TO BEAT OR NOT TO BEAT, THAT IS THE QUESTION: A STUDY ON ACCULTURATION AND CHANGE IN AN ART-MAKING PROCESS AND ITS RELATION TO GENDER STRUCTURES

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Prologue

In the summer of 1985 I was sitting in a small, barnlike structure with a group of Tongan women who were making a large piece of tapa cloth. I often sat with this group of women, and as I had just returned to Nuku'alofa it was a nice way to say hello and let them know I was back for a while. It was a pleasant day, the women chatted and laughed, and in the background I could hear the distant, melodious sound of a woman beating tapa and another responding in a sort of counter-rhythm. I turned to Louisa and commented on the pleasing sound. Her reply stunned me. She told me that one of my countrymen had invented a tapa-beating machine. I was appalled by my immediate negative response to such a device. This sparked my interest in surveying the general reactions of women (and some men) in Nuku'alofa, the capital of Tonga, and led to this study on acculturation and change in an art-making process and its relation to gender structures.

The making of art objects, as a process, is a fascinating vehicle for exploring certain veiled aspects of acculturation and how it can affect symbolic meanings, gender structures, and production decisions as well as economic, social, and cultural factors.

Had I not been in Tonga, I might have viewed the introduction of a tapa machine as a modern "evolutionary" transition and dismissed it

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from my thoughts. After all, the machine streamlines production, in this case without significantly changing the actual medium or altering the final art object's contextual uses. In this reading the art form fits into Graburn's heuristic classification of "functional traditional": It is a modern day continuation of a traditional art form that has been modified by the presence of new tools and technology and adapted to the cultural needs of that generation (1984:396-397).

In pursuing the implications of this invention, I have come to realize that most publications on the acculturated arts of small-scale societies tend to be object oriented, centering on changes in form, style, aesthetics, and use. Contextualized sociocultural information detailing concomitant alterations in the artistic process is lacking (Graburn 1984). This article will examine the different social and symbolic actions connected with the tapa-beating process, tutu, to bring into focus the manifold issues that arise with the adoption of a machine that replaces a traditional process.

As interesting and complex is the tacit division of the artistic process by gender and rank. Acculturation is not passive, nor should it be viewed as a detrimental form of assimilation. The participants, here artists, have an active choice whether to accept or reject an alien technology, medium, or style. However, few studies on acculturation fully address the changes that may occur when the introduced technique or medium is gender (or class) specific. Furthermore, this study will illustrate how alien tools or technology are more disposed to acculturation if they follow the indigenous culture's gender-specific divisions of labor. For instance, in Tonga as well as in most Pacific societies, when alien metal tools were introduced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they fell in alignment with indigenous art-making ideologies and were adopted exclusively for use by men.[1] The introduction of quilting by missionary wives fell in alignment with tapa making in Hawai'i, the Cook Islands, and the Society Islands and was primarily adopted for use by women. Tongan women, as will be discussed, basically rejected quilting; it did not become a popular acculturative art form as in the other island cultures.

Focusing our attention on the artistic process and medium can further provide new data for gender-specific studies (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974; Ortner 1981; James 1983; Schneider and Weiner 1986; Gailey 1987a, 1987b). In a materialist view, a deviation from the gender-specific art process or medium should reflect a change in gender structure that correlates with social reforms in a man's or woman's basic nature, status, and achievement. This in turn is linked to further ideo-

logical changes taking place in the culture. If, for example, Tongan women began carving tapa mallets, this could indicate that the culture was undergoing some dramatic social changes in gender ideology.

By placing a primary emphasis on the object's formal and aesthetic sources and its intended market, as Graburn proposes (1984:397), it is easy to lose sight of the subtle complexities and cultural dynamics manifested in the art-making process. My intent is not to criticize the studies on acculturated art forms; however, these seminal works do not in general completely address unseen sociocultural meanings embedded in the art process that technical changes can alter or eliminate (Graburn 1976, 1984; Jules-Rosette 1984; Kirch 1984). Furthermore, it is important to realize that any form of change is germane-be it in style, form, aesthetics, or medium-and has a kinetic relation to the artistic process.

Studies on acculturation and change in the contemporary arts of small-scale societies are often linked with the rise of tourism as a source of national income (Graburn 1976; Jules-Rosette 1984). Tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in Tonga. In 1958, "1,715 individuals arrived on three cruise ships, with an additional 64 passengers arriving by air" (Kirch 1984:71). In 1969, the first hotel was built and tourism emerged as a potential source of income. The selling or trading of indigenously made "functional traditional arts" to European travelers had its beginning some two hundred years ago, "but its acceptance as a legitimate income generating strategy has been slow to materialize" (Kirch 1984: 109). Within the contemporary context of "functional traditional" tourist art, we will explore the marketing potential of tapa products and analyze how the machine was perceived as one way of helping achieve tapa's income potential.

The more I became involved in the issue, to beat or not to beat, the more I found that my questions and interest involved me directly, and though I tried to remain impartial and hide my initial reaction, in time I felt like a chameleon changing colors, clearly seeing and agreeing with the different positions people took in this situation. Therefore I have tried to write my analysis in a reflexive style, combining personal narrative with descriptive ethnographic accounts, recognizing that I bring to it my background as an art historian (see Clifford 1986, 1988:215-251).

The Making of Tapa Cloth

Decorated tapa cloth *(ngatu)* and its process of manufacture still belong under the exclusive hegemony of Tongan women. Tapa cloth has lost its utilitarian and religious functions, being surplanted by Western goods

and Christianity, but it is produced for ceremonial use and as acculturated art for tourist consumption (see Tamahori 1963; Kooijman 1972, 1973:97-112, 1988; Teilhet 1974; Kaeppler 1978a: 174-193).

Tapa cloth is made from the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree *(hiapo, Broussonetia papyrifera).* Currently, the process has three essential stages. Tutu is considered the most physically arduous. In this stage the previously soaked inner bark, which is about two inches wide by several feet in length, is placed on a wooden anvil *(tutua)* and beaten with a heavy, four-sided mallet *(ike)* to produce small felted pieces. These pieces retain their length but now average eighteen to twenty inches in width and are called *feta'aki.*[2] Tutu can be done by one or more people. A strong beater might felt together twenty-five to thirty yards of *feta'aki* in a full eight-hour day. The sheets of *feta'aki* are sun dried and then stored.

Koka'anga is the process of piecing together the *feta'aki* to form a long sheet, which is then placed over a low, half-cylinder-shaped table (papa *koka'anga)* on which are fastened pattern boards *(kupesi).* The underlying designs are rubbed visible with a dye from the *koka* tree *(Bischofia javanica).* The entire process requires a communal effort of ten to sixteen women who belong to a women's cooperative *(kautaha).* They will spend the entire day making one or two *ngatu* (patterned tapa cloths), each averaging between thirty-five to fifty feet in length.

The final stage, *tohi ngatu,* the outlining of the *kupesi* pattern, is the responsibility of the maker-owner of the piece and usually executed by a few women friends at a later time (Tamahori 1963:37-41, 90-95, lll-114; Teilhet 1974; Kaeppler 1978a:264-265).

This paper is only concerned with the first stage, the tutu process, which had remained virtually unchanged from at least the time of contact until Geoffery Houghland, a former Peace Corps volunteer who served in Tonga, returned in the early 1980s with a prototype for a tapa-beating machine (Martin 1981:365). He felt that "the beating of tapa was no longer a traditional act" and that the "noisy process was the most time consuming and physically demanding aspect of manufacturing tapa cloth" (Houghland, pers. com., July 1985).

Houghland invented a simple, quiet machine that works like a wringer or toothed mangle. After soaking, the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree is first run through the teeth of a roller on the diagonal, breaking down the fibers. Thereafter the bark cloth is run straight through several times and, as the cloth widens, it is continuously folded for strength. When the desired width is reached, the *feta'aki* is hung up to dry. The machine takes less than five minutes to produce a *feta'aki,* a

savings of twenty to thirty-five minutes (Houghland, pers. com., July 1985; personal observations of the machine and women at work, July 1985, April 1987, June 1988). Subsequent machines were reduced in scale to make them more portable. The size and shape of the roller's teeth were refined to prevent them from tearing the cloth.

Houghland rightfully boasted that the finished product was indistinguishable from hand-beaten *feta'aki* once it had been ironed or beaten for a few minutes with the smooth side of a mallet. It seems that his decision to make a tapa machine was predicated on the fact that he had the technical solution to a tiresome artistic process that seemingly had no cultural relevance or symbolic meaning. The machines sold for approximately US$400. Expense, though an issue, is not the sole reason few machines were sold and are operating.[3]

The Issue: To Beat or Not to Beat

The question is, to beat or not to beat? This issue concerns alternative perspectives on how the *tutu* process is perceived by different social worlds and how they try to resolve the anomaly (see Becker 1974, 1976 for his use of social worlds). Houghland represents the etic view of the outsider: His is the social world of the egalitarian entrepreneur who comes from America and operates on the assumption that Tongan women who make tapa have acquiesced to a changing Pacific and that the production of their artistic heritage, tapa, is open to acculturation and modernization. Visiting tourists and commercial dealers who buy the finished tapa product as authentic "handmade" souvenirs complete this etic view.

The chiefly ranks and the commoners represent the manifold emic views. Tapa plays an integral part in the matrix of their society. Tonga is a constitutional monarchy that still maintains principles of social status and societal rank based on primogeniture, genealogy, purity of descent line, and complex exchange structures. Commoners *(tu'a),* though emancipated from forced labor in 1862, are still differentiated within society from the chiefly ranks *('eiki),* as are all societal rankings and groupings differentiated from each other by systems of exchange and dichotomous hierarchies (see Kaeppler 1971; Rogers 1977; Biersack 1982). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that all societal ranks participate in a form of status rivalry: "persons compete assertively to dominate or elevate themselves above each other (with public approval or acquiescence) and at the same time are privately wary of attracting attention or of becoming overly involved in any situation or rela-

tionship, preferring instead spectator or humble positions" (Marcus 1978a:242).

Tapa's Cultural Relevance, Especially for Women

Though Houghland represents the etic view, he is cognizant that the finished tapa has maintained a relevance to the culture, especially for women. It is a necessary valuable *(koloa)* that must be presented at all life-crisis occasions and status-raising or status-affirming ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, births, and graduations and as presents to "chiefly" dancers. In a curious way, tapa and fine mats are of greater national importance today than, perhaps, in ancient times. They are, in a ceremonial context (along with formal kava bowls), the last vestiges of a plastic heritage that publicly reinforce and legitimize the dominant principles of societal rank and social status.

Furthermore, I would hypothesize that tapa is used in many public ceremonies to reinforce the superiority of the female status, particularly in the role of sister. In the Tongan descent system, sisters outrank brothers whereas the father's side outranks the mother's, giving the father's eldest sister *(mehekitanga)* and her children the highest rank (see Goldman 1970; Rogers 1977; Marcus 1978a, 1978b; Bott 1981; Biersack 1982; James 1983, 1988). This notion of women's abstract honors and sacred superiority is reflected in their obligatory displays, recycling, and ownership of *ngatu* and may be an important factor in understanding why quilting was not adopted as a likely surrogate for tapa cloth as it was on other Polynesian islands.

Tapa is always given by women who, in some sense, bask in reflected honor by sharing center stage with those women (and men) being singled out as the higher-status recipients of that occasion. In this view the continued sociocultural importance of *ngatu* rests more on the sustained importance of the woman's social status as sister, hence giver or receiver, than on the importance of marking societal rank. The importance of tapa argues in favor of James's statement "that sisters' roles in Tonga have by no means been eroded although they may face new constraints, and that, in some institutional sectors at least, women's status may have improved" (1983:235). In addition, the highly charged, often theatrical, presentation of tapa is an interesting form of female status rivalry that Marcus seems to overlook (1978a). And even to this day, one certain way of measuring a woman's individual wealth and status mobility is by the amount of *ngatu* she stockpiles.

Artistic Divisions of Labor by Gender, Rank, and Status

Tonga still maintains a strict gender division of artistic labor. Women are usually associated with goods made from soft materials that center on the home. Many of these soft materials are considered *koloa,* valuables of ceremonial significance (pers. com. with Tupou Posesi Fanua, June 1983, and Futa Helu, June 1985; James 1988:33-34; Cowling n. d.). Tools, technology, and more physically demanding labors (called *ngaue)* are mainly associated with works outside the house produced by men from hard and soft materials that center on the plantation (Teilhet 1978; Gailey 1987b:97-101). "In Tonga there is still the notion that everything outside the house belongs to the male province. Everything inside the house, mats and tapa, is the women's province" (Okusitino Mahina, pers. com., July 1988). However, it is not unusual for men's works, such as an old kava bowl, to be considered *koloa.*[4]

The recent reevaluation of soft materials, cloth in particular, and their relationship with women has shown that these objects, though reflective of "the home," are sometimes used in a sacred, religiopolitical context (Kaeppler 1978a; Gailey 1980, 1987a, 1987b; Hammond 1986; Weiner 1987; James 1988; Weiner and Schneider 1989; Berlo n.d.). However, in their zeal to reexamine and correct the litany, these studies tend to overlook the role of the berdache or effeminate male as well as the collaborative and perhaps controlling role that men play as providers of women's tools, technology, and, in some cases, media.

Men grow the *hiapo* used to make tapa but would never make tapa. Sometimes "the boys might help beat the tapa because they are strong, but they are ashamed to do that. They are called sissies, *fakaleiti"* (like a lady) (Toupou Tonga, pers. com., July 1988; on *fakaleiti* see Cowling 1986; James 1983:240-241). Social sex roles and gender identity are highly correlated. If women worked with hard material (which by implication requires more physically powerful labor), this would be a role reversal and could be considered as a sign of masculinity or a form of transvestism, rather than an indication of modernity or women's liberation (Teilhet-Fisk 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987) .[5]

Men make the mallets and anvils, thereby controlling the tools, technology, and (functional) process of beating tapa. Whether intentional or not, this safeguards the hard materials for their own use (see Teilhet 1978; Teilhet-Fisk 1983). It seems likely that Tongan society constructed, before Western contact, art-making ideologies that were aligned with their gender-based divisions of labor. These ideologies

were a paradigm of an ideal social construction where gender (and class) lines were rarely crossed, a fabrication that remains artistically intact today. For example, some men carve tourist objects and women can help, but only by sanding the finished product, as carving is a hard medium that utilizes tools (pers. com. with male carvers Mone Vai, November 1983; Timote Tukutukunga, July 1985; Fatua Vakamilalo, April 1987; and with the wife of a carver, Sesalina Mau, April 1987). At this time it is still difficult for cultures like Tonga to assimilate gender-specific art technologies and media that do not conform to their pre-Christian art-making ideologies.

The tapa-beating machine is an example of this conflict. It is a male technology, introduced by an outsider for use in a female process. The art process and medium act as a kind of external control that defines the limits of proper gender behavioral roles. James suggests that in former times manhood in Tonga was associated with warfare, voyaging, gardening, and, I will add, artistry (1983:241). Even though these notions have dramatically changed through Western contact and Christianity, James fails to indicate that contemporary tools and technology (once linked with weapons) are still correlated with manhood and fall accordingly into the males' perception of their behavioral role (1983:240-241).

Pursuing this gender-based approach I questioned why the men, who are interested in and metaphorically associated with tools and technology, had not built a tapa-beating machine for the women.[6] I discovered that "Tongan men don't think about women's things" (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., July 1985). One Tongan man reiterated what other men had indirectly expressed by saying that he didn't care about the tapa-beating machine, in fact he didn't care about tapa! "My wife cares about tapa. It is she that has to worry about the tapa because it is not going to shame me if we don't have any tapa on that particular occasion" (Drew Havea, pers. com., April 1987). A woman with a university degree responded, "Men wouldn't think of beating tapa as drudgery. In fact, a lot of our more modern men would be pleased if women used the machine because that would mean women would have more time for doing something else. You would be amazed at how many women get out of doing other things by saying that they have to beat tapa or work on the *koka'anga"* (Lata Soakai, pers. com., July 1988). These unexpected responses suggest that women, rather than crossing the gender division of labor and proper social behavior, initiate the request or barter for male tools that become feminized through association with women.

The sexual division of labor is so deeply ensconced within the social

order that no one questions it (Leibowitz 1986:43-75). Therefore it seems that a tapa-beating machine could only have been introduced by an outsider who was unaware that such a simple invention could open the proverbial Pandora's box.

Acculturation and Change: The Need for Civil Approval

It is important to realize that the effectiveness of Houghland's labor-saving device was demonstrated in a sociocultural "safe" zone, an area set aside for foreign industries. Houghland established his business, Polynesian Prints, in 1983 at the small-industries center in Ma'ofanga. Here he taught Tongan women how to machine-make *feta'aki* for his notepaper industry.

The machine needed official sanctioning by civil authorities, and to a lesser extent by Christian community groups, before it could be considered for assimilation by the populace. Graburn has suggested that these traditional arts ephemeral to a society are more receptive to acculturation and less likely to need cultural approval (1969). Tapa, however, is not an ephemeral art. To promote the machine's acceptance Houghland found an ally in Tupou Tonga.

One evening, so I was told, at a meeting held in the Catholic basilica, an older woman sat in and listened to the discussion on whether to accept the machine. After all was said and done she exclaimed, "Why not use the tapa machine?" Thereafter this woman, Topou Tonga, was credited as being the first Tongan to fully appreciate the machine's potential. She became Houghland's major champion for its adoption to replace the tutu process. Tonga's support was not surprising when you realize that she had always been an advocate for bettering women's conditions. A woman of some means and social mobility, she had married a magistrate, served as a Girl Guide commissioner, and started a family planning clinic.

Tonga told me how difficult it was to get the initial civic approval for the machine. "I went to the minister of commerce, who told me to see the secretary. The secretary told me to write the minister a letter." Armed with a petition signed by fifty women Tonga was finally allowed to demonstrate the machine. "We made some *feta'aki.* The minister said, Is that all? I said yes. You bring in all sorts of machines for digging, for everything, but there is no help for us women. No machines for us. He said well, I don't know, but the other men said we will lose our customs. Once we have tapa-beating machines the girls won't know the old way. They will rely on the machines. Anyway I thought that was that

and didn't take any notice. Later the minister called me up and said, 'Mrs. Tonga, I will approve your petition' " (pers. com., July 1985, May 1987, July 1988) .[7] Having gained civil (and church) approval to use the machine, Houghland and Tonga set out to convince the populace of its merits.

Divided Opinions from the People of Nuku'alofa

I asked Tevita 'Alamoti Taumoepeau, an authority on traditional Tongan customs, his opinion on the tapa-beating machine. He had been living in Hawai'i and was stunned to hear about the invention. "Although change is inevitable, I am concerned that following generations might not know that tapa was beaten. I am for the preservation of the original, the traditional" (pers. com., with translation assistance from Mele Taumoepeau and 'Afuha'amango Taumoepeau, July 1988). 'Alamoti Taumoepeau's concern is justified: Western Polynesia is the only place where tapa is made and presently Fiji and Western Samoa rely on Tonga for the large pieces of ceremonial tapa. In the rest of Polynesia the making of tapa cloth was replaced by quilting-a gender-specific female product that came to embody many of the cultural values and symbolic meanings inherent in tapa (see Hammond 1986 for an overview). The only beating that is now heard in Hawai'i, the Society Islands, or the Cook Islands comes from "living" museum programs that reconstruct traditional art forms.

Papiloa Foliaki, a person of economic means, social status, and accomplishments, was the only woman elected to Parliament from 1978 to 1981. She supports women's rights like Tonga, but opposes the tapa-beating machine because she "believes that the traditional system requires carefully planned and gradually implemented modifications" pers. com., July 1985; reaffirmed July 1988). She considers herself a "traditionalist" even though she is a very successful wage-earning business woman (Foliaki, pers. com., July 1988).

Drew Havea, who was educated in an American university, cautioned me on my use of this term. "It is difficult to label Tongans as traditionalist or progressive. This is a recent thing. We talk about dividing ourselves into traditionalists and progressivists, but it is not within our custom. We have a particular place in society and we know what we are supposed to say and when to say it; even if we think no we are supposed to say yes" (pers. com., July 1988). To suggest that Foliaki is a traditionalist and Tonga a progressivist is misleading, but on the issue of whether to beat or not to beat they stand divided and have a kind of sta-

tus rivalry regarding the relative value of such a machine. Nevertheless, Tonga has a more progressive socioeconomic attitude towards the machine. "Women don't have the leisure time to beat tapa anymore and it is too difficult for older women like me.[8] Beating causes arthritis. Besides, no one can tell if the *ngatu* was beaten by hand or wrung by the machine" (Tonga, pers. com., May 1987).

Tongans were able to resist "involvement in wage labor throughout most of the past 150 years" (Gailey 1987b:234). But currently Nuku'a-lofa suffers from overpopulation, inadequate employment, and a lack of available land for cultivation (Kirch 1984:65-69; Gailey 1987b:237-241). Women are now having to labor for wages to help pay a higher cost of living. Women who are too old, without job skills, or unable to find employment have the idle time or "leisure" to labor traditionally and make tapa. With the expansion of the tourist market both locally and abroad, tapa is becoming an acculturated business that could support wage labor. But the process is physically demanding regardless of one's age, so again we ask why these women continue to beat, especially since the tutu process is slow and the quality is not superior to that produced by the machine.

Foliaki contends that women continue to beat because "the process has therapeutic values. Beating is one of the main ways Tongan women have to get rid of their anger and frustrations" (pers. com., July 1988). This psychological interpretation may have some truth. However, Tonga counters by saying, "Papiloa doesn't have to beat tapa because she is wealthy. She doesn't realize how heavy the mallet is. It cripples the hand, causes bad backs, and the noise can cause deafness. I only beat the tapa from eight until noon, otherwise I will get sick the next day. I have to lie down after twelve to get my strength again" (pers. com., July 1985).

Foliaki acknowledges that people of wealth, status, or rank do not have to beat tapa (pers. com., July 1985). Before emancipation all decorated *ngatu* was owned and its production controlled by the chiefly wives.[9] After emancipation commoners were allowed to make and regulate tapa for their own use, but their affiliate women's cooperatives must still supply the chiefly classes when asked (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., July 1985).[10]

It is evident from the comments elicited from Foliaki and Tonga that the issue of beating or not beating also impinges on the different positions women hold in Tongan social strata. An artistic division of labor distinguishes the chiefly classes from the commoners. Women of noble or chiefly status would beat only to gain knowledge of the process.

Commoner women with "chiefly" powers such as the *mehekitanga* (father's sister) would relegate this work to female relatives who are under obligation to them (see Rogers 1977 and Biersack 1982 for an overview). Commoner women with economic wealth would buy *feta'aki* in the market. These differentiations in the status of women can also be affected by their husbands position, their position as "daughters" of their father's sister, or their education and employment opportunities.

Kaeppler demonstrates how the three essential stages of making tapa have underlying structures that correspond to social organization. In her seminal analysis, the beating process is linked to the commoners' social domain (Kaeppler 1978a:267). Therefore, it would be appropriate to further suggest that performing the tutu process publicly validates, for all to hear, a woman's common status. Today, it especially announces the fact that these women are usually poor and lacking social status (as based on a survey of twelve women who were beating tapa in 1988). They are not ashamed *(mā)* to be beating, for it is considered a proper activity befitting their present social position. At the same time it is not an activity that will increase their social mobility." But for "Limulaki" and "Maria," who lack any social status per se, beating tapa provides a new means of generating a small income. Their *feta'aki* is sold in the market by a vendor. They agree "it's hard work" (pers. com., July 1985). When the right arm tires they beat with the left. [12]

In addition to interviewing Tongans from different social groups, I randomly questioned twelve women from various districts of Nuku'alofa about the process while they were beating tapa (June and July, 1988). It appears that these women continue to beat for the following reasons: Two did not have access to a machine in their district, two could not afford the nominal usage charge, three had never heard about the machine, and the remaining five said they prefer beating.

Building on the works of Levy (1973:326-356), Marcus (1978a), and James (1983), I suggest that the art process and medium can also act as an external control that helps define the acceptable (steady-state) cultural limitations of a gender's social behavior. For example, implicit in some of the responses solicited from the tapa-beating women was their feeling that it might be socially inappropriate for them to use a tapa-beating machine. The employment of such a machine could be viewed by other Tongans as exceeding the behavioral norm of their social status and gender. The fear of being publicly ridiculed or embarrassed for working with an alien technology or unwarrantedly elevating themselves seemed to curtail their interest. Older women of high social

standing, like Tupou Tonga, would not be ridiculed. On the contrary, ownership and usage of the machine could add to Tonga's relative social standing, if and when the machine was fully accepted.

In analyzing the responses from both genders, it is evident that women continue to beat for reasons that vary according to the subject's gender, age, rank, and social status. Overall, most Tongans interviewed are reluctant to give up the tutu process because of its personal association with their past. Tutu is a symbolic referent to the way their grandmothers, mothers, or "aunties" made tapa. In this context, the process is thought of in terms of its historical depth and connected with aesthetic socialization and tradition for tradition's sake. Tutu produces an affective response that is associated with femaleness and female artistic heritage, making it less open to acculturation or radical change, especially when the alien technology tries to prematurely cross the gender line.

The introduction of a machine into an exclusively female field, however, also opens the door to gender equality in labor issues. "After all," Tonga exclaimed, "men have access to all types of machines to help them with their work' (pers. com., July 1985, 1987). Those women who advocate use of the machine greet it as a device liberating them from hours of labor. Other women are critical of the tutu process because they feel that it publicly reinforces their commoner status. Nowadays, within the social matrix of a commoner, "beating is often a sign of being under obligation, poor, or lacking job skills. If you have money you will pay someone to beat tapa" (Limu Havea, pers. com., May 1987). But whether one beats or not, most women are predisposed to maintaining the ceremonial tradition of tapa as it visually substantiates their preeminent position as women, particularly as sisters.

The Machine's Impact on Ethnovalues and Symbolic Scale

I asked if the machine would change their standards of ethnovalue and lessen the tapa cloth's contextual use and symbolism within the culture. A similar analogy can be drawn between hand-sewn and machine-made quilts. According to Hammond, in contemporary Polynesia hand-made quilts have greater ethnovalue and symbolic meaning because of the care, time, and individual quilting skill expended by the maker (1986:4, 15, 21-22). And, I would suggest that the hand-sewing process, like beating, is associated with an acceptable gender division of labor, aesthetic socialization, and nostalgia for the past. Sewing machines, however, are finally becoming more acceptable and gaining in popularity, a reflection of a changing (more practical) era where

decreased work time accommodates a cash economy and foreign market (Hammond 1986:4,22).

Most Tongans interviewed agreed that beaten tapa has more symbolic value. But many, such as Lata Soakai, do not believe that the machine will affect tapa's overall ethnovalue. The tapa machine has no effect on the quality of the medium or its artistic principles (whereas the sewing machine does affect quilt quality because artistic principles and aesthetic merit are conjoined with the process and maker). Furthermore, in contemporary Tonga tapa's value is based on the age of a product, its contextualization, and the prestigious rank or status of its owner or past owners-not on the individual makers (Gailey 1987b:112-118; James 1988:34-35; pers. com., with the Honorable Ve'ehala, July 1985; Helu, November 1983, July 1985; 'Alamoti, 'Afuha'amango, and Mele Taumoepeau, July 1988). Size, artistic embellishments, and skill determine its aesthetic worth (pers. com. with Helu, November 1983; 'Alamoti, 'Afuha'amango, and Mele Taumoepeau, July 1988).

However, the machine could impact aesthetic appreciation for tapa's scale. A tapa's immense size is noted with a kind of reverence and spoken of metaphorically as having chiefly status; it is *'eiki.* In former times the longer the tapa, the more powerful the chiefly wife because length symbolized hours of woman-power subjugated to make such a tapa. The continuous, repetitive patterns are meant to be viewed from a distance and to heighten the appearance of length as a thirty-five- to seventy-foot tapa oscillates and trembles in the hands of the women presenting it in a ceremonial context. Tapa's two-dimensional medium is transposed into a floating three-dimensional sculpture, a kind of performance piece that is meant to be experienced in its entirety. Now, the emotional response *(mafana)* Tongans experience in the performative mode from such an immense piece of tapa could change dramatically if it was machine made.

Houghland has defended his machine by saying that if nothing else, it would easily accommodate the tourist market that places a different emphasis on tapa's value and meaning (pers. com., July 1985). To begin with, tourists do not want large pieces of tapa, for they are too difficult to transport and display. Tourists prefer small pieces to use as place mats, wall hangings, purses, or notepaper.[13] Here, new aesthetic principles take precedence over size and the machine obliges the market. Or does it? Houghland printed on the back of his note cards: "The front of this card is genuine Tapa cloth." The description goes on to explain the cultural importance of tapa cloth and the "traditional" beating process of manufacture, blatantly implying that his cards are traditionally

beaten by a "mallet until the strips are paper thin. . . . Polynesian Prints is proud to offer you these attractive genuine hand-made Tapa cloth cards." It is an interesting contradiction of terms-Houghland sold machine-beaten tapa that purported to be handmade.

The *Tutu* and *Tutua:* Symbolic Meanings and Tonal Qualities

Finally, there is yet another view that argues against using a tapa-beating machine. This view emphasizes the nonprocedural, nonfunctional aspect of the process, typified by cultural and symbolic meanings apparent in producing the tonal sounds that are an inseparable part of the tutu process but have a role beyond the mere making of *feta'aki.* Indicative of this role is the fact that the only stage of making tapa that can be done year-round with or without the help of other women is the tutu process. The medium is easily stored and the process is not affected by weather.

Tutu is the heartbeat of Tonga. It stops only when a person in the village has died (pers. com. with Posesi Fanua, June 1985; Foliaki, July 1988). The silence announces death and with it the period of mourning, which can last from three days to three months depending upon the deceased's rank. The silence sets the ritual stage by framing the action and focusing one's attention on death and obligations to the deceased and especially to the deceased's kin. "Frequent deaths within the same area or same noble family sometimes cause hardships to the non-ranking members of that social group and the villages concerned, in that their *ngatu* stores become depleted" (Tamahori 1963: 127).

Tutu is the only Tongan art process that must stop when death occurs in a village. My research shows that all other crafts may continue, even construction work, so this is not just a ban against loud noise per se, but the particular symbolic noise of the tutu. This conceptual differentiation of noise points to the symbolic significance of the tutu. Furthermore, the interruption of this process by death can cause a major depletion in tapa stores, creating an additional hardship on women and their (status rivalrous) participation in the complex gift-exchanges. Tonga told me that she had not made any tapa since her husband died. "It's been over a year. But," she smiled, "I could make tapa with the machine because it doesn't make any noise" (pers. com., July 1988).

To announce the lifting of a tabu imposed on the village by the death of a chief or noble, the *tutua* is beaten with a mallet by a ceremonially high-ranking female *(fahu),* who may be accompanied by two other women (Rogers 1977: 167; Kaeppler 1978b: 193; Biersack 1982: 188).

This ritual, called *tukipotu,* has an underlying sacred aspect marked by the fact that the process is conceptually different-it is not purposeful to making *feta'aki* - and it must be performed by the *fahu* (see Kaeppler 1978b:193; Teilhet 1990:224 on the significance of *tukipotu).* The sanctity of the act is underscored by the *fahu's* sacredness. Her participation takes it out of the secular realm of ordinary women and common labor, for under normal circumstances a *fahu* would never beat the *tutua;* it would be beneath her sacred status.

Older people do not always like the sound of the tutu. "That sound worries you when you hear it and when you're sick you can't go to sleep with that sound. It seems that you get more sick by hearing that beating from next door. When we have a funeral you are not allowed to beat the *tutua"* (Tonga, in discussion with some older women in her *kautaha,* July 1985). The beating of the *tutua* seems to remind the sick and the elderly of their vulnerability. The only complaints that I heard were generated in this context. Most Tongans of both genders like hearing the *tutu.*

Beating a Rhythm: Playing the Tutua

The late Ve'ehala and the founder and headmaster of 'Atenisi school, Futa Helu, both eminent authorities on Tongan culture, agreed that women "play" the anvil. Women often sit two or three to a *tutua* and consciously set up counterrhythms to pass the time more pleasantly (pers. com. with the Honorable Ve'ehala, June 1985; Helu, June 1985). Helu expressed concern that the beating machine would take the melody away. Mariner writes about the beating having "a very pleasing effect; some sounds being near at hand, and others almost lost by distance; some a little more acute, others more grave, and all with remarkable regularity, produce a musical variety that is very agreeable, and not a little heightened by the singing of the birds, and the cheerful influence of the scene" (Martin 1981, 2:365).

While working on issues concerning gender division of labor, I asked if women ever played the Tongan drums called *nafa* or *lali,* knowing full well that women rarely play percussion instruments in most traditional societies.[14] (In 1988, I did see a woman play the *nafa* at the dances performed in honor of the king's seventieth birthday and noted it as a mark of changes to come.) Soakai replied that "the drum is an instrument of authority that men beat to mark the tempo, not only in dance but in life as well." Tongan women, she continued, "realize that they are usually excluded from beating drums in a ritual sense, but we

control the rhythm by beating tapa. Beating a rhythm while we make *feta'aki* is one way we display our control" (Soakai, pers. com., July 1985).

Though Kooijman's study cautions against comparing the functions and techniques of tapa production in western Polynesia with those of Hawai'i and Tahiti (1973: 107), it seems obvious that these cultures shared a common interest in the tonal qualities of the beating process. The anvil used by Hawaiian women *(kua)* had a hollow longitudinal groove, was raised to get a better tone, and "for the women each *kua* had its own sound" (Kooijman 1972:105). The favorite woods were *kawa'u, na'u,* and *hualewa:* "The *kawa'u* gave forth a pleasant sound when beaten and . . . the *na'u* and *hualewa* gave out a sharp sound like the voice of the *lele* bird" (Kamakau, quoted in Buck 1964: 180). Hawaiian literature abounds with stories about women who knew the sound of the each other's anvil (see Fornander 1918-1919:494; Brigham 1911: 78; Pukui and Curtis 1951:162-167; Buck 1964: 180; Kooijman 1972: 105). Hawaiian women also used a well-understood code to signal or convey messages over a great distance (Brigham 1911:78; Buck 1964: 180). Samoans also amused themselves at work by beating out various rhythms and had signals by which they could warn one another of approaching strangers and conduct a limited conversation (Kooijman 1972:214).

Mariner reports that the Tongan anvil was raised from the ground to provide some spring from the blows of the mallet and make a more powerful and melodious sound (Mariner 1981, 2:365). Tongan women also chose certain woods for their tonal qualities (for example, *toi, Alphitonia xixyhoides; mohokoi, Canaga odorata;* or *ahi, Santalum)* and protect their anvils from the elements to prevent cracking and loss of tone (Tamahori 1963:34). 'Alamoti Taumoepeau said that "certain *tutua* were more valuable because of the tone, they even had a special name, *tutua loa.* My mother had one. She used it for beating tapa and also for lifting the funeral *tapu.* The sounds from the *tutua* were never discordant, even if four or five women were beating at the same time. The sound of the *tutua* was to create joy. The *tukipotu* was special, it sounded more like the *nafa.* The lifting of the *tapu* must be joyous" (pers. com., July 1988).

Ike

The tools of tutu-the mallet and anvil-were and still are categorized under gender divisions of labor, being made exclusively by men or

schoolboys. Men can make, introduce, and maintain tools and technology that are metaphorically associated with maleness in order to expedite or facilitate the female art process. Whereas men maintain control and management of these tools, women seem to have some decision in the wood used. It is an interesting example of collaboration carried over from former times when the chiefly classes controlled the production of *ngatu* and implies some form of reciprocal exchange, mallets (i.e., the right to command goods, secular power) perhaps for tapa (i.e., goods of secular and social or even sacred value).

Mallets are devoid of any ornamentation. The preferred wood comes from the *toa* (ironwood tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia)* (Tamahori 1963: 35). This hard wood was reserved for weapons in ancient times and the tree has always been considered sacred, though the mallet is presently considered to be a secular object.

"Nowadays, most mallets are made by schoolboys from cheap, green wood that splits and softens, making the grooves less effective" ('Alamoti Taumopeau, pers. com., July 1988). Though a link is difficult to prove, the prevalence of cheap, poorly constructed mallets made by young boys correlates with James's theory that the notion of Tongan manhood has "undergone a radical change through such processes as the cessation of warfare and a Western cultural devaluation of traditional fighting prowess, the lessened need for skills associated with long ocean voyages by canoe and the devaluation of gardening skills" (1983: 241). The abandonment of these male skills along with the decline of the professional male artisan class correlates with Tongan men's lack of interest in, but not lack of maintenance or control over, the male tools used by female artisans.

The Tongan *ike* shares a similiar shape with the *i'e kuku* from ancient Hawai'i. The Hawaiian beater, however, is distinguished by the extraordinary number and variety of grooved patterns chiseled in the mallets. There, too, the making of beaters followed gender constructions and they were made by men. However, in Hawai'i the makers were called "expert" craftsmen and the women had to "buy their beater from the experts" (Buck 1964:171). The distinction adhering to the makers is clearly evident in the extent of artistry expended on the "highly creative designs" carved into the mallets, designs mistakenly attributed to the artistry of the women who used the beaters (Cox with Davenport 1974:4-5).

Those Tongan women who spend many hours of their life beating tapa seem to develop a rapport with their tools. The anvil has a special tone or voice, but what about the mallet? 'Alamoti Taumoepeau replied

that "the mallet was almost priceless in traditional times because they were so hard to make. Normally the mallet would have been given to a young woman by her mother or auntie and may even have come from several generations before. Therefore most women would be reluctant to give up their *ike.* A woman's love, *'ofa,* for her *ike* is similiar to a man's love for his name" (pers. com., July 1988).

While researching grave art, I learned that women who died while giving birth to a healthy baby or while still nursing a child were buried with their favorite mallet. The mallet is believed to fool the spirit of the mother and keep her from coming back for the baby. "The love from the graveyard is poisonous" (Posesi Fanua, pers. com., December 1983).

Epilogue

In the summer of 1988, I returned to Tonga to interview Houghland and check the final version of this article. I could not find him and was told by a number of people that he had given up his Polynesian Prints business and after working in computers eventually returned to the States. [15]

Tapa cloth and its process of manufacture-whether by hand or machine-still belong under the hegemony of Tongan women. However, if the acculturation of this process is to work, then the responsibility has to be determined for maintaining and repairing this new cross-gender (male-oriented) technology introduced by an outsider.

The machines that I inspected in 1988 were rusting. Where are they going to get new parts and who has the initiative and money to make more machines now that Houghland has left? (Sewing machines, though more complex, have a built-in Euro-American support system, being maintained by specific machine shops or male relatives who are mechanics.) This is not women's work nor do these concerns appear to be under the direction of the *kautaha's* leaders (Tonga, pers. com., July 1988). Whether the women continue to beat or not may reside in their withdrawing from or working out a solution to these basic issues of acculturation. The gender division of labor found in the production of tapa is presently being enforced by women who really do not want any form of male intrusion in the manufacture of tapa cloth. Many of the men interviewed claim that they do not care about tapa as a cultural form, but they do see its new potential for generating a cash income.[16] But these issues are ultimately linked to a deeper set of concerns marking the culture's general attitude towards all forms of acculturation and the nature of its impact on gender structures, status, and rank.

At issue are social perspectives on what is purposeful, secular, symbolic, and culturally relevant and the attempt to reconcile these discordant views in accordance with one's gender, rank, societal status, and attitudes towards acculturation and forms of modernization.

Essential to any analysis of acculturation and change are the nonprocedural (nonfunctional) aspects of the process in question, here typified by the cultural and symbolic meanings in producing tonal sounds. These sounds have been interpreted as noise, signals, rhythmic music, joyous melodies, and the heartbeat of Tonga. Such interpretations play a key part in marking context. For example, the tutu process and its resultant sound factor has underlying ritual aspects interpreted as sacred in association with its funerary role. This role, with all its symbolic associations, becomes most evident when the tutu process is threatened by a machine that produces almost no noise at all. But, unlike its ritual role, tutu's noisy, repetitive act is purposeful in the manufacture of tapa. And it is this purposefulness divorced from its rhythmic sound that led Houghland to assume that the beating process "was a lot of loud noise that kept women from socializing" and was therefore open to acculturation without loss of contextualization (pers. com., July 1985).

Conclusion

In conclusion, studies on acculturation, change, and tourist arts tend to overlook the social and symbolic actions embodied in the art-making process. The introduction of a tapa-beating machine allowed me to analyze in a single framework the various sociocultural actions that would be lost or radically changed if the tutu process became acculturated. Placing an emphasis on the process and medium over the object's formal qualities contributes further to studies on gender concepts by yielding some novel insights into the role art plays in reinforcing or sustaining a culture's ideology on gender structure.

To think of the tutu process as being ripe for change because the mallets are poorly made or the tiresome process seems to fulfill the singular purpose of serving the end product has proven false. The controversy engendered by the machine makes clear that the arts (as exemplified by the *feta'aki,* which is at this stage a purely secular object) can still have cultural, symbolic, and even (sacred) ritualized elements embedded in the process of manufacture.

It is evident, at least from an etic approach, why outsiders, uninformed tourists, and some commoners of low social standing view the

tutu process as a mundane, secular activity. It is equally clear that it took someone who was not a cultural relativist to introduce a tapa-beating machine, which in turn gave some of the populace reason to vent already secularized attitudes.

From the position of the noble classes and the affluent, socially mobile middle and lower classes, the machine could be viewed as an instrument of acculturation that eliminates one way of marking a person's higher societal standing: Beating is a technique that lacks prestige and social status, and the process has not deviated from Mariner's description of 1806-1810 (Martin 1981, 2:365). Moreover, the process is still tied to gender conventions and subject to social control. From a structuralist interpretation, beating (as distinct from making the *kupesi* pattern board) not only marks commoners as being very ordinary; it also, to some extent, promulgates the inequality of the commoner in a monarchical state.

The tutu process is one example of how art-making ideologies align with gender, societal, and rank-based divisions of labor to form a paradigm of an ideal social construction. In cultures such as Tonga, acculturation and change in the arts-and this includes the arts made for tourist consumption-are allowed if sociocultural art-making ideologies are not disrupted. However, the tensions between these ideologies lie at the heart of Tonga's social system and are exemplified in the question that is yet to be fully resolved: to beat or not to beat.

NOTES

I want to thank Tupou Tonga, Papiloa Foliaki, Lata Soakai, and Limu Havea for their insights and friendship, without which this article would not exist. I am indebted to Geoffery Houghland for generating this study by inventing a tapa-beating machine and I thank him for answering my questions. I regret that he was not in Tonga when I returned and was therefore unavailable to add his remarks to this final draft. To the many Tongans who have helped answer my questions, I can only express my deepest gratitude for their generosity in allowing me to publish their knowledge. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of my young daughter, Samantha, who helped interview while learning to make tapa. Aletta Biersack, Susan Smith, and Zachary Fisk contributed useful suggestions. These acknowledgements do not in any way bind the persons mentioned to my interpretation, for it is only just that-an interpretation.

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ifornia Colloquium on the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Native Americans, California State University, Fullerton, April 1988; and the other to the Pacific Arts Association Symposium, Honolulu, August 1989.

1. Most scholars recognize that the introduction of iron tools such as axes, chisels, saws, and nails to Tonga led to an increase in local artistry in the nineteenth century, especially evident in the "neatness" and intricacy of the bas-relief and the more pronounced use of "decorative" imagery found on clubs and flywhisk handles (Martin 1981, 2:359). Replacing sharks teeth and stone with metal obviously expedites the carving process and allows the artisan to make even larger outrigger canoes or more clubs.

However, a detailed analysis is lacking of the actual changes that occurred in the traditional artistic process and whether the act of adopting Western tools concomitantly changed the role of the artist by reducing or enhancing his ability for achieving social status. As metal tools became more accessible, did they allow a greater pool of men to compete for that specialized role of artist? Were these acculturated tools responsible for perhaps secularizing a more ritualized process? And if more clubs were carved, do we attribute this to the introduction of labor-saving tools, more artists, a concomitant response to changing sociocultural conditions, or a combination of all these factors? Which has more importance and to whom, the process or the object? Many of these same questions can be asked of other small-scale societies; presumably we will never know the answers because the documentation of the process does not exist in enough detail.

2. The initial beating breaks and softens the fibers with the side of the mallet that has the deepest groves; this is called *fakapa.* In the process of *'opo'opo* the woman continues to fold and beat the cloth with the less grooved sides until she thinks it has reached its maximum width and thinness. She then *talatala* (unfolds) each layer and gently taps it with the flat face of the mallet until the whole piece is laid out. A second strip can be beaten, merging the fiber with the first if the orginal piece is too thin. The resultant *feta'aki* requires, depending upon the age and strength of the woman, between twenty and forty minutes to beat (Tamahori 1963; Kooijman 1972, 1988; Teilhet 1974; Tupou Posesi Fanua, pers. com., 1985; Finau Moala and the "Mofuike" *kautaha* of Kolomotua, pers. com., June 1985.)

3. Houghland was a benevolent entrepreneur who wished to share his invention, even though he put a relatively high price on the machines (approximately US$400 translated into 350 pa'anga in 1985 and 500 pa'anga in 1987). This he defended by saying that the machine would pay for itself in no time at all (pers. com. with Houghland, July 1985; Tupou Tonga, April 1987). He felt that the women's cooperatives, formed to make tapa cloth for social and ceremonial obligations, could raise enough money to buy his machine and thereby increase their production and expand into the tourist business for a cash profit. I was told that eight women's cooperatives raised enough money to buy machines (Tonga, pers. com., May 1987). To help defray the cost, women from other districts of Nuku'alofa were charged a minor fee to use these machines. Tonga said, "I have a machine at my home. People come here and pay me something to use it. I charge them from two to five pa'anga for the day, or whatever they can pay. I don't care how much they pay me actually, I just care that they come" (pers. com., July 1988).

4. It is debatable whether *koloa* and *ngaue* are in fact gender-specific terms (see James 1988:33-36). Though the term *koloa* is still associated with valuables that are made by women and given in a ceremonial context, "a kava bowl carved by a man can also be

called *koloa* when it is very old. Initially the bowl would be *ngaue* but after it has been in the family for a period of time it acquires a certain transactional (rather than purely utilitarian) value. *Ngaue* can refer to men's work, but it is becoming a common term for any kind of work. Women often refer to making tapa as *ngaue"* ('Alamoti, Mele, and 'Afuha'amango Taumoepeau, pers. com., July 1988).

5. Even Mariner quoted Tongan men as saying "it is not gnale fáfine (consistent with the feminine character) to let them do hard work; women ought only to do what is feminine. Who loves a masculine woman? besides, men are stronger, and therefore, it is but proper that they should do the hard labour" (Martin 1981,2:370-371).

6. Tupou Tonga said that she had heard from someone that "a missionary had made a tapa-beating machine from bicycle parts with attached hammers for King George Tupou II in the early 1900s" (pers. com., April 1987). This may be true or may be generated out of deference and respect for the royal family by linking the king's name with a new invention. I am amazed that Houghland did not solicit the patronage of the queen, for that would have been the proper action to take.

7. When I returned to Tonga in July 1988, I read Tupou Tonga a draft of this article and she gave me a slightly different account of what had happened. In 1985 she had told me the minister gave her two years to try the machines, after which the department would make a formal decision. As the machines are still in use, I quote her present account.

8. Boas wrote "that the first condition for the development of artistic handicraft is leisure" (1955:300). But this Western notion implies that leisure is the handmaiden of artistic production and unwittingly demeans art to a form of play, obviating its cultural importance. Tonga's sentiments are grounded in this ideology-tapa, which was traditionally made by women for trade or barter, is seemingly being relegated to a peripheral role because women have no leisure. But, who said tapa making was ever an idle activity? It would be more appropriate to suggest that tapa is no longer an effective means of commodity exchange in a time-oriented world.

9. "In the precontact period, when the rule by chiefs was still in full force, the manpower was centered around the chief and the womanpower around the chiefs wife, who could dispose of the women as a labor force. When many *ngatu* were required, for instance because of important ceremonies connected with the marriage or death of people of rank, she called together a group of women who manufactured the colored sheets. The product bore her personal stamp to a high degree, because she made and kept possession of the required *kupesi"* (Kooijman 1972:319; see also James 1988:33-36).

10. After emancipation the Tongan government formed strict regulations, particularly in regards to the beating process. "It shall be lawful to beat tapa from sunrise till sunset excepting during the time of mourning for a chief and it will be with Government to determine the duration thereof' *(Tongan Government Gazette* 2, no. 86 [March 1888]: sect. 7).

11. Given this background, it is no wonder that the tapa-beating women I interviewed did a double take when they saw who was depicted beating tapa on the new brochure for the Tongan Cultural Center that officially opened in July 1988. The photograph is of Foliaki, who also found it ironic. Evidently the photograph was taken while she was demonstrating the process to tourists in her own cultural center behind her motel (Foliaki, pers. com., July 1988).

12. Such ambidexterity in the plastic arts is interesting; it strengthens the notion that the beating process is associated with labor, craft, and routine rather than skill, creativity, or sacredness. A process that emphasizes the use of one hand over two is usually less constrained in its technique and more open to innovation. For example, in small-scale societies painting or the act of using paints ranks above the act of sculpting or weaving for many reasons (Forge 1970:279-280). One reason Forge does not suggest is the relationship that the action has with single-handedness. Most art processes in small-scale societies reflect fundamental cultural values: Two-handedness is expressive of the solidarity and tension of working as a group or the giving out of generosity or obligation (Thompson 1974:54, 82, 112). The notion of using two hands simultaneously stresses the idea that the social group works as a community, whereas the emphasis on one hand-single-handed-is reserved for leadership or "singular" acts requiring "special" skill, knowledge, and powers of execution. One-handedness over the other is also evident in the making of the esteemed *kupesi* pattern boards that were once made and owned only by chiefly women (Martin 1981, 2:366). Even today, common women who make *kupesi* earn respect and gain social prestige, whereas any woman can beat. However, when the *tutu* process is analyzed for its nonprocedural aspects, typified by tonal sounds, we have a different situation. In this context, ambidexterity could well be interpreted as a sign of skill in executing rhythm patterns.

13. Tongan women recognize these preferences of foreign consumers and are now making small tapa paintings. They beat small sections of *feta'aki* about eight by twelve inches, piecing them with flour paste, and backing the resulting tapa on woven mats. The product is then painted by either gender with a store-bought brush. Women usually paint tapa designs and men may paint representational imagery, such as scenic views.

14. Tonga has two types of drums. The *nafa,* used in performances of song and dance, was originally a rolled mat, giving it a unique muffled sound. The *lali* is used like a village bell to call people to meetings or prayer (Helu, pers. com., December 1983).

15. "The women complained about him making so much money from the tapa cloth cards. It was Geoffs own idea, but the women didn't like it" (Tonga, pers. com., July 1988). I do not know Houghland's interpretation. Were the women resentful because he was making more money on his machine than they were realizing in their endeavors? Or did the women get annoyed because he was an outsider, and a male to boot, who had entered their arena of work and managed to successfully capitalize, at least for awhile, on its economic potential in a foreign market?

16. The present enforcement by women of the gender division of labor in the arts is a sort of reverse backlash. Husbands rarely share in the say of tapa-produced income as it belongs to the wife and is often spent on her family (Limu Havea, pers. com., July 1988). Most women interviewed wanted to keep it that way.

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