much smaller and less obvious, usually just their high school’s initials.25

For some boys and girls a new form of ‘initiation’ into adolescence has become
important – Holy Communion. In many Catholic families the children’s first
communion is marked by a feast, at which the child is dressed in ngatu and mats, and
relatives give speeches proclaiming the child’s new status. Yet communion and
puberty celebrations do not mark any sudden change in children’s daily lives. They
continue much as before, and the expectations placed upon them gradually increase,
in their work for their families, and in their acquisition of the knowledge that will
enable them to become poto.

25 Waldegrave reported that women were tatooed on their legs and feet ‘with small stars as a
spotted stocking’ (1834: 194).
CHAPTER FIVE

BECOMING POTO: WHAT TO LEARN

This chapter examines certain aspects of the knowledge Tongan children need to acquire in order to become poto (clever or capable). In a general sense, the knowledge to be discussed comprises values, and value-oriented behaviour. The first section describes four values that are central to the process of socialisation in Tonga (‘love’, respect, obedience, and independence). The two following sections examine the knowledge associated with kinship and gender, and its links with cultural values. The final section considers the growing concern in Tonga that important values are being ‘lost’ in the process of rapid social change.

Anthropologists have tended to shy away from the direct consideration of values since culture and personality studies lost favour, but recent ethnopsychological studies have renewed interest in this topic, and in the closely related area of emotion (e.g. Gerber 1975, 1985; Lutz 1987, 1988; White and Kirkpatrick 1985). Emotions and values tend to merge: as both abstractions and psychological states they are often impossible to disentangle. This will become clear in my examination of certain of the most salient Tongan values; however, my emphasis in this chapter is on the behavioural aspects of these values. As will be shown, it is this aspect that is most directly emphasised in Tongan discourse dealing with both values and emotions. The way in which emotions are handled, and their relationship to the values considered in this chapter, are discussed in Chapter Eight.
Values are also an important element of ‘cultural identity’ (see Linnekin and Poyer 1990a), and the values that I discuss are explicitly defined by Tongans as intrinsic to their identity. As will be shown in the final section of this chapter, these values are becoming especially significant symbols of Tongan identity in the context of rapid modernisation and social change.

Context is of central importance to the process of socialisation in Tonga, as stated in Chapter Four. Children not only need to learn appropriate values and behaviour, they must learn to be *poto he anga*: to be able to behave according to context. This has been described by the Ritchies as ‘one of the most important lessons Polynesian children must master’ (1989: 103). Context determines the status of the actors involved and consequently the roles that they play. Such ‘role shifting’ occurs, for example, when in some contexts children can punish younger siblings and in others are punished themselves.

The importance of context has also been identified as an aspect of ‘the more general Polynesian epistemological bias that things be known in their specific contexts and through their perceptual effects in the world rather than in terms of essential, intrinsic features’ (Shore 1989: 138). Consequences of actions are thus more important than motivations, and the clearest determinant of consequences is whether or not actions are appropriate in a given context. The greatest concern is with behaviour rather than with internal states or dispositions, though as shown in the previous chapter, there is no clear distinction between the two in concepts such as *anga* and *'ulungāanga*.

The values that are discussed in this chapter are those that are particularly salient to child socialisation within *tu'a* families and are primarily significant at the level of interpersonal relationships. Though there is significant overlap, there are also important differences when considering relationships at a wider societal level, as between chiefs and commoners. As Lätūkefu has noted, between these ‘classes’ the central values are *faka'apa'apa* (respect), *fatongia* (obligation/duty) and *mateaki* (loyalty) (1980: 65). Some values were formerly associated only with the *hou'eiki,*
such as to'a (bravery), hoihoifua (beauty), fie'eiki (chiefliness), fiepule (dominance), längilangi (honour) and ngeia (dignity). Kolo has argued that in pre-contact Tonga 'there were two sets of opposed values and moralities ... one completely dominating the other, and this continues to the present' (1990: 3). However, it is also the case in contemporary Tonga that 'values originating in chiefly culture are shared widely among the population' (Marcus 1980: 159). I will later argue that these chiefly values are intrinsic to Tongan notions of ideal personhood.

When 230 teenagers responded to the question, 'What do you think were the most important things you were taught as a child?', their answers, like those of the adults I spoke with, emphasised the three central values of 'love', respect and obedience. Table 5A shows their responses (multiple answers were given in some cases):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5A: CHILDHOOD LEARNING</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religion</td>
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<tr>
<td>obedience</td>
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<td>respect</td>
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<td>'ofa</td>
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<td>household work</td>
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<td>Tongan customs</td>
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<td>entertainment</td>
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<tr>
<td>other</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the answers I have categorised as 'proper behaviour', such as sharing, helping, angalelei ('nice' nature/behaviour), and kindness, are aspects of the central values of love, respect and obedience. Religion also centres on these values, for
Tongans. According to Lätükefu, Christianity strengthened the ‘traditional’ values of 'ofa and fakamolemole (forgiveness) (1980: 75; and see Cummins 1979: 180). Lätükefu adds that ‘although 'ofa existed in ... traditional social relationships, the coercive elements such as fear of the chiefs’ mana and absolute power were much stronger’ (ibid.). Apart from emphasising love and forgiveness, friendship and fellowship, the missionaries stressed respect and obedience, which also accorded well with existing values (Cummins 1979: 180). ‘Values’ is a particularly appropriate term to use in this case, since in Tonga the term koloa (valuable goods, riches) can also be applied to those culturally valued qualities to be discussed here.

LOVE: 'OFA

Thus far I have glossed 'ofa as love, but in fact it has a much wider range of connotations. Kavaliku, in his detailed analysis of this polysemic term, shows that it can mean concern, kindness, hope, sadness, care, help, gifts, sharing, and sexual love (1977). He points out that ‘no single meaning is a whole unless the other meanings are implicit or explicit’ (ibid.: 67).

The cluster of meanings that form the concept of 'ofa is found throughout Polynesia: as aloha in Hawaii, aroha in New Zealand and the Cook Islands, alofa in Samoa and Tokelau, ka'oha in the Marquesas, aropa in Anuta, and arofa in Tikopia and Tahiti. For Tongans, Kavaliku argues that 'ofa is 'the philosophy behind their way of life’ (1977: 67). ‘[T]here seems to be a fervent and constant preoccupation with 'ofa within Tongan society ... [it] seems to represent the supreme justification for their behaviour and activities’ (ibid.: 47-8). As Marcus notes: ‘'Ofa is not an exceptional quality in a person but one that should be exhibited and manifested in all social activity’ (1978: 247). To be ta'e'ofa (without 'ofa) is to go ‘against accepted morals and norms’ (ibid.: 66), to be unkind, greedy, inconsiderate, and so on.

1 Fakamolemole remains an important value, and is discussed in Chapter Eight.

2 Related concepts also occur outside Polynesia. For example fago, for the Ifaluk in Micronesia (Lutz 1988).
There is an important distinction to be made between the way the term 'ofa is used within relationships, and the way it is used in talking about relationships. In emotionally close relationships, such as between parents and children, or siblings, the actual term 'ofa is seldom used in its more emotive sense in everyday conversation. As one man commented, 'We rarely say "I love you" in Tonga'. Rather, the behavioural manifestations of 'ofa are emphasised, such as sharing, helping and serving, as described below. The association of 'ofa with sympathy and empathy is also stressed, though the derivative term, faka'ofa (unfortunate, pitiable) is more readily used in this context. Faka'ofa can be used to express deep sadness and pity, but in ordinary usage has much less emotional depth, as in the English 'It's a pity that we can't go'. Another derivative term, fe'ofo'ofani (shared emotional closeness, friendliness) is also used within the family context. 'Ofa tends to be used at emotionally intense times, as during the grief of parting when a family member goes overseas, or on formal occasions, as in speeches at marriage and funeral ceremonies.

'Ofa is used more often by people in less emotionally close relationships, such as distant kin, or in status relations, especially by lower-status to higher-status persons. It is perhaps because there tends to be less emotional involvement in such relationships that 'ofa must be stressed, since it is ideally a feature of all relationships. This ideal is expressed as fe'ofa'aki, to demonstrate 'ofa to one another. Marcus has pointed out that this grammatical form, in which transitive verbs are made reciprocal (also found in fe'ofo'ofani), images 'a reversal of the parties involved in an action, regardless of status or categorical distinctions that hold in a particular context' (1988: 73). In a hierarchical society such as Tonga, such implied reciprocity 'can be quite radical' (ibid.).

When talking about relationships 'ofa is used more often, and with more emphasis on its emotional aspect. Family relations are ideally characterised by 'ofa

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3 Tonga seems to be somewhat unusual in having this distinction between 'ofa and faka'ofa. In other Polynesian languages the emphasis on pity and concern associated with faka'ofa is incorporated within the main term (cf. Kirkpatrick 1983: 111-113 for ka'oha).
māfana (warm love). The deep love of parents, especially mothers, for their children, is known as 'ofa u'uu'u, or, in modern usage, 'ofa lahi aupito (very great love). Yet too much love is seen as spoiling a child, and is referred to as 'ofa vale'i, foolish love. 'Ofa is also used today to refer to sexual and romantic desire, though formerly the term manako (to be fond of, to desire) was more often used in this sense. Many women I spoke with still used manako, not 'ofa, to describe their feelings for their husbands, or used the English word 'love'. Manako is also used when describing a strong liking for something, as in 'I love school'.

The tendency of close family members not to use the term 'ofa to one another in ordinary contexts can be partly attributed to the fact that 'ofa is expected in such relationships, and is therefore not seen as needing constant reaffirmation. However, it can also be regarded as part of a more general tendency to show emotional restraint except in certain contexts (such as those described above). In Chapter Eight I will further examine this restraint, and the context-appropriate expression of emotion, as well as the concern that is shown to evaluate the emotional state of others.

Physical displays of affection, such as kissing, hugging, and other close physical contact, are not a feature of everyday interactions in Tonga, except in people's behaviour toward babies. Another exception is in same-sex relationships of children and youths, in which hand-holding, walking with arms around each other's shoulders, and other forms of affectionate display are common. In such cases sociality and relatedness are important. Touching, leaning, and so on, are also common in difficult or stressful situations, in providing unspoken reassurance. For example, during more formal interviews it was common for people to reach for a child to hold or stroke, or to lean on another adult. Tongan adults who do not see one another frequently may 'uma ('kiss') on meeting, but otherwise they tend to be undemonstrative.4

4 In Tonga a 'kiss' ('uma) involves pressing the nose and mouth (lips not pursed) onto the other person's cheek whilst drawing in breath through the nose. Formerly 'uma involved pressing nose to nose (Cook in Beaglehole 1961: 269).
After their first year, children receive less and less direct physical affection. Young children usually continue to sleep beside an older, same-sex household member, and this is acknowledged as a sign of emotional closeness. One woman, in describing how parents show children love, explained: ‘The Tongan way is when you sleep with your children, when they are young, laying them in your arms and telling them stories, and your children will feel it [love]’. Children may also be sung to at night, and lullabies are sometimes called fakapēpē tama (Moyle 1987: 204-6). Moyle translates this as ‘cradling a child’, but more literally it means treating a child as a baby, and implies the more gentle and openly affectionate treatment of babies.

Though children of three or four may at times be pulled onto an adult’s lap and cuddled, it is far more common for children to initiate such interactions. When adults are sitting talking, young children often climb onto their laps (especially their mother’s). They may be ignored, or rather absent-mindedly held and stroked, but their presence does not activate the same attention as would babies. From the age of about four or five, and sometimes into their teens, children continue to seek physical contact. A child will lean against an adult’s back or arm, drape an arm over her (or his) shoulders, or hug her arm, usually remaining behind or beside her. This physical contact is tolerated, and often the adult will respond by beginning to de-louse the child’s hair. This entails drawing the child closer to the front of the adult’s body, often with his or her head in the adult’s lap. Children will be still and quiet for long periods while having their hair searched for lice, and often appear to be almost in a trance. Whether being de-loused, or just leaning comfortably against an adult, children usually remain passive and quiet, never attempting to join in the adults’ conversations and seldom daring to interrupt.

Children rarely see physical demonstrations of affection between their parents, or other adults. Love scenes on videos, or pālangi couples holding hands or being openly affectionate are viewed with a mixture of amusement and embarrassment. At a beach picnic in 1986 the Tongan women and children I was with were fascinated by a pālangi couple in bathing costumes (Tongans swim in their clothes), who were
cuddling together on an inflatable raft near the shore. One of the women called out in Tongan: ‘Are you making a baby?’, causing gales of laughter among the others. Close physical proximity is not avoided, though, and there are many occasions when adults and children of both sexes are crowded together, as when jammed onto the back of a truck, or in an overloaded bus. Any embarrassment that might be felt is concealed by the joking and laughter that characterise such occasions.

The amount of physical affection very young children receive, and the age at which it begins to diminish, vary considerably. Children who have a lot of contact with grandparents and other older relatives tend to receive more affection, as do children who are pele (favourites). The same applies to praise and verbal expressions of affection. As noted in the previous chapter, there are few words of praise used to children, compared to critical and disparaging terms. Poto and angalelei are the most common words of praise, and are most often used to little children to reward or encourage obedience. Adults are also seldom praised, as praise is thought to encourage people to become fiepoto or fielahi (thinking themselves clever or important). Mariner observed that Tongans ‘avoid the baseness of flattery; and even where a man has performed some achievement really praiseworthy, they seldom commend him in his presence, lest it should make him vain’ (Martin 1981: 318). In Tonga, as in Pukapuka, where ‘praise is simply uncommon’, praise, if given at all, tends to be sarcastic (Borofsky 1988: 94).

Open praise is rare, but the pride Tongan parents feel towards their children is often apparent. Parents are quick to comment that their child is pau’u (naughty), but they almost as readily describe their child’s academic or sporting achievements, amusing behaviour, and so on. When children are very little there is even an element of pride in stories of their naughtiness. Interest and pride in children’s development and achievements continues throughout childhood. Often when I was playing with children, their parents and other relatives would watch closely, anxiously warning them not to break the toys, grumbling at them for being such nuisances to me, but also smiling with pride when the children ‘performed’ well. When I taped children
singing, the adults of their household would repeatedly ask to hear the tape and would listen attentively each time. At times adults also encourage children more vocally, as when a child spontaneously begins to dance and the adults watching clap, make a ‘tch’ noise in rhythm for accompaniment, and call out ‘Mālie!’ (bravo). (See Chapter Six for further discussion of ‘performance’.)

The many public celebrations in which children are the focus of attention are also occasions when families’ pride in their children is obvious. When school children march through the streets of Nuku’alofa on the King’s birthday or for the closing of Parliament, when they perform in religious dramas on Fakamē (White Sunday, or Children’s Day, in May) or recite bible lessons at their confirmation, when they perform traditional dances at school fund-raising events, or take part in singing competitions, whole families are involved. Tiny Tongan flags are made for the children to wave as they march, extraordinarily detailed costumes are painstakingly made for the dancers, or new school uniforms are sewn; some family members march alongside the children, or stand near as they dance to call encouragement; food and drinks are brought for a picnic after the event, and, increasingly often nowadays, videos are taken, to be viewed many times and sent to relatives overseas. Words of praise and love are rare, but each of these actions is regarded as a clear demonstration of ‘ofa.

‘Ofa is also expressed in a concern with others’ physical well-being and by generosity (nima homo). As Kavaliku explains, to share, ‘people must have ‘ofa: to share is ‘ofa’ (1977: 64). In relation to children ‘ofa is explicitly associated with the provision of food and other needs and wants. At meal times family members encourage children to ‘kai ke ‘osi’ (eat until it is finished), and offer them special titbits. Adults are always willing to share special foods with children. Women take sweets and other treats home for their children after feasts or other events where they are provided. In our Holonga household the sharing of food was one of the few signs of affection Finau showed to his five-year-old daughter, Vika, whom he generally ignored. One night, for example, he came home late and fried some turkey wings for
himself. When he saw Vika watching him from the doorway as he was about to eat, he immediately offered the food to her, urging her in a kindly tone to share it with him.5

As Lutz has noted for the Ifaluk, the sharing of goods in Tonga is 'strongly tied to sociability and emotion' (1988: 90). The act of sharing is more important than the goods themselves, so that it is the sharing of food, rather than its consumption, that is associated most closely with the ties between people (ibid.: 95). Sharing within the family is part of a much wider cultural emphasis on giving. All special events are marked by gifts of food and valuables, within and between tu'a families, and by commoners to chiefs and royalty as either fatongia (duty) or spontaneous generosity motivated by 'o'fa māfana ('warm love': see Chapter Eight). Gifts should be appropriate to a person’s (or family’s) relative rank or status, and giving too much is regarded as showing off, or fielahi. Howard, who has noted a similar ‘association of affection with material giving’ for Rotuma, suggests that the generosity of parents establishes a social debt which enables them to control and influence their children’s lives (1970: 33). In Tonga this social debt is also recognised in the expectation that adult children will care for their aging parents, and make contributions on behalf of their family at feasts and on other occasions.

Children begin to be taught to share even during their first year. The following incident describes the form this teaching often takes:

Pipi was visiting our Holonga house with her one-year-old son, Sione, who had arrived clutching a packet of cheese-flavoured snacks. Pipi took the open packet and put it on the floor so that all the children could share the snacks. The adults present watched as Mefa, also a year old, tried one, then they commented to each other about how Mefa and Sione were both trying to grab the packet for themselves. Pipi then let Sione drink from Mefa’s bottle, and everyone watched Mefa closely, saying: ‘Look at her eyes!’, ‘Look at her mouth, she’s angry!’. Mefa did get very angry as Sione drank, and when the adults started laughing at her she burst into tears.

5 In this sense 'o'fa differs from the Samoan alofa. As Mageo notes (1988: 51) Samoan parents do not ‘serve’ their children, as this would be treating them as if they were of higher status. Children serve food to the adults, and eat last. There has been considerable change in habits of cooking and eating in Tonga, and possibly the situation was formerly more like contemporary Samoa. Cook recorded that ‘inferiors’ did not eat with ‘superiors’ (1777 in Beaglehole 1967: 170), and on some formal occasions this is true even today.
Children do learn to share their food and possessions, but there is a fine line between requesting something (*kole*), and taking or stealing it, as another incident shows:

Feleti and Vika were eating slices of cake. Feleti finished his quickly then begged Vika for some of hers, which she had been eating slowly, savouring every crumb. She willingly offered it to him, and when I intervened and suggested he was being greedy she quickly averred that she was full. However, just as she was speaking to me, he tried to grab the cake, and she became angry and refused to give it to him.

Anger at having to share does not disappear altogether as children get older, and many adults told me that they had hated having to share everything as children. Children constantly beg things from one another, and little children soon learn to use noisy protests to their advantage, though at considerable risk of punishment for being a nuisance. The begging cry of ‘*mai ia*’ (give it to me) is frequently heard amongst groups of children, and is one of the earliest expressions learned.

Providing and sharing food and other goods is described in terms of *fetokoni'aki* (helping one another, co-operating), and *tauhi* (looking after, taking care of). Neighbours take portions of food to one another every Sunday and whenever any special food has been prepared. When people pass by one’s house, whether strangers or friends, it is polite to call in greeting: ‘Come and eat’. Morton has described *fetokoni'aki* as ‘the spirit and the reality of co-operation ... this ideology prevails upon individuals to materially assist kin, neighbors, and friends, particularly those who need assistance’ (1987: 62). Failure to share food can be called *kaivale*, foolish eating, and eating surreptitiously (*kaipō*) is particularly frowned upon.

It is in the sense of *tauhi* that ‘*ofa* is often used in regard to status relations. *Tu'a* are also known as *kakai tauhi 'eiki* (people who look after the chiefs), and as Afeaki points out, this ideology means ‘it is difficult for them to interpret any of the nobles’ actions as exploitation’, at least publicly (1983: 71). On the other hand, it is also used to describe the obligations of high status individuals to lower status persons. This sense of ‘looking after’ others is distinct from the more specific obligations of ranked relationships (Marcus 1974: 92).
Within the family, *tauhi* involves day-to-day attention to children's needs: plaiting girls' hair, rubbing scented oil into children's skin and hair, reminding them to wear warm clothes, and so on. It is dressing them up in their best clothes for church and feasts, and ensuring they have clean, pressed school uniforms to wear. One mother explained: 'It [*ofa*] is revealed (*fakahaa'i*) in the way I look after them (*tauhi*), help them properly (*tokoni fe'unga*). *Tauhi* involves *tokanga'i* (looking after in the sense of supervising) to make sure children are safe and behaving properly. Caring for children also involves discipline, and the relationship between physical punishment and *ofa* is examined in Chapter Seven.

A lot of emphasis is placed on getting children the things they want, and a common theme of many parents' comments was the difficulty nowadays of satisfying these wants. Several adults described their poor but happy childhoods, during which their needs were few and readily met. Today, they told me, there are so many more things available, and even though they have much more money than their own parents had, they cannot afford all that their children want. This dissatisfaction is sometimes identified as a contributing factor in what people see as children's increasing disobedience, discussed later.

**RESPECT: FAKA'APA'APA**

The importance placed on the behavioural, more than the emotional, aspects of *ofa*, is also a feature of respect in Tonga. The term most often translated as respect, *faka'apa'apa*, actually refers only to the outward expression of 'the inward feeling or mental attitude' of reverence and respect, denoted by the term *'apasia* (Churchward 1959: 550).6 *Faka'apa'apa* is used far more often in everyday discourse than *'apasia*, and the distinction between the two terms is often blurred. Kavaliku claims that 'Faka'apa'apa is more than just respect. *Faka'apa'apa* encompasses, in Tongan

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6 A similar distinction is made in Samoan, where *fa'aaloalo* 'does not indicate personal admiration', but a willingness to serve someone of higher status (Mageo 1988: 61, fn 23). The term *faka'apa'apa* may derive from *'apa'apa*: 'two men ... sitting next to the sovereign (one on each side) at a ceremonial kava-drinking ceremony and acting as joint masters of ceremonies' (Churchward 1959: 550).
thought, love, humbleness, respect and much more ... we could not comprehend or understand *faka'apa'apa* unless we understood 'ofo' (1977: 50). As this statement indicates, Tongan values are closely interrelated. Children demonstrate their 'ofo for their family by being respectful and obedient, and by generally displaying appropriate *anga*. For parents, 'ofo entails teaching their children these values and associated behaviour. However, it must be added that *pule*, the power and authority of higher status persons, is another important motive for respect and obedience, though it is not as readily or explicitly acknowledged.

Many of the early European visitors to Tonga commented on the importance Tongans placed on respect. They described the various symbols of respect: wearing a wreath of *ifi* (Tahitian chestnut) leaves, sitting with the head bowed, and wearing mats or *ta'ovala* around the waist. Mariner noted the Tongans' 'love and respect for parents and superiors', and stated: 'We may readily suppose that the sentiments of veneration and respect are felt in a considerable degree, and, accordingly, every mark of such is shown to the gods, to chiefs, and aged persons' (Martin 1981: 321, 320).

One of the first lessons in respect behaviour that children are taught is to respond 'Ko au' (it's me/I am) whenever someone calls them. One woman told me: 'It is right that they [children] grow and have respect for their parents, and other people, like when you call "Paea!" [speaker's daughter] she should say "Ko au". This is the respectful way (*anga faka'apa'apa*) and is helping one another (*fetokoni'aki*)'. Children are encouraged to give this response as soon as they begin to vocalise, with older children and adults prompting them as others call their names. What begins as a game becomes more serious as children get older, and children are often punished for failing to say 'Ko au'. One of my neighbours in Nuku'alofa was a grandfather who frequently gave his three-year-old grandson, Leiasu, lessons in saying 'Ko au'. He would call 'Leiasu' repeatedly, in the same even tone, and Leiasu would respond each time, becoming increasingly frustrated as the lesson wore on. After responding 'Ko au' some ten or more times he would be angrily sobbing his words, but if he failed to answer, his grandfather's voice immediately became stern and threatening.
Many other lessons in respect are learned through language. In Tongan there are separate lexicons of respect for *hou'eiki* and royalty (see Churchward [1953] 1985: 304; Shumway 1971: 602-4). In ordinary discourse there are many terms that are used to indicate respect, humility and politeness, as in the use of *te* or *kita* (I or me), rather than the usual *ou* or *au*. There are also respectful versions of kinship terms, such as *fine'eiki* rather than *fa'ē* or *mali* for, respectively, mother and wife. Similarly, *tangata'eiki* is the respectful term for *tamai* or *mali* (father or husband). These terms are also used as respectful forms of address to older people other than parents. The use of respectful, polite language is a notable feature of everyday discourse in Tonga. A number of formulaic, polite expressions are used in greetings, to give thanks, and so on, even within the family (see Churchward 1985: 290-297). Children, especially girls, are quite competent in the use of the more common of these expressions by about five years of age. Children also learn at an early age to use a respectful stance and tone when addressing higher-status persons, as will be described in the following chapter. The mixture of deference and fear they exhibit on such occasions contrasts markedly with the aggressive or whining demands they make of their peers and juniors.

Silence is another sign of respect, and children learn not to interrupt adults’ conversations. One woman said that as a child, ‘If I went where some women older than me were talking I would just stay quiet (*fakalongolongo*) and listen (*fakafanongo*), and if I knew something about what they were talking about I would not say anything’. Children who do interrupt, or offer advice to adults without being asked, may be accused of being *fiepoto* (thinking themselves clever). For example, when a woman was preparing to massage another woman with warmed oil, and her teenage daughter suggested the oil was too hot, the mother angrily told her not to be *fiepoto*.

Another important way in which children show respect is by remaining on the periphery of adult activities. The outside or periphery is generally associated with low status for adults, as well. At funerals, for example, people who are of low status
in relation to the deceased stay outside and do low status tasks such as cooking. When people visit someone's home informally they usually remain outside, standing at a little distance from the house, or sitting on the porch. When they are asked inside they tend to perch on the doorstep or sit on the floor near a corner. Only close relatives seem to be really comfortable going inside the house. Children follow this pattern and stay mostly outside, or if they come in they sit quietly near the door. As long as they remain outside their presence is tolerated, so that groups of children can often be seen standing outside a house, watching through the window as a video movie plays, a band rehearses, or some other interesting event takes place. At feasts and other social occasions children are expected, as one woman put it, to 'stay far away, not crowd around', though some older Tongans told me that this is much less strictly observed today than when they were children. Respect is also shown by remaining physically lower than higher status persons, and children are taught that the correct way to pass in front of someone is to bend low and say 'Tulou' (excuse me). At some formal occasions I have observed people crawling on their hands and knees when passing before or approaching a seated member of Tonga's royalty.

Children are afforded many opportunities to observe adults behaving respectfully, both within and outside their homes. As Marcus has noted, 'humility, submission, and deference are normally approved personal styles' (1978: 255). Submissiveness is a sign of both respect and obedience and, a grandmother told me, 'Children who are submissive (fakaongo) are pleasing (fakafiemalie) to their parents'.

**Obedience: Talangofua**

Children's disobedience and its dire consequences are recurring themes in Tongan mythology. In the myth of the origin of turtles, for example, the two daughters of Langi, the sky god, disobey their father by running away to Tongatapu for children the majority of tapu are kin-related, this is discussed in the section below dealing with kinship.

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7 One aspect of respect behaviour that has not been considered here is observing tapu. Since for children the majority of tapu are kin-related, this is discussed in the section below dealing with kinship.
and behaving as mortal women. This causes violence between the men who desire them, and when Langi goes to investigate the commotion he discovers one of his daughters has already been transformed into a mortal by eating fruit (which he had forbidden her to do). The second daughter refuses to obey her father’s order to return to Pulotu, home of the gods. In anger he cuts off her head and throws it into the sea, where it becomes the first turtle (Reed 1974: 96-8). In ‘The disobedient Sun-Child’, disobedience against the father is again the central theme, culminating in the son drowning instead of becoming a great chief (ibid.: 71-6).

Like respect, obedience is a sign of children’s 'ofa for their parents and family. A mother explained: ‘By being obedient (talangofua) and doing the work their parents order them to do, the parents are able to know the children love them’. Children’s lives should be mo’ui fakaongoongo (a life of waiting for instructions), and they should carry out orders (fekau or pu’i) unquestioningly. On one occasion I went for a long and arduous hike into the hills of 'Eua, accompanied by a married couple and their six-year-old niece, Paea. After the day’s walk we returned home exhausted, but little Paea was still given a string of orders. She was soon clearly fed up, and a couple of times called out ‘Do it yourself!’ (not too loudly!), then, muttering ‘Fakahela!’ (tiring), went to do as she’d been told. On the other hand, when children do tasks they have not been told to do they may be accused of being fiepoto (thinking themselves clever). When five-year-old Vika brought in the family washing by herself, her aunt sharply rebuked her for being fiepoto. When other household members came home later in the day, she told them all what had happened, shaming Vika even further.

Obedience, even more than 'ofa and respect, is regarded as fatongia (duty, obligation). Fatongia was formerly used to describe the enforced labour of commoners for chiefs (Lätükefu 1974: 173), but has a much wider meaning today,

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8 Fatongia refers to the duties involved in social relations. A related term, kavenga, refers to the responsibilities and ‘burdens’ experienced by the individual or family.

9 Vason described inferior chiefs sending men to higher chiefs to ‘fadongyeer’, and stated that a higher chief could have up to 500 men working for him at a time (Orange 1840: 139).
and is used in many contexts to indicate correct behaviour. Children's *fatongia* to their parents (and other family members) continues throughout their lives, and even adult offspring should ideally obey their parents' wishes. There are ways of not obeying, whilst avoiding open defiance, for example by verbally agreeing with but not acting upon parents' wishes. More direct lying is also a means of avoiding parental control. Parents are more often obeyed, though, even when doing so involves life-altering actions such as leaving one's studies to find a job, going overseas, or getting married. Any anger or resentment that is felt is not openly expressed, since it is simply a matter of *fatongia* (see Chapter Eight). The Wesleyan missionaries strongly supported this expectation of obedience to parents. One missionary reported that King Tupou asked them 'whether it was the duty of children to consult their parents when they wished to be married; of course we told him it was the duty of children to obey their parents "in all things in the Lord"' (Rev. P. Turner 1831: 106, cited in Cummins 1972: 98). Cummins has shown that the early missionaries taught the Tongans that only those who were obedient would receive love, mercy and forgiveness, while 'death and destruction awaited those who were "disobedient"' (1977: 241-2).

Responses of teenagers to the question, 'Are there things you have to do that you don't like?' revealed an ambivalent attitude toward obedience. Of 227 respondents 61 (26.9 per cent) answered 'no', and added comments such as 'I like the things I must do', and 'I learned to be interested in whatever work I'm given'. Others averred that they could choose whatever they did, as will be discussed later in this chapter (see 'Independence'). Of those who answered 'yes', 48 gave no further explanation (despite instructions to give reasons). Of the rest, only four (all female) specifically mentioned obedience, but a further 60 listed various types of household chores. Other activities listed as disliked included doing schoolwork, As noted in Chapter Two *fatongia* was supposedly abolished in the declaration of emancipation and Constitution, but has continued, in attenuated form, in practice.  

10 Many of the questions, including this one and the two discussed below, were not primarily intended to produce quantitative data (see Appendix).
going to church, staying at home as punishment, going to town, and sharing/helping others. The comments that accompanied these listed activities were particularly interesting. Many explained that the reason they didn’t like whatever they had listed was that they were too lazy, too weak, too stupid, and so on. Others added that although they didn’t enjoy something, they had to be obedient and do what they were told. Having admitted their dislike for various things they had to do, these teenagers were clearly anxious to appear to be ‘good’ in another sense and to accept the blame for their negative feelings.\textsuperscript{11}

Another interesting group of responses were 22 who misunderstood the question. These respondents listed things they do that they feel are wrong, such as stealing, smoking, swearing, and being cheeky.\textsuperscript{12} Several of these answers indicated concern with others pressuring them to do wrong: ‘When my boyfriend older than me ask me for drinking beer and smoke but I do not like to do something wrong ...’; ‘When someone told me to take something from other homes or other place but I don’t like it’; ‘Yes, I have to do is steal but I don’t like it’ (these answers were given in English). These last answers were all from boys, for whom peer pressure is particularly strong within their ‘gangs’.

Two other questions were asked to discern the ways in which adolescents feel their behaviour is restricted, and why they conform with these restrictions. The students were asked: ‘Are there any things you would like to do, but don’t do because they are wrong?’, and then ‘Why don’t you do them?’. Of 232 respondents to the first question, 29 (12.6 per cent) answered ‘no’. Many added comments such as, ‘I just do it’, and ‘I do what I like’. Of those who gave affirmative answers, 68 did not elaborate (again, despite instructions to give reasons for their replies). The other affirmative responses fall into two main categories, firstly ‘modern’ forms of

\textsuperscript{11}Commoners also have an ambivalent attitude toward the obedience expected of them by chiefs, as expressed in the saying ‘ngulungulu fei ‘umu’, ‘one growls in doing the ‘umu [underground oven] but still does it’ (Kolo 1990: 3). That is, commoners resent having to provide goods and services to chiefs but nevertheless do so.

\textsuperscript{12}The wording of the question was confusing as it did not make clear the sense of being \textit{obliged}. Many Tongans say, in English, ‘I have to do ...’ when they mean simply ‘I do ...’.
recreation such as smoking, drinking, watching videos, and going to dance clubs (a total of 43 responses, 21 female and 22 male). The second category is of activities that are more 'traditionally' restricted: disobedience, rudeness, swearing, dishonesty, going out without permission, and being violent (total of 92 responses, 60 female and 32 male). Table 5B shows the reasons these students gave for not doing the many things they identified as ‘wrong’.

TABLE 5B: REASONS FOR CONFORMING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>is bad or wrong</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents would punish</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>against bible/God</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obedience to parents</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is dangerous/harmful</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not old enough</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>against the law</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for family’s sake</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>would cause trouble</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>would make me look bad</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>against Tongan custom</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>would feel ashamed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The teenagers’ responses showed a broader grasp of the sanctions against wrong behaviour than younger children would possess – that actions may be dangerous or against the law, for example. The most frequent responses are those that are learned first, and clearly continue to be the most powerful motivators for conformity. Children are taught from a very early age that certain behaviour is kovi (bad) or hala (wrong), and the primary sanction against such behaviour is physical punishment. It
is only as children get older that they are explicitly taught that it is ‘against God’, or ‘against anga fakatonga’.

Obedience is regarded as an expression of ofa, and more generally as a crucial element of anga totonu (right nature/behaviour). The strong cultural emphasis on the dependence of children on adults, especially parents, for the satisfaction of their needs and for moral guidance, has as its corollary a stress on the need for obedience.13 Tu'a children are also provided with clear models of deferential and submissive behaviour by their older siblings and adult kin within the context of these relatives' interactions with persons of higher rank or status.

In their discussion of the role of obedience in child socialisation Whiting and Edwards suggest that obedience does not always entail passive compliance, but may involve children becoming ‘empathic and responsible assistants who can work with their mothers [or others] in a choreography of smooth co-operation’ (1988: 268). There are many contexts in which Tongan children’s behaviour can be interpreted in this way, especially older children and teenagers, and it would be wrong to imply that all Tongan children are passively compliant, whether out of fear or ‘love’. As Whiting and Edwards point out, though, even obedience that is a form of co-operative behaviour does not allow ‘much opportunity to suggest new strategies or to renegotiate the goal’ (ibid.: 149). To do so, or to show initiative by performing tasks unasked, is to risk accusations of being fiepoto.

INDEPENDENCE: TAU'ATĀINA

The emphasis Tongans place on independence, both politically and socially, can appear to contradict the equally strong emphasis placed on obedience and submissiveness. The high cultural value of ‘independence’ can seem paradoxical, when so many factors operate to encourage the dependence of certain kin on others (especially children on parents) and interdependence between kin. In the 1862

13 Cowling has pointed out that the behaviour of unemployed young men may be controlled by keeping them on an ‘economically short string’ (1990c: 176).
declaration of emancipation, the Code of Laws declared that ‘all people are to all intents and purposes set at liberty from serfdom, and all vassalage’ (Article 34, Section 2; in Lätükefu 1974: 247). This was followed by the 1875 Constitution, which declared ‘the people of Tonga [shall] be for ever free’ (Lätükefu 1974: 252).

The term used for independence/freedom is *tau'atäina*, thought to be a neologism of this period (Biersack 1990b). Biersack has argued that in a political sense *tau'atäina* implied freedom from chiefly control, and the introduction of democratic values, as well as freedom from foreign control, or national independence (ibid.). She has shown that the 1875 Constitution, while espousing these freedoms, in fact reasserted the traditional authority structure and upheld the king’s absolute power. Nevertheless, *tau'atäina* continues to be used, in some contexts, as a theme of resistance to chiefly authority and the obligations and duties this implies.

The concept of *tau'atäina* is closely associated with that of *fa'iteliha* (to please oneself). Decktor Korn claims that ‘Tongans perceive their society as one in which there are few prescriptions or prohibitions, where people have alternatives in ordering their lives, and where individuals have considerable autonomy in exercising their options’ (1977: 2). Tongans do, indeed, often refer to their personal freedom, and to giving others freedom. The teenagers mentioned previously, who denied disliking anything they had to do, claimed they were free to choose: ‘I do what I like’; ‘Everything I want to do I do it’. Mothers may claim to give their children free choice, as when one mother told me she did not force her children to attend school. ‘I just tell them to go to school and do well, but if they do not want to go, all right, they can stay until the time they want to go’, she said.

On the other hand, when children do act independently they are often criticised. One man suggested that Tongans are only ‘free’ as adults, since as children they are

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14 Some Tongan participants of the fourth Tongan History Conference, in 1990, suggested that *tau'atäina* is constructed from *tau* (we), *'atä* (free, unrestrained), and *ina* (laugh, esp. in derision, an impolite term. *Ina* is also a suffix forming adjectives or intransitive verbs (Churchward 1959: 241).

15 However, ‘independence’ in the sense of being capable of bathing, dressing, etc. without assistance is encouraged very early.
'pressed down'. At a beach picnic near a small resort, some boys from our party wandered off and were eventually found playing billiards in the resort's games room. As one mother scolded her son, she said angrily, 'Tuku ho'o fa'iteliha!' (Stop pleasing yourself). Fa'iteliha and tau'atāina are strongly disvalued by many adults when they imply a lack of parental control, and the changing behaviour associated with modernisation (see 'Changing values in modern Tonga', below).

Borofsky has suggested that throughout Polynesia, cultures have dual 'ways of knowing' (1987: 120). 'On the one hand, a hierarchical tendency emphasises subordination to authority and imitation of it. On the other, a more egalitarian tendency stresses independence and personal experience' (ibid.). In Pukapuka, he observes, the egalitarian way of knowing dominates. In Tonga, the hierarchical tendency dominates, though both tendencies are clearly present. The Ritchies' analysis of the value of independence in Polynesia also acknowledges these dual tendencies. 'Polynesians admire individuals who express a strong sense of independence while acknowledging community consensus ... independence is a highly valued attribute. It contrasts with, tempers, and balances an emphasis on community goals and processes' (Ritchie and Ritchie 1989: 107, 131). They argue that socialisation in Polynesia teaches children 'that individuality should always be seen against a collective background, that independence should never be expressed without acknowledging dependence' (1979: 58).

Hierarchical and egalitarian values can thus be seen as complementary, rather than opposed. This was made clear to me during a sermon on tau'atāina in Tonga, in which the minister explained that it can only be achieved through fatongia (duty) to God, country, and family (cf. Williksen-Bakker 1990: 244 on the Fijian notion of freedom through duty). Freedom comes through obedience, which is tau'atāina faka-Kalisitiane (Christian freedom). More generally, 'freedom' comes from correct
behaviour. A teenage boy explained the importance of apologising to parents after incidents of punishment: ‘If we feel sorry to our parents we will be free’.16

Nevertheless, tau'atāina can also mean freedom from restrictions and domination and such autonomy is directly opposed to cultural values such as obedience. Some Tongans do not regard culturally and socially derived restrictions on people’s behaviour as precluding this form of independence. One man, who had studied overseas, observed that ‘A lot of people are not aware of the restrictions they have until or unless they face it’. Within those restrictions, he added, Tongans ‘can do anything they like’. A young woman’s comments in a ‘People’s Opinion’ column of a Tongan newspaper exemplify the way in which obedience and freedom are often invoked together. Speaking against the need for political reform in Tonga, she said:

The King is the ruler and has the final word, because he was ordained by God to lead us. He is the only one who loves the people the best, and will do what is right for them. We should be happy with our Monarchy-Government because we are free and have what we need (Times of Tonga 1991: 4).

Many Tongans seem to be able to constantly shift between self-representations marked by humility, obedience, and related qualities, and assertions of autonomy and independence. Shore, in his analysis of ‘human ambivalence’ in relation to moral values, has pointed out that behaviour should not be treated ‘as if it proceeds from a simple activation of cultural values rather than from the problematical and always partial resolution of dilemmas’ (1990: 172). He adds: ‘In normal circumstances, cultural systems partly resolve such dilemmas for us by reducing ambiguity, rendering certain choices cognitively more salient and emotionally more acceptable than others’ (ibid.: 176, emphasis in original). In Tonga, the importance of context for determining appropriate values and behaviour is a crucial means for reducing ambiguity. Context is also the basis for shifts in self-representation, and such shifts are another means of dealing with conflicting values. As Ewing points out, ‘individuals have a remarkable capacity to maintain an experience of wholeness in

16 ‘Freedom’ in this sense may imply a release from negative emotion, clearing the mind/heart in order to restore loto lelei.
the face of radical contradictions, by keeping only one frame of reference in mind at any particular moment" (1990: 274). 17

Sometimes contradictions and dilemmas are not so readily resolved, and may lead to anxiety and confusion. In the context of cultural change, apparently irreconcilable values identified as 'old' and 'new' may become a source of internal conflict for individuals and of dissent between different social groups. In Tonga, as the balance between hierarchical and egalitarian values shifts, such conflict and dissent are likely to become increasingly apparent and problematic.

KINSHIP

There is a wealth of literature on Tongan kinship, particularly within 'eiki lineages and in ritual contexts. However, "the relation of this kinship system to everyday life, patterns of household relations, or recurrent social dramas such as birth, marriage, and inheritance has not been subject to much systematic investigation" (Marcus 1979: 90). There has also been little investigation of the relationship between kinship 'rules' and cultural values, how the 'rules' themselves are learnt, or how they affect children's lives.

Children's experience of kinship is very different from that of adults. For children, kin relations are largely a matter of behavioural differences — to some people they must be respectful and submissive, and with others they can be more familiar. Children are not entirely excluded from the system of 'indirect reciprocity' in which 'goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he extracts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives' (Kaeppler 1971: 179). Children receive goods and give services, not being in a position either to demand services or to supply goods. They are also not in a position to engage in the manipulation of rights and obligations that is a feature of adults' relationships. The fact that children as a group are low-status in relation to adults, by virtue of their age

17 Another means of dealing with the presence of both hierarchical and egalitarian tendencies is through humour, discussed in Chapter Eight.
MALE EGO

○ = △

KUI KUI

MEHEKITANGA TAMAI TAMAI/TANGATA 'EIKI = FAE/FINE 'EIKI

FAE FAE TANGATA/ TU'ASINA

TUOFEFINE TOKOUA TOKOUA/T'A'OKE T'EIKI

TUOFEFINE EGO MALI/ HOA =

TUOFEFINE TOKOUA/ TEHINA (YOUNGER)

TUOFEFINE TOKOUA

'ILAMUTU 'OFEFINE FOHA 'OFEFINE FOHA 'ILAMUTU

'MOKOPUNA 'MOKOPUNA 'MOKOPUNA 'MOKOPUNA
difference, means that the kinship 'rules' they learn may not be applied in many contexts. Children are expected to show respect to all adults, and the freedom with which they can treat certain kin is only relative to the restraint characterising other relationships. The fact that children are 'eiki to some members of their kāinga is nevertheless significant for their understanding of their personal status relative to others and to context.

As stated in Chapter Two, the most important kin relations in modern Tonga are those within the nuclear family and between genealogically more distant relatives who reside in close proximity to one another. Morton (1972) has shown that the 'conscious model of kinship reciprocity' does not reflect actual behaviour, since the model emphasises the extended family. He shows that most exchanges of goods and children actually occur between parents and children or siblings, even when those nuclear family members have dispersed (ibid.: 115, 120; see Marcus 1974).

However, the kāinga, or extended family, retains considerable emotional significance for Tongans. As has been shown, nuclear families often form households with kāinga members of the husband and/or wife. Children's play groups typically contain various relatives of their own generation. Many children form close attachments to one or more households of kāinga members in their village. In Holonga in 1986, the twins Feleti and Vika (then aged three) frequently visited their aunt's and their grandmother's homes during the day, and Vika sometimes stayed at the latter's home for several days at a time. Adult relatives also visit one another's households for varying periods. In our household in Holonga in 1988-9, Helenā’s mother (from Australia) and cousin (from 'Eua) were long-term visitors, and Finau’s mother (from Holonga) often stayed for several days at a time. Another of Helenā’s cousins (♀) from a neighbouring village was also a frequent visitor, sometimes staying for weekends. Helenā’s aunt and uncle visited from 'Eua for several weeks, as did Finau’s sister, also from 'Eua, at another time.

This frequent visiting means that children have close contact with many different kāinga members, and I found that children's notions of 'family' were highly varied.
During a visit to Holonga primary school I asked the students in each class to draw their families (familia). Each child discussed his or her picture with me, and explained their relationship to each person. When I compared these drawings with the data I had gathered in a household survey, I found that of 95 children aged between five and twelve, 31 (32.6 per cent) drew only members of their household, including extended family members. Forty-seven (49.5 per cent) included nuclear family members who did not reside in the household at that time (e.g. siblings living overseas), and 17 (17.9 per cent) included extended family members not living in the household. Eighty-one of the children (85.3 per cent) did not include all members of their household in their drawings.

Diagrams giving kin terms can be found in Figure Two; see also Biersack (1974, 1982), Gifford (1971b) and Kaeppler (1971) for lists of these terms and descriptions of status relationships between kin. It should be noted that all relatives are addressed by their personal names, not their kin terms, unless respectful terms are used, such as fine'eiki (mother) and tangata'eiki (father). When the Holongan children explained their drawings to me, many children in each class had difficulty assigning kin terms beyond fa'ë (mother), tamai (father) and kui (grandparent). Even then, several children who were being cared for by grandparents identified them as 'mother' and 'father'. The terms for brother and sister were often confused, especially by referring to opposite-sex siblings as tokoua (same-sex siblings). The children also tended to call all same generation relatives 'brother' or 'sister', when in fact some were uncles, aunts, nephews or nieces, due to the great age differences that often occur between youngest and oldest siblings.

In Tonga children's personal rank is derived from both their mother and their father. In chiefly families, 'children derived their social standings, established by the prestige and position of their patrilineal groups in political and economic affairs,

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18 Some examples of these drawings can be seen in Chapter Four, Figure One.

19 See also Bott 1972, and James 1987: 4, for details of the use of kinship terms for relationships between titles, for example 'younger brother' (tehina) and 'older brother' (ta'okete) titles. Bott 1972 shows how kinship idioms are used in formal kava ceremonies.
from their fathers, while they possessed a personal prestige, in body and blood, transmitted from and by their mothers in procreation’ (Marcus 1979: 89). Mothers (faʻē) have ‘special value in status transmission’ (ibid.: 90) because of their role in the transmission of ‘body and blood’. However, mothers are of lower status (tuʻa) than their children, and there are no tapu between them. A mother is expected to satisfy her children’s wants, and their relationship is characterised as familiar and affectionate. Kavaliku comments that ‘if the child is to be very familiar with anybody, it is the mother, for she gives him his life. A child is pitied most when he has no mother to take care of him’ (1977: 49).

The relationship between children and their mother’s kin is ‘highly sentimental’ (James 1983: 240), especially with the mother’s younger sisters and cousins.20 Mothers’ brothers are most commonly referred to as faʻē tangata (male mother). Sisters’ children (ʻilamutu) are ʻeiki to their faʻē tangata, and can request goods and services from them and their wives and children.21 Faʻē tangata are expected to be friendly and generous to their ʻilamutu, but in the modern cash economy this can cause problems that lead to family tensions. For example, inanga fakatonga (the Tongan way), ‘uncles should open their stores to their nephews and nieces’ (Fifita 1975: 34), but this obviously causes problems for uncles trying to maintain businesses.22

The father and his ‘side’ are ʻeiki to his children, and their relationships are marked by restraint, including a number of tapu. The father/child relationship is

20 However, the 'aunty' role is not as strong as in Hawaii (see Linnekin 1980).

21 The most frequently described ʻilamutu-faʻē tangata relationship in the literature on traditional Tonga is that of the Tuʻi Tonga and his eldest sister’s oldest daughter, the Tamahā (see Bott 1981: 34; Gifford 1971b: 80; Kaeppler 1971: 183).

22 ʻIlamutu are often chosen to be the fahu at formal occasions such as weddings and funerals; that is, 'the one who is ceremonially or ritually superior' (Rogers 1977: 167), and who receives the best of the food and koloa redistributed on such occasions. However, fahu is not a kinship term synonymous with ʻilamutu, as is assumed in some of the kinship literature. For this and other reasons there is 'much confusion and misunderstanding' in this literature concerning the fahu (Rogers 1977: 167; for discussions of the fahu see Biersack 1982: 188; Bott 1981: 18; Galley 1980: 299; Gifford 1971b: 18; James 1983: 236-7; Kaeppler 1978b: 197; Moengangongo 1988). Some Tongans today refuse to recognise fahu rights (Bernstein 1983: 44) and Kavaliku claims that many young Tongans are not aware of the fahu institution (1977: 49).
conceptually associated with the chief/commoner relationship, each being used as a metaphor for the other. Rogers has pointed out that there are sayings in Tonga, 'made by women as mothers and wives about the kind of authority a father and his siblings exert over their children, supporting the principle that the father's side of the family is "superior" to the mother's side' (1977: 158, emphasis in original). He gives as an example the saying 'Oku te fānau kae pule tokotaha kehe' ("although you have children somebody else has authority over them"). That the father and his side have pule (authority) over children reflects 'an ideology of children belonging to a patrilineal unit' (ibid.: 159, emphasis in original). The father and his brothers, all known as tamai, have 'rights over children, titles, land, houses, and, in the traditional system, political authority' (Bott 1981: 15). Tapu concerning the father involved a separation of his person from his children: they were not to touch his head, sit in his lap, use his belongings, or eat his left-over food, and if he was holding a child he or she could not eat at the same time. When he died, his children could not stay in the house with the corpse during the funeral preparations (Aoyagi 1966: 161; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 100; Bott 1958: 6, 9). These tapu are weakening today, as is the pule (authority) of fathers, which Rogers suggests has become largely restricted to the economic sphere, with fathers acting as 'food production managers' (1977: 159). The extent of fathers' authority over their children's adult lives varies a great deal, though, and in many families Bott's comment that 'open defiance would be unthinkable' (1958: 6) is still valid. In nuclear family households fathers have largely taken over the role of 'ulumotu'a, the senior member of the fāmili who gives instructions concerning fāmili participation in ceremonies (see Decktor Korn 1977: 156; Morton 1987: 55).

Fathers are ideally 'distant and commanding' (Bott 1958: 6), but as Mariner observed they are also 'capable of much paternal affection' (Martin 1981: 329). There are notable differences in the relationships sons and daughters have with their fathers. Formerly, in chiefly families, sons were potential rivals for the father's position and title, and their relationship was generally one of 'distance and reserved
respect' (James 1987: 10). A daughter, on the other hand, was a ‘valued possession, the symbol of the kainga rank which is cherished and given away only as a great prize’, and her relationship with her father was one of ‘warmth and a greater relaxation of tapu’ (ibid.). In tu'a families today there is usually a period of familiarity between a father and his children until they reach puberty. As youths, sons tend to have a strained relationship with their fathers, often characterised by faka'ehi'ehi (avoidance). This is particularly so for the eldest son, who is likely to inherit his father’s land and other property. A father will seldom drink kava with his sons, but he will attend faikava at which his daughter serves, and even join in the men’s ‘crude sex talk’ in her presence (Rogers 1977: 159). When a father is elderly his relationship with his sons becomes more familiar again, but ‘for warmth and care in old age, men tend to look to their daughters rather than their sons’ (James 1983: 240).

In talking to Tongans about their relationships with their parents, many stated that although their mothers had been the main disciplinarians, their relationships with them were close and ‘easy’ (faingofua). The majority stated that they were afraid of their fathers. One man commented: ‘My father didn’t say much to us except when he was angry’. Some women said they had felt close to their fathers as young children, and one young woman said that when her mother hit her she ‘always ran and hid in Poppa’s arms’. However, she added that as she got older and wanted to go out to movies or dances her father had forbidden her to go (‘very Tongan, so conservative’).

The father’s sisters (mehekitanga) are ‘eiki to the father and have pule (authority) over his children (her fakafotu), especially in the case of his eldest sister. Children are expected to be respectful and obedient to their mehekitanga, who can claim

23 The father’s first cousins (female) are also mehekitanga to his children, but more distant cousins are fa’ē (‘mothers’), or just kānga. The use of kānga terms has narrowed in modern Tonga, so that specific kānga terms are now ‘applied only to parents and their siblings while those more distant are simply referred to as kānga’ (Kaeppler 1978b: 202, fn 35).
access to their labour and possessions. At the funeral of a mehekitanga, as at their father's, they must liongi.²⁴ It is in relation to the mehekitanga that the saying Rogers mentions (above, p.146) is most often used. Several of my informants had heard it from their mothers on occasions when their mehekitanga were given goods or services.

The 'dark powers' of mehekitanga, that can 'affect the health and prosperity' of their brother's 'issue and line' (James 1987: 11) were mentioned in relation to pregnancy and birth (Chapter Three). This 'ritual mystical power', which extended to the children of mehekitanga (Bott 1981: 18), has been undermined by Christianity, and Christian faith is spoken of as a power counterveiling that of mehekitanga.²⁵ Marcus has suggested that 'the inherent mystical powers and the efficacy of cursing as the source of the father's sister's influence over her brothers and their offspring have become part of Tongan folklore rather than a natural aspect of routine explanations concerning kinship' (1979: 89). However, mehekitanga continue to play an important role in instructing their fakafotu on appropriate values and behaviours.

When a woman adopts her brother's child she has, in a sense, a dual role as mother and mehekitanga in relation to that child. Such a child, known as tama tō he mehekitanga (a child 'fallen' or 'born' to an aunt) no longer has to observe tapu toward her biological father. She may find, though, that she is treated differently from her cousins (father's sister's children) and is expected to do far more work than them.

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²⁴ Those who are tu'a to the deceased are liongi; they wear black clothing and a large, ragged mat, have their hair cut (sometimes by the fahu) and do the cooking and other low-status tasks. Kaeppler has observed that nowadays liongi may behave improperly, and in some cases there may be no liongi at all (1978b: 197).

²⁵ As Herda notes, 'the power to curse, attributed especially to the father's sister, should not be underestimated, for in pre-Christian Tonga, it represented the power of life and death' (1987: 197; see Rogers 1977; Taumoefolau 1991).
The easiest and most affectionate relationships children have within their families are with their grandparents (*kui*), with whom there are no *tapu*. Even the respect children are expected to show to older people is sometimes allowed to lapse when with their grandparents. Their interactions with them are often more relaxed and physically demonstrative than with any other adults, including their mothers. However, 'grandparents' love' (*'ofā*-'ofā-*'a-kui*) is recognised as being 'over-indulgent' and yet 'over-severe' at times (Churchward 1959: 563; Collocott and Havea 1922: 84).

A similarly affectionate relationship often develops between same-sex siblings and cousins, though the authority vested in seniority means that their relations are also characterised by a certain amount of restraint. The ideal for all sibling relationships is that they should have *'ofa* for one another. 'Tongan brothers and sisters are very close. Tongans say they live in *mo'ui taha*, that is, in one life. There is nothing one would not do for the other: everything is expected to be shared. Hence, there is a feeling of intense personal oneness' (Kavaliku 1977: 60). As one elderly woman explained, siblings should help one another and share their possessions because of the bond of their blood, made by God.

Formerly, children of different fathers were seen as rivals, especially sons in chiefly families, and were referred to as *uhō tau* (literally: fighting umbilical cords). Children of the same mother are *uhō taha* (one cord), and are expected to be loyal to each other (Bott 1981: 17; Rogers 1977: 171; Wood-Ellem 1987: 211). Today, the main source of sibling rivalry during childhood is vying for the attention of parents and others in the household. This is particularly noticeable in children around two or three years old when a new sibling is born, and the 'dislike of new babies by the next older child is marked' (Bott 1958: 61). However, the sibling hierarchy, based on seniority and on the higher rank of sisters (see below) precludes much rivalry, and most sibling groups (including half-siblings, adopted siblings, and cousins) have a

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26 Aoyagi mentions similar *tapu* between same-sex siblings as between fathers and children; younger siblings were not to eat the elders' left-overs or wear their clothes (1966: 162). These *tapu* are rarely observed today.
well established pecking order. Sibling relationships are also marked by a lack of co-operation against parents, as shown by their willingness to report each other’s misdemeanours to them.

Older siblings play an important role in younger children’s socialisation (see Weisner and Gallimore 1977). As shown at many points in this thesis, they share the adult family members’ responsibility for nurturing, teaching, and punishing. By doing so, they are able to participate in the adults’ world in various ways, so that their caregiving of younger children becomes part of their own socialisation. While interacting with an infant sibling, an older child will encourage him to be amusing or to acquire new skills, or call adults’ attention to some aspect of his behaviour. When adults respond positively, by being interested and amused, the older child has succeeded not only in allying herself with the adults, but also in obtaining indirect attention and praise for herself. Later, when the younger child is past infancy, the older one is able to continue this pattern by being protective and nurturant, and by being involved in his discipline — reporting misdemeanours, bringing a stick or broom for an adult to hit him with, taking him to an adult for punishment, or even punishing him herself. The role of sibling caregiver is therefore one that enables a child to behave as a higher-status person. However, sibling caregivers are only high-status in relation to their young charges. Their low status in relation to adults is frequently highlighted in the context of their responsibilities toward young siblings. Older siblings are punished if younger ones are hurt, or naughty, or disruptive. They may also be punished if they fail to follow adults’ orders whilst looking after a young child (see Chapter Seven).

Within many families one child is the pele (favourite). Children become pele for various reasons: some are the namesake of an important or beloved relative, others are particularly attractive or appealing, and others are the only male or female child

27 As with other kin terms there has been narrowing of the application of sibling terms (see note 23). Formerly sibling terms were ‘extended to at least third cousins’ (Kaeppler 1978b: 202, fn 35). Today these terms are used only for true siblings and first cousins, and ‘more distant cousins are referred to descriptively’ (ibid.).
in their family, or the oldest or youngest. Both sexes can be pele, but girls seem to be chosen more often. This is consistent with the general notion that daughters are treated more favourably than sons. Pele are typically given less work than their siblings, are punished less often, and are indulged with special food, clothes, etc. Their siblings are often highly ambivalent toward this favoured child. One girl described how her only brother was rarely punished or asked to work, and admitted that when no adults were present she and her sisters treated him cruelly — for which they were punished when he reported their actions. A middle-aged woman spoke resentfully of her eldest sister, who did no work when they were children and 'was like a princess'.

Of all the kin relations it is the brother-sister relationship that has received the most attention in the literature on Tongan kinship.28 This relationship is one of faka'apa'apa (respect) and is characterised by faka'ehi'ehi (avoidance) and restraint. Marcus has suggested that brother-sister avoidance ‘has traditionally been associated with the broader cultural feature of combined avoidance and respect for sacred or mystical powers, embodied by persons of chiefly status’ (1979: 89). Sisters and their children are said to be 'eiki in relation to their brothers and their brothers’ children. Marcus notes that referring to sisters as 'eiki suggests that brothers’ avoidance of them is ‘out of respect for the mystical or sacred qualities of the patriline, which females as sisters embody and pass to offspring in sexual reproduction, and which as father’s sisters they control and use as advisors in their brothers’ families’ (ibid.).

In Tongan mythology brother-sister sexual unions are a recurring theme. Many deities, including the god Tangaloa, were born of such unions, often from twins, and the origin of intercourse was mythically attributed to a brother-sister pair (Collocott 1921; Gifford 1971a). Such unions between mortals are less frequently found in

28 The brother-sister relationship has special significance in many Pacific cultures (see M. Marshall 1983).
myths; one is that between Tu'i Tatui and his sister, and in one version of this myth it is implied that he raped her (ibid.: 29, 46-7).

In pre-contact Tonga käinga were led by a brother and sister pair, though they were not necessarily true siblings. This pair joined their 'authority and mystical powers in guiding the external and internal relations of the käinga set' (James 1987: 11; see Wood-Ellem's analysis of the reign of Queen Sālote Tupou and Tungi, 1987). The sacredness of the sister came from her tapu, her 'association with an unchallengeable spiritual order' (Herda 1987: 197). Wood-Ellem describes the role of chiefly women as sisters in pre-contact Tonga as guarding knowledge (especially genealogies), producing and distributing koloa, and ensuring the younger käinga members worked for the advantages of the käinga as a whole (1987: 211). Their brothers were responsible for matters requiring physical strength, defence and strengthening of the käinga, and arranging the most advantageous marriages for their daughters and sisters (ibid.). It is not clear to what extent these roles were important within the tu'a population, but some tapu associated with sisters do appear to have been observed throughout the population.

These tapu involved a range of behaviour and avoidances that spatially separated brother and sister and precluded any familiarity between them. Different accounts of this relationship vary in their details of the tapu, and I will summarise here those tapu that are most frequently mentioned (see Aoyagi 1966: 162; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 72; Gifford 1971b: 21-2). Sisters and brothers did not sleep under the same roof after they were about ten years old, and when they were in the same house they could not sit near one another or lie down in one another's presence.\footnote{It is not clear whether separate sleeping areas were a feature of commoners' dwellings in former times. Anderson stated that, 'Men, women and children lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a stiff kind of mat that stands by itself and forms a low partition ...' ([sic] 1777, in Beaglehole 1967: 941). Cook also noted that family members all slept together on the floor, but added, 'the unmarried men and women each by themselves, or if the family is large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep' (1777, in Beaglehole 1967: 168). These huts may have been for the adolescent boys, as often occurs today.} They could not enter one another's rooms, use each other's belongings
(comb, bed, clothes, etc), or eat each other's left-overs. When they spoke it was respectfully, and not of romantic or sexual matters, and they were not supposed to speak badly of one another to other people. They could not dance together, the brother could not drink kava his sister served, and on occasions such as funerals and weddings they could not both attend. These tapu were generally relaxed when the brother and sister were older. 'After marriage, or after reaching a certain age, however, freedom in every activity is granted in brother-sister relationships, for it is assumed they are old enough to know better' (Kavaliku 1977: 60).

In many families brother-sister tapu are not always strictly observed today, and even elderly people sometimes claimed that their relationships with opposite-sex siblings during childhood were faingofua (easy). The forms of tapu that are observed also vary. Some people told me they had been able to talk freely except about romantic matters, while others said they could discuss romances but not use swear words in their brother's (or sister's) presence. Teenagers described similarly varying tapu, with teenage girls particularly emphasising avoiding behaviour that could shame their brothers — going to dances when their brothers were there, talking to boys on the street, wearing immodest clothing, or using bad language. In some Tongan families today very little of the avoidance relationship remains. One man described his relationship with his sisters during adolescence as follows:

We talk about our love affairs, we share things when it comes to problems, because we are the closest ones to give a hand. If we don't give a hand, who else is going to? ... But in the Tongan way you're not supposed to talk about that! ... But I think as a brother, I think I have more experience, I know how boys treat girls and I help my sisters in that situation. So it's a Christian value, you know if I'm not a 'brother', a Christian, she's in trouble, in a problem, in a chaos, and if I'm going to be a Christian I'm the first one to give a hand.

Avoidance behaviour, when observed, becomes especially important after puberty, but some aspects begin much earlier. Once they are about two or three boys are not allowed to sleep close to their sisters, and often sons sleep with their father, and daughters with their mother (or other same-sex relatives). It is still very common for boys to sleep in separate huts after puberty, often in groups. Where
brothers and sisters sleep under the same roof they have separate rooms or partitioned areas and do not go into each other’s sleeping areas.

The modesty encouraged in little girls is particularly important when their brothers are present. In the Holonga household Mefa’s mother would quickly cover Mefa’s genitals if Mefa’s brother came near when she was changing her nappy. On one occasion the brother, Feleti, was playing with Mefa and pulled her on top of him as he lay on his back on the floor, so that her body was between his legs. His mother quickly snatched Mefa away, angrily telling Feleti to ‘ai fakalelei’ (do it nicely).

Marcus claimed that ‘adolescent boys spend most of their time away from home in casual peer groups or gangs ... as part of sister avoidance’ (1979: 85). Tongans tend to explain this behaviour more in terms of the boys’ ‘freedom’ and ‘independence’. Marcus has also suggested that the brother-sister relationship is ‘an important model in early socialization for the development of generalized personal orientations to relations of rank which structure a broad range of contexts in an individual’s later life’ (1978: 258, fn 9). The brother-sister relationship is certainly important in this respect, but the relationship of children to their father and his ‘side’ is also very important. In the context of the weakening of restrictions in the brother-sister relationship, it is perhaps more important. Most relationships children have with persons older than themselves ‘model’ relations of rank in Tonga, both in the respect and obedience expected of children and in the power of higher status persons to punish them.

There are many Tongans who strongly disapprove of the weakening of the avoidance relationship between brothers and sisters and claim that their faka'apa'apa (respect) is being mole (lost). An elderly woman commented:

When I grew up I saw the respect between brother and sister was dignified, solemn (molumalu). The brother didn’t enter the sister’s room, and if the brother entered the house and the sister was lying down, he would go away. Now, I see the sister lies down and the brother can just come in, with some people. The way of respect (anga faka'apa'apa) is not the same as in the past.
The initial weakening of the brother-sister tapu can be traced back to the early period of contact between Tongans and Europeans. By 1850, 'a transformation of the sister's sphere of influence had occurred, due both to the importation of European Christian values and to the changing indigenous attitudes toward the potency of the sacred realm' (Herda 1987: 207). With this transformation came a decline in women's power as sisters, though they have not, as Gailey has claimed, 'fallen out' of the kinship structure to 'remain as wives only' (1980: 317; see Kavapalu 1988). Marcus points out that 'the recognition of brothers' lifelong obligations to sisters and their children remain salient and frequently articulated ideals of behaviour' (1979: 89). As with other aspects of Tonga's complex system of rights and obligations, the rights of sisters over their brothers and brothers' children are open to manipulation and negotiation, so that some women do indeed lose out when their brothers and brothers' wives refuse them economic and other support. Other women benefit, though, by asserting their rights as sisters but not supporting their husbands' sisters' claims (James 1987: 16).

The extent to which any kin related obligations or rights are activated varies tremendously in modern Tonga. James has noted the conflict that often arises between 'traditional obligations and goals which require more individualistic endeavour' (1983: 241), and this is especially so for those in the emerging 'middle class'. Marcus suggests that the extent of people's conformity to traditional kinship norms relates to a 'trade-off between personal ambition in the context of modernity and traditional patterns of rights and obligations both as burdens and advantages' (1974: 92). For example, a man's obligations to his sister and her children must be weighed against investing in his own children's education. Religious affiliation can affect such decisions, and the increasingly popular Mormon and Ma'ama Fo'ou churches strongly support a focus on the nuclear family.
GENDER DIFFERENCES

Gender was 'one of the most salient distinctions' in the pre-contact Tongan social order and was 'essential to understanding what the old order was all about' (James 1987: 5). James argues that 'the importance of gender differences now is largely confined to the domestic and ceremonial spheres but, in the old order, it was at the very core of the hierarchical order and the politics that were its stuff of life' (ibid.: 2). A notable feature was that chiefly women wielded 'legitimate secular and spiritual influence and power', and were 'not confined by sex-specific, restrictive tapu' (Ralston 1990a: 111, 117).

Gender roles, and the ways in which gender, kinship and status interact, have been transformed, particularly through the influence of the Christian missionaries. Nevertheless, gender remains a crucial element in the construction of 'self' for Tongans. The study of Tongans' 'self-views' referred to previously (Chapter Two: 27, fn 3), found that gender was the most frequently cited component of identity (Helu 1983). As in Hawaii, there is 'gender differentiation throughout the details of life' (Linnekin 1990a: 231), and many of the changes in Tonga today are perceived in terms of a dissolution of gender differences.

When high-school students responded to the question, 'In what ways do you think it is different for boys and for girls growing up in Tonga?’, nearly half mentioned the distinction between male and female work (some multiple answers were given).

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30 Changes in the sexual division of labour were briefly discussed in Chapter Four. In the present discussion I am concerned with contemporary notions of gender among tu'a: for analyses of 'traditional' gender roles and their transformation see Gailey 1980, 1987b; Herda 1987, 1988; James 1983, 1990; Kavapalu 1988; Ralston 1990a, 1990b. Much of this work is part of the wider body of research re-evaluating gender relations in the Pacific (e.g. Hanson 1982; The Journal of Pacific History 1987; Ralston 1987, 1988).
TABLE 5C: GENDER DIFFERENCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general behaviour</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIRLS AS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more respected</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>better behaved</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indulged</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'higher'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maturing more quickly</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOYS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep separately</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go, girls stay</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are independent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go out at night</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work harder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Chapter Four the set of gender-based distinctions associated with work were discussed. These distinctions are used to characterise the work itself as well as attributes of gender. Thus women and their tasks are clean and static, while men and men's work are dirty and mobile. Women's work is 'easy' because they are 'weaker', and men's physical strength is matched by the difficulty of their work.

There is a symbolic association between femaleness and chieftliness in Tonga. The qualities associated with females — especially as sisters — are also those associated with 'eiki-ness: stasis, restraint, sanctity, superiority, dignity, and so on. Similarly, maleness and tur'a-ness share the defining qualities of mobility, lack of restraint, 'profanity', inferiority, etc. Spatially, the idiom is that females and chiefs are associated with the inside, the centre, whereas males and commoners are associated with the outside, the periphery. Another dimension that can be added to
all of these distinctions is the association of adulthood/maturity with the qualities ascribed to femaleness and chiefliness, and childhood with the qualities of maleness and non-chiefliness. All of these distinctions are formally expressed in ceremonies such as the taumafa kava ceremony (Bott 1972).

The symbolic association between femaleness and chiefliness is unstable, though, and is therefore open to manipulation by both males and females. One Tongan woman, a self-described 'radical feminist', argued that this association is a 'male construct' that keeps women subservient. As wives, women are *tu'a* but are also expected to exhibit the 'chiefly' attributes of stasis and restraint. It is only as sisters that women also have access to the authority associated with chiefliness, and the contexts in which it can be asserted are limited. The patriarchal ideology that has become increasingly predominant in Tonga has served to diminish sisters' rights and powers (Gailey 1980, 1981, 1987b).

Gender differences are generalised as *anga fakafefine* and *anga fakatangata* (female and male nature/behaviour). To some extent this aspect of a person's *anga* is seen as an innate disposition in the unsocialised child, but much more important to Tongan theories of development is the need for gender-appropriate *anga* to be developed through socialisation. In some cases, it is possible for a person's innate gender characteristics to be 'wrong' and unalterable despite all attempts to correct them, as in the case of male transvestites, discussed below.

Children's gender socialisation begins at birth, since even during their first year there are a number of ways in which their gender affects the way they are treated. Boys are often encouraged to be mobile earlier than girls, and are also handled and addressed more roughly. These differences are expressed in the following comment (in English) by Tevita, a young father:

To boys you say: 'You stand up and walk, don't fall!' and the girl, you don't. You handle them very delicately. You know, you don't force them to walk ... when the time comes for them to walk they will walk themselves, but the boys, the mother will ... you know, be a bit rough with them ... You can give a few smacks to the boys, you know, when they cry a lot, you just give a few smacks, to maybe treat them as boys, not to be sissy and cry.
Describing the way in which boys are addressed Tevita said: ‘Certain names are called to boys only; you talk a certain language to boys, they don’t even understand it, I think, but you talk to them in a masculine language’.

Children are dressed differently, even as babies, and it is usually only boys who are allowed to play without clothes. When babies are dressed up to go out, little girls are invariably dressed in frilly frocks, stockings and ribbons, and little boys in suits or tiny tupenu (a tailored wrap-around garment worn by males). Children are taught Tongan dances from an early age, and the kinds of movements and costumes involved are very different for males and females.

Throughout childhood, behaviour is differentiated by the general notion that ‘boys go, girls stay’. Boys are associated with ‘outside’ and are seen as tau’atāina (independent), whilst girls’ place is inside and their behaviour more restricted. As has already been shown, boys’ work involves going (to ‘the bush’), and girls stay and work at home. A term often used in reference to proper female behaviour is nofo ma’u. This can mean ‘sit still’ (Churchward 1959: 351) but is also used in its broader sense, of staying or remaining fixed in one place. One woman said: ‘Men are more independent (tau’atāina) than women. Women stay put (nofo ma’u), and are submissive (anga nofo), but men are independent, if they want to go some place at night or during the day, anytime. Women are taught by their parents to stay at home’. The relationship between ‘staying’ and proper behaviour is expressed in the term anga nofo, which means submissive but literally translates as ‘habitually staying’.

Boys are allowed to be freer than girls in several ways. They are given more freedom to wander away from home – at first to play at neighbouring homes and later to wander much further afield with groups of friends. They also have a considerable amount of freedom within the huts they often use for sleeping and socialising, since they are without adult supervision. Sometimes groups of boys,

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31 Mariner states that nofo ma’u referred to married women’s fidelity, and warriors’ loyalty to their chief (Martin 1981: 318).
usually older boys in their mid- to late teens, live with one or more older men (often unmarried). One group, for example, lived with a man in his mid-twenties who was teaching them the karate he had learned while living overseas. In such cases the boys still have much more freedom than when living with their parents.

Boys' association with 'outside' begins very early, as when baby boys are taken outside by older males, to look at the animals and crops, whereas girls are generally kept indoors. Little boys can move easily between male and female spheres: now sitting inside with the women, then going outside to be with the men or teenage boys. Little girls can do this to some extent but are likely to be called away from the men, as in the following incident that occurred in our Holonga household:

One evening Finau came home with a few bottles of beer, and sat outside drinking. He encouraged his son, Feleti (5) and my son, Paul (8) to sit with him and allowed them to share a bottle of beer. They were being silly and 'performing' for his amusement. Finau's daughter, Vika (5) was inside the house and kept going to the doorway to watch. Each time she did, one of the women in the house would call her to come and sit down, and finally she was pulled into a bedroom and told to go to sleep.

Boys become increasingly free to wander from home as they get older, but girls are watched all the more carefully. Most Tongan parents keep close tabs on their daughters’ whereabouts, and insist on a chaperone accompanying them when they go anywhere. This emphasis on girls staying at home is especially important at night. ‘We Tongan women stay at home at night or lose our honour (längilangi)’, one teenager remarked. Restriction of girls’ movements outside the home usually continues until they marry, and is perceived in terms of protecting their virginity and reputation. Thus, when a twenty-year-old unmarried woman went swimming with her friends at a public wharf one hot afternoon, her adoptive mother was extremely angry. She accused her daughter of trying to attract men, and warned her she’d been risking rape. In Holonga, when girls were sent to the shop after dark they were never sent alone, even if their 'chaperone' was a younger child. The term often used to describe boys' wanderings, 'eve'eva pē (just strolling around), can also mean 'to "hang round" or pay attention to (ki) a girl' (Churchward, 1959: 559).
relation to girls' activities it has negative connotations, and can even mean 'of an unmarried girl) to have illicit sexual intercourse' (ibid.).

Boys' 'freedom' also extends to their general behaviour, and boys are less strictly raised than girls. Watching the twins in our Holonga households (first when they were three and then when they were five) it was clear that Feleti was given far more leeway for naughtiness and silliness than his sister. Though Vika was actually more obedient, and more timid around adults, she was scolded and punished more frequently. Feleti was also more likely to be tolerated if he attempted to join in adult activities, and generally received more attention and affection from the adults. Daughters are said to be treated more favourably (see below), but because parents expect them to be better behaved and place many restrictions on their behaviour, they tend to be punished more often when they are young.

Girls are perceived as 'better' than boys: they are easier to control, more obedient, properly behaved (anga maau), more dignified (molumalu), more polite, and so on. There is an association between the physically 'clean' nature of females' work (and bodies) and their ideally 'clean' moral state. Both physical and moral cleanliness are referred to as ma'a. Another term sometimes used to describe girls is melie, 'sweet'. Girls are also seen as 'higher' (mā'olunga) than boys, and as sisters they do outrank their brothers, as I have shown. Brothers should ideally obey and pay attention to (tokanga'i) their sisters. The restrictions on girls' behaviour are said to be balanced by their being fakalekesi (treated with special care) and fakapelepele'i (treated with indulgence and favouritism). Though their behaviour is closely supervised and they are more likely to be punished for inappropriate behaviour than boys, adolescent girls do tend to be more 'indulged' in a material sense. One young woman explained that she saw this as 'compensation' for her lack of freedom.

In contrast to the dignity and restraint expected of girls, boys' behaviour is in some contexts completely unrestrained, particularly during the talavou period. Marcus has described this as a liminal period, noting that boys' behaviour 'may

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32 Another term for an illegitimate child is tama 'eve'eva.
appear wild and uncontrolled in contrast to the staidness of other aspects of Tongan life' (1978: 257). Boys’ cheeky and aggressive behaviour is often given covert approval, as described in the following chapter. They are handled less gently than girls, and play between young boys and youths or men is usually very physical and rough – wrestling, play-fighting, and so on.

This rough play between boys and older males often involves an element of sexual joking – grabbing roughly at boys’ genitals, or making jokes about their uncircumcised state. Other jokes about uncleanliness, scatological jokes, and so on are also very common. Boys are given more freedom to go naked as babies and people will touch or make joking reference to their genitals.

A one-year-old boy was dressed by his father in shorts that, when he sat down, revealed his genitals. The boy’s mother noticed and laughed, and called her own mother’s attention to this. The grandmother laughed and called to him: ‘Tuku ho angakovi!’ (stop your bad behaviour), then went over to him and began to tickle his penis, pulling his shorts down and pretending to smack him.

Sexual joking does occur with girls, but in a very different manner. Modesty is far more important for girls, even as babies, and sexual joking is directed at shaming rather than tacit approval.

Mefa, at 11 months, was ‘walking’ along, holding onto a couch, and her nappy slipped down from under her dress. She stepped out of it and kept going, and her mother, Helena, laughed and said ‘Mefa!’ in a mock-reproving tone, then told her to look at me. Helena gently pushed her daughter’s face around toward me, and several times flipped Mefa’s dress up, saying ‘Palagul!’ (ugly). Then she lifted her up to sit on the couch beside her, and continued to talk to me. Suddenly she realised that Mefa had moved around and was facing me, with her legs apart, and she exclaimed ‘Ue!’ and pulled Mefa’s dress down to cover her, saying again ‘Palagul’.

In pre-contact Tonga children were apparently left unclothed (‘in a state of nature’ [Lawry 1850: 111]), but the missionaries encouraged the wearing of tapa around the waist except in their own homes. Bott claimed in the 1950s that from the time they began to walk until they went to school many children wore clothes only

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33 Marcus points out the similarities between this period and that of the Tahitian taure’are’a and Samoan tauē’ate’a (1978: 257).
when there were visitors in the house or when they went to church (1958: 61). Today, girls are rarely allowed to go naked, and even little boys are usually dressed in at least a pair of shorts. Care is taken to keep little girls covered in front of male household members and anyone from outside the household. Whereas little boys will sometimes purposely display their genitals as part of their play, girls are very careful to remain modest. Even when playing energetic games girls tend to remain aware of the need for modesty, and hold their dresses down with one hand. Exploration of the genitals is 'suppressed very early in the Tongan child', especially girls (Ikahihifo and Panuve 1983: 40).

As the child grows up, she soon realises that her genital area is forbidden — must not be exposed nor touched in the presence of others ... As soon as a child is seen with her hands in this forbidden area, she is soundly smacked and threatened with worse punishment if she is caught doing it again ... the Tongan woman emerges confused, ignorant and very shy about this important part of her anatomy, her genital system (ibid.).

Adolescent girls are also taught to be modest about their breasts, though older women do sometimes leave their breasts uncovered without embarassment. In pre-Christian Tonga women did not cover their breasts unless they were pregnant or lactating, but the 1850 Code of Laws made clothing compulsory (Article 41, in Lätükefu 1974: 237). Knee-length, sleeved dresses, with ankle-length skirts (vala) underneath, became the most common dress for women.34

Earlier observers have commented that Tongan children learn 'the facts of life' at an early age, because the one-room houses afforded little privacy (Lovett 1958: 35; Bott 1958: 62). Whether or not this was so, most modern houses have separate bedrooms, and children are unlikely to observe sexual behaviour. Even when household members sleep in one room, or children sleep in the parents' room, great care is taken to preserve modesty in dressing and undressing, and in sexual activity. Tongan children rarely see their parents naked, but many now see naked bodies and some sexual behaviour on videos. I have on occasion seen such scenes fast-

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34 Standard of modesty are relaxing now. At the beginning of the 1980s very few girls wore trousers, but today jeans, other long pants, and even shorts are worn by many.
forwarded when children are watching, and once I heard a woman mutter that we should watch a karate movie instead, but there is generally no attempt to prevent children from watching these videos.

Femininity

Ideally feminine behaviour in Tonga exhibits the qualities described above: restraint, dignity, politeness, and so on. All these qualities are regarded as anga lelei ('nice' nature/behaviour) and they are revealed in a girl's general demeanour and specific aspects of her behaviour. For example, girls are taught to sit with their legs to one side (fäite), rather than cross-legged (fak'a ake) in the male way (for modesty and to protect the skin on their ankle bones from becoming rough).

Physical appearance is a very important aspect of femininity in Tonga, though it is not clear to what extent ideals of feminine beauty were formerly shared between 'eiki and tu'a. Gifford lists a number of ways in which the beauty of 'girls of rank' was enhanced, such as rubbing their bodies with masticated tuitui (candlenut) to cleanse them, then with scented oil and turmeric; keeping their skin smooth and soft by sitting on cushions of mats and tapa; and wearing a corset of tapa to flatten their stomachs (1971b: 129-130). Both men and women wore a range of hair styles to enhance their appearance (Bott n.d.: 30-31). There are Tongan aesthetic ideals for physical beauty for all parts of the face and body (ibid.; Bain 1967: 80; and Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b: 85). Nowadays both male and female Tongans wear imported clothing, jewellery, cosmetics and perfume, as well as the more traditional beauty aids, Tongan oil and flowers.

Another important element of femininity is virginity. As Bernstein states, 'from a very early age the politics of maintaining a reputation for chastity is a major focus for Tongan women' (1983: 190). According to Herda, the emphasis on virginity was partly influenced by Samoan practices such as tying unmarried girls' legs together when they slept, and confirming the virginity of a bride-to-be (1988: 66). Such practices may have only been adopted for chiefly girls, and one early European observer claimed that single women slept in groups in large huts and freely received
male visitors for intercourse (Waldegrave 1834: 194). Christianity was also influential, and today virginity is an important ideal for all unmarried women, and promiscuity can reduce a woman’s marriage prospects. For men the opposite standard applies, and, as one man put it, young men ‘hop from flower to flower ... it’s an addition to their manhood’.

When people talk of change in Tonga they often comment that girls are becoming ‘like boys’: they cut their hair short, wear trousers, drink, smoke, and go out at night. However, girls who do these things are not self-consciously attempting to be ‘male’; rather, they believe that is how all pälangi teenagers behave.

Masculinity

The fact that early accounts of Tonga focused almost entirely on men means there is ample evidence of masculinity’s association with skill in warfare, agriculture, fishing and ocean voyaging, as well as athletic sports, sexual prowess and virility. As James has noted, ‘notions of Tongan manhood’ have been profoundly affected by a range of factors such as the cessation of warfare, devaluation of agricultural skills, and ‘the abandonment of ancient ceremonies such as the 'inasi or offering of the "first fruits" annually to the Tu’i Tonga’ (1983: 241). She suggests that ‘the old songs and dances still performed in celebration of these old pursuits may only serve to point up the comparison invidiously with their present routines’ (ibid.).

Tongan songs and dances, myths and legends, may not reflect men’s contemporary pursuits, but they do serve to perpetuate the ideals of masculinity with which they were associated. Masculinity is still defined in terms of strength, invincibility, and courage. One man explained that the old stories of Tongans going to Samoa and Fiji and winning battles give a ‘psychological lift’ to men today. There has also been some transformation of old notions of manhood in modern contexts – for example, the fauutasi (canoe) racing supported by the King has become

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35 Wifely fidelity appears to have been expected in pre-contact Tonga (Martin 1981: 325; Waldegrave 1834: 194), and was of course strongly supported by the missionaries.
very popular (females also participate in some races). Military clothing is popular for young Tongan males, and modern heroes include Rambo, Chuck Norris, and Sitiveni Rabuka of Fiji. Something of a parallel can also be drawn between the boys who formerly followed war parties to train in warfare (Martin 1981: 82; Orange 1840: 176) and the boys who train in ‘karate’ from older men, or who hang around village dance halls watching, and sometimes imitating, the fights between drunken young men. Another aspect of continuity is that manhood is still symbolised by circumcision, and to a lesser extent tattooing (see Chapter Four).

The association of masculinity with agricultural skill has been transformed into an association with the land itself, since the land reforms of the Constitution. ‘The land at the very least has served as the ideological basis of male social status and respectability in the new order’ (Marcus 1977: 224). With increasing land shortages in Tonga this aspect of masculinity is being seriously eroded for many young Tongans.

Masculinity in Tonga is often defined in terms of not being feminine, and the fakaleiti (‘like a lady’, i.e: transvestites, also known as fakafefine) serve as models of what not to be as a man (see Levy 1973: 472-3 for the Tahitian mahu; and Schoeffel 1979: 110-112 and Shore 1981: 208-210 for the Samoan fa’aafefine). Morton has claimed that male pele (favourites) are sometimes dressed and groomed as females, and otherwise treated as females (1972: 47). As Cowling points out, this is unlikely given that Tongans only reluctantly accept that a boy is a fakaleiti (1990c: 188). She argues that concerted attempts are made ‘to masculinise a child who is displaying fakaleiti characteristics’, by assigning him male tasks, and teasing and even punishing him (ibid.: 190).

James has suggested that ‘the phenomenon of the fakaleiti’ can be explained in terms of what she calls ‘the crisis in Tongan men’s perceptions of their role and gender identification’ (1983: 240). Her argument is similar to that of Levy for Tahitian males, who he claims have ‘generalised problems of masculine sexual differentiation ... a relative lack of differentiation of sex-role orientations and
behavior, and special problems for boys in establishing separate masculine identities, and for men in keeping them’ (1969: 42). A main contributing factor to these problems, he suggests, is fathers’ lack of input into socialisation. However, the situation is different in Tonga, where masculinity is clearly defined and constantly asserted (see Cowling 1990c: 172, 186-195 on fakaleiti).

Boys are encouraged, from babyhood, to ‘try to be a man and not a girl, not to be a woman!’ ‘Fakaleiti’ is used as a teasing term, particularly when boys appear to be showing weakness, as are various English terms for homosexuality (though ‘fakaleiti’ is not synonymous with ‘homosexual’). One young man stated: ‘It’s a disgrace if my mother calls me a sissy, you know, a queer! If my peer group call me a queer I will try to fight it out! To get them back, to [make them] swallow their words’. A lot of boys’ peer group activity centres on challenging one another to prove their bravery. Within the talavou gangs status rivalry is particularly evident in regard to courtship, personal skills, and so on (Marcus 1978: 256-9). As will be shown in Chapter Seven, boys must show their peers that they are willing to risk punishment in order to follow their friends. Challenges to boys nowadays often involve smoking, drinking, stealing, and other activities for which they may be severely punished if caught. Smoking, and drinking alcohol, in particular, have become associated with masculinity.

By adolescence, and sometimes earlier, many boys spend a great deal of their time away from their families, as has been shown. As Cowling argues, this separation ‘encourages the development of strong bonds between male peers and between male siblings, but also helps to confirm the assumption of a masculine heterosexual identity and behaviour’ (1990c: 172). Cowling also claims that boys experience ‘their expulsion from their family’s centre’ as a loss of family love, and that they subsequently develop a preoccupation with the need for physical affection (ibid.: 185). However, many boys are eager to move into the boys’ huts, and to be associated with the older boys. Even boys who have their own bedrooms in their family home tend to spend most of their time away from home with their friends.
Since all children, especially boys, are gradually shifted from their family’s centre from the age of about two, boys’ separation is less an ‘expulsion’ than an expected part of their progression toward manhood.

CHANGING VALUES IN MODERN TONGA

In Tonga now the children have changed their 'ulungāanga. The children of Tonga now have very bad 'ulungāanga. The children’s 'ulungāanga has turned the wrong way around (mafuli). [Man, 72.]

When I was growing up, there were ten children, but there weren’t a lot of problems, and the way our parents cared for me and all the children, we weren’t often disobedient (talangata’a) ... Now, in bringing up my children, I see many more problems, they are disobedient. They are very different from when I grew up. They are growing up in a very different way, but the method (founga) in which I was cared for (tauhi) is the same as the way I care for them, but their 'ulungāanga are very different indeed. [Woman, 35.]

Let’s look at the low behaviour ('ulungāanga ma'ulalo) growing; I think this arises (tupu) from the parents by not advising (akonaki) them. Teaching (ako’i) them not to go out at night, see movies. ... And there are children who are well behaved, but there is a class (kalasi), their minds ('atamai) go around and around ('alu'alu). The changes are lowering (tō) Tonga. [Woman, 70.]

The young generation (to'u tupu) in Tonga now is changing a lot. They have got 'ulungāanga like going out at night; the young generation in the past didn’t go out at night, or go from their home to another home, or go on the road, or go to the dance. This generation, the children begin to go out at night and do many bad things; the behaviour of this young generation is very different. Naughty ( pau'u). This young generation is very bad (kovi aupito). [Woman, 36.]

A lot of kids want freedom these days and yet they seem to lose a lot of the values of things, the responsibilities they should have. ... They don’t seem to be dedicated any more. ... I can say that they are very uncontrollable, that’s what a lot of people say these days. [Man, 38, in English]

There is great concern in Tonga today about the perceived decline in the standard of children’s behaviour, as these quotes indicate. Children are said to be disobedient and badly behaved, and increasingly unrestricted by social and cultural conventions. The weakening of kinship- and gender-based restrictions are seen as related to the diminishing of respect and obedience, so that, for example, tapu are ignored, and girls behave like boys. To some extent these changes are blamed on parents not fulfilling their roles as teachers and disciplinarians. One young unmarried woman claimed that parents ‘don’t really care that much about how to teach their children, or
tell them how to behave properly. Some people love their children but don’t really put that love into practice’. Many other factors are also blamed, though – ‘overseas influences’, migration, videos, and so on.

Tonga’s Fifth Development Plan acknowledges the problems that affect ‘youth’ (ages 10 - 24), such as unemployment, overcrowding in the urban area, drunkenness, and petty crime, and claims dissatisfaction has been caused by ‘the influence of Western values and lifestyle brought about by the mass media, tourists, and Tongan citizens returning from overseas’ (DPV: 403). The annual reports of the Minister of Police for 1986 and 1987 blame the increase in petty crime among young Tongans mainly on family problems, such as divorce, one or both parents living overseas, illegitimacy, adoption, diminishing parental authority, and strict physical punishment in the home, as well as truancy and association with other offenders (1986: 15, 85; 1987: 14, 83). In the 1987 report it is suggested that internal migration also has detrimental effects.

In the more remote islands of the north and rural villages in the main islands, social solidarity is strong, acting as an informal control on deviant behaviour. However in the urban centres, particularly Nuku’alofa ... the community is increasingly characterised by impersonal relationship and anonymity. The internal migration into these centres brings in its wake an initial shock of adaptation, creating anxiety neurosis in young adults and making them susceptible to delinquency (1987: 36).

Police announcements on the radio urge parents to keep their children at home at night, and not allow them to wander around watching dances and other activities, such as the drinking of home-brew. Church leaders, school principals, and other community leaders also make public their concern about the behaviour of young Tongans. Many young people share this concern. A twenty-one year old woman told me that she was worried about the bad behaviour of her younger siblings. She said that they were disobedient, rude to their parents, and hard to control. She blamed ‘overseas’ influences, saying that the children ‘take all the bad things and do not take the good things ... I think the movies and the dancing are the most influential things in their lives’.
Video movies have come under particularly strong attack by those concerned with children’s worsening behaviour (Hosea 1987; Matangi Tonga 1989e; Shumway 1987; Tu’itani 1986). There are no controls on the video industry in Tonga, and censorship is only carried out on movies for public screening. There is special concern over the ready availability of pornographic videos, which have been blamed for an increase in rape cases, including five reported gang-rapes in 1986 (Report of the Minister of Police for 1986: 79). There is also a fear that the brother-sister avoidance relationship is being further eroded by videos, since brothers and sisters can now sit in the same room watching videos containing love scenes and bad language. Questions have been raised as to the influence of videos on the ‘recent phenomenon’ of child suicides, particularly by hanging (Matangi Tonga 1989e: 29; see Chapter Eight).

As stated in the previous chapter, few restrictions are placed on children’s viewing of videos. Nevertheless, many people expressed concern about the possible effects of the movies. An elderly man said:

There are many changes in Tonga that are bad, maybe from watching a lot of videos, the changes that come are very bad. Tonga has been mafulli (upside down/wrong way around) for a few years. The videos are all right but they [children] get many bad ways (angakovi). Sometimes they grow up with ‘ulungāanga lelei but they go in another direction (maliu) and become very bad.

A young woman echoed his statement that the videos themselves are not bad, adding that the way they are used is wrong. She told me of her younger brother, who frequently watches movies at a neighbour’s house, and claimed that he had become interested in girls at a much earlier age than his older brothers, because of the ‘blue’ movies he watched. On another occasion a grandmother pointed out that young children sometimes fashion guns from wood, in imitation of the guns they see in the movies.

36 I was unable to obtain figures for earlier years, but my informants claimed that gang-rape was previously very rare.
A school principal expressed concern to me that videos are being used to deflect attention from the real causes of the problems Tonga faces. Certainly it is difficult to assess the impact of videos, and there are obviously many other factors to consider when addressing social change and problems such as increasing crime rates, teenage drinking, unemployment, and so on.

The widespread concern about children's behaviour is often expressed as a fear that they are becoming increasingly like 'overseas children' and losing their Tongan values. Many Tongans perceive pālangi children (i.e., 'whites', particularly Australians, Americans and New Zealanders) as badly behaved, and attribute this to a lack of discipline. The differences between Tongan and pālangi child discipline tend to be described in terms of extremes, so that pālangi are said to never hit or even scold their children. One woman commented:

There is a very big difference in the way children grow up in Australia and Tonga. I see the children in Australia, my brother lives there; they don't hit them. Like, if there is a thing that falls and breaks, I haven't seen them hit them. It's very different in Tonga. In Tonga when the mother or father is upset (lotomamahi) they hit the children. In Tonga they hit them but overseas I have seen they don't hit them. And they don't scold or abuse or hit. The children are happy, and I have seen that the children are able to please themselves (fa'iteliha).

The many comments I heard about the differences between Tongan and pālangi child-rearing methods indicated very mixed feelings, but overall, even among younger people, a rather negative evaluation of the latter. The lack of discipline associated with pālangi children is often described in terms of their tau'atāina (independence) and fa'iteliha (freedom to please themselves). As I have shown, these are strongly disvalued concepts when they imply freedom from parental control.37 Given Tongan ideas about personhood and development, the unrestricted freedom attributed to pālangi children is understood as allowing the inherently negative qualities of persons to grow unchecked. Combined with a lack of discipline this precludes the acquisition of socially valued attributes. Since corporal

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37 In a survey of Tongan migrants living in Sydney, Australia, Faiva found that the majority preferred the stricter discipline of 'the Tongan way' and felt that pālangi children 'appear to have too much freedom' (1989: 41).
punishment is such an integral part of discipline in Tongan socialisation, it is not surprising that there is an immediate association between a lack of physical punishment and a lack of proper development. Pālangi children are therefore perceived as disrespectful and disobedient, and as not caring about their parents. By comparison, one woman said, 'The children of Tonga are still in order (maau) and listen (fakaongo) to their parents'. Some parents share this view, but as the quotes at the beginning of this section show, many others fear that this is no longer true.

The values that have been examined in this chapter, as well as the kinship and gender roles and relations that constitute an important aspect of the 'practice' of these values, have become central to Tongans' 'cultural identity'. Linnekin has discussed the way in which 'particular artifacts and customs' are symbols that 'draw on the cultural past yet acquire new meaning and become emotionally weighty in the present' (1990b: 159). Though she does not specifically mention values, these are also symbols which, especially in the context of rapid social change, are a fundamental aspect of cultural identity. In Tonga the perceived loss of respect and obedience among the young thus entails a loss of their very 'Tongan-ness'.

The young people themselves have very mixed views on the changes that are occurring, as is shown in the following table of responses to the question, 'How do you think things are changing for children in Tonga?'.

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38 Haberkom (1981: 22) found that Mormon students were less concerned with the decline in traditional values than others, but my own survey did not reveal any differences.
TABLE 5d: CHANGES FOR CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bad behaviour39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new entertainment</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>changed behaviour</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fast change</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disobedience</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disrespect</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of culture</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more violence</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls becoming like boys</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>better behaviour</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>becoming like pālangi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>better lifestyle40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not happy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no change</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These students could readily identify the aspects of change that are of most concern to adults, and in many cases echoed the adults’ negative views of change. However they were also more positive about some changes, particularly new forms of entertainment. The students were also asked: ‘What will be important to you when you have your own children?’.

39 Includes stealing, lying, truancy, and being rude and rebellious.

40 Includes more Western goods, and better education.
TABLE 5E: GOALS AS PARENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>look after them</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach good behaviour</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach religion</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instruct/advise them</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love them</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach obedience</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be happy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teach respect</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let them do what they want</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make them work</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make them study</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>understand them</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not hit them</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 5D and 5E indicate that young people in Tonga, though accepting the inevitability of change, and in some respects welcoming it, still strongly identify with the values and behaviours many adults perceive as threatened or already 'lost'.
Photograph 17: Before the ceremony for the closing of Parliament, all Nuku'alofa's school children march to the town centre and line the streets between the Palace and Parliament, to wave to the King as he travels to the ceremony.

Photograph 18: Holonga pupils, teachers, and parents march through Nuku'alofa on Schools' Day. The endpoint of the march was the King's Palace, and the marchers went through the Palace grounds waving at the King and his family, seated outside.
Photograph 19: Little girls perform at Kindergarten Day celebrations. Female teachers and relatives clown behind them.

Photograph 20: Girls after their performance at Kindergarten Day. They have money tucked into their hair and costumes, donated as they danced.
Photograph 21: Vika, aged five, dressed for church
Photograph 22: A thoroughly modern baby, our neighbour Sione, in his denim suit sent by relatives overseas.

Photograph 23: A teenager tattooing his friend with a home-made gadget of bamboo, batteries, and a ball-point pen.
CHAPTER SIX

BECOMING POTO: HOW TO LEARN

Having discussed certain kinds of knowledge that Tongan children acquire, this
and the following chapter look at the ways in which they acquire that knowledge.
The present chapter looks at several aspects of learning – the encouragement of
performance, observation and imitation, language socialisation, formal instruction,
and learning through play. The next chapter focuses on punishment, which plays a
central role in Tongan child socialisation.

During their first year babies are the centre of their household’s attention, as
shown previously. They are lavished with affection, and every aspect of their
development is observed closely and commented upon with a mixture of pride and
amusement. The Ritchies have interpreted this early ‘indulgence’ as a ‘cultural
response ... to survival threat’ in Polynesia (1979: 50). As I will show, however,
early attention and affection are also aspects of socialisation which encourage
sociability and obedience.

In many households there are usually a number of people at home to interact with
babies, so that, as Bott commented, ‘they lead an intensely social life’ (1958: 51).
But in an increasing number of households this is not the case, and babies may spend
long hours during the day with only one or two people caring for them. At certain
times, such as afternoons, weekends, and school holidays, these households may be
busier, and then babies receive a great deal of attention and affection as well as being
able to watch and listen as the household members work and play. Babies are in
physical contact with people much of the time, especially before they can walk, as older people cuddle and hold them, or little children lug them awkwardly around, ignoring their loud protests. People holding babies often position them so as to have eye contact, talking to them and playing games. At other times they face them outward so they can watch the activity in the household, or play with the older children who gather around them.

For the first few months, when babies are well wrapped up, they are usually held lying prone. The person holding the baby holds him in her arms, across her lap, or at a distance from her body with one hand supporting the baby’s neck and back and the other under the baby’s buttocks and legs. In all these positions the baby is en face, but the latter position is particularly used when the holder wants to attract his attention. During these early months people smile, laugh, sing or otherwise vocalise at the baby in order to elicit a response in the form of a smile or even just eye contact. To further encourage a response the person makes questioning sounds, and/or the facial gesture associated with encouragement: eyebrows raised as the chin is dipped.

When people speak to babies their comments are sometimes meant for some other person present. Instead of saying to the mother, ‘Isn’t the baby fat!’ a person will say to the baby, ‘You’re too fat!’ or, ‘You eat too often (fa’akai)’. There is no distinct baby-talk register, but people sometimes adopt either a gentle and affectionate or mock-angry tone with little babies. When babies respond to others’ gestures or vocalisations the people observing will draw each other’s attention to this or call others to come and see, exclaiming ‘Sio, sio!’ (look, look). People clearly get a great deal of pleasure and amusement from watching babies who, as they become more responsive and active, continue to hold center stage within the household.

1 The former practice of carrying babies in back slings (MacKay n.d.: 2) may have meant that babies had fewer opportunities for face-to-face contacts. It seems likely, though, that this was the practice only for very young babies.

2 Tongan practice seems to differ from that reported by Ochs for Western Samoa (1988: 158). She states that people do not talk to, or with babies, only about them.
Both males and females, of any status, give attention and affection to babies, perhaps because babies are in a sense outside the status system, and thus playing with them and showing affection carries no element of shame or danger of compromising status (cf. Keeler 1983: 164 for a similar argument for Javanese men and babies).

When babies and toddlers are minded by only one or two caregivers during the day, often elderly grandparents, their mobility is restricted so that their caregivers can get on with their household work or craft. This also somewhat limits the amount of interaction they have with caregivers. The child may be kept within one room with the caregiver, with the doorways blocked, or may spend long periods in a stroller or pram (saliote: ‘chariot’). Manufactured toys are becoming popular, but for the most part babies play with whatever is lying around on the floor: sticks, matchboxes, scraps of paper, etc. Other means of keeping them distracted and quiet include calling out names and threatening, both of which are discussed later in this chapter.

‘PERFORMANCE’

Ochs has noted that in Western Samoa ‘children are directed to perform before they can speak’ (1988: 167), and the same can be said of Tongan children. Until they are about two or three, much of the attention children receive takes the form of amused, concerned, or interested responses to their movements, facial expressions, and vocalisations. From birth babies’ actions are treated as performances, as people closely observe them and comment to one another: ‘See how she’s smiling!’, ‘Look at her eyes!’. Before they begin to ‘perform’ on their own, adults help them, as when a proud father amused the passengers on a bus by balancing his infant daughter on his hand, holding only her feet as she pushed her legs straight. Although, as will be shown, amusing behaviour is often directed by others, children’s natural, spontaneous behaviour is also treated as performance. Bernstein commented that ‘infants, being not yet fully formed social beings, are a source of great amusement for adults. It is funny when they evacuate in public, have a rip in the crotch of their
pants, or eat messily’ (1983: 56). Gender distinctions affect such responses, though, and amusement at girls’ ‘immodest’ behaviour often takes the form of teasing disapproval (see Chapter Five).

Babies are valevale, unable to think for themselves (literally: ‘foolish foolish’) and can get away with much behaviour that is inappropriate (ta’e feunga) for only slightly older children. Children of four or five often become over-excited as they watch babies and toddlers behave in ways that, to them, must seem excitingly dangerous. They may go beyond the limits of acceptable behaviour for them — by copying the baby, or becoming aggressive, or just rushing around loudly laughing and shouting. Sometimes, when the older people watching are relaxed and eager for amusement, the older children’s actions will also be treated as performance and they may be urged to act even sillier, but more often they will be brought back into line with a sharp word or slap.

Spontaneous ‘performances’ that are amusing are encouraged while children are still very young, as when a toddler does a funny dance or attempts to vocalise. However, the performances that are given most encouragement are those involving imitation, and as soon as babies begin to mimic others’ actions and vocalisations they are constantly coached to produce amusing performances. The frequent face-to-face contact between babies and others often involves this coaching, or ‘elicited imitation routines’ (Ochs 1990: 290). Babies who respond are richly rewarded with laughter and affection. Though these routines are carried out to amuse the others present they are also an important form of early learning. Imitation routines are carried out with older children as a form of amusement for the older people present, as when they are urged to call out teasing or insulting phrases to someone. Spontaneous performances are not generally encouraged in older children except within their own peer group. On the few occasions when I observed children ‘performing’ to amuse older members of their households they were exhibiting skills they had acquired, such as dance movements or juggling, rather than inventing words or actions by themselves.
Babies and toddlers are frequently called to do the ‘tricks’ they learn through imitation routines, and encouraged to repeat them many times, often until the baby, rather than the audience, loses interest. Mefa, the baby girl in our Holonga household, acquired an extensive repertoire of ‘tricks’ during the second half of her first year. They included pulling a funny face, wiping her nose with the back of her hand or her clothing, raising the middle finger of her hand in a rude gesture, crossing herself by tapping at her forehead and chest, bobbing up and down as people sang and clapped and called out ‘Mälie!’ (bravo), giving someone whatever she had in her hand when they ‘kole’ (asked for it with an outstretched hand), kissing people (and pictures in magazines), clapping hands, and waving goodbye. Teaching her these ‘tricks’, and watching her repeatedly perform them was for several months a favourite activity in the household. When the children came home from school, or the adults home from work, Mefa would be urged to do one or more of these amusing acts. She would also be called to come and show them off for visitors, and the people in the household frequently commented to one another about what she had learnt. In this way, her behaviour became a focal point for the household members’ interactions with each other.

The same pattern of encouraging learning occurs in the acquisition of motor skills such as crawling and walking. Babies’ efforts are regarded as entertaining and they are encouraged by laughter, praise, and by being urged to repeat the performance. Children will throw things along the floor for a crawling baby to fetch, or hold a baby upright by the hands and urge her to walk, saying ‘Ha’u, ha’u’ (come, come). On one occasion I saw an eleven month old girl playing with two older siblings who were encouraging her to walk. They were both seated on chairs with a low table between them, and were getting their sister to take pens from one to the other and back again, which involved ‘walking’ along holding the table. This game continued until the older children were tired of it, and while it was going on several other household members came in to watch proudly. Verbal praise includes ‘Mälie!’ (bravo, well done), and ‘poto’ (clever). This is the age at which children receive the
most praise and encouragement, but by the age of three or four praise is rarely offered.

Speech is encouraged by urging babies to repeat sounds they make that resemble words, and often these sounds are interpreted as names. Pet names sometimes arise from this, as when a teenage girl was always referred to as ‘Tin-da’ to her baby cousin, who had once made those sounds in an apparent attempt to say the girl’s name, ‘Tha. Unlike some of the ‘tricks’ babies learn, there is little direct attempt to teach new words, though it does occur to a limited extent. More often, the baby spontaneously makes a sound, which is interpreted as a word, and then is encouraged to repeat it many times. Apart from names, these first utterances are usually interpreted as ā or pā (hit: see Chapter Seven). Verbal interactions with babies and toddlers rarely involve expansion, where the caregiver expands the child’s vocalisation into a complete phrase or sentence. It is only when children are older and speaking confidently that their elders begin to correct their speech on occasion — for example when a child uses an incorrect pronoun form that excludes instead of includes the person they are addressing.

Encouraging babies to perform teaches them to ‘show off’, to seek audiences and interact with those around them. A number of other features of socialisation in the first year also encourage sociability. One of the most common ways to distract unsettled and crying babies, once they are old enough to recognise household members, is to call these people’s names when they are not present. Sometimes the words for various animals, such as pusi (cat) or puaka (pig) are called instead of people’s names. The person calling out injects a tone of excitement into her voice so that the baby stops fretting and looks about. This may be repeated many times, with different names, and is often enough to keep the baby quiet for some time. The mother’s name is frequently called, as are the names of other household members. This name-calling not only distracts babies; it also constantly reminds them of their connections with others, even in their absence.
Calling the name of absent persons and animals is increasingly effective as the baby learns to associate them with their names. This learning occurs indirectly, as the baby observes interactions between other people. It also occurs directly, as people point to animals and name them, or play a name-calling game in which they hold the baby and call people's names. Since they are speaking for the baby they use a higher-pitched, playful tone. The people called automatically respond 'Ko au' (It's me), or make some playful comment to the baby, thus establishing a link between the name and the person.

Mefa often did not see her father, Finau, all day, as he worked long hours. His name was frequently called out to distract her throughout the day, and when he did come home the others in the house would again excitedly call to her, 'Finau!', or 'Poppa!'. She soon learned to recognise the sound of his truck and would scream and shout her own attempts at his name whenever she heard it. A baby's own name is sometimes called out to distract her and later, when she begins to talk, she will be encouraged to say her own name, as well as to reply to a person calling her name by saying 'Ko au'. At other times name-calling is used to get nearby children to come and distract a baby. Since the children do appear sometimes and play with him, the name-calling when they are not close by is all the more effective.

When people visit the house they often call out the baby's name when they arrive, before greeting anyone else, and when they leave they call goodbye to her or call her name several times as they walk away from the house. The latter involves calling her name and then saying 'e?' with a questioning inflection. Whoever is holding the child at these times answers for her, giving the correct greeting formula or replying to the calls of farewell by saying "io!" (yes). During their visit, guests (particularly women) focus their attention initially on the baby and make occasional comments and observations on the baby's behaviour or characteristics throughout their stay.

As they leave, visitors often act out a sequence in which they pretend to encourage the baby to leave with them. They hold out their hands to the baby,
saying ‘\textit{Tau ő?}’ (shall we go?), with an encouraging facial expression. The baby is not expected to respond, but if he does, the visitor will exclaim ‘Look, look, he’s coming to me!’ and all will laugh. This sequence is acted out even for new-born babies, and as they get older it is gradually extended, first by the person taking the baby and holding him briefly, then pretending to move away from the house. Toward the end of the first year he may actually be taken for brief periods with the departing guests if they live close by. When this happened to Mefa for the first time, she was so accustomed to being held by the teenage girl who was visiting that she was happy to go toward her outstretched hands. The older girl withdrew her hands at first, and exclaimed ‘Look, she’s coming to me!’ Then she picked Mefa up and sat with her for a minute, getting her to wave goodbye to the family members sitting nearby, before walking off with her. As she went she spoke quietly to the little girl: ‘We’ll go now ... Mefa’s coming with me’ and so on, and Mefa went off quite happily for a brief visit to the older girl’s home.

Babies are seen as sociable and emotionally responsive from birth, and much of the observation and comment on their facial expressions involves ascribing emotions to them. When babies are at home for long hours with only one or two caregivers, they are said to be \textit{ta’elata} (not content), and only \textit{fiefia} (happy) when the children are home from school and the house is full of people to give them lots of attention.

Facial expressions are crucial ‘keys’ to meaning in Tonga, since they often replace speech. The most common is the quick lift of the eyebrows which means ‘yes’ and also indicates interest. I have seen children as young as ten months who intentionally used this gesture. Children learn to make and respond to other expressions and gestures during their first year. I have already described the ‘encouragement’ gesture, made to babies in the first months. This is used throughout early childhood when offering children food and when encouraging them to come toward a person, and is also the gesture used by both children and adults when asking someone to hand something over to them, often with an outstretched hand. Babies
also quickly learn verbal and non-verbal expressions of aggression, as described in Chapter Seven.

As I have stated, Tongans do talk to babies from birth, though at first this often takes the form of comments indirectly aimed at other adults. By far the most frequent form of speech directed at babies is questioning, and even statements are usually ended on a questioning note by adding the ‘ë?’ sound. The most common kinds of questioning statements made to babies include comments on their behaviour or characteristics, such as ‘Fa’a kai, ë?’ (eat too much, eh?), or ‘Fakapikopiko, ë?’ (lazy, eh?); or directives, such as ‘Tokoto, ë?’ (lie down, eh?). Questions about the intentions and desires of children, such as ‘Te ke kai ë?’ (will you eat?), or, as above, ‘Tau ë?’ (shall we go?), are also asked from birth. Often, ‘ë?’ is repeated several times, increasingly forcefully, as if urging the baby to respond – as indeed babies do as they get older. Thus, before babies can speak they are treated as responsive, communicating persons.

**OBSERVATION**

When children begin to learn household chores it is as part of their ‘performances’. For example, one of little Mefa’s ‘tricks’ was that she would go and fetch her father’s pillow for him when he asked for it. As with other performances these acts of obedience are rewarded with praise and affection, and further attention. As children get older they learn more tasks by observation, imitation, and repetition, but by the age of three or four they are rarely praised or rewarded for their work. The early period in which children’s actions are praised, rewarded and otherwise gain adults’ attention, seems to develop a willingness to help with chores and obey directions that persists after the rewards cease. This is reinforced by the increasingly severe sanctions, especially physical punishment, for not obeying.

Before they are expected to be capable of tasks children begin to practice them – toddlers try to sweep up leaves, cut the grass with a machete, or peel vegetables. Bott remarked that ‘small children are also allowed to interrupt their parents’ work,
and they will be shown how to do it even if they are not old enough to do it properly' (1958: 62). This may be the case when the parents or other adults are not busy or feeling irritable, but a far more common response to such interruptions is to tell the child to stop being *fakahoha'a* (troublesome) or *fakahela* (tiring) or *fiepoto* (thinking themselves clever). Children learn to watch adults work without being intrusive, and either practise by themselves when they get an opportunity, or wait until they are asked to help. Whenever a feast is being prepared little boys can be seen on the periphery of the group of older boys and men preparing and roasting the pigs. They will be asked to do small tasks, such as hold a pig's leg straight so it can be cleaned, until eventually they become part of the group. Until that time they are happy to watch or to sit beside the men and roast bits of offal on sticks.

Children learn a great deal besides household chores by observation and imitation. Explicit instruction is seldom given for skills such as bathing, dressing, and using tools, or using other household items such as the telephone, video cassette recorder and television. Kin relations are also learned to a great extent by children observing the interactions of those around them, both in their everyday lives and on formal occasions. After their first year or two, children find that different relatives treat them differently, and expect certain behaviour of them. They also learn that they can treat different relatives with very different degrees of familiarity, as shown in Chapter Five.

Formal occasions provide important opportunities to watch and listen to adults' interactions. The alliances, rights, and obligations involved in Tongan kinship are seen most clearly at weddings, funerals, and first birthdays, which are organised according to principles of kinship rather than title or *ha'a* (Bott 1982: 163). Children see how food and *koloa* are prepared, presented and redistributed, and they listen to speeches and witness status disputes. On the occasion marking the opening of a new youth hall in Holonga, for example, two brothers-in-law, both heads of their own families, nearly came to blows over their relative status, and the consequent positioning of their *pola* (trays of food). Their heated argument, and the intervention
of others to prevent a physical fight, was watched with great interest and excitement by the children present.

Children tend to hover on the periphery of any adult activity, sometimes being called upon to do an errand, but for the most part simply watching. Bernstein observed, in relation to children’s role as gossip-spreaders:

They wander in bands and are so ubiquitous that their presence ceases to be noticed, allowing them to spend a good deal of time looking in windows and standing outside of doors. They are in a superior position to listen to quarrels and conversations, and to observe adult behavior. A parent or relative will at times send children out to see what is happening in another home. If they are caught listening in, family reputations are not damaged, since parents cannot be taken to task for the behavior of naughty and uncontrollable children. In this way children carry information to adults with little risk of reprimand (1983: 135-6).

The role of children as gossip-spreaders is recognised in their frequent use as ‘chaperones’ for adolescent girls. As Gifford commented, ‘the child could not be expected to keep a secret’ (1971b: 191). Children also often overhear personal details about themselves or others being openly discussed, since even if they are sitting in the same room, adults tend to ignore their presence.

Observation is acknowledged as an important means of acquiring the knowledge required in order to behave appropriately, and there is an emphasis on children learning to tokanga (to notice, to pay attention). It can be said of an older child ‘kuo ’atamai fakatokanga ’a e tamasi’i ’ (Bott n.d.: 21), meaning the child’s mind has begun to pay attention to things. Tokanga also has strong connotations of listening, and is often used to refer to the importance of children listening to parents’ instructions and orders. Physical punishment is regarded as an effective method of making children tokanga (see Chapter Seven). The concept of tokanga is thus central to the process of becoming poto, since it involves observing, listening, and obeying.

3 An emphasis on the association between knowledge and sight has been identified throughout Polynesia (Koskinen 1968). In Tongan this is also expressed in terms such as fakahā, ‘to cause to appear’, meaning reveal or make known (Churchward 1959: 38), ’ilo, to see/to know, and fakamaama, to enlighten (literally and figuratively).
LANGUAGE SOCIALISATION

The process of becoming a competent member of society is realized to a large extent through language, by acquiring knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b: 168).

Language as a medium of socialisation has been analysed in the work of Ochs and Schieffelin, in terms of socialisation through language, and socialisation to use language (Ochs 1988, 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin 1983, 1984; Schieffelin 1990; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986a, 1986b). A culture’s ‘world views’ are expressed in the content, forms and functions of discourse, they argue, so that language is a vital means by which children learn these world views. Ochs states that ‘the greatest part of sociocultural information is keyed implicitly, through language use’ (1990: 291, emphasis in original), so that language carries both covert and overt ‘messages’. An examination of language socialisation is thus one means by which anthropologists can ‘figure out the rules and conditions that govern talking and access to knowledge in a society’, and investigate ‘discursive procedures that regulate the production, the circulation, and the consumption of knowledge statements’ (Lindstrom 1990: xi-xii)

A great deal of emphasis is placed on actively teaching children correct values and behaviour, since the characteristics associated with the unsocialised child (foolishness, aggression, etc.) are negatively valued (see Chapter Four). This teaching begins long before children are thought to be old enough to understand properly. Household tasks are learnt by observation and practice, but the value and importance of work itself is taught more formally, through advice and instruction on ‘appropriate’ (taau) values and behaviour.4 The aspect of language socialisation that Tongans themselves emphasise is direct teaching, in the form of advice, instructions and orders. Although children’s speech and behaviour is initially a focus of positive

4 In Borofsky’s analysis of ‘acquiring traditional knowledge’ in Pukapuka (1987), he describes observation and imitation as the most important forms of learning. However, the knowledge he considers is only that related to physical and other practical skills. In Tonga, appropriate, value-oriented behaviour is both formally and informally taught to children, and this form of learning is given more cultural emphasis than the taken-for-granted learning of physical skills. Levy’s study of Tahiti also shows this stress on the importance of ‘advising’ children (1973: 449).
attention within their household, increasing demands for compliance and deference are accompanied by the clear 'message', through language socialisation, that higher-status persons speak and those of lower-status listen and obey. In the wider society this is exemplified in the *fono* (public meeting), at which the assembled people are given information and instructions by a high status person (or his representative), with little or no opportunity for them to question or debate the matter at hand.

Children are expected to listen and not to question the words of their superiors. According to one woman: ‘It is important for children to learn to listen to the things they are told. We all see the children who listen, they finish up *(iku)* well’. Listening is explicitly associated with learning, even when speech is not directed at children. Another woman explained that as a child, if she was present when adults were talking, ‘I was told to just listen, and if I heard some good talk *(talanoa 'oku sai)* I could take it away with me *(to'o mei ai)*’.

When children are present during adult conversations they are expected to remain silent. Even when adults are discussing a child in her presence, or an event she was involved in or knows about, she should not join in. Miller *et al* have argued that such expectations index the child’s status and mark her ‘as someone not fully in possession of her experience’ (Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra, and Mintz 1990: 278; cf. Miller and Moore 1989). It indicates, as does the adult’s ‘editing’ of narratives told by the child herself, that she is not yet ‘a full-fledged person’ (Miller *et al* 1990: 299). Another important aspect of ‘storytelling’ in Tonga (i.e. relating personal experiences) is the content of tales by adults about children, which I have shown is predominantly of their negatively-valued characteristics and behaviour.

Children of all ages are strongly discouraged from asking direct questions, as adults either ignore them or treat them with impatience or anger. When young children ask questions or make requests adults often respond by directing an older child to deal with them. This kind of verbal sequence has also been described by Ochs for Samoa (1982: 83-5) Not only should higher-status persons hold the role of speaker, they should ideally initiate all interactions with lower status persons. In this
Tonga contrasts with Pukapuka in the Cook Islands, where ‘children have little status to lose vis-à-vis adults. Hence, they frequently ask direct questions’ (Borofsky 1987: 85). However, Borofsky notes that children later learn to ask questions in a deferential manner, and that to avoid appearing ignorant, direct questions are avoided (ibid.: 85-6). A similar pattern is described by Lindstrom for Tanna in Vanuatu, where small children ask questions but later questioning reveals a person’s ignorance (1990: 114). In Tonga, too, asking questions can prove embarrassing (fakamā), since it may lead to teasing about one’s foolishness. Questions are also discouraged by the way in which any person instructing a child frequently asks ‘mahino?’ (understand?), to which the child responds ‘yes’ whether or not she truly understands.

Given the pattern of language use in Tongan status relations it is not surprising that in regard to language socialisation the greatest emphasis is on didactic teaching, and on children learning to tokanga (pay attention). There are a number of terms that describe the adults’ role, such as fakahinohino (advise, instruct), akonaki (teach, instruct, especially regarding morals), fale’i (advise), and tu’utu’uni (give instructions, directions, or orders). There are also more specific terms, such as talatalaifale, a ‘household warning not intended for outside ears’ (Churchward 1959: 448), usually on topics such as the brother-sister faka’apa’apa (respect) relationship. This emphasis on instruction accords with the discouragement of questioning and the importance of observation and imitation. As on Tanna, ‘the grounds of external knowledge and the processes of knowing are sensual and passive, rather than reflective or interactive; epistemology, here, thus echoes discursive practice’ (Lindstrom 1990: 45).

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5 Lindstrom also states that questioning ‘is severely controlled so to protect the circulation of knowledge on the island’ (1990: 45).

6 Koskinen comments that in Western Polynesia acquiring information takes the form of obeying: ‘the will of the chiefly [or higher status] person is often confused with knowledge’ (1968: 75).
Advice and instruction is given both formally and informally, the latter especially as it becomes situationally relevant. Informal instruction includes constant reminders, especially to girls, to sit properly, eat politely, and similar injunctions. It is often accompanied by threatened or actual punishment, as children are told what they should or should not have been doing. One man described the instructions given before events such as funerals: "The mother will usually tell you, "This is what you're going to wear ... This is what you're going to do ... This is where you're going to go". This kind of instruction begins at an early age, but it is not until children are in high-school that they are really expected to understand and carry out such instructions unaided.

More formal instruction is given in many contexts, including regular family meetings such as evening and Sunday religious observances and family gatherings marking special occasions, such as those to celebrate boys' circumcision or girls' menarche. Church, Sunday School, school, and speeches at feasts, funerals and other events, are all occasions for moral instruction. Formerly, children were told fananga (myths) and talatupu'a (legends), many of which contained more or less explicit moral statements. Nowadays most children only hear these stories at school or on the radio. However, all children learn song texts and poems, especially those accompanying dances. These texts are full of references to mythical and historical events, messages about moral values and appropriate behaviour, and so on (see Kaeppler 1978c, 1985). Christian hymns are a similarly indirect form of moral statement, which all Tongan children learn.

An important focus of instruction is kinship, which is taught in both formal and informal contexts. Knowledge of kinship includes both actual kin relations and the

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7 Although I use the formal/informal dichotomy here I acknowledge the problems it entails, as discussed by Strauss (1984). The dichotomy she prefers, intentional/incidental learning is equally problematic, since any given learning event may involve both these forms. I use 'formal' here without the implication that it is restricted to Western-type schooling or otherwise 'out of context' learning (ibid.: 195); rather, it is teaching that is not spontaneous and which entails stricter observance of the status rules concerning speech.

8 Māhina defines talatupu'a as a mixture of imaginary and real situations, and fananga as describing 'strictly imaginary events' (1990: 37).
values and behaviour appropriate to them, as discussed in the previous chapter. The way in which such knowledge is acquired was described by one man, Sione, as follows:

My mother told me, you just listen around, when you go to relatives and things like that they say, ‘This is your fahu ... This is your uncle ... You speak like this to your uncle ... You are not supposed to say that to your aunties’, this kind of thing; it comes, you grow up with it.

Most of this kind of knowledge is given to children at home in informal conversations, and through formal moral discourse at prayer meetings and other family gatherings. Much of the instruction is by mothers and grandmothers, who explain genealogical relationships and the behaviours appropriate to them. Some instruction begins even before children can speak, but more formal teaching does not begin until children are in primary school and it continues throughout adolescence and even into adulthood. Children of primary school age are not expected to understand the intricacies of kinship ranking or of status-appropriate behaviour. If they behave very badly, though, especially on formal occasions, their parents are criticised through gossip and ‘dropped remarks’ (see Bernstein 1983) for not teaching them properly. If children do behave correctly it is said that their mother has taught them well. Sione, quoted above, commented:

When you’re a child, you don’t really care. Oh, you know, ‘that’s auntie ... that’s uncle’ – who cares! But when you begin to get a little older you get told off ... if [children] go their own way, it doesn’t matter. But it’s a great compliment to the mother, though, if the children behave accordingly.

Children also receive some instruction about kinship in church, at Sunday School, and at school. The new Environmental Science curriculum for primary schools includes lessons on kinship in its Social Studies component. In Class Five, for example, children draw up their käinga genealogy, and in Class Six they are taught about the rights and obligations of some key kinship roles.

Education (schooling) is highly valued as a means of helping one’s family and attaining a certain independence (see Chapter Four). Many parents told me that getting an education was one of the most important goals they had for their children,
and helping them to do so was their *fatonga mamafa* (important duty). They said they wanted their children to ‘*ako ke fa’iteliha’*, study in order to ‘please themselves’ – that is, to be able to make their own choices in life. Education, they believe, will enable their children to afford the things they want – food, clothes, etc. – and to *tauhi* (take care of) their families when they marry. ‘That was the goal (*taumu’a*) I had, the reason for them to study and be clever (*poto*)’, one mother said. Becoming *poto* in this sense is a means to an end, and is not highly valued in itself. Students who strive hard may be teased and told they are *fiepoto* or *fielahi* (thinking themselves clever or ‘big shots’). As with status relations in Tonga, there is a marked tension between ambition and humility in people’s attitudes to education. There is also considerable tension between becoming *poto* in the sense of acquiring a formal (Western) education, and becoming *poto* in *anga fakatonga*. The process of Western education entails questioning, critical thinking, and independent expression, all of which conflict with the cultural values of obedience, respect and conformity. The ambivalent attitude toward education is therefore linked to the broader ambivalence to *tau’ataina* (independence) and *fa’iteliha* (freedom to please oneself).

Much of the moral instruction children receive is framed in Christian terms; for example, the importance of obedience and respect in order to ‘honour your parents’. Yet the practice of moral instruction existed in pre-Christian Tonga. For example, Mariner witnessed a *matapule* giving a moral discourse at the wedding of the Tu’i Tonga, ‘on the subject of chastity’, advising against adultery and rape (Martin 1981: 98). The *matapule*, the ‘hereditary censors of public morals’, used *fono* to expound laws and lecture the young chiefs (Thomson 1894: 86; see Lawry 1852: 444). Later, *fono* were used to address the commoners in their villages. At a less formal level, ‘instruction’ occurred within chiefs’ households, particularly during evening discussions. In Vason’s opinion:

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of the chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, and an elegant gracefulness of manner, in a degree, as superior and distinct from those of the lower and laborious classes,
as the man of letters, or the polished courtier differs from the clown (Orange 1840: 122).

Within the family, Tongans emphasise that it is the *fatongia* (duty) of the parents, particularly the mother as the primary caregiver, to teach children appropriate *anga*. In practice all family members play a part in this socialisation, especially on an informal level. Children even teach each other, down through the hierarchy of children in the household and the neighbourhood play group. As shown in Chapter Five, teaching children is not only a duty, but also a sign of *'ofa* (love, concern). The ideal way to advise children is to speak gently and persuasively. Parents should not force (*fakapōpula'i*: literally, enslave) their children, a mother of five told me, they should teach them to pay attention to what they are told (*tokanga*). Another mother stated that: ‘It is right, or maybe it is good, for me to try and persuade them nicely (*fakakolekole lelei*) and advise them nicely (*fakahinohino lelei*) so they will not be afraid of me’. This ideal is supported to some extent by the belief that children are *vale* (foolish) and therefore unable to understand properly any instruction given to them in their early years. However, everyday interactions tend not to conform to the ideal, and fear - particularly of physical punishment - becomes a central motive for good behaviour.

The important role of language in socialisation is also revealed in many terms describing children’s characteristics and behaviour. *Talangata'a*, meaning disobedient and ‘insubmissive’ (Churchward 1959: 448) literally means difficult to tell or command.9 Obedience is *talangofua*, literally easy to tell/command. The word *lea*, to speak, is used with the same pair of suffixes to produce the same meanings (disobedient/obedient). Children’s speech tends to be dismissed as silly, as in the terms given previously, *laupisi* (‘rubbish talk’) and *launoa* (‘nothing talk’, nonsense), until they are competent enough speakers to be understood, at around five years of age. Subsequently, these terms are used to tease and shame children and adolescents, as when they speak unclearly or incorrectly. Disrespectful forms of

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9 In Samoan disobedience is *fa'a*alogogata, literally ‘hard to listen’ (Mageo 1988: 44).
speech such as talahu'i (cheekiness), lea kovi ('bad talk', swearing or abuse), and kape (swearing), usually earn children swift punishment.

A great deal of speech directed at children of all ages takes the form of orders, threats, comments, and other unidirectional speech acts requiring no response. As I have stated, there is no baby-talk register. Much talk directed to babies takes the same form as that directed to older children. 'Bald imperatives' (Ochs 1988: 149) are spoken or shouted at children from birth: 'Eat!', 'Quiet!', 'Go!', 'Sit!', and so on. Most frequent are the negative imperatives, such as 'Don’t!' and 'Stop it!', alone or with noun or verb phrases, such as 'Stop your noise!'. Other orders direct older children to run errands or perform some other action, such as 'Get the knife', 'Watch the baby' and so on. In the late afternoon shouted orders can be heard from most households, telling the children to 'Ha’u kaukau' (come and bathe). Sometimes, brief explanations are added to orders, often with the phrase na’a ke (lest you, in case you), as in 'Tuku’ia, na’a ke tō’ (stop it, lest you fall). For the most part, though, orders are given and children are expected to obey unquestioningly. Threats often accompany orders, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven. There are also a number of sounds used to get children’s attention, especially to indicate disapproval. These include particles such as ‘ẽ’, ‘sa’ and ‘sh’, and a disapproving sound, kahi, ‘a rasping noise more or less like the German or Scotch ch’ (Churchward 1959: 243).

Another form of speech frequently directed at children is grumbling, in which adults (or older children) make short, negative statements about the child in an annoyed or mock-reproving tone. A mother doing housework while her toddler messes about nearby will grumble ‘Tiring boy!’, ‘Annoying boy!’, and so on. On my long, difficult walk into the hills of 'Eua, described in the previous chapter, six-year-old Paea kept up with the adults and did not once complain or whine, though her aunt grumbled at her almost continually, telling her how troublesome and tiring she was. Paea cheerfully ignored the grumbles, as most children do.

Many other comments are directed toward children without any expectation that they will respond verbally, such as encouragements to eat, and rhetorical questions
like 'We had ice-cream yesterday, θ?' Teasing often requires no response, but is also used at times to initiate interactions. Chapter Eight considers teasing in detail, as a form of informal social control. When children are expected to respond, as when adults directly question them, the verbal exchange is usually as brief as possible. Children may be asked where someone or something is, for example, or used to glean information about others' activities.

In Tonga, as Ochs found in Western Samoa, 'whether the higher-ranking party is speaker or hearer, the higher-ranking party controls meaning' (1988: 143). In other words, when the higher-ranking person speaks the lower-ranking person must grasp her intention, but the higher-ranking person can interpret the meaning of the lower ranking person's speech as she wishes. This is related to the form of 'communicative accommodation' Tongan adults use in speaking to children; they tend to be 'situation-centred' rather than 'child-centred' (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986: 174). The higher-status person may also choose not to attempt to interpret speech they have not understood clearly. When adults do not understand what a child has said, they do not usually speculate on the child's intention or thought, but either terminate the interaction or demand a reformulation of the speech (cf. Ochs 1990: 298) by simply saying 'Ko e hä?' (What was that?). Another aspect of language used in the context of status relations in Tonga is that the lower-status person often tries to say to the higher-status person only what he thinks the latter wants to hear.

Language socialisation entails learning to use language as well as learning through language. After an initial period in which household members are intensely interested in children's vocalisations, Tongan children gradually learn that their role as lower status persons is largely as listeners and as respondents to, rather than initiators of, speech acts. By the time they are about three years old, children are often ignored by the adults of their household unless they are being given an order. In our Holonga household, when Helenā returned home from work in the late

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10 Variable factors in such accommodation include who is speaking to the child, the setting and the activity involved, and the child's age (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986b: 174).
afternoon, she would greet baby Mefa with physical and verbal demonstrations of affection, but ignore the five-year-old twins until she had an errand for them. Even at meal-times, when the whole family sits together, the adults do not usually include the children in their conversations. They may speak to them, to encourage them to eat or remind them to sit or eat properly, but they expect the children to be quiet while they eat. When they ask a direct question of an adult, children may be ignored for some time, or be referred to an older child. Children learn a respectful manner of asking questions, in which they quietly but insistently repeat the person’s name or their request until they gain some attention. This same pattern is sometimes used by adults to get someone’s attention, especially at night, when a caller stands outside the bedroom window quietly repeating the sleeping person’s name until he or she finally awakens.

As shown in the previous chapter, silence is a demonstration of respect in certain circumstances. Children learn that complaining or whinging are ignored or even punished, and they learn to use silence as part of a ‘set of subtle, passive tactics to signal needs’ (Gallimore and Howard 1969b: 14). Even when in pain or feeling unwell, children often do not seek treatment or complain. Frequently the only indication of their suffering is that they are quiet and listless, so that illnesses or injuries may go untreated for some time. When treatment is initiated it may be by older female relatives rather than the child’s parents. In one case a young boy had an infected cut on his knee for several weeks, before a visiting aunt treated it with crushed medicinal leaves. His sister, who had a nasty burn on her thigh, did show her mother but received no treatment until her grandmother noticed and treated it with Tongan oil and advised her to rest.12

Children also know when it is acceptable for them to join in conversations, as the following incident shows:

11 Gallimore and Howard describe the way in which Hawaiian children’s overtures to adults change over time, to become less intrusive (1969b: 14), as in Tonga.

12 Accidental injuries may even be regarded as the child’s own fault, particularly if he or she is hurt whilst playing.
Helenā and Finau are in their bedroom talking, with their baby Mefa playing on the bed beside them. Their son Feleti (5) stands quietly at the doorway as they discuss a feast they have attended, and other things they have been doing. When they turn their attention to Mefa, Feleti immediately enters the room and plays with them, laughing and encouraging Mefa to kiss Finau, and to do various of her ‘tricks’. When the parents resume their conversation Feleti stops playing and leaves the room.

During this incident it was clear the Feleti knew the cues that indicated he could join in, just as clearly as he knew when to withdraw. These cues, or ‘metacommunicative markers’ (Ochs 1988: 167), index the context of interactions, enabling children to interpret contexts and adapt their behaviour accordingly. The cues can be verbal, as in the prosodic characteristics of speech such as intonation, voice quality, grammatical forms, and affective particles used, or non-verbal, as in body language, facial expressions, setting, and audience (see Miller and Moore 1989; Ochs 1988, 1990; also Howard 1970: 118 for a discussion of such cues in Rotuma). In the incident above, when the interaction shifted from adult/adult to adult/child, and the adults’ tone and gestures became playful, Feleti knew he could participate. Some other kinds of cues found in Tonga have been mentioned previously, such as the noises and gestures of disapproval and encouragement, and more will be described in the following chapters.

Their role in socialising younger siblings provides children with an opportunity to use language in a high-status manner: they imitate the behavioural and speech patterns used by adults to children in ordering, threatening, punishing, instructing, and so on. Yet unless their age difference is too great siblings also interact in contexts, such as play, when status differences are not of primary importance. It is within such contexts that children are able to continue the behaviour established during infancy: ‘showing-off’, and acting assertively and at times aggressively. It therefore tends to be with older siblings, rather than parents or other adults, that children actively experiment with the behavioural limits imposed by their low-status role, by challenging and resisting the older children’s authority. The older children also ‘experiment’ with their role; for example, in play (see below) or when they push their authority to its limits, becoming more harsh and severe than their parents.
In her detailed study of the anthropology of play, Schwartzman (1978) described many of the functions of children’s play, including socialisation, satirisation, projection, communication, and even learning to learn.13

Children at play learn how to be sensitive to the effects of context and the importance of relationships; they develop the capacity to adopt an ‘as if’ set toward objects, persons, and situation; and they continually explore the possibilities of interpretation and reinterpretation and with this the creation of new possibilities (ibid.: 328).

In his discussion of children’s games in Tonga, Moyle concluded that ‘most games ... are played for their own sake and do not crystallize or confirm behavioral norms’ (1987: 211). Yet even when the content of a game fits this description – for example, juggling while reciting nonsense verse – the players are acquiring socially-valued abilities, such as learning to handle tools, learning dance movements, and so on. The way in which games are played is especially significant, and children’s play in Tonga is particularly interesting for the way in which children explore status behaviour, as in their rivalry and competition. Children also frequently incorporate into their play imitations of the various forms of control used by adults toward children. Often these imitations have a strongly satirical quality. For example, children imitate the speech pattern in which statements and directives are made into questions, using the particle ‘ē?’. They repeat these questions, or just the ‘ē? ē?’ increasingly loudly and with an exaggeratedly angry tone. They also copy the threatening gestures adults use, and the typical motions of hitting used in punishment. Usually this is all done in fun, but it is sometimes in earnest, when the older children are exercising their authority over their younger playmates.

In most groups of children there are also some who are of higher status than others because of their genealogical relationships, and this has some effect on their interactions. Children’s tama ’a tuasina (children of mother’s brothers) are of lower

13 The role of play in learning to learn, or ‘deuterolearning’ as Bateson called it, has become an important field of study, particularly by Vygotskian researchers. Vygostky also claimed that play involves the acquisition of understanding of social rules (1978).
status, and their *tama 'a mehekitanga* (children of father's sisters) are of higher status, but often these differences are only apparent in formal situations, not in play.\(^{14}\) Differences also emerge in everyday interactions with adults, when the former may be expected to do more work, while the latter may be treated as *pele* (favourites). In *anga fakatonga*, 'sister's children may take what they want from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over' (Aoyagi 1966: 163). Even in play children should not hit the children of their *mehekitanga* or touch their heads or possessions. Whether or not these restrictions are observed depends largely on how closely families adhere to *anga fakatonga*, and who is present when children are interacting. None of the children I observed were expected to comply with any of these restrictions except on formal occasions or when a large group of adult relatives was present (e.g. during preparations for a feast). Even then, the more specific prohibitions such as not touching the heads of *tama 'a mehekitanga* were not enforced.

For the most part, children have their own criteria for the flexible hierarchies they establish within their play groups, such as physical strength and ability, or popularity. Marcus has noted that most externally-defined status distinctions are suppressed during the *talavou* period (1980b: 441), though there is considerable status rivalry within the groups of boys (Marcus 1978: 257). This is also the case during childhood. Formerly, chiefly children of about five and older were assigned attendants who were the children of low-ranking chiefs, *matāpule*, or even commoners from the same *kāinga*. They became *kaume'a* (friends) and were able, when alone together, to play and talk freely (Bott n.d.: 21).

Children's play is often rough and aggressive. Children hit, pull hair, snatch things, punch, and are generally very physical and competitive. As my son commented, 'With Tongan children someone always gets hurt'. Accusations of cheating are common, and often cause heated arguments or physical fights. When

\(^{14}\) As noted in Chapter Five, peer groups may also contain a child's aunts and uncles, nephews and nieces.
adults are nearby, children tend to be more restrained, but may try to draw the adults' attention to others' cheating, hitting, and so on. Adults often do not respond, but sometimes they intervene verbally if the children's shouting or crying is annoying them. They may even deal out physical punishment, as discussed in Chapter Seven. Occasionally adults respond by further encouraging children's fighting, as a kind of amusing 'performance'. On the infrequent occasions when adults play with children and young adolescents the games are usually rough and involve a lot of teasing, hitting and mock-threatening, as in the following incident:

A group of men and boys were playing a loud, boisterous game of cards. Lomano kept saying to the watching children, 'Go and get me a knife, I'll kill him!', referring to one of the young players, Siale (13). A little girl gave him a small knife and he held it up mock-threateningly. When Siale won a hand, Lomano jumped up and pushed Siale over, grasping his hair, and holding the knife to his throat, while the other players roared with laughter. Later another man pretended to be angry with Siale and whacked him hard around the head, several times. Everyone, including Siale, laughed, but he looked shaken and was very quiet for some time.

Children playing with adults sometimes end up in tears because they are teased, hit too hard, or because they become over-excited and are shouted at or smacked for being too noisy and rough. In the case above, Siale was clearly being put in his place by the men, but he accepted and even encouraged their behaviour as part of the fun. Other games involve an adult prompting a young child with rude or teasing comments to shout at other children. The latter then try to hit the young child, who runs behind the adult for protection. In all of these games between adults and children, there is overt encouragement of physically rough and 'cheeky' behaviour. The approval shown in these contexts for bold and assertive behaviour is in stark contrast to the usual emphasis on submission and obedience.\footnote{Ochs describes a similar pattern in Western Samoa (1988: 160).}

Lovett claimed that games of 'make-believe' are not a common part of Tongan children's play (1958: 21). However, many games clearly involve an element of fantasy (fakamuna), as when boys pretend to be ninisa (ninja) and do kalate (karate). One elderly woman told me she and her friends used to make little houses on the
ground, using shells, but I saw no incidents of this kind of game. I have already
described play that involves pretend threatening and punishing, and this element of
role-playing commonly emerges even in organised games such as cricket or football.
One spontaneous game I watched was a clear example of children sorting out, and
commenting on, 'rules for relationships' (Schwartzman 1978: 274, fn 15).

'Alisi (10) organised a group of children (aged 3-5) to play at being her
children. They pretended to talk on the telephone, then she pretended to give
them money to go and buy ice-cream. She then ordered them to go to sleep,
first raising a shoe she was holding, in a threatening gesture, then hitting
them with it, shouting 'Mohe!' (sleep). The other children responded with
giggles, at which 'Alisi yelled 'longo!' (quiet). As the game progressed she
become increasingly violent, hitting the children harder and more often, until
she inadvertently burst a boil on one little girl's leg, which began to bleed.
The game ended abruptly as the bleeding girl went off crying, and 'Alisi went
home.

The sequence of events that the children in this game acted out condensed some
of the most significant elements of parent/child interactions in Tonga. Giving the
children money for ice-cream represents the emphasis on material giving and
satisfaction of wants that characterises parents' expressions of 'ofa for their children.
The sequence of ordering, threatening, and smacking is one which occurs frequently
in most Tongan households, though in this case the little children responded with
giggles rather than compliance or noncompliance. When one child was injured and
went to seek help the game ended, as the possibility of real punishment precipitated
the departure of the 'mother'. Physical punishment is a pervasive element of child
socialisation in Tonga, and is examined in detail in the following chapter.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SANCTIONED VIOLENCE: PUNISHMENT AND AGGRESSION IN TONGA

PUNISHMENT IN PRECONTACT TONGA

The ‘paradox’ that Shore has described as a feature of accounts of Samoa (1982: 150) can also be discerned in early accounts of Tongan society. Shore states that the Samoans have been characterised as ‘reserved, dignified, even courtly in bearing, ... [yet] also notably aggressive at times’ (ibid.). The Tongans were also described in these apparently contradictory terms. One of Cook’s officers remarked on ‘the great harmony which subsists amongst all ranks’ and ‘the general sweetness and mildness of their tempers’ (King 1777, in Beaglehole 1967: 174). Another officer, Anderson, also stressed the Tongans’ ‘mildness and good nature’ and ‘peaceable disposition’ (1777, in Beaglehole 1967: 928). Yet these and other early accounts described many forms of aggressive and violent behaviour, in warfare, punishments, sporting contests, and sexual violence.1 Mariner described everyday life among the hou'eiki with whom he lived as frequently violent, and also gave many detailed descriptions of battles (Martin 1981; and see Orange 1840). Mariner claimed that ‘theft, revenge, rape, and murder, under many circumstances, are not held to be crimes’ (ibid.: 318). Anyone but ‘a very superior chief or noble’ could be killed if they gave provocation, and any woman but a married and/or high status woman could be raped - such

1 Aggression and violence are distinct but overlapping phenomena. Violence is ‘the intentional rendering of physical hurt’ (Riches 1986: 4), and aggression is violence, or threatened violence, motivated by hostile or angry feelings. This distinction allows for the fact that some violent behaviour is not perceived as being motivated by anger, as will be shown in this chapter on punishment in Tonga. Tongan notions of anger are discussed more fully in Chapter Eight.
incidents, he claimed, were ‘matters of indifference’ (ibid.: 299). Aggression was also expressed indirectly, in the form of curses that were believed to cause illness and death (ibid.: 242, 356). These early accounts of violence in Tonga scarcely mention children. An exception is Edgar’s observation that at wrestling and boxing matches both adults and children in the audience were knocked down with a club if they disturbed the order of the ring (1777, in Beaglehole 1967: 108, fn 2).

Early missionary accounts tended to portray the Tongans as violent, though the fact that Tonga was in the midst of civil war obviously influenced their impressions. Violence motivated by religious and political conflicts continued in the 1880s with the brutal persecution of the Tongan Wesleyans after the establishment of the Free Church of Tonga, and again after the attempted assassination of Baker in 1887 (Lätükefu 1974; Rutherford 1977).

One of the forms of violence for which there are many detailed accounts by early European observers is punishment. The clearest picture of early Tongan beliefs about punishment is found in Mariner’s report of his stay in Tonga from 1806 to 1810. According to Mariner, Tongans held the ‘firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes’ (Martin 1981: 306). In the Tongan cosmology, there was ‘no state of future punishment - all rewards for virtue, and punishments for vice, being inflicted on mankind in this world’ (ibid.: 314, and see Anderson 1777, in Beaglehole 1967: 948). Only hou’eiki and matāpule were believed to have access to a spiritual afterlife.2 Tu’a, Mariner claims, had no souls, ‘or such only as dissolve with the body after death’ (ibid.: 299).3 Lätükefu states that tu’a were believed to turn into vermin at death (1975: 12). The souls of the chiefs and matāpule (‘otua) ‘had the power of dispensing good and evil to mankind’, as did

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2 After death these souls resided in Pulotu, a mythical island to the west of Tonga (Collocott 1921; Martin 1981: 312-4).

3 Mariner adds that some tu’a ‘have the vanity to think they have immortal souls’ (Martin 1981: 313). In Collocott’s description of ‘the spirit’ (laumalie, used today as soul or spirit), it is not clear if this belief is attributed to hou’eiki and/or tu’a (1928: 77).
other supernatural beings (also 'otua) (Martin 1981: 298). The punishments the 'otua dispensed included 'chiefly conspiracies, wars, famine, and epidemic diseases, as public calamities; and sickness and premature death, as punishments for the offences of individuals (ibid.: 331).5

Respect to chiefs and gods often merged, particularly in the observance of tapu. In Tongan origin myths the first Tu‘i Tonga, Aho’eitu, was the child of the god Tangaloa and a mortal woman. The hou‘eiki descended from Aho’eitu were therefore considered sacred. Failure to observe tapu, or to remove tapu from the hands (from touching a chief’s body or possessions), were believed to cause illness and death (Bott 1982 with Tavi: 48; Martin 1981).6 Some illness in children appears to have been attributed to breaking the tapu on touching the father’s head or belongings (see Chapter Six). Gifford claimed this could be cured 'by the father stroking the child’s throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was believed to have arisen from an infraction’ (1971b: 18).

Two practices intended to appease angry gods, and mentioned by many of the early European visitors to Tonga, were child strangulation and finger-joint amputation. The former (no‘osia), was usually carried out when a high chief was ill, but Mariner also relates an incident when it was a form of atonement for the desecration of a tapu place (Martin 1981: 76,140,211, 348). Mariner interpreted the Tongans’ feelings toward this ceremony as follows:

All the bystanders behold the innocent victim with feelings of the greatest pity; but it is proper, they think, to sacrifice a child who is at present of no

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4 These souls and beings are often referred to today as tevolo (lit. devils), and 'Otua is the term for the Christian God. Beliefs in the ability of 'tevolo' to intervene in human affairs persist and are discussed in Chapter Eight.

5 Not all 'miseries' were regarded as punishments, though, as there were 'Hotooa Pow' ('otua pau'u, naughty gods) who caused 'petty evils and troubles, not as a punishment, but indiscriminately, from a pure mischievous disposition' (Martin 1981: 298). These troubles included leading travellers astray, tripping, pinching, and jumping on them, and causing bad dreams (ibid.: 305).

6 Even today, the royal undertakers (Ha’atufunga) must observe a nima tapu (tapu of the hands) after burying high chiefs or royalty (Kaeppler 1978b: 186). The Beagleholes stated that even the village undertaker was tapu for two or three days after an interment, and could never cook for his wife and children (1941b: 103-4).
use to society, and perhaps may not otherwise live to be, with the hope of recovering a sick chief (ibid.: 348).

Mariner states that those chosen were the children of chiefs by ‘inferior female attendant[s]’ (ibid.: 140). The children were therefore not ’eiki, since rank was inherited through the mother. He also indicates that the mothers sometimes resisted their children being taken, for example by hiding them. One woman he describes as becoming insane ‘in consequence of excessive grief, partly occasioned by the death of a near relation, but principally by her child having been taken from her to be strangled as an offering to the gods, for the recovery of his sick father’ (ibid.: 76). There does not appear to have been any particular age at which children were chosen for strangulation. Mariner mentions a two-year-old (ibid.: 140) and missionaries reported a 12-year-old victim (Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine 1843: 258, cited in Lätükefu 1974: 8). It appears that both male and female children were strangled. Mary Lawry (wife of the missionary Walter Lawry) wrote in 1823 that she had seen the sacrifice of a young girl, adding that ‘they really wanted to sacrifice a young man, but he escaped’ (in Reeson 1985: 160).

Despite the horror the early observers felt toward child sacrifice they tended to romanticise it in their descriptions. Mariner claims one child, before its ‘horrible immolation’ was ‘delighted with the band of gnatoo [ngatu] that was put round its neck, and, looking up in the face of the man who was about to destroy it, displayed in its beautiful countenance, a smile of ineffable pleasure’ (Martin 1981: 140; and see Biersack 1990a: 96; St Johnson 1883: 130). A similar view is found in some descriptions of the practice of amputating finger joints (nima kā), which was also

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7 Apparently adults were also sacrificed, at the time of the 'inasi ceremony (Beaglehole 1967: 917, 1049, 1308). Samwell stated that chiefs would pay homage to the Tu'i Tonga by killing a number of their dependents in his presence, by blows to the head with a club (ibid.: 1049). Ferdon has speculated that the sacrifices of children to effect a cure for illness were originally carried out using adults, and were intended to propitiate the gods and transfer the health and strength of the victim (1987: 150; see Collocott 1921: 158). Cummins claims the last human sacrifice was in 1842 (1977: 239).
carried out as a sacrifice to effect a cure for illness (Martin 1981: 249, 349). It was done either by the sick person themselves, or to children, on behalf of a higher-status relative (Bott 1982 with Tavi: 54; Kaeppler 1971b: 209). Mariner ‘witnessed a violent contest between two children of five years of age, each claiming the favour of having the ceremony performed on him, so little do they fear the pain of the operation’ (Martin 1981: 249).

It is clear from the early literature that punishments from the gods were amply supplemented by the more direct punishments meted out by hou'eiki. There are frequent references to chiefs beating and even killing tu'a or lesser chiefs for a range of offences, or in order to end disputes. Any breach of the complicated etiquette of respect was punishable and, indeed, most misdemeanours could be interpreted as disrespect in the context of the Tongans’ preoccupation with status. Disrespectful behaviour could have been interpreted as an insult or even a challenge to the chiefs’ status. Cook described the punishment meted out by a chief when some men disobeyed his order to leave Cook’s post:

he took up a large stick and beat them most unmercifully, one man he struck over the side of the face so that blood gushed out of both mouth and nostrils and he lay for some time motionless and was at last carried off in convulsions; on his being told he had killed the man he only laughed at it and evidently was not sorry for what he had done. We heard afterwards that the man recovered (1777, in Beaglehole 1967: 100).

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8 Nima kā appears to have been a common practice. Clerke, in 'Eua with Cook’s expedition in 1773, claimed that ‘at least 3/4 of them have only one; and at least 1/4 neither, of their little Fingers’ (in Beaglehole 1961: 758; also see Cook in ibid.: 268 and Anderson in Beaglehole 1967: 947). The practice has also been referred to in the literature as tootoo nima (Martin 1981: 349), to'o nima (Kaeppler 1971b: 209), and kau'inima (Lätükefu 1974: 8).

9 Some accounts were highly emotive and exaggerated. Farmer, for example, wrote that when people wanted to propitiate the gods they gave food offerings, ‘and sometimes their young children too; the first joint of whose little finger they proceeded to cut off. If that had already been presented, they cut off the second joint, and then the third; or if all the joints had been sacrificed on one hand they began with the other; and then they held up the bleeding hands in the hope of softening an angry god’ (1976: 128).

10 Given the many examples of beatings and killings (not only by chiefs, but also by others, such as hubands to adulterous wives), it seems odd that Ferdon commented that ‘there is remarkably little in the early historic literature regarding the punishment employed in the control of Tongan society’ (1987: 40).
Samwell, with Cook in 1777, commented: ‘We had seen many instances of the cruel treatment the Tooa or lower order of People receive from their Chiefs on the most trifling Occasions (Beaglehole 1967: 1021).\footnote{Gifford 1971b: 183-5 and Lätükefu 1975: 12 give details of the kinds of punishments dispensed by the hou‘eiki and their kau tangata (strong men drawn from the mu‘a and matāpule).}

During the civil war that began in 1799, the chiefs began to push their power over the tu‘a population to its limits:

there was a marked change in the chiefs’ treatment of the common people. It had become increasingly harsh, to the point of being intolerably cruel, inhuman and arbitrary. They came to regard the commoners as mere chattels to be used exclusively for their own benefit (Lätükefu 1974: 22).

It was during this troubled period that the Wesleyan missionaries established themselves in Tonga, and in their early attempts at introducing Christianity they denounced warfare and emphasised the values of love and peace (Cummins 1979). However, after the religious revivals of the mid-1830s they implicitly supported the newly-converted Tongans’ wars with the remaining ‘heathens’ (ibid.). They also supported the use of physical force against wrongdoers. Monfat claimed that the Wesleyans punished people with ‘public floggings, broken teeth, branding on the shoulders, and forced labour on mission plantations’ (1893: 204, in Gailey 1987b: 192). They advised King Tupou to recommend hard labour as punishment for lawbreakers, rather than ‘beating them in the face with the fist’, which the missionary Turner noted was the usual method (Journal Feb 1842, cited in Cummins 1972: 103). Yet they continued to support public flogging by the Tongan authorities for some offences (Lätükefu 1975: 21, 23). Some European visitors to Tonga during this period were highly critical of the severity and frequency of these violent punishments (Cummins 1977: 242-3).

The laws that were encoded in the ensuing years retained the sanctions of corporal and capital punishment. In July 1890 the King ordered that women were no longer to be flogged (Cyclopedia of Tonga 1907: 37), and in current law male offenders under the age of 15 can receive no more than 20 strokes, using a light rod
or cane (The Law of Tonga Cap. 15: Section 32). Persons under the age of seven cannot be charged with an offence, and a person aged between seven and 12 cannot be charged unless deemed by the court or jury to be mature enough to understand the 'nature and consequences of his conduct' (ibid.: Section 16). For some offences, notably sexual assault and carnal knowledge, offenders under 15 may be whipped instead of imprisoned (ibid.: Section 120), and any male convicted of certain offences may be whipped instead of or as well as imprisoned (ibid.: Section 130). These offences include child abuse, rape, carnal knowledge, attempted carnal knowledge, indecent assault on a girl under 12, and incest (ibid.). There are strong community reactions to such offences, if they become known, particularly when the victim is young. 'Sexual offences against girls under 12 years evoke very strong violent agitation by members of the victim's family demanding drastic punishment' (Report of the Minister of Police for 1986: 80). Between 1967 and 1974 an average of seven juveniles received whippings each year (Statistical Abstract 1975: 133, Table 158). According to one police officer, such whippings are still carried out several times each year. Capital punishment, by hanging, is still possible in Tonga, requiring the assent of the King and the Privy Council (The Law of Tonga Cap 15: Section 34).

By making punishment of citizens a state matter, the legal codes effectively removed the chiefs' power to use violence as punishment, although this took some time, as the politico-religious violence of the late 1880s shows. It is interesting to compare this transformation with that concerning fatongia, the obligatory provision of labour and goods to chiefs. This was simply abolished in the legal codes, but continues to operate to this day as an integral part of the status system (see Chapter Two).

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12 Offenders over 15 can receive no more than 26 strokes. The law specifies that these be administered using a cat-o-nine-tails, but in practice a cane is used. Any whipping must be ordered or approved on review by Cabinet, and is administered by the chief gaoler or district gaoler, in the presence of a magistrate (The Law of Tonga Cap 15: Section 32).
PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN HISTORICALLY

Apart from describing child strangulation and finger amputation, the early accounts of Tonga tended to portray children as primitive, carefree innocents, 'indulged' by their parents. Mariner commented that 'the women are very kind, tender mothers, and the children are taken exceeding good care of ... they are never neglected, either in respect of personal cleanliness or diet' (Martin 1981: 329, 371). The missionary West claimed that children were 'nurtured with great care and affection' (1865: 270). Similarly, Mary Lawry wrote that 'Tonga is a place where children are cherished and treasured ... with endless arms to comfort, numberless houses to shelter and many cooking fires to provide food' (Reeson 1985: 159-60). Comments of this kind are not confined to the early literature. Bergeron, a Catholic priest, commented in the 1930s: 'The children make an especial appeal to the observation. The brown mites, "nature's children", seem to radiate health, and their life in the sunshine is one long round of pleasure. Their parents are indulgent, and the children for the most part thrive well' (Bergeron n.d.: 40).

These references do not indicate whether children were subjected to physical punishment. Mythology is similarly unhelpful. Disobedience is a recurring mythical theme (see Chapter Six), but the dire results, such as death by misadventure, are usually portrayed as supernatural events. In some Tongan myths, the result of misbehaviour is permanent separation from the family, as when a naughty child becomes a star in the sky ('The Origin of the Evening Star', in Gifford 1971a: 109-10). However, in other myths the naughty child becomes a hero, as in Muni stories recorded by Gifford (ibid.: 120-38) and Moulton (n.d.: 55).

Despite the fact that physical punishment was so widely used on adults, and that it was an assertion of status, it cannot be assumed that it was a feature of child socialisation. Although the Ritchies have argued that physical punishment was a feature of Polynesian child socialisation, they admit that the 'punitive framework of fundamental Christianity' has had a widespread impact (1989: 129). Some of their informants claimed that physical punishment was not 'traditional' in Maori
childrearing (ibid.: 130), and this has also been argued by Schwimmer (1964 cited in Fergusson, Fleming and O’Neill 1972: 149). A similar claim has been made for Hawaii (Grimshaw 1989: 37; Pukui 1942: 377) and Samoa (Leacock 1987: 182). However, Mageo disagrees with Leacock and suggests that the physical punishment of children in Samoa ‘is a practice of long duration’ (cited in Caton 1990: 298).13

The early missionaries arrived in Tonga from a cultural milieu in which the corporal punishment of children was deemed necessary and proper. A number of works have chronicled the treatment of children in Euro-American history (e.g. Aries 1962; de Mause 1974; Greven 1973; Hardyment 1983; Hunt 1970; A. Miller 1985, 1987; D. Miller and Swanson 1958). They reveal that from the early seventeenth century and into the nineteenth century, children were commonly perceived as inherently evil, and the central aim of socialisation was to break their will and make them unquestioningly obedient.14 Pedagogical tracts urged parents to be vigilant in correcting the willful and unruly nature of children. Control of emotion in the context of punishment was emphasised, for both parent and child. Parents were warned to ‘pay special heed that in chastising [children] you not allow yourself to be overcome by anger’ (Kruger 1752, cited in Miller 1987: 5). They were also advised that if their children persisted in crying after punishment, to beat them again until they ceased crying (e.g. Basedow 1773, in Miller 1987: 25). Biblical injunctions to use ‘the rod’ for the child’s own sake were frequently invoked as justifications for

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13 It cannot be assumed that childrearing methods were the same throughout the region prior to European contact. Commenting on the fact that the Rakau Maori were less severe in their discipline of children than Pukapukans, Jane Ritchie speculated that “the falling away of ancient ritual and custom accounts for this "softening in socialisation”” (1957: 184). However, Maori and Pukapukan methods may always have been different, and the Ritchies later acknowledged such variability (1989: 130).

14 There were, of course, those who spoke out against certain practices. For example, in 1690 John Locke objected to the use of physical punishment, though he supported shaming and the withdrawal of affection (Greven 1973: 18-41).
these views. The following quotation from Sarah Farmer’s *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, intended for child readers in England, exemplifies the prevailing ideology:

Spoiled children are not the most loving children. They detect the weakness that will not allow a parent to deny himself the pleasure of a momentary caress, nor to inflict upon himself the sharp pain of giving pain to the naughty child whom he loves, even though he knows that correction would work out the child’s real good. Those who in manhood love their parents most, are those who in childhood feared the rod in a gentle hand ... So it is with us and our Heavenly Father ... they who have most sorely felt the smart of His stripes, have been drawn closest to Him in adoring and grateful love (Farmer [1855] 1976: 373).

Farmer implies in her book that the missionaries disapproved of the Tongans’ lax discipline of their children. She claims for the people of Hihifo that their ‘habits’ had not properly formed, and that ‘the parents were indifferent to their children’s training, indulging them to excess’ (ibid.: 352). Whatever the pre-contact methods of child discipline, the European missionaries clearly influenced the ideology and practice of punishment in Tonga. There are striking similarities between current Tongan beliefs and practices about discipline in socialisation, and those of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, as will become apparent in the following discussion. The contemporary practices and the beliefs informing them are perceived by many Tongans as *angā fakatonga*, the Tongan way (see Chapter Two). This, combined with the dearth of information about socialisation in precontact Tonga, makes it impossible to disentangle the strands of ‘tradition’ from more recent influences.

‘THEY PUNISH ME WITH THEIR LOVE’: CONTEMPORARY TONGA

Infancy: threatening and smacking

For at least their first year, Tongan children are the focus of their households’ attention, and a great deal of concern and affection is directed toward them. Later,

15 Many examples can be given of Biblical justifications for child-beating: ‘Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell’ (Proverbs 23: 14); ‘He that spareth the rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes’ (ibid. 13: 24); ‘Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not they soul spare for his crying’ (ibid. 19: 18); ‘Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him’ (ibid. 22: 15).
they receive far less attention and affection, and may be subjected to frequent physical punishment. However, as I have suggested in Chapter Four, there is not a complete disjuncture between these two periods.

When infants cry their caregivers check their nappies, offer food, cuddle them or walk them around to soothe them. Older children may be called to take a crying baby outside, or to amuse her, or the technique of distraction by calling names may be used. Babies are rarely left to cry, and every effort is made to find the cause of their crying and to quieten them. When asked why babies were not left to cry, people would say that they didn’t like the noise, it annoyed them. Watching people’s reactions to crying babies this was clearly an important factor, but there was also sometimes an element of fear that the baby could be sick. This is especially true during the first few months, when a baby is still *vaivai* (weak) and thus particularly vulnerable to illness.

As babies approach the end of their first year their crying is increasingly treated as a nuisance, rather than a cause for concern, and they are more likely to be shouted at or punished for crying. However, annoyance at particularly loud or persistent crying is sometimes even expressed to newborn babies. The most common response to annoying crying is to speak sharply, saying ‘*Longo!*’ (Quiet), ‘*Mālōlō!*’ (Rest), or ‘*Mohe!*’ (Sleep). At other times disapproving noises are made: ‘*Sh!*’ or ‘*Sa!*’. Such responses are made by whoever is near the baby – its mother, a nurse in the hospital, a relative. Sometimes the person is clearly only pretending to be cross, and even when the words are spoken angrily their severity is usually softened by a laugh:

A mother was travelling on a bus with her 6 month old baby, who was crying loudly. At first she pretended to smack him, saying ‘*Longo!*’, but he kept crying so she cuddled him, facing her, and stroked his head and murmured comfortingly to him. He continued to cry, and an older woman on an adjacent seat, who did not seem to be travelling with the mother, took the baby and spoke roughly to him: ‘*Pē tangi, te u taati koe!*’ (If you cry, I’ll hit you!). She shouted ‘*Sa!*’ sharply several times, and the baby kept crying. She then passed him back to his mother, who cuddled him again until alighting from the bus, shortly after. Throughout this incident the other

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16 There are numerous terms for kinds of crying, differentiated mainly by loudness and associated actions (e.g. *ngā*: of a small child, to cry loudly; *tāngituva’ē*: cry and stamp foot). Loud, angry crying is especially discouraged.
passengers laughed at the older woman’s shouts, but were obviously bothered by the baby’s persistent crying. When I later related the incident to a friend, she commented that that was why she didn’t take her own baby on the bus, as she would be afraid he would cry like that and she would feel embarrassed (mā).

Lupe was putting her daughter, Ngata, (11 months) to bed, and she was resisting and crying. Lupe said angrily, ‘Mohel!’ and threatened to smack her. For the next twenty minutes this continued, with Lupe ordering Ngata to ‘Tokoto ki lalo’ (Lie down), then ‘Ki lalo!’ (Get down!), and ‘Lalo!’ (Down!), increasingly angrily. She repeatedly threatened to smack Ngata, and did smack her, though not hard, several times. When this renewed Ngata’s protests Lupe shouted ‘Tuku tangi!’ (Stop crying) and ‘Longo!’ (Quiet). Throughout this sequence Lupe alternately spoke angrily and laughed, and the whole episode was treated as a mock-serious game. Her anger became increasingly serious as the ‘game’ wore on, but she did not lose her temper, and continued to laugh at her daughter’s protests and struggles to get up. After twenty minutes Ngata gave in, and lay down without further protest.

By the end of the first year babies begin to have angry fits of crying during which they scream, throw themselves about, or wriggle violently in the grip of whoever is holding them. These tantrums, sometimes referred to as akafute (to kick or jerk about convulsively), usually occur when their wants are frustrated. At this age they are often efficacious, since if threats do not succeed in stopping their noise, children are almost always given what they want as well as being cuddled to soothe them. Later, tantrums are more likely to be ignored or punished.

Caregivers threaten to hit babies not only for crying, but for any behaviour that is annoying, dangerous, or ‘bad’ (kovi). Threats are used with varying degrees of seriousness, from playful teasing to genuine warnings, though the proportion of the latter increases markedly toward the end of the first year. Much of the speech directed toward babies is in the form of threats, often attached to directives, such as ‘Sit down’, ‘Get down’, and, most common of all, ‘Stop it’ (Tuku ia).

Three periods of babyhood were formerly recognised, in which babies’ responses to threatening gestures were taken as indicative of their development (Bott n.d.:19). At first the baby is ‘atamia noa (knows nothing). Someone can fakapoi (threaten to hit) and the baby does not papaka (shy away, be nervous). When the baby begins to
papaka when threatened she has 'atamia manu (animal sense). Finally, when she
knows her mother she has 'atamia tangata (human sense) (ibid.).17

Threats to babies are physical and/or verbal, the former usually a raised hand or
object, and the latter either a statement or a noise. The ubiquitous threat 'Te u taa'i
koe' (I'll hit you), or the abbreviated version (taa'i koe, hit you, or just taa'i, hit), is
often spoken as a question, with 'ē?'. 'E' on its own is also used as a threatening
noise, as are 'Sh', 'Sa‘', and kahī (see Chapter Six). The play threats made to very
young babies are often added to comments about the baby's characteristics. For
example, a nurse commented to a baby, only a few hours old, whose mother was
nursing her, 'Taa'i koe fa'a kai, ē?' ([I'll] hit you, eating all the time, eh?). They
may also be made in reference to other family members or friends, as when another
newborn baby was told by a visitor that her daughter would come and see him and
hit him. These threats are a way of expressing affection for the baby, though they
are sometimes said mock-sternly or even angrily, as when a baby is crying.

A game that is often played with older babies involves alternating threats with
affection. The person holding the baby cuddles and kisses him, making him laugh,
and then suddenly raises her hand threateningly, frowning and scowling. Just as
suddenly, she smiles again, and affection replaces the threat.

An elderly aunt is holding a baby of 10 months, trying to get her to go to
sleep. The little girl struggles to get out of her arms and her aunt shakes her
roughly, saying 'Mohe!
(Sleep) and 'Sa‘', pretending she is going to hit her.
Then she leans forward and kisses the baby, who laughs and keeps struggling.
This continues until, after a particularly rough shake, the baby reaches up and
hits her aunt full in the face. She laughs, pushes the baby upright and
pretends to push her from her lap, saying 'Alu!' (Go).

Babies react in different ways to this 'game', but the most common reaction I saw
was an oscillation between apprehension and laughter. I have also seen this

17 Harkness and Super have argued that cultures tend, in their theories of human
development, to divide it into stages, the timing of which, and the kinds of developmental
issues regarded as primary to each stage, vary cross-culturally (1983). For some
ethnographic examples see Hamilton (1981), Kirkpatrick (1983), Martini and Kirkpatrick
(1981) and Poole (1985). In Tonga the more general stages are simply pēpē (infant),
tamasi'i (child) and talavoufinemui (late adolescent), as discussed in Chapter Four. The
stages in learning to walk are also used to indicate development (sitting up, crawling, etc.).
sequence acted out by people with whom the baby is unfamiliar, as at a feast when a visiting woman was alternately urging a baby of about one year old to go to her, using the encouraging facial gesture and outstretched hand, then pulling frightening faces at him whilst raising her hand threateningly. Needless to say, he didn’t go to her, but stayed snuggled close to his mother.

Threats are used by older caregivers to keep a baby out of trouble without having to chase after her. Remaining seated, they call her name, and if she doesn’t respond they shout threats or make threatening noises to get her attention. Sometimes a coconut-leaf-midrib broom is slapped loudly onto the floor mat as they shout, for emphasis. Getting up to fetch the child is a last resort and is further avoided if there is anyone younger nearby who can be called to come and help.

Children are also discouraged from wandering out of reach by warning them of animals or tevolo (ghosts/spirits),18 or by calling animals to come and eat them. This is also done as a way of distracting fretful babies, calling their attention to a person or object, or just as a teasing game. A caregiver will call, ‘Pig! Vika is here, come and eat her!’ A baby about to wander into a darkened room, or outside at night, may be warned that the tevolo will come and get him. Babies are also told people will come and hit them, often as part of the name-calling described in Chapter Six. Caregivers will call out, ‘Sione, come and hit Mefa!’, whether or not Sione happens to be within earshot, just to distract and mildly threaten the child. This is sometimes done with strangers, as when the person holding a fretful baby on a bus points to a fellow passenger, saying: ‘Be quiet, or that man will be angry and hit you’. Pälangi (Europeans) are popular ‘bogey men’ in such situations, and children were often warned that I was going to hit them. Barlow has suggested for the Murik of Papua New Guinea that attributing anger, threats and punishment to others (people, animals and forces) allies the mother [or other caregiver] with the child ‘against possible

18 Gifford recorded that mothers would attempt to quieten fretful babies by telling them Faingaa and Sisi, two deities trapped beneath the sea, would come and get them (1971a: 200). Churchward states that pínō nō and palepalengākau (bogey, demons) and nifoloa (a long-toothed demon or giant) were also used as threats to frighten children into obedience (1959: 411).
hostility from others' (1985: 214). In the Tongan case, this is offset to a great extent by the frequency of threats and punishments directly from caregivers.

Older children are often involved in threats made to babies, either because they are used as a threat or because they themselves threaten the baby. Even before they can talk children imitate the threat gestures of raised hands and objects (especially sticks and brooms), and children as young as two can be heard telling younger babies ‘Taa'i koe, e?’. Older children are also included in ritualised threats, as when their mother tells them ‘Bring me the broom’, and then uses the broom to threaten a baby. This can become a game, when someone who is not seriously angry with a baby calls to an older child to bring the broom, as a teasing threat. Another playful threat is to tell the baby to ‘Omai nima’ (Give me your hand), as it would be said to an older child prior to hitting her hand.

In childhood, as in infancy, threats are far more common than actual punishment, and are sometimes made jokingly and even affectionately. Thus, a mother may laughingly tell a child who is crying because she is going out, ‘Te u taa'i koe!’ (I’ll hit you), with no intention of doing so. Threats become almost ritualised sequences, in which a direct threat is made, another child is told to fetch a broom or stick, or a hand or object is raised threateningly. If the interaction is taking place outside, the person threatening punishment makes a show of hunting on the ground for a stick, or breaking a twig from a plant. Sometimes, when children recognise that the threat is not serious, they ignore it or even challenge it by further misbehaviour. As Ochs noted of Western Samoa, some threats are ‘keyed through facial expressions and other ways as bluffs, as mock threats ... Part of a child’s linguistic and social competence is to recognize these keys’ (1988: 153, emphasis in original). Children must also recognise when the threat has become serious, and know when to shift their response to compliance. Threats are also used as a form of teasing, particularly when a child is crying from previous punishment and is laughingly threatened with further violence.
As with threatening, smacking babies can be playful or serious. The ‘game’ described previously, in which babies are alternately cuddled and threatened, is sometimes extended to include playful smacks. At other times, an elaborate or exaggerated threat gesture is followed by a light tap, with a grunting sound for emphasis. The threat gesture is then repeated. This imitates more serious threaten-and-punish sequences, playfully introducing the baby to a routine that will become both familiar and frightening before long. In play-smacking, the typical response to the baby’s crying is to laugh, and to kiss and cuddle her. The following are some examples of ‘play-smacking’ as an affectionate interaction with a baby:

A mother is cutting sticks into lengths, with her baby beside her crying half-heartedly. The mother raises a stick threateningly then taps the baby on the foot, saying ‘Longo!’ (Be quiet), and ‘Sa’!’. This is repeated several times, as the mother laughs, and the baby begins to laugh too, enjoying the attention.

A baby keeps crawling into mischief despite her mother’s attempts to keep her still. Her mother tries to breastfeed her, then points to the television (video movie playing), but the baby crawls off again. The mother tells an older sibling to bring the baby to her, and sits her down, saying ‘Omai nima’ (Give me your hand). Taking each of the baby’s hands and then feet in turn she smacks them with exaggerated movements, wearing a stern expression. Each time she is tapped the baby flinches then claps her hands and laughs, and when she has finished her mother grabs her and cuddles her hard, laughing with her.

A grandmother is trying to strip bark for tapa making, with her baby granddaughter in a pram next to her trying to stand up and lean out. The grandmother tells her repeatedly, ‘Sit down or you’ll fall’ but the baby pays no attention, so she slaps her lightly with the flat of her knife, then a piece of bark, and holds her hand up in a threatening gesture. Each time she makes a movement toward the baby, she (baby) pulls a funny face and the grandmother laughs.

More severe smacking of babies does not usually begin until they become mobile, and is typically preceded by threats and warnings. Toward the end of the first year babies are smacked frequently, and mothers of toddlers sometimes commented that they had to smack their babies ‘all the time’ because they got into so much mischief. At this age children are often comforted and cuddled if they cry after being hit.

Mefa was playing with a glass and an ashtray near her father’s foot. At first Finau growled at her and said ‘Tuku ia’ (Stop it), then he smacked her hand, not hard. She continued to play, and he smacked her harder, whereupon she
cried and he immediately pulled her close and said "Uma, 'uma' (Kiss, kiss) and kissed her. She stopped crying and sat up, trying to get at the glass again, and Finau raised his hand and growled threateningly. Mefa climbed onto his lap and he cuddled her.

Soothing may be delayed, though, as an attempt is made to make the child restrain her crying, by telling her to be quiet and threatening further smacks, or by putting a hand over her mouth and saying 'Longo ho ngutu' (lit. Quieten your mouth).

As well as being threatened and punished during infancy, babies are allowed to threaten and hit, poke, bite and roughly pull at both children and adults. This behaviour is not only tolerated but actively encouraged, particularly hitting, and becomes an important aspect of the 'performance' so positively valued in babies. Often when a baby hits out or makes an angry face the people watching laugh and draw others' attention to it. Explanations of the encouragement of such behaviour center on its amusement value, though one man suggested (in English) that it was to encourage them to develop 'a sort of interrelationship' with others. Later, these behaviours are only tolerated in very specific circumstances and children must learn at an early age to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate settings for violent behaviour. This is often difficult for children until they are about five years old, and when they are included in games encouraging babies to hit they sometimes forget to restrain their own behaviour, as in the following example:

A mother is playing with her daughter, 10 months old, play-smacking her and laughing, when her son (5) joins the game. He begins to play-smack his sister, and his mother holds her hand and makes her hit her brother, urging her on by saying 'Tā, tā' (Hit, hit). The boy gets excited by the game and begins to hit harder, so his mother slaps him, saying 'Stop hitting, she'll cry'. He stops smacking his sister, but now she has the idea of the game and begins hitting him without her mother guiding her hand.

Older siblings are the most common target of these games, and join in by play-smacking and encouraging their younger siblings to retaliate, or by offering parts of their bodies to be hit, poked, or bitten, or their hair to be pulled. Games played with babies, such as getting them to imitate actions or sounds, often lead to the baby hitting out in excitement. People holding babies will, if an older child comes near,
urge the baby to hit, pull hair, and so on. This is also done when two babies are
together. A frequent visitor to the household in Holonga had a baby boy of the same
age as Mefa, and whenever he was brought to the house Sione and Mefa were
couraged to hit each other, though they were watched closely and never allowed to
hurt. Mefa was bigger and stronger than Sione and soon became the aggressor in
their encounters. For the most part Sione’s mother encouraged Mefa, but if Mefa hit
him hard enough to make him cry she would be told with a laugh that she was a
‘ta’ahine kovi’ (bad girl).

On one occasion Sione’s mother brought him in asleep, and laid him on a mat
while she talked to Mefa’s mother, Helenā. When Mefa came in to her mother and
began to grizzle, Helenā pointed to Sione, calling his name and telling Mefa to look
at him. Mefa made an angry, grunting noise, jerking her head back and hitting her
arm through the air in his direction, which made the women laugh. This aggression
is not always appropriate even for babies, though, and when Mefa, at one year old,
hit Sione when they were in the midst of a group of relatives and neighbours
preparing for a feast, her grandmother told her she was ‘kovi’ (bad) and directed her
to ‘kole fakamolemole’ (apologise) to Sione.

When Mefa jerked her head back, jutting her chin toward Sione, she was making
an angry gesture that is often made by adults to children when telling them to go
away. Mefa learned this gesture at about ten months, and would make it whenever
she saw certain children towards whom she had been encouraged to be particularly
aggressive. Sometimes when she saw neighbourhood children playing outside she
would gesture angrily at them, and make sounds that were interpreted as ‘‘alu’ (go)
by her caregivers. They would laugh and tell her to go and hit the children, or to
‘tuli’i’ (chase) them, even before she could walk.

A certain pride is taken in the aggressiveness and naughtiness of babies, and
mothers would tell me of their little ones’ latest exploits with amusement — that she
(or he) had hit her grandmother’s face, pulled her aunt’s hair, spat at someone, or
bitten her sister and drawn blood. Babies’ actions that appeared non-aggressive to
me were often interpreted as intentionally aggressive — a baby urinating on her grandmother’s sleeping mat was said to be doing so in anger, to retaliate for being punished some time earlier, and a baby who tried to pick up a smaller baby by holding it around the neck was said to be trying to strangle it. Similarly, babies’ first sounds are interpreted as ‘pā’ or ‘tā’ (hit). Given the games played with babies — encouraging them to hit, threatening them, and play-smacking them — they very quickly associate the word with its meaning and use it intentionally. It is interesting to compare this with Ochs’ account of Western Samoan children’s first sounds being interpreted as ‘tae’ (shit, as an expletive) (1988: 159). As she points out: ‘In giving meaning to the children’s first utterances, caregivers and others construct (or create) the social identity of the child’ (ibid.). Tongan children do remain aggressive within their peer group and with younger children, but they learn very quickly that any form of violence directed toward higher-status persons will be swiftly and often severely punished.

Childhood: punishment’s role in socialisation

Throughout childhood and adolescence, physical punishment is by far the most common form of discipline used in Tonga. Although there is a considerable amount of variation within and between households in the frequency and intensity of punishment directed at children, there is also a remarkable degree of similarity in methods and motives for punishment. The most general terms for punishment are tautea (to punish) and tā (to hit), but there are at least 30 other lexical items referring to forms of hitting (all applicable to children but some also to adults and/or animals). These terms index the object used for hitting (e.g. leta’i, hit with a belt), the force of the blow(s) (e.g. hahapo, hit roughly), the effect of the blows (e.g. tenge, to beat until bruised or lacerated), or the frequency of the blows (e.g. nafui, hit repeatedly).

In my survey of adolescents, 214 out of 232 (92.2 per cent) said they were punished by being hit (with open hand, fist, stick, belt, broom, rope, coconut spathe, or piece of wood). Sixty six respondents gave more than one answer, most stating
that they were hit as well as punished in another way. The table below indicates these other forms of punishment.

### TABLE 7A: FORMS OF PUNISHMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hit</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scolded</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given work</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kept at home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No dinner</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of responses indicating scolding is lower than would be expected. As various forms of scolding, shouting and grumbling make up a significant proportion of adults' speech to children (see Chapter Six), it is often not perceived as 'punishment'.

It should be noted that not all forms of aggression directed at children can be described as punishment. Children are routinely pushed, pulled, shaken, and otherwise handled roughly. To hurry children along they may be grabbed by the wrist or forcefully pulled by the arm or hair. When adults have to handle the bodies of children over three or four years old, as in bathing them, doing their hair, helping them to dress, and so on, they tend to be impatient and abrupt, addressing the children with a string of imperatives ('Stand up', 'Sit still') or tersely naming the next part of the body they want to wash, dress, or oil. Children are also physically

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19 Includes: *mio'i* (twist; i.e. of skin), pinch, stand on one foot, locked in a room, no television, sent outside, told to go away, and taken home from boarding school. A common form of punishment not mentioned in these responses is pulling (*fusi*) hair or ears.

20 As with terms for advice, there are many terms used when referring to scolding, including *le'o lahi* (shout), *tafulu* (scold, growl), *kaila* (shout, scream), *'itangi* (scold), *ngaohi i'ingahi* (berate, abuse).
rough with one another, and the distinctions between ‘punishing’, aggression, and simply rough play are often blurred.

After the transition from play-smacking to more serious discipline, the frequency of punishment escalates until children are around four years old. After that there is usually some decline in frequency but an increase in the severity of punishment. Incidents involving punishment continue to occur throughout adolescence and sometimes into adulthood. One 28-year-old unmarried woman told me that her mother still beat her with a stick at times. When I asked her if her mother would still do this after she married, she replied that it would be up to her husband. Like many women, the beatings from her mother (or other relatives) may simply be replaced, after marriage, by beatings from her husband. As already stated, girls tend to be punished more often than boys when they are young, because more work and better behaviour is expected of them. As teenagers boys tend to be punished more often and more severely than girls. However, these gender differences are only slight, and are highly variable.

Just as there are routine sequences for threatening, punishment often follows the pattern described in the incident below, in which a five-year-old girl is being punished for lying. The incident occurred on a Sunday, as the household members were settling down for an afternoon rest.

Helena hit Vika hard on the cheek, and Vika began to cry loudly. Helena said ‘Longo!’ (Be quiet) several times and hit her repeatedly with a sandal, on the legs and arms. Helenā did not shout, but spoke softly and insistently, and each time she said ‘Longo’ she held the sandal up threateningly first, then hit Vika when she did not stop crying. Finally Vika controlled herself and sobbed quietly, but after a few minutes Helenā grew impatient with Vika’s muffled noises and hit her again, not as hard as before, while telling her son to get a stick. Vika quietened then, and soon fell asleep, sobbing occasionally as she slept.

This pattern of pausing between blows, with hand or object raised threateningly and/or speaking to the child (to threaten, order to be silent, or say something about

21 The Ritchie's claim that in Polynesia 'nobody bothered' to train children under two, and that punishment is not usually used during the transition to 'yard child' (1981: 189-90) clearly does not apply to the Tongan case.
the child's misdemeanour), is widely practised. In none of the incidents of punishment that I observed were more than one or two blows dealt out without this brief interval, even when the person administering them appeared extremely angry.

Within the household anyone older than a child can punish her, including siblings only a year or two older.\textsuperscript{22} It is likely that, as Whiting and Edwards suggest (1988: 191), the 'rules' older children have learned are reinforced when they punish younger children. In punishing their juniors, Tongan children not only mimic adult gestures, but also the verbal behaviour associated with punishment. They are expected to punish younger siblings, and adults often direct them to do so. Children are also involved in various ways when adults are punishing other children, such as catching them or fetching a stick or broom. Even young children of three or four are vigilant with younger siblings, frequently threatening them, and reporting any slight misbehaviour to adults or older children. Ernest Beaglehole speculated in his field journal that the beatings children receive from adults aroused 'repressed aggressiveness', which 'seems to find an outlet in the equally sadistic beating that goes on in the children's groups. In these there appears to be a well-defined beating order based on seniority such that the older children terrorise the younger and these last, in turn, whip those younger still' (1938-9: Jan. 12).

However, there are limits on the beatings children can inflict upon other children. Brothers tend to be less punitive with sisters than with younger brothers, particularly when the girls reach puberty and their avoidance relationship begins. Also, boys of about ten and over are frequently absent from the home, reducing their interactions with sisters. When children are too severe with younger ones, when they are perceived as \textit{fakavalevale} (continually bullying), or especially when the crying of the younger child disturbs the adults, the young punisher may also be hit, or at least scolded. Though adults rarely offer comfort after punishing, a child who has beaten

\textsuperscript{22} Bott reported that the children of \textit{hou'eiki} are punished less frequently than others, since 'only the parents and the mehikitanga [sic] feel really free to punish children of high rank' (1958: 63).
another may try to console him, motivated to some extent by fear of retribution from an older person.

Silia (8) has beaten her cousin, Leiasu (3) very hard with a stick. He squats on the ground, naked, and screams hysterically. Silia stands over him, still holding the stick, but looking uncertain. He continues to cry and she drops the stick, squats in front of him and uses the hem of her dress to wipe his face, all the while glancing nervously toward the house where the adults sit and talk. She fetches some coconut-husk and wipes the blood from his foot, where her beating has split his skin. Leiasu calms down, stands, and after looking down at the marks on his buttocks and legs, moves off with Silia to continue playing.

Mothers and female adolescents are typically the most frequently punitive within the household, largely because of their major caregiving role. Fathers are usually either uninvolved in physical punishments, or deal out infrequent but severe beatings. Even when fathers are not punitive, children are often more afraid of them than of other family members. One woman said, ‘My father didn’t hit me, but just talked. I was afraid because he often shouted, but he didn’t hit me. My mother hit me in the morning, hit at noon, hit in the afternoon, all the time, but I didn’t care about her hitting’. Fathers’ frequent absences from the home, their authority within the household, and the respect they must be accorded, are all factors recognised as contributing to this fear.

Any relatives having temporary care of a child usually treat her as their own. Some people spoke of being even more severely punished in such cases, especially when the relatives were from the father’s side. Grandparents and other elderly relatives are often said to be the least punitive, even if they are the main caregivers. However, as mentioned in Chapter Five, grandparents are also spoken of as alternately indulgent and severe.

Children are also hit by certain people who are unrelated to them. In Holonga, some years ago, one man was regarded as particularly tough and strong, and parents would take their recalcitrant children to him for beatings. His son told me: ‘A lot of parents felt that he was doing a good job’. In the early missionary-run schools,

23 The Beagleholes claimed that it was rare for men to hit children, and said ‘the whippings and beatings are women’s work’ (1941b: 82). My own research did not support this claim.
'flogging and earboxing of the poor reluctant learner were everyday occurrences' (Tupouniua 1977: 53). Corporal punishment is still common in schools, despite attempts by some principals to forbid it. A survey reported in the *Tonga Today* magazine found that 'corporal punishment prevails as the most common form of punishment used to discipline or change a student's behaviour' (1987: 35). One male teacher explained that the students were 'too naughty', and would play truant if they did not fear punishment. Most parents expect teachers to use physical punishment, and many object when schools attempt to abolish it. Children do not usually report punishment received at school to their parents, who would be likely to punish them again for their misbehaviour.

Incidents of punishment are seldom dyadic interactions. Apart from the punisher and the victim, others are involved in several ways. An adult may call someone younger to punish a child, or may ask a child to fetch a broom, stick, or other object for them to use themselves. Children's misdemeanours are readily reported to those immediately responsible for them, by adults as well as other children. People will even help to catch a child trying to run away from punishment:

'Ema (12) ran away from her mother, Fane, who was beating her for being late home from school. Fane shouted for 'Ema to come back, and several neighbours came to watch. Fane then shouted to one of the onlookers, a teenage girl, to get 'Ema, who ran behind the houses and into the bush. Several women and children chased 'Ema, laughing and shouting. The children who remained at home excitedly told a relative arriving home from work what was happening, laughing about how 'Ema would be beaten when she was caught. He dozily commented that those chasing 'Ema were vale (foolish/crazy). 'Ema ran so far into the bush that she was not caught, and when she returned late at night the incident was not mentioned. Nor was it mentioned again in the household I lived in, once the excitement of the chase was over.

Children are punished for a very wide range of behaviour, as indicated in the following table of teenagers' responses to the question, 'What are some of the things your parents would punish you for?'. Obviously each respondent could not give a

24 In the school in which I taught in 1979, corporal punishment was forbidden. However, many students showed me bruises they claimed teachers had inflicted, and some of the Tongan teachers carried lengths of wood to class. Teachers in this and other schools also discussed this, including one Australian teacher who was shown the welts on a boy's back where a male teacher had beaten him with electric flex.
complete list of all punishable behaviour, and the table should therefore be seen as a very limited indicator of reasons for punishment. The first two categories of response, disobedience and bad behaviour, are those that did not specify particular kinds of behaviour. Rather, general responses such as *talangata'a* (disobedience), *anga kovi* (bad behaviour), and *anga ta'e totonu* (wrong behaviour), were given.

**TABLE 7B: REASONS FOR PUNISHMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>disobedience</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad behaviour</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lying/dishonesty</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaking rudely</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>running away</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working badly or not working</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stealing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>going out without permission</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggression</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drinking/smoking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disrespect</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eating rudely</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dispute with sibs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Disobedience, in all its many forms, is a major cause of punishment for younger children. They are also frequently punished for noisy or uncontrolled behaviour, particularly that which necessitates adult intervention. When adults have to intervene in interactions between children, as when they are noisily arguing and ignoring orders to be quiet, punishment is a likely outcome. In most cases, no

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25 Not going to church, doing something dangerous, having a girlfriend [male response].
attempt is made to discover the cause of a dispute, or to mediate or judge; punishment is dealt out to any child who appears to be involved.

Pani (3) and Soane (2) were squatting on the ground crying as they fought over some edible seeds and dropped them in the dirt. Soane’s mother, Fane, shouted at them from the kitchen hut, threatening to hit them. They continued to fight and she went to them to help pick up the seeds, grumbling as she did so, then she slapped Soane’s face, and pushed Pani roughly, scolding them for fighting.

Children may also be punished for physically fighting, especially girls, for whom it is regarded as unbecoming (ta’e taau). If another child is hurt, punishment is more likely. For example, a boy who injured another boy by throwing a mango at his eye, was beaten, told to va'inga fakalelei (play nicely) and given work to do.

As has been mentioned previously, crying is often punished. When children are mildly ill they may be hit if they cry persistently. When Mefa, at 12 months, cried inconsolably because she had several painful boils on her forehead, her mother told me she didn’t know what else to do except ‘hit her all the time’ to make her be quiet. Children who cry when hurt whilst playing may be smacked, and any other children involved may also be punished:

Three children were playing a chasing game, and one (aged three) fell over and began to cry. His mother smacked the other two children, briefly cuddled the crying child, then smacked him, too, saying: ‘Don’t cry, it’s a game’.

Children who cry after being punished are usually hit until they quieten. However, young children quickly learn to use crying to their advantage when they are hit by other children, since if they cry very loudly the aggressors may themselves be punished by an adult for causing a disturbance. Older children are often punished when their younger siblings cry – whatever the reason – since they are responsible for supervising them. One man, who was the oldest of eleven children, complained that, ‘Every time one of my brothers or one of my sisters cried I had to face the beating’.

A focal ‘message’ of punishment is clearly control – control of emotional responses to pain, frustration, or unhappiness, as well as control of behaviour in
order to appear submissive and obedient. Punishment that is initiated because a child has been disobedient also becomes a lesson in emotional control. For example, a child who is hit for ignoring an order to have a bath may become so distressed that he just stands still and cries. This is interpreted as continued disobedience and the child is likely to be punished until he controls himself enough to go and wash. If he does not, the older person may take him and bath him, with liberal slaps and rough handling throughout. The extent of children's self control is often remarkable. On one occasion a girl (5) was whimpering softly after a scolding and her mother sharply ordered her to stop crying. A visitor to the household (an Australian woman, with whom she had formed an attachment) went to her and wiped her face and hugged her on her lap. The child snuggled into the woman's lap and sobbed deeply, her whole body shuddering. Her mother came and smiled at the other woman, took the girl from her and set her firmly on the floor, lightly slapped her cheek, and said 'Tuku tangi!' (Stop crying). The little girl stopped immediately (S.Burt, personal communication).

Whether or not actions are punished, and how severely they are punished, depends to a great extent on context. Behaviour that is acceptable within the family may be punished if visitors are present, or when away from home, and even within the family more strictures are placed on behaviour on Sundays. The mood of the punisher is another crucial factor. For example, on one occasion Leiasu (3), who was usually punished for even the slightest misdemeanour, was kicking a bucket about in anger and ignoring his grandfather's orders to stop. When his grandfather called him to come, Leiasu clearly expected to be hit, but the grandfather just patted his head and said, 'Don't be angry, you'll break it'. However, it would be wrong to suggest that punishment is motivated solely by the punisher's mood as did Lovett:

The attitude of Tongan parents towards their children's behaviour often appears both irrational and inconsistent. At any age from birth to late adolescence, children can often get away with anti-social behaviour. Then for no apparent reason at all, a parent will inflict violent corporal punishment on a child for a small offence, or just because a parent is in a bad temper ... Punishment often does not seem to have any connection with the upbringing of the child but is more an expression of the parents' frustrations (1958: 37).
On the contrary, specific incidents of punishment, and punishment in general as
an aspect of socialisation, are motivated by very clear precepts in Tonga.
Explanations are regarded as important, and most parents claimed to give their
children reasons for punishing them. The emphasis in such explanations is the action
(or inaction) of the child and its consequences, rather than motivation. Viliami, a
young father, explained (in English):

You just don’t beat them up and let them go. You have to take them to
private, you have to respect the dignity of your son, if you beat up your son,
you know. If you punish your son you respect his dignity, you take him to
your room, privately, you talk to him, and [say] ‘I give you some punishment
because this and that and that’. I think it needs explanation. You don’t just
beat-up to the floor and then let go and no explanation at all. And then, so
that I think you explain to the son, ‘You know I love you, you know why I
want you to stop this, and you know very well why I got to give you
punishment. Because if you do something wrong, you are going to be
accountable for it’.

As Viliami himself admitted, he was describing ideal behaviour, which would be
regarded as anga faka‘ei‘eiki, chiefly behaviour. Viliami added: ‘Most of the
parents they just [say] “I told you not to do that!”, Bang! Down. And after that, he
cries, and finish’. Often, the reason for punishment is expressed through a series of
questions directed at children as they are being hit. For example, an adult may say
‘Stop your noise on Sunday, e V’, to which the child responds ‘‘Io’ (Yes). The
question may be repeated: ‘Stop your noise, e V’, or simply the ‘e?’ spoken several
times, increasingly loudly and insistently, punctuated with blows, as the child
continues to respond ‘‘Io, ’io’. Apart from these brief utterances, most speaking
during punishment is a series of imperatives: ‘Longo’ (Be quiet), ‘Tuku e tangi’
(Stop crying), ‘Tu‘u ki ‘olunga’ (Stand up) and so on. There is also a distinctive
grunting sound that is made as the child is hit, to emphasise the action.26 Thus,
explanations tend to tell children what they are being punished for, but not why it is
wrong.

‘Ofa (‘love’) is an important justification for punishment in Tonga, as is alofa in
Samoa (Gerber 1975). As one teenage boy commented, there would be no point in

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26 The same sound is made to babies in episodes of play-smacking.
complaining to his parents about being punished, as they would tell him they did it out of love, to teach him the right things. Many teenagers explained their punishment in similar ways; their parents punish ‘because of their love’, or ‘they punish me with their love’. A thirteen-year-old girl said (in English):

My dad tries talking to us and making us understand that what we did was wrong, but he knows it doesn’t work because we don’t learn, so he uses the belt, but he never does it with anger but with love and caring. He wants us to learn and not make things that would make ourselves unhappy.

Although punishment is explicitly associated with love, it cannot be assumed that punishment is not also experienced by children as a withdrawal of love. Some children claimed that after being punished they felt unloved, and unwanted, and the association between punishment and 'ofa is an important factor in the ambivalence felt toward punishment, discussed shortly. There is no notion, as in Samoa, of a lack of punishment indicating a lack of love. Some people claimed they had never been hit by their major caregivers (often grandparents) and saw this as a sign of special love. Pele (favourites) also tend to be punished less often.

Punishment is associated with teaching. One woman told me: ‘It is best to punish [children] so they are able to tokanga (pay attention) to things; if not they will fiemālie (be content) and won’t pay attention to what they are told’. Some children described punishment as ‘good for our own benefits’, said ‘I know it is to teach me’, and claimed that they deserved it. One boy said that if he misbehaved his parents would ‘beat the hell out of me ... I was only asking for it’, and another asserted that he was ‘punished according to what the scripture says: "put the whip to the back of the ignorant (vale)"’. A young girl asserted that after punishment she felt ‘happy because it was my fault’. The belief that punishment is deserved is also shown in the large proportion of teenagers surveyed who claimed to feel guilty (halaia) and repentent (fakatomala) after being punished, as shown in Table 7C. The students were asked: ‘How do you feel when your parents punish you?’.

27 Gallimore, MacDonald, and Boggs, commenting on the frequent use of threats of physical punishment in Hawai‘i noted, ‘that is what an adult’s anger means to a child, not the withdrawal of affection’ (1969: 37).
TABLE 7C: RESPONSES TO PUNISHMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>repentence/guilt</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anger</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadness</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ongo'i mamahi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loto mamahi</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taueta hoto loto</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lonely/unwanted</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fear</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatred</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'want to die'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want to run away</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other negative²⁸</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happiness</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'it is their love'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other acceptance²⁹</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children's reactions to punishment are important to consider, since they affect the course of incidents of punishment, and on a more general level reveal how they interpret its meaning. However, care needs to be taken in assessing responses such as those shown in Table 7C. Earle observed in her contribution to the Rakau Maori study that the favourable responses children gave, when she sought to elicit their reactions to punishment, tended to be simple and stereotyped whereas negative responses were more personal (1958: 21). The same tendency was found in my own survey to some extent, particularly in the repentence/guilt category (‘I feel sorry’).

²⁸ These answers included: want to punish them, wish they could die, I'm a slave [pōpula], don’t want to eat/talk, ‘as if everything is turned inside out’.

²⁹ These answers were: is not enough, fiemālie (content).
Many of the respondents actually gave two answers, one more socially acceptable and the other their personal feelings.

*Mamahi*, a term used by nearly a quarter of the respondents, is a complex and rather ambiguous term. It can indicate both physical and mental pain and also 'to be sorry, to feel sorrow or regret; to feel hurt (take offence); to be annoyed or angry, to harbour ill-feeling (Churchward 1959: 328). When used alone *mamahi* most often refers to physical pain. In Table 7C responses that were simply 'mamahi' have been included with 'ongoi mamahi', as this term is also used to indicate physical pain. *Ongo'i* means to feel or perceive (ibid.: 395), and is commonly used for the emotional as well as the physical sense of 'feel'. Thus, *ongoi mamahi* incorporates both senses of pain, as well as the other connotations of *mamahi*. Since some respondents gave both *ongoi mamahi* and *loto mamahi*, the two terms have been separated. *Loto mamahi* is more specifically associated with the emotional aspect of *mamahi*, as it means 'inner' *mamahi*. As such, it has connotations of both anger and sadness. Another response, closely associated with *loto mamahi*, was 'ongoi i 'oku tautea hoto loto': my heart/mind (my 'inside') feels punished. In describing the intended effects of punishment, adults often cited *mamahi*, as both physical pain and inner sorrow/regret, as important.

Any form of resistance to punishment, claims of innocence, or angry reaction to it, is regarded as *loto lahi* ('big' *loto*, i.e. brave, bold, or in this context, acting tough). A child who persists in crying, despite orders to 'longo' and threatened or actual punishment, is *loto lahi*:

Ngata (18 months) was crying, and her mother and grandmother shouted at her to stop crying and go to them. Her mother, Kalo, got a broom and hit her twice, saying 'Longo', but Ngata screamed louder and squatted on the ground. Kalo hit her again, then laughed, threw down the broom and said, 'Loto lahi, e?'. She picked Ngata up by the arm, roughly, and took her to her grandmother, smacking her with a loud grunt on the way.

Mele (18) described the predicament she was in whenever her father punished her. His beatings and the teasing laughter of her neighbours, who watched her being beaten, made her so angry that she would not cry. Her father would tell her she was
loto lahi, and beat her more, but when she did cry, he would shout at her to ‘Longo’.

An acceptable response to punishment is to plead and apologise, in a quiet, monotonous tone, such as begging ‘fakamolemole’ (please/sorry) again and again. Some children exclaim ‘Oiaué!’ in the same way. Children should also submit to punishment, initially by voluntarily going to the person who wants to punish them. If they dawdle they will be ordered to ‘Laka!’ (march). Adults often remain seated as they punish a child, and staying within reach is a further demonstration of submission.

Trying to avoid punishment by running away can sometimes be a successful strategy for older children, who can run far enough, and stay away long enough, for the adult concerned to ‘forget’ the incident. Teenagers sometimes go to the home of a friend or relative, and return at night, so that by morning their misdemeanour has been forgotten. Younger children also try to escape at times, but are usually caught and beaten. Leiasu, my three-year-old neighbour, often ran to the end of the garden to try to avoid punishment, but was invariably caught, and beaten all the way back to the house by his teenage cousin (♀). He also tried in vain to hide under the house. Another means of avoiding punishment called fakaongotuli is when a child pretends not to hear someone calling him to be punished. If the person involved is occupied, feeling good humoured, or is out of sight, or if the child’s misdemeanour is slight, this ploy works very well.

Vika (3) had entered my room against her mother’s orders. Her mother called to Vika’s father, Finau, who was resting in the bedroom, to come and hit her. Finau called her repeatedly but she sat on the couch and did not react. Her mother nudged her and told her, in a low voice, to answer, but she remained immobile and impassive. Her brother, Feleti, went into the bedroom, and Finau told him to go and get Vika, but when Feleti came and stood next to Vika, shouting her name, she still did not react. Her mother nudged her again and told her to go to bed, but got no reaction, so she left

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30 Freeman (1983) and Gerber (1975) have stated that a common form of punishment in Western Samoa is beating a child (usually with a belt), while the child sits, cross-legged and submissive. This form of punishment was described by a Tongan doctor as ‘like a traditional punishment’ in Tonga, but I did not hear any other reference to it, and certainly did not witness it. In fact children who attempt to sit down are usually told to stand.

31 ‘Oi is an interjection as in ‘Oh!’, au means me/myself, and ê adds emphasis, thus roughly translated ‘oiaué’ means ‘Oh my!’.
At the time of this incident the adults concerned were relaxed and good-humoured, and Vika 'read' the situation accurately. On occasions when the adults are not as tolerant, children are unlikely to ignore calls to be punished; rather, obedience and a submission to punishment is in this case the best strategy for reduced punishment.

Some children respond to frequent punishment by becoming extremely wary and nervous. Such children are called *mataila* (lit. 'awake eyes'), as they often flinch away from sudden movements as if expecting a blow. Other children readily express a fear of punishment but are often defiant or ignore threats, warnings, and lighter punishments. A primary school teacher commented that she could tell which children were 'raised with the stick', because they would not behave unless threatened with being hit. Many of the young children I observed were frequently silly, cheeky, and boisterous despite the fact that such behaviour was usually punished. Children may even consciously decide to behave in a way that will lead to punishment, particularly boys who choose to be with their 'gang' rather than help with chores. One boy said: 'You get a few hidings but from that you get used to being given a belting ... I'd rather be with my group than go to Mum, and I don't care that Mum will give me a little hiding tonight'. In her story of setting fire to a cooking hut after trying to smoke a cigarette, Pulu wrote: 'Inoke [her father] showed his anger in the usual Tongan way. And although the fire in the cookhouse was out, we felt like we were sitting on the hot coals. But even a punishment, when shared with fellow conspiritors, is part of the game' (Pulu and Pope 1979: 11).

Talking to older Tongans about their childhood revealed their ambivalent yet intense feelings about the punishment they had received. People of all ages readily associated punishment with feelings of anger, sadness, and hurt, but also claimed to

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32 In my field journal I described them as 'children living on the edge'.

33 It was not unusual for people to cry during interviews when they talked of their relationships with their parents, describing both the love and the punishment they received.
have deserved punishment, and to love their parents for having taught them properly. A thirteen-year-old girl commented: 'When they punish me I honestly feel angry and hateful at first but after a while I understand them and see what they want from me. This makes me love them more'. On the other hand, some people also admitted to holding long-term grudges toward those who have severely punished them. One man claimed that people aren't aware of holding grudges: 'They think [punishment] is part of growing up, it's part of being Tongan, and it's part of being in a family'. However, he added: 'Underneath ... you want to pay back when you get older ... it explodes in different ways'. Many people remember particular incidents especially vividly, and with intense emotions. A man who had been severely beaten by his uncle for being late home from school, said: 'Every time I think of that I can still feel the pain in my stomach, from being, you know, pounded in my stomach ... I almost died'. Ambivalence toward physical punishment is part of a broader ambivalence toward all forms of aggression in Tonga. Other contexts in which violence occurs are discussed later in this chapter, while the following chapter examines cultural strategies for avoiding aggression.

Ambivalence toward punishment is also linked to that toward hierarchical relations. In simple terms, higher status persons are protectors and providers as well as punishers and holders of power. In adult/child relations this is symbolised in the game of alternating threats and affection that has been described. Since punishment is positively valued as a form of teaching and an expression of love and concern, the distinction between protecting/providing and punishing is somewhat blurred, and the ambivalence that has been described is deep-seated and complex.

People's statements about punishment indicate that they accept it as inevitable and even necessary, and despite the ambivalence that exists, the popular view of physical punishment is generally approving. It is interesting that in the teenagers' statements about what would be important to them as parents, only two (♀) specified that they would not hit their children (see Table 5E). Although the other respondents did not explicitly state that they would hit their children, this may be implicit in
statements about ‘teaching’ or ‘looking after’ them. People often comment, after punishing a child or when watching a child being punished, ‘Sai, è!’ (good, eh!), implying ‘serves you right!’. As shown in Chapter Four, children are believed to be inherently vale (foolish) and pau’u (naughty). Despite learning appropriate behaviour through instruction, punishment, and so on, even adults are still regarded as basically ‘kovi’ (bad). ‘Tongans are naughty people’, I was told. Until a person learns restraint (fakama’una’u), punishment continues to be necessary. ‘It is right to hit and punish [children] so they will be afraid and not go around [i.e. go out without permission]’, said one man. He added that if parents do not puke (seize/hold) their children, they will wander anywhere and could get hurt. The importance of fear was also made explicit by my friend Helenā, when she explained why our neighbour beat her three-year-old daughter, Pani, so often. Pani was ‘pau’u aupito’ (very naughty), Helenā told me, and had to be hit ‘all the time’. Pani’s mother later went to Australia, leaving her with her elderly grandmother who could not, as Helenā explained, ‘hit her hard enough’. Because of this, Pani was ‘not afraid’, and might do something dangerous like wander onto the road.34

The question of ‘abuse’

There is no shame associated with hitting children to discipline them, since it is believed to be necessary and important. However, some people admitted to feeling ashamed when they punished primarily out of anger. My neighbour, Fane, admitted: ‘I feel ashamed (mā) as I’m often very quick to punish and do not have much patience; when they work badly I feel angry’. Punishment can also be shameful if it is judged to be tā vale, hitting foolishly. This is defined to some extent by the nature of the punishment itself: whether it causes bruising or draws blood, whether the head or face are hit, or whether the punishment is too severe.35 Contextual factors are far

34 Fear in a broader sense is also associated with learning, as in the sign in a classroom, ‘Fear of God is the beginning of all knowledge’.

35 Tā vale is similar to the concept of hana’i no in Hawaii, which means to mistreat or mishandle (Korbin 1990). However, hana’i no covers a far broader category of actions.
more important, though, as will be shown. Behaviour defined as *tā vale* may also be
derided as *anga'i manu* (animal behaviour) or *angafakatu'a* (common behaviour).

One of the most common reactions of people watching a child being beaten is to
laugh. After the incident, too, people often continue to laugh and to tease the child.
Tongans are not usually reflexive about this behaviour, and when I asked people why
it occurs most answered simply ‘Hei'ilō’ (who knows), or ‘It’s just funny’. The
explanations that were offered tended to be of two types. The first type is
exemplified in the following story and explanation, told in English by Pita (a young
father, educated overseas). The story concerns his younger brother, who had been
persisting in coming home late from school, despite his father’s warnings that he will
be hit. One day the father beats the boy, who promises not to be late again.

The hiding goes on, and we all laugh, because we know Dad told him before.
For us, it’s a hiding, but it’s something very funny. [The next day, the boy is
late again, and is beaten again, and once more his family laughs]. It’s not the
actual hitting, we know that’s hard, it’s painful, but really we look from the
other corner and we laugh. And the other thing is if we don’t laugh, things
are very, very serious. And if we make it a bit fun, and the person who is
doing the beating they will come to an end soon, and the one who is running
around will just think it’s a big joke ... I think it makes it easier for the person
being belted up ... If everybody stands still, I think it’s something wrong,
people think ‘Oh! this is killing, this is slaughtering’.

Others denied that laughter has anything to do with helping the person being
beaten or easing the tension of the situation. ‘It all just comes to the fact that our
sense of humour, we seem to be laughing at people who suffer’, another man said.
The two explanations are closely related, as in the second type the emphasis is again
on the person’s foolish or out-of-control behaviour. Both the behaviour resulting in
punishment, and the behaviour caused by it, are regarded as foolish (*vale*), and
therefore humorous. Humour of this type in contexts other than punishment is
considered in the following chapter.

Laughter at punishment does sometimes have the ‘helpful’, cathartic effects
indicated in Pita’s explanation:

Sione (11) was beaten for not having a shower. As his father hit him with a
piece of wood, Sione whimpered and begged him to stop in a low, babbling
voice. When his father had gone inside the house again, Sione’s teenage
cousin (9) came and laughed at him, and imitated his pleading. Sione tried to hit her but she jumped back into the house. Sione and another boy went to the shower block and began to wash, and the cousin came outside again. She walked to the toilet, and as she passed the shower she taunted, ‘Sione was crying!’ and imitated him again. The boys began to swear about her to each other (e.g. ‘She is goat shit’) and by the time they were showered they were both laughing and cheerful.

However, laughter and teasing also serves, at times, to increase the shame of the punishment, and can be very cruel.

Kalo (16) had beaten Leiasu (3) for not lying down to rest after the Sunday lunch. She had beaten him until he stopped crying and screaming, but as soon as he was quiet she began to tease him as his older brothers laughed. Leiasu lay unable to reply as he struggled to suppress his sobs, while she repeatedly asked him ‘Are you asleep?’ and ‘What’s your name?’.

The person punishing a child may also laugh as, or after, they hit the child, particularly when the child is very young and the transition from play-smacking is continuing. Incidents involving punishment are related as amusing anecdotes, even by the person who dealt out the punishment, and even if it was severe. One man laughingly told me that he had beaten his teenaged brother for drinking home-brew (hopi), so badly that the boy lost consciousness and was then bedridden for ‘several weeks’. The same man also used this incident as a teasing threat to warn another young brother not to drink.

Yet punishment is not always regarded as amusing. People seldom laugh at the more severe beatings, when the child’s misdemeanour is particularly serious, and/or when the punisher has lost his or her temper. Other children watch such incidents with fearful, nervous expressions, but adults often behave as though they are ignoring what is happening. Children who have an emotionally close relationship may not laugh at one another’s punishments. One girl told me that her sisters would go away and cry when she was being beaten. Sometimes other family members show their sympathy to a child who has been beaten by offering food, or even cuddling them. When older children run away after punishment, to friends’ or relations’ homes, they may be allowed to stay, in an indirect show of sympathy. In one incident in Holonga a boy was beaten by his uncle, with whom he was living.
He ran away to his parents' home in another village, and they allowed him to stay with them. However, such movement between households tends to be very temporary, and is not always an option.\textsuperscript{36} The Ritchies have claimed for Polynesia generally that children are 'not desperately and irrevocably locked into unchangeable, punitive situations' since they can move to other households (1989: 110). In Tonga, the ability to change households in such situations is limited, and the weakening of extended family ties seems to be further reducing the significance of this option.

The people most likely to interfere with each other's actions are married couples and immediate relatives. Helenā told me that she stops her husband, Finau, by shouting at him, and pulling the children away, though I did not see this happen. She added: 'Sometimes I am very angry with [the children]. \textit{Ta pē, ta pē, ta pē} (just hit, just hit, just hit), but Finau doesn't speak to me or stop me. But sometimes when I shout at them Finau says, "\textit{Tuku ho' o kaila pehe}" (Stop your shouting).' Attempts at intervention are often unsuccessful, particularly when someone has really lost his or her temper.

Mele was hitting her grandson Fonua (3) for not co-operating as she bathed him. She repeatedly hit him on the face and body, then picked him up bodily and threw him into the bath and began to wash him roughly. Her husband attempted to push her away from Fonua but she shoved him away and he stood and watched her from a distance. She hit Fonua several more times, shouting angrily at him, then sent him inside to dress. Her husband followed them both inside, where she was still shouting, and he remonstrated briefly with her.

The context in which punishment occurs affects the likelihood of intervention. The 'audience' to punishment is an important factor. In one case a woman was beating her little girl and shouting angrily at her for not washing when she was told. Her husband, waiting for a bus outside the house, did not interfere until he saw me approaching the bus stop. He then went inside and talked to his wife, who stopped

\textsuperscript{36} Changing household for any reason is often not a matter or choice for young people, especially females, as parental permission is usually required (see Cowling 1990c: 104).
immediately. When someone loses their temper too publicly it can shame the family, and other family members are likely to tell them to stop. The relationship of the onlookers to the punisher also determines their own willingness to intervene, and people unrelated to those involved rarely interfere. A woman would be unlikely to openly dispute the actions of her husband’s sister, even when she is hitting the woman’s own children. Parents would be most likely to intervene if their child was being hit by an unrelated person with no direct authority over the child.

Another factor affecting the likelihood of intervention is the shared evaluation of the child’s ‘ulungāanga (characteristic nature/behaviour). When a child is considered to be particularly willful and naughty, discipline is more likely to be regarded approvingly. For this reason, physical punishment tends to peak in frequency at about the age of four, when children are said to be especially naughty and foolish, yet old enough to begin to learn proper behaviour. Shared evaluations of the seriousness of a child’s misdemeanour also influence the probability of intervention.

People are reluctant to intervene if they are themselves afraid of the person beating a child. The man from Holonga mentioned previously as disciplinarian for the village, was so feared that people did not interfere when he frequently beat his wife and children. On one occasion, his son told me, his father beat him with a belt ‘until I just lost all my voice’. He ran to his neighbours for help but they were frightened, and let his father come and take him away and continue to beat him. People are similarly reluctant if the person is of high status. Another incident involved a man with an important role in his village as a public official, who beat his

37 Many of the people with whom I spoke believed that the physical punishment of children is generally unacceptable in ‘Western’ countries (some described it as illegal). During my first stay with Helena, she commented that if I wasn’t there she would hit her children much more often, and use a stick instead of her hand. My immediate presence did sometimes inhibit other people’s behaviour with their children (not just in relation to punishment), but most were more relaxed.

38 Husband’s sisters and other relatives on the husband’s side may express disapproval if they feel a woman mistreats her children. On one occasion a paternal aunt questioned her niece about a large bruise on her arm. When she heard that the child’s mother had hit her with a shoe, she turned to the mother and sarcastically asked if she wanted a knife, ‘to finish the job’. 
14-year-old son about the head with a piece of wood. Not only did no-one intervene, but when the boy was taken to hospital, the story given by the father (that the boy had fallen from a horse) was supported by relatives accompanying them. Nor did anyone report the incident, despite the fact that the boy nearly died when, some days later, he had to be readmitted to hospital with blood clots on his brain.

These incidents raise the question of ‘child abuse’ in Tonga. The Tongan Criminal Offences Act defines child abuse as:

If any person over the age of 16 years, who has the custody, charge, or care of any child or young person, wilfully assaults, illtreats, neglects, abandons, or exposes such child or young person to be assaulted, ill-treated, neglected, abandoned or exposed, in a manner likely to cause such child or young person unnecessary suffering or injury to his health (The Law of Tonga Cap 15, Section 106 [1]).

The punishment recommended for such abuse is a fine and/or a prison term of up to three years (ibid.). Charges of child abuse (referred to in law as fakamahali’i tamaiki, cruelty to children) are seldom laid, however, and from 1985 to 1987 only five cases were reported (Report of the Minister of Police for 1986, 1987). Of these cases, one was rejected, two convicted, and two were under investigation at the time of the 1987 report. Doctors must report suspected cases of child abuse, but the Chief Medical Officer at Vaiola in 1988 claimed that there is no great problem with abuse since community pressure reduced its incidence (Dr T. Puloka, personal communication). However, injuries caused by beatings may not be reported as such, as in the case cited previously. The few incidents that are regarded as maltreatment are usually dealt with by the family and village concerned. Reprimands from high-

39 A ‘child’ is a person under 14, and a ‘young person’ is aged between 14 and 16 for the purposes of this law. Apart from the inexact nature of the term ‘unnecessary suffering’, the wording of this law is also problematic in the lower age limit given for offenders. Since children under 16 are often responsible for disciplining other children, the possibility of serious abuse exists without recourse in the law.

40 There is also under-reporting of child sexual abuse, which the Ministry of Police recognises as an increasing problem (Report of the Minister of Police for 1987: 80). For indecent assault of a child under 12 (The Law of Tonga Cap 15, Section 115), only ten cases were reported for 1985 to 1987. Sexual assault in general is under-reported, and the police admit that those cases reported are ‘part of a much more extensive and worrying hidden aspect of sexual abuse’ (Report of the Minister of Police for 1986: 79).
status kin, shaming through gossip, and moving a child temporarily to a relative's home, are the usual means by which this occurs. Such sanctions are infrequently invoked, since even punishment perceived as *tā vale* is seldom regarded as serious enough to warrant intervention. As has been shown, contextual features such as the status of the punisher, the setting, the audience, and so on, can also determine the evaluation of and response to beatings. In the case of the fourteen-year-old described above, some villagers' private assessments of the father's behaviour were that it was *tā vale*, but this did not result in intervention, public shaming, or moves to initiate legal action.

The problem of how to deal with cross-cultural differences in definitions of 'abuse' has occurred in Tongan migrant populations in Western nations (Teu 1978). The problem has also arisen with indigenous and immigrant Polynesians in countries with large populations of Europeans, such as Hawai'i (Baker 1986: 171; Dubanoski 1982; Dubanoski and Snyder 1980; Gautier 1977), American Samoa (Leacock 1987: 183), and New Zealand (Fergusson, Fleming and O'Neill 1972; Ritchie and Ritchie 1970; 1981b). There have been reports of increasingly abusive practices within the migrant and urbanised indigenous communities where village and extended family sanctions are absent and families are suffering economic hardship and social problems such as alcohol abuse (Dubanoski 1982; Fergusson *et al* 1972; Ritchie and Ritchie 1979, 1981, 1989).

The difficulty of making a clear distinction between acceptable and unacceptable treatment of children has led to a broadening of the definition of 'abuse' in Western nations. In some cases, notably Sweden, any form of corporal punishment has come to be opposed in principle by law and by officials dealing with this issue. As Handelman (1983) shows for North America, the way in which 'child abuse' is construed within the social welfare system has profound effects on citizens' lives. In Tonga there are no institutions such as a welfare system to mediate between the legal

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41 'Western' is used here for convenience, though each country has its own definition of 'child abuse' encoded in law and enacted in the practices of social workers and other officials, as well as a range of definitions within popular culture (see Doek 1991).
definition and the community's understanding, or to intervene in citizens' lives except in rare instances of police prosecution for abuse. Common practice has therefore been largely unaffected by the legal definition.

In their study of child abuse in the United States, Kadushin and Martin found that, as in Tonga, there is a 'grey area' between acceptable punishment and unacceptable abuse (1981: 264). Many incidents of abuse result from 'extensions of disciplinary actions, which at some point and often inadvertently, crossed the ambiguous line between sanctioned corporal punishment and unsanctioned child abuse' (ibid.). Since tā vale describes such 'extensions of disciplinary actions', it is similar to the concept of 'abuse' in this sense. For the most part, though, the notion of tā vale is clearly distinct from that of 'abuse' as it is defined in Tongan law and in 'Western' law and popular understanding.

The problem of defining child abuse needs to be addressed in anthropological studies of child socialisation (Kavapalu 1990b). Anthropologists have tended to defend, ignore, trivialise, or exoticise practices such as harsh physical punishment, painful initiation rituals, and so on (Scheper-Hughes 1987a: 19), and to avoid the whole issue of 'abuse'. Physical punishment, in particular, is often mentioned only in passing, with its occurrence taken for granted as functional and adaptive within a given culture (e.g. Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941a, Mead 1966; Middleton 1970, and a more recent example, Kirkpatrick 1983: 128, 130). The Beagleholes, in their brief account of 'growing up' in Tonga mentioned that children are 'unmercifully' and 'severely' beaten by women and older children, but go no further than to comment that such beatings 'appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline'.

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42 There is a vast literature on child abuse in 'the West', encompassing greatly differing perspectives and conclusions.

43 Korbin has raised the question of whether abuse is best seen as discipline out of control or rage out of control (1990: 16).

44 There are of course important exceptions, such as Raum's classic Chaga Childhood (original 1940), which gives a detailed and thoughtful account of punishment (1967: 225-231).
Yet in Ernest Beaglehole's field journal, it is clear that he regarded these beatings as abusive, as he repeatedly refers to the 'sadism' involved (1938-9).

The Tongan mother has not the slightest hesitation in herself picking up a stick or coconut switch and beating her child with a thwarted fury that seems nine parts pure sadism and one-quarter part altruistic-disciplinary. To us, as we watch the scene, these child beatings seem to exceed all that is reasonable and just (ibid.: Jan 12).

Although the matter is not pursued in the monograph, Beaglehole clearly saw this harsh physical punishment as an important clue to 'the Tongan personality' (remembering his culture-and-personality approach). He states in the journal that the child psychology of his day was inadequate to explain the effects of the 'sadism' (1938-9: Dec 27) and concludes simply that: 'The bullying and terrorism that are the naked facts in this Tongan child society and which seems to colour so many of the relations between Tongan child and Tongan mother must be important factors in the formation and development of the typical Tongan adult personality' (ibid.: Jan 12). In a subsequent article, Beaglehole suggested that the severe punishment of Tongan children and 'the necessities of adjusting to the rather strict morality of the average Tongan home' resulted in 'psychic stress' (1940: 47).

James and Jane Ritchie, who have been researching child socialisation in Polynesia for many years, paid only cursory attention (two pages) to the question of physical punishment in their *Growing up in Polynesia* (1979: 156-7). Their conclusion, that punishment teaches children to prefer the company of their peers, ignores the punishment and other violence that occurs in peer groups. The same conclusion is made in more recent papers, which do briefly acknowledge the reality of violence among peers (Ritchie and Ritchie 1985; 1989). In their otherwise comprehensive synthesis of the literature on 'Socialization and character development' in Polynesia, the Ritchies mention punishment only in passing until the final section, on 'acculturative stress and pathology' (1989). Here, they suggest that 'corporal punishment of children was not uncommon' in Polynesia but actual 'abuse' was rare (ibid.: 130). As they point out, 'It is likely that no generalization is
possible; that there is considerable variability among Polynesian cultures, among
groups within cultures, and among individual families' (ibid.). In another paper,
specifically addressing the issue of child abuse, the Ritchies claim that historically,
'child abuse was virtually absent from the Polynesian scene' (1981: 193). They
assert that physical punishment occurred and could be 'quite harsh' (ibid.: 190), but
not abusive. They do not mention practices such as child sacrifice and the
amputation of finger joints, which are included in other papers in the collection as
forms of abuse, and which occurred in parts of Polynesia, including Tonga.

Recent anthropological studies dealing with 'the darker side of parenting'
(Scheper-Hughes 1987a: 7) – infanticide, incest, child abuse – have addressed the
issue of the effects of these practices on children, as well as the problem of cross-
cultural comparison (e.g. Korbin 1981a, 1990, 1991; Scheper-Hughes 1987c; also
many contributions to Child Abuse and Neglect: The International Journal).45 There
is also increasing concern with domestic violence more generally (e.g. Levinson
1989; Pacific Studies 1990).46 Korbin argues that the factors involved in
'reconciling cultural variability with an acceptable definition of child abuse and
neglect' include 'the socialization goals of the culture, parental intentions and beliefs
about their actions, and the way a child perceives his or her treatment' (1981b.: 5).
Each of these factors has been considered in the previous discussion of punishment
in Tonga, and in each case it has become clear that complex and sometimes
conflicting goals, beliefs, and perceptions are involved. The factor that is most
salient in distinguishing between socially sanctioned punishment and tā vale is
context. Punishment can be seen as a political action; as an assertion of power and

45 Scheper-Hughes (1987a: 7) warns of the dangers of presenting 'pessimistic' and
overstated accounts of this 'darker side of parenting'. In order to avoid this bias it is
important to examine issues such as punishment within the broader context of socialisation.

46 The broader issue of cross-cultural differences in the extent of children's rights is also
being addressed (e.g. Ennew 1986). The assumptions about the nature of childhood that
underly international declarations and conventions, such as the United Nations Convention
of the Rights of the Child, are based on Western principles and, Ennew suggests, may be
'culturally irrelevant' in many countries (ibid.: 20-1).
status. Where this assertion occurs in an inappropriate context it is perceived as maltreatment by Tongans.

The issue of physical punishment of children is gradually becoming a matter of public concern in Tonga. Punishment has a crucial role in Tongan beliefs about child development, and pälangi child-rearing (believed to be lacking in discipline) is often unfavourably compared to the Tongan way (see Chapter Five). Yet attitudes have been slowly changing for some time. When 54 Tongan couples were asked to list weaknesses in Tongan child discipline, all indicated that a lack of discipline was a problem in some families, but each couple also stated that the use of beatings as punishment was a ‘weakness’ (Finau 1979: 60). Some school principals have been trying for years to abolish corporal punishment in schools, and the Tongan media occasionally raises the issue of physical punishment (e.g. Tonga Today 1987d: 35). The Mormon church discourages the use of physical punishment within the families of its adherents and in its schools. If and when the bureaucratic base of the Tongan government broadens to include social welfare institutions, the issue of state intervention in legally-designated ‘abuse’ cases (or even potential cases, as has occurred in the West) will have to be confronted.

As social support networks become more restricted, and broader social and economic changes occur, the incidence of child abuse and neglect can increase (Korbin 1991: 72-4). Yet as Korbin notes, ‘the impact of change on child maltreatment is a complex issue’ (ibid.: 74; and see Levinson 1989: 63-6). Tongan parents are responding in varied ways to change, and to their related fear that children are becoming badly behaved and ‘losing’ their culture (see Chapter Five). Some have become increasingly strict and punitive in an attempt to further control their children’s behaviour, whereas others have relaxed their control to some extent.

**WIDER CONTEXTS OF VIOLENCE**

Unlike Samoa, anthropological accounts of twentieth century Tonga have not upheld the ‘paradoxical’ image portrayed in the historical literature, since they have
emphasised the unaggressive, dignified 'side' of Tongan behaviour (for Samoa see Kavapalu 1987). In Tonga today, the contexts in which interpersonal violence occurs are more restricted than in Samoa but such contexts do exist. The extent to which violence is socially acceptable varies considerably, and as Bernstein argues, the most acceptable expressions of violence are:

private (within families or away from open view), or involving individuals who were traditionally abused and could not easily fight back (e.g., wives, children, mentally retarded, and animals) ... they are an example of accepted, even expected, acts in Tonga which can be as validly criticized in their omission as in their commission, for not to control and punish one's wife, child, or animal, leads to criticism that one is not 'teaching' them correctly or is too weak to control them (1983: 154).

The victims of such violence are 'usually blamed for their own misfortunes' (ibid.: 56), as has been shown in the case of children being punished. Indeed, as with children, women who have been beaten by their husbands often describe the incident as being their own fault and laugh about it in retrospect. However, wife-beating is not as explicitly associated with 'ofa or 'teaching' as is child-beating. Husbands are 'higher' than wives, but women are seldom subservient to their husbands. Many women described their beatings as being caused by quarrels (kē) and clashes (fepaki), in which they were attempting to assert their own opinions or needs. Faiva has argued that in Tonga wife-beating is 'often seen as a form of disciplining the wives ... [and] is often seen as the exercise of authority rather than the abuse of that authority' (1989: 41).

Intellectually handicapped and mentally ill people are sometimes threatened or treated violently. The manner in which they are treated is very similar to children, since both groups are regarded as vale (foolish/ crazy). An elderly man suffering

47 The difference seems to be related to the greater concern with rank and political rivalry at the village level in Samoa.

48 Ralston has stated that for pre-contact Tonga 'there is little evidence of physical or domestic violence against women. Given their place of importance as sisters one cannot imagine that women would have remained in abusive marital relationships' (1990a: 112).

49 An aspect of domestic violence that is rarely discussed is that of rape. Under Tongan law a man cannot be charged with the rape of his wife 'under any circumstances' (The Law of Tonga Cap 15: Section 109).
from senility, living in a village near Holonga, was often taunted and threatened by groups of boys. On one occasion when he approached me to beg money one of these boys broke a stick from a bush and threatened to hit him, until he wandered off. Yet on other occasions teenage boys would walk along the road with him, holding his hand to stop him walking out into the traffic.

In Nuku’alofa, a young woman who appeared to be mentally retarded or disturbed was treated with much more open aggression. Individuals or groups of people threatened her with violence, and chased her away or threw rocks at her when she approached them to talk. She became verbally abusive herself at times and would then be hit or kicked away. On one occasion she stole some small items from the house next to mine, and when she was caught in the act she was beaten by a woman from the house and several neighbours.

Animals are also treated violently, as has been remarked in several accounts (e.g. Bergeron n.d: 42.; Bernstein 1983: 154; Lovett 1958: 33; Thomson 1894: 390). The cats, dogs, pigs, and chickens that roam freely near to homes are frequently hit, kicked, and stoned away from doorways, food, and gardens, and other animals such as goats and horses are also beaten at times. Small children act out threatening and hitting sequences with the cats, kittens and puppies allowed into or near to houses, and when older children chase animals away they often call out the threat they hear so often: ‘Te u taa’i koe’ (I’ll hit you). Adults sometimes laughingly tell children to stop mistreating animals but rarely interfere any further.

In each of these contexts violence is directed from high status to low-status persons (and animals). Violence that is in a sense outside the status system, yet receives tacit approval, includes defending the honour and reputation of one’s family. This sort of violence, as in revenging the rape of a daughter, or responding to offensive behaviour (e.g. swearing at a man’s sister) can also be seen as a form of punishment. Low status persons rarely direct violence toward those of higher status, although until children are about three or four they can occasionally hit adults in fun. This is an extension of the encouragement babies are given to behave violently:
Mefa (1) was crying, so Helenä, her mother, called a neighbour’s son, Soane (2) to come and hit her. He ran over and threatened Mefa with a stick and then a broom, as Helenä and his older sister, 'Ema (12) laughed. He climbed over 'Ema’s back and lap and she rapped him on the head and pretended to smack him, then began drumming with some sticks while he danced. Soane picked up a knife and pretended to throw it at me, and laughed heartily when I instinctively ducked. He began to pretend to throw anything he could find and to wave a stick threateningly at his sister, as his ‘audience’ laughed. He hit ‘Ema, breaking his stick, then poked out his tongue. When Helenä commented on this to me, he kept doing it, while threatening to throw a brush at me, until an older woman approached and 'Ema warned, ‘Here comes Latai, she'll hit you!’ His ‘performance’ ended as the adults began to talk to each other.

As Borofsky has noted of Pukapuka, Tongan punishment teaches children about their ‘subordinate role in the learning process. The beating constitutes a lesson in social relations’ (1987: 97). What Borofsky does not make explicit is that punishment also teaches children how to behave in a dominant (i.e. high-status) manner. Mageo has suggested of Samoa that, ‘Because the assertion of status in Samoa is equated with the ability to inflict physical punishment, punishing another may come to be regarded, in later life, as an assertion of status’ (1988:54). Punishment is a direct and forceful assertion of power and control, and in Tonga such assertion is no longer associated with chief/commoner interactions, as formerly, but continues within the family and in other settings such as schools. Children begin, by the age of two or three, to attempt to dominate younger and same-age children by force. In play and other interactions, they imitate the sequences of gestures and words used by adults and older children when threatening and punishing (see Chapter Four).

In children’s play groups younger children do hit older children, though far less often than they are themselves hit. A great deal of children’s play is rough and physical, with a lot of hair-pulling, wrestling, snatchiing, shouting, and so on. Whiting and Edwards have argued that, ‘Rough-and-tumble play is not necessarily aggressive; in our analysis it appears more as competitive and sociable behaviour.

50 Mageo also suggests that ‘the Samoan preoccupation’ with titles and politics, and therefore with having a position of dominance, is linked to the ‘demands for frequent and dramatic submission in childhood’ (1988: 58).
This type of play can quickly become hostile and aggressive, however, when one of the actors is hurt' (1988: 276).

In Tonga, this competitive, sociable aspect of rough play is apparent, and in fact much teasing and 'roughhouse' is affectionate, even between high and low status persons (e.g. adults and children). There are far more contexts in which it becomes aggressive than simply the injury of one player, though. Accusations of cheating, disputes over 'turns', and other elements of discord frequently lead to aggression, as does teasing, which is discussed in the following chapter. The status differences of the children (kin- or age-based) are never completely obscured by play, and often emerge during these moments of dispute or when 'higher' children want 'lower' children to follow their orders. Children of similar ages tend to vie for dominance (i.e. status), and boys are especially aggressive to one another in this sense. Within boys' peer groups one is often singled out as the weakest and is treated roughly. He is sent to do 'messages' and, as one man explained (in English):

If he makes a mistake, you'll bring him in front of everybody and have a hiding. And that's a fun hiding. Give him a punch, or fall down, give him a kick. And he accepts it ... and if he's going to cry, that means he's not a man, first thing; second thing, the beating up is too excessive, and then he will be complaining, and the last thing is, if he cries that means the other people will kick him out of the peer group.

Adults often give both covert and overt approval to violent and aggressive behaviour between children, especially between boys. Some children tend to be picked on more than others, and adults may allow this to happen. One little girl in Holonga was constantly being teased and hit by the other children, and her aunt told me that they hit her because she was always crying. My own impression was that she cried because she was hit.51 As stated previously, babies are urged to hit, poke, and otherwise behave roughly with other children, and in relaxed and informal

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51 This child was also ill-favoured by adults, possibly because of she was an borne by a married woman to another man, while her husband was overseas, and was thus a source of shame to her parents. She was given as a pusiaki to the man's mother's sister and rarely saw her mother, who lived in another part of the village.
situations adults may also laugh at and encourage violent or aggressive behaviour between older children, as a kind of extension of these 'performances' by babies.

There is a great deal of variation in children's tendencies to behave aggressively and/or violently. Several people commented that children who receive a lot of physical punishment tend to be more aggressive with other children. As a kindergarten principal observed, these children are often 'hard cases'; not only more aggressive in play but also harder for the teachers to discipline. Although punishment is sometimes explicitly intended to discourage aggression (e.g. when a child is beaten for hitting another child), it also provides a clear model of violent behaviour that is enacted in play, in conflict, and as an assertion of status.52

However, physical punishment is not the only factor contributing to violent and aggressive behaviour. Keene claimed for Samoa that aggressive behaviour is influenced by the anger caused by punishment, aggressive models of behaviour, the link between pain and love, frustration, and the cultural expectation that anger be repressed (1978). These factors are all clearly important in Tonga, though as stated, the contexts in which violent behaviour occurs are more restricted. Other social factors that appear to influence the individual child's aggressiveness to other children include his or her place in the sibling hierarchy, treatment received within the household (e.g. if the child is a pele, favourite), and opportunities to play away from adult observers. Girls, who are kept close to home and occupied with household chores, have few opportunities to behave aggressively except toward the younger children in their care, and in any case are expected to be more restrained in their behaviour than males.

Violence and aggression within peer groups continues into adulthood, particularly for men. A great deal of fighting between men is precipitated by alcohol

52 Levy has argued for Tahiti that physical punishment is used to encourage nonaggression, and that Tahitian socialisation encourages 'timid', 'gentle' behaviour (1978). He does not address the question of physical punishment itself as aggressive behavior. Other studies of 'nonviolent' societies have also neglected this issue (e.g. Montagu 1978). On the other hand, the question of whether physical punishment in childhood necessarily leads to aggressiveness in adulthood remains unresolved in the child development and child abuse literature (e.g. Mussen et al 1984: 175).
consumption, so dances, hotels and other sites for drinking are also sites for frequent brawls. As Bernstein noted, there is a tendency for fund-raising events, Christmas and other celebrations to be marked by an increase in tension and fighting (1983: 155). Jealousy can also precipitate aggression, especially in the case of sexual rivalry. A rather extreme case I witnessed involved two women, one of whom had just given birth and was resting in the labour room of the hospital. The other woman, pregnant to the father of the newborn baby, attempted to force entry to the room, shouting that she wanted to kill the baby. She smashed over trolleys of equipment in the corridor outside the room, screaming with jealous rage, before being restrained and removed to the next-door psychiatric ward.

Much of the physically rough behaviour between persons in Tonga is treated as 'fun', though this fun can be quite violent at times. Bernstein referred to clowning behaviour (see Chapter Eight) as 'happy violence' (1983: 156), and this is an apt description of people's behaviour in many other contexts. Greetings between people tend to be either formal and polite, or loud and physical with much slapping, mock-punching, pushing and joking. In the following chapter this association between humour/happiness and violence/aggression is further explored. The importance, in most social contexts, of restraining emotion – particularly anger – is discussed, and some implications of the socialisation of emotion are considered.
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE SOCIALISATION OF EMOTION

An emotion is a system of concepts, beliefs, attitudes, and desires, virtually all of which are context-bound, historically developed, and culture-specific (Solomon 1984: 249).

The impact of culture on the subjective experience and expression of emotion is acknowledged even by those who maintain that certain emotions (or certain aspects of emotions) are universal. For example, differential emotions theorists, such as Izard, have claimed certain emotions to be innate and universal,1 yet accept that associated cognitive processes are influenced by factors such as age, experience, context and culture (Izard 1972, 1977, 1982, 1983; Izard and Buechler 1980).2

The analysis in this chapter is informed by research into the social bases of emotion, by philosophers (e.g. Solomon 1977), sociologists (e.g. Kemper 1978), cognitive theorists (e.g. Averill 1980a, 1982), developmental psychologists (e.g. Lewis and Saami 1985a), and ethnopsychologists (e.g. Lutz 1986, 1988). The strongest statements of this perspective can be found in the work of 'social

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1 The ten ‘fundamental emotions’ these theorists claim to exist are interest, joy, surprise, sadness, anger, disgust, contempt, fear, shame/sadness, and guilt (Izard and Buechler 1980: 168). See also the work of Ekman on universal facial expressions of emotion (Ekman 1974; Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth 1972).

2 Apart from biologically-based arguments about the universality of emotions, there are also existential factors to consider. Myers has argued that the existential situation of all people in a ‘sociomoral order’ creates a universality in a ‘logical’ sense (1988: 591). He states: ‘The range and logical forms of emotions are universal in so far as they define or interpret the relationships of the subject (self) to the world’ (ibid.; and see Harris and Saami 1989: 8 for a survey of similar claims about children’s experiences). Many useful surveys of various approaches to the study of emotion can be found, e.g. Averill (1980a); Boucher (1979), Lutz and White (1986) and Plutchik and Kellerman (1980); Scherer and Ekman (1984a).
constructionists' (mainly cognitive theorists) who, whilst not denying that humans have an innate capacity for emotion, focus on the social constitution and rationality of emotions (e.g. Gergen and Davis 1985; Harre 1986, Rorty 1980).3 Most of this work focuses on ‘Western’ societies, though cultural variation is acknowledged (e.g. Heelas 1986), and the work of anthropologists such as Levy, Lutz, and Rosaldo is frequently cited, or added to collections of essays to give a ‘cross-cultural perspective’.

Research into the socialisation of emotion by developmental psychologists has revealed the incredible complexity of this process (e.g. Lewis and Saarni 1985a; Plutchick and Kellerman 1983; Saarni and Harris 1989). This work varies in the extent to which ‘culture’ is granted a leading role, but increasing recognition is being given to the culture-specific nature of both the content and interpretation of emotional experience (Harris and Saarni 1989: 8). Within anthropology, some ethnographers have relied on ‘Western’ psychological theories to analyse the socialisation of emotion (e.g. Robarchek 1979), whilst others have focused on indigenous terms and concepts (e.g. Geertz 1974). The recent work of ethnopsychologists has followed the latter course, though few studies have been directly concerned with child socialisation. Following social constructionist theory, ethnopsychologists have argued that it is possible to study ‘the negotiation of emotion as culturally defined elements in social life, leaving to the side questions of their biological basis or the pan human reality of affect’ (Kirkpatrick and White 1985: 17; and see Lutz 1988).

Averill has argued that:

Emotional concepts ... help to explain behavior by relating it to systems of judgement (e.g., of a moral or aesthetic nature) and to patterns of social relationships ... as a child learns to use emotional concepts correctly, he also learns a great deal about the meaning of emotional roles (Averill 1980b: 321).

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This learning begins at birth (Brazelton 1983; Michalson and Lewis 1985; Scherer and Ekman 1984b: 74), and continues throughout life (Averill 1986). Social competence entails the development of emotional competence, and the forms of learning that have been discussed thus far in this thesis contribute to the acquisition of knowledge about emotion concepts and roles in Tonga—observation, moral instruction, punishment, play, and so on. The central features of Tongan ‘systems of judgement’ and ‘patterns of social relationships’ have also been discussed, including values, status and gender roles and relations, and kinship. Many of these strands will be drawn together in this chapter.

MONITORING EMOTION

The interpersonal nature of emotion is stressed in many Pacific cultures: relationships between persons are culturally emphasised over individuals’ inner states. Lutz argues that the Ifaluk assume that ‘people are oriented primarily toward each other rather than toward an inner world of individually constituted goals and thoughts’ (1988: 81; see Gerber 1975: 12 for Samoa). According to Lutz, ‘the Ifaluk emphasise that feelings come from social relations, that their emotional lives are their social lives’ (1988: 101, emphasis in original). In Tonga, too, a person’s emotional life is seen as inextricably bound up with others. There is a cultural emphasis on learning emotional restraint and learning to ‘read’ contexts in order to act appropriately with others. However, Tongans also value autonomy and recognise the importance of subjectivity. Emotion and thought emerge from one’s loto (heart/mind) and may be as much a result of one’s 'ulungâanga ('nature') as of one’s social relations.

The term ongo'i, introduced in Chapter Four, is a transitive verb meaning ‘to feel’, physically and/or emotionally. The noun ongo can be translated as ‘feeling’ or ‘emotion’, though the former is more appropriate since ongo implies both corporeal and psychological experience. To explicitly denote ‘emotion’, as internal experience, the term ongo'i loto (inward feeling) is sometimes used. The primary
meaning of *ongo* is actually sound or, as a verb, to sound or be heard (*ongo'i*: to hear). This association between hearing and feeling may be related to the stress placed on listening as a means of acquiring knowledge and understanding.

Individuals’ subjective states can often be at variance with cultural concepts of ‘appropriate’ emotion, as both Gerber (1985: 159) and Myers (1986: 106) have observed. In Tonga, where the expression of negatively-valued emotion is highly restrained, interpreting individuals’ subjective states is particularly difficult. Tongans interpret others’ emotions by reading various subtle ‘cues’, as well as by imputing affective states according to cultural expectations. Tongan discourse reveals an intense concern with monitoring others’ emotions. Assessment of people’s present emotional states and the sincerity of their emotional expression, and speculation about their future emotional states are all facets of this discourse. This concern begins when babies are born, as people interpret infants’ closely observed facial expressions as emotional.

Statements are frequently made about the emotional state of a child or adult, usually to a third person or persons: ‘Look at Sione, he’s smiling, he’s happy’. The person to whom the emotion is imputed may or may not be within earshot. People also draw attention to others’ *mata* (face, eyes), and *mata* is used in compounds in which facial expression and appearance index emotional states or personal characteristics. For example, *matalili* (‘boiling face’, i.e. boiling with anger), and *mata-kākā* (cunning-eyed, suggesting deceitfulness) (Churchward 1959: 336-343). When speaking affectionately, people may direct their *’ofa* (‘love’) to another’s *mata*.4 The first-birthday message recorded in Chapter Three (p. 82) includes the phrase ‘our great love to your dear little face (*mata*)’. In certain contexts *mata* can even mean ‘feeling’ (ibid.: 336).

Affect labelling is seldom based on admissions of feeling states by the person concerned, and people are seldom directly questioned about their emotions.

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4 Typically, this only occurs in the more formal circumstances of speech-making, letter-writing, and so on, rather than in ordinary interactions (see the discussion of *’ofa* in Chapter Five).
However, as a visitor I was repeatedly asked about my emotional state, most commonly to reassure people that I was lata (content). This was presumably because my cues were obscure and my cultural difference precluded assumptions based on cultural norms. My relative frankness about my feelings, in response to such queries, was a source of considerable amusement. I was also asked to compare my emotional state in different settings: was I more lata in Tonga or Australia, Tongatapu or 'Eua, Holonga or Nuku'alofa? My hosts emphasised the importance of generous services (demonstrations of 'ofa, love/concern), such as doing my washing or cooking special foods, as their way of ensuring that I was content.

Children do question one another about their emotions, and often appear to be testing their own judgement of facial expressions and other non-verbal cues. Of great concern to children is the sincerity of emotional expression. They frequently accuse one another of false emotional displays, claiming, for example, that others are 'tangi loi' (pretending to cry), or 'kata loi' (laughing falsely). Children and others assert their sincerity by saying 'Mo'oni!', meaning both true and correct. It is also common to affirm and support other people's statements, as in 'Mo'oni 'a Tupou' (Tupou is honest/right), suggesting that sincerity is a matter of more general concern.

Tongan discourse about emotion stresses the importance of restraint (fakama'uma'u), particularly of negatively valued emotions such as anger and jealousy. Informal social controls, particularly ridicule and gossip, are activated when a person shows a lack of emotional control. 'To be easily upset is to be marked as a fool or a "bad" person' (Bernstein 1983: 56). Another term for restraint is kukuta, 'to keep a firm grip on oneself (fig.): e.g., when in great pain (so as not to flinch or cry) ... or when angry or deeply in love (so as not to give vent to one's feelings) ... Of feelings: to be pent up' (Churchward 1959: 274). Emotional restraint

Bernstein defines informal social controls as controls 'which depend for their force on diffuse sanctions, rather than a stated system of laws. The diffuse sanctions depend in turn on cultural assumptions of what is morally right and proper behaviour' (1983: 2-3). Bernstein argues that ambiguity is 'an important and pervasive element in informal social control ... humour and politeness obscure the actor's intent or feelings; gossip and harassment leave the identity of the perpetrator questionable; dropped remarks obscure the identity of their victim' (ibid.: 3).
is a facet of the restraint that characterises ideal personhood, and later in this chapter the issue of self-control will be addressed at length.

People seldom directly acknowledge their own affective states, and for intense emotions restraint is ideally exercised even in facial expression and other non-verbal cues. However, individuals often reveal their emotions indirectly in speech by using the prefix *faka-*, which denotes causation and thus enables the speaker to attribute feeling states to others' behaviour. Just as Tongan parents rarely say 'I love you', so they do not say 'I am angry with you', or even 'you make me angry'. Instead, they tell the child he or she is *faka'ita* (irritating) *fakahoha'a* (annoying), or *fakahela* (tiring).

Emotion is also expressed indirectly in speech through the use of emotional forms of possessive pronouns. There are emotional articles as well, which indicate 'that the speaker's thought is coloured, as it were, by feelings of affection, friendship, pity, humility, or respect' (Churchward 1985: 23). The emotional article *si'i* (indefinite: *si'a*) can also be used as an emotional adjective in much the same way. *Si'i* can thus be used, according to context, much as various emotional adjectives are used in English: 'The *poor* boy', 'The *dear* girl', and so on.

Generally, the direct expression of strong emotion is regarded as *ta'e taa'u* (unbecoming), *ta'e fe'unga* (inappropriate) and even *fakamā* (shameful). The importance of restraint was noted in some of the earliest European accounts of Tongan society. Mariner observed that jealousy was 'seldom strongly expressed' by the wives of unfaithful husbands, adding that 'pride generally causes them to conceal this passion' (Martin 1981: 329). Burney, with Cook in 1777, commented that in combat sports 'if anything like ill blood appeared between the combatants, the friends of either party interposed and separated them immediately' (Beaglehole 1967: 108, fn 2). Ferdon states that 'it was deemed proper etiquette that no fighter

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6 The pronoun system in Tongan is complex, with subjective and objective, definite and indefinite, inclusive and exclusive, and single, dual and plural forms. Furthermore, each possessive pronoun has ordinary, emotional and emphatic registers (Churchward 1985: Ch.20).
exhibit violent emotions by word or expression before, during, or after a fight, even if he or she lost and was badly beaten up' (1987: 185).

Formal kava ceremonies exemplify the importance of restraint, as well as the undercurrent of ambivalence that is its corollary. As Bott states: 'the formal, prescribed events of the ceremony emphasize unity and harmony. Rivalry, jealousy and envy are widely and consciously felt, to varying degrees, but their expression is either unofficial or is left to individual initiative' (1972: 226). The subtle expressions of antagonism that can occur in such ceremonies include whispered comments criticising the conduct of the ceremony, despite the requirement of silence (ibid.). Muttered remarks and deprecatory comments are also made by children when annoyed or upset by adults' demands or punishments.

An important exception to the general pattern of not directly expressing intense emotional states in ordinary discourse is the discussion of past events. Perhaps because these events are distanced by time, the emotions associated with them tend to be discussed openly, though often in a humourous, self-deprecatory manner.

Although there is considerable concern with monitoring emotion, both by assessing others' emotional states and by controlling one's own emotions, there is less concern with causation. Emotions are said to arise (tupu hake) within the loto, becoming part of a person's 'nature' and behaviour (anga/ulungāanga). Restraint is sometimes described as fakama'uma'u hifo, restrain down, and the expression of emotion as tötu'a, fall/drop outside, a term with negative connotations of losing control. Another term used to describe the origin of emotion is akeloto (or akeakeloto), meaning 'to well or spring up within the heart' and derived from ake, to swell or rise, referring especially to waves (Churchward 1959: 3). The most common responses to my attempts to ask why particular emotions arose were 'hei'ilo' (who knows?), or 'fakanatula pē' ([it's] just natural). When pressed for an explanation most people cited a specific social cause – an insult given, a service carried out, and so on.
One explanation I did not hear, but which has been described by other researchers, is interference by spirits (ancestral spirits or supernatural beings, commonly called tevolo today). 'Avanga, or spirit-induced illness, ranging from spirit possession to various forms of depression and sickness, has been described by Parsons as an 'idiom of distress' (1984; and see Parsons 1983, 1985). Cowling states that 'āvanga illnesses are 'culturally acceptable forms of evincing distress, fears and concerns ... [they] can be seen as a plea for attention and the adjustment of whatever life situation is oppressing the victim' (1990a: 87). The 'life situation' that is most commonly a cause for distress is 'infractions of the "moral good" of kin relations, that is, conflict or distress in family relationships', and Parsons points out that the sufferer is most commonly 'the subordinate (powerless) member of the relationship' (1984: 87). Other incidents of 'āvanga illness are attributed more directly to the actions of the sufferer, particularly disrespect to the dead.

The explanations of emotion causation that I have described all imply that individuals have no control over the actual arising of emotions. Indeed, people will comment that an emotion 'just comes in my loto'. This does not mean that emotions cannot be managed — through restraint, for example. Of all the negatively-valued emotions, the greatest emphasis on restraint is placed on the expression of 'ita, best glossed as anger.

THE MANAGEMENT OF ANGER

As well as the conceptual metaphor of inner growth and heightening, the metaphor of heat is used to describe emotions. Mafana (warm) is used to describe positively-valued feelings such as joy, enthusiasm, and exhilaration. More intense

7 Symptoms of spirit possession include 'bizarre talking, irrational anger, attacking family members, running away and hiding, crying out, swearing and hysteria (āvea), and greatly increased strength' (Parsons 1985: 95). Parsons notes that in recent years the Department of Health has redefined such behaviour as 'psychiatric', and that this can transform an 'acute but readily cured "illness"' into a long-term psychiatric disturbance (ibid.).

8 Another distressing life situation is dealing with the effects of modernisation, and Parsons has identified lolo mai as the associated illness (1984: 86; cf. Cowling 1990a: 77; Parsons 1985: 99).
heat is a metaphor for anger ('ita), though in the context of 'crowning' the term vela (burning) is used (discussed later in this chapter). There is an extensive lexicon of anger in Tonga, and many terms derive from this metaphor of heat. Lili, to boil, is used in compounds such as matalili ('boiling' with anger) and lotolili ('boiling' inside). Anger is also described as 'red hot' (kakaha), flaring up momentarily (tafue), or 'sparking' (mofisi). Other anger words are also metaphoric, such as 'ita fakamolokau - angry like a centipede (i.e. restraining anger for a long time then suddenly expressing it). In Tongan emotion discourse, anger is 'hypercognated' (Levy 1969b: 370). As in Tahiti, there is 'a developed and shared doctrine of the forms of anger, its effects, and what to do about it' (ibid.).

Most anger terms depict the individual's subjective state. In negatively evaluating anger, it is its behavioural manifestations that people emphasise, just as positive evaluations of 'ofa stress actions such as sharing, helping, and giving. In Tonga, as in Samoa, 'socially virtuous emotions frequently mark the absence of anger' (Gerber 1975: 307). In both cultures, 'the domain of emotions seems to emphasize submissiveness and the manipulation of anger' (ibid.: 280; see Kavapalu 1987: 106-8). The violence and uncontrolled behaviour that are conceptually associated with anger are feared as dangerous and shameful. In her study of informal social control in Tonga, Bernstein claimed that:

violence as an informal means of controlling behavior is frightening and of course dangerous. Even openly expressed anger is feared. Subtler forms of social control such as humor and gossip are more acceptable ways to manipulate. Much of the violence and anger in Tonga is channeled through these less disruptive forms (1983: 4).

This view of violence does not fully accord with the early accounts of Tonga discussed in the previous chapter, but it does partially describe the situation in contemporary Tonga. As I have shown, and as Bernstein admits, there are still

9 In the 'language of the chiefs', anger is tuputamaki (Taliai 1989: 156) - literally, growing danger.

10 The influence of Christian ideology has been a major factor in this transformation (see Chapter Five).
certain contexts in which violence is socially acceptable, notably in the discipline of children and wives and the treatment of animals. Violence that is (ideally) intended to teach, control, or express 'ofa is appropriate, whereas violence motivated by anger is inappropriate and feared. An elderly woman explained:

There are people who are often angry in a bullying way ('ita fakavalevale), and they often hit. Especially boys, they have problems — they go and drink and that kind of thing ... and there is a class (kalasi), when they are angry they are able to apologise. It is not the same with all people, there are some people with that nature/behaviour (anga). It is the right thing, to think it is best to keep one's feelings in ... If someone is angry and it comes out (tōtu’a) it is harmful (maumau); lots of killing when their anger comes out.

The term used by this woman, 'ita fakavalevale, expresses the association between aggression and foolishness (vale). The opposite of fakapotopoto (sensible, wise), fakavalevale means frequently behaving in a bullying manner. It can also mean babyish or childish, children being regarded as both aggressive and foolish. The link between aggression and foolishness was described in the previous chapter: people who are vale, especially children and mentally disabled persons, receive violence but are also characterised as behaving aggressively. Part of the process of becoming poto is learning to restrict aggressive behaviour to certain limited contexts.

The 'Western' model of emotion has been described as 'hydraulic', with 'emotions as forces and pressures' within the person which can be contained, channelled, dispersed, redirected, and so on (Solomon 1977: 221). As Solomon points out, this model frees the individual from responsibility for his or her emotions (ibid.: 222). Tongans share this model to some extent, as seen in the notions of restraint and of emotions 'falling out'. Anger is also described as being redirected, as in slamming doors and breaking or throwing objects (see Table 8A later in this chapter). However, the ideal model of anger (and other negatively valued emotions) is of restraint leading to dissipation, without any need for expression. Anger that is restrained (fakama'uma'u) or held in (kukuta) will eventually finish ('osi), and leave

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11 A related model of emotion is that of 'fluid in a container' (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987; Kövecses 1990).
the person’s *loto* peaceful once more. The two models are often contrasted, as in this woman’s statement:

When I’m angry I talk and scold, but there is a class who when they are angry can keep their feelings in (*fakama’ uma’u*) until they are finished (*'osi*). But me, when I’m angry I talk, scold until my anger is finished. And when my anger is finished there is nothing staying in my heart/mind (*loto*). I will just stay and get angry, and scold until it is all finished. There is a class who when they are angry just stay silent.

*Fakalongolongo*, staying silent, is the ideal means of dealing with anger.

Another woman said:

When I’m very angry I don’t like to talk to anyone. I just like to be silent. But if someone comes and talks to me, then I’ll be angry with them but I won’t speak. They will know that I’m angry because I’m silent. I think its better for me to be silent, because my anger finishes quickly. If I speak, I will just speak badly, swear, behave inappropriately. Its all right if I’m silent until my anger is finished.

Remaining silent is also, as I have shown, the appropriate way to demonstrate respect in some circumstances. The primary importance of behaviour rather than subjective state thus allows for a certain ‘inner’ autonomy, in which silence may genuinely express respect and obedience or may conceal hostility.

The appropriate response to another’s anger is also silence. A woman with several grandchildren in her care commented:

When I’m angry I shout. Just shout at [the children] and they know I’m angry, and they are silent so I’ll quickly get into a better mood. I tell them not to talk to me or answer back when I’m angry about something. If they are quickly silent, I will tell them, ‘Just wait a bit, be patient, because as I get old I get more irritable’.

Silence can be an effective strategy for signalling pain, illness and other needs. By indicating that a person is *loto mamahi* (see Chapter Seven, p.231), it can provoke sympathy in others. Bernstein notes that ‘while anger is not an acceptable emotion in Tonga, being "upset" or saddened, when not wholly out of control, is not merely acceptable but elicits pity’ (1983: 97). As mentioned previously, both *loto* and *mamahi* have connotations of anger. Sadness and anger are closely linked in Tongan thought, and it is sadness, turned in on oneself, that is more culturally
appropriate than anger, turned outward. With restraint, both the angry person and
the person to whom their anger is directed can be perceived as loto mamahi, and thus
objects of pity and concern.

In the previous chapter it was shown that children learn that a submissive
response to the anger of a higher-status person can be an effective means of avoiding
or reducing punishment. Such submission involves silence, or begging for
forgiveness (kole fakamolemole). Restraint is therefore the ideal response to both
one's own anger and the anger of another, by remaining silent, apologising, or
refraining from behaving badly.

For Tongan children, then, there are many factors which encourage non-
aggression in interactions with persons of higher status. The expectation that family
members have 'ofa for one another; the association of obedience, duty, and respect
with 'ofa; the relationship between teaching, 'ofa, and punishment; the importance of
restraint as a demonstration of respect and, more generally, for proper presentation of
self - all of these factors encourage the acceptance of behavioural restrictions and
demands for conformity. Non-aggression is further encouraged by factors such as
fear of retaliatory violence and of bringing shame to self and family, as well as the
value placed on peaceful social relations.

Similar factors operate to encourage restraint and non-aggression in adults'
interactions. Bernstein has commented that village peace is 'often maintained
through the suppression of anger' (1983: 51). Although there is an undercurrent of
rivalry, jealousy, and tension beneath the peaceful appearance of village life, it
seldom rises to the surface in the form of violence or directly expressed emotion.
Rather, there is a continual flow of gossip, ridicule and other forms of informal
social control, as Bernstein's thesis shows. The ideal of restraint as a means of
dissipating anger, and the high value placed on reconciliation (discussed below) are

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12 Cf. White's (1990) analysis of the 'disentangling discourse' used by A'ara speakers on
Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands, which 'rhetorically transmutes "anger" to "sadness"
(ibid.: 63). Later in this chapter I show that in Tonga anger is also transformed into humour.
especially important factors contributing to the maintenance of harmonious social relations.

Physical appearance is an important index to emotions, though as with silence the subjective state of a person may remain ambiguous. Anger may be so successfully restrained that no trace of it is revealed in the facial expression — but a 'blank' expression can itself indicate restrained emotion. Children become aware of this ambiguity at an early age, partly though the form of threatening described in the previous chapter, in which caregivers warn children that another person is going to hit them. Since the other person usually shows no sign of anger, 'this raises the possibility that someone may be angry and not show it' (Barlow 1985: 215, writing of a similar practice among the Murik of Papua New Guinea).

At times, anger and sadness are unambiguously expressed through physical cues and speech. Marcus has stated that fathers, angry about their daughters' elopements, may show 'deeply hurt feelings expressed in a self-consciously sullen and unkempt appearance in public' (1979: 86). A father may also 'make an elaborate public display of anger, expressed in his intent to disown his daughter' (Marcus 1979: 86). Common angry gestures in Tonga include jutting the chin forward while sharply tipping the head back, or lowering the chin while frowning and pouting. The latter is often accompanied by vigorous scratching of the side or back of the head. It is closely linked with frustration, and is most often employed by children when refused something, or by adults toward children when feeling angry but refraining from striking them. Actions performed silently also betray suppressed emotion:

Tali (24) had arrived home with a string of fish, when his sister (20) approached him and upbraided him for not providing more food for the family. Tali called the family dog over and, without a word, slowly fed it the fish, one by one, as his sister looked on, also in silence. When he had finished, Tali went to his room and went to sleep.13

When teenagers described what they would do if they were angry with their parents, their responses included a number of facial expressions, such as looking ugly, going

13 Sleep is one of the 'distancing mechanisms' Levy identified in the Tahitians' handling of negative emotions (1973: 495-8).
red, scowling (fakafufula) and pouting (fakapupula), which I have classed together as ‘look angry’ in Table 8A (below). The questions asked were, ‘If you were angry with your parents would you show them? If yes, how? If not, what would you do about your anger? In answer to the first question, of 225 respondents 110 said ‘yes’ and 115 said ‘no’. In Table 8A, their answers to the second and third questions are combined, to show how the students claimed they would deal with their anger (some gave multiple answers).

The range of responses the students gave indicates that although many consider restraint and reconciliation important, many also claim to express their anger freely. In part this reflects the fact that restraint is learned only gradually throughout childhood and adolescence. Another factor is the claim many teenagers make to be fa'iteliha (able to please themselves) and tau'ataina (independent), as discussed in Chapter Five. Observed behaviour suggests that they are much less likely to openly display anger toward their parents or other adults than their responses indicate. Indeed, many who said they would tell their parents that they were angry, added comments that showed they would actually express their feelings in terms of repentance. Such comments included, ‘I show them because I want [them] to tell me the right thing to do’, and ‘tell them what I am angry about and they will tell me the right thing to do’. Others stated that they would wait until family prayers, or a family meeting, before speaking of their anger, or until they were loto lelei (i.e. until they were no longer angry).

Some respondents gave multiple answers. Those who indicated that they would not show their parents their anger gave a variety of reasons, including that it is wrong to be angry with one’s parents, fear of punishment, and that parents are always right. They also described both direct and indirect ways in which they would reveal their feelings.

One of the responses, ‘I would want to kill myself’, became especially meaningful for me when a boy I knew (not one of the respondents) committed suicide. The boy (12) was found hanging by a shoelace from a beam in a deserted
### Table 8A: Dealing with Anger Toward Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Speech</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell parents</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask forgiveness</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be silent</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak rudely</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell relation/friend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Facial Expression</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look angry</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look sad/cry</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Behaviour</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not work/work badly</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit someone</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stay with kin</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide in room</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stamp/tantrum</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slam door/break or throw something</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run away</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not eat</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behave badly</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feelings</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remorse</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forget it</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smile/be happy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be grumpy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restrain it</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loto mamahi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other#</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Respondents</strong></td>
<td>137</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* not go to church; turn away from advice; steal money; ‘want to kill myself’; go and play
# tau‘a’aita (free); fie lahi (proud); fie‘eiki (arrogant), lotolahi (tough).
house, after running away from his mother following a disagreement. The story that circulated in his village was that the boy and his brother had both wanted a pair of shorts sent in a parcel from overseas, but their mother gave them to the brother. The boy became angry and refused to do an errand for his mother, so she began to beat him and he ran away. The simple motive offered for his suicide was, therefore: 'He was angry'. More complex factors of circumstance and motive were not discussed (at least not in my presence) and in fact people avoided discussing the incident, claiming it would just cause sadness and 'bring shame to the family'. Instead, conversations centred on the funeral, fond memories of the boy, and how well his mother had cared for him.

This boy's suicide was the fifth for 1988 (Tonga Chronicle 1989: 2). Out of 26 suicides between 1978 and October 1990, 19 were aged between 11 and 24, and 17 were male (Ranger 1990: 10). Hanging was the most common method, and 90 per cent of the suicides occurred on Tongatapu (ibid.). The incidence of suicide in Tonga is low in comparison to some other Pacific societies, such as parts of Micronesia, and Western Samoa, but appears to be increasing. The popular explanation for these suicides in Tonga is that video movies give children the idea of hanging, so that when they are angry they do so, with no understanding of the finality of death. Tonga's 1986 Police report suggested that 'family disorganisation is the background to all these cases [three successful and seven attempted suicides in that year], committed by young people who appealed for the love and affection which they are justified in expecting but which they say they lack' (Report of the Minister of Police for 1986: 82). The 1987 report suggested that '... personal factors were important motivating forces. The appeal for love, the cry for help, the act of vengeance and abandonment stemmed from emotional pressure over which the social structure, urbanisation, religion or economic conditions were contributory factors' (Report of the Minister of Police for 1987: 81).14

14 A leading Tongan doctor, though, ignored social causes and blamed personality disorders (Ranger 1990: 11; cf. Cowling 1990d). Analyses of the complex factors contributing to
In a review of the literature on suicides in Pacific nations, Hezel suggests that ‘suicide is linked with the transition to modernization, with the highest rates in the middle rather than at the low or high ends of the scale’ (1989: 54). Hezel’s survey supports the explanation offered in Tonga’s police reports, particularly with regard to ‘family disorganisation’. He argues that ‘suicide is an indication of the importance that the family continues to have in the lives of contemporary young people’ (ibid.), referring to the confusion and distress associated with the significant transformations in family organisation and function in the context of modernisation.15

It does not seem surprising that the popular explanation for suicides in Tonga is anger, since any event is typically attributed to its immediate precursors. The association between anger and restraint, and anger and violence, means that self-violence is interpreted as an act of redirected anger. Yet a recognition of more complex factors may also be implicit in this explanation, since anger is conceptually linked with sadness and mental suffering (as in the term mamahi).

Reconciliation

Nearly 20 per cent of the respondents in Table 8A directly indicated that they would seek reconciliation if they felt angry with their parents. In Table 7C, 36.8 per cent of respondents stated that they felt guilty (halaia) and repentant (fakatomala) after punishment. Though it is true that grudges may linger for years in some cases, reconciliation is ideally sought in order to dissipate anger and hurt. One girl explained: ‘When I’ve asked for forgiveness, my hurt feelings leave (mahu’i atu loto mamahi) and then I’m happy’. Parents also seek reconciliation at times. One mother described this as follows (in English):

Sometimes when you are mad with them [children] in the daytime, and after giving them a bath and then going to sleep, and then you kiss them and say

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15 Hezel (1989) also found that the increase in suicides was accompanied by an increased rate of child abuse and neglect. Hezel’s review has disturbing implications for Tonga, since the rate of ‘modernisation’ Tonga is escalating rapidly and Tonga is now heading toward the ‘middle’ of the ‘scale of transition’.

'I'm sorry'. That's the time you show, even though you were angry but ... Do this until they go to school. Then they know their parents love them.

Marcus (1977, 1979) has shown that conflict resolution in Tonga centres on restraint and the formal reconciliation process. 'Unless intoxicated, kinsmen in dispute usually avoid each other indefinitely or else consult some relative to mediate a resolution of the dispute, usually through one party asking the forgiveness of the other (called fakamolemole, literally "to make smooth")' (1977: 288, fn 14). He has also shown that after an elopement, the 'elaborate expressions of anger or hurt' displayed by the girl's father (mentioned previously) may in fact indicate 'that a reconciliation is possible, if not expected, by the girl's family' (Marcus 1979: 86).

Reconciliation is also used as a 'therapeutic strategy', when family discord is believed to have caused a member's illness (Parsons 1984: 82). In such cases reconciliation involves confession, discussion, and forgiveness to restore family relationships. Parsons notes that reconciliation 'is frequently a time when those of superior rank are obliged to ask forgiveness of a person of inferior rank', especially in cases of 'āvanga illness where spirits are said to be punishing the higher status person for neglecting his or her responsibilities (ibid.: 83).

Presentations of food and kava, and the kava ceremony itself, are the most common means of formal reconciliation, usually accompanied by emotive speech-making. Adults will sometimes go to great lengths to avoid dealing directly with conflict. The Beagleholes stated that some villagers even changed their religious denomination in response to interpersonal conflicts with others in their former congregation (1941b: 129). Amongst relatives grudges and disputes sometimes result in one or more family members declaring themselves, or being declared, motu – broken away from the family – until a reconciliation can be effected.

Table 8B, below, looks at how anger is expressed between friends. It shows that less emphasis is placed on reconciliation, and more on direct expressions of anger, in interactions between peers. The question asked of the teenagers was 'What happens if you disagree with your friends?'. 
TABLE 8B: DISAGREEING WITH FRIENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>separate</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>argue</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ignore them</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fight/hit</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be angry</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not be with them</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solve problem</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on bad terms</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sad feelings</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loto mamahi</em></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apologise</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hate them</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel confused</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not only were there fewer respondents who indicated that they would apologise; the most frequent response was that the friendship would permanently or temporarily cease. Terms such as *mavae* (separate), *li'aki* (leave, discard), *movete* (come apart) and *motu* (break away) were used (see 'separate' in the table). Others stated that they would not help their friends, or share, work or stay with them (see 'not be with them'). The terms used for 'be on bad terms', *vākovi* and *vātamaki*, both imply a serious rift.

Anger can be directly expressed in vocal tone and in the content of speech—emphatic terms, and abusive, derogatory, or accusative language. This 'language of anger' (Māhina, personal communication) or 'language of abuse' (Churchward 1959: 2) is often referred to as *lea kovi*, bad speech, and may be peppered with *kape*, swearing. *Kape* (or *kapēkape*) is a lexicon of impolite, disrespectful terms, often metaphorical, for body parts, sexual activities and excretion (see Feldman 1981). It is
used not only in anger, but also in humorous speech. Other terms of abuse, used in anger, are substituted for ordinary verbs (e.g. *puna*, run, for *lele*) and for commands (e.g. *topuna*, get away, instead of *alu*).16

**Anger and humour**

One means of dealing with anger that did not appear in Table 8B was humour. Humour is not usually explicitly associated with anger in Tongan discourse, except in the case of teasing. Rather than assuming humour to be a 'channel' for redirecting anger, according to the 'hydraulic' model, it seems more appropriate in the Tongan context to regard humour as an alternative to directly expressing anger, or as a means of diluting the effects of anger already expressed. Humour can also be seen as a form of 're-cognition' (Heelas 1986: 259), which transforms individuals' understanding of emotional experiences.17 As will be shown, both anger and fear are commonly transformed through humour.

The forms of angry speech that have been described are often immediately followed by joking and laughter. Sometimes this occurs when the angry speech is intentionally humorous, as when someone jokingly berates another person for their laziness. Even genuinely angry speech is often followed by laughter, sometimes after the speaker appears momentarily embarrassed. In this case, someone listening will laughingly call out *Mālie!* (bravo), or will whoop, and the tension of the incident dissipates. During long waits at the city bus terminal, with overcrowded busloads of passengers waiting in the humid heat, occasionally a particularly irritated passenger will angrily tell the driver to get going, at which the other passengers roar with laughter. Potential conflict between individuals or groups is often averted by

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16 Another form of speech that expresses anger is cursing, *talatuki*. Mariner gives an early account of curses (Martin 1981: 356).

17 Some research has shown that as well as 're-cognition', this process involves emotional expressions (e.g. laughing) actually altering emotional states through biological 'feedback mechanisms' (Lewis and Saami 1985b: 6).
this use of humour, in which insults and verbal aggression are combined with, or take the form of joking and banter.\textsuperscript{18}

Presenting the buttocks (clothed or, on rare occasions, naked) is a form of insult that is associated with anger, hostility or rivalry, but which is performed humorously. The gesture is also used by women on occasions involving rivalry between sports or other groups, as a humorous show of derision. When baby Mefa, at 12 months, pulled her pants down and walked away when her teenage cousin scolded her, her actions were interpreted as an intentional insult motivated by anger.

When humour is used as an alternative to an expression of anger, it often involves a certain amount of mock-aggression, in the form of threatening gestures, or playful slaps, pushes or punches. This playful ‘aggression’ is very similar to that which often occurs when friends meet, as described in Chapter Seven. One incident involving this mock-aggression occurred when a crowd of people were shoving one another in their haste to board a bus. A young woman jokingly scolded a boy who was pushing in front of her, saying that she was pregnant and should be allowed to board first. During the laughter and humorous comments that ensued, several women and teenage girls roughly pulled the woman’s hair, and she responded by laughing loudly and slapping the head of the nearest girl before embarking.

Although adults generally express anger directly to children, particularly in the form of physical punishment, this use of humour is also a feature of some adult-child interactions. The incident described in Chapter Six, in which a boy was slapped and shoved by men during a card game, typifies the rough play that sometimes occurs during such interactions. Humorous comments to children are often made for the benefit of other adults are present. For example, one woman who was cross with her children told them that if she had known how naughty they would be, she would

\textsuperscript{18} See Borofsky’s account of competitive games and status rivalry on Pukapuka, where humour plays a similar role (1987). Marcus notes that ‘the ups and downs of relative status resulting from sequences of rivalry are ... also a form of entertainment and amusement for Tongans’ (1978: 256).
have squashed their heads between her legs at birth — a comment that greatly amused
the other adults present.

HUMOUR AS A SOCIAL CONTROL

Humour in Polynesian cultures has been interpreted by Marcus as ‘parodic
discourse’ (1988: 73). ‘The parodic’, Marcus argues,
allows a ‘breathing space’ for self-expression. The personal is said by
indirection, and parodic reference to the sacred and chiefly allows for
individual as well as critical variation in style of communicating the
conventional. The humorous inflection of much of the Polynesian parodic as
performed is to save the dignity of those who speak humbly in the shadow of
higher authority or status (ibid.: 75, fn 1).

Much of the parodic discourse that occurs in Tonga is indeed associated with an
ambiguous stance toward hierarchical relations. It is also associated with the
expectation that in everyday interactions negatively valued emotions will be
restrained.

The forms of ‘informal social control’ discussed by Bernstein — gossip, ‘dropped
remarks’ and humour — rely heavily on shaming (fakamā). To be shamed is to
appear vale (foolish), and Marcus has pointed out that mā (shame, embarrassment) is
a concept that ‘expresses sensitivity of individuals to appearing inadequate or
incompetent in public’ (1978: 247).19 The association between mā and vale is
particularly salient during childhood, since children are regarded as inherently vale.
The teasing and other forms of shaming directed toward children constantly
highlights aspects of their incompetence and inadequacy, and discourages them from
thinking themselves too clever (fie poto) or too ‘high’ (fie 'eiki). It is also an
important means of expressing anger, as an alternative or accompaniment to
punishment.

19 Analyses of related concepts of hakā'ika in the Marquesas (Kirkpatrick 1983: 113-5) and
ha'amā in Tahiti (Levy 1972; 1973: 334-340) can usefully be compared with the concept of
mā in Tonga. Analyses of the cultural construction of shame/embarrassment can also be
found in many of the contributions to the ‘Self and Emotion’ edition of Ethos (vol 11 [3]
1983).
Children are frequently teased, often in an affectionate manner, through the use of the rhetorical question ‘Oku ke vale?’ (are you crazy/stupid?). This is asked in many contexts, particularly those in which children’s incompetence is obvious. Young children are teased, if not punished, if they have a tantrum, and children of all ages are teased about their reactions to physical punishment. Boys are often teased about their imputed smelliness or lack of cleanliness or, when older, about their sexual abilities. A girl who fancies herself pretty may be teased about her ‘ugliness’. Physical characteristics are a common target of teasing, and children frequently ridicule one another’s real or imputed deformities and weaknesses, calling each other names such as ‘Big-ears’, ‘Black-skin’ and so on. Many of the terms in ‘the language of abuse’ are also used for teasing, though in many cases there are separate derogatory terms used in teasing. For example, the derogatory term for eyes is *poko'imata*, and the abusive term is *fela*. The derogatory lexicon is extensive and includes terms for most body parts, for aspects of personal status (male/female, spouse, child/grandchild), and for many nouns and verbs closely associated with the self (talk, sleep, cry, etc., and food, clothes, house, etc.).

Children are not discouraged from teasing unless it becomes disruptive, and adults themselves frequently tease children and one another. Teasing can be affectionate or cruel, and is sometimes clearly a form of verbal (and sometimes non-verbal) aggression. Much of the teasing young children receive takes the form of play. The ‘messages’ it conveys are subtle and often well hidden, unlike the more direct teasing that targets specific behaviour. In the following incident, a young child is teased non-verbally and receives some confusing ‘messages’ about sharing and punishment:

Two teenage girls are playing with a toddler (2) sitting on her grandmother’s lap. They take off her shoes and give them to another baby, then offer her some lollies, withdrawing them as she reaches for them. One of the girls

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20 Bernstein has described in more detail the various forms of teasing: *fakahua* (friendly bantering or joking), *fakapangopango* (good-natured mocking), *manuki* (mocking and ridicule), and *fakamatalili* (teasing to provoke anger) (ibid.: 61–63). Another form she does not discuss is *luma*, taunting and ridicule that is closely associated with *fakamatalili*, since both are intended to provoke an angry reaction.
takes a balloon the child is holding, picks up a stick and threatens to hit her, hits the side of her head lightly. The other girl wraps a piece of boiled taro in a lolly wrapper and gives it to the little girl, who opens it and cries. The grandmother, who has ignored the previous interactions, hits her leg lightly, saying, ‘Ta’ahine fa’a tangil’ (girl who often cries).

It is important for children to learn to withstand teasing, preferably by retaliatory humour.21 Angry or tearful responses to teasing provoke further ridicule. Humour is sometimes glossed as fakakata pē, (just to cause laughter), and to be unable to withstand teasing is to be vale he fakakata (foolish in response to humour). Provocation can be carried too far, though, and a child who causes another child to cry or behave aggressively, and thus disturb the adults, may be reprimanded or punished.

Teasing is only one aspect of Tongan humour (hua fakatonga) — and joking, banter, practical jokes, and clowning also occur in many contexts.

Humor is pervasive in the daily life of the village, where teasing and banter pepper conversations. The raconteur and the wit are highly prized individuals whose humor lightens tedious tasks. Tongan humor is multifaceted in that it is used to many ends — to entertain, to instruct, to provoke, to punish, and so on — often simultaneously (ibid.: 53).

Amusement is an important criterion of enjoyment and pleasure, and the term ta’e oli, literally ‘not amusing’, is used to indicate something is unpleasant or boring. Marriage without children is regarded as ta’e oli, for example.

After describing violence directed toward children, wives, and animals in Tonga, Ernest Beaglehole commented that ‘many people here [in Tonga] get genuine amusement from observing many of these displays of aggression’ (1938-9: Jan 13). He gives the example of onlookers laughing at a girl being beaten by her brother, unable to defend herself because she was holding a baby (ibid.). In the previous chapter it was suggested that when people laugh about physical punishment it is primarily the foolish behaviour of the person being punished that is regarded as amusing. Bernstein has similarly interpreted the laughter that is provoked by any

21 The use of humour to disguise distress, anger, and shame is expressed in terms such as katakatatatangi, to laugh or smile when one feels like crying.
form of foolish or out-of-control behaviour. 'Personal catastrophes are believed to be God's retribution and therefore the victim's own fault. It is all the more humorous when the victim loses control of his emotions and reacts with fear, sorrow, or mirth' (1983: 58).

The cathartic value of this kind of humour also warrants consideration. When children laugh because a puppy has been run over by a bus, it seems inadequate to attribute their laughter simply to the puppy's foolishness. Nor is the lack-of-control thesis sufficient explanation for the laughter that followed the incident described in the previous chapter, in which a jealous woman wanted to kill her rival's newborn baby – laughter on the part of the nurses and even the baby's mother. Cathartic laughter is a common reaction to events that are frightening, startling, or otherwise arouse sudden, intense emotion. Gory or violent scenes on video movies, sudden shocks (e.g. nearly falling downstairs), or frights (e.g. a sudden fear of ghosts while walking at night) are all events that precipitate laughter, from the person experiencing the emotion, and from those who have observed their reaction.

As with other forms of informal social control, humour is largely concerned with conformity to socially appropriate values, behaviour, and aesthetic standards, and as such plays a vital role in socialisation. In the humour directed toward children, the humour they overhear in everyday conversations, and the humour they direct toward others, children are learning about and exploring the boundaries of social competence. Underlying the shame of foolishness, ineptness, and other targets of teasing and ridicule there often seems to be a deeper shame associated with improper relationships and behaviour. A little girl who was constantly teased because, as her aunt explained, 'she's ugly', was also an illegitimate child born in particularly shameful circumstances. As well as being teased she was treated harshly by the adult members of her household who, the aunt claimed, 'all hate her'.

The ridicule and aggression that is sometimes directed toward physically and mentally handicapped persons may also be based on more than the fact that their 'physical, emotional, or social self-control is wanting', making them 'inherently
laughable' (Bernstein 1983: 56). A physiotherapist working in Nuku’alofa’s ‘Ofa Tui ‘Amanaki Centre (‘Love, Faith and Hope’), a facility for the handicapped, commented that ‘some parents are ashamed of their crippled children and look forward to them to die’ (Matangi Tonga 1989d: 36). The director of the centre told me that some parents hide their children at home, and refuse to allow them to go to the centre for life-skills training. Until recently, even children with club-feet ‘faced a lifetime of ridicule, and were often kept hidden away until adulthood’ (Tonga Chronicle 1986b: 4). This deeply-felt shame may be partly attributable to the fact that disabilities are believed to be caused by the behaviour of the mother, and sometimes her husband or close relations, during the pregnancy (see Chapter Three).

Cowling claims that ‘mental illness and mental disability are not stigmatised because they are usually considered to be caused by factors other than a sufferer’s ability to cope with life’ (1990a: 90). She adds that Tongans are reluctant to ‘blame the victim’, and often turn to supernatural explanations instead. Nevertheless, such people are frequently ostracised, ridiculed, or treated violently, excepting victims of ‘spirit possession’ or other short-term illnesses. A certain uneasiness associated with the possible causes of mental problems, and an underlying fear that such people may behave aggressively or dangerously, appear to be factors contributing to such responses.

EXPRESSING STRONG EMOTION

Evaluations of emotional expression are context-dependent, and there are times when the expression of strong emotion is appropriate. I have shown that crying, as an expression of anger, frustration, or pain is strongly discouraged during childhood. Children also learn that crying motivated by ‘ofa (as sadness/love) is appropriate in the context of parting, bereavement, religious experience, and formal speech-making. The following section of this chapter briefly examines three contexts in which the

22 In rare cases mental or physical handicaps may be blamed on maltreatment by parents (see Bott 1958: 63).
expression of strong emotion is positively valued: clowning, or 'making happy', religious experience, and bereavement. It is significant that in each of these three main contexts for emotional expression, children are not central participants. Rather, they constitute part of the audience. As I have shown, the contexts in which children can freely express strong emotion tend to be limited to interactions with other children.

Clowning

When groups of people have gathered to work, practise dancing, or otherwise interact, clowning occurs at times of concentrated joint effort, emotional tension, or at the end of formalities. Clowning particularly occurs at special celebrations. ‘[D]uring times of great joy, people, especially women, "make happy" or celebrate (fakafiefia): they smash each other’s possessions, fling food around, and assault onlookers’ (Bernstein 1983: 155). Clowning is usually performed by middle-aged and older women, who are ordinarily very staid and dignified. It is a form of parody (largely non-verbal) which essentially inverts social norms by burlesque, role-reversal, and rule-breaking.

There are indications that clowning occurred in pre-contact Tongan society; for example, Vason stated that after mourning for the dead, people ‘generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy [dancing], in which I have seen the women so eager, that they have forgotten all encumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion’ (Orange 1840: 128). Clowning is formalised at the ceremony of investiture for the Tu’i Kanokupolu. A Fijian of the title Tu’i Soso is always present, and he ‘prances about, breaking every tapu of the kava ritual’ (Bott with Tavi 1982: 125; see Kaeppler 1985: 101). Although his movements are tapu-breaking, they are also highly formalised.

During any dance performed by young women, individually or in small groups (e.g. tau’olunga), women and men from their family dance behind them.

23 It is interesting to note that in Samoan, soso means agitated, silly, demented, and trickster (Mageo 1989a: 198, fn 39).
enthusiastically and humorously. Although this is intended to draw attention to the
grace and accomplishment of the girls’ performance, it sometimes becomes the
centre of attention when it becomes especially amusing. The dancing then becomes
a form of clowning. At times the ‘clowns’ are themselves the sole performers. At a
School Day celebration at a Catholic college in 1988 several middle-aged women
clowned to the audience of school students and their families, and members of the
Royal family who were the honoured guests. This clowning occurred after the
formal speech-making, when some women clowned as the school band played, and
later in the day when a series of dances were performed by students. Their clowning
included sexually-suggestive dancing, chasing and jumping on one another’s backs,
threatening each other and students with sticks and raised fists, lying on the ground
and turning somersaults, and wearing the cardboard donations-box as a hat.

Throughout the women’s clowning the audience encouraged their antics with
whoops and calls of ‘Mālie!’ (bravo). The children were an especially rapt audience,
laughing with delight at their more extreme behaviour. One elderly woman in the
audience told me that they were dancing ‘with happiness’ but added derisively that
they were fakasele (silly, crazy). Another elderly audience member attempted to
intervene when one of the clowning women pulled a man from the honoured guests’
area onto the dance floor and began a wild hip-thrusting dance that the other
‘clowns’ joined, one behind the other in a line. The audience laughed uproariously
as the elderly woman berated first the clowns and then the commentator (announcing
the dances), and the committee member returned to his seat, also laughing.
Clowning does not completely over-ride social norms, as there are clearly
behavioural limits, and onlookers always intervene if these limits are reached.

Not all older women clown. Some women tend to clown at most events and
others rarely or never do so. In Holonga there was one woman, aged 45, who
invariably clowned, and also danced in the kailau (a male dance) when the Holonga
dance group performed. Some of the older women never clowned in public, but
occasionally did a very abbreviated version – a gay swing of the hips and a soft
whoop – within their own homes on particularly joyful occasions. At public events several younger women, in their thirties, were beginning to clown briefly, albeit rather self-consciously and with much embarrassed giggling.

Whatever elements of parody are contained in clowning, they are largely submerged by its conceptual association with happiness and 'ofa. These emotions are directed toward God, the monarchy, the hou'eiki, or Tonga, and are often explicitly associated with obedience and submission. On some occasions people express this by prostrating themselves before members of the royal family, calling on them to walk or dance on their bodies (see Cowling 1990c: 4, 96, 271). In such contexts people’s intense emotion also causes them to be spontaneously generous and offer lavish gifts of money or goods.

Positively valued intense emotions are conceptualised by the metaphors of warmth and growth. Some Tongans described the feelings of māfana (warmth) and vela (burning) as, in English, ‘feverish’, ‘electric’ and ‘on fire’. The term tafunaki, to stoke a fire, is used metaphorically to describe events that arouse or inspire love, zeal, and other intense, positively valued emotions. Exaggerated ‘growth’ of emotion is also said to occur, so that people ‘tau e langi’, reach the sky.24 The two metaphors can be combined, as in the phrase ‘tupu māfana 'i loto’ (the warmth grows up inside), and such a state is said to be melie, pleasant. In the extremes of this state, people are said to be out of control, or as one man put it, ‘not myself’. There are several Tongan terms for ‘letting oneself go’, or being ‘carried away’ with excitement and fervour, including sekia, tāngia, to’oa.25 When referring to children, they have a distinctly negative connotation, since children who are over-excited are considered disruptive and annoying.

24 Because both tau and langi are polysemic this phrase has multiple interpretations. Churchward translates it as ‘the singing [langi] has hit the mark [tau]’ (1959: 282), meaning it is enthusiastic. The translation ‘reaching the sky’ was suggested by the Tongan scholar ‘Okusitino Māhina (personal communication).

25 The term mate (die, become unconscious) is also used in this sense, and also for extreme fear, grief, and so on.
Photograph 24: Women clown behind a solo dancer at a fund-raising event at a high-school. To the immediate right of the dancer, a boy from the audience has been pulled onto the dance floor by an enthusiastic 'clown' who is trying to make him dance. In the bottom right corner, a woman clowns around the donations-box.
In everyday interactions, less intense versions of these emotions are also expressed, though the emphasis is on happiness rather than 'ofa. Unlike negatively-valued emotions such as anger, happiness (fiefa) is openly demonstrated in loud laughter, shouting, and joking. At times the expression of joy and amusement is exaggeratedly demonstrative. Groups of people talking and joking tend to be very physical with one another. A person laughing will double up, slap her knees, lean back, move about, even stagger about as if drunk, grab others and slap, punch or push them. A joke is repeated and laughed at for some time, and when the laughter finally dies down members of the group give exaggerated sighs of exhaustion, and exclaim, ‘Oiauē!’.

**Religious experience**

In pre-contact Tonga emotional experiences associated with religion occurred during ‘inspiration’ by the gods (Martin 1981: 85), or spirit possession. Mariner stated that people thus inspired ‘are generally low spirited and thoughtful, as if some heavy misfortune had befallen them. As the symptom increases, they generally shed a profusion of tears; and sometimes swoon away for a few minutes’ (ibid.). He attributes this ‘visitation’ to ‘an inward compunction of conscience’, since the incidents were believed to be caused by neglect of religious duties (ibid.). Priests and priestesses (taula), were also inspired by gods, at which times they sometimes had a ‘paroxysm’ of emotion, which Mariner believed to be a ‘voluntary act’ of devotion (ibid.: 84-5). Spirit possession is no longer primarily a religious experience; instead, as has been shown, it is treated as an illness.

The early Wesleyan missionaries put ‘a tremendous stress on emotionalism’ (Lätukefu 1974: 69) with their hellfire-and-brimstone sermons. A major factor in the mass conversion of Tongans was the revival experience, often involving entire congregations and spreading rapidly throughout the islands. In Ha’apai and Vava’u in 1834, mass revivals led to prayer meetings being held day and night, with hundreds of participants weeping, shaking, beating their chests and fainting
The experience was known as ‘dying with love’ (Cummins 1977: 111).

Today, religious experiences continue to provide a legitimate context for emotional outpourings for Tongans, and on a great many occasions prayers are accompanied by weeping (less often, shaking and fainting). In the Wesleyan church in Holonga it was the practice for the entire congregation to pray aloud, each saying his or her own prayer, and these were times of heightened emotionalism. This ‘highly emotional (and often noisy) religious fervour’ is sometimes called ‘*ofa*, also meaning ‘love’ (Churchward 1959: 563).

Religion also provides the context for another, very different form of emotional expression. Many families have regular meetings, usually on Sunday evenings, at which prayers are said, hymns sung, and the head of the family gives a short bible reading or homily. Some families conclude with an airing of grievances, which provides a rare opportunity for even the youngest family member to discuss feelings such as anger and frustration without fear of punishment. (Though the freedom with which they actually speak varies greatly.) The head of the household usually gives directions for resolving the problem, and may use it as the basis for further *akonaki* (moral instruction).

**Bereavement**

Several detailed accounts of Tongan funerals have been written, and my concern here is only with the expression of emotion at death (see Aoyagi 1966; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941b; Gifford 1971b; Kaeppler 1978b; Rogers 1977). For all that has been written about Tongan funerals, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the emotional experiences of the bereaved. Rosaldo has pointed out the problems that can arise from viewing death only from the perspective of ritual (1984). Doing so, he argues, ‘masks the emotional face of bereavement’ or leads to sentiments expressed at the funeral being interpreted as only ritual and obligatory (ibid.: 186-7).

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26 This movement had the political effect of forming Ha’apai and Vava’u into a united support of Tupou I and the missionaries (Cummins 1979: 182).
In pre-contact Tonga relatives of the deceased, particularly if he or she was chiefly, expressed their grief primarily through self-directed violence. Mourners burnt themselves (*tutu, lafa*), beat or burnt their cheeks (*tuki, fepuhi*),\(^{27}\) beat their heads (*foa ulu*) and cut their cheeks, thighs and chests with shells, spears and other objects (Beaglehole 1967: 946; Martin 1981: 349; Orange 1840: 108; West 1865: 268). At times this violent grief could be fatal, as when prostrate mourners had spears thrust into their bodies (*faletau*) (Cummins 1977: 23).\(^{28}\) Vason claimed that after death of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mumui, thousands engaged in this self-wounding night after night (Orange 1840: 108-9). Mariner interpreted these practices as demonstrations of respect and loyalty and described the ragged mats worn at funerals as ‘emblematical of a spirit broken down, or, as it were, torn to pieces by grief’ (Martin 1981: 218). In most accounts the mourners are said to inflict their injuries themselves, but Collocott claimed that hair-cutting, and burning and cutting the skin, were done by others to low-status relatives of the deceased, and that they were also dunked in the sea (1928: 76).

Today these practices are usually limited to cutting the hair, by those lower in status than the deceased, and breast-beating during the *tangi*, or lament. The *tangi* begins at death and continues until the body is taken away for burial, and is performed by the women who stay with the corpse. This change in grieving behaviour was largely missionary-influenced, and was established as early as 1885 (Cummins 1977: 239; Rowe 1976: 69). Tongans today also wear black mourning clothes, for periods that vary according to the closeness of their kin ties with the deceased.

\(^{27}\) Anderson, in Tonga with Cook, claimed that *tuki* was sometimes performed ‘in other distressing situations’ (Beaglehole 1967: 907), but I have found no further references to this practice. The terms I have given for practices associated with bereavement are derived from the sources cited in the text.

\(^{28}\) Mariner claimed that before his time in Tonga the chief widow of the Tu‘i Tonga was strangled on his death (Martin 1981: 348), and Bott states that on the death of a great chief some of his mother’s brother’s children would be killed (Bott with Tavi 1982: 54). Neither gives further details.
Accounts of emotional expression at Tongan funerals have tended to have a rather cynical tone, as in Bott's claim that 'people can joke about death right after performing the ceremonialized wailing at a funeral. No-one expects you to pretend to a grief that you did not feel, but if you are a good wailer and you stand in the right relationship, you should do your bit' (Bott 1958: 62).

Many Tongans, when I asked them to define the term *mamahi*, gave the example of a funeral, describing it as *fakamamahi* (causing pain or sadness). Levy's interpretation of the Tahitians' tendency to have short-lived emotional outbursts at events such as death, or the departure of a relative, accords well with my own impressions of Tongan expressions of grief and sorrow. He argues that 'wilful dramatization is a way of controlling emotions as well as expressing them' (1973: 273). Events such as death 'tapped some deep well of loneliness and sadness in people' which was quickly sealed off again by internal and external pressures for restraint (ibid.: 303). I would extend this argument to include outbursts of joy and religious fervour, as described above. Intense, positively-valued emotions (especially joy and sorrow) can legitimately be expressed in certain contexts, but even these valued emotions are inappropriate (*ta'e fe'unga*) outside these contexts.

The emotions may arise in any context but should ideally be restrained (*fakama'uma'u*) in most situations. Mourners who weep and wail while in the presence of a corpse, and laugh and joke outside the house, cannot be assumed to be grieving only 'ceremoniously'. Each and every one of them would claim to be *mamahi*, and since their subjective states cannot be known this cannot be disputed. Indeed, Bott's implication could be reversed, given the argument made earlier in this chapter about the role of humour in contexts of intense emotion. If mourners laugh and joke at times this could be interpreted as the means by which *mamahi* is kept under control, or even dissipated.
THE IDEAL EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEMBERS OF AN EXTENDED FAMILY AND EVEN BETWEEN ALL PEOPLE IS ENCAPSULATED IN THE CONCEPT OF 'OFA, DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER FIVE. 'OFA, AS I HAVE ARGUED, IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT WITHIN THE IMMEDIATE FAMILY, WHERE IT IS EXPRESSED IN ACTION − SHARING, HELPING, AND SO ON. THERE IS A VERY STRONG IDEAL OF FAMILY TOGETHERNESS AND FELLOWSHIP (FEOH). ONE WOMAN REFLECTING ON HER CHILDHOOD SAID, 'I WAS JUST HAPPY TO SEE THEM ALL [HER FAMILY]. HAPPY THAT WE LIVED TOGETHER, WE GREW UP TOGETHER, AND WE ALL HAD FELLOWSHIP TOGETHER, WITH MY SISTERS AND BROTHERS'.

THIS CLOSNESS IS MOST OFTEN DISCUSSED IN TERMS OF NOFO (REMAINING IN THE STATE SIGNIFIED BY THE FOLLOWING WORDS; WAY OF LIVING [CHURCHWARD 1959: 379]). FAMILIES IDEALLY NOFO FAKATAHA (LIVE TOGETHER) AND NOFO FEMALE (LIVE HAPPILY). THE ANGLICISED VERSION OF THESE CONCEPTS IS SIMPLY NOFO FAKAFAMILI (STAY/BE LIKE A FAMILY), AND THE TERM THAT EMBRACES ALL positive aspects of NOFO IS NOFO FAKATONGA (LIVE IN THE TONGAN WAY). THESE COMPOUNDS USING NOFO WERE THE USUAL ANSWERS TO MY QUESTION, 'WHAT MADE YOU FEEL HAPPY AS A CHILD?'. THE NOTION OF ONENESS, EXPRESSED IN FAKATAHA (AS ONE, TOGETHER) AND MO'UI TAHUA (ONE LIFE) WAS ALSO STRESSED. WHEN FAMILY MEMBERS OR FRIENDS ARE PARTICULARLY CLOSE THEY SOMETIMES DESCRIBE THEMSELVES AS LOTOTAHUA, OF ONE HEART/MIND, A TERM ALSO USED LESS EMOTIVELY TO MEAN TWO OR MORE PARTIES ARE IN AGREEMENT ABOUT SOMETHING.

ALTHOUGH HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS SCATTER DURING THE DAY TO WORK, ATTEND SCHOOL, AND SO ON, THEY USUALLY SPEND MEAL TIMES TOGETHER AND SHARE A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF LEISURE TIME. MEAL TIMES ARE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT, AND USUALLY GRACE WILL NOT BE SAID UNTIL ALL AVAILABLE MEMBERS ARE SEATED. TARDY PERSONS ARE REPEATEDLY CALLED TO 'HA'U KAI' (COME AND EAT). THE CLOSNESS OF FAMILY MEMBERS IS ALSO EXPRESSED IN THEIR GRIEF WHEN PARTING FOR LONG PERIODS, AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT EXPERIENCE OF MANATUA (REMEMBERING; 'BROoding MEMORY' [CHURCHWARD 1959: 330]). PARSONS FOUND THAT MANATUA WAS REGARDED AS A NEW FORM OF ILLNESS, AFFLICTING OVERSTAYERS, AND SMALL CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS ARE OVERSEAS (1984: 86; 1985: 99), THOUGH MUCH EARLIER
Collocott also mentioned children’s ‘sickness of remembering’, when they pined for absent relatives (1923a: 141).

Another ideal quality of relationships, both for family and friends, is válelei, to be on good terms (cf. Churchward 1959: 533). Vā is used to describe people’s relationships and feelings for one another, but literally means ‘distance between, distance apart’ (ibid.: 528). Válelei thus characterises the distance between persons as lelei, good or satisfactory, while its opposites, vákovi and vátamaki define it as ‘bad’ and ‘unpleasant’. A loving relationship can be characterised as tauhi vā (Finau 1979: 123), literally ‘looking after the distance between’. Other spatial metaphors applied to both personal orientation and to interpersonal relationships have been described, for gender differences (e.g. inside/outside) and status relations (e.g. high/low). Improper behaviour is sometimes referred to as mafuli (upside down, the wrong way around) or maliu (going in the wrong direction).

Despite the ideals of togetherness and warm emotion, there are also many factors operating to discourage inappropriate expressions of intense emotional attachments. These have been discussed previously, and include an emphasis on restraint, the use of teasing and ridicule, and the ‘distancing’ that occurs between adults and children past infancy. Marcus has noted a tendency for Tongans to ‘minimise the number of enduring relationships through time and to limit their intensity’ (1978: 248). Romantic feelings are seldom expressed directly, and Tongan love songs and poetry rely heavily on imagery to express desire (see Collocott 1928). Friends from outside one’s kāinga are ideally treated as kāinga members, and at times kinship terms (e.g. brother) are extended to close friends. Yet adult Tongans who spoke of friendship typically claimed not to trust friends and to maintain only superficial relationships with them.

Friendship is nevertheless regarded as important, and friends (kaume’a/kaungāme’a) are different from people who are merely agreeable companions (popotol/potonga) or acquaintances (maheni). In response to the question, ‘What makes you happy?’, 30 per cent (63) of 209 teenagers indicated
being with their friends as most important, and a further 17.2 per cent (36) gave various forms of entertainment which would involve friends. By comparison, only 9 per cent (19) included being with their family in their replies. Other responses included success and reward (16.7 per cent), religion (8.6 per cent), getting something they wanted (5.7 per cent), someone apologising to them (4.8 per cent), asking forgiveness and being obedient (4.3 per cent each).

**Self control**

Two interrelated concerns emerge in Tongans' discourse about personhood and interpersonal relations. The first centres on the importance of emotional restraint in order to maintain harmonious relationships and avoid shame. The second concern is with displaying appropriate values and emotions through contextually-determined behaviour. Marcus describes Tongan males' 'personal orientations' as 'self-controlled, cautious, timid, sensitive to proper presentations of self in the presence of others, and above all ... oriented to the maintenance of a smooth, trouble-free social world' (1978: 242). Though I would substitute 'reserved' for 'timid', this characterisation is apt for all adult Tongans.

It has been argued for Tahitians (Levy 1973) and Samoans (Gerber 1975) that a social emphasis on external controls results in a lack of internal restraints (i.e. shame rather than guilt). It could be argued, however, that both formal and informal controls rely, to a great extent, on internal restraints or self-controls (see Shore 1975: 185 on Samoa). For Tonga, Marcus has argued that a lack of 'ofa (ta'e 'ofa, which he translates as 'without empathy') can be both a public accusation and a private feeling akin to guilt (1978: 247).

The feeling of shame is keyed primarily to an awareness of external sanctions, but the feeling of empathy, ideally pervasive in all persons and situations, yet sometimes notably absent, involves a higher level, internal sensitivity to context than does shame ...[Shame and ta'e 'ofa] constitute a set of self controls which integrate a person into social relations with a primary orientation to maintaining his balance with the situation, whatever personal goals are being pursued (ibid.).
Self-control is a crucial aspect of social competence in Tonga. Bernstein comments that 'underlying informal social control is the concept of self-control. In that keeping oneself within proper behavioral limits is of utmost importance to one's standing as a social being, self-control must be practised, and informal social controls encourage it' (1983: 56). The extent of self-control expected varies according to social context, so that 'mutually perceived co-equivalence leads to a lessening of self-control' (Marcus 1978: 267). As shown previously, a lack of self-control can lead to shame and even the loss of prestige. Self-control must be seen in its broadest sense here, as it involves not only restraining intense emotions but also a range of other restraints that have been discussed in this thesis. Children learn that emotional and behavioural restraint is expected in the context of status relations, and the behavioural requirements of respect and obedience are very much tied to this expectation.

Patience is an important demonstration of self-control, and even children of three or four are expected to sit quietly for long periods, for example during church services or speeches.29 Children are strongly discouraged from complaining, and both children and adults seldom complain of hunger, thirst, pain, or other discomforts. The term commonly used for patience, kataki, also means 'to bear pain or discomfort, etc., without complaining or retaliation ... to endure' (Churchward 1959: 253). Sleep (see footnote 14) is one means of avoiding frustrating, upsetting, or boring situations. One stormy morning in Holonga when the children were stuck indoors and were being repeatedly punished for being noisy, they responded by going to sleep for the rest of the day. It must be added that children are also often notably unrestrained: as stated in Chapter Seven, they are frequently loud and exuberant despite the high risk of punishment.

Another form of self-control involves suppressing curiosity and critical thoughts. Curiosity is discouraged even in babies, and the term used, fie'ilo (wanting to know)

29 I once sat at the Nuku'alofa bus terminal for five hours, waiting for an arranged lift back to Holonga. With me were two girls, aged three and twelve, and an elderly woman, none of whom complained or commented on the length of our wait.
has strongly negative connotations. Hau‘ofa has claimed that ‘the authoritarian attitude which permeates the whole structure of relationships’ in Tonga prevents ‘free, public expression’ (1978: 164). There has been mixed community reaction to recent political developments in which certain educated commoners have been publicly advocating political reforms. At the level of the family and institutions such as schools, any behaviour that could be construed as *fie‘eiki* (trying to be above oneself), *fiepoto* (trying to be too clever), or disrespectful, still tends to be vigorously discouraged.

Self-control is also manifested in humility, the restraint of pride. Humility is *fakatökilalo*, making oneself lower, and is a central component of Tongans’ ‘self-representations’ (Ewing 1990). It is a quality that must be demonstrated in demeanour and in speech. The use of self-deprecatory language is one of the most common expressions of humility, and tends to pervade any form of self-referent speech. People typically describe themselves as lazy, foolish, impatient, and so on, as a matter of course. The providers of a lavish spread of food will apologise for the inadequacy of the ‘*kai tunu*’ (snack), and people giving generous gifts bemoan the poverty of their offerings.

Marcus (1978) has shown that humility is a feature of both ‘grievance disputes’ and male status rivalry, in which participants avoid manifesting any mutual hostility. The aggrieved party visibly expresses hurt, eliciting a humble apology and an exchange of mutual respect (ibid.: 245). Marcus identifies restraint and withdrawal from competition as ‘a distinctive phase of Tongan status rivalry (ibid.: 244). Writing of Polynesia, he notes that status rivalry involves ‘distinctive themes of humility as honor, the psychocultural restraint on the expression of anger and aggression, and the importance of interdependence’ (1989: 205).

Mageo has argued that ‘oral restraint’ as socialised in Samoa symbolises the subordination of self to the community (1989b: 416). This argument can be expanded, for Tonga, to include all forms of ‘restraint’, or self-control, which also express subordination within the social hierarchy. It must be remembered, though,
that 'the values of subordination' (Marcus 1989: 191) are upheld in Tonga. Restraint is also highly valued, as an attribute of ideal personhood. In the concluding chapter, notions of ideal personhood are examined more closely. By drawing together the various threads of this thesis, it will be shown that despite the positive emphasis on subordination this ideal centres on qualities associated with chiefliness.

30 In his discussion of Polynesian status rivalry, Marcus uses the phrase 'aggressively asserting pride in humility' (1989: 206), which seems apt here.
Hierarchical relations are a pervasive feature of Tongan social life. The values and behaviour associated with rank and status differences constitute the most fundamental knowledge and skills that must be acquired by Tongan children in order to be recognised as socially competent. Children epitomise social incompetence, and a great deal of effort is expended in ensuring that they progress from this vale (foolish) state to one of 'cleverness', of being poto.

Babies, who are 'not yet able to think for themselves' (valevale), are expected to be vale and pau'u (naughty). People delight in observing babies' 'bad' behaviour, frequently interpreting their facial expressions and vocalisations as expressions of negatively-valued emotions such as anger and jealousy. Babies are even encouraged to behave aggressively and to show off, two forms of behaviour that are, in most contexts, inappropriate for older persons.

Yet socialisation for appropriate behaviour begins even during infancy. Babies are believed to have inherent characteristics, including unsocialised qualities such as foolishness and naughtiness, predispositions to gender and rank, and to some extent inherited traits associated with their ancestors or birth-place. However, the Tongan notion of personhood is one that allows for malleability and change. A child's 'ulungāanga, or characteristic nature/behaviour, can be moulded over time to become totonu (right, proper) and taau (appropriate). The earliest socialisation, during infancy, occurs through forms of speech such as grumbling, shouting, and
threatening, through the early encouragement of sharing, through physical punishment, and so on, as I have shown. In later childhood didactic teaching and physical punishment become the primary strategies used by caregivers to attempt to direct children's learning, though other forms of learning are obviously significant and have been dealt with at length in this thesis.

The broad goals of Tongan socialisation are for the person to become *poto* (clever), to develop *'ulungāanga lelei* ('good' nature/behaviour), and *loto lelei* ('good' heart/mind). Underlying these goals are the interrelated values of 'love', obedience and respect. This triad is also perceived by many Tongans as the 'core' of status relations. Thus, child socialisation in Tonga is, broadly speaking, a political process in which children acquire the values and skills necessary to function competently in the context of status and power differences. My thesis has examined many aspects of these values and skills. I have shown, for example, that children are expected to work for their families, to show behavioural and emotional restraint and exhibit self-control, and to display deference and submission towards persons of higher status.

However, developing social competence is not as straightforward as simply learning to behave as a low-status person should. As children learn how to behave toward higher-status persons they also learn how to behave as higher status persons - to demand submission, to extract labour, to punish. This is clearly evident in children’s play groups and within the sibling hierarchy. Further complicating matters is the fact that ideal personhood is also conceived in terms of chieftliness. Marcus has argued that in Tonga (and Samoa):

chieftliness is an idiom for characterizing virtuous behavior and a formally correct presentation of self ... Particularly as it extended to the base of society, chieftainship was not only a position of local leadership and collective symbolic focus, but also a generally employed idiom for evaluating and controlling common behaviour (1989: 187-9).

Utilising chieftliness as an idiom entails marking it off from 'common' behaviour. Indeed, as Linnekin and Poyer have stated, in highly stratified Oceanic societies such
as Tonga, chiefs and commoners are socially distinguished by 'mutual stereotyping of behavioural characteristics' (1990b: 10; and see Marcus 1989). Figure Three illustrates some basic oppositions between the characteristics ascribed to chiefs and commoners in Tonga, and their congruence with the distinctions made between adults and children.

FIGURE THREE: CONCEPTS OF PERSONHOOD

COMMONER/CHILD          CHIEF/ADULT
   vale        poto
   low         high
   outside     inside
   periphery   centre
   mobile      immobile
   dirty       clean
   bad behaviour proper behaviour
   lack of restraint restraint
   listener    speaker
   obedience   authority

In some respects these oppositions can be extended to embrace gender differences, with male associated with commoner/child, and female with chiefly/adult. However, as noted in Chapter Five, the symbolic association between rank and gender is unstable. Females as wives are 'tu'a', and therefore 'low' and lacking authority. Only as sisters are females 'chiefly', and even then only in relation to their brothers and brothers' children. Historically nearly all chiefs have been male, and certain chiefly values said to have originated in the pre-contact period, such as to'a (courage), are strongly associated with masculinity. An important exception to this pattern is Queen Sālote Tupou III, who for Tongans embodied the ideal qualities of chief, adult, and female.
The necessarily simplistic form of Figure Three cannot show the complications that occur in practice, but the basic oppositions do indicate the way in which ideal personhood is construed in Tonga. They also reveal that much of the behaviour learned by children as respectful and obedient (i.e. deference, submissiveness, and other behaviour appropriate to low-status persons) is not congruent with this ideal. A central tension in Tongan life is that in striving for certain ‘chiefly’ qualities people should not appear to be aiming above their social rank and status. The corollary of this is that respect and obedience are valued qualities, but in excess are debasing and detrimental to status. This tension would be experienced somewhat differently by hou’eiki, who need to demonstrate their chiefly qualities yet retain some common ground with tu’a. An ’eiki person must try to avoid appearing too pretentious, or ‘lowering’ himself by behaving as a commoner (Marcus 1980b: 160).

The cultural emphasis on humility in the presentation of self, for both commoner and chief, somewhat alleviates the tension that Tongans confront. In the Tongan system of rank and status, the only person without others of higher rank to defer to is the King, and even he is expected to be humble before God. Commoners attempting to emulate ‘chiefly’ attributes risk accusations of fie’eiki (trying to be chiefly) or fiepoto (trying to appear clever), if they do not also demonstrate humility.

Balance is also contributed by an emphasis on values which emphasise reciprocity and interdependence, such as fe’ofo’ofani (friendliness to one another) and fe’ofa’aki (to ‘love’ one another). Certain values cut across status and rank distinctions, particularly ’ofa (love, concern) and fatonga (duty). In practice they are sometimes expressed in quite different ways in the context of hierarchical relations, so that high status persons demonstrate ’ofa by teaching and guiding, whereas low status persons do so by obeying. Yet the cultural emphasis is on the shared nature of these values, and they have come to be an integral element in the construction of Tongan identity.

The importance of behavioural and emotional restraint in the notion of ideal personhood serves to mask, to some extent, the unequal power inherent in
hierarchical relations. Restraint is valued as a ‘chiefly’ virtue and restraint exhibited by chiefly persons signifies their dignity and distances them from their inferiors. Yet in commoners’ relations with chiefs restraint can signify deference, submission, and powerlessness — as is also the case in child/adult relations. However, this power inequality is also the focus of a discourse of resistance which emphasises the values of independence (*tau'atāina*) and freedom to do as one pleases (*fa'itelīha*).

In the course of my research in Tonga I found that children and adolescents are able to articulate clearly the central values of their culture, as well as the attributes of ideal personhood as shown in Figure Three. They are also anxious to at least appear to accept these values (see for example Tables 5D and 5E), and for the most part their behaviour seemed to conform with adults’ expectations and demands. Primary factors contributing to this apparent conformity are a fear of punishment for non-conformist behaviour, and children’s subordination within the status system as a whole (including the early discouragement of critical thinking); a genuine internalisation of values, through the kinds of socialisation discussed in my thesis; and a modeling on adult behaviour, since in many contexts adults also have to behave obediently and deferentially, and carry out sometimes onerous duties.

Despite this apparent acceptance of the value system there is a widespread concern in Tonga that children are in fact losing ‘Tongan’ values and thus losing their very culture. Tongans are today more self-consciously ‘Tongan’ than ever before (although the concept of *anga fakatonga*, the Tongan way, has been considerably refigured), yet they are also most fearful of losing that identity. There are some interesting parallels and divergences between changes taking place in Tonga within the family and in the political arena, in regard to values and cultural identity.

In a very broad sense, what is occurring politically is an erosion of the distinction between *'eiki* and *tu'a*, chief and commoner. A number of factors have contributed to this, including the diffusion of certain chiefly customs throughout the population after European contact; the diminishment of the ‘aura’ and *pule* (authority) of chiefs;
the adoption of a new religious ideology in which, for example, all people have souls; the advent of new means of social mobility via education, business success, and so on, and the consequent lessening of the chiefs' control over social mobility; the increasing autonomy experienced by individuals; the emergence of a 'middle class' and commoner elite; the increasing political involvement of educated commoners; the expansion of the media to include more critical journalism; and people's exposure to different social possibilities through the media, migration and international travel. There is also increasing dissatisfaction in Tonga due to the serious economic problems caused by land shortage, urban overcrowding, low wages, and so on.

This erosion, or levelling, of the ranking system has been accompanied by changes to fundamental elements of the status system: kinship and gender. As I have shown, kinship ties are narrowing in contemporary Tonga. The various kinship roles are becoming more weakly defined, with the status differences inherent in these roles losing some of their significance. Gender distinctions are blurring as women begin to step out of their culturally-defined roles. It is interesting to note that such gender-based change is almost an inversion of the form of political change being proposed by some commoners. Certain "eiki" aspects of ideal female behaviour, such as restricted mobility, are being challenged in order for women to become 'free'. While females are (very) slowly becoming more 'male', and thus more 'tu'a', some commoners ('males') are demanding more freedom from their chiefs ('females'). As chiefs forego their privileges to give commoners more freedom - and in the process perhaps loosen some of the cultural restrictions placed on chiefly behaviour – females may lose their own 'privileges' (e.g. the indulgence daughters are said to receive, their rights as sisters) in order to shed the behavioural restrictions imposed on them.

An important consequence of the transformations that have already occurred within the hierarchical system is the increasing autonomy experienced by commoners. The weakening of tapu, and of chiefly power more generally, has
diminished the control of chiefs over the bodies of commoners. Their power to
demand goods and services has been reduced, and their authority to inflict physical
and other punishments has been transferred to the law. The notion of ideal
personhood is still based on chiefly qualities, but the chief as person is no longer 'the
embodiment' of his people (see Bott with Tavi 1982: 71).

In regard to both familial and public-political change the concept of cultural
identity has been invoked in various ways. Those who oppose significant political
reform often claim it would lead to a loss of Tongan identity, and even deny that
broader changes have already occurred. The editor of a conservative Tongan
publication, for example, wrote of 'our Kingdom's unwavering attitude regarding
preservation of traditional values despite Western influences' (Tonga Today 1987:
2). Some of those who support political reform do so in the name of anga fakatonga,
the Tongan way, and desire a return to an idealised former state in which those with
rank and power were honest and served the people's best interests. One man
discussing this referred to havala (greed) as the 'mahaki fo'ou', the new sickness.
He observed that havala is particularly dangerous when it afflicts those with political
power. Other supporters of reform are more concerned to move away from, or at
least radically transform, 'the Tongan way'. The following comments by a
prominent Tongan academic exemplify the way in which the 'traditional' political
structure is being re-evaluated by some Tongans, primarily a small number of
commoners, who were educated overseas:

Most commoners today really feel in themselves a passion to be pushed
around (and even abused) by a chief or chiefs... This acceptance of
submissiveness is really a socialized and time-honored wretchedness which
underlies every aspect of the traditional Tongan character' (Helu 1991: 5).

In the case of change at the level of the village, the family, and the individual –
especially the perceived loss of culture among children and adolescents – there is a
similar conviction that change will entail a loss of cultural identity. Amongst the

1 Bott suggested that 'one reason for the käinga putting up with cruelty [in pre-contact
Tonga] was that the chief was the embodiment of themselves; if he was great, they were
great; if he was a fool, they were fools' (Bott with Tavi 1982: 71).
people I spoke to there was much greater acceptance of the inevitability of such change than of change to Tonga's government. It was, nevertheless, a very reluctant acceptance, and feelings of ambivalence and confusion about such change were frequently expressed.

It is intriguing to speculate about the implications of these changes for Tonga's future. Already a range of responses to recent change are evident within families. For example, some parents have responded to what they see as a decline in their authority by becoming more repressive and strict, whereas others have actively encouraged their children's greater independence (tau'atāina). The moves for political reform discussed above raise the question of how such change could effect the very notion of personhood in Tonga. The concept of chiefliness as an aspect of ideal personhood may sit increasingly uncomfortably with growing criticism of the hou'eiki and of the unequal distribution of power and resources in Tonga. Similarly, if submissiveness and deference become devalued as appropriate elements of self-representation, the contemporary value system itself may undergo a significant transformation. The repercussions of such changes would impact upon the construction of Tongan identity, and thus upon the process of becoming Tongan.

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2 Tonga's constitution was amended on March 8, 1991, to allow for the naturalisation of 426 foreigners (mostly Chinese) who purchased Tongan passports in highly controversial revenue-raising venture. This has brought the question of Tongan identity into sharp focus, and appears to have made the broader issues of political reform a matter of much wider public concern.
The following questionnaire was completed by 235 students, from seven high-schools (nine classes altogether). After the questionnaire are seven tables, which compile the responses to the personal details at the top of the questionnaire, and questions one to three. Data from responses to the other questions are given in the body of the thesis, usually in the form of tables. Most of these questions were not designed primarily to produce quantitative data. The location of this information is indicated in italics beside the questions in the questionnaire. For all of the questions, apart from one, two and ten, some students gave multiple answers. The figures in the bottom row of tables derived from these answers therefore give the number of respondents to the question (not all students answered all questions) and not the total number of answers. Similarly, totals are not given in the percentage columns of these tables (they would always be more than 100 per cent). In the tables in this appendix where only one answer was given by each respondent, but some respondents gave no answer, this is indicated by a question mark.

The students were directed not to give their names, so that their responses were anonymous and could be given freely. This strategy proved most successful; although students often gave the culturally ‘correct’ answers they also voiced many opinions and gave some very interesting responses. I had found many teenagers to be reticent and shy when talking to me personally (or in the case of some boys, flirtatious and facetious), and the questionnaire format overcame this problem.
QUESTIONNAIRE

Male/Female
Tangata/Fefine

Age
Ta'u

Religion
Siasi

Birthplace
Kolo fā'ele'i

Primary School
Akoteu

Place of Residence
'Api nofo'anga

1. Have you ever been overseas? (Where and for how long?)
   Na'a ke 'alu ki muli? ('I fe, mo fuoloa?)

2. How many other children do your parents have?
   Koe e fānau e fiha ho'o mātu'a?

3. Apart from your parents, brothers and sisters, who else lives in your house?
   Ko hai 'oku nofo 'i ho 'api, tukukehe ho'o mātu'a mo 'ena fānau?

4. What do you think were the most important things you were taught as a child? (Table 5A)
   Ko e hā ha me'a mahu'inga na'a ke ako mei ai 'i ho'ofei si'i?

5. What sort of work did you do in your home as a child? (Chapter Four)
   Ko e hā ho'o fanga ki'i ngāue na'a ke fai 'i ho homou 'api taimi na'a ke kei si'i?

6. What sort of work do you do at home now? (Chapter Four)
   Ko e hā 'e ngāue 'oku ke fai taimi ni?

7. In what ways do you think it is different for boys and for girls growing up in Tonga? (Table 5C)
   Ko e hā 'e faikehekhehe 'e tamasi'i mo e ta'ahine 'i he taimi 'oku nau tupu hake 'i Tonga ni?

8. Are there things that you have to do that you don't like? (Chapter Five)
   'Oku 'i ai ha me'a kuo pau ke ke fai, ka 'oku 'ikai ke ke sai'ia 'ia?

9. Are there things that you would like to do, but don't do because they are wrong? (Chapter Five)
   'Oku 'i ai ha me'a 'oku ke fie fai, ka 'oku 'ikai ke ke fai 'ia koe'uhi 'oku hala?

10. Why don't you do them? (Table 5B)
    Ko e hā 'oku 'ikai ke ke fai ai?

11. What are some of the things that your parents would punish you for? (Table 7B)
    Ko e hā ha me'a tautea ai koe ho'o mātu'a?

12. How would they punish you? (Table 7A)
    Ko e hā 'e fa'ahinga a 'e tautea?

13. How do you feel when your parents punish you? (Table 7C)
    Ko e hā ho ongo'i kapau 'e tautea koe ho'o mātu'a?

14. If you were angry with your parents would you show them? (Chapter Eight)
    Kapau te ke 'ita mo ho'o mātu'a, te ke fakahā ki ho'o mātu'a?
15. If yes, how? *(Table 8A)*
   Kapau 'io, te ke anga fefe?

16. If not, what would you do about your anger? *(Table 8A)*
   Kapau 'ikai, ko e hā te ke fakahā ai ho 'ita?

17. What things make you feel happy? *(Chapter Eight)*
   Ko e hā ha me'a 'e lava ke ke ongo'i 'oku ke fiefia?

18. In what ways are your friends important to you? *(Chapter Eight)*
   Ko e hā ha me'a mahu'inga 'oku manako ai ho kaume'a?

19. What happens if you disagree/fight with your friends? *(Table 8B)*
   Ko e hā ha me'a 'e hoko 'oku 'ikai ke mo lototaha mo ho kaume'a?

20. How do you think things are changing for children in Tonga? *(Table 5D)*
   Ko e hā ho'o fakakaukau ki he ngaahi liliu ki he fanau'i Tonga ni?

21. What will be important to you when you have your own children? *(Table 5E)*
   Ko e hā ha me'a mahu'inga 'i he taimi e 'i ai ha'o fanau tonu?

22. What would you like to do when you finish school? *(Table 4A)*
   Ko e hā ho'o me'a te ke sai'ia ke fai 'i he taimi 'e 'osi ai ho'o 'ako?

**COMPILATION OF RESPONSES (UP TO QUESTION THREE)**

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**TABLE ONE: AGES**

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### TABLE THREE: RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

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### TABLE FIVE: OVERSEAS TRAVEL EXPERIENCE

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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE SIX: OTHERS IN HOME OUTSIDE NUCLEAR FAMILY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparent/s</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cousins</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt/s*</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncle/s*</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's sister</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's brother</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friends</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister's husband</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other maternal relation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother's wife</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's sister</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other paternal relation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL RESPONDENTS</strong></td>
<td><strong>140</strong></td>
<td><strong>95</strong></td>
<td><strong>235</strong></td>
<td><strong>-</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*: no indication given whether maternal or paternal relation)

### TABLE SEVEN: LANGUAGE OF RESPONSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TONGAN</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIXED</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>140</strong></td>
<td><strong>95</strong></td>
<td><strong>235</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Afeaki, E.

Ainsworth, M.

Al-Issa, I. and W. Dennis (eds)

Aoyagi, M.

Aries, P.

Armon-Jones, C.

Averill, J.

Babadzan, A.

Bain, K.

Baker, P., J. Hanna, and T. Baker (eds)
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Bandura, A.

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White, G.


White, G. and J. Kirkpatrick (eds)

Whitehead, T. and M. Conaway (eds)

Whitehead, T. and L. Price,

Whiting, B.


Whiting, B and Edwards, C.

Whiting, B. and J. Whiting.

Whiting, J.

Wierzbicka, A.

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Williksen-Bakker, S.

Wood Ellem, E.