LAND TENURE SYSTEM: CHANGES AND CONSTRAINTS IN TONGAN SOCIETY.

by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Art.

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This thesis is dedicated to my late grandfather, Sitiveni Faka'osi and beloved great aunt, Sokopeti Sika for their love and anticipation in my academic career.

I here-by declare that this thesis is my own work and all sources have been acknowledged.

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Abstract.

As far as most social analysts and observers of contemporary Tongan society are concerned, Tonga has undergone major social and economic changes in the last three decades. Through these radical changes arose many unforeseen problems facing the country today. Some of these problems are centred on Tonga's unique land tenure system. The underlying principles of the present land tenure system, as outlined in the land law, have existed relatively unchanged for more than a century. This has created a separation between what is said in the land law and what is happening in reality in the sense that the land legislation is unable to accommodate on-going change.

This thesis examines development and change in the system of land tenure in relation to transformation in Tongan society. It adopts a 'social-historical' approach where it attempts to discuss the change and continuity between the pre-existing form of society and the present. This approach enables a broader understanding of how the land tenure system originated and evolved through the years.

Part I covers the period from the initial settlement of Tonga, c. 1200 B.C. to contact with the Europeans, c. 1770. This lengthy period of time shows that major changes in society - whether social, economic, or political - have often led to major changes in the system of holding land. The shift from coastal settlement to permanent settlement in the inland area of Tongatapu perhaps laid the foundation for the emergence of the first land tenure system, that is, the association of land with titles and specific duties. The rise of 'Aho'eitu in 950 AD marked the beginning of a centralised political system in Tonga. This political event further prepared the framework for the emergence of the 'feudal land tenure system'
where the relationship between the *hou'eiki* (chiefs) and the *tu'a* (commoners) was based on *fatongia* (obligation) centred on land. This feudal relation on land continued until the contact with Europeans in the 18th century which led to major revolutionary changes in the social and political structure of Tonga society.

Part II (1770 - present) continues to support the main argument in the thesis that changes in the wider society are reflected in the land tenure system. Contact with Europeans, especially the Christian missionaries, was followed by the transition from traditional, feudal social formation to a modern, capitalist Tongan society. Tāufaʻahau's political revolution in the last century (between 1845 and 1893), under the advise of Reverend Shirley Baker led, to the creation of an unique land tenure system which gave every male Tongan, sixteen years of age and over, the right to own a tax allotment and a town allotment. This continued to work quite well during the reign of Tāufaʻahau Tupou II (1893-1918) and Queen Salote Tupou III (1918-1965). The rise of the present King Tāufaʻahau Tupou IV to the throne in 1965 saw the opening up of Tonga to the outside world. This has increased the pace of social and economic change in Tonga while the fundamental legal principles of the land tenure system have remained relatively unchanged. The ideology of equality illustrated in the unique land tenure system over the years is beginning to show the effects of the international capitalist system which has increased the gap between the privileged and the underprivileged in Tonga. In summary, the thesis examines the changes in the rights of people to own, allocate and use land as a consequence of the transformation in Tongan society over the years, and it further explores how the new system of land tenure affects the course of social, economic and political change in society.
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Glossary.

'api: allotment, household.

'api kolo: town allotment.

'api 'uta: tax allotment.

faka'apa'apa: respect.

fakafalala: dependency.

fakamisinale: monetary contributions to the church.

fatonga: obligation.

fuatapu: sacred fruit.

ha'a: lineage.

hingoa tukufakaholo: hereditary titles.

hou'eiki: chiefs.

hunuki: marking of agricultural products in the plantation for the chief.

'inasi: bi-annual religious festival of presenting first fruit.

kāinga: extended family, relatives, people under the control of a chief.

kakai: people.

kautaha: co-operative.

kelekele: soil, land.

kolo: village.

koloa: ceremonial durables.

kolotau: fort.

langi: sky.

mafai: power.

matapule: chief's attendant.

misinale: missionary, mission or church annual collection.

polopolo: seasonal first fruit tribute.

pōpula: slave.

pule: authority.
*pule kolo*: town officer
*takitaki*: bribe.
*talangofua*: obedience.
*talatupu'a*: creation myth.
*tau'atäina*: freedom.
*tofi'a*: estate.
*toputapu*: sacred.
*tu'a*: commoners.
*tu'i*: king.

'*ulumotu'a*: head of an extended family.

'*ulungäanga tukufakaholo*: traditional values and behaviours.
Introduction.

This dissertation sets out to explore and critically examine the development and change in the land tenure system with respect to transformation in Tongan society. The thesis adopts a 'developmental' or 'social historical' approach which means that in order to understand the complex nature of the present land tenure system, it is important to examine the pre-existing form of society and how the land tenure system originated. This enables us to understand the main direction processes of change which have taken place, both in the land tenure system and in society. It must be pointed out that the thesis does not intend to discuss change in Tonga as unilinear or it has occurred in a series of evolutionary stages. As a matter of fact, the thesis will demonstrate that changes in Tonga, as in any other society whatsoever, is a complex and multi-linear process.

The continuous process of change in Tongan society, from the past to the present, will be discussed in terms of the transformation in the modes of production. The thesis will also show that the land tenure system is a central aspect of the mode of production. Changes in society or to be more specific, transformation in the mode of production generates change in the land tenure system. Moreover, the changing system of land tenure contributes to the reorganisation of society.

My interest in this topic began six years ago, when I was still at the final stage of my undergraduate degree at 'Atenisi University in Tonga. It was prompted by a brief discussion with Dr Max Rimoldi, Professor Helu, and Dr Māhina about the significant role played by the land tenure system in contemporary Tongan society. Since then, I have continuously researched on various aspects of the land tenure system in Tonga. My
understanding of the topic gradually changed and expanded when I started the postgraduate program in Sociology at The Australian National University. This was basically due to an increased exposure and familiarisation with various sociological theories, especially developmental theories.

A significant contribution has been made by the sociological theories on developing societies towards the understanding of social change in society. Central to the argument of development theories, that has shaped the course of this study, is the notion of the impact of capitalist mode of production on the non-capitalist social formations. This is obviously interesting because, so far, the development of the capitalist mode of production in Tonga has been taken for granted. This means that there has never been an indepth analysis of how capitalist penetration affected Tongan society, particularly, the system of land tenure.

Before we introduce the main concern of each chapter in this thesis, it is crucial to define and clarify the meaning of the main concepts that will be dealt with throughout the study.

A social formation or society is defined in this context as an arena of competing interests and demands of social groups and institutions. Social formation is used interchangeably with society which comprises a number of modes of production where one particular mode may dominate the others at a specific period of time. This definition of society permits a broader view and understanding of the complex relationship into which land tenure enters.

It is crucial to recognise that a land tenure system is a product of society, created through the interaction of human beings with each other and with their natural environment. The land tenure system can be
defined in two senses. Firstly, in the wider or general sense, a land tenure system is the totality of the relationships between land and people. Secondly, the narrow or specific sense refers to the "body of rules which govern the practice of cultivation and apportionment of produce" (Meek 1949: 1), the "collection of rights to acquire, distribute and utilise land" (Crocombe 1965: 3).

Meek has provided the following descriptive analysis of the complex character of land tenure:

The word tenure, from the Latin tenere = to hold, implies that land is 'held' under certain conditions. There are wide variations in these conditions. The occupiers may or may not be owners, and the owners may or may not be occupiers. Land may be held by landlords, leaseholders, or peasant proprietors. The landlords may be individuals, companies, or Governments. There are innumerable forms of tenancy. There may be tenants with full rights of occupancy, tenants for a fixed term of years, or tenants at will. Where there is dual interest in the occupation of land, tenancy may take the form of the system known as metayage, whereby the proprietor receives a proportion of the crops; or it may take the form of labour or cash contributions. Land may belong to a kinship or local group, the individual members of which have rights of users only. It may belong legally to the State, but in practice the occupiers may enjoy all the privileges of proprietors. It may be heritable and alienable, or heritable but inalienable. It may be heritable by certain classes of relatives only. It may be held subject to rules for the prevention of subdivision and the promotion of good husbandry. There is a common saying that property is a bundle of rights, and to no form of property is this more applicable than to land (1949: 1).

(Conditions of holding land are complex and subject to different forms of appropriation. Different forms of appropriation may also correspond to different modes of production. Thus the transition in the mode of production subsequently changed the forms of appropriation and the land-holding system.)
The concept of mode of production refers to the manner in which people in a particular social formation produce commodities or goods and services that underlie their existence. It is generally divided into two main components, forces of production and the relations of production. The phrase 'forces of production' usually refers to the combination of the instruments of production, such as, land, machinery, intellectual power, labour power, and money (capital), etc. 'Relations of production', on the other hand, means the relationship between the owners and the non-owners of the forces of production. The concept of relations of production also constitutes the relations between different social classes, such as, commoners-producers and the chiefly-non producing class. Land tenure, that is, the set of rights and obligations relating to the holding of land, is an aspect of the relations of production.

The study is divided into two main parts: the pre-contact and the contact period. These two parts will examine the continuity and change in the land tenure system and in society as a result of the penetration of western civilisation into Tongan society in the 18th century. The first part focuses on the pre-contact period which began with the initial settlement of Tonga by the Lapita people in about 1200 B.C. to contact with the European culture in the 1770s. The first part is divided into two chapters, 1 and 2. The second part of the thesis deals with the European contact period which covers the years from the 1770s to the present time. The second part is divided into three different chapters, 3, 4, & 5 which correspond to the three phases of the development of modern Tonga: phase I (1850s-1890s); phase II (1890s-1960s); and phase III (1960s-present).

The first chapter will investigate how the land tenure system in Tonga originated and its role in the initial formation and transformation
of Tongan society. This was a historical period that exhibited unified relationships between nature and humans. It was a time for human adaptation and familiarisation with nature for mere survival. This chapter will further look at how the development of land tenure system may have coincided with the development of other aspects of Tongan society.

The second chapter will focus on the emergence of the state and its role on the development and change in the system of land tenure. The rise of 'Aho'eitu resulted in the unification of Tonga under a centralised system of control. This centralised political system later became decentralised and exhibited a social and political structure similar to European feudalism. The transformation to a centralised political system resulted in a more systematic and formal organisation of people into productive systems and other human activities. This chapter will continue to examine the extent to which the unitary relationship between the commoners (direct producers) and the land (means of production) continued to dominate the development of specific sets of social relationships that featured European feudalism. The second chapter will also discuss the emergence of the social, political, and economic significance of land. This will show how the land tenure system became an important political instrument used by the ruling class to establish and consolidate their power over the ruled.

The third chapter examines the transformation to a new era in Tonga. It will look at phase 1 of the development of modern Tonga, that is, from the 1850s to the 1890s. The chapter goes back to the contact with Europeans in the 1770s, which precedes the major transformation that characterises phase 1. (This will show the extent to which the missionaries shaped and influenced Tāufaʻahau's land reform).
The fourth chapter explores the penetration of the capitalist mode of production and the possibility of a transition to mixed modes of production. The existence of mixed modes will be analysed in terms of the articulated combination of at least two distinct modes of production: subsistence production for direct consumption of the producers and petty commodity production, that is, the production to sell in the market in order to buy the products that the producers consume but not produce. This chapter will take a specific focus on the role of the land tenure system in the development of the capitalist mode of production in Tonga. This is to ask whether the land tenure system and land law have facilitated or retarded the transition to a capitalist mode of production.

The final chapter will discuss phase III (1960s to the present) of the development of modern Tonga, characterised by the re-establishment of Tonga's relationships with the international capitalist system. This will examine the extent to which the increasing contact with the outside world has resulted in the increasing reliance on the outside world. More importantly, this chapter will focus on the changes in the wider society as a result of internationalisation and how these changes in society affect the land law and the land tenure system.

The study will conclude by drawing out all the implications from each chapter to show that changes in the wider society have been reflected in the land tenure system. In doing this, I will make a distinction between the land tenure system and the land law, and show that, despite the enactment of the land law, the land tenure system was continuously transformed as the society changed through space and time.
PART I

THE PRE-CONTACT PERIOD (c. 1200 BC to 1770)
The Formation of Tongan Society: Development of the 'Ancient Modes of Production'.

The growing body of scientific investigations into the origin of Tongan society has served two purposes: firstly, they have promoted the academic knowledge into the remote past of Tonga, and secondly, they have given the Tongans a sense of cultural identity. This chapter will attempt to reconstruct the initial formation and transformation in pre-historic Tongan society. It specifically deals with the period from the initial colonisation of Tonga by human beings, 3000 years ago, to the time just prior to the rise of 'Aho'eitu in 950 AD as the first ruler to unify the whole group of Tonga. I refer here to this lengthy period of time as the Tongan 'ancient mode of production'.

Archaeological evidence shows that the earliest colonisers of Tonga, known as the Lapita people, settled along the coast of the main island, Tongatapu (see Poulsen 1977: 7, Spennemann 1986: 8-14). The Lapita people mainly relied on sea food supplemented by agricultural products (see Poulsen 1987: 251-2). The settlement on the coastal shorelines continued until major environmental change, that is the fall in the sea level round about 200 AD (Spennemann 1986: 3), and perhaps population growth led to their moving inland and a change in the settlement pattern. Moving inland corresponded to the decline of the Lapita Culture, on the one hand, and the permanent settlement of the people in the inland area, on the other. This change of settlement pattern, it is argued in this chapter, led to the development of a simple system of land tenure. In other words, the land tenure system would not have
existed until the pattern of settlement was well established in the inland areas.

This chapter will reconstruct how the system of land tenure originated and developed through the years prior to the emergence of the state in Tonga. This chapter will further demonstrate the extent to which the land tenure system and mode of production were two sides of the same coin. The peoples' relationship to their land gave rise to specific sets of social relationships. These social relationships were inherent in their association with the land, and thus constituted the social relations of production. This was more evident when the economy was transformed from a marine-based to a land-based mode of production. This transformation also resulted in the growing complexities of the Tongan social formation. Conflict over land raised the need for a conflict management body, which possibly led to the emergence of adjudicators who constituted the first aristocratic class in ancient Tongan society. The chapter will end with an examination of a possible co-relation between the land tenure system and the development of social stratification and inequality.

1.1. Initial Settlement of Tonga.

Reconstruction of the nature of the Tongan social formation before contact with Europeans is complicated because of the scarcity of both social and physical remains available for scrutiny. Myths and ancient religion were age-old sources of information about the origin of Tongan society and her remote past. The emergence of scientific study on Tongan society has brought to light the formation of Tonga. In contrast to myths and religion, scientific means objectivity or the systematic study of reality in itself (see Helu 1987). Archaeological research on the origin of Tongan society has so far treated myths and oral traditions as unscientific or as
having no significant contribution to make to academic studies. However, a few scholars have successfully used mythologies, archaeological and linguistic evidence in their attempt to reconstruct a complete picture of pre-historic Tonga (see, for example, Māhina 1992).

The creation myth (cited in Māhina 1992: 59-60; Rutherford 1977: 1-2) claims that the first humans to settle in Tonga grew out of a worm. This Tongan cosmogony denies the possibility of migration, and has promoted the 'eco-centric' view that Tongans grew out of the natural environment. But the increasing interest of scholars in the inception of Tongan society has led to a more scientific study of mythology and oral traditions. This approach has considered myths and oral traditions as sources of historical knowledge, but not as history per se. This means that myths, like other sources of history, such as material artefacts, written documents, etc, are all existed in the same level, that is, in space and time. Interpretation of all of these historical sources are subject to human error. The interpretation of myths involves a complicated process whereby the supernatural characteristics are unravelled in terms of spatio-temporal events (Helu 1983: 48-49, 1992: 1-7; Māhina 1990: 30-32).

The interpretation of both the Tongan and the Samoan myths seems to agree that Tonga was settled from Samoa (Poulsen 1977: 8). This contradicts the archaeological finding which argues that Tonga was initially settled from Fiji, as part of a much wider and continual process of migration and settlement of the Pacific societies from South-East Asia. Poulsen (1977: 6) has briefly outlined that:

Archaeologically, it is possible to say that the earliest human settlement of Tonga took place some 3,000 years ago, about 1200 B.C. The settlers came from the Fijian archipelago north-west of Tonga and probably took up residence initially in the largest island, Tongatapu. They belonged to a widespread but scattered south-west
Pacific Culture Complex which archaeologists have named Lapita after a site in New Caledonia.

The archaeological finding on the settlement of Tonga from Fiji was further supported by linguistic evidence. Poulsen (1977: 7) explains:

In Tonga the very first language spoken - by the Lapita settlers coming from Fiji around 1200 B.C. - was pre-Polynesian, an East Oceanic branch of the Austronesian language family. From about 1000-500 B.C. this language developed locally in Tonga into the ancestral language of Polynesia, called proto-Polynesian, standing out clearly as such in the centuries around 500 B.C. Over the next 1,000 years further development in Tonga produced a so-called proto-Tongic language, and the Polynesian language spoken in Tonga today is directly derived from this.

In relation to linguistic evidence showed by Poulsen above, Māhina (1992) argues that interpretation of the creation myth of Tonga (*talatupu'a*) also shows that Tonga was initially settled from Fiji. Māhina further agrees with the earlier interpretation of myths (as mentioned in Poulsen 1977: 8) of a settlement from Samoa but at a later period when Tonga was already peopled. Thus as far as all the available evidence is concerned Tonga was initially settled from Fiji.

The settlement of Tonga by the Lapita people marked the beginning of a permanent relationship between humans and nature in Tonga. The initial colonisers were constrained in many respects because of their dependence on the natural environment for survival. Settling into foreign lands highlighted the primacy of basic needs, such as food, water, and shelter. This means that the initial settlers tried to understand and familiarise themselves with their surroundings. As a result, they could not understand and explain why some natural phenomena, such as earthquake, behaved the way they did, which probably contributed to the development of mythology and ancient religion. According to Helu
people in ancient Tongan society understood and explained natural events in human terms (Helu 1983: 48).

The early stage of settlement saw humans exploiting nature for mere survival. As the society became more complex, so too did the social organisation of production where humans exploited nature more excessively. The continuous reliance of humans on their environment led to the development of a sense of unity and harmony between them and nature. Thus, the early Tongans perceived nature as an extension of their social world.

Some Tongan myths and legends cerebrate the harmonious bonds between the people and their environment. Helu has stated that "the 'ecological myths' postulate a spiritual unity of man and nature. This oneness is expressed in terms of love, the most powerful feeling man is capable of experiencing" (1983: 50). This harmony, however, emanated from contradiction and exchange, whereby humans, as part of the natural world, continuously transformed their natural environment through their social productive system. This form of exchange between humans and nature shaped the social relationship of people in society. Thus, we perceive the social relations of people to be closely associated with the type of environment they grew up in.

1.2. The Transition from the Lapita Culture Complex to Tongan Culture.

The Lapita Culture Complex was associated with the production of a kind of 'dentate-stamped pottery' (Kirch 1984: 45). Recent understanding of the Lapita Cultural Complex is based on Green's extensive excavation of an archaeological site in the south-eastern part of the Solomon Islands. According to Kirch (1984: 45), Green's research findings suggest that the Lapita people were landnam, that is, they were the first humans to settle
in many parts of the Pacific rim, including Tonga. The Lapita people came to Tonga with their own rootcrops and animals. This indicates that they may have had agricultural experience before they migrated and settled in Tonga. Poulsen has elucidated this:

The Lapita never settled inland but preferred land near shallow water, either on the coast of larger islands or on off-shore islands, but lagoonal settings were also attractive. They were coastal and maritime people whose economy was in the beginning based perhaps as much on seafood as on food produced from cultivated plants and domesticated animals such as chicken and pig (1977: 7).

If archaeological evidence proves that the Lapita people were coastal and maritime people, then it is reasonable to suggest that development of Tongan culture coincided with the permanent settlement of the population in the inland areas.

The late Lapita period, towards the beginning of our era, marked by the decline in the production of pottery, corresponded to the transition to 'ancestral Polynesian culture'. Tonga was one of the original homes of the Polynesian culture (Kirch 1984: 51). Therefore, the development of Tongan culture reflects the adaptation of the people to local circumstances, which might have given rise to new social structures and social organisations. This cultural transformation also reveals the gradual detachment of the people from their ancestral culture and their coming to terms with the development of a distinct culture. The Polynesian culture, in general, was associated with the development of a highly rigid, hierarchical system of power and status, interlocked with a complex system of land tenure. The transition to ancestral Polynesian culture corresponded to the development of stratification which was strengthened by the existence of an agricultural productive system.
13. The Ancient Productive System and Social Stratification.

The earliest mode of production that existed in Tonga was predominantly based on the exploitation of marine-food. Nevertheless, Kirch (1984), Poulsen (1977: 7), and Spennemann (1986) did not rule out the existence of agricultural production. They have shown that the settlement pattern of the initial colonisers was confined to the shorelines, for ecological and economic reasons. The economic reason, they suggest, was primary because the reefs and lagoonal areas were rich in sea-food. This has been supported by the abundance of shellfish and fish bones deposited in early Lapita sites, along the coastal zone (see for example Spennemann 1986). They also provide the ecological reason that the inland areas were possibly covered with thick virgin bush, which prevented the initial settlers from penetrating to the inland area rapidly.

In their original migration throughout the Pacific, the Lapita people were equipped with both material culture and technological skills. For example, they brought with them agricultural plants, such as yam, taro, sugarcane, etc, and a number of land animals, like pigs, chicken, and dogs. They also developed their weapons and technological tools - from materials available in their surroundings such as stones, wood, tortoise shells, and shellfish - to protect them from enemies and to assist them in their constant struggle against nature for survival (see for example Spennemann 1986). The society underwent transformation in later prehistoric times which was marked by the economy becoming more diversified. The production system, according to Kirch (1984: 54-55), was then made up of "agriculture, animal husbandry and marine exploitation".
The development of the 'ancient mode of production' in Tonga seems to be paralleled with Marx's notion of a 'primitive communist mode of production'. Hindess and Hirst (1975:43) have elaborated that,

primitive communism is characterised by a very limited development of productive forces and a limited division of labour. If there are no classes there is no surplus-product sufficient to maintain a class of non-labourers, together with their unproductive functionaries.

The characteristics of the marine-economy were reasonably similar to those of the 'primitive communism mode of production', as described above. This is because most of the people survived from gathering shellfish and fishing. Such socio-economic conditions demonstrated egalitarianism in terms of equal access to sources of economic livelihood. However, the shift to a land-based economy required a more complex social organisation of production which led to the development of social stratification, where the non-producers extracted surplus product from the direct producers to maintain themselves.

According to Māhina (1992), the development of Tongan society from a simple and egalitarian to a more complex and hierarchical social formation is mentioned in the creation myth. He identifies three different stages of development in the talatupu'a (creation myth), that is, "naturalism", "humanism" and "theism", in ascending order (see fig 1). In brief, Māhina uses "naturalism" to identify the earliest part of the creation myth which emphasised nature and natural events before the emergence of human beings. He uses "humanism" to describe the appearance of humans in the creation myth. The third stage, "theism" is used by Māhina to denote the emergence of supernatural beings.
The initial or first stage of development, "naturalism", is associated with the Lapita/Pulotu colonisation of Tonga. As Mahina puts it,

while this state of "naturalism", the oneness between people and their surroundings defined by a specific set of holistic empirical knowledge, might have been an expression of egalitarianism, the initial colonisers, in human and theistic terms, could have later engaged in trade and exchange, which through antagonism, probably erupted into conflicts, so that some groups rose above others. Through political assertion, leaders of such groups, possibly because they were extremely oppressive, became gods for the rest of society. With the emergence of "humanism" and especially "theism" came hierarchy, the psychological rigid, horizontal organisation of people into vertical layers, characteristic of Tongan society. This is more evident in the later development of the language levels and vertical and horizontal planes of the three dimensional Tongan social organisation (1992: 72-73).

Egalitarianism is seen in this context to be a condition associated with the initial settlement of Tonga. This is supported by Helu (1990), who argues that in the marine-based economy everybody had equal access to reefs and sea water. Marine economy was relatively free from an ownership system of the means of production which further reduced the chance for a non-producing class to emerge. Thus, the relations of production in the marine-based economy were simple and everybody in the community was involved in the production process.

This egalitarianism in the marine economy does not mean that the Lapita Culture complex was classless or not stratified. The system of stratification in the Lapita Culture complex remains, however, largely unknown and is one of the most disputed issues of pre-historic Tonga. Mahina (1992: 68), among others, has supported the argument that the Lapita social organisation was highly stratified, but in a different form of stratification from that which developed locally in Tonga. He argues that the hierarchy of the Lapita Culture,
is reflected in Pulotu being the residence of the gods, and of the souls only of dead chiefs, given their mutual religious and political interests, while the soulless commoners, and their life of service, simply end with their *fatongia* in Maama. Additionally, the strict observance of proper conduct by mortals who submitted themselves to the divine will of the gods, and specifically of Havea Hikule'o, points to oppression, itself an expression of a rigid hierarchy (Māhina 1992: 68).

The marine-economy reflected a production system primarily based on the satisfaction of human needs. This eventually led to the development of a basic division of labour and a fairly egalitarian social structure. The brother-sister incestuous aspect of the creation myth makes a point about the basic division of labour in the Early and Middle Lapita Period. According to Māhina (1992: 73) "...the children, by being left on their own at home, were prone to commit incest, while their parents were in the bush cultivating crops or fishing and collecting shellfish in the sea". He argues that parents were mainly working together for daily consumption which means that gender did not determine a clear cut division of labour between male and female, as we have today.

Since the initial settlers depended totally on their natural environment for survival, it is highly likely that collective actions and labour were necessary for the survival of the communities. Such social relations of production might have been governed by certain social principles. Helu (1991a: 55-65) suggests that the values of co-operation and collaboration, and other related values like friendliness, sharing, and generosity were age-old values in the Pacific. These values arose out of life-circumstances in which co-operation was beneficial in the constant struggle with nature. Changes in the social organisation of production from predominantly marine-based to land-based subsequently led to a more stratified social system and gave rise to two distinct and opposed set
of social values: the chiefly non-producing class and the commoners producing class.

1.4. Moving Inland and the Earliest form of Land Tenure.

Archaeological evidence shows that moving inland took place towards the end of the Lapita Period, that is, about two thousand years ago (Spennemann 1986: 3). This was probably due to a combination of a number of factors, such as, population growth, environmental change, and over-exploitation of marine resources. Moving inland put more emphasis on the agricultural mode of production. Consequently, development of agriculture alleviated the heavy reliance on sea-food and led to the diversification of daily consumption. Agriculture, as a social activity, gave the direct producers a sense of control over the products of their labour. Unlike a social formation which depended on a natural economy or hunting and gathering - where humans consumed directly from what they gathered from nature - agriculture showed a social situation where humans participated in the productive process. The development of agricultural production, in association with permanent settlement in the inland areas, gave rise to a specific set of social relationships based on land.

The development of productive forces due to moving inland has contributed to the increased complexity in the socio-political characteristics of the society. Along with population growth, moving inland not only diversified the subsistence means but also led to a more refined and specialised social division of labour. Mahina derives the earliest form of land tenure and the social division of labour from the creation myth as follows:
Land distribution, associating lands and titles, was the earliest form of land tenure system, which went with the allocation of specific duties. Such duties allocated to Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a probably reflected the division of labour in the wider society. The divine role of the goddess Havea Hikule'o, in overseeing fertility and harvest, was, as supported by archaeological information, possibly representative of a situation where women were responsible for agriculture. This may be explained by a situation that men were predominantly engaged in activities such as long distance voyaging and deep-sea fishing. But the engagement of the Tangaloa lineage, reinforced by that of the Maui line, probably changed such division of labour, as settlement grew more permanent in form, with men becoming more involved in agriculture (1992: 83-84).

As pointed out by Māhina above, the allocation of land, titles and duties to Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki, and Maui Motu'a, also demonstrated power distribution. This clearly indicates that the settlement pattern was already well established in the inland area. However, the allocation of land means that land began to assume a new political significance. Being one of the major resources at the time, land signified political power. For example, according to the creation myth, Hikule'o was given Pulotu, Tangaloa ruled the sky, and Maui controlled the underworld. These three titles were not only distributed land among themselves, but they may have also rule each of their respective territory.

The earliest system of land tenure also reflects the rise of a distinct class of landed estate. This class of landed estate owners perhaps made up the aristocratic class in ancient Tonga, while the rest of society were then organised to produce to sustain themselves and the non-producing class.

The penetration of settlement into inland areas not only testifies to the political but also the economic significance of land as an important factor of production. This geographical mobility had increased the demand for a good piece of land for agriculture, especially for those people who chose to live mainly from agricultural food. The situation was
becoming complicated as the population increased. The conflict over land - especially on the boundaries - increased as more and more people shifted their subsistence basis from fishing to agriculture. According to Helu (1990) the increase in conflict over land might have raised the need for a conflict management body. He argues that this is perhaps the beginning of hierarchy in Tonga where these adjudicators or mediators on land boundaries became the first aristocracy and chiefly class. Helu thinks that because these mediators played a very important role in society by settling conflicts people tended to respect them for their role in the community. This respect legitimated the appropriation of surplus products to sustain the non-producing class. Correspondingly, social values emerged which were conducive to the reproduction of the stratified social system.

Besides archaeological evidence of moving inland, Māhina argues that the same transformation from marine to a land-based economy is indicated by the movement from "naturalism" to "humanism" in the creation myth. Māhina explains,

while the state of 'naturalism' may be connected with the early settlement, the 'humanistic' transformation on Touia-o-Futuna,...respectively depicting 'human' and 'natural' attributes, is symbolically suggestive of the unified socio-economic, land-based shift in the mode of production characteristic from the Late Lapita Period (1992: 73).

Moving inland - during the stage of 'humanism' - laid the foundation for the development of a more rigid stratified social system. The emergence of Hikule'o, Tangaloa, and Maui, which represented the stage of 'theism', was eventually marked by the first ever known case of land distribution. This was not a coincidence, but an intentional move made by the powerful to establish power and control over the rest of society. Consequently, the earliest system of land distribution
corresponded to the rise of the aristocratic class as land adjudicators and organisers of people for productive activities.

It should be pointed out that if Tangaloa 'Eiki (and may be Havea Hikule'o and Maui Motu'a) were of Samoan origin, then it is reasonable to suggests that the first ever land distribution was part of the cultural influence of Samoan over Tonga. In other words, the distribution of land, titles, and duties among Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki, and Maui Motu'a, seemed to be an extension of the Samoan matai (chiefly) system under the rule of the Tu'i Manu'a (see for example Māhina 1992: 90). In fact, the Samoan matai system, as reflected in the Samoan land tenure system (see O'Meara 1987: 75-80) is very similar in many respect to the Tongan social structure and traditional land tenure system. For example, one of the common denominators between the Samoan and the Tongan land tenure system is that, land was traditionally held by the kāinga/ainga headed by the 'ulumotu'a/matai. Thus it seems that Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki, and Maui Motu'a were recognised as leaders of their respective kāinga, in which they each have power to control and distribute land to each members of their respective kāinga. Interestingly, it was not very long from this first land distribution that 'Aho'eitu emerged from the Tangaloa 'Eiki lineage to unify the whole of Tonga.

In conclusion, the development of the earliest system of land tenure corresponded to the change in the economy from marine to land-based. This change in the economic organisation concomitantly led to the emergence of social stratification and power structure. In short, the distribution of land and duties among Hikule'o, Tangaloa and Maui was no more than power distribution. And for that matter, they constituted the ruling class at the time. The control of Tonga under the rule of such tripartite lineages laid the foundation for the emergence of 'Aho'eitu
under a system of centralised control. As the structure of Tongan society became complex, so too did the system of land tenure.
Chapter Two.

The Emergence of Centralised Control: The Transition to a Feudal Mode of Production.

The birth of centralised control in Tonga took place in the 10th century, when 'Aho'eitu emerged to become the first Tu'i Tonga (lit. King of Tonga). According to oral tradition and myths, 'Aho'eitu was the first ruler to unify the entire group of Tonga. From that time the centralised political regime persisted over the years and eventually created a feudal social and political formation based on the system of land tenure. This chapter will examine the relationships between the land tenure system and the society during the period in which a feudal mode of production was dominant in Tonga.

The emergence of the state in Tonga, marked by the rise of 'Aho'eitu to power, had a massive influence on the organisation of people in various social activities in society. As Mandell puts it,

the birth of a state is therefore the product of a double transformation: the appearance of a permanent social surplus product, relieving a part of society from the obligation to work in order to ensure its subsistence, and thus creating the material conditions for this part of society to specialise in the accumulative and administrative functions; and a social and political transformation permitting the exclusion of the rest of the community from the exercise of the political function which had hitherto been everyone's concern (1982: 27).

Since the birth of centralised control in Tonga, the land tenure system and land reform have been seen as major political tools implemented in the interests of the ruling elite. Hereditary titles and land estates continue to be distributed along with duties to members of the ruling elite which in turn supported and consolidated the central power of the Tu'i Tonga.
Thus the chapter will demonstrate how state control and distribution of land reinforced centralisation of power and further solidified the hierarchical social system.

The chapter covers the period from the emergence of the first Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu, c. 950 A.D, to contact with western culture in 1770. Following the unification of Tonga by 'Aho'eitu, the influence and control of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty gradually expanded from the local to the regional level. Consequently, neighbouring island societies in the region were conquered by the Tu'i Tonga’s fleet and this gave birth to the so called Tu'i Tonga Maritime Empire (Māhina 1986, 1992; Wood 1932). The chapter will show that the Tu'i Tonga’s imperial activities have contributed to the co-existence of a slave and feudal mode of production.

The emergence of a feudal mode of production in Tonga, which coincided with a weakening of the state, was reflected in the changes in the land tenure system. This means that the fundamental relationship between the two main social classes in Tongan society - the hou'eiki non-producing class and the tu'a producers - was generally based on a system of obligation centred on land. In pre-contact Tonga, land was regarded as the main source of inequality in society. The allocation of land and hereditary titles corresponded to the distribution of political power, economic wealth and social status.

This chapter will first examine the extent to which the emergence of 'Aho'eitu indicates centralisation of power and, moreover, laid the foundation for the development of a stratified social system which featured a feudal mode of production. It will further outline the development of the ancien political system, which shows the parcelling out of power. As well, this chapter will examine the extent to which the
land tenure system at the time contributed to the reproduction of the feudal mode of production in Tonga, and how land reform consolidated the power of the ruling elite. This chapter will also have a close look at how the land tenure system continued to reflect the productive system and division of labour at the time. The chapter will end with an analysis of social stratification and inequality inherent in the system of feudal land tenure.

2.1. Centralisation and/or Feudalism.

The concept of centralisation is used here to refer to the concentration of political power (*mafai*) and authority (*pule*) in the hands of one or a few person(s), and in the capital town (Robertson 1985: 32). In the case of Tonga, the rise of 'Aho'eitu reflected the centralisation of *mafai* and *pule*, which were embodied in his double role of being a sacred and secular ruler. Furthermore, the Tu'i Tonga's Royal residence was always regarded as the capital town and the centre of administration for the country as a whole. Archaeologists have shown that only the Tu'i Tonga's residential place shows evidence of concentrated living, while the rest of society was scattered all over the country (see for example, Spennemann 1986). In other words, the Tu'i Tonga's household - which included his immediate and extended family, priests, political advisers, and perhaps police for his own security, etc, - was like a small village. All the important political decisions on major national functions and social ceremonies came from the centre, the residential place of the Tu'i Tonga. At the same time, economic support was constantly flowing from all directions towards the centre.

The concentration of political power in the residential place of the Tu'i Tonga became more evident in Heketā and Mu'a. Large numbers of stone monuments still remained in both capitals to demonstrate the
tyrant power of the Tu'i Tonga. Some of this physical evidence includes: the famous Ha'amonga 'a Maui, a huge gateway to the Tu'i Tonga's compound made of coral limestone; Langi Heketā; and Langi Mo'ungalafa in Heketā (see Poulsen 1977: 13; Rutherford 1977: 33), and more Langis in Mu'a. Langi (lit. sky) refers to the burial places for the Tu'i Tonga and some members of the Royal family which were mostly stonefaced (list of the langi in Mu'a, see Spennemann 1986: 38). These constructions were made from stone, and given the level of technology at the time, it was really hard work. In other words, these massive constructions constituted the so called Tongan Classical Period, which bear witness to the excessive use of forced and slave labour.

Although political power was highly concentrated in the capital, the existence of chiefs as estate owners meant that a certain degree of power accompanied these titles. The chiefs derived their power from controlling and organising the people in production. Therefore, the Tu'i Tonga was the ultimate ruler of the whole of Tonga, on the national level, while the chiefs controlled and managed each of their tenants on the communal level.

The rise of a feudal mode of production in Tonga was demonstrated by the parcelling out of power from the centre, and through the distribution of land from the top to the bottom of the social hierarchy. In exchange for the land they used, the commoners were forced to cultivate the land and sent tributes of first fruits up the social ladder to the goddess of fertility, Hikule'o, via the Tu'i Tonga. The continuity and the mainstay of the feudal mode of production in Tonga relied heavily on fulfilling obligations towards each other.
Similarly, the rise of European feudalism according to Martin was marked by a combination of these politico-legal units (*benefice* and *vassalage*) into a hierarchy, at the vertex of which was the suzerain monarch, and at its base the serf. Within this structure, political functions tended to become dispersed, particularistic and overlapping—hence the term 'parcellised sovereignty' (1983: 6).

While the above gives us some insight into the nature of Tongan feudalism, the term itself is not without controversy, different meanings applying in different disciplinary contexts. Of course, feudalism as a concept denotes a situation, and when we talk about this concept we are dealing with a form society with distinct characteristics of its own. Some knowledge of the term's linguistic derivation helps towards a grip on its meaning.

Feudal is derived from the Latin word *feudum*, or 'fief' (fee), meaning granting of land in exchange for services or rent. 'Fief' was a product of the synthesis between two distinct socio-cultural practices. Firstly, there was a system of land tenure known as *'beneficium'*, (generally operating within the territory of the Roman Empire), where land was granted for the lifetime of a tenant and at his request. Secondly, there was the general social relationship between the lords and the vassals (tenants), called vassalage. European feudalism originated in the early Frankish kingdom, c. 8th century, when benefice - granting of land - was linked to vassalage - military services and other obligations (see Bloch 1961: 161-168). Furthermore, feudalism is "a social system of rights and duties based on land tenure and personal relationships..." (*The Encyclopedia Britannica* 1987: 755).
Feudalism is often referred to as a particular mode of production, a distinctive type of socio-political structure that emerged in Europe ten centuries ago. This does not mean that feudalism was homogenous in the whole of Europe, though it does mean that all these different countries in Europe shared some, but not all, characteristics peculiar to this particular mode of production. This is similar to the Tongan case, because some characteristics of European feudalism have been found in Tonga. However, feudalism can be regarded as a socio-political as well as an economic system (Helu 1990). Feudalism, thus, embraced a particular form of social relationship between people, based on the system of land tenure. This means that the social, economic, and political structures of society were closely interwoven and affected by the peoples' relationships to land.

2.2. The Development of the Ancien (Feudal) Regime.

The people of Tonga have been continuously ruled under a centralised, monarchical system for the past ten centuries. Power centralisation began in about AD 950 when 'Aho'eitu emerged to become not only the first Tu'i Tonga out of which emerged the Tu'i Tonga dynasty, but also the first national-political leader of the Tongan archipelago (Mahina 1992; Wood 1932). According to myths, 'Aho'eitu's father was a god, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a who lived in the sky. 'Aho'eitu was a grandson of Tangaloa 'Eiki that involved in the original land distribution in Tonga as discussed in chapter I. 'Aho'eitu's mother was an earthly woman known as 'Ilaheva Va'epopua who resided in Tongatapu. An interpretation of the 'Aho'eitu myth, which is widely accepted by many scholars of Tongan culture, has led to the supposition that 'Aho'eitu was partly-Samoan through his father and partly-Tongan through his mother (Mahina 1992). 'Aho'eitu's godly and human origin
gave him in particular, and the Tu'i Tonga dynasty in general, a double role in Tongan society. He became a sacred and secular ruler which led him to monopolise and appropriate economic wealth via political and ideological means.

The Tu'i Tonga became more powerful as his sphere of influence and control expanded beyond Tonga. The tenth Tu'i Tonga, Momo, laid the foundation for the development of the so called Tu'i Tonga Maritime Empire. The eleventh Tu'i Tonga, Tu'iitātui, began his regional and imperial activities by conquest of neighbouring islands. Some of the Island societies that were conquered and colonised by the Tu'i Tonga included Fiji, Samoa, 'Uvea & Futuna, Niue. The political maintenance of the empire was due to the flow of social and economic support from the periphery to the centre. For example, the formalisation of the 'inasi system - the bi-annual tribute system of the first fruit to the gods via the Tu'i Tonga - performed a double functional role: first, it was seen as a political tool that unified and strengthened the vertical and horizontal link between the hou'eiki/tu'a and the periphery/centre contradictions. Secondly, it was treated as a yardstick for the power of the Tu'i Tonga (Mahina 1986; 1992).

The Tu'i Tonga dynasty remained as the sacred and secular ruler, and continued to dominate the local and regional political scene for five consecutive centuries, and for twenty-four generations. But a series of assassinations of the Tu'i Tonga compounded by power struggles within the ruling elites led the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua 1, to introduce major social reforms (Mahina 1992). These reforms resulted in the re-organisation of the social and power structure in society, and thus changed the political roles of the Tu'i Tonga. The second dynasty was formed through the appointment of Kau'ulufonua's younger brother,
Mo'ungāmotu'a, to be the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in about 1470 (see fig 2). Subsequently, the Tu'i Tonga became the sacred ruler ('eiki toputapu) while the newly formed Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty acquired the secular power (mafai).

From the time of Kau'ulufounua's reform, the Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the sacred ruler, which is a disguised form of political power. He remained a ceremonial figurehead and the highest ranking individual in the whole of Tonga. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, on the other hand, was responsible for administering the daily affairs of the country. He was referred to as the secular ruler (pule) who made political decisions and ruled the countries.

The two dynasties, Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua continued to serve their distinct roles in society until the creation of the third dynasty, Tu'i Kanokupolu in about 1610. The 6th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungātonga, appointed his son, Ngata, to become the first Tu'i Kanokupolu. The Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty was given the role of overseeing the organisation of production and the flow of social support and economic production from the eastern part of Tongatapu to the centre at Lapaha. Power struggles among these three dynasties continued to dominate Tongan society until the outbreak of the civil war in 1799.

2.3. Land Tenure and Land Reform.

Very little is known about the exact nature of the land tenure in the pre-contact period as pointed out and discussed in the previous chapter. We can, however, discuss aspects of the land tenure system by adopting the general sense of the term, that is, the sum total of the relationships between humans and land. The nature of the land tenure is such that it reflects social relationships of people with each other in a particular social
context. The relationship of people to land was inherent in their daily activities, system of beliefs, social values, etc, which ultimately gave meaning to their social, economic, and political conditions. It must be pointed out that changes in society have also affected the form of land ownership, the way people have access to land, and the way land is used.

The first major change in the land tenure, after the society was well established in the inland area, was due to the emergence of 'Aho'eitu as the first King of Tonga. The rise of 'Aho'eitu was a radical event because it marked the transformation of a social formation without a state and politically fragmented to a society governed by a centralised political system. The effect of this change on the land tenure system was tremendous because all the land was then claimed to be owned by 'Aho'eitu. The rise of 'Aho'eitu was well supported by an organised system of beliefs and ideas that sustained his political power. Māhina (1992: 90) argues that the rise of 'Ahoeitu marked the emergence of local hegemony to counter the hegemonic rule of the Tu'i Manu'a (King of Samoa) over the whole group of Tonga.

The hegemonic rise of 'Aho'eitu entitled him to appropriate social and economic resources in society which ultimately strengthened his political power. In pre-capitalist Tongan society land was a symbol of authority and a source of political power, economic wealth and social status. Consequently, as part of his hegemonic rise to power, all the land was claimed to be ultimately owned by 'Aho'eitu. This perhaps laid the foundations for the development of a feudal land tenure system. A tributary relationship between the hou'eiki and the tu'a developed. This tribute system expanded alongside the development of the Tu'i Tonga Maritime Empire where social and economic support was flowing from the periphery to the centre.
These complex relations of production and exchange led to the development of a rigidly hierarchical social system, whereby each class and status was associated with fixed obligations to one another. The Tu'i Tonga and his chiefly associates were expected to protect the people from natural disasters, foreign invasion, etc. The commoners, on the other hand, were expected to offer their allegiance to the Tu'i Tonga by paying tribute in the form of agricultural products. Thus, the feudal bondage between the non-producing and producing class was reinforced by the system of land ownership and land use.

The common belief that the Tu'i Tonga was the ultimate owner of all the land symbolically meant that the people were his too. By combining sacred and secular powers, 'Aho'eitu rose to unify and control both land (kelekele) and people (kakai), the two constituents of a country (fonua). The Tu'i Tonga's political power was further consolidated by the ideology that 'Aho'eitu was toputapu (sacred). This ideology segregated him from the rest of society. However, this socio-psychological phenomenon of toputapu can be regarded as a disguised form of political power (Māhina 1992). The toputapu of the Tu'i Tonga was one of the earliest institutionalised ideological bases of his power.

The political-legal system laid down by 'Aho'eitu survived relatively unchanged for about ten generations before Tu'itātui, the eleventh Tu'i Tonga in 1200, introduced major reforms in society, including the system of land tenure. There is little information, either from oral tradition or material artefacts, about the Tu'i Tongas between 'Aho'eitu and Momo, except their names. Still, this can be regarded as a period of consolidation and conservation of what 'Aho'eitu achieved. The rise of Tu'itātui led to the expansion of his power beyond Tonga.
Tu'itūtū'i's land reform, influenced by Lo'au, aimed to accommodate the expansion of imperial activities. Māhina explains:

The first reform was the development of the so-called Lo'au-Tu'itatui Land Tenure System (*Vahe Fonua 'a Lo'au*), where titles were matched with lands. With the second reform, Tu'itatui reorganised the Fafea, the administrative machinery of the Tu'i Tonga, adjusting the centre with respect to the periphery. By sending out chiefly people from the centre to respective islands, the political existence of the Tu'i Tonga was thus maintained through the enforced socio-economic exchange between the periphery and centre. As in the kava ceremony, where the political relationships between titles are reinforced in the wider society, the development of the land tenure system further cemented the power of the Tu'i Tonga (1992: 131-2).

Surplus labour and products were extracted through the application of 'extra-economic coercion', whereby local and foreign subjects were both exploited in the political interests of the Tu'i Tonga. Thus, 'extra-economic coercion' was necessary to sustain the non-producing class. As Māhina (1992: 133) puts it,

besides the extraction of the surplus economic resources such as fish, food and fine mats, the principal source of this form of imperialism was slave labour (*pōpula*). The extraction of such surplus socio-economic resource from the periphery was for purposes of politically sustaining the Tu'i Tonga in the centre. While slave-workers were brought from these island groups to carry out the tasks of building the imperial centre, the Tongans had the duties of operating the Tu'i Tonga fleet, thereby enforcing the imperial links between periphery and centre.

The above explanation shows that slave labour and forced labour was a characteristic of the Tu'i Tonga Imperial power. According to tradition, labourers from the conquered islands were brought, to Tonga as slaves, to work for the Tu'i Tonga (Lehā'uli 1990: Māhina 1992). The main difference between the slaves and the local commoners was mainly in terms of social ranking, where the slaves were at the very bottom of the social ladder, below the commoners. Division of labour was apparent,
where the local commoners, apart from joining the Tu'i Tonga's fleet continued to be the tillers of the land while the slaves mainly worked on construction and artistic creations. However, in terms of political domination, both slaves and commoners were forced to labour in order to consolidate the power of the Tu'i Tonga at the centre.

The Lo'au/Tu'itātui's land reform transformed the institutional structure that governed the people's relationship to their land. The changes in the structure of relationships in the colonies were reflected in the changes in the social organisation of production to serve the interests of the Tu'i Tonga. The establishment of the chiefly titles associated with land estates legitimised the subordination of the interests of the commoners-producers. Governors were sent from the centre to the colonies to oversee and put pressure on the colonial social organisation of production. The ideology that all the land and its products belonged to the Tu'i Tonga was reinforced not only locally but also regionally. The extreme suppression and exploitation of slaves and commoners by the feudal bondage resulted in the assassination of a number of Tu'i Tonga.

The twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua I, following the assassination of his father Takalaua introduced a major reform in society. The influence of his social reforms on land tenure resulted in the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua becoming responsible for allocating land to major ha'a (lit. lineages) (see Bott 1982: 109). For that purpose, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was symbolically known as the Tu'i Kelekele (lit, King of the Soil; Tenderer of the Land), while the Tu'i Tonga was referred to as the Tu'i Kakai (lit, King of the People). This means that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was responsible for organising the people to cultivate the land, while the Tu'i Tonga was still regarded as the ultimate ruler of Tonga.
Kau'ulufonua sent out governors to major peripheral centres to reinforce his declining imperial power. According to Māhina:

Kau'ulufonua sent out chiefs from Mu'a on political assignments to regional outposts. Generally, their duties were to reinforce and maintain through the networks of exchange the social, economic and political relationships between centre and periphery (1992: 167).

Kau'ulufonua's land reform was a reinforcement of the original principles on the association of land and titles. His reform to the social and political structure of society restored the power of the Tu'i Tonga. However, the gradual decline of the Tu'i Tonga's power led to the growing power of two other lesser dynasties. This weakening effect of centralised power corresponded to the development of feudalism in Tonga. Consequently, the continual power struggle between the tripartite kingship contributed to the outbreak of the political turmoil in the 19th century which finally ended the rule of the Tu'i Tonga.

In summary, the feudal pattern of land distribution and acquisition was as follows: the Tu'i Tonga was the ultimate owner of all the land; the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua granted hereditary titles (hingoa tukufakaholo), and land estates (tofi'a), on behalf of the Tu'i Tonga, to the chiefs ('eiki ma'utofi'a). The chiefs were then expected to allot a sizeable piece of land to the heads of the extended family ('ulumotu'a), who, in turn, further distributed it among each household ('api) that lived and worked in a particular estate. The pre-constitutional 'api as described by the earliest explorers, was neatly fenced and the dwelling houses were situated somewhere in the centre, surrounded by each household's own plantations (see Wood 1932). The 'api was constituted of the extended family living and working together as the smallest unit of production (Lātūkefu 1975; Maude 1965). Therefore, the commoners-direct producers
were living in their own garden. Chiefs often announced a specific time for inspection to see whether the commoners had cultivated the necessary items for the 'inasi ceremony (Gifford 1929; Sahlins 1958). It must be pointed out that the unity between the commoners - direct producers and the means of production (land) was a central aspect of the feudal mode of production in Tonga.

The tenants of a particular estate usually consisted of the chiefs' own kāinga (tenants of a particular estate). The Tongan expression, ko e nofo pe 'a kainga (lit. living together of tenants of a particular estate) derives from this type of social circumstance to indicate the dominance of communalistic ideologies. The people experienced the advantage of living and working together, but during the feudal period, the surplus of their communal effort was appropriated by the non-producing class. The distribution of land from the top to the bottom of the social hierarchy was strictly political and reserved as a role of the non-producing class, while the utilisation of land was a social and economic process performed by the producing class as an obligation to the chiefs non-producing class.

2.4. The Productive System and Division of Labour.

The increasing sophistication of the social hierarchy and the political system led to the establishment of a highly organised, and decentralised form of production. This development in the social hierarchy created new social relationships based on domination and subordination of one class by another. The agricultural production system was then re-organised in the political interests of the non-producing class. The producing class was rationalised and organised to endure tilling of land as their fatongia (obligation) to their superiors. Fatongia, as a socio-psychological phenomenon (see Helu 1975b), was based on the principle that the producers were to present the first fruit and the best yield of their
labour to the chiefs (Gifford 1929; Lātūkefu1975: 9). Furthermore, through the application of extra-economic coercion the non-producing class was able to live by exploitation of the producing class.

The social organisation of people into production processes and the distribution of agricultural products was mainly handled by the chiefs (Gifford 1929; Sahlins 1958). This form of social organisation of production gave rise to the hierarchical arrangement of opposed and complementary behaviours such as *pule'ī/tu'utu'uni* (ruling/commanding) from the top to the bottom, and of *pule'ia/taliangi* (ruled/obedience) from the bottom to the top of the pyramid. These behaviours and values were clearly observed in societal ceremonies. Two societal productive systems, namely, *polopolo* (seasonal first fruit tribute system) and *'inasi*, (bi-annual first fruit tribute system) reflected the class conflict between the interests of the non-producing class (*hou'eiki*) and the producing class (*tu'a*). These two politically significant activities demonstrate how land tenure cemented the opposing yet unifying forms of social relationships of production (Māhina 1992).

Both *polopolo* and *'inasi* ultimately performed the same political function, to provide socio-economic support for the political power of the Tu'i Tonga. These socio-economic activities were based on the ideology that,

all the land and its products were regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga. In similar fashion, the land within the domain of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was regarded as his property, but subject of course to the demands of the Tu'i Tonga. Evidently the same relation held between lesser chiefs and the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The first fruits or the first of any catch of fish or other food had to be presented (*polopolo*) to the chief and to the Tu'i Tonga before it could be partaken of even by the producer (Gifford 1929: 102-3).
Polopolo was basically an all year round tribute system which relied heavily upon the seasonal production and availability of other food resources. It was generally understood among the tu'a-producers that the first and best fruits of their labour, whether from the land or sea, were to be set aside and considered as fuatapu (lit. sacred-fruit) for the use of the hou'eiki non-producing class (Māhina 1992). The commoners were not allowed to consume the fruit of their labour until the polopolo had been sent to the chiefs. The producers had been socialised to accept the idea that their primary role was to fulfil their obligations to the chiefs. Failure to perform and fulfil their duties resulted in severe physical punishment and maintenance of the tapu (restrictions) on food items (Gifford 1929: 104).

The production process was mainly organised by petty-chiefs and members of the non-producing class. Estate holders (hou'eiki ma'u tofi'a) were further responsible for allotting the land to their kāinga. According to Sahlins (1958: 23-24),

members of the upper status largely controlled many types of production. High-level chiefs had petty-chief emissaries who initiated and directed many types of communal production, the labour for which was supplied mainly by commoners. Some of these emissaries were 'national' supervisors and were sent to various islands by the Tu'i Tonga. Other were supervisors of lineage production and were subordinates of the lineage chiefs. ...They inspected the fields of each household to insure adequate production. The inspectors also placed conservational tabus. They reported on the status of production to the higher chiefs.

Sahlins has demonstrated the political significance of organising people into the social production of their material life. The powers of the chiefs were largely based on their control and administration of a large labour force (Hau'ofa 1992).
The social organisation of production for 'inasi was operated under the same ideological principles as the polopolo. 'Inasi was a bi-annual religious festival of the goddess of fertility, Havea Hikule'o. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the representative of Havea Hikule'o on earth. Therefore, all the first fruits were offered to Havea Hikule'o via the Tu'i Tonga. The flow of agricultural products and other related items from the periphery to the centre demonstrated the tremendous power of the Tu'i Tonga. Māhina explains:

There were two 'inasi, firstly, the 'inasi 'ufi mui (early yam 'inasi), held in June-July, and secondly, the 'inasi 'ufi motu'a (late yam 'inasi), took place in October-November. The chief product for the 'inasi was kahokaho, a chiefly yam socially classified according to hierarchy, and thought to have originated in Pulotu. Besides the yams, there were other items for presentation such as pearl (mata'itofo) from 'Uvea, a type of fish called 'ava from the sacred lake at Nomuka in Ha'apai, best quality iron-wood [sic] sandalwood (ahi) from Niuafo'ou, and a host of other products which included dried fish (ika momoa), mats (fala), bark cloth (ngatu) and bundles of stained pandanus leaves (takainga lou'akau fakalanu).

Like polopolo, 'inasi was presented by the local chiefs to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, who, via the Tu'i Tonga, offered it to Havea Hikule'o. With chiefs and priests in full command, the entire population of the Tu'i Tonga's imperial dominion was mobilised, bringing with them what was due to the gods, whose representative on earth was the Tu'i Tonga. The 'inasi were then transported from all islands and different parts of Tongatapu to 'Alakifonua, a port at Pelehake near Mu'a. Poles were prepared, and decorated with plain or dyed ribbons made from hibiscus plant (fau). The yams were tied to these poles, then carried by the people, who were led by the chiefs and priests. From 'Alakifonua, the united front of chiefs and priests and their subjects walked in one line to Lapaha, where they were received by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu (1992: 180-2).

The 'inasi system showed the operation of a specific system of land tenure dominated by a feudal social and political structure. The
appropriation of surplus labour, by means of compulsion on the land, led
to the reproduction of the feudal mode of production in Tonga. The
relations of production were generally based on the system of land
ownership and land use. In the process of agricultural production, the
commoners were forced to cultivate the land and reserved the best fruit of
their labour for the disposal of the chiefs.

The fact that the commoners possessed and held land, but did not
own it, immediately gave rise to a particular system of social obligations.
Social obligations led people to behave and act in certain ways which
stressed the notion of interdependence, and the exchange of goods and
services between the tu'a producers and the hou'eiki non-producers. The
operation of the productive system, to a large extent, was based on the
idea of carrying out specific duties and obligations towards each other. The
system of duties and obligations existed at two levels: within the smaller
kin group and on the societal level. On each level, it corresponded to a
specific division of labour.

The feudal mode of production reflected a complicated division of
labour based on sex and age. With regard to sex, the division of labour, on
the societal level, restricted men to the production of agricultural food
and other subsistence means. Women on the other hand, concentrated on
household work and the production of items of high social status. As
Māhina explains, the division of labour in the production process reflects
a situation where,

women are engaged in the production of koloa (ceremonial durables such as fine
mats and bark cloth) men are involved in the production of ngāue (economic
products such as food and pigs), respectively connected with their 'eiki and tu'a
status. In exchanging koloa and ngāue, sisters/women and brothers/men exert
various degrees of binding control over each other, though conflicting at times,
characterised by pule (authoritative status) and mafai (political power). By
exercising her *pule* through her *'eiki* status, the sister appropriates economic support and social and moral deference from her brother. Similarly, the brother, in honouring his duties prescribed by his *tu'a* position, reinforces his *mafai* even more with the group (1992: 172-173).

The division of labour also implied the political significance of land, where men largely derived their political power from their control of land. It further shows that the well-organised system of production corresponded to a more rigid political system. Women, however, did not have any direct role in the predominantly patriarchal political system of which land tenure was a part. Women's roles were directly connected with the production of *koloa* (ceremonial durables) which elevated their *'eiki* status. Both products from agriculture and women's *koloa* constituted the surplus products that were appropriated by the non-producing class via the *'inasi* system.

It must be pointed out that the conditions of labour were embraced by the system of obligation and other means of extra-economic coercion. This is what Marx called 'unfree labour'. The labourers were not free to choose the conditions of their labour, unlike the capitalist mode of production, where labourers are free to choose whom they will sell their labour power to. Therefore, it was important in the feudal mode of production that the direct producer possessed but not owning the means of production (Hindess and Hirst 1975). In that sense, they did not have much choice but to comply with the condition of coercive extraction of social and economic surplus. This unequal exchange between the producing and the non-producing class contributed to the existence of extreme social, economic and political inequalities in pre-constitution Tonga.

2.5. *Social Stratification and Inequality.*
Social stratification in pre-contact Tongan society was often identified with the ranking system. Kaeppler suggests that "in order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the society as a whole" (1971: 175). The way people organised themselves on the societal level was akin to and influenced by the system of land tenure. Gifford (1929: 108) and Kaeppler (1971: 179), believe that class structure of pre-contact Tonga was divided into; Tu'i (king), 'eiki (chiefs), matāpule (ceremonial attendants), and tu'a (commoners), in descending order.

The form of stratification corresponded to different levels of languages: lea 'oe Tu'i (language for the king); lea 'oe Hou'eiki (language for the chiefs); lea 'oe Kakai (language for the commoners); and lea 'oe tatau (language of equals). Tongan language was regarded as a political tool that consolidated the power of the non-producing class while further oppressing the producing class (Helu 1990; Taliai 1989). Thus, language as the main medium of communication between these different classes in society was designed to maintain the status quo.

The foundation for this class structure was possibly laid down prior to the emergence of 'Aho'eitu (see chapter 1). Tongan society, at the time of permanent settlement in the inland area, was then politically fragmented, and people were scattered all over the country in small communities made up of a small number of extended families. Each community perhaps had its own leader ('ulumotu'a), and ranking was predominantly based on the kinship/communal level. The rise of 'Aho'eitu led to the transformation from a communal-fragmented ranking system to a universal-societal ranking system. This transformation in the stratification recognised the king as the head of
society. Through the years, new institutional practices emerged in the political interests of the ruling class, which continually modified the stratification system. The ranking system was further complicated during the development of the Tu'i Tonga's Empire, where slaves (pōpula) were brought to labour for the Tu'i Tonga. It was only the chiefly class who had the privilege of owning slaves who were placed at the base of the social pyramid.

The feudal social structure was rigid and highly stratified. Social mobility was very minimal and class boundaries were always kept intact. Individual social status and rank were pre-determined, and one was born and died within the same social class. Membership of each social class was strictly ascribed at birth. The differences between the 'eiki and the tu'a were reflected by their opposing moral tendencies and distinctive ways of doing things. Helu states that

in the pre-contact period Tongan traditional values were a fair mixture of what Nietzsche called 'slave' and 'master' moralities. Tongan society, though a rigid, multi-strata one was usually divided into two socially and morally opposed groups-`hou'eiki and tu'a' (1981: 1).

Helu further argues that both systems of moral values were created by the `hou'eiki, which reflected the ruling class's hegemony. The `hou'eiki system of values consisted of aggressiveness, shrewdness, to be feared, bravery and physical beauty. Some of the tu'a's values included respect, loyalty, obedience, love, warm-heartedness and specific duties (see Māhina 1992: 126). These contradicting moral codes, according to Helu (1981), have had very definite social, economic and political effects.

The ranking system during this feudal period demonstrated the extreme inequalities between the `hou'eiki and the tu'a. The inequalities between the chiefs and the commoners were clearly shown in their
interaction in a particular social context. In one way or another, the stratification system provided the conditions for the *hou'eiki* to exploit, and dominate the *tu'a*. For instance, on the political level, the *tu'a* were too powerless to make any significant impact on the power structure. They could not dispose the products of their labour unless the portions for the sustenance of the chiefs had been appropriated. This placed the *tu'a* and the *hou'eiki* in an interdependent relationship. The *tu'a* needed the protection of the *hou'eiki*, while the *hou'eiki* in return relied on the *tu'a*'s allegiance and socio-economic support.

The development of the national governing body led to the organisation of a specific productive system on the societal level. The political-legal development was one of the pre-conditions for coercive extraction of economic surplus. Land reforms were initiated by the monarchy to maintain the status quo. The system of land tenure contributed to the maintenance of extreme inequalities between the *tu'a* and the *hou'eiki*. The structure of the feudal mode of production in Tonga continued to survive relatively unchanged until the outbreak of the civil war in 1799. The end of the civil war in 1852 was followed by major social reforms led by Tāufa'āhau under the influence of European culture. The next chapter will deal with Tāufa'āhau's land reform which led to the creation of a distinct class of independent small land holders out of a feudal class of serfs.
PART II

THE EUROPEAN CONTACT PERIOD (1770-PRESENT).
Chapter Three.

Tāufa'āhau's Land Reform: The Creation of an Independent Class of Small Land Holders.

The land reform initiated by Tāufa'āhau was part of major social reform. Contact with the Europeans, particularly Christian missionaries, was a significant factor behind this radical transformation in Tongan society. This chapter covers the historical period between the contact with Europeans in the 1770s to the death of Tāufa'āhau in 1893. These revolutionary years marked the beginning of a continuous process of transition from a traditional, pre-capitalist society, to a modern, capitalist social formation. The transitional phase is discussed in this chapter with reference to the creation of an independent class of small land-holders from what was previously a feudal class of serfs. This reflects the influence of liberal ideology which was largely promoted by Christian missionaries.

It was not very long after the arrival of the Europeans that Tongan society underwent a period of civil unrest from 1799 to 1852. The war resulted from power struggles among rival chiefs. The conversion of Tāufa'āhau to Christianity in the 1830s disguised the struggle for political power as a religious struggle. This struggle divided Tongan society into two main opposing parties with distinct and contradictory ideologies. Tāufa'āhau and the Christian missionaries, on one side, were fighting for supremacy so as to reform the power structure and turn Tonga into a Christian country. The Tu'i Tonga and his supporters, on the other hand, were holding on to their traditional power and were still loyal to the ancient religion.
This chapter will begin with a discussion of European influences - demonstrated by the dialectical interaction between religion and politics - in laying the foundation for Tāufa'āhau's social and political reforms. It will further outline the development of legal codes, and the enactment of the Constitution in 1875, to show that Tāufa'āhau and Reverend Baker deliberately moved to reduce the extreme inequalities in society by giving hereditary rights on land to the commoners. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of Tāufa'āhau's land reform and the extent to which it reflects continuity and change in the pre-existing social and political structure of Tongan society.

3.1. Pre-conditions to Tāufa'āhau's Land Reform.

Tāufa'āhau's land reform was part of major reform on the societal level, culminating in the promulgation of the Constitution in 1875. This reform can be regarded as a product of a long and continuous process of conflicting tendencies in society. Land reform may also imply that the existing system of land tenure, at the time, was not keeping pace with social change. Therefore, it was pursued in response to political pressures for socio-economic change. The pre-existing land tenure system was a major concern to Tāufa'āhau because the system of land ownership reinforced the oppression and exploitation of commoners by chiefs. Land reform was deliberately implemented to cut down on the extent of social and economic inequalities in society, moreover to guarantee the freedom of the commoners from forced labour.

From the beginning of his political career in the early 1820s, Tāufa'āhau always stood against the political interests of the aristocratic class. He easily mingled with the grassroots level of society. His political and emotional feelings toward the commoners were further revealed in
his social reform when the development of written law liberated the commoners from forced labour and at the same time limited the power of the chiefs (1862 Emancipation Edict). However, we can not explain this radical change in society as being the result of just one individual's effort. There were other people and structural forces that contributed equally to the outcome. The contact with the multi-faceted components and influences of western culture can be regarded as one of the major external factors contributing to the changes in Tongan society. While the transition was fairly slow in the early stage of contact, prior to the outbreak of civil war, change accelerated during the civil war (1799-1852), especially through the impact of the Christian missionaries. European influences were much stronger in the process of reform after the civil war through the activities of the Christian Church, Government and traders (see Bollard 1974).

The first Europeans to arrive on Tongan shores were the Dutch explorers, Schouten and Lemaire in 1616. They were later followed by Abel Tasman (1643), Captain Wallis (1767), and Captain Cook (1773, 1774, 1777), to name just a few. Most of these explorers reported that the society was very peaceful. "Tasman was very favourably impressed with the industry of the Tongans. The land was cultivated everywhere, and there were no villages. Each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences"(Wood 1932: 17).

This period of peace and order is referred to in Tongan tradition (tukufakaholo) as the era of fanongonongo tokoto (lit. to publish or announce while lying down) (Lätükefu 1975: 2). This idiomatic phrase denotes a social situation where messages from the hou'eiki were passed around the community by calling from one's 'api (household or dwelling compound) to the neighbour and so on, while lying down. The phrase
portrays a unified picture of Tongan society which in fact concealed the contradictions between different groups and social classes. For example, it suggests that the *tu'a* dedicated most of their effort to cultivating their land and fulfilling their feudal obligations (*fatongia*) to their chiefly landlords. The phrase also implies that the interests of the producing class (*kau tu'a*) were suppressed by the hegemony of the non-producing class (*hou'eiki*). The society had been rationalised into two main social classes, with opposing interests and moral values (see chapter two), where the lower class (*kau tu'a*), consisting of the bulk of society, was being raised to be the tillers of the land and the bearers of the *fatongia* (obligation) to the upper class (*hou'eiki*). Thus, it is important to point out that most of the early Europeans' ethnographic records underemphasised the conflicting tendencies in Tongan society. They failed to recognise the underlying contradictions between the *tu'a* and the *hou'eiki*.

Within the class of ruling elites, the system of ideologies that concealed the power rivalries among the chiefs was no longer effective as the outbreak of civil war in 1799 exposed contradictions and brought them to the surface. There is no evidence to suggest any direct causal link between the impact of the Europeans and the outbreak of the civil war itself. Still, neither is there any doubt that the impact of the European culture contributed to the emergence of the contradictions that were previously concealed. For instance, some of the earliest explorers such as Tasman, Cook, and Mariner recognised the desperation of the Tongans to trade for European goods (Martin 1981; Wood 1932). This included the recognition of the superiority of the European guns which may have strengthened 'Ulukālala's opposition to the central power in Mu'a.

The period of peace and stability suggests that different forces in society were acting upon a state of equilibrium. This balance of forces in
society was altered by the impact of European culture. Contact with the Europeans certainly caused an awareness among the local chiefs of the tremendous power of European technologies, such as their guns and ammunition. The first few years of the civil war went along without any guns. But it was clear that some chiefs, such as 'Ulukālala, were desperate to gain guns. The return of young warriors from Fiji in the second half of the 18th century further affected the balance of forces. They were reported to have had hostile attitudes and practised cannibalism which contributed to the social and political instability in society (Lātūkefu 1975: 14, Wood 1932: 25).

The power struggle within the hau office, culminating in the assassination of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tuku'aho in 1799, resulted in society erupting in civil war. In other words, conflicting tendencies became apparent in the outbreak of the civil war with the revolt of chief 'Ulukālala and his supporters against the ruthless and despotic power of the then Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tuku'aho. The outbreak of the civil war in 1799 caused much chaos in society and led to the disintegration of the traditional polity.

The conduct of the war was changed when 'Ulukālala captured the Port-Au-Prince, in 1806, and obtained eight of its cannons. The surviving sailors, including William Mariner who had been adopted by chief 'Ulukālala, were then responsible for demonstrating to 'Ulukālala and his warriors how those cannons were operated. The superiority of the European guns, as compared with the local weapons, was generally observed by the locals during the civil war.

The civil war was then responsible for the transformation of the pre-contact pattern of settlement, that is, living in an 'api (lit. allotment)
scattered throughout the country, to living in concentrated groups in forts (kolotau). It was this form of settlement, during the civil war, that led to living in modern villages (kolo) and towns. However, each kolotau consisted of a chief (or an alliance of chiefs) with his kāinga (lit; relatives; also referring to the people living in an estate, they were initially relatives of the estate holder). Chiefs often led their own people to war, and were also strong fighters in the battle field. The commoners’ allegiance to their chiefs no longer showed in the plantation field but was converted to the battle field.

The civil war greatly affected the food production system because men were involved in fighting. The women might have been free to endure the responsibility but it was too risky to go outside of their fort to cultivate food crops. This led to a shortage of food which encouraged the warriors to practise cannibalism. Mariner noticed that cannibalism was a value during the civil war, where warriors also ate their enemies in revenge (Martin 1981). The shortage of food made it worse for women and children. If the fighting had continued non stop without an interval, the population would have been at greater risk. But there were a few intervals of peace between some of the major fights, and chiefs would call upon their kāinga to cultivate short season root-crops.

Changes in Tongan society were not only social, economic and political, but also mental. The Tongan traditional mode of thinking was closely associated with ancient religion and mythologies, in turn having significant impact on the society as a whole. The people worshipped their ancient gods as much as they adored their hou'eiki and Tu'i. Religion was the main social institution, in pre-contact Tonga, used to coerce the population and maintain social order. The ancient Tongan religion, not
only can be regarded as the ideological foundation of the feudal system, but also as the main political tool for maintaining the status-quo.

The outbreak of the civil war led minor chiefs to question higher authorities, leading to the doubting of their religion. This is reflected in the case of two of the most prominent figures during the civil war, Finau 'Ulukālala and Tāufa'āhau. Wood explains:

Finau had long been noted for his sceptical attitude towards religion and his disrespect for the priests, though he often sought their advice and took it when it suited him. He was often careless about taking offerings to the gods, and he wished especially to abolish the first-fruits and tribute sent annually to the Tu'i Tonga as the gods' chief representative. Finau shrewdly observed that some years when Ha'apai had not sent its tribute, no harm had followed. He considered these levies a useless burden, and it's certain that he would have carried out his intention had he lived longer (1932: 39).

Wood continues to explain that, "like Finau 'Ulukālala II, Tāufa'āhau had long doubted the heathen gods and soon after the missionaries came to Nuku'alofa he sought to secure one to teach him at Ha'apai" (Wood 1932: 46). The Christian religion seemed to arrive at the right time, for Tāufa'āhau was seeking a much stronger ideological support for his power struggle. His conversion to Christianity made him the enemy of most of the chiefs in Tongatapu. However, the support of the chiefs of Vava'u and Ha'apai consolidated his power there, before he moved down to Tongatapu.

The mission of the Christian religion to Tonga began in 1797, when ten missionaries from the London Missionaries Society, based in London, arrived in Tonga. Their mission was soon to be interrupted by the outbreak of the civil war in 1799 and they fled back to Sydney when three of their men died in the unrest. A second attempt to establish the Christian religion was made by the methodists in 1822, but again, it was
unsuccessful. The two previous unsuccessful missions did not hold back the missionaries from striving to inculcate Christian religion in Tonga. It was not until 1826 that the third attempt bore fruit. This was highlighted by the conversion of the first Tongan to Christianity in 1829 (Lätükefu 1974, 1975; Wood 1932). The turning point of the missionaries' effort came about when Tāufa'āhau was converted in 1830. Tāufa'āhau's conversion to Christianity began the new era of his long and lasting alliance with the Wesleyan missionaries, especially Baker later on. It also laid the foundations for: the establishment of Christianity as a national religion; the beginning of Tāufa'āhau's political career; and the future political development of Tongan society.

The alliance between Tāufa'āhau and the Christian missionaries can be regarded as a marriage of convenience between politics and religion (Lätükefu 1974). The original ideological foundations of the civil war, that is, political rivalry between powerful chiefs, was then blended with Christian ideologies. The intrusion of Christian ideologies refuelled the unrest. Consequently, the country was divided into two sides with opposing ideologies. Tāufa'āhau and his missionary supporters favoured changes and promoted Western ideologies such as Western Civilisation and Christianity. On the other hand, the rest of the hou'eiki including the Tu'i Tonga, remained loyal to the old religion and strongly opposed the influence of foreign religion. They regarded the foreign religion as threatening and weakening their traditional authority. However, Christian moral values were easily identified with the tu'a values and thus renewed the ideological footing of the civil war. Subsequently, the civil war reflected the strife between two polar moral systems, that is, Christian/slave/tu'a values against the traditional religion/heroic/hou'eiki values (Helu 1981:1; Māhina 1992).
The dialectical interaction between religion and politics has played a major role in overhauling the feudal structure of the Tongan social formation. Generally, these are two distinct institutions with conflicting interests but they have capitalised on each other in the struggle for power and reform in Tongan society. The close association of the Christian religion and politics is reflected in the outcome of the process of reform which culminated in the promulgation of the constitution in 1875. This is a very important period in the history of modern Tonga because it marked the beginning of a drastic change that characterised the shift to a modern society. It is important to point out that it was through the conflict and compromise between Tāufa'āhau and the missionaries, especially Baker, that Tonga has been able to achieve her present stage of legal development.

3.2. The Development of Legal Codes.

The political pressure on Tāufa'āhau to bring about socio-economic change was evident as soon as he came to power. This began in 1820 when Tāufa'āhau became the ruler of Ha'apai. He later assumed the rulership of Vava'u in 1833, following the death of Fīnau 'Ulukālala IV (Lātūkefu 1974; Wood 1932). The combination of his opportunistic characteristics and the assistance of the missionaries led to the codification of the first law in 1839, known as the Vava'u Code. Thus, Vava'u and Ha'apai experienced for the first time the application of the rule of written law. In 1845, Tāufa'āhau assumed the Tu'i Kanokupolu title, following the death of Aleamotu'a. The application of the Vava'u Code was then extended to Tongatapu. But, apparently, the Vava'u Code was a little too simplistic to encompass increasing complications in the whole of Tongan society. This led to the development of the second legal code in 1850. Tāufa'āhau, at this stage, was still not yet recognised by the Ha'a Havea chiefs, as the Tu'i
The Vava'u Code of 1839 reflected Tāufa'āhau's intention to minimise the power of the chiefs. The formulation of this code was influenced by the Christian doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of god. The chiefs were expected to allot land to their respective kāinga and to make sure that the kāinga were industrious in feeding themselves first, and fulfilling their duties to their government and their chiefs (Clause 3). The commoners were still expected to labour for their chiefs but not all the time. Clause 4 abolished the practice of hunuki (the marking of commoners' products, such as pig, banana, etc., for the chiefs' own use). Furthermore, the chief was to allow his people some time to labour for themselves and to own and dispose of whatever they produced. Clause 5 reflected the concern of Tāufa'āhau and the missionaries with the economic welfare of the country, thereby requiring the people to cultivate their land and to confine their pigs in fences, to prevent damage to plantations.

The weakness of the 1839 code to comprehend the increasing complexity in society led to the development of the second legal code in 1850. Lātūkefu (1975: 25) points out that the missionaries' influence in the 1850 code was even more apparent. There were two main important features of this code that seemed to contribute to changes in the land tenure. Firstly, Clause XXXVI reflects the imposition of the protestant work ethic, whereby all men were required to work to sustain their families and contribute to religious causes. Any man who refused to work...
and cultivate his land was to be denied food and be regarded as useless, unproductive, and unprofitable to his people and country (Bollard 1974; Lāfūkefu 1974, 1975). This legislation was a response to the growing concern of the missionaries that young people were not participating in the workforce, but were indolent. This indolence of young adults perhaps reflected the division of labour prior to the civil war, where the old and married people were labourers on the plantations while young people concerned themselves with much lighter duties such as collecting firewood (Lehā'uli 1990). In other words, young people perhaps were not strictly obligated to work on the plantations. The requirement of young people, by the 1850 code, to participate in cultivating the land, and to be productive, industrious, and profitable was perhaps driven by the missionaries’ protestant ethics.

Secondly, Clause XXIX strictly prohibited any Tongan, whether king, chief, or commoner, from selling any land to foreigners. This reflects the strong feeling against foreign domination and colonisation of Tonga. This clause appears to have been desired and agreed on by both parties: Taufa'āhau and the missionaries who were not only faced with the task of reconstructing the internal social formation, but were aware of the importance of maintaining their independence and political autonomy from colonial powers. For the Tongans, it was inconceivable to lose their independence to any foreign country and the increasing impact of Europeans might have created an alertness to foreign take-over.

The prohibition on selling of land was again highlighted in the third Codes of Law, promulgated in 1862 (Clause II). One of the important features of the 1862 Code concerned the emancipation of the tu'a from serfdom or forced labour. Article XXXIV of the 1862 Emancipation Edict which is entitled 'The Law Concerning Tribute', formally banned all
forms of serfdom and vassalage. Everyone was declared to have entire control over all that was theirs. This Clause formally declared the abolition of the tribute ('inasi) to the Tu'i Tonga because the 'inasi system was the mainstay of the Tu'i Tonga's government. Tāufaʻahau's decision to abolish this social activity completely paralysed the old political system. Interestingly, the 1862 Code further demonstrated the firm establishment of Western ideas in the reform when the 'inasi tribute system was replaced with a tax-paying system to the central government. This meant that the government no longer operated on the flow of agricultural productions, but from the tax money owed by the people to the government.

People who were responsible for paying tax included all male Tongans sixteen years of age and over. The initial annual tax fee was three dollars. The government then used this revenue from taxing the people to pay the salaries of the Government servants, such as Governors, Judges, etc. Chiefs were expected to distribute land to the people as they needed it in order to sustain themselves and to fulfil their obligations to the government and church. Thus, commoners were further required to pay an annual rent of two shillings to their chiefs (Rutherford 1971). The government had to determine the size of the farming land based on the size of the 'api, the primary productive organisation.

The prohibition on selling of land was among the other restrictions included in the 1862 Code that minimised the growing number of European traders settling in the country. Clause XXXVII permitted selling of spirituous liquors but strictly under the conditions laid down in this clause. Furthermore, it was unlawful to sell firearms without the consent of the King or Governor (Clause XXXIX). However, guns could be brought into the country provided the owner paid the duty fees. In general,
influence of the European traders was restricted by the law. This led to a hostile reaction from the European community. Furthermore, the European traders showed extreme resentment towards Clause XXX which provided that all foreigners living in Tonga were bound by the same laws as the local people. In other words, the Law in theory did not allow for special privileges in society, but promoted the equality of men (Lātūkefu 1992: 4).

The development of the legal codes, especially those Clauses that dealt with land tenure, restricted the influence of the Europeans in Tongan society. These codes hampered the activities of the European traders that might have accelerated the transformation of the economy to an export-oriented mode of production, as was the case in most third world countries. Nevertheless, the new government showed interest in trading with the outside world but strictly under the law that protected Tonga from being controlled by the interests of the traders. The development of the legal codes, prior to the promulgation of the constitution in 1875 also prevented Tonga from being completely dominated by the powerful forces of international capitalism. The legal codes gave the Tongan producers a sense of control in the social process of production.

3.3. The Constitution of 1875.

Development of the legal codes culminated in the promulgation of the Constitution in 1875. The Constitution was not only a refinement of all the previous legal codes, but it demonstrated further influence from abroad, not only in its form but also in its content. It has been said that the form of the Constitution was designed after the model of the Hawaiian Constitution in 1852. Furthermore, some of the content of the Constitution, like the 'Form of Government', closely followed the model
of the British Government. The Constitution can be seen as the main medium whereby Western culture and ideas penetrated to become an inherent part of the Tongan legal system and culture.

In *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, Rutherford (1971) argues that the Constitution was mainly the work of Baker. The Reverend Shirley Baker arrived in Tonga in 1860, and might have had an influence in the drafting of the 1862 Emancipation Edict. He developed a very good relationship with Tāufa'āhau at a crucial time when Tāufa'āhau needed a political adviser. Baker met a lot of opposition from his fellow missionaries because his involvement in local politics was against their policy. However, Baker chose to become unpopular among his missionary colleagues and help Tāufa'āhau to bring about change that would ensure order in society.

The original copy of the Constitution promulgated in 1875 was published in both languages, that is, Tongan and English. Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution on the 4th of November 1875, Baker used the government's monthly publication, *Koe Boobooi*, to explain the meaning of the Constitution to the public. It must have been difficult for most of the people at the time to understand thoroughly, because of the general illiteracy.

Lātūkefu (1974, 1975) and Wood (1932), among other historians, have promoted the view that the Constitution was granted by Tāufa'āhau to his people. This popular view has undoubtedly singled out Tāufa'āhau to be an individual agent in the radical transformation in Tonga at the time, thereby disregarding the active role played by structural forces and other social institutions in society.
It is true that the people did not openly demand a Constitution. But this does not imply that the Constitution was granted by Tāufa'āhau, because by the same token one can say that the Constitution was forced upon the people. In other words, 'not being demanded' can result in 'being forced' or 'being granted' on the same logical ground. The promulgation of the Constitution is viewed here as a product of strife and the power struggle between two opposing interests or ways of life, such as: conservative and change; traditional and modern; old religion and Christianity; illiberality and liberality; inequality and equality; customary law and written law. Thus Tāufa'āhau was an agent or a bearer of the interests in change, the modern, Christianity, liberality and written law.

The Constitution consisted of 132 articles and it was divided into three main parts: Declaration of Rights; Form of Government; and The Lands. The first part consisted of 32 articles, and declared all the basic rights and freedom that should govern the general relationships of people in society. Furthermore, the Constitution was heavily blended with Christian ideologies. For example, the very first sentence of the first article read:

Seeing it appears to be the Will of God for man to be free, as He has made of one blood all nations of men, therefore shall the people of Tonga be for ever free, and all people who reside or may reside in this kingdom. And the lives and bodies and time of all people shall be free to possess and acquire property, all doing as they like with the fruit of their hands, and using their own property as they may seem fit (Lātūkefu 1975: 90).

The influence of the missionaries is more apparent in Article 6 which declared that Sunday was the Sabbath Day. Any activity and any form of labour was not to be practised on Sunday except worshipping the Christian God. The rest of the first part of the Constitution emphasised
freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of press, and equality of men before the law. It also outlined the basic rights and duties expected by the people from their government. For example, "the people expected the government to protect their life, liberty, and property, ... and consequently they were expected to 'assist and pay taxes to the government according to the law' " (Lütukefu 1992: 6). The first part of the constitution generally laid the foundation of social relationships among the basic institutions in society.

The second part of the Constitution consisted of a further 76 Articles which composed well over one third of the contents of the Constitution. Clause 34 declared that Tonga was to have a constitutional form of government under the King. The government was divided into three main bodies: The Executive, consisting of the King, Privy Council and the Cabinet (The Ministers); The Legislative Assembly; and The Judiciary. The first eleven Articles outlined the public rights and functions of the King in relation to the other government bodies and society at large. For example, among the many functions of the King, he was responsible for granting of pardons to convicts, especially in the case of impeachment, but with the consent of the Privy Council (Clause 40). The King also had the power to dissolve the Parliament and he could call an election of new members to the Legislative Assembly (Clause 41). It is evident that the Constitution appropriated most of the power to the King and made him the most powerful individual in society. For example, Clause 44 declared that the King was sacred and all the bills passed from the Legislative Assembly must have the consent and signature of the King before they became law. This was a deliberate move by Baker to advance his own political influence by way of his connection (Lütukefu 1975; Rutherford 1971).
The Privy Council was the next political division after the King. It was composed of the Cabinet Ministers, the Governors and the Chief Justice, all of whom were appointed and dismissed by the King. The Privy Council had a dual role: to assist and advise the King occasionally on very important matters, and to be the final court of appeal. Following the Privy Council was the Cabinet which consisted of the Premier, Treasurer, Minister of Lands and Minister of police. Clauses 55-59 laid down the duties of the Premier and the Ministers. For example, it was the duty of the Premier to appoint *pule kolo* (mayors), and,

to make new roads; to take care of the Legislative House, prisons, and all houses of Government; and to take care of and govern the vessels of the Government. He also has charge of the Great Seal of the Government and to all the working of the Government which does not belong to any other particular Minister. He also represents the Government to other nations...(Clause 55[1]).

The Treasurer was expected to oversee the flow of the government's revenue and expenditure. The Minister of Lands was to take care of all Government premises and town sites; public roads; to determine proper location for houses in town; and make decisions on leasing of land to foreigners with the consent of the King and the Privy Council. The Minister of Police was responsible for maintaining the peace and security in the country. He was also responsible for enforcement of the law and to see that the law was properly applied. Furthermore, each Minister had to prepare an annual report and explain to the King the situation of their respective departments.

The Legislative Assembly was made up of the Government Ministers, twenty Nobles and twenty Representatives of the people. Under the same regional distribution, both the noble class and common people each had representatives: 9 for Tongatapu, 5 for Ha'apai, 4 for
Vava'u, 1 for Niuafo'ou and 1 for Niuatoputapu. The Ministers were "appointed by the King from either the noble class or from the representatives of the people, or from persons outside" (Clause 62 [1]). Nobles, on the other hand were appointed by the King for life to the Legislative Assembly. The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly was appointed by the King. Clause 82 declared that the Legislative Assembly had the power to make amendments to the Constitution provided that these would not undermine the following: the Declaration of Rights, the law about foreigners, the succession to the throne, and the inheritances and titles of the Nobles and Chiefs of the Land.

The third division of power was concerned with the Judicial power vested in the Supreme Court, Circuit Courts and Police Courts. The Supreme Court was to consist of three Justices with equal powers and rights, one would be the Chief Justice and the other two justices would be there to assist. All the Justices of the Supreme Court were to be appointed by the King with the consent of the Cabinet. The Justices of the Supreme court would hold their offices on the condition of good behaviour and subject to impeachment. The main responsibility of the Judicial body was focus on settlement of all forms of disputes in society. The duties of the Justices in different courts were generally outlined from Clause 86 to Clause 108 of the Constitution.

The promulgation of the Constitution in 1875 was one of the greatest events in the political history of modern Tongan society. But the impact of foreign ideologies on the reformation and re-organisation of society is not new to Tonga. In fact, major transformations and reforms in Tongan history showed the involvement of foreigners (see chapter one and two). For example, the impact of Lo'au (either as a foreign or a cultural force) during the rule of the tenth Tu'i Tonga, Momo, was
significant in the re-organisation of Tongan society at that time. Thus, Shirley Baker of the post-contact era, and Lo'au of the pre-contact period both represent the successful penetration of foreign ideologies, initiating changes in the internal structure of Tongan society.

The promulgation of the Constitution was a revolutionary movement in itself. For a traditional society where power rested on the will of the powerful, it was a radical change for the hou'eiki to be restricted by written land law. On the other hand, it was quite a big change for the commoners to enjoy freedom for the first time. In fact some commoners took their freedom for granted and became economically unproductive and indolent. The remarkable feature about the development of the rule of law was the attempt to minimise the power of the chiefs and to liberate the common people from forced labour (Lafu'kefu 1974: 122). It provided a system of rights which effectively rearranged the socio-political structure of Tongan society.

The third part of the Constitution focuses land. This will be discussed in the next section as a part of an on-going examination of land tenure reform.

3.4. Tauta'ahau's Land Reform from 1839-1891.

Taufa'ahau's intention to change the institutional structure that governed the relationships of the people to their land first appeared in the 1839 Code of Vava'u. Evidently, the driving force behind his socio-political reform was based on Christian ideas. Therefore, the 1839 code gradually released the commoners from the absolute power of the chiefs. The commoners were given legal rights to work for themselves and to dispose of whatever belonged to them (Clause 3&4). This change has slowly led to the concept of property ownership for the commoners, and it
has been re-enforced by the prohibition of taking things by force (Clause 4). Land was strictly prohibited from being sold to any foreigner. However, foreigners were permitted to stay in Tonga provided they paid an annual rent to the government, and they were to be bound by the same law as applied to the Tongans. (Clause XL of 1850 code and Clause XXX of 1862 code). All unclaimed land was to revert to the government (Clause XL in 1862).

All the major Clauses which appeared in the 1839, 1850, and 1862 Codes of Laws, affecting the relationships of people with their land, were further developed and clarified under the third section of the Constitution. This was made up of 24 Clauses, with the first principles confirming the prohibition against the alienation of land (Clause 109). All town sites belonged to the government and were the jurisdiction of the Minister of Lands (Clause 110). However, with regards to leasing of land - to foreigners (Clause 130); Tongans (128); to church organisations (Clause 117); or as payment of lease (Clause 111); or re-lease of government premises (Clause 112) - these were all carried out in accordance with the consent of the King and His Cabinet. The Minister of Lands represented the interests of the government on matters like determining the boundaries of an estate or town site (Clause 113) and appointing the Court of Arbitration (Clause 123). The Court of Arbitration, was composed of four arbitrators, and was appointed when there was a decision needed on disputed land (Clause 123). However, if the dispute could not be resolved by the Court of Arbitration, there could then be on appeal to the Supreme Court. If the decision was still not satisfactory to either one of the parties, then the Privy Council would make the final decision.

Clause 124 declared that chiefly titles and land should be hereditary passing from father to son. The name of the first twenty chiefs were later
printed in the Gazette and BooiBooi after the Constitution came into effect. Hereditary rights to title and land were continued under the conditions laid down in Clause 125 of the 1875 Constitution. The Law of Inheritance permitted a female to hold chiefly title but under the condition that she had to appoint a male representative to the Legislative Assembly. The limitation on female participation in the administration of the country reflected the perpetuation of the patriarchal power structure, where power and authority were largely vested in the male. In cases where there was no heir to the title and estate, these then reverted to the government, and it was lawful for the King to appoint a new title/estate holder.

The constitutional rights on land expanded on some of the ideas laid down in the three previous codes. Chiefs were authorised by the Constitution to allocate land to the people from their respective hereditary estates thereby reserving some for their own use. At this stage, the Constitution did not draw clear boundaries between the rights of the commoners to their land and the rights of the hereditary estate holder. These confusions were clarified in later amendments to the Land Law in 1891 (see Powels 1990: 152). Since then, commoners have held independent and life interests in their lands. The introduction of land registration, perhaps in 1898 (see Lätükifu 1974: 212) was a great leap forward in the struggle for more secure land tenure which ultimately protected the commoner's land interests from the manipulation of the chiefly landlords. The re-establishment of chiefs as landlords by the Constitution has raised speculations about the nature of the land reform. This was because acquiring lands from estate holders often resulted in the abuse of land law and the enforcement of traditional customs for the chiefs' personal advantage (see chapter 5).
There is no doubt that the land reform of 1875 was a product of the combination of European ideas and the traditional system of land tenure. The period between 1852 and 1875 (just before the promulgation of the Constitution), was characterised by equal rights to land. The hou'eiki appeared to have no greater rights to land than the tu'a, because all the rights to land were ultimately owned by the Tu'i (Powels 1990). However, the Constitution selected twenty chiefs, out of the hundreds of traditional chiefs, to become hereditary estate/title holders. These figures were increased to 30 noble titles and six matāpule (chief’s attendant) by 1882, and "in most cases, allocated to the districts they had traditionally controlled" (Maude 1965: 98). Furthermore, the Constitution referred to the newly appointed chiefs as nobles, borrowed from the English concept of barons (Powles 1990:148).

The many traditional chiefs who missed out on this selective process showed resistance to the implementation of the land reform. For example, the emergence of the Mu'a parliament was a reaction from most of the traditional petty-chiefs of Mu'a, the old capital, who had missed out on appointments as constitutional nobles (Rutherford 1971: 110). Under the new land tenure these traditional chiefs would have the same size of land as the ordinary people. Furthermore, the power and status of these petty chiefs were equal that of commoners. Their traditional estate of land was then either distributed among the people or reverted to the government.

The creation of a constitutional noble class was a political move made by Baker and Tāufaʻāhau to win the support of the chiefs (Lātūkefu 1975: 55). This is because the chiefs, but not necessarily the ordinary people, were seen to be potentially threatened to Tāufaʻāhau's reform
Thus a political alliance between Taula'ahau and some of the powerful chiefs was necessary in order for Taufa'ahau's reform to be successfully implemented. This political alliance was further consolidated by some of the well established slogans such as koe fonua 'o Tupou mo hou'eiki (lit. the country belongs to the king and his chiefs), which maintained the hegemonic impression that the fonua (land and people) was and still is owned by the Tu'i and the hou'eiki.

This political slogan as circulated in society reinforced and consolidated the power of the ruling class, while it continued to foster the feeling of obligation and indebtedness on behalf of the tu'a to their hou'eiki. Contradictions and tensions between the Constitution and traditional values began to emerge. Even though the Constitution guaranteed the abolition of forced labour and freedom of commoners from traditional fatongia, traditional values ('ulungaanga tukufakaholo) and Christian morals perpetuated dependent mentalities and maintained the feudal-bondage, socially and psychologically. For instance, some of the social values like respect (faka'apa'apa), and obedience (talangofua), etc, which were promoted both in traditional custom and Christian religion, are expected of commoners. These values have further consolidated the status quo by oppressing and exploiting the commoners. Thus, it was in the interaction of the tu'a and the hou'eiki that religion and tradition were seen to unite as effective tools of the political interests of the ruling class.

Further changes to the land tenure came about in 1882 when the Hereditary Lands Act declared the underlying features of the new land tenure system, under the guidance of Baker. Powels has summarised this Act in the following:
i) out of each *tōfi'a* an area could be set apart for the *tōfi'a* holder, an area for *matapule* of the holder;

ii) the size of the 'tax allotments of the people' was fixed;

iii) allotments were hereditary in the male line except that a widow had a life interest subject to marrying or committing adultery;

iv) rent of two shillings was payable yearly to the *tōfi'a* holder;

v) a tax-payer was entitled to only one tax allotment but could also have a 'town allotment';

vi) both allotments would be 'protected by the Government';

vii) when youths left school and paid tax, Government could 'request' the *tōfi'a* holder where they resided to apportion allotments to them; and

viii) if there was land remaining 'after the tax lands of his people had been apportioned', the *tōfi'a* holder could lease it to others (1990: 152).

Even though both allotments were hereditary and protected by the government, the fact that it was still the responsibility of the estate holders to allocate land from his estate to the commoners gave the estate holders formal political recognition. Preserving the roles of the chiefs as land distributors continued to perpetuate the manipulation of the commoners by the chiefs for their own advantage before land was given or the registration was granted.

In 1890, domestic disputes led to the deportation of the then Prime Minister and Minister of Lands, Reverend Baker by the British Government. His deportation was based on the ground that he, as a British subject, had been involved in a number of disputes that threatened the political stability of Tonga. Consequently, Basil Thomson was sent to Tonga on behalf of the British government, to re-establish stability and order in society. Thomson produced an English translation of the Constitution and drew up a new Code of Laws in which he introduced a few changes to the land law. In 1891, Thomson took away the role of the chiefs, in distributing land from their estate, and made this a government
responsibility. This change has further reduced the direct influence of the estate holders over the people. Powles states that the,

first effective recognition of an entitlement vested in 'every Tongan male subject' to both types of allotment (town and tax allotment), and the Minister of Lands was to make the grant and record it. A tofia holder could not refuse an allotment to a person lawfully residing on his land and it was his duty to report to the Minister all cases of persons holding more than one tax allotment. (Powles 1990: 152-3).

By 1891, the distinction between the town and tax allotment clearly reflected the changes in the settlement pattern in which dwelling places (town allotments) were being separated from the working place (tax allotment). This change in the pattern of settlement had a profound social and economic impact on the people. Living together in a small town promoted a much closer interaction between members of the community which was conducive for the development of other social institutions like church, education, etc.

The land reform reduced the extreme inequalities between the commoners and the chiefs. But the fact that chiefs were re-instituted as a distinct class of virtual landlords seemed to perpetuate the pre-existing relations of production and class structure. The reform reduced the power of the chiefs, thereby transferring most of it to the constitutional monarchy. On the other hand, the commoners were given hereditary rights to land without much political power in government decisions. Thus the new social and political structure outlined in the Constitution seemed to be a duplicate of the pre-existing one. Even though the land reform has a number of weakness, it was and still is generally beneficial for the majority in the sense that it has 1) provided a much more secure basis of subsistence for every Tongan thereby reducing the economic inequalities existing in pre-constitutional Tonga, 2) it has secured the
independence and freedom of commoners from forced labour and, 3) it has prevented foreign ownership of land.

It is evident that the development and change in Tāufa'āhau's land reform was largely influenced by missionaries' ideas and moral values. Under the liberal and democratic ideology inherent in the Christian doctrines, the missionaries helped Tāufa'āhau to draw up a number of legal codes which reduced the unlimited power of traditional chiefs and liberated the commoners from forced labour. This was followed by the enactment of the Constitution in 1875 which secured the supreme power of Tāufa'āhau over the whole of Tonga. The land reform initiated by Tāufa'āhau, with the advice of Baker, resulted in the creation of a class of independent small land-holders. This was seen as an incentive for agricultural development, but in reality, it has retarded the overall development of the capitalist mode of production which will be examined in the next chapter.
Chapter Four.

Capitalist Penetration: The Transition to Mixed Modes of Production.

Capitalism penetrated the Tongan social formation through the agency of the Christian missionaries and was further promoted by the activities of European traders and the new constitutional form of government. The development of the capitalist mode of production in Tonga was associated with the use of money (capital) in the local economy. This was marked by the development of the agricultural export production which co-existed with subsistence agricultural production.

This development of the capitalist mode of production in Tonga can not be discussed in isolation from political developments. As early as the 1830s, the dominance of the political ideologies of Tāufa'āhau and his missionary supporters dynamically influenced changes in the economy. This dialectical interaction between the political and economic dimensions in Tongan society shaped the direction of capitalist development. The death of Tāufa'āhau in 1893 marked the end of phase I (1845-1890s), and the gradual transition to phase II (1890s-1960s), associated with the rule of King Tāufa'āhau Tupou II and Queen Sālote Tupou III. "It was a period of consolidation and conservation through which the new order that Tupou I fought for and instituted was firmly embedded in the country" (Hau'ofa 1977). The government propagation of tradition in phase II was of political advantage to those in power on the one hand, while it subsequently retarded the growth of capitalism on the other. The limited growth of the capitalist mode of production in phase II concomitantly saw the economy of the country continuing to be self-reliant.
Tāufa'āhau’s land reform had provided some incentive for capitalist development and at the same time perpetuated the pre-existing relations of production. However, the sudden growth in global trading after the second world war resulted in the growing use of money. This strengthened the penetration of capitalist production in Tonga and thus laid the foundations for increasing domination of the capitalist mode of production that has characterised the third and present phases of development (discussed in chapter 5).

This chapter will begin with a brief discussion of sociological theories on the 'articulation of different modes of production'. The chapter will show that development of capitalist agricultural export production (since the 1840s) to the end of phase I (in the 1890s) was still dominated by pre-existing relations of production. However, the governments' emphasis on tradition, compounded by an anti-foreigners attitude that characterised phase II, consolidated the political ideologies behind Tāufa'āhau's land reform. This emphasis retarded capitalist penetration to the extent that it contributed to the co-existence of subsistence agriculture and petty commodity production. The chapter will show that the restricted influence of capitalist penetration in phases I and II led to the continuity of pre-existing forms of social stratification and division of labour in Tongan society. In the process of establishing this, there will be particular emphasis on the role played by the constitution-based land tenure.

4.1. Theoretical Background: Articulation of Different Modes of Production.

The penetration of capitalism and its impact on non-capitalist social formations is one of the most debatable issues in contemporary sociological theory. But before we discuss the theory of the impact of
capitalist penetration on non-capitalist social formations, it is important to define the meaning of capitalism. Capitalism, as a mode of production, is generally defined by Abercrombie et al (1984: 24-5) as having the following characteristics:

1. private ownership and control of the economic instruments of production, i.e. capital; 2. the gearing of economic activity to making profits; 3. a market framework that regulates this activity; 4. the appropriation of profits by the owners of capital (subject to taxation by the state) 5. the provision of labour by workers who are free agents.

The date that capitalism arose in Europe is a matter of disagreement among scholars. For example, Marx believed that "modern capitalism properly dates from the sixteen century" (Halevy 1981: 20), while Weber and Sombart argue that it arose during and after the industrial revolution in the 17th century (Mitchell 1979: 21). Whichever date is right, capitalism has spread from Europe to the rest of the world through the expansion of commercial trading and colonialism. However, the development and impact of capitalism in non-western societies is found to be different from the way it arose in Europe.

Recent sociological research has discussed the possibility of articulation of different modes of production during a transitional phase. For example, Laclau (1971), Foster-Carter (1978), and Taylor (1979), to name a few, show that any transition to a new mode of production will result in conflict and compromise between the pre-existing relations of production and the new one. The growing tensions will then be followed by the domination of the capitalist mode over the non-capitalist mode.

Foster-Carter (1978) traces the origin of the term 'articulation' to the work of Althusser and Balibar in which they referred to "articulation as an anatomical metaphor to indicate relations of linkage and effectivity
between different levels of all sorts of things" (Foster-Carter 1978: 54). The concept of 'articulation of modes of production' was further developed by Rey. According to Rey, there are three stages of articulation:

1. an initial link in the sphere of exchange, where interaction with capitalism reinforces the pre-capitalist mode; 2. capitalism 'takes root', subordinating the pre-capitalist mode but still making use of it; and 3. the total disappearance of the pre-capitalist mode, even in agriculture (cited in Foster-Carter 1978: 56).

Rey's analytical framework was severely criticised by Hindess and Hirst (1975: 296) for using a "linear and evolutionist conception of transition, in which each moment of reproduction of a mode of production is also a moment of its supersession".

The term articulation of modes of production is used here, based on the criticisms of Frank's dependency theory by Laclau (1971). In that debate, Laclau criticises Frank for over-emphasising the 'relations of exchange and exploitation' as the underlying feature of underdevelopment in Latin America. This is because 'relations of exchange and exploitation' do not distinguish the internal class and power structure of one social formation from the other. In other words, relations of exchange and exploitation can be found in all forms of productive systems, whether they be feudalism, capitalism etc. Laclau believes that Frank overlooked the central factor of 'relations of production', which is central to the understanding of society. For Laclau, a particular society or what he referred to as 'economic system' consists of different modes of production. As Laclau puts it:

Economic system, on the other hand, designates the mutual relations between different sectors of the economy, or between different productive units, whether on a regional, national or world scale. (1977 : 33).
Laclau's analytical framework has identified the pluralistic nature of society, where a particular economic system consisted of a number of different modes, and the contradictions among these modes is seen to lead to the domination of one mode over the others.

Along similar lines of argument as Laclau, Taylor (1979: 137-8) argues that there are three different forms of capitalist penetration: firstly, "penetration under the dominance of merchants' capital"; secondly, "penetration under the dominance of commodity export"; and thirdly, "penetration under the dominance of capital export". Each of these three different forms of capitalist penetration, according to Taylor, has different effects upon the non-capitalist mode of production. As Taylor puts it,

...penetration under the domination of merchants' capital has as its major economic effect a reinforcement of already existing forms of extra-economic coercion, either through the introduction of types of landed proprietorship that appear to resemble late European feudal relations of production, or through a strengthening of existing relations of production in the penetrated non-capitalist social formation.

Penetration under the dominance of commodity export has as its general economic effect the gradual destruction of the existing circulation of commodities between agricultural, rural artisan and urban artisan sectors of the non-capitalist mode. The object of this destruction is twofold: to transform the indigenous structure of production in order to promote the production of commodities for export to capitalist (and other) social formations, and to create a market for capitalistically produced commodities.

...penetration under the dominance of imperialism (the dominance of capital export) has as its overall economic effect the separation of direct producers from their means of production, and the foundation of an economic basis for a transition towards dominance by a capitalist mode of production (Taylor 1979: 137-8).
These different effects on the non-capitalist mode of production, outlined above by Taylor, show that the transition from a non-capitalist to a capitalist mode of production is a continuous social process. It takes time for the capitalist mode of production to become dominant in a particular social formation. Thus it is important to examine the transitional phase to see what happens between the time of initial penetration and the time when the capitalist mode became dominant.

The theoretical discussion above will be used in this chapter to guide the analysis of the development and impact of capitalism in Tonga. It will be argued that the emergence of the capitalist mode in Tonga cannot be identified by Tonga's relations of exchange alone, as emphasised by Frank, but must be combined with an analysis of the transformation in the mode of production, as pointed out by Laclau and Taylor.

4.2. Capitalist Penetration and the Development of Agricultural Exports.

As shown in previous chapters, the economy of Tonga has always been dominated by agriculture. The penetration of the capitalist mode of production resulted in the transformation in the agrarian structure of Tongan society. The initial development of agricultural exports did not really affect the pre-existing conditions of labour, class structure and division of labour. This means that, although agricultural export signified the production of commodities ready to sell in the market, it was not yet capitalism because the direct producers (common people) were not yet separated from the means of production (land). Based on Marx's historical materialism, the existence of a capitalist mode of production in any social formation is distinctively marked by the existence of two factors, namely,

(a) monetary capital must be accumulated in the hands of non-productive labour which has effective control over the use of the means of production. (b) The direct
producers must be separated from their means of production in order that they can function as wage-labourers for the controllers of the means of production (Taylor 1979: 143).

From the beginning of agricultural export production in the 1840s, capitalist development remained stagnant until the second world war. The end of the second world war saw the intensification of the capitalist mode of production and this continued throughout phase III up to the present time. Thus in phase III we saw the gradual transition to agricultural capitalism which was marked by an increase in the number of commercial farmers who employed wage-labourers. Furthermore, the organisation of production was primarily directed for export and to gain profit. These commercial farmers were able to cultivate a much larger area of land and yield more productions per acre through the assistance of modern technology, chemicals and pesticides.

By using Taylor's analytical framework of analysis, we can identify capitalist penetration in Tonga in terms of what he called "penetration under the dominance of merchants' capital" and "penetration under the dominance of commodity export". The fact that Tonga was the only country not to be colonised in the Pacific seems to rule out Taylor's third form of capitalist penetration -- "penetration under the dominance of capital export". Nevertheless, the impact of the international capitalist system (discussed in chapter 5) seems to have had the same economic effects as the penetration under the dominance of capital export, that is, the intervention of state power led to the existence of the two pre-conditions of the capitalist mode of production: separation of the labourers from the means of production, and the accumulation of profit by capitalists.
Taylor's forms of capitalist penetration did not occur in the same logical order in Tonga as happened in most of the third world countries that he studied. This perhaps was due to the following reasons: Tonga was never colonised; the difference in time of capitalist penetration; the type of agents of capitalist penetration; and the difference in the internal structure of Tongan society from those of the third world countries looked at. However, Taylor's frame of analysis is a useful tool for examining the penetration and impact of capitalist development in Tonga. For example, since Täufa'āhau's reform, the constitutional government has always played an active role in shaping the development of capitalism in Tonga.

Since the conversion of Täufa'āhau to Christianity in the 1830s, the missionaries increasingly gained political footing. This was followed by a long lasting alliance between Täufa'āhau and the missionaries on the individual level, and between the state and the church on the institutional level. Such an alliance not only shaped the outcome of Täufa'āhau's land reform but also heavily influenced the course of capitalist development in Tonga. The influence of Baker on the development of legal codes and the enactment of the Constitution saw a number of restrictions imposed on foreign traders and merchants. This reflects Täufa'āhau and Baker's intention to maintain Tonga's political independence.

Before the beginning of agricultural export in Tonga, trading with the Europeans took place in the form of gift exchange, where the Tongans exchanged their local food products, such as yams, coconuts, etc for European materials, like a piece of iron, nails, etc. This form of exchange, according to Weber (see Halevy 1981: 23-6) was a dominant feature of non-
capitalist societies. Gift exchange had reinforced the social relationships of people with each other and with their land. This unity between the common people and the land contributed to the reproduction of the pre-capitalist societies. The rise of capitalism led to the gradual shift from the dominance of gift exchange to the dominance of commodity exchange. Thus the social relations between people in a capitalist social formation, according to Marx, were becoming materialistic. This is what Marx called 'commodity fetishism' where materials become the essence of social being (see Larrain 1983: 175-6).

The transition to a commodity form of exchange, as an element of the capitalist mode, was indicated by the rise of cash cropping which was first organised by the missionaries. As Bollard puts it,

from about 1846 missionaries instructed the natives to produce coconut oil. At first this was exported directly to the mission headquarters in Sydney. Hammer records that by 1854 Tupou [Taufa'ahau] had commanded that every man should contribute a gallon of oil per annum for the support of the Mission. The church became an important market institution (1974: 28).

Ironically, the export of coconut oil did not benefit the commoners-direct producers at all, but instead, the church appropriated the money received from the coconut-oil export, much of which was sent to the missionary head-quarters in Sydney (Bollard 1974: 31; Rutherford 1971: 28). It could be argued that the church at this time had also initiated capital export, though it did not affect the relationship between the direct producer and the means of production.

The initial stage of cash cropping, under the instigation of the missionaries, did not weaken, but reinforced the pre-existing techniques and relations of production. Extra-economic coercion was still used to extract surplus products and labour from the commoners-direct
producers. For instance, instead of planting yams for the 'inasi system, the commoners were instructed by Tāufa'āhau to produce fixed volumes of coconut oil to contribute to the missionaries' work. The initial development of capitalist agricultural production can be seen then as a disguised form of the same relations of production and exploitation. The contribution to the church, which later become known as the faka-misinale (lit. to be like - missionary; contribution to missionary work) was just another form of the 'inasi system (see Māhina 1986). In effect, the production for agricultural export was still based on obligation in the form of contribution. Thus both the misinale and the 'inasi have had the same socio-political effect, where the direct producers have been exploited by the enforcement of extra-economic coercion.

The formal abolition of the 'inasi system in the 1862 Code freed the commoners-producers from forced labour. This was the greatest movement towards creating a class of free labourers ready to sell their labour-power to capitalists for wages. However, the commoners-producers were not separated from the land, but were given an allotment for subsistence and to be independent from the chief's coercion. More importantly, the entitlement of the commoners to land has also sustained their independence from capitalists' manipulation and exploitation. Furthermore, the introduction of a tax system forced people to join cash agriculture.

The government, on the other hand was increasingly involved in commercial trading, which in turn shaped the development of its economic policies. This was evident in the government's attempt to develop and diversify agricultural export, in which it drew up a number of laws that forced the people to be industrious with their land. For example, at one stage, the land law required every land-holder to plant at
least 200 coconuts, and a number of other export crops such as coffee, cotton, etc.

The penetration of the capitalist mode of production was further supported by the arrival of the German owned trans-national corporation, Godeffroy and Son. This foreign company started commercial trading in Tonga in 1867, and for the next 20 years it held virtual monopoly over Tongan commercial trading with the outside world. One of the company's most notable contributions to transformation of the economy was its role in replacing the export of oil with copra. The establishment of the Godeffroys in Tonga enhanced the interests of the government and church at that time; they were all relying on the extraction and selling of surplus products from the commoners-producers. These three different institutions with opposing interests and demands came together to accumulate monetary capital through the pre-existing relations of production. As Bollard puts it:

Godeffroy then effectively monopolised the copra trade. In return the Government exported the copra it received (from tax payment) through Godeffroy. Shirley Baker made similar concessions on behalf of the Wesleyan Church: the firm lent money to intending Church contributors (up to 1000 pounds in 1875), and later settled the debt in copra, or occasionally evicted men from their land. In this way practically all the export produce was channelled through Godeffroy hands and sold to Germany through Lisbon and Hamburg (1974: 38-9)

It was clear that the development of agricultural export at this stage was a political instrument that provided economic support for the existence of the church and state. It is interesting to note that the government, under the influence of the missionaries, liberated the commoners from forced labour, but unfortunately, the commoners increasingly incurred debt to foreign traders because of the monetary obligations to church and the government. The commoners were also being threatened with eviction
from their land by the government and the church. Thus the new obligations to the Christian church and the government seemed as exploitative as traditional obligations to the chiefs.

After Godeffroy and Son replaced the export of coconut oil with copra, copra remained the dominant export commodity until recent times. At the same time the intervention of state power combined with the growing number of European planters participating in agricultural export production subsequently led to the diversity of export commodities during phase I. Maude (1965: 40) explains:

In 1874 the main products of Tonga were listed by Sterndale as copra, coffee, cotton, arrowroot, tapioca, candlenuts, pearls, fungus, and beche-de-mer. Europeans who before had largely confined their activities to trade, were now beginning to take a part in production.

The participation of European planters in agricultural export production met with a serious problem of a shortage of labour. The process of creating an independent class of small land-holders (discussed in chapter 3) reinforced the unity between the commoners (direct-producers) and the land (means of production). This harmony between the common people and the land was one of the main features of Tongan society throughout its history. Tāufaʻahau's reform reinforced the social and cultural value of land, but differently this time, the traditional obligation on land was abolished. This continual unity between the people and the land was one of the main barriers to the development of the capitalist mode of production in the sense that it secured a means of subsistence for the common people. Thus, wage labour was an alternative and a supplement for subsistence agriculture but not an economic necessity. This was one of the main reasons why Tongans were reluctant to work for wages because it was like the continuity of forced labour to them. Maude states:
Labour was the biggest problem faced by the planters, for few Tongans were interested in sustained and regular work of this nature. Some labourers were imported from Fiji and the Solmons, but in 1888 the British Consul noted that the shortage of labour had forced the DHPG to abandon the cultivation of cotton and coffee. However, other factors, such as disease and higher profits to be obtained from copra as the newly planted palms came into bearing, entered into this decision (1965: 41).

The export of copra continued to grow in the 1880s, while the cotton and coffee industries were striving to survive. New laws were even enacted by the Government to revive the growing of cotton and coffee, without any significant effect on the local growers. Declining interests in cash agriculture was perhaps due to the combination of a number of factors. For example, money was not as important to the people of that time as it is today. In other words, the motivation for cash agriculture was generally weak. What was more important to the people was their freedom to do what they wanted to do, besides paying the annual tax to the government. This general feeling of independence provided by the land reform, and the lack of motivation for capital accumulation further obstructed the penetration of the capitalist mode of production.

In general, capitalist penetration in phase I did not really affect the pre-existing relations of production despite the continuity of export production. This was because the commoners-producers were unified with the means of production, land. Furthermore, the commoners-producers were not driven by any kind of working ethic but only worked and did something when they were told. In other words thinking and acting independently did not exist for the commoners in the pre-contact period. The liberation of commoners from forced labour barely affected the traditional mentality of dependency (fakafalala). In fact, fakafalala is
one of the underlying features of the Tongan kinship system. However, the penetration of individualism, associated with capitalism, has weakened dependency, gradually breaking up the cohesive force that binds together the traditional kinship system. Thus capital accumulation was confined, to a large extent, to the activities of the European planters and traders, and, to a lesser extent, to the church and the government. The development of agricultural export production was socio-political in the sense that the direct-producers continued to need to be coerced, through the tax paying system and church contribution, to produce cash crops.

4.3. The Emphasis on Tradition and the Impact of Tāufa'āhau’s Land Reform.

Tāufa'āhau Tupou II and Sālote Tupou III continued to rule under the political-legal system instituted by Tāufa'āhau’s reform. However, due to financial corruption in Tupou II’s government, Tonga was annexed by the British government under the treaty signed by both countries in 1905. Since then, Tonga became a protectorate of the British Empire from 1905 until 1970. Fusitu’a and Rutherford briefly outline the treaty as follows:

The King was to rule through the chiefs; he was never to appropriate the leases on Government lands; to give more land to the people; land leases of foreigners were to be renewed according to a regulation to be issued; most important, the advice of the British Consul was to be sought and taken on all financial questions and his approval was required for the appointment or dismissal of all senior officials (1977: 187)

The conditions laid down in the treaty have greatly affected the sovereign power of the monarchy, and these conditions have also prevented the possible transition towards an autarchic political system.
The annexation of Tonga by the British government, among other factors, contributed to the rise of anti-foreigner attitudes, not only within the government but also in the society at large. For instance, a local trading firm known as the Kautaha Tonga ma'a Tonga (lit. Tonga for the Tongans company) was established in 1909. It aimed to export its members' copra production directly to overseas markets. This was to enable the Tongans to represent their own demands on trading, and have direct access to their own profits. This move intensified the conflict between the Tongan and the European traders. The aim of the kautaha (lit. co-operative), as implied by its name, was not purely economic, but also political. As Fusitu'a and Rutherford put it, "it was a nationalist movement; its aim was to break the financial hold of Europeans in Tonga and reassert Tongan independence" (1977: 188).

As well, the government showed its support for Tongan nationalism in a number of new Acts. According to Bollard, this was partly the result of attempts by speculators to exploit native labour and produce for quick profits. The collapse and liquidation of the Tonga Trading Company in 1911, led to a law outlawing Europeans in native work groups without Government permission. In 1912 a law prevented Tongans from mortgaging their crops for money (1974: 62).

This restriction of European influence by the government further retarded the penetration of the capitalist mode of production. At the same time, the government made a few changes to the land law that consolidated the constitutional power of the chiefs as virtual landlords.

The government of Tupou II amended the Land Act in 1915 which again re-defined the role of the chiefs in relation to the distribution of land from their respective estates. This amendment overturned the attempts made by Thomson in 1891 to reduce the power of the chiefs over
land (see chapter 3). Under the 1915 land amendment, the estate holders (chiefs) were to be consulted first before a piece of land was apportioned from their estates. This perpetuated entrenched customs that were advantageous to the chiefs. For example, presenting gifts in kind to the chief is still part of the formalities of acquiring land from a chiefly estate, though this is not the case when acquiring land from the government estate. This customary practise known as *takitaki* (to present gifts in return for a favour) has continued to survive despite the constitutional ban on traditional obligation to chiefs. The contradictions between the Constitution and traditional practises are becoming more apparent at present when the economy is largely monetised. The growing demand for land has resulted in buying and selling of land on the black market (see chapter 5).

The death of Tāufa'āhau Tupou II in 1918 brought his oldest daughter to the throne at the age of 18. She was crowned as Queen Sālote Tupou III. Her love of tradition was symbolically demonstrated in the government's policies which emphasised the preservation of customs, traditional values and the kinship system. Hau'ofa (1977) characterised Queen Sālote's sovereignty as having consolidated Tupou I's achievements. Queen Sālote not only strengthened monarchism party by captivating her people by the warmth of her personality, and partly by some shrew political moves, she also instituted a deliberate policy of shielding Tonga from undue foreign influences except for the brief period of the Second World War. Her period was one of slow change, so gradual it was almost static.

Included among her other contributions was the formation of the *Komiti Tala-Fakafonua 'a Tonga* (lit. Tongan Traditions Committee) that functioned to inform the people on the use and restoration of the traditional structure of Tongan language, traditional formal dress, etc. She
was also behind the formation of the women's organisation called *Langa Fonua 'a Fafine Tonga* (lit. The Organisation of Tongan Women to Build up the Country), which was mainly concerned with the promotion of the handicraft industry. Besides from emphasised on tradition, Queen Sālote's government set up the Tonga Copra Board in 1941 which eventually monopolised the purchasing and selling of copra (Wood and Wood-Ellem 1977). This reflected the continuity of the anti-foreigner motives behind the establishment of the *Kautaha Tonga Ma'a Tonga*, to be economically self-sufficient and reduced dependence on the Europeans. Furthermore, the Tonga Produce Board was instituted in 1948 to oversee the production and marketing of banana, watermelon, pineapple, and other fruits and vegetables.

It was clear from the beginning that Queen Sālote was in favour of building up a distinct culture for her people. She was pre-occupied with cultural identity and cultural homogeneity, that is, being a Tongan, more than anything else. In accord with her major interests in tradition, she did not make any major amendments to the foundation of the land tenure laid down in Tāufa'āhau's land reform. She tried to consolidate the existing land tenure by motivating the people to cultivate their lands as a traditional obligation to the kinship system, church and the Government (Wood and Wood-Ellem 1977). Her changes to the size of tax allotments illustrate her support for the development of cash cropping, but independent from financial control of the European traders. This could have resulted from her husband's (the then Prime Minister) interest in agricultural development (Wood and Wood-Ellem 1977: 192). For example, in 1927, in an attempt to stimulate agricultural activities, the government offered 12 3/8 acres for those who were willing to settle on
small farms. This scheme was raised again in 1934 by enlarging the size of
the farm to 15 acres, but it did not succeed (Maude and Sevele 1987: 121).

Generally, the monarchy has effectively played a major role in
influencing the government policy affecting the course of social and
economic change in Tonga. Tāufa'āhau Tupou II and especially Sālote
Tupou III's love of tradition led to consolidation of the structural changes
instituted by Taufa'ahau Tupou I. Thus the government's concern to
maintain tradition was politically rewarding for those in power. But for
the commoners, the emphasis on tradition has confined their activities
largely to the local economy. This created negative attitudes toward
change, especially those imposed by the outside world. As Ritterbush
sums it up:

> From the late 1890s to World War II a renewed stress on traditional values and
motivations, particularly by the government and the church, decreased the
commoner's desire for either a money income or expenditure. The withdrawal of
the European planters removed the demonstration effects of cash cropping (1986:
56).

It must be pointed out that the emphasis on tradition that characterised
phase II refers to what Marcus (1975, 1977) called 'compromise culture'. It
was a period of power consolidation on the local level which
subsequently retarded adaptation to and incorporation into the capitalist
world economy. The government and the church continued to build their
respective political power on Tāufa'āhau's remarkable achievements.

Tāufa'āhau's constitutional reform was a product of the conflict
and compromise between the European and Tongan culture. Tradition in
the context of contemporary Tongan society is no more than the
combination of old and new values and institutional practises largely
selected in the political interests of those in power. The ruling elite
demanded the preservation of values and practises that promoted their political interests while discarding those that would threaten their political existence. Thus Christian values became part of the Tongans' modern way of life, because these generally pacified the followers and thus perpetuated submissiveness of the commoners to the ruling order. The powerful have used tradition, as well as religion, as political tools to keep them in power. Tradition reflects the dominant ideology, which viewed from a Marxist perspective, is no more than ideas of the ruling class (see Larrain 1983: 80-2). Thus Taufa'ahau's constitutional reform perhaps indicated the dominance of Christian ideas, which was mostly revolutionary in the sense that almost everything they stand for contradicts the pre-existing socio-political structure and ideology.

Taufa'ahau's land reform was part of the major reform in society (chapter 3). The reform largely constituted what was to become known as 'tradition' in contemporary Tongan society. In effect, the new constitutional-based land tenure system become part of Tongan tradition. The emphasis on tradition in phase II consolidated the social and political structure instituted in Taufa'ahau's reform including the land reform.

The creation of an independent class of small landholders seemed to provide the ideal conditions for a much stronger penetration of capitalism into the Tongan social formation. Instead, the outcome seems to be the reverse in which the individual land holding system, combined with traditional values and mentality, perpetuated a non-capitalist mode of production. As Rutherford puts it,

probably the most important effect of the reform was the impetus it gave to an agricultural revolution in Tonga through which subsistence farming came to be increasingly supplemented by cash cropping. In part this was caused by the abolition of fatongia and fahu exactions which had stifled incentive; in part it was caused by the new demands for money to pay taxes and land rents; and in part
it resulted from the security of land tenure which commoners were guaranteed in the new code (1971: 20-21).

The traditional fatongia of ordinary Tongans to their chiefs in pre-contact Tonga was diverted by the new regime into tax paying to the central government. The new political machinery (constitutional monarchy) used new methods of extracting economic surplus from its citizens for the cost of its operation. Land was than distributed to individual holders to support the transformation to a tax paying system.

The pressure of church contributions and government tax continued to force the commoners to participate in cash cropping. The direct producers did not accumulate wealth from this, except to fulfil their fatongia to their church and government. The abolition of traditional obligation to the chiefs further supported the cause of the church and the government. On the other hand, it gave the direct producers the privilege to dispose of what they owned, except the land. There was a lot of relief on the part of the commoners, because the land reform had given them political and economic security, reflected in their being freed and liberated (tau'atäina) from forced labour (Crocombe 1975). Therefore, tau'atäina for the commoners was associated only with the land, as was encoded in the land reform.

The land reform further cemented the unity between the commoners-direct producers and the land. This unity was one of the greatest forces, apart from traditional values and ideologies, that obstructed the penetration of capitalism, especially in phase II. The unity also reinforced the support and the allegiance of the people for the government and the new religion. In general, the effect of the land reform on the political level: secured the tau'atäina of the commoners, and consolidated the power and legitimacy of the government. The
reproduction of traditional values and practises, enforced by the existing political and social order, were directly contradictory to the Constitution.

The land reform provided an economic base for the commoner as the overburdened experience brought by a money economy in phase I had led them to see their land as their only means of freedom. This reinforced the traditional feeling towards land. In fact the land tenure secured the unity of people (as primary producers) with their land (means of production). This reproduction of the non-capitalist mode of production, by the land tenure system, hampered the strong penetration of the capitalist mode of reproduction into the Tongan social formation. This is indicated by the refusal of Tongans to become wage earners on the European plantations. Most Tongans preferred to work in their own gardens and to be masters of their own production.

Capitalist penetration seemed then to be stagnant in the early stage of phase II. European traders were withdrawing from Tonga at the same time because legal developments and the peoples' attitude restricted their business profit. The majority of the people preferred subsistence farming which prevented subordination and exploitation. As a result, the recession that badly hit most of the industrialised and third world countries in the 1920s did not really affect Tonga because the economy was still largely non-monetised (Bollard 1974).

The two prerequisites for capitalist development: the separation of the direct producer from the means of production; and the accumulation of monetary capital (Taylor 1979: 143) were confined to the activities of the few European traders and multinational companies that operated in Tonga. The withdrawal of European planters from Tonga in phase II led the government to become the major marketing institution. The
government became the biggest employer of local wage-labourers at that time.

There are two important reasons that seem to account for the weak penetration of capitalism. Firstly, the economy was still generally non-monetised, in both phases I and II. Therefore, there was restricted accumulation of monetary capital. Secondly, the individual land tenure perpetuated the unity of the direct producer with the land, and prevented the existence of a large number of landless labourers, ready to sell their labour power to the capitalists.

After the second world war, dramatic changes in the global economy shaped the local economy of Tonga. Bollard (1974) discusses three major events that reinforced capitalist penetration and motivated the sudden change in the governments' policy from 'traditionalism' in phase II to 'internationalisation' and 'modernisation' in phase III.

The first event was the effect of World War II, which brought more than a thousand foreign troops to Tonga. "The troops made an economic impact too: they provided a large local market for fresh produce. This effectively expanded the production function, as for the first time most growers could market produce themselves and earn huge prices paid in spot cash " (Bollard 1974: 114). The existence of this local market guaranteed a secure source of cash for the direct producer. Consequently, more land owners cultivated their land primarily for selling in the market, while some subsistence farmers sold their excess or surplus products.

Secondly, there was the 1950s copra boom which coincided with the foreign troops leaving Tonga after the second world war. The copra boom subsequently shifted the demands for production from a local to an
international market. This eventually motivated more land owners to participate in copra and banana production (Bollard 1974: 117; Maude 1965: 43).

The third event was the increase in population which corresponded to the rise in the number of landless people. "The land tenure system worked well through phases I and II. But by phase III the flexibility of the system threatened to cause social disruption" (Bollard 1974: 118). For example, the 1965 Population Census showed that less than half (42%) of the total eligible persons - male Tongans sixteen years old and above - held an allotment. Even though this figure was improved in a later census (see chapter 5), it showed that there was then a large portion of the population, who were legally entitled to an allotment but without one. Thus the growing landless population was seen as potential wage labourers in the development of the cash sector of the economy.

These events laid the foundation for the reinforcement of capitalist penetration especially in the form of petty commodity production. Some of the local farmers cultivated cash crops where money gained from selling agricultural products was used to buy European goods. The increased impact of monetisation through the local markets during the Second World War, and the copra and banana boom facilitated the conditions for accumulation of monetary capital. Furthermore, the increase in a landless population immediately placed these Tongans in the category of potential wage labourers. Thus, it was at this stage that subsistence production and petty commodity production co-existed with a potential for a capitalist mode of production. This further prepared the pre-conditions for the transition from a self-reliant economy to a dependent capitalist mode of production (see chapter 5).
The fact that the penetration of the capitalist mode of production was weak in phase two resulted in the continuity of the pre-existing divisions of labour. The emancipation of commoners from forced labour, however, did not really affect the division of labour. Males continued to be the providers of agricultural produce, while women associated themselves with household activities. The 1956 census showed that about 80% of the labour-force were still either working on their plantations or fishing. The thing that did change was the unit of production, transformed from the *kāinga* (extended family) to nuclear family. As Bollard puts it,

the basic economic unit in phase II became the smaller nuclear family group, eating, living, and largely working together. The extended family unit of the past was important only for social and ceremonial reasons. This change came mainly from the new system of land tenure, the opportunities for cash production, and social mobility weakening family ties: these provided chances for individual family initiative and consumption incompatible with the larger family grouping. This does not imply the individualism that is apparent in phase III (1974: 74).

It was evident that the weakening influence of the capitalist mode of production, on the one hand, and the consolidation of Tāufa'āhau's land reform through the emphasis on tradition, on the other, resulted in the continuity of the pre-existing social stratification, but in a more refined form. Thus the post constitutional stratification system, on the national level maintained the monarchy at the top, then the chiefs, chief's attendants, and the commoners at the very bottom. The intensification of capitalist penetration in phase III, led to the rise of a middle class and educated elite. Furthermore, the increased monetisation of the economy transformed the mode of production to a dependent capitalist system. The
role of the existing land tenure system in the transition to dependent capitalism will be examined in the next chapter.
Chapter Five.

'Internationalisation': The Transition to Dependent Capitalism.

The opening of Tonga to the outside world, in the mid-1960s, led to the expansion and intensification of the capitalist mode of production in Tonga. This was followed by a rapid transformation from a fairly closed-traditional society to an open-modern social formation. This radical transformation in society was partly due to the influence from the expansionist and modernist vision of the present King, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, when he ascended the throne in 1965. Apart from the role played by the monarchy, the sudden change in the government's emphasis on 'tradition' to 'modern' was in response to both internal and external pressures. For instance, the 1956 population census showed that there already existed a large number of people without land, though they were in fact legally entitled to land. At the same time, the improvement in global trading was seen to be the right remedy for the rising internal social and economic problems. The deliberate move by the government of Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV to increase contact with the outside world is referred to in this chapter as 'internationalisation'.

Since the 1960s, Tonga has strengthened her relations with the outside world which has corresponded to major social and economic changes in the wider society. One of the most apparent changes observed in the structure of the domestic economy is the expansion in the cash and capitalist sector while the subsistence and non-capitalist sector has shrunk concurrently. Tonga has not only been infiltrated by western capitalist forces, but also by their modernisation ideology. The transformation of the economy in the 1960s was seen as 'development', in the sense that
Tonga seemed to progress from a traditional-backward to a modern-developed society. However, this vision of becoming a developed and modern society has turned out to be a mere illusion. The fact is, as I will show in this chapter, that ever since Tonga was incorporated into the international capitalist system, her economy has gradually became externally oriented. This means that 'development', which is really the development of capitalism in Tonga, is a disguised form of dependency. Thus development of capitalism in Tonga is uneven, which is often the case in most non-capitalist countries penetrated by the capitalist mode, and it has created inequalities that counter the equality and freedom inherent in Taufa'ahau's land reform.

The expansion of the capitalist mode of production, compounded by over-population and increased pressure on land, has modified the pre-existing relations between people and the land while the land legislation, which was supposed to govern such complex relations on land, remains relatively unchanged. Increased monetisation of the economy has seen a decline in the social and cultural significance of land. At the same time, the economic significance and commercial value of land has risen, which is demonstrated by the constant rise in the prices of land on the 'black market', though the land law still prohibits selling of land. Thus the constant rise in the commercial value of land has created inequality in terms of access to land.

This chapter will begin with a critical discussion of two related sociological theories, dependency and world system theories. This is to show that the incorporation of Tonga into the world capitalist system has led to the development of a dependent form of capitalism which has only benefited the privileged while further impoverishing the underprivileged. The chapter will further examine the extent to which
the development of dependent capitalism has transformed the actual relations of people with land, and especially land utilisation, while the land law remains relatively unchanged. Thus the transformation in the relations of people to land, under the influence of dependent capitalism, has created inequality in land distribution and land acquisition. This inequality has developed in contradiction to the principles of equality and freedom that are still maintained in the relatively unchanged land law. The chapter will end with a discussion of the political significance of the unchanged land law. This will show that the present pattern of land holding, whereby most of the land is secured in the hands of the common people, is in effect politically conservative. In general, the chapter will show that the rapid socio-economic changes in the past three decades, transformed the actual relations of people with land and land utilisation, while the stagnant land law is politically conservative.

5.1. Theoretical Background: 'Dependency' Theory and 'World-System Theory'.

The restricted development of the capitalist mode of production, especially in phase II (1890s-1960s), resulted in the perpetual existence of pre-existing relations of production that pertained to economic self-reliance. At the same time, the emphasis on tradition and culture consolidated the socio-political structures and ideologies created in Tāufa'āhau's reform. Therefore, changes in Tongan society were very slow in this period. However, the increase in the contact with the outside world, since the 1960s, has seen the pace of social and economic change increase sharply. At this point it is useful to outline the theory of dependency and world system theory, two theories which specifically discuss the mechanisms of the international capitalist system and its consequences in the non-capitalist social formations.
'Dependency' theory represents a major paradigm shift in the 'sociology of development' due to the failure of the 'modernisation' theory to explain the causes of under-development in third world countries. According to Frank (1967), a leading figure of the 'dependency' school of thought, western industrialised countries have become rich at the expense of third world countries. He coins the phrase 'development of under-development' to explain the process of change in the satellites which has resulted from becoming integrated into the metropolitan-centres (Giddens 1989: 532). Dependency theory maintains that uneven relations of exchange between rich and poor countries has led to uneven distribution of global wealth. The relations of exchange between the first and the third world countries generate relations of exploitation, whereby the rich countries exploit the poor countries for their own advantages.

The dependency theorists argue that since contact with the West, third world countries have largely developed 'mono-crop' cultures. This has led most of the third world countries to rely heavily upon the production and export of one major crop to industrialised countries (Giddens 1989: 531). As a result, a subsistence economy is forced to shift into a cash economy and drastic measures are then introduced to reinforce the cash economy. The fortunes of these poor countries subsequently become more dependent on the unstable conditions of the world market (Abercrombie et al 1984: 65).

Dependency theory was further developed and expanded by Wallerstein, the founder of the world system school of thought. World-system theorists have consistently argued that the widening gap between the so called developed and underdeveloped countries is a product of the same process, that is, the development and expansion of capitalism. In
contrast to the 'mainstream' modernisation theorists, the world-system theory accounts capitalism as an economic connecting network, where different economic systems were operating within the international capitalist system. Capitalism, as a world system, has the capacity to penetrate into the most remote areas of the world (Etzioni-Halevy 1981: 64).

The most distinctive feature of the world-system theory, like dependency theory before it, is the view that capitalism is a form of imperialism. Wallerstein argues that there are two kinds of world-systems: the 'world-empires' and the 'world-economies' (Abercrombie et al 1984: 275; Wallerstein 1989: 31). The notion of 'world-empires' refers to the empires of pre-modern civilizations, which have common political systems but diverse economies. For example, the Roman empire, according to Wallerstein, belonged to the first category of the world-system. 'World-economies' correspond to the development of capitalism, which embrace a system of common economic organisations with diverse socio-political systems. Thus, the nineteenth century empires, such as Great Britain and France "were not world-empires at all, but nation-states with colonial appendages operating within the framework of a world-economy" (Wallerstein 1989: 32).

Abercrombie et al (1984) sum up the world-system theory as follows:

(1) the economic organisation of modern capitalism is on a global, not national, basis; (2) this system is composed of core regions, which are economically dependent on the core; (3) core regions are developed as industrial systems of production, where as the peripheries provide raw materials, being thereby dependent on prices set in the core regions; (4) there are also semi-peripheries which have a mixture of social and economic characteristics from both core and
periphery; (5) this world economic order began to develop in Europe in the
fifteenth century with the slow evolution of capitalist agriculture (p.275).

World-system theory has a number of logical and empirical loopholes and it has been criticised for these. Some of the criticism is based on the following:

(1) it is not entirely evident that peripheral societies are underdeveloped by core regions, because most trade and investment takes place between societies which are already developed and industrialised; (2) it is not clear how socialist societies fit into the world-system; (3) it is not clear that external forces of the world economy are more significant for social change than internal processes (such as class struggle); (4) by emphasising economic processes, world-system theory has neglected cultural change, and some theorists, such as Robertson and Lechner (1985), have argued that there is a world-system of global culture which is entirely autonomous from economic processes of capitalism (Abercrombie et al 1984: 275).

Despite criticism, 'world-system' theory has made some positive contributions towards the understanding of capitalism in a much wider context. Dependency and world-system theorists have provided a different perspective from the more conventional way of understanding western capitalism as such, in isolation from non-western societies. They are critical of the 'modernisation' theory for examining individual societies distinctively, and undermining their connections. The preoccupation of dependency and world-system theorists with the relations of exchange and exploitation between the capitalist and the non-capitalist countries has led them to the same problem of being one-sided (Etzioni-Halevy 1981: 74). They have also failed to consider the role played by the internal class structure and the mode of production in its transition to capitalism. To present a reasonable account of development and change in modern capitalist societies, one has to consider the complementarity
between internal class structure and mode of production, with the international capitalist forces.

The theoretical discussion above will be used in this chapter as a theoretical basis for the argument that Tonga is becoming more dependent on foreign capital due to her being incorporated into the international capitalist system. This has led Tonga to become vulnerable to world recession, impoverished the commoners, increased the gap between the privileged and the underprivileged, and has led to the emergence of compradors and a middle class. At the same time, the changes in the land tenure system reflect the form of inequalities and contradictions that have characterised the capitalist mode of production. This means that the increased monetisation of the economy, and the corresponding rise in the commercial value of land have created inequality in access to land, increased the focus on production for export which has often contributed to rising inflation and food shortages in the local market, increased the dependency on foreign imports for consumption, and increased dependency on foreign currencies, etc.

5.2. The Development of Dependent Capitalist Economy.

The Tongan monarchy has always been regarded as a powerful agent in government economic policy. Hence, being the most powerful person in Tonga, Tupou IV led his government to draw up a number of development projects in the hope that these would modernise the living standards of his people. A major structural change illustrated by the success in external trade in the 1950s and 1960s motivated the government to reinforce its links with industrial capitalist countries. This led to the transformation in the economy of Tonga from a self-reliant one, to one with a growing capitalist agricultural export and greater dependence on external capital. Although Tonga was not colonised, one
can say that internationalisation has led to the subordination of her economy to the powerful international capitalist system. Tonga's economy is still largely agricultural. However, subsistence cropping is shrinking while cash agriculture has expanded. Furthermore, the economy is gradually becoming externally oriented, in the sense that there is greater reliance on import commodities, on top of an increasing emphasis on export production. This has led to the development of a dependent capitalist economy which refers here to the growing production of commodities for export, and also the growing reliance on injections of foreign currencies and goods into the local economy.

As discussed in chapter IV, the post second world war period saw a boost in commercial trading throughout the world, which eventually began to generate socio-economic change in Tongan society. But with political intervention in the 1960s, socio-economic changes became an objective for the government. The problem of population growth and scarcity of land prompted the government to design the first five-year development plan for 1965-1970. The aim of the program was to "stimulate economic production through the systematic rehabilitation of the coconut industry and the reorganisation and modernisation of agricultural services. At the same time, emphasis was placed on expanding and improving social services in harmony with the population growth" (Tonga's First-Five Year Development Plan 1965-1970: 5).

The operation of the development plan was largely funded by foreign sources, which led to the introduction of foreign aid to the local economy. About 46% of the cost of operations of the 1st development plan was financed by an overseas assistance scheme. The dependence on foreign aid continued to increase to more than half (about 52%) in the
budget for the second five-year development plan. Tonga is now on her sixth five-year development plan for the period between 1990-1995, with signs of even more reliance on external financial assistance (Fairbairn 1991: 6). Since Tonga has no other natural resources apart from land, it will be difficult to break away from an increasing dependence on foreign aid.

Foreign aid has been wrongly perceived as only contributing to the development of the recipient countries. Some scholars have argued that aside from its contribution to the development of export crops, foreign aid has caused major economic crises in recipient countries (Stavenhagen 1975: 10). Bollard argues that,

aid for growing export crops like coconuts and bananas...results in a high leakage of aid-generated national income through imports, and consequently a small multiplier effect. Ultimately some potential benefits of development escape to the outside world through the trade deficits run by Tonga...This says that only one third of the initial injection of foreign capital is spent in Tonga: the rest goes on imports” (1974: 199).

Apart from relying on foreign aid, Tonga’s government has also taken loans from foreign banks and financial institutions which have contributed to the substantial increase in its foreign debt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Government Debt (T$ million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt Outstanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt/GDP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1 shows that foreign debt has gradually moved up from T$ 38.7 million in 1986/87 to T$ 48.2 million in the 1989/90 financial year. It is
doubtful that foreign debt will soon be fully repaid. However, the point is, Tonga did not have any serious problem with foreign debt until it became incorporated into the international capitalist system. This indicates that the imposition of capitalism in Tonga has led its economy to become increasingly dependent on foreign capital.

Table 2: Invisible Earnings (Net T$ million)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Flows</th>
<th>85/86</th>
<th>86/87</th>
<th>87/88</th>
<th>88/89</th>
<th>89/90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tourism Earning</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Remittances from Overseas</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other Private Transfers, e.g. gift donation &amp; supports</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Grant, Aids, and other Official Transfer</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>57.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The increased demands for foreign currencies have motivated the government to develop tourism and include this objective in the government's development package since the second five-year development plan for the period between 1970 and 1975. Since then, tourism has remained an important source of foreign revenue in the local economy, as well as compensating for the growing trade deficit (see table 2). Tourism has created a number of jobs for the local people and has provided a cash income for a number of individuals and many families. Unfortunately, the tourist industry has not been very consistent in the growth of its earnings. This is illustrated in table 2 when the tourism total earnings in 1987/88 dropped from T$8 million to T$6.1 million in 1988/89, and recovered again to T$7.4 million in 1989/90. This fluctuation of tourism earnings, again reflects the vulnerability of Tonga's economy because of her dependence on foreign earnings (Sturton 1992: 19).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Re-exports</th>
<th>Balance of trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TS('000)</td>
<td>TS('000)</td>
<td>TS('000)</td>
<td>TS('000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>3,338.1</td>
<td>3,720.6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>+382.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,300.4</td>
<td>3,393.3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>+92.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,848.4</td>
<td>2,749.3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-99.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>2,459.6</td>
<td>1,666.6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-793.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>2,435.6</td>
<td>1,915.8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-519.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>3,853.7</td>
<td>2,327.7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-1,526.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>3,403.8</td>
<td>2,506.5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-897.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>4,141.5</td>
<td>3,617.5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-523.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>5,729.6</td>
<td>3,566.3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-2,163.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>5,150.4</td>
<td>3,848.3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-1,304.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>5,087.5</td>
<td>3,314.3</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>-1,688.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5,539.4</td>
<td>2,604.3</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>-2,863.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>6,304.9</td>
<td>2,101.6</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>-4,104.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>7,455.9</td>
<td>1,960.4</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>-5,405.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>7,996.6</td>
<td>3,167.6</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>-4,752.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>11,819.2</td>
<td>4,407.4</td>
<td>154.1</td>
<td>-7,257.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>12,963.3</td>
<td>4,379.9</td>
<td>196.9</td>
<td>-8,386.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>11,656.4</td>
<td>3,100.4</td>
<td>137.9</td>
<td>-8,418.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>17,696.7</td>
<td>6,206.7</td>
<td>152.5</td>
<td>-11,337.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>22,318.0</td>
<td>4,750.4</td>
<td>327.7</td>
<td>-17,239.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>26,209.9</td>
<td>6,267.5</td>
<td>744.7</td>
<td>-19,197.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>30,134.6</td>
<td>6,909.9</td>
<td>257.8</td>
<td>-22,966.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>35,089.2</td>
<td>6,330.2</td>
<td>1,156.7</td>
<td>-27,602.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>41,204.7</td>
<td>3,645.6</td>
<td>642.3</td>
<td>-36,916.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>41,663.8</td>
<td>5,842.4</td>
<td>612.4</td>
<td>-35,209.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>46,614.1</td>
<td>9,995.6</td>
<td>443.5</td>
<td>-36,175.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>58,929.5</td>
<td>7,169.8</td>
<td>613.5</td>
<td>-51,146.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>59,616.2</td>
<td>8,711.0</td>
<td>773.0</td>
<td>-50,132.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>68,460.1</td>
<td>8,805.1</td>
<td>747.8</td>
<td>-58,907.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>70,668.9</td>
<td>9,502.7</td>
<td>1,052.6</td>
<td>-60,133.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>68,334.2</td>
<td>11,517.6</td>
<td>665.7</td>
<td>-56,150.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The incorporation of Tonga into the world system in the 1960s, resulted in the expansion of external trade, especially the import sector. Imports rose from T$3.4 million in 1965 to T$70.6 million in 1988 while the overall value of exports slowly increased from T$2.5 million to T$9.5 million over the same period of time (see table 3). The rising imports and the stagnant exports figure is clearly shown in Table 3 when Tonga’s trade deficit appeared in 1961, and since then, its exports figure has never equalised or exceeded its imports figures.

Even though export crops were successfully diversified, the overall export earnings showed very slow progress and were still way below the value of imports. One of the factors contributing to the poor performance of Tonga’s export was the decline in market prices of copra and bananas. According to Sturton (1992: 1),

the 1970-90 period witnessed a massive 50 percent decline in the real price of Tonga’s major export, copra. As a consequence the coconut industry, whose share had represented more than 70 percent of total export earnings in 1970, was reduced to 20 percent by the end of the 1980s. The production of bananas, which had represented Tonga’s second most important export earner, virtually vanished during the late 1980s due to natural disasters, quarantine restrictions, and the termination of the subsidy scheme in New Zealand.

The export figures in 1989 amounted to T$11.5 million, and for the first time export earnings exceeded the T$10 million mark (see table 3). The current improvement in the export figures is largely due to the success of squash pumpkins export to Japan. Squash export has contributed to more than half of the total export earnings in the last two years, that is 1990 and 1991 (Sturton 1992: 1-2). Apart from the dominance of squash in the export sector, vanilla beans, fish products, and a few other manufactured items have also contributed to the current rise in the export earnings (see table 4).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected Commodities</th>
<th>1985 T$'000</th>
<th>1986 T$'000</th>
<th>1987 T$'000</th>
<th>1988 T$'000</th>
<th>1989 T$'000</th>
<th>1990 T$'000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fish (Fresh, chilled or frozen)</td>
<td>727.2</td>
<td>750.0</td>
<td>1,193.1</td>
<td>2,295.0</td>
<td>1,104.4</td>
<td>1,277.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>823.3</td>
<td>1,482.3</td>
<td>1,234.2</td>
<td>658.4</td>
<td>206.3</td>
<td>103.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantains</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut whole</td>
<td>91.8</td>
<td>178.3</td>
<td>165.9</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>161.4</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dessicated coconut</td>
<td>526.2</td>
<td>720.7</td>
<td>551.8</td>
<td>392.4</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watermelons</td>
<td>234.8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>89.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kape</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>209.3</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumpkins</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,983.3</td>
<td>4,838.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>157.6</td>
<td>176.4</td>
<td>141.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swamp Taro</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taro taurus</td>
<td>152.3</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>147.9</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>559.6</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yam</td>
<td>169.4</td>
<td>105.5</td>
<td>388.2</td>
<td>253.4</td>
<td>505.0</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanilla beans</td>
<td>400.9</td>
<td>1,686.2</td>
<td>1,217.3</td>
<td>1,384.8</td>
<td>2,073.8</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>153.2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra meal</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kava</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandalwood</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>154.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut oil</td>
<td>2,742.4</td>
<td>2,010.1</td>
<td>1616.0</td>
<td>1101.6</td>
<td>849.6</td>
<td>399.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufactured Goods by Materials</td>
<td>110.5</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>705.7</td>
<td>956.4</td>
<td>1,202.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing, knitted</td>
<td>331.8</td>
<td>519.4</td>
<td>636.5</td>
<td>733.2</td>
<td>1,131.2</td>
<td>1,096.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sporting equipment</td>
<td>193.7</td>
<td>162.2</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The development of the manufacturing sector has made a significant contribution to the expansion of the export sector, though minimal in comparison to agricultural exports (see table 4). As shown in
table 5, there were about 101 manufacturing institutions in 1989, of which 90% were privately owned, while 10% belonged either to the government or were quasi government owned. The manufacturing sector has provided more than a thousand jobs. As illustrated in table 6, about 1144 were wage-labourers while only 22 were unpaid labourers in the manufacture industry. The lowest rate of weekly salary for the labourers is about T$48.5 (see table 6). This very low weekly salary reflects the exploitation of cheap labour in Tonga. This matter is further aggravated by the absence of any labour union to represent the interests of the labourers.

Table 5: No. of Manufacturing Establishments in Operation by Institutional Sector, 1985-1989.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Private Sector</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Quasi-Government Sector</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Government Sector</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. All Manufacturing</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 6: Manufacturing Employment (Number) - Paid (P) and Unpaid (U) by Institutional Sector 1984-1985.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Private Sector (P)</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(U)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Quasi-Govt Sector (P)</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(U)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Government Sector (P)</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(U)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. All Manufacturing (P)</td>
<td>1022</td>
<td>1233</td>
<td>1615</td>
<td>1461</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>N.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(U)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Average Weekly Wages. (T$)</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sturton (1992: 13) outlines the main activities in the manufacturing sector as follows:

the main export activities include knitwear products and the manufacture of leather garments, which account for about two-thirds of manufactured exports. The main items of manufacture for the domestic market include (1) food products: beer, fruit processing, snack foods, biscuits, meat products, soft drinks; (2) construction materials: paints, varnishes, furniture, cement blocks; and (3) miscellaneous items: sandals, stationary products, etc.

The manufacturing sector is currently dominated by import substitution production which has reduced the emphasis on export oriented production. This means that most of the manufactured products are being produced primarily to serve local demands. Sturton (1992: 13) believes that the concentration of manufactured products in the local markets has greatly reduced the contribution of the manufacture sector to export.

Internationalisation has accompanied a number of alternative opportunities apart from the primary reliance on land for livelihood. This has led to the introduction of new social services and economic activities that offer new jobs. Unfortunately, these new economic activities are mostly concentrated in the capital, Nuku'alofa. This has led to urbanisation in which many people from the outer islands move to the capital for various reasons, such as seeking employment, educational opportunities and social privileges associated with town life as compared with rural life (see Maude 1965: 89).

The gradual expansion of employment opportunities and occupations in the non-agricultural sector has alleviated the pressure that could be caused by the growing number of eligible persons without land. These employment opportunities have provided a source of income for the growing landless and supplemented the revenues for those who
already have land. Obtaining a job in the non-agricultural sector is not always due to economic necessity, and can be seen as a thing of social value and privilege. For example, table 7 shows that the total employed population working in the agricultural sector has declined from 72% in 1956 to 46.5% in 1986. At the same time, employment in the non-agricultural sector has expanded, especially in professional and technical occupations which have increased from 0.9% to 12.1%; clerical and related jobs have risen from 1.9% to 9.6%; and those whose occupations relate to production, transport operation and labourers have increased from 8.0% to 19.2% (see table 7).

Table 7: No. and % of Economically Active Classified by Occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>1956 No. (%)</th>
<th>1966 No. (%)</th>
<th>1976 No. (%)</th>
<th>1986 No. (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Employed Population</td>
<td>14,271 (100)</td>
<td>18,998 (100)</td>
<td>18,626 (100)</td>
<td>21,604 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional, technical, and related workers</td>
<td>122 (0.9)</td>
<td>233 (1.2)</td>
<td>2,452 (13.2)</td>
<td>2,622 (12.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Administrative and Managerial workers</td>
<td>... (0.6)</td>
<td>111 (1.0)</td>
<td>187 (1.2)</td>
<td>268 (1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clerical and related workers</td>
<td>278 (1.9)</td>
<td>351 (1.8)</td>
<td>1,062 (5.7)</td>
<td>2,078 (9.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sales workers</td>
<td>728 (5.1)</td>
<td>410 (2.2)</td>
<td>549 (2.9)</td>
<td>977 (4.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Services workers</td>
<td>1,693 (11.9)</td>
<td>2,019 (10.6)</td>
<td>970 (5.2)</td>
<td>1,287 (6.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Agriculture animal husbandary and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters</td>
<td>10,303 (72.2)</td>
<td>14,064 (74.1)</td>
<td>9,425 (50.6)</td>
<td>10,051 (46.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Production and related workers, transport operation and labourers</td>
<td>1,147 (8.0)</td>
<td>1,810 (9.5)</td>
<td>2,207 (11.8)</td>
<td>4,136 (19.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Not stated</td>
<td>... (9.6)</td>
<td>... (0.9)</td>
<td>1,774 (9.6)</td>
<td>185 (0.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increased exposure of Tongans to western social and materialistic lifestyles has raised the expectations and aspirations of many people. But the growing insufficiency in the social and economic circumstances in Tonga has influenced people to migrate overseas (Lafitani 1992: 49). As Sturton puts it,

migration to neighbouring developed nations in search of higher wages has been motivated by the lack of rewarding economic opportunities at home. The situation has been exacerbated by the continual decline throughout the 1970s and 1980s of the real prices of traditional exports (coconut products). Migration has permitted the release of these forces through the export of labour but has been accompanied by a prolonged stagnation in the production of exports (1992: 3).

The export of labour (migration) has created an important source of foreign earnings for the country. The injection of remittances to the local economy increased tremendously over the years up to the mid-1980s, and then became stagnant. Remittances have contributed to the improvement of the living standards of many individual families in Tonga, contributing to the overall balance of payments by compensating for the trade deficit (see table 2). Besides the positive contribution made by remittances to the local economy, there have also been some negative effects. For instance, some people have withdrawn from productive activities to rely mainly on remittances sent from their family overseas (Hardaker 1975). Ritterbush (1986) also found out that some of the small entrepreneurs were largely funded by remittance money. However, table 2 shows that the value of foreign remittances declined from T$28.0 million in 1985/86 to $T15.9 million in the 1988/89 financial year. Even though remittances rose again to T$17.3 million in 1989/1990, the general decline in remittances again reflects the uncertainty and vulnerability of those families and the government in depending too much on external currency.
Internationalisation has also made its mark on the educational system. The very ideological basis of modern capitalism has begun to take roots in the local educational curriculum. This is based on the training of local people as skilled labourers and experienced civil servants. The government of Tupou IV was responsible for changing the educational system towards vocational training in order to support the modernisation program. The change in the educational curriculum reflects the influence of the technical-functional theory of education which co-existed with the expansion of the international capitalist system. This particular view looks at education as a vehicle for economic development. Over the years, the government has initiated a number of scholarship schemes and training courses which have continued to rationalise the ideologies of economic development and modernisation. This has contributed to the reproduction of the dependent capitalist ideology.

It is clear that the process of 'internationalisation' has greatly affected different aspects of Tongan society. This has led to the colonisation of Tonga's weaker economy by the powerful world capitalist system. This event reflects the transformation in the nature of imperial activities as mentioned by Wallerstein (1989); that is, from direct political domination to economic imperialism. This is to say that Tonga was not colonised by any foreign powers, but her economy has subsequently become subordinated to foreign powers through her incorporation into the international capitalist system. Thus, the political and economic self-reliance that Tonga enjoyed in the past slowly came to an end, while at the same time, the process of internationalisation increased the reliance of Tonga on the outside world. The constant struggle for economic development and modernisation has conditioned the economy of Tonga
5.3. The Growing Gap Between the Land Law and the Land Tenure.

The land law has become an important element of the land tenure system in modern Tonga. It must be pointed out that land law and land tenure are two distinct and yet related phenomena, where the former is a central aspect of the latter. Land tenure is generally used in this thesis to refer to the actual relationship between people and land, whether it appears in the land law or not. On the ideological level, land law is seen as a norm or a collection of rules set out to govern the rights of people on land (Crocombe 1975: 4). Some of the underlying principles of the present land law have remained unchanged since the time of Tāufaʻāhau’s land reform, though they are becoming impractical at present.

Here, I will outline the underlying features of the present land tenure system as provided in the land law. This will then be followed by a discussion of how the land tenure system continues to change under the influence of the international capitalist system, and to the extent that these changes violate the spirit of equality of the land law.

Since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1875, all the land in Tonga is declared to be the property of the Crown. However, it is divided into four main types of estate: 1. Royal Estate (held by the monarchy); 2. Royal Family Estate (jointly held by the members of the Royal Family); 3. Hereditary Estate (held by the nobles and Matāpule); and 4. Government Estate (represented by the Minister of Lands (see Map 1 and Appendix A for a listing of all the estates and title holders).

The first two estates are strictly reserved for the use of the royals. Thus commoners can acquire land from either the nobles and Matāpule
estates or from the government estate. More importantly, "every estate (tōfi'a) and allotment ('api) is hereditary according to the prescribed rule of succession" (section 5, 1967 Land Law). Every male Tongan sixteen years of age and above, upon lodging an application to the Minister of Lands, is entitled to a tax allotment ('api tukuhau) for agricultural purpose, and a town allotment ('api kolo) for dwelling. The hereditary estate holder is expected to provide allotments to an applicant who has legally resided on his estate. Similarly, the Minister of Lands is expected to allocate land to successful applicants who have legally resided on a Government estate. Selling of land is still prohibited.

All land dealings are controlled by the Minister of Lands, who is the representative of the Crown. The Minister of Lands, through the Cabinet's approval, has the power to grant leases, sub-leases, and permits to Tongans, foreigners, church organisations and the government. It is required that no more than 5% of the total area of an estate can be leased except land that is leased by charitable and non-profitable organisations.

The law with regard to the devolution of allotments ('api) upon the death of the holder entitles a widow to hold life interest on her husband's land, provided she does not fornicate or re-marry. This law is also applicable to the female children of the deceased if there is no male heir to the land. Should there be no heir, the land reverts to the government. If there are disputes over who should inherit the land, the land court determines the next land holder. The rule of succession to allotments (section 76) emphasises that land inheritance first considers the succession from the eldest to the youngest male holder before considering the female line. It also states that only persons born in wedlock may inherit land and registration of land is the key element to the complete security of land.
Table 8: Land Area and Its Use (in acres and percentage as of the total Area 1985-1989.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acres (%)</td>
<td>acres (%)</td>
<td>acres (%)</td>
<td>acres (%)</td>
<td>acres (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Total</td>
<td>184,674</td>
<td>184,674</td>
<td>184,674</td>
<td>184,674</td>
<td>184,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Registered Tax and Town Allotments to Tongans</td>
<td>80,418</td>
<td>80,776</td>
<td>81,231</td>
<td>81,741</td>
<td>82,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(43.55)</td>
<td>(43.74)</td>
<td>(43.99)</td>
<td>(44.26)</td>
<td>(44.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. of Allotees]</td>
<td>[24,778]</td>
<td>[24,983]</td>
<td>[25,210]</td>
<td>[25,493]</td>
<td>[25,851]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Land Allocated but not yet Registered</td>
<td>35,536</td>
<td>35,046</td>
<td>34,237</td>
<td>33,029</td>
<td>31,997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(19.24)</td>
<td>(19.05)</td>
<td>(18.54)</td>
<td>(17.89)</td>
<td>(17.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Land Allocated to hereditary Nobles</td>
<td>12,824</td>
<td>12,824</td>
<td>12,824</td>
<td>12,824</td>
<td>12,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6.94)</td>
<td>(6.94)</td>
<td>(6.94)</td>
<td>(6.94)</td>
<td>(6.94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Land Leased</td>
<td>15,465</td>
<td>15,706</td>
<td>15,952</td>
<td>16,648</td>
<td>16,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8.37)</td>
<td>(8.50)</td>
<td>(8.64)</td>
<td>(9.01)</td>
<td>(9.15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[No. of leaseholders]</td>
<td>[2,460]</td>
<td>[2,656]</td>
<td>[2,804]</td>
<td>[2,971]</td>
<td>[3,064]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Government</td>
<td>1,955 (1.06)</td>
<td>1,973 (1.07)</td>
<td>2,058 (1.11)</td>
<td>2,061 (1.11)</td>
<td>2,063 (1.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Churches</td>
<td>5,309 (2.87)</td>
<td>5,317 (2.88)</td>
<td>5,346 (2.89)</td>
<td>5,476 (2.97)</td>
<td>5,651 (3.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Statutory Board</td>
<td>507 (0.27)</td>
<td>510 (0.28)</td>
<td>567 (0.31)</td>
<td>575 (0.31)</td>
<td>580 (0.31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Tongan Nationals</td>
<td>2,731 (1.48)</td>
<td>2,840 (1.54)</td>
<td>2,903 (1.57)</td>
<td>3,424 (1.85)</td>
<td>3,485 (1.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Foreigners</td>
<td>4,963 (2.69)</td>
<td>5,066 (2.74)</td>
<td>5,078 (2.75)</td>
<td>5,112 (2.77)</td>
<td>5,120 (2.77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Government Land (Uninhabited land including Forests Reserves, Volcanic Island, etc.)</td>
<td>21,019</td>
<td>21,019</td>
<td>21,019</td>
<td>21,019</td>
<td>21,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(11.38)</td>
<td>(11.38)</td>
<td>(11.38)</td>
<td>(11.38)</td>
<td>(11.38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Other Government Land (Lakes etc.)</td>
<td>19,412</td>
<td>19,413</td>
<td>19,413</td>
<td>19,412</td>
<td>19,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10.51)</td>
<td>(10.51)</td>
<td>(10.51)</td>
<td>(10.51)</td>
<td>(10.51)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Over the years, the land law has secured an economic means of livelihood and the freedom of every commoner from forced labour. Distribution of land to commoners was carried out successfully in phases I and II, but became a serious problem in phase III. This was basically due to the fast rate of population growth. The current pattern of land distribution, illustrated in table 8 shows that in 1989, about 78% of the total land area in Tonga was already allocated under the following categories: 45% was registered tax and town allotments; 17% had been allocated but not yet registered; 7% was held by nobles; and 9% was leased
land. The most important implication of these figures, is that, the land tenure system has prevented the concentration of land on the hands of the few.

Table 9: No of Tongan Males 16 years and over and widowed females with and without tax allotments ('api) according to 1966 and 1976 census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1976</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Male 16 years &amp; over</td>
<td>19,974</td>
<td>23,986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. With Tax Allotment</td>
<td>8,305</td>
<td>8,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. Without Tax Allotment</td>
<td>11,533</td>
<td>15,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Not Stated</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Widowed Female</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. With Tax Allotment</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Without Tax Allotment</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1,264</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Ideally, every male Tongan sixteen years of age should at least have a tax allotment according to the land law. However, table 9 shows that this law is unattainable. In 1976, the number of eligible persons without a tax allotment (15,555) was almost double the figures of those who had one (8,430). The total number of tax allotment holders rose in 1984 to 14,471 while the number of eligible tax payers increased to 28,372 (see Maude and Sevele 1987). The number of eligible persons without a tax allotment will always out number those with one as long as these laws remain unchanged. Maude and Sevele (1987: 137) estimate that "by the year 2000 the number of people eligible for tax allotments is likely to exceed 40,000 while the number of tax allotments is unlikely to exceed 16,000 even if all the available agricultural land were allocated out". Thus, the available evidence clearly shows that the present pattern of land distribution as prescribed by the land law is no longer practical.
The scarcity of vacant land has made it more difficult for the landless to acquire land. There are several ways of acquiring a tax and/or town allotment. Firstly, the most common and easiest way to obtain land is through inheritance. The inheritance rule (section 76) specifies that only one person is eligible for an allotment. Secondly, those who can not obtain land via inheritance can acquire it by applying to the Minister of Lands for a piece of vacant land. Unfortunately, at present the government has no vacant land to meet the growing demands of the people. At the same time, those estate holders (chiefs) and ordinary land holders (common people) who hold a sizeable area of land sell their town allotments, and/or lease their tax allotments. The price of selling and leasing of land depends on the location and size of the land, and the demand.

Acquiring land from chiefly estates has often led to contradictions between the land law and traditional custom. This is indicated by the continuity of the feudal practice of takitaki, that is, the presenting of gifts to the chief in exchange for land. Upon granting of land from an estate, the ordinary land holder may still be bound by customary obligation until the land is registered. The increasing use of money has resulted in the transformation of gift items from agricultural products and durables to money.

This sort of feudal formality was banned by the Constitution, but remained in practise. This is where the contradiction within the Constitution emerges, because the re-establishment of the chiefs as virtual landlords perpetuates the atmosphere of subordination, as demonstrated by the presentation of gifts to obtain land. This is even reinforced by the chief's legal role, in which chiefs must be consulted before an allotment is
apportioned from their estate. This legal role has been used effectively by
the chiefs, and supported by the preservation of customs, in sustaining
their power and control over the commoners. Consequently, commoners
continue to be exploited by the chiefs in the name of tradition.

Land can also be acquired through buying or leasing from ordinary
land holders as distinct from estate holders. A tax allotment is commonly
acquired through buying of leases, but it runs out when the terms of the
lease expire. On the other hand, there is much more pressure on
acquiring town allotments, especially in the urban area of Nuku'alofa.
Therefore, town allotments are commonly offered to an applicant on an
agreed price, accompanied by the complete transfer of rights and title to
the new holder.

The increasing monetisation of the economy and the scarcity of
land, sets the conditions for selling of land at a fixed price. There is no
legal market for selling of land because it is still prohibited by the land
law. Therefore, we can say that the current dealings on land are part of the
black market dealings. But the government does not impose any
restriction on these activities in relation to selling of land because it is
interpreted that the money given to the holder of the land, whether a
chief or an ordinary person, is a gift. The price of land or the gift depends
on the agreement of the buyer and the seller. The absence of a legal
market to control the price of land has resulted in a constant rise in the
price of good land. This has made it difficult for the poor and landless to
afford a good town allotment to live on. The situation has been worsened
by increased urbanisation which has driven most poor people to live in
the most appalling swampy areas (Matangi Tonga, March-April 1991: 16-
18).
The transition to a cash economy and dependent capitalism has changed the values and attitudes of the people towards land. In precapitalist Tongan society, people were in harmony with their surroundings, especially land. Tāufaʻāhau's land reform reinforced the bond between the people and their land. The land reform further strengthened their emotional attachment to land because it secured their freedom from forced labour. Nevertheless, according to Helu (1990) change to a cash economy and the growth of the non-agricultural sector has given rise to a new value of land and new form of tenure, that is, industrial sites. The changing circumstances have encouraged estate land holders and ordinary land holders to seek new opportunities for personal economic gains. The response to economic change has resulted in the leasing of their land as industrial sites. The most notorious example of this is illustrated by the case of two economically and politically powerful chiefs: Fakafanua, chief of Maʻufanga and Fielakepa, chief of Haveluloto (see Map 1 and Appendix A). They have leased some of their land as industrial sites and now live quite comfortably although they should have distributed the land to the landless, as prescribed by the land law. But because the land law does not specify the exact size of land to be reserved for the chief's personal use, some chiefs have distributed most of their land, while a few have retained some of their land to consolidate their own wealth, power and status.

The growing separation between the land law and the land tenure stems from social and economic circumstances which constantly change and which have invalidated some of the unchanged provisions in the land law. The increasing use of money has been the most revolutionary force contributing to the changes in the relations between people and their land. Buying and selling of land has imposed inequality in terms of
access to land. This is because the increased prices of land can only be afforded by the rich people. Some of the best locations for town allotments, for example, 'Anana, a new settlement in the suburb of Ma'ufanga, are increasingly occupied by middle class and rich people, while the swampy area in Sopu and Tukutonga is filled with low income and poor people (see Map 1). Thus, selling of land has resulted in the areas settled by the rich being clearly distinguished from those occupied by the poor. The former occupy the best located areas at higher prices, while the latter live in the most appalling areas in the urban district. The new pattern of settlement created by selling of land has violated the principle of equal access to land in which the under-privileged commoners were living together with the privileged class in the same village.

5.4. Land Tenure and the Growth of Agricultural Commodity Production

Subsistence agriculture has been the mainstay of Tonga’s economy. This was only moderately affected in the initial transformation to cash cropping in the mid-nineteenth century because agricultural export production was confined to the cultivation of non-consumption crops, such as copra, cotton, coffee, etc. The cultivation of traditional consumption crops such as yams, taro, etc for export is a recent phenomenon. Thus the export of copra and other non-subsistence crops did not really affect either subsistence production or, the economic self-reliance of the country.

Internationalisation has transformed the way people use their land from subsistence production to predominantly commodity production. The distinction here between subsistence and commodity production is that, while the former refers to production primarily for consumption, the latter refers to production primarily for selling in the market. This transformation to commodity production has facilitated the development
of capitalist relations of production in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, it has supported a transformation leading to a dependent form of capitalism.

It must be pointed out that the government of Tupou IV was partly behind this transformation in land utilisation. Since Tonga did not have any other natural resources apart from its land, the government, in its search for economic development (growth), was left with very little option but to expand the agricultural industries. This means that land productivity was considered to be one of the obvious solutions to boost the economy of Tonga.

The land law worked well in Tonga during phases I and II. This was basically due to the fact that the ratio of population to land was not yet under pressure. During phase II, the contribution to the church was no longer a burden, except payment for government tax. The economy was still largely non-monetised which led to the continual dominance of subsistence agriculture over cash agriculture. Things began to change when foreign troops came to Tonga during the second world war, which led to the existence of a local market place where the local farmers sold their agricultural products for cash. This was quite a radical transformation for the local agricultural producers, because they then had cash in hand as soon as their products were sold in the market.

Even though the local market ceased to exist when the foreign troops left Tonga after the second world war the local producers turned to export productions because of the copra boom. It was not until 1971 that the government established a public market place, centrally located in Nuku’alofa to be known as Talamahu Market. The existence of a local market continues to create an alternative source of cash for local farmers,
apart from export. This means that cash is no longer confined to the export of non-consumption crops such as copra, but can be earned through selling of daily consumption crops such as yams, taro, plantains, etc in the local market.

The establishment of Talamahu market has also contributed to and intensified the development of capitalist relations of exchange. This means that when the direct producers bring their commodities to sell in the market, they are only interested in the buyer's money. As we have seen in previous chapters, in pre-contact Tonga gift exchange reinforced social relationships between the people, especially the chiefs and the commoners, though it was exploitative. The introduction of money and the establishment of a permanent market place means that Tongan society is moving towards capitalist relations of exchange where the social relations between people become materialistic.

Even though the economy of Tonga is largely agricultural, it is not yet dominated by wage labourers. Some commercial farmers still use family members and relatives who are usually unpaid labourers (see Maude 1965). Nevertheless, this does not deny the fact that there are a few commercial farmers who employ wage-labourers, whether on a temporary and contractual basis or permanently (Ritterbush 1986). Most of the small farmers are working on their own land and controlling their products which means that the capitalist relations of production have not yet penetrated into small scale farming. In general the individual land tenure system has prevented Tonga from producing a rural proletariat that lives primarily on wages earned from labouring on commercial plantations.
The cultivation of consumption crops to sell in the local market has served the demands of those people who do not have land to cultivate, or those who have land but can not cultivate because of reasons such as working for wages in the non-agricultural sector. This economic trend - of cultivating some of the subsistence crops primarily to sell - took on a new dimension in the 1980s when many Tongans were migrating overseas. This resulted in the increased export of some of the subsistence food products such as yams, taro, etc, (see table 4). Apart from the official figures shown in table 4 there are an increasing number of individual farmers who themselves take a container of yams or taro, and sell them to fellow Tongans in Sydney or Auckland. The money earned from this activity is not included in the total value of export. Instead it is listed under the figures of private transfers or remittances.

Apart from the expanding production of consumption crops for selling in the local market, government economic policies have focussed mainly on commercial farming and increased agricultural output for export. This has led to a few amendments to the land law. In 1976 two important changes to the land law were introduced. The first, and most important, was the introduction of land mortgage. As Maude and Sevele put it:

Land was considered the most appropriate asset to be mortgaged, hence this significant amendment. The land that could be mortgaged included registered tax and town allotments, leaseholds and estates. The mortgage period was initially limited to a maximum of ten years, but this was increased to thirty years in 1980 (1987: 121).

This amendment coincided with the establishment of Tonga's commercial banks, the Bank of Tonga in 1974 and the Tongan Development Bank in 1977. Both banks have contributed to the fast
commercialisation of agriculture and the growth of the capitalist mode of production.

The second amendment gave the opportunity to ordinary landholders to lease out their tax allotment for up to a maximum of 10 years. Town allotments were allowed to be leased for up to 99 years through Cabinet approval. A further amendment was introduced in 1978 to allow Tongans to lease up to 10 tax allotments from the previous 5 tax allotments for agricultural purposes (Maude & Sevele 1987: 122). Thus the attempt to boost commercial agriculture has worked against the spirit of equality in the land law. It is obvious that the government faced a dilemma because giving more land to commercial farmers who can contribute to economic growth reduced the chances for a growing number of eligible persons to have land. Therefore, the standard size of a tax allotment, 8.25 acres, was working effectively for subsistence during phases I and II. However, this was notably working against capitalist development because commercial farming needed much bigger areas of land than 8.25 acres.

Crocombe (1975: 13) has produced a comparison of some of the main features of a productive land tenure system in the Pacific rim, which sees Tonga's land tenure as having the necessary conditions for increase in agricultural productivity. However, in reality, it seems agricultural productivity is stagnant, though the land tenure seems ideally suitable to increase agricultural output. As Maude and Sevele put it, "there seemed to be a positive correlation of land tenure and increased agricultural output, but available evidence is far from conclusive" (1987: 135-6). The land law has protected the rights of the land holder, disregarding whether the land is used or not. This emphasis on land rights rather than land utilisation has resulted in much land being under-
utilised while many people without land may have used it and contributed to the growth of agricultural productivity. The emphasis on agricultural productivity is often misleading because it is entirely based on the performances of agriculture in relation to market demands. This has ignored the level of subsistence agriculture which is the mainstay of Tonga's economy.

The current boom in squash exports has resulted in the decline in subsistence agriculture. This has been clearly indicated by the increase in prices and shortage of agricultural food in Talamahu market, during the squash season. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that land used for squash cropping can not be used for subsistence planting straight away, but has to be fallowed for some time. This is due to the amount of chemicals used during squash planting.

The expansion in the cash sector and commercial agriculture has transformed the economy of Tonga, making it dependent on the outside world, not only for currency, but also for imported consumption foods. Therefore, there is a need to balance subsistence production and commodity production so that there will always be enough food for the local population. If all the good land is taken up by commercial cropping, then this will certainly transform the consumption pattern to become externally oriented too. This will be devastating to Tonga's economy, especially the low income and the poor who do not have land or any other means of subsistence.

Many of the reports we have heard so far about the performance of the squash exports in the economy have been positive. This is to say that earnings from these have contributed to the overall growth of the economy. And while the private sector is capable of injecting foreign
currency into the local economy, the cost of living and inflation rate is constantly rising. Therefore, it seems that some of the observations about the contribution of agricultural export to the economy do not account the long term effect of inclining towards export oriented agriculture as a whole. This excessive emphasis on export agriculture can only drive Tonga's economy to become externally oriented and ensure dependence on the outside world.

The more Tonga participates in export agriculture, the greater she exposes her economy to becoming vulnerable to the international capitalist system. Tonga's agricultural system is vulnerable enough with regards to natural disasters, such as hurricanes, drought, etc. And to let her agricultural productive system be overtaken by the international capitalist system would be a social catastrophe, in the sense that it would be the poor who will suffer.

5.5. Land Tenure, Class Structure and Inequality.

As economic organisation was changing, so too was the class structure in Tongan society. As has been shown, the land tenure system was a central feature of the development of Tongan society, with land being a source of political power, economic wealth and social status. The relations of people to land led to their being arranged hierarchically into different classes. As Maude and Sevele explain, in pre-contact Tonga "the broad features of the social structure were reflected in the land tenure system"(1987: 115). This correlation between the land tenure and the social structure has continued to be a feature of contemporary Tongan society. The land tenure system still preserves the traditional form of stratification, which is mostly feudal in character, while a capitalist class system has arisen in the commercial and industrial sector. The Constitution of 1875 has perpetuated and consolidated the feudal
hierarchical ranking system, in the sense that the monarchy has remained
at the apex of society with the greatest power, then the chiefly landlords,
and then the commoners at the very base. Even though the commoners
own their land, the fact that the chiefs still have power in relation to
allocation of land has perpetuated customary obligations.

The impact of the international capitalist system has led to the
development of a new class structure in the non-agricultural commercial
sector. Georges Benguigui has conducted research on Tonga's middle class
in which he argues that,

there is a growing middle class, and for that matter also a working class and the
capitalist elite. ...the shift in the taxation system from direct to indirect taxation,
and the definite introduction of a free enterprise economic system...gave birth to
the growing class system (in the Matangi Tonga, Sept-Oct 1987: 19).

Benguigui believes that the Tongan middle class has come from two
sources, namely, government bureaucrats and people who worked for
established business enterprises.

This capitalist class system co-existed with the stratification
perpetuated in the agrarian structure. It must be pointed out, however,
that some of the successful commercial farmers may be included in the
middle-class. Maude (1965) recognised that some farmers earn as much, or
more than the average salary of some civil servants. This is still the case,
especially, the growing export of squash pumpkins and vanilla beans,
which sometimes bring a profit of more than T$10,000 per annum for
successful farmers. Therefore, on the basis of cash income, some
commercial farmers are members of the middle class. Apart from wage
earners in the government or established enterprises, commercial
farming is another source of income for the growing middle class in
Tonga.
The collapse of the Tonga Commodities Board, as a major marketing agent of Tongan produce, has also partly contributed to the emergence of a new class of local compradors. This new class is made up of a number of individuals and groups as new marketing agents. These compradors have risen to undertake the role that has been traditionally handled by the government. They represent the interests of the international capitalist market, and they help to organise the local producers to produce certain quality products demanded by the market. This is clearly demonstrated by the exportation of squash pumpkins which is currently controlled by seven private corporations. It has been recognised that these individual compradors are getting rich at the expense of the growers, in the sense that they have to manipulate the allocation of working capital, they also make profit out of the growers own pocket by not giving back all the money that each grower should have. Thus, privatisation of marketing of export products fosters inequalities in the distribution of both resources and income. A few commercial farmers and compradors continue to become successful at the expense of the underpaid labourers and individual producers.

The present pattern of land holding system within the broad spectrum of society reflects the class distinction between the landless and the small land holders. The fact that there is a growing number of landless and increased unemployment has contributed to the formation of a distinct proletariat or working class. At the same time, the growing number of business elite and intellectual elite has been identified as a distinct class. This class of intellectuals and business elite has became increasingly threatening to the established ruling group. This is shown by their current pressure for political change to a democratic form of government. It is evident that although the land law does not change, the
transformation in the land tenure has widened the gap between the
landless and those with land. Moreover, the change in the overall
economy of society has laid the foundations for the emergence of a
capitalist class structure to co-exist with the pre-capitalist stratification
system.

5.6. The Political Significance of the Land Tenure System and Land
Reform.

The present system of land holding reflects the socio-political
structure in society. One can not talk of economic change in isolation
from changes in the social and political structure of Tongan society. In
pre-contact Tongan society, the ruling elite were the owners of the land,
while the commoners possessed land in relation to obligations. Some
element of this traditional feature of the land tenure continued to persist
despite constitutional change. This was largely due to the continual
existence of chiefs as nobility and as a class of estate owners. Being an
estate owner has contributed to the continuity of their traditional
privilege and status, though their traditional power was greatly reduced
by the Constitution.

It is also interesting to note that the reform made by Tāufaʻāhau to
the political system was largely beneficial to the consolidation of the
power of monarchy. The commoners still remained relatively powerless
in relation to their influence on governments' decisions. The broad
features of the present political system of Tonga, as reflected in the
Constitution, clearly show a tremendous imbalance in power, where the
monarch is the most powerful individual in society.

For example, the highest ruling body in Tonga is the Executive,
which consists of the King, Ministers of the Crown, and the Governors
(see chapter 3). All the members of the Executive body are selected by the
King and not by the majority of the people. This means that the chiefs and the bulk of society are not represented in the Executive body but only in the Legislative Assembly. But even the Legislative Assembly shows an imbalance of power and the underrepresentation of the majority of the people. At present, the Legislative Assembly consists of 30 members, 9 of which are people's representatives elected by more than 95% of the population; 9 are noble's representatives elected by less than 33 nobles; and 10 Ministers of the Crown and 2 Governors are selected by the King himself.

The division of power in parliament indicates an under-representation of the majority of the people. In an interview with the present King by the editor of a local monthly magazine, he said that the people's representatives were elected to compromise and work together, but not to oppose the government (Matangi Tonga 1988). This was often the case in the past, but the changing circumstances have made apparent the emergence of contradictions between the interests of the government and the people's representatives. This has created the pro-democratic movement whose aim is to change the present political system to a more democratic one. The choice of a democratic form of government corresponds with the present free market economy and the process of internationalisation. Most people in Tonga are becoming aware and politically conscious that the present political system facilitates the concentration of power and wealth in a few, while many have remained powerless and poor.

The stagnancy in the political system is certainly related to the unchanged nature of some of the provisions in the land law. Over the years, the government has mainly amended or introduced new provisions that were concerned directly with economic development and
commercial farming. It is quite obvious that the issue of a major redistribution of land is a very sensitive and a political one. This is due to the fact that the commoners have become culturally and emotionally attached to the land. This is one of the greatest contributions made by Tāufa'āhau's land reform, in which the land allocated to the commoners gave them a much stronger sense of belonging to Tonga. This state of mind is political in effect, in the sense that it has perpetuated the commoners' faith in the constitutional monarchical government.

There is no open political pressure from the landless on the government because other forces, such as religion and tradition, perpetuate submissiveness among the people in claiming what is theirs legally. The government is aware of the problem that confronts the present land law and yet they have not amended it. This is illustrated by the appointment of a land commission in 1983 to conduct a thorough investigation into the validity of the present land law and the general opinions of the public. The report of the land commission was handed into the Privy Council in 1985, and since then, it has not been released to the public. This is one of the characteristics of the present political system, its lack of accountability. The public has the right to know the findings of the land commission because the survey was carried out at the expense of the tax payers.

Land has continued to be a symbol of authority and a source of economic wealth. The Constitution states that all the land is the property of the Crown. This clearly indicates the tremendous power that is held by the government. Furthermore, the division of all the land into major estates corresponds to powerful elite groups, or those who rank in Tongan society, that is, the Royal family and the chiefs. In relation to the system of land tenure, each rank is associated with certain responsibilities to other
ranks. Chiefs are consulted before the Minister of lands apportions a piece of land from their estates. This authority has led to the use of takitaki which has contradicted the land law. Therefore, as long as the chiefs remain virtual landlords, the commoners will always be subordinated and exploited by the chiefs because of their relation based on land, which is also well preserved in the traditional values and customs.

Over the years, the system of land tenure has preserved political ideologies in the interests of the ruling elite. The Constitution has prescribed the granting (but not selling) of tax and town allotments to the commoners from the governments estate or the chiefly estates. Even though this provision is no longer practical, the idea of entitlement to land is deeply etched in the minds of the people. This is also directly associated with the propagations of the ideology that tau'ātaina ne foaki 'ehe Tu'i ma'ae kakai (lit. emancipation was granted by the king to his people). The validity of the ideology of tau'atāina (lit. freedom) can only be observed in the limited context offered by the land tenure, where people are free by law to own their land and its product. However, in the political context, the people have very little say in political decisions. Thus, granting of land as an indication of certain freedom in relation to land has been one of the ideological cornerstones of the present political system. This has perpetuated the feeling of obligation and subordination to the political system.

Despite radical changes on the social and economic levels of Tongan society as a result of its incorporation into the international capitalist system, the land law has remained a conservative force in the movement towards political change. The pressure for political change sounds threatening to most people who have already secured a piece of land. They do not know what the future holds for land tenure, in terms of
what a democratic form of government may bring about. This was apparent in the recent election campaign in February 1993, when the chiefs used the issue of land tenure to run a scare campaign against the pro-democratic movement. According to the leader of the pro-democracy movement, 'Akilisi Pōhiva, "Nobles had meetings with people and told them not to support pro-democracy candidates. They told people that if the government changed to democracy they would lose their land" (Pacific Island Monthly, March 1993: 13). This is perhaps one of the main reasons why the government is reluctant to change some of the provisions in the land law concerning land distribution because of the cultural and emotional attachment of the people to their land.

In general, the incorporation of Tonga into the international capitalist system has been accompanied by radical change in the economic organisation and social structure of society. The economy of Tonga has been increasingly transformed into a dependent form of capitalism which generates inequality directly in opposition to the spirit of equality in the land law. Changes on the social and economic levels of society have been reflected in the transformation in the land tenure, despite the stagnancy in the land law. Some of these changes have resulted in the emergence of a new capitalist class and intellectual elite that are threatening the established ruling order. This change in the class structure has generated the movement for political change although the political system has remained relatively unchanged for over a century.
Conclusion.

This study has shown that the land tenure system developed and changed over the years along with changes in society. Since the inception of Tongan society, about 3,000 years ago, the land tenure system has been a central feature in the development of its culture, economy, social and political institutions.

In the 'ancient' or 'pre-feudal' mode of production in Tonga, the earliest system of land tenure was formed as a result of shifting from a marine-based to a land-based economy. This change in the economic base of society led to the permanent settlement of people in the inland area. This also contributed to the growing importance of land as a source of political power, economic wealth and social status. The social organisation of people on land led to the existence of a specific pattern of land ownership and land use. Thus the earliest system of land tenure was based on the association of land and titles with specific duties which were ideologically defined in the sense that these were inherent in the value and belief system in society. This partly contributed to the development of social stratification and specific patterns of power structure, used to justify the appropriation of surplus products by the non-producing class from the producing class.

The earliest system of land tenure, in which land, titles and duties were distributed among Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki, and Maui Motu'a, laid the foundation for the rise of 'Aho'eitu to power. The allocation of land and titles was no more than power distribution between these three main powerful individuals or kinship groups. 'Aho'eitu, as a direct descendant of Tangaloa, emerged to monopolise power and land when the Hikule'o and Maui lines ceased to exist. Centralisation of power proved a major political revolution in society because it marked the transformation
from a fragmented to an unified political system. This event was successfully supported by an organised system of political ideologies which reorganised the relations of people to land. One of the most common beliefs was related to the godly origin of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty which was followed by the claim that all the land was ultimately owned by him. This claim has in fact placed the Tu'i Tonga at the apex of society, thereby entitling him to all the political, economic and social rewards in society.

The development and change in the traditional polity was accompanied by a number of land reforms implemented in the political interests of the ruling class. The fairly simple socio-political structure instituted at the time of 'Aho'eitu existed relatively unchanged for about ten generations until the eleventh Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itūtūi who in 1250 introduced major reforms. Tu'itūtūi's reform to the land tenure resulted in the re-allocation of land, titles, and duties to chiefs which contributed to the development of a feudal mode of production in Tonga. Land was allocated by the chiefs to the commoners in exchange for their allegiance and payment of feudal rent in the form of tribute.

Tu'itūtūi's land reform consolidated his power on the local political scene, and moreover, expanded his political influence beyond Tonga. The expansion of the Tu'i Tonga's power has led to the development of the Tu'i Tonga Maritime Empire. But the tyrant rule of the Tu'i Tonga was often met with great resistance and even ended up with successive assassinations of a number of Tu'i Tongas. The assassination of the 23rd Tu'i Tonga, Takalaua, in about 1450, led his son, Kau'ulufonua, who later became the 24th Tu'i Tonga, to introduce major social reforms in society. These included the creation of the second dynasty, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Kau'ulufonua's social reform rearranged the structure of power in the centre in order to accommodate the changes on the periphery. Governors
were sent from the centre on special assignments to maintain the flow of socio-economic support from the periphery to the centre. The imperial activities of the Tu'i Tonga created a slave mode of production to co-exist with a feudal mode. Slaves with different professions were brought to Tonga from the peripheral colonies to work for the Tu'i Tonga and the chiefs. The decline of the Tu'i Tonga Maritime Empire weakened the slave mode of production while the feudal mode of production continued to exist.

The feudal mode of production in Tonga was characterised by the existence of a rigid hierarchical social and political structure. This was further indicated by the relations of production and exchange between the chiefs non-producers and the commoners-producers. The allocation of landed-estates and titles to chiefs, which further sub-divided into 'api or households within the lineage (ha'a), further showed the decentralisation of power. Chiefs gained their powers by controlling and organising their kāringa (lit. relatives, people resided in an estate) for social production. Commoners possessed land but because of the obligation tied to land, they were forced to cultivate their land against their will. The fusion of economic and political power at the point of production was a necessary condition for the application of extra-economic coercion to appropriate surplus labour. The feudal relations of production began to break down as a result of capitalist penetration via contact with the European culture.

Contact with the West in the 18th century brought about a number of radical changes into the Tongan social formation. Civil war occurred between 1799 and 1852, and was followed by major social reform in society led by Tāufa'ahau. The reform resulted in the overthrow of the traditional social and political order and established a constitutional monarchical government. The process of reform emancipated the commoners from
forced labour. However, the re-establishment of chiefs in the Constitution as nobility resulted in the continual existence of customary and feudal obligation though they were legally banned. Although the Constitution has reduced the traditional power of the chiefs, the fact that they are being consulted prior to any allocation of land in the said estate means that chiefs are still in the position to manipulate and exploit the commoners for their personal advantages.

The freeing of commoners from forced labour also meant that they were free labourers which was seemingly conducive to the development of capitalism in Tonga. However, the land reform blocked the existence of free labourers without the means of production and ready to sell their labour power for livelihood. The enactment of the land law has retarded the development of a capitalist mode of production by securing tax allotments for the commoners subsistence needs. Nevertheless, the land reform seemed to be ideal for the development of petty commodity agricultural production. This means that individual land holders were free to cultivate their land for cash income in order to buy the goods and services that they could not produce.

Phase II (1890s-1960s), which was associated with the rule of King Tāufa'āhau Tupou II and Queen Sālote Tupou III, was characterised by mixed reactions and emotions toward foreigners. This led to the emphasis on traditional values, custom, and kinship system. Such a move reinforced and consolidated the social and political structures that were instituted in Tāufa'āhau's reform. At the same time, the land law was formally enacted and expanded on to accommodate economic change in society. The emphasis on tradition consolidated the traditional value of land, and reinforced the emotional attachment of people to land as an unique source of cultural identity.
The rise of the present King, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV to the throne in 1965 resulted in the incorporation of Tonga into the international capitalist system. The increasing contact with the outside world has resulted in the increasing reliance on foreign currencies. It has also transformed Tonga into a market economy society which has increasingly attracted more farmers to cultivate their land primarily for selling in the domestic and/or international markets. This has reinforced the penetration of the capitalist mode of production, but structured in the form of dependency on the outside world. Thus, the transition to a dependent capitalist mode of production is indicated by the orientation of the agricultural productive system towards exports.

The transformation in the mode of production has subsequently changed the way people value and use their land. The increasing monetisation of the economy has weakened the traditional and cultural significance of land, and raised its economic value. Population growth has put tremendous pressure on the limited size of land. Statistical figures show that there are more eligible persons without land than those with land. The scarcity of vacant land compounded by the increased demands for land has led to selling of land on the black market, though selling of land is still strictly banned by law. This indicates a growing separation between the land law and the land tenure. The land tenure system, that is, the actual relationships of people with land, has been transformed alongside the changing circumstances in society. This has created a contradiction between the land law, which is based on the ideal of equality, and the present land tenure that demonstrates inequality imposed by the international capitalist system.
FIGURE 2: THE THREE KINGLY LINES.

TU'I TONGA
TU'I HA'ATAKALAUA
TU'I KANOKUPOLU

Appendix A.


Schedule 1 (Section 9): Hereditary Estates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Estates (Tofi’a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tungi</td>
<td>Mu’a but not include Havelu, Fatumu and Lavengatonga but it shall include Ha’atakalaua to Fua’amotu also that part of Navutoka that was divided by Malupo and Toi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kalaniuvalu</td>
<td>Lapaha, Hoi, Nukuleka and Makaunga (but not include Ha’amene’uli) Hamula and Toloa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tu’iPelehake</td>
<td>Pelehake and Ha’atalafale in Ha’apai and Ha’atalafale in Vava’u.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Niukapu</td>
<td>Fangale'ounga in Ha’apai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ma’afu</td>
<td>The landward side of Tokomololo and Vaini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lavaka</td>
<td>Fualu and Pea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Fielakepa</td>
<td>Havelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. ‘Ulukālala</td>
<td>Hihofo in Vava’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Tu’iHa’ateiho</td>
<td>Tungua, Matuku, Ha’ateiho in Tongatapu but not including Manamo’ui, Ha’ateiho in Ha’apai, Ha’ateiho in Vava’u, Vaikeli in Tongatapu and the town allotment of Fine’ehe in Pangai Ha’apai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Tu’iHa’angana</td>
<td>Ha’ano, Pukotala and Muitoa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Mā’atu</td>
<td>Vaipoa and Hihiho but not to include Falehau and Matavai and Tafahi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17. Luani
Nakolo, Malapo and Fetoa in Tongatapu, Tefisi in Vava’u.

18. Tu’iLakepa
Talasiu, Ofu, Okoa and Vasivasi.

19. Tu’i’āfitu
Makave, Holopeka in Ha’apai, and Fonoifua.

20. Vaea
Houma.

21. Fakafanua
Ma’ufanga, Faleloa and Nga’akau.

22. Vaha’i
Fo’ui and Ta’anea.

23. Tu’ivakanō
Nukunuku, Matafonua, Vaotu’u, Matahau.

24. ‘Ahome’e
Ha’avakatolo and ‘Utui.

25. Fulivai
Hunga, Fangalepa and Loto’uiha.

26. Fakatulolo
Falevai.

27. Tangipā
Māhinafekite in Niua.

28. Fusitu’a
Faletanu and eastern side of ‘Angaha and Ma’ofanga in Niua.

29. Tuita
‘Utungake and Ha’afakahenga and Futu in Niuafo’ou.

30. Fohe
Puke.

31. Motu’apuaka
Te’ekiu and Ha’afo’olau.

32. Lauaki
Talafo’ou and Masialmea in Vava’u.

33. Afu
Ha’alaufuli.

34. Fotu
Leimātu’a.

35. Tu’uhetoka
Ha’afeva.

36. ‘Akau’ola
Taunga.

37. Lasike.

38. Veikune
Heir Apparent

‘Utulau and all parts belonging to it in Tongatapu. Nomuka with Nomukeiki and Longofanga with Niniva in Ha’apai. Taoa and all parts belonging to it in Vava’u.

Schedule II (Section 10): Royal Estates.

Tongatapu and ‘Eua.

Ha’apai.

Vava’u.

Niutoputapu.
Falehau.

Niuafo’ou.
Mata’aho.

Schedule III (Section 10): Royal Family Estates.

Tongatapu and ‘Eua.

Ha’apai.

Vava’u.
Havelu, Loto’ā.
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