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Cognition in the Christian reformulation of Tonga: Motivation, internalization, and schemas

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COGNITION IN THE CHRISTIAN REFORMULATION OF TONGA:
MOTIVATION, INTERNALIZATION, AND SCHEMAS

by

Dorothea Neal Arin

Bachelor of Arts
University of California, Los Angeles
1990

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Master of Arts Degree
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College of Liberal Arts

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Cognition in the Christian Reformulation of Tonga: Motivation, Internalization and Schemas

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ABSTRACT

Cognition in the Christian Reformulation of Tonga: Motivation, Internalization, and Schemas

by

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Christian missionaries came to Tonga in the 19th century with the intention of converting the Tongans to Christianity and transforming Tongan society to fit with European-Victorian ideals. The missionaries were successful in their conversion efforts. However, traditional Tongan society was not merely replaced: cultural ideals blended. How this occurred, and the degree to which cultural features were affected, was based in part on the role of cognition. Cognitive and psychological concepts of culture change are applied to existing literature in an attempt to clarify the picture of culture change in Tonga. In addition, schema tendencies are identified through the proposed models of schema centrality and schema replacement. These new concepts are discussed as they affect the form and shape of culture change.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Cognition clearly affects the form and shape of culture change within society. The role of motivation is a precursor to social change, whether it be a desire for better goods, a better way of life, or purely survival. Internalization and action are the next steps in the process of accepting a new belief. The shape internalization takes is molded by central schemas and their tendencies in a culture. This paper explores these cognitive components of culture change by applying them to existing literature regarding culture change in Tonga.

Change occurred in Tonga under the influence of, and as a response to, the European presence. European contact with Tonga often included Christian missionaries starting in the 19th century. Eventually, all of Tonga was successfully converted to Christianity by missionaries. As a result, the Tongans reformulated their society, greatly due to the influence of Christian missionaries.

1Although I use the words "change" and "reformulation" interchangeably, I prefer the word "reformulation" because it does not connote that the old system was merely replaced, but may have been reworked and, following Sahlins' (1981) notion of categories, revalued.
Due to Tonga's rich historical records pre-dating the transition to Christianity as well as the numerous missionary and travel logs during and after the shift to Christianity, Tonga provides an ideal situation for in-depth study of cultural transition. In addition, Tonga is an excellent candidate for culture change research as a consequence of its years of early European contact prior to missionaries affecting Tongan traditional systems drastically.

First Western contact in Tonga can be dated to the 17th century, while the first Christian missionaries did not arrive for more than another 180 years. Thus, although Western explorers and merchants occasionally made their way to Tonga and wrote about what they saw, their overall impact was far less than that of the missionaries who came much later with the intention of changing Tongan society. Nonetheless, I believe it is more sound to discuss early contact Tonga as opposed to pre-contact Tonga.

Scholars have addressed why and how change occurred in the Pacific (Sahlins 1981, 1990, 1992, 1995; Howe 1984; Beerchert 1985; King 1987; Hezel 1992; Robillard 1992; Ogan and Wesley-Smith 1992), and in particular in Tonga (Urbanowicz 1975; Marcus 1975, 1980; Gailey 1980, 1992). However, the specific cognitive processes and mechanisms

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2 For the sake of this paper, "contact" will refer to European contact with inhabitants of Polynesia in general and Tonga in particular.
that changed the beliefs and actions of Pacific Islanders in conversion studies still remain unclear.

Culture change, at its base, takes place at an individual level. As a result, I apply cognitive theories of motivation, (the desire for change: see Goodenough 1963), internalization (the gradual acceptance of a new belief: see Goodenough 1963, Spiro 1987, Luhrman 1989) and schemas (cognitive models for understanding the outside world: see D’Andrade 1992; Strauss 1992, 1997; Quinn 1992, 1997; and Palmer 1996) to existing literature in order to understand how individual belief may be shaped and transformed within a wider social context.

Emphasis of 18th and 19th century European Victorian ideals in the reformulation of Tonga notably altered notions numerous aspects of early contact life including kinship, familial obligation, and even of proper attire. As a result, I focus on aspects of these concepts in early and post-contact Tonga in an attempt to create a cognitive picture of how change in Tonga occurred. Building on this, I propose and model my concepts of Schema Centrality and Replacement. I further identify schema tendencies based on these models.

Through this approach, I will examine three related topics:

1) How did motivation affect the acceptance of Western-Christian culture?
2) How did internalization and action play a role in the reformulation of Tonga?

3) What was the role of schema saliency, centrality (for discussion of centrality see pp. 39 and 43-48), and hierarchy in this process?

Methodology and Theory

In this paper I apply cognitive theory to existing anthropological literature of Tonga in order to clarify the picture of culture change. In addition, certain portions of this paper are enhanced through other sources: billboards on the Internet which discussed more contemporary Tongan society, were used to augment my post-contact research. In addition, I relied on Tongan correspondents for elucidation of certain linguistic terms and concepts. Finally, correspondence was conducted with a researcher specializing in Tonga.

When appropriate, I refer to ethnographic data and my own personal discussions with informants regarding neighboring South Pacific Island culture. Due to heavy cross-over influence in this region, I believe it is ethnographically sound to draw conclusions regarding Tonga from these sources on some specific issues.

Motivation and internalization have been identified as key factors that shape culture change. I apply these concepts to culture change in Tonga. Schemas have been
researched in terms of individual change. I extend and apply schema theory to the culture change process. For example, Sahlins has argued that culture change can occur when "worldly circumstances of human action" do not 
"conform to the categories by which people perceive them" (1981:67). When this happens, Sahlins asserts, "categories are potentially revalued in practice, functionally redefined" (ibid.). Sahlins argues for cultural continuity: that beliefs may remain beyond culture change, through redefinition. In the subsection on Schema Substitution, I present my model of this process (see pp. 48-52).

Sahlins goes on to argue that:

According to the place of the received category in the cultural system as constituted, and the interests that have been affected, the system is more or less altered.

(1981:67)

Application of schema theory brings Sahlins' argument to the next logical step by demonstrating my proposed theory of schema centrality and its relationship to the process of social change (see pp. 39 and 43-48).

Limitations

Initially, it may sound cavalier to attempt to examine historical culture change from a cognitive perspective. Indeed, it is difficult to assess cognitive change that began to occur over one hundred years ago. However, when
examining the record, I was able to follow the cognitive processes of motivation and internalization that the entire culture ultimately underwent. Nonetheless, separation of the internalization process between 1) when the Christian belief system was accepted, and 2) when those beliefs became highly salient, was difficult to discern by examining the historical record.

Statements of Tongan belief recorded in missionary records or journals may be skewed to reflect what the Tongans believed the missionary to wanted to hear. Furthermore, the missionaries themselves may have had their own reasons to over-report their own success. Thus, I believe that determining precisely where these steps occur would be excessively speculative.

Moreover, it is challenging to assess the saliency and motivational force of schemas in the historical record. Interviews can not be used, so one must rely on records of researchers, travelers and missionaries. It can be difficult to tell whether the systems described are those most interesting to researchers, travelers and missionaries or those which truly reflect the culture itself and thus do not distort emphasis on certain schemas. However, the correspondence between these diverse descriptions in the historical record for Tonga justifies the exploration of schemas in the historical context. In addition, one can examine a schema today and compare it to the historical record. If a schema appears to have been

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central in the historical record, and it remains central today, then barring other forces, that schema probably was central in the past.

For example, fahu 'ritual and hierarchical superiority' rights and obligations to Tongan sisters have been well documented in the historical record. The fact that they still exist after much missionary oppression can support the assumption that fahu must have been equally central, and probably more so during early contact times.

Layout of Thesis

Chapter Two provides a review of Pacific culture change literature. Chapter Three provides some general background information relevant to this thesis. Chapters Four and Five deal with the cognitive concept of motivation by exploring factors causing the desire for change in Tonga. Chapter Four looks specifically at conditions which lead to the motivation for culture change, while Chapter Five deals with the role of King George Tupou I's motivational leadership in the reformulation of Tongan society. In Chapter Six, the roles of internalization and action are evaluated. In Chapter Seven, schema theory is applied to Tongan culture change and new tendencies of schemas are proposed. Chapter Eight is the general discussion and conclusion.
CHAPTER 2

CULTURE CHANGE IN TONGA:
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE


Marxists classically emphasize mode and relations of production in terms of culture change; however, neo-Marxists often examine a broader base of political and economic issues (for an in-depth discussion of Marxism, Political Economy and Social Change see Robillard 'Introduction' 1992).

4I am indebted to Robillard (1992) for much of my understanding of Marxist and Political Economy research.
Marxist theorists look at change in the mode of production as affecting change in social structure. Christine Ward Gailey is one of the most widely cited contemporary Marxist authors of Tongan studies. In *Kinship to Kingship*, her seminal work on Tonga, Gailey offers a neo-Marxist perspective on culture change. She demonstrates how traditional sources of female autonomy were reduced during the transition to a Western-style society with its economic wage base, commoditisation, and ideology.

In "Papua New Guinea: Changing Relations of Production", Ogan and Wesley-Smith also follow a Marxist perspective on culture change. Agreeing with Gailey, they note that capitalism dramatically altered the roles women played. Their interpretation also allows for the delayed and uneven acceptance of capitalism into Papuan society by acknowledging the heterogeneity within and geographical differences between members of the Papuan community.

Howe (1984) and Beerchert (1985) concur with Gailey's (1980, 1992) and Ogan and Wesley-Smith's (1992) basic Marxist understanding of change. In addition, Gailey (1980), Howe (1984), and Beerchert (1985) also argue that in Tonga (Gailey), in Tahiti and Hawaii (Howe) and in Hawaii (Beerchert), chiefly families created a central state through the utilization of Western ideology, trade and commoditisation. They argue that high level indigenous actors were complicit in the transformation of traditional
culture to a capitalist society accompanied by Western ideology.

Inverting Marxist thought of exploitation of the masses, King (1987) argues that, in the case of Hawaiians, not just the chiefly benefited from the new system. She demonstrates how non-chiefy members chose to enter into the commodity market to secure some autonomy from the chiefly class. Taking the assessment of indigenous involvement a step further, King asserts that Hawaiians from all classes were collaborators in the creation of the new political and economic order. She emphasizes the interplay of indigenous and western peoples and emphasizes the indigenous actor as an informed decision maker.

In contrast, Historical-Political theorists explore the larger forces of history and politics. In "Change in Rank and Status in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga," Charles Urbanowicz focuses on the structure of politics as he describes aboriginal and Christian Tonga. He attempts to delineate those cultural changes in Tonga that followed missionization and the rise to power of King George Tupou I. In doing so, he notes that while much has changed in politics, both aboriginal and contemporary concepts of politics remain closely tied to kinship networks (Urbanowicz 1975:570).

Broadening the focus from the purely political, Jolly and MacIntyre describe religion, economics, and politics as the tripartite forces that transformed Pacific life with
the advent of colonialism in the introduction to *Family and Gender in the Pacific* (1989). In particular, Jolly and MacIntyre focus on missionaries’ misunderstanding of, or distaste for, traditional Pacific domestic roles. From the burning of clan houses to the attempt to introduce Western-style nuclear families, the authors categorize the process of missionization as one that seriously altered Pacific cultures in terms of domestic structure.

In contrast to both Urbanowicz and Jolly and MacIntyre; Black (1978), Decktor Korn (1978), and Tiffany (1978) argue that the active role of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific in shaping their own culture change cannot be ignored. They emphasize, as did many of the Marxist theorists previously discussed, that the new culture was not passively accepted by the natives. Unlike the Marxists, however, they stress the role of motivation: 1) motivation and ideology (Black), 2) motivation and social and economic issues (Decktor Korn) and 3) motivation and politics (Tiffany) while limiting discussion of the role of the mode and control of production in social change.

These authors suggest that the Pacific Islanders indiginized the religious and cultural ideas that the missionaries disseminated. In "Christianity on a Tobi Atoll", Black convincingly asserts that the people of Tobi created their own syncretized version of the Catholic religion to support central elements of the traditional Tobi culture.
In "Politics of Denominational Organization", Tiffany also discusses the blending of Christianity into an indigenous culture. She explores the idea that Samoans "have transformed Christianity into a unique indigenous complex of beliefs and practices" (Tiffany 1978:424) and that the current politicized nature of church denominations can be explained by the traditional association of chiefs with indigenous political groups prior to Western contact and with particular churches after contact.

Current cognitive culture change theory focuses on beliefs and motivation in order to describe the form (what change takes place), and occasionally the process (how change occurs). Perhaps the most noted theorist of the cognitive approach to change in the Pacific is Ward Goodenough (1963, 1988). In Cooperation in Change, Goodenough discusses how change in belief can motivate change in action in the individual (but see Luhrman 1989 for action creating belief in another setting): desire for change through new measures for self-assessment, commitment to change, understanding what needs to be changed, and mastery of the new role. He further discusses culture change based on private culture change, where new beliefs are added, but none can be replaced. His observations regarding the individual's addition of new concepts instead of replacing old concepts (Goodenough 1963) are valid and consistent with contemporary schema analysis. Due in part to Goodenough's cognitive theories, the application of
schema analysis to individual change has greatly clarified anthropological interpretation of these processes over the last decade.

Goodenough’s students Marshall and Caughey in *Culture, Kin and Cognition in Oceania*, reiterate Goodenough’s argument that culture is, at its base, the sum of knowledge required by an individual to operate within that culture. In this view, culture change is perceived as knowledge change. Two authors (Chowning 1989; and Keesing 1989) in this volume attempt to use cognitive theory to create a picture of cultural change processes.

Chowning, in "Sex, Shit, and Shame: Changing Gender Relations Among the Lakalai" demonstrates Goodenough’s concept of knowledge change through the exploration of the process through which a culture can consciously choose a new belief when an old belief no longer serves a useful function. Chowning (1989), too, in her analysis of the Lakalai, describes both the tenacity of belief and the process of the restructuring of that belief. However, her analysis could benefit from the application of schema theory to explain these processes in more detail.

In contrast, however, is Keesing’s contribution “Social Structure as Process” to the above edited volume. He applies cognitive theory even as he asserts its limitations; he argues that cognitive reductionism “inadequately represented complexities of cultures” and that cognitive theory can be seen as “isolating them
(cultures) from the contexts of history and from wider political and economic systems" (108).

However, Sahlins clearly demonstrates how cognition and history might be combined. His cognitive approach to culture change is structural and therefore attempts to incorporate belief with history, political and economic systems (1981, 1990, 1992, 1995). Indeed, he attempts in Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities, to express the dialectical relationship between ideational categories and these systems.

Marcus (1975, 1980) also combines history, politics and economics with symbols and cognition as he explores the change in role and understanding of nobility in Tonga from pre-monarchy to contemporary times.

Marxist-inspired theories provide background information which may explain many aspects of culture change in Tonga. Through colonial and missionary introduction, the capitalist mode of production and ideology clearly altered many dimensions of indigenous culture. Studies taking into account the active role and motivation for acceptance by native peoples is a starting point for my research. These studies acknowledge the importance of the individual and his or her motivations in the process of social structure change. However, these theories alone are not sufficient to explain in depth the processes by which men and women came to accept the beliefs which accompanied the new social structure.
Historical-political analyses of culture change in the Pacific describe stability, transformations, and change. These processes (Stability, it can be argued, is a process as well.) are explored and delineated. However rich the detail in this type of analysis, the role of cognition (beyond that of motivation) in social change is often missed. Cognitive theories of Pacific culture change attempt to address this shortcoming of the Marxist and historical-political perspectives. Cognitive researchers focus more closely on roles and processes of motivation and belief in social change. Moreover, these researchers have identified stability of belief and the languid, deliberated course of change in belief systems. However, cognitive scientists who have studied cultures in the Pacific have described stability and change in belief without the benefit of clearly applicable new models of schema theory. This theory, combined with theories of motivation and internalization, clarify these processes in terms of how change occurs.

Consequently, new theoretical advancements in cognitive theory (particularly in terms of schemas and internalization) in relation to the Christianization and Westernization of the Pacific have not yet been applied. These key components to comprehension of a detailed picture of cultural stability, change, and transition must be included to tell the story of culture change.
CHAPTER 3

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Tonga is a South Pacific Polynesian nation composed of approximately 150 islands, located west of Fiji and south of Samoa. Early contact Tonga was a chiefdom society where chiefs could demand a share of products of their communities' labor. In response, the chiefs had reciprocal obligations to their groups. Chiefs gained power, or the ability to influence others, through the inheritance of titles and marriage to women of high rank, particularly those with a strong kainga 'kin group.' The chiefs also used political maneuvering and mana.\textsuperscript{5}

In the late 1700's Tonga embarked upon a period of political upheaval. This process was underway prior to contact and grew more volatile as European contact became increasingly prevalent.

Tonga had a long history of opposing groups, each vying for political power. Due to ambiguities in Tongan hierarchy, political power and authority in Tonga relied as much upon strong political backing and charisma as it did

\textsuperscript{5} For the purposes of this paper, I define mana as a combination of charismatic, political and mystical power.

For example, while elder same-sex children were considered higher ranking than their younger siblings, a younger child might inherit a title if considered more qualified. Moreover, because of the intricate system of hierarchy, more than one claim might be made to the right to a title and its consequent authority. As a result, charisma was a necessary ingredient for political success.

Tonga is the only nation in the South Pacific which managed to avoid colonization. Nonetheless, nearby colonial forces at work in surrounding islands and trade networks with Westerners certainly heavily impacted development on Tonga. Indeed, with the advent of European contact, endemic political upheaval was settled through a paradigm shift of the entire political dynamic towards 18th and 19th century European ideals.

The two main titles of status and power at the time of contact were Tu'i Tonga 'sacred leader of Tonga' and Tu'i Kanokupolu 'leader of political affairs'. However, at that time, the title Tu'i Kanokupolu did not confer the authority to control all of Tonga. The family of the Tu'i Kanokupolu wanted to establish power over all of Tonga and were frustrated by the Tongan gods' inability to assist in achieving this goal. This may have been a factor that led them to seek out Christianity (Latukefu 1977:125). The state society that eventually encompassed all of Tonga was
created by Taufa'ahau\(^6\), holder of the high title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, with the assistance of the Wesleyan missionaries. As king, Taufa'ahau created the current constitutional monarchy with the assistance of Shirley Baker and the Wesleyan missionaries in 1875 (Latukefu 1975:43).

\(^6\) Taufa'ahau eventually became King George Tupou I.
MOTIVATION TO CHANGE:
TONGA AT THE CROSSROADS

But what are the necessary conditions (for identity change)? First, there must be the desire for identity change. There must also be a commitment to making a change.

Goodenough 1963:217

Goodenough's rudimentary notion of motivation has been refined in recent years by cognitive researchers such as D'Andrade (1992), Strauss (1992; 1997), and Quinn (1992; 1997). These authors have theorized that motivation often stems from cultural models that have saliency for the individuals within that society. Strauss has further examined schemas within society and correlated them with action as a way to assess "motivational force" (Strauss 1992:199). Following a refined version of Wallace's revitalization model (1956), I believe that the inability of culturally-held schemas to reflect or adapt to new changes can also create motivational force for change. This motivation will lead to a change in action and belief.

The preliminary step in individual change is the desire for

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6Schemas can be defined as internalized patterns of understanding outside experience (see Palmer 1996; see also Ch. 7, this thesis).
a majority of individuals within a society must thus become motivated to accept that change. The motivating factor to accept change may be anything from survival under a new regime to making a concerted effort to gain a better way of life. In Tonga, motivation for change took diverse forms.

It has been argued that Tonga's socio-political and religious conversion took place as a result of: 1) desire for a reformulation of the dying or seriously deteriorating Polynesian political structures prior to contact with the West; 2) desire of indigenous people for Western material goods, technology and medicine; 3) desire of local chiefs' for strong political allies, and 4) violation of Tongan taboos by foreigners.

Another motivating factor for conversion was the charismatic and military leadership of King George Tupou I. However, the influence of King George Tupou I will be discussed separately in Chapter Five.

That Tongan culture was in decline prior to contact has been proposed by Gunson and Latukefu (Gunson 1977:94, Latukefu 1975:16). Both authors argue that Polynesian culture was deteriorating prior to the arrival of Europeans and that missionaries merely capitalized on a process that was already underway.

However, debates continue whether cultural reformulation would have occurred regardless of European contact or whether the Europeans added a new element of stress to the pressure cooker of Tongan society in the 18th.
century. The history of Tonga shows that political challenges and disputes in Tonga had lasted as long as Tonga's history itself. Tonga traditionally had endured many periods of political upheaval that their system had withstood. These periods may have lead to increased individual and cultural stress, but the traditional social structure itself continued to function well enough to avoid a thorough reformulation of the entire society.

Burridge, a researcher who has written about millenarian activities, describes 18th century Polynesia as existing in the 'death throes of a vanishing culture':

murder, feud and warfare seemed uncontrollable; law keeping mechanisms seemed to be disintegrating. It was not for nothing that, after initial recalcitrance, conversions to Christianity were wholesale and general. In an orgy of destruction, the islanders themselves razed their temples, smashed their sacred structures and images. The new life, whatever it might be, was greeted and espoused as better than the old.

Burridge 1969:37

I believe that the 'dying culture' which Burridge describes is a culture in which traditional schemas are threatened and that the resultant dissonance created motivation to regain harmony through change. In Tonga, as in the rest of Polynesia, this dissonance took many forms: traditional gods were tested, and when the gods failed, they were discarded or destroyed. Chiefs began to abuse their own power and internal violence increased. These actions reflect the discord which arose when the
traditional Tongan schemas about god, chiefs and hierarchy were called into question. While this process appears to have begun prior to contact, it became increasingly prevalent afterwards. The dramatic change already taking place in Tonga was aggravated by European contact. These events collided at the end of the 18th century to create a motivation for the restructuring of Tongan society.

Many scholars assert that Tongan desire for material goods and medicine acted as a catalyst for religious conversion. However, Tongans had been trading with Europeans and attaining the desired goods long before conversion to Western ideals began. Indeed,

The Polynesians' vigorous incorporation of new processes and skills into their lives reveals that they were not overwhelmed or demoralized by the foreign intrusion.

Ralston 1993:102

While Tongans may not have been overwhelmed, the "vigorou incorporation" indicates an altering of traditional schemas (see Chapter Seven).

Furthermore, it is clear that the Tongans expected the Christian religion or its missionaries to provide them (the Tongans) with Western goods. These goods provided an impetus for conversion for many people. The Tongan schema for a chief's redistribution obligations possibly could
applied to the missionaries. If this scenario is correct, it could provide an explanation of why early converts often deserted the new religion when the missionaries did not follow the traditional chiefly redistribution schema.

Another reason for conversion often discussed in anthropological writing is the desire of chiefs to use missionaries as political allies. According to Latukefu (1977), military backing by the missionaries was not forthcoming for chiefs. Instead, Latukefu has argued that chiefs would convert with the hope that the new god would support their efforts better than the old gods.

This notion reflects the traditional Tongan schema that the gods affect the outcome of wars and political struggles. An example of this schema is provided in Mariner's account of a Tongan army retreating from battle because the opposing chief's bravery was so great that it could only be attributed to the protection of the gods (Mariner in Ferdon 1987:72).

It should be noted, nevertheless, that there is also record of missionaries frequently involving themselves in political disputes (Gailey 1987:Ch. 9). Such involvement was not only welcomed but sought by some chiefs who

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There remains today an association between missionaries and chiefs in Pacific cultures. Don, a former Mormon missionary to the Samoan enclave in San Francisco, informed me that he and the other missionaries were treated and respected "like chiefs."
ironically had much to lose in the trade for political support from the new god and his earthly representatives. Missionaries and King Tupou I centralized authority, and in so doing they limited the authority of chiefs.

Another argument maintains that while chiefs converted hoping to gain political power from the new god and missionaries, commoners converted because their traditional religion offered no salvation to the common class. Moreover, traditional religion was seriously challenged at this time. Part of the challenge came from medical epidemics of diseases brought by the Europeans. Loss of life coupled with inability of traditional gods to offer protection damaged old schemas. In addition, the Europeans brought medicine which could cure the diseases while the traditional religion appeared helpless. This further disintegrated belief in traditional, previously unquestioned, schemas.

Foreign violation of taboos has also been proposed as leading to Tongan doubts of the validity of their belief structure. In this scenario, violation of taboos without divine repercussions leads to questioning the entire religious system. Two observations detract from this proposition: First, Tongans had relationships with Fijians for centuries and this Melanesian group did not abide by Tongan taboos. This is exhibited in the records of Cook's visits to Tonga. When Cook attended a ceremony with the Tu'i Kanokupolu, those close in rank to the leader left the
room because it was taboo to eat in his presence (Bott and Tavi 1982:25). Bott and Tavi interpret this behavior by suggesting that local belief considered that those who stayed to eat and drink with the Tu'i Kanokupolu were outsider and not subject to Tongan taboos.

In addition, within Tongan culture, high ranking people were able to break certain taboos without consequences. Thus, the breaking of traditional taboos by Westerners would not necessarily have been a cause for Tongans to begin to doubt their religious and social structure.

Tongans may have converted to Christianity in response to the five forces of 1) the deterioration of previously existing Polynesian political structure, 2) the indigenous desire for Western goods, and 3) the indigenous chiefs' desire for strong political allies, 4) possibly as a response to violation of traditional taboos, and, as will be discussed in the following chapter, 5) the charisma and aggressive military crusade of King George Tupou I. These forces combined to create a challenge with which traditional Tongan schemas were unable to cope.

Through motivation to change religious and political schemas, Tonga transformed itself. The society was reformulated from within, acceding to external pressure, in order to survive.

By applying cognitive theory during this period of culture change, we have been able to define and interpret
the roles which motivation and schemas may have played. This approach allows the further delineation of the dynamics of culture change. In the following chapter, we shall explore the motivating role of King George Tupou I.
CHAPTER 5

KING GEORGE TUPOU I: CHARISMA AND THE MOTIVATIONAL FORCE OF AUTHORITY

Two centuries had passed since the first European explorers arrived in Tonga and decades had elapsed since the arrival of the first western missionaries. Tongan interest in European goods and ideas was peaked. The scene was ripe for cultural change. However, for a culture to reformulate itself, a cohesive direction and motivating force is required. The charismatic leadership of King George Tupou I combined with Christian theology provided this impetus.

In Tonga, Taufa'ahau, the charismatic leader, utilized Christian theology as a pre-fabricated model with which to reformulate his culture. Taufa'ahau's brought his charisma, political and military savvy, as well as his traditional claim to a chiefly title. These he incorporated with the theology of the missionaries to alter permanently Tongan hierarchy. With the support and backing of the missionaries, Taufa'ahau became King George Tupou I. The missionaries wanted to unite Tonga because of Euro-centric bias and because it would be easier to missionize from the top down. The new King George desired
colonization of Tonga by foreign powers and recognized the value of the unification of the Tonga Islands as a defense strategy.

With a fantastic combination of hereditary rights to the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, physical prowess, political sophistication and foresight, and a display of remarkable gifts of leadership, he [King George] gradually succeeded in uniting his politically fragmented community of Tonga into a kingdom.

Latukefu 1975:18-19

King George Tupou I was a catalyst of social change in Tonga, and the main charismatic leader in its reformulation. His success in this mission was a powerful combination of authority. Authority is a motivational force; when a follower embraces a leader and the leader's ideology this is clear. However, survival is a motivating force for many people (suicide bombers are a clear exception). Thus, being compelled or capitulating to authority can also be seen as having motivational force. King George held authority in Tonga in many forms: traditional-charismatic, military force, and Western authority.  

Traditional-Charismatic and Military Authority

Prior to the solidification of title inheritance to the first born male during the 19th century, the process

9 I am indebted to Weber (1947) for the concept of multiple bases of authority.
for becoming a titled leader was based on kinship claims to the title. However, the kinship system was complex and it was not unusual for multiple factions to fight for the same title. Demonstrated skill and leadership in wars, and mana 'political, charismatic, and supernatural strength' were two ways in which Tongan leaders gained authority.

The title that King George inherited appeared to be a dying title. Although he held the officially most powerful title in Tonga, the titular system at the time of King George's birth was in such disrepair that two pigs had held this title (Rutherford 1971:9). Also, his father and great-uncle had held the title with little authority. However, King George used the title, and its centuries-old traditional connotations of power to motivate people to support him. Due to the status of his title when he inherited it, titular authority alone was not enough to compel members of Tongan society to give up their way of life. The title could only be powerful if the person who held it made it so. King George enhanced his titular authority through his leadership in wars and his reputation as a warrior.

As King George's authority extended, so did his ability to command military forces. King George's

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10 Indeed, Tongans, like many cultures, differentiate between a title and the person who holds it. It is not unusual to respect the title but not the person holding it (see Bott 1981:23).
traditional authority was reinforced by his powerful and occasionally ruthless use of military force. During the 1830's to 1850's, the future King George used aggressive military crusades to convert all Tongans to Christianity and thus unify all Tonga under his rule (Rutherford 1971:9-11). His use of force can not be ignored as a both a manner of authority and of motivation.

Another way in which King George used traditional authority was through charisma. Frequently in the literature describing Tongan history, there is reference to King George's leadership abilities (Latukefu 1977:123 and above) and political genius (Bott 1981:14). Part of what made King George a good leader was charisma. In Tonga, a chief's support relied upon his mana 'political, charismatic, and supernatural strength' as much as any other form leadership.

Followers defer to the charismatic leader not because of his status in an existing authority structure but because of a fascinating personal "power," akin to the "mana" of ethnological literature.

Wallace 1956:274

King George acquired influence through traditional ways, which required mana. However, he also utilized other forms of power in his quest to consolidate Tonga.

Western Forms of Authority

King George used the newly written constitution, his missionary-created Coat of Arms, and his national anthem to
validate his claim to power and give a new sense of authority. He did so to be acknowledged by other countries as a civilized and autonomous nation, and he did so to create further acceptance of his rule.

With the assistance of the missionaries, King George created a constitution and codified laws that created a direct line of patrilineal descent, and brought about the dependence of the chiefs upon the monarch. While this form of authority was not traditional to Tongan society, King George used it to help create a stronger authority from which to rule.

In order to create a state society out of Tonga, and to place himself in the role of monarch, King George motivated his followers to convert to Christianity and acknowledge him as king. He did so using many bases of authority. His traditional-charismatic, military and Western-style authority combined powerfully and provided the impetus for formal conversion to Christianity in Tonga by the 1850's.
CHAPTER 6

INTERNALIZATION AND ACTION

Formal conversion to a new religion does not necessarily mean acceptance of or belief in aspects of the new religion. Newly introduced religions must adapt their messages to the cultural context to find acceptance by mainstream society. Yet, Tongan men and women also adapted to their new religion. The religion, when routinized in Tonga, left women to adapt to a new system that allowed them less economic and social autonomy than their early-contact culture had permitted. Men also had to adapt to a new system. With the devalued role of warfare, men's identity was initially ambiguous. However, as they adapted to their new roles in church and political leadership, as well as their now exclusive rights to trade, men were able to adapt to the new system (see Appendices I and II, Ralston 1993:103, but see James 1994:63).

Through what process did Tongans adapt to and ultimately embrace Christianity? The mechanisms of internalization, described in cognitive theory, can be used

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11 A good example of this in Tonga is that the missionaries eventually rescinded the prohibition of kava, a mildly intoxicating drink made from the roots of a type of pepper plant.
to help us to comprehend the process and how it may have occurred.

In doing so, I am not seeking to create the illusion that all Tongans experienced culture change at the same time or in the same way. Instead, I assert that culture change takes place at the level of the individual and, thus, culture change follows the mechanisms set forth in theories of individual cognitive change.

The cultural transition in Tonga mirrors the process of individual internalization as set forth by Spiro (1987). These steps are: 1) indifference to or rejection of a cultural belief; 2) honoring the model, but not really believing it; 3) acquiring the model as a personal belief system; and 4) the belief becomes highly salient. Saliency can be defined as the degree of understanding, belief, identification one has in a schema, as well as the motivational force derived from that schema.

In other writings, Spiro notes a difference in levels of salience which appear to be associated with levels of internalization. Among the levels described, is one in which a believer's actions are merely guided by religion. This appears to correspond to the acquisition of a model as a personal belief system, listed as the third step of internalization described in the previous paragraph. On a higher level, actions occur that are autonomously instigated because the acceptance of the now thoroughly salient belief system (Spiro in Holland 1992:68).
level seems to be related to the fourth step of internalization also described previously.

In Tonga, the internalization process on a cultural level appears to mirrors the individual steps set forth by Spiro. In Tonga, the missionaries spent years attempting to convert without much success. The Tongans remained in the first phase of indifference. This lack of concern or real interest in exemplified by the many chiefs who allowed the missionaries to teach their people but were not swayed. Rejection of the missionaries was also common. Some were expelled and others killed in their missionary undertaking.

Gradually however, some Tongans converted to Christianity in an attempt to acquire some of the material goods, medicine, etc. that the missionaries had. This reflects the second stage of internalization. It is frequently noted in missionary records that the Tongans left Christianity when the burden became too great. In addition, missionaries complained that the Tongans at the Christian revivals would readily convert in the heat of passion only to renege later. Thus, it is clear that Christianity was accepted by many Tongans in word only during this time.

Even after King George had forced conversion on all Tongans through the bloody battles of the 1840s and 1850s, Victorian ideology and the Christian religion was not entirely embraced. There are stories of men and women acting with disregard for their new Christian mores: women
who were jailed for licentious behavior were considered local heroes. As will be discussed in Chapter Seven, even the women's more modest form of dress brought by the Christians was honored in name only.

The third and fourth phases of internalization are difficult to differentiate in the historical record. The external difference between acquiring the new belief system as one's own and becoming an expert at the new religion is ambiguous. However, the fact that the belief system was fully incorporated is incontrovertible.

Being a member of the Christian community today is a major part of social life for a large percentage of Tongans. Indeed, Tonga today is described in a contemporary travel guide as the "heart of the South Pacific 'Bible Belt'" and as the only place in the South Pacific where everything stops on Sundays (Goodwin 1998:21).

The steps of internalization are made through increased saliency of belief. This process has been identified as involving action. The more the repetition of an act, the more salient that act's underlying belief system becomes. Increased saliency of belief leads to increased identification with, and ultimately internalization, of that belief (Holland 1992:77).

In _Persuasions of a Witch's Craft_, Luhrman proposes the concept of "interpretive drift." She defines "interpretive drift" as:
the slow shift in someone’s manner of interpreting events, making sense of experiences, and responding to the world. People do not enter magic with a set of clear cut beliefs which they take to their rituals and test with detachment.... Rather, there seems to be a slow, mutual evolution of interpretation and experience....

Luhrman 1989:12

Thus, Luhrman uses this concept to describe the transition into becoming a witchcraft believer through the gradual process of action developing into belief (Luhrman 1989:12, 307). For example, when a religious act is performed, even without belief in the value of it, the actor may gain both salience and identification with the underlying belief (See Luhrman 1989). Increasing the repetition of such an act heightens the saliency and identification with the new belief.

She notes that action even without motivation may be enough to increase saliency. In her own experience, only a strong disincentive to disbelieve in witchcraft kept her from reinterpreting her world through a witch’s perspective.

Applied in a cultural context, “interpretive drift” can be seen through the above described motivation and internalization processes. First, Tongans acted as Christians in response to different motivations such as coercion, desire for goods, and desire for political allies. Their actual beliefs did not necessarily coincide with these actions. In the end, however, the beliefs
themselves became salient through the repetition of Christian action.

Theories of internalization explain how a new belief becomes more salient. Examination of the process by which these new beliefs are accepted, rejected or syncretized, is even further enhanced by applying schema and connectionism theory.
CHAPTER 7

HIERARCHY IN SCHEMAS
AND THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

Our experiences in our own and other societies keep reminding us that some understandings are widely shared among members of a social group, surprisingly resistant to change in the thinking of individuals, broadly applicable across different contexts of lives, powerfully motivating sources of their action, and remarkably stable over generations.

Strauss & Quinn 1997:3

The 'understandings' Strauss and Quinn describe above refer to schemas. Schemas are 1) frameworks by which people understand the world which are 2) often culturally shared, and are 3) extremely stable and difficult to change both individually and throughout generations (ibid.).

How do schemas, and thus culture change, occur, the stability of cultural schemas notwithstanding? I posit that motivation (discussed in Chapters Three and Four), internalization (discussed in Chapter Five), schema salience (see p. 33), hierarchical level of the schema\(^\text{12}\),

\(^{12}\)Schemas are hierarchical: highest level schemas often serve as goals and have internal motivational force. Lowest level schemas operate only when recruited by higher level schemas (D’Andrade 1992:30). In this paper, all high-level schemas discussed operate as goals, although as Strauss (1992:199) points out this is not always the case. I identify the hierarchical level of schemas based on ethnographic detail regarding the schema’s centrality and ability to recruit and be recruited by other schemas.
and my proposed concept of centrality, all function in the altering or devaluing of a schema. I define schema centrality as a schema (generally of mid or high-level) with a pronounced degree of interconnectedness with multiple high-level schemas (see Fig. 1, p. 39, and pp. 43-48) for further elaboration).

In this chapter, I apply and elaborate on schema theory in order to create a picture of the process by which facets of Tongan culture were accepted, rejected or blended as they relate to missionary efforts. I apply these theories specifically to Tongan concepts regarding kinship, familial obligation, and dress.

This chapter is predicated upon four original proposals regarding schemas:

1) The persistence, loss, or transformation of schemas during culture change is influenced by the centrality of the original schemas.

Figure 1. Work as a Central Schema
An example of a central schema is work. Work is a mid-level schema with a high degree of interconnectedness for some Americans to such high-level schemas goals as wealth, success, and providing for family. In Figure 1 on the previous page, the central schema work is portrayed as having a high degree of interconnectivity with the high level schemas, success, wealth, and providing for family that are also interconnected.

2) The broad applicability of schemas allows for the same schema to be applied in an entirely new similarly connected cultural context. For example, a culture could have a high-level wealth schema in which the mid-level having many pigs schema is emphasized. Such a society's wealth schema may stay intact even if pigs are replaced by dollars (see Figures 2a and b, p. 41).

3) Similarly connected models (either newly introduced or traditional) that act in replacement of, or as a substitute for a repressed schema (such as dollars replacing pigs) will meet with less cognitive resistance than those which are not so connected (socialist pig-farming cooperative with no individual recognition replacing having many pigs; see Figure 2c, p. 41).\(^{13}\)

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\(^{13}\)The Trobrianders replacement of competitive dancing with the game of cricket is an example of this type of schema replacement. In this case, the game underwent a transition to become an acceptable substitute.
In Figure 2 below, the *having many pigs* schema is replaced with a *having many dollars* schema; the replacement models have the same degree of connectivity with the high level schemas of wealth and prestige. However, in the case of the socialist pig-farming cooperative with no individual recognition, the degree of connectivity to the high level schemas of wealth and prestige are lessened.

![Replacement Model Connections](image)

Figure 2. Examples of connections in replacement models.
4) Higher level schemas such as love are more difficult to alter than lower level schemas such as dating.

These four propositions are based in part on previous theories of schema saliency.

Saliency and Schemas

Following Strauss (1992:199), merely the existence of a cultural schema is not enough for that schema to be motivational and salient for all members of a culture. This process is well described in Strauss' description of lower class workers' schemas for the success and breadwinner models (Strauss 1992:199). In this case, all the workers claimed to believe the success model, that if one works hard enough one can succeed. However, all interviewees had a "bounded" notion of the success schema; it was seen as a choice.

Instead, the breadwinner schema that pertained to the necessity of providing for family was so ingrained that it was not recognized as a value, much less a choice. The more salient schema, of course, was the breadwinner model, having motivating force and affecting the workers' daily lives. This research has indicated that when a schema is only professed but not acted upon, the schema has a low degree of salience.

My research indicates that high-level schemas with strong salience, motivational force, and connection to
other central schemas, such as the breadwinner model above, may be the most difficult to alter. In addition, lower-level schemas that do not serve as goals on their own, appear to be easier to change.

In contrast, there can be more resistance to removing culture’s high-level wealth schema entirely. This alteration would require not only changing one’s view of wealth, but also the view of having many pigs, and perhaps the schema for feasting, and many other schemas besides. Therefore, new schemas which are dissimilar or in conflict with already salient and centrally connected models are less apt to effect social change.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will elaborate on these original proposals as they relate to three Tongan schemas which have been affected by Western ideals over time: fahu ‘ritual superiority’, competitive gift giving, and dress.14

Fahu Obligations: Exploring a Central Schema

“We as Tongans define our ontological selves based on kinship ties and interactions.”
N.F., personal correspondence

The fahu relationship exists between a Tongan brother and sister. At the center of this relationship was the

14 Other schemas also appear to follow the schematic tendencies proposed above. For the sake of clarity, I will concentrate on three issues only.
belief that a sister was fahu 'ritually superior' to her brother. As such, the sister could request, and expect to receive, goods from her brother. In addition, the eldest sister was traditionally in charge of distributing goods received to the kinship line. Fahu appears to have been a mid-level, highly central schema with strong connections to high-level schemas of kinship, obligation and respect for sister.

At the time of early contact, the obligatory nature of gift-giving in the fahu relationship was a central structure in Tongan family relations. The missionaries attempted to end this practice because it threatened their understanding of the nuclear family with the father as economic head of household. The fahu relationship was outlawed in the Tongan constitution, although the ban was not actually implemented until the 1920's (Gailey 1987:191).

There has been resistance to disregarding this schema at the local level. Over time, however, the institution of fahu has suffered. Indeed, some Tongans today refuse to honor fahu rights (Morton 1996:288).

Although degraded, the fahu relationship and its subsequent obligations remain a part of family dynamics in many parts of Tonga today (Douaire-Marsaudon 1996:152). The remarkable stability of the fahu relationship is exemplified in fahu rights and obligations still being honored in any form seventy years after the ban was
implemented in a country which has emphatically embraced many other early missionary ideals.

Resistance to disregarding obligatory fahu relationships is based in part on the strength and centrality of this schema in early contact Tongan culture. The cogency of the fahu schema was further bolstered by its solid connections to other central and highly motivational schemas (see Fig. 3a).

Central Schemas and Resistance

- Kinship
- 'Ofa
- Respect for sister

Fahu

Figure 3a. Fahu as a central schema

- Kinship
- 'Ofa
- Respect for sister

Nuclear Family

Figure 3b. Nuclear family as a resisted schema

Figure 3. Centrality and resistance in schema replacement.
In Figure 3a (p.45), high-level schemas of *kinship*, *'ofa* 'love with a sense of obligation' and *respect for sister* are centrally connected to the mid-level *fahu* schema.\(^{15}\) The Tongan term *'ofa* is related to *fahu*. Helen Morton, author of *Becoming Tongan: An Ethnography of Childhood*, describes the relationship between *'ofa* and *fahu*:

> ...it is ideally *'ofa* that would underlie the gifts and respect given to the *fahu*. It’s all about what you should do within a family and within the status relationship of that family.

Morton, personal correspondence

She further notes that *'ofa* can also be described as concern, gifts, sadness, and kindness. The fact that *'ofa* can be used to mean gifts further implies the centrally connected relationship between *'ofa* and *fahu*. Further, as Morton notes, *'ofa* is linked to schemas of family.

However, she notes that relatively few young Tongans talk in terms of *'ofa* today, and neither of my Tongan informants felt the term as applicable as *respect for sister* and *kinship* to describe the *fahu* relationship (Filipe Saafi, personal correspondence and N.F., personal correspondence and N.F., personal correspondence).

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\(^{15}\) Gerber has glossed the Samoan term *'alofa* as love, but she also emphasizes the obligatory nature of the term. In her research of Samoa, she states that "the connection with giving and helping is much more important and appears to be universal (in Pacific cultures) in all descriptions of *'alofa*" (Gerber 1985:145). She states that *'alofa* may be the most culturally salient emotion in Samoa. The term to *'alofa* in Tongan is *'ofa*. One of my correspondents chose the word *fatongia* to express family and kinship obligations.
correspondence). This fact may mean that the devaluation of fahu obligations has degraded its relationship to 'ofa, 'love'.

Each of these interconnected schemas refer to kingroup rather than nuclear family obligations. The fact that the word for family in Tongan is kainga 'kingroup' is indigenous, whereas famili 'nuclear family' is a transliteration of the English word further implies the centrality of the larger kingroup over the nuclear family in early contact Tonga.

Kinship and respect for sister are high level and central schemas that often activate and re-enforce each other; each would have had to be greatly altered for the elimination of fahu to occur. Only 'ofa 'love' appears to be able to be replaced in a nuclear family setting. Thus, the missionaries' attempt to replace fahu obligations with nuclear family responsibilities to the detriment of the larger kin network met with cognitive resistance (see Fig. 3b, p. 45).

Data on the obligatory fahu relationship indicates that central schema stability is notable, even under duress. I suggest that the eradication of the practice of honoring fahu obligations has been more difficult for the because the new belief system had no similarly connected model which could replace the fahu system.

The nuclear family model that the missionaries demanded could not replace the fahu schema easily.
Connected high-level schemas of kinship, 'ofa 'love', and respect for sister could not be entirely satisfied under the new system. These high-level and central schemas needed alteration as well in order for the mid-level fahu schema to be dismantled.

Schema Substitution and Replacement: Things Change But Stay the Same

A central schema appears to be easier to shift than to remove. This assertion is predicated upon connectionist theories.

In these (connectionist) models new knowledge does not subtract sentences but rather consists of changing connection weights that shift the likelihoods of what units will activate which. . . .

Strauss and Quinn 1997:53

Such is the case with the traditional 'Inasi 'first fruits' ceremony. In carefully examining the ethnographic record, the 'inasi ceremony appears to be a mid-level schema because the ceremony itself does not appear to act as an autonomous goal. Instead, it appears to fit under the high-level schemas of competitive gift giving and prestige (see Fig. 4a, p.49).

At the time of early western contact, the 'inasi 'first fruits' ceremony was the most important occurrence of the Tongan religious year (Ferdon 1987:82). The ceremony was well recorded by Mariner, who described enormous amounts of food, tapa 'decorated bark cloth,' baskets and mats being brought to the Tu‘i Tonga 'religious

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leader of Tonga.' So much food was prepared that Mariner believed that the majority was left uneaten (Ferdon 1987:89). Ferdon deduces from the large amount of unused food that "'inasi's wasteful abundance represented an attempt by the individual donors to gain prestige through a great show of generosity" (ibid.). Although the tapa 'decorated bark cloth,' baskets, and mats were not wasted, it seems logical that the same competitive gift giving schema was applied for women's handicrafts as men's food.

Figure 4a. Traditional 'inasi connections.

Figure 4b. Substituted funeral connections

Figure 4c. Replacement fund-raising connections

Figure 4. Replacement and substitution of 'inasi

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In the case of 'inasi, high level schemas of competitive gift giving and prestige could be satisfied through other traditional means. For example, gift giving for funerals is an occasion for kinship lines to compete (see Figs. 4a and b, p.49). In this case, the gift giving is considered a fatongia 'obligation.' Fatongia is closely related to "a sense of fulfilling kinship obligations" (N.F., personal correspondence). When a person or group has a fatongia to conduct,

it is also common for lineage (1) to try and give more than lineage (2) has given and vice versa. The exchange that occurs between lineage (1) and lineage (2) may have originated out of an affectionate caring for the other. But in reality it is to demonstrate to the other and to those present... that your lineage is capable of carrying out the fatongia. It is a forum for displaying strength and pride in the fatongia that your lineage is able to conduct.

Filipe Saafi, personal correspondence

The schemas of competitive gift giving and prestige were thus satisfied through other traditional ways.

In addition to the competitive gift giving schema being satisfied in other traditional ways, the schema was also applied in new environments. The missionaries added new, similarly connected schemas that helped replace the 'inasi 'first fruits' ceremony. While there is no direct evidence, it appears that the missionaries shrewdly recognized the value of the what I call the competitive gift giving schema: they outlawed the 'inasi 'first fruits'
ceremony and held their annual church fund-raiser at the same time the ceremony was previously held.¹⁶

Today, Tongans continue to participate in the competitive gift giving schema with the church fund-raisers (see Fig. 4c, p. 49). One researcher was told that to purchase a particular kind of ceremonial mat for which it was difficult to find a seller, she should come back during what the Tongan women considered an "emergency" such as the annual church fund-raiser (Fleming 1986:37). Because this fund-raiser is seen as an avenue for prestige, people may sell prized handicrafts during this time.

The competitive gift giving schema was thus bolstered by a related traditional schema that remained intact, funeral gift giving, and a functional equivalent, church fundraising (see Fig. 4, p. 49). It appears that the 'inasi schema changed more easily than did the fahu 'hierarchical and ritual superiority' because it had a similarly connected replacement offered by the missionaries in the form of fund-raising, as well as a similarly connected traditional substitute in the form of funeral gift giving. Therefore, although the 'inasi 'first fruits' ceremony schema was repressed, the higher-level

schemas remained intact and less resistance to change was met.

**Altering Dress: Low-Level Schema Change**

A low-level schema such as dress, appears easier to alter. Lower level schemas are less centrally connected than high-level schemas. Thus, while missionaries still had a difficult time convincing the Tongans to dress with Victorian modesty, the process for making this change was much shorter in time and met with significantly less resistance than did the *fahu* system discussed above.

One of the first missionary assaults on Tongan sexuality concerned women's breasts: ... the Wesleyan Methodists insisted that they be covered. So the women added a flap of tapa to their wraps. Their care *did not* indicate an adoption of the missionaries' attitudes. As late as the 1870's a visitor remarked:

Gailey 1987:189-90; emphasis added

The women, however, evidently have little idea of shame in the matter, and often the cloth is put on so loosely that it affords no cover at all.

Mosley in Gailey 1987:190

By the 1900's Tongan women had generally assumed the demure dress espoused by the missionaries. Tongan modesty of dress today is manifest evidence of the internalization of early missionary ideals. It is worth contrasting the previous quote to one posted on an Internet billboard earlier this year by a Tongan regarding dress.
One hundred years ago, palangis\textsuperscript{17} dressed us up in their clothes because they thought we were indecent and the ironic thing is that today a hundred years later they are coming in as tourists and sunbathing in the nude while we wear skirts that fall over our ankles and sleeves that barely imply a wrist. I think it is a shame that these hypocrite palangis enforced Victorian standards and can’t live up to them.

Maka 1999

Clearly, the missionaries eventually succeeded in their effort to change the way Tongans dressed. However, the ambivalence in the above passage towards missionary values seems to imply that while lower-level schemas may be easier to replace, these schemas can still resist change.

The schematic tendencies identified in this chapter serve to delineate further the process of culture change and how that process affected its form. The data appears to indicate that the higher the schema level, and the more centrally connected and salient, the more difficult it is for a schema to be altered. Correspondingly, the data also implies when new knowledge fits in with already strongly connected schemas, the knowledge dovetails into existing schemas.

\textsuperscript{17}Palangis (or papalangis in much of the anthropological literature), refers to Westerners.
CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Many researchers have attempted to create and clarify a picture of the post-contact transformation in the Pacific. Sahlins (1981, 1990, 1992, 1995) in particular has approached Polynesian culture change from a cognitive perspective. His concept of cultural continuity is reflected in my research on Tonga. However, neither Sahlins nor other researchers have applied new theoretical advances in cognitive anthropology to the process of change. In this paper, I have re-examined the role of cognition in culture change in Tonga in light of these advances.

Through the use of the cognitive theories of motivation, internalization, and schemas, I have been able to create a picture of the processes and degrees to which Tongans may have come to accept the Christian religion and its Victorian-based ideals in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Exploring the motivations for change created a vantage point from which to assess why change occurred as it did in Tonga. People converted for reasons as diverse as survival, attaining wealth, and political gain. Culture
change is intimately connected with motivation; it appears that motivation is a prerequisite for change.

The role of motivation is interwoven into the tapestry of internalization. The applicability of internalization theory to the process of conversion in Tonga was surprising. I expected that there would be similarities to the structure of individual internalization. However, I had not anticipated that cultural internalization would so clearly associate with the first steps of individual internalization.

While it is apparent that other influences have been involved in culture change in Tonga, I believe that the exclusive focus on missionary targets of change and the relative resiliency of targeted schemas allows us insight into how the process of change occurred.

Contributions to Theory

By applying schema theory and connectionism to historical data, I have clarified the process of culture change and demonstrated the importance of this approach to creating a more refined picture of culture change. In addition, I have created models of Schema Centrality and Replacement. I further proposed new tendencies of schemas. These are:

1) The persistence, loss, or transformation of schemas during culture change is influenced by the centrality of
the original schemas. The centrality of the mid-level schema *fahu*, made it difficult to alter.

2) The broad applicability of schemas allows for the same schema to be applied in an entirely new cultural context. Church fund-raising replacing the first fruits ceremony exemplified this.

3) Similarly connected models (new or traditional) that act in replacement of or as a substitute for a repressed schema will meet with less cognitive resistance than those which are not so connected. Funeral gift giving and the first fruits ceremony were both connected to competitive gift giving, for example.

4) Higher-level schemas such as *kinship* are more difficult to alter than lower-level schemas such as *dress*.

These propositions are bolstered by data regarding the schemas of *fahu* 'rights and obligations', competitive gift giving, and *dress*. The first proposition deals with schema centrality as it relates to persistence. As seen with *fahu* rights, the *fahu* schema was interconnected to other central schemas such as *kinship*, *respect*, and 'ofa 'love'. These central schemas also needed to evolve in order for the *fahu* relationship to alter or be rejected. This can be seen as a cognitive deterrence to change.

In contrast, the lower level schema of *dress* was less centrally connected and thus, while still persistent, was less resistant to change than the more central schema of *fahu* 'rights and obligations'. Thus, both the centrality
of, and the connections between, schemas ultimately influence the form culture change takes.

The second and third propositions deal that the broad applicability of schemas in entirely new cultural settings and the role of connections. These property is clearly elucidated in the form of the competitive gift giving schema. In both the 'inasi ceremony, and the church fund-raiser, the schema of competitive gift giving alters form but not function.

The fourth proposal refers to higher-level versus lower-level schema stability in culture change. Those schemas which are lower-level appear to alter more easily. Dress, for example, in Tonga, was clearly salient, but not a high-level schema. Thus, missionary attempts to alter this schema met with less resistance to change than higher-level schemas such as fahu.

Finally, research on culture change is clearly enhanced by use of cognitive theory. The roles of motivation, internalization, and schemas in cultural religious and social conversion, clearly help to uncover the processes affecting culture change. Without further research, one can not say for certain whether the schematic tendencies identified in this paper exist cross-culturally. Nonetheless, the unique perspective on culture change offered by the new theories of schematic tendencies should encourage further research in this area.
Areas for Further Research

As demonstrated, cognitive theory is well suited to the exploration of the process of culture change. The role of previously held schemas in the acceptance, rejection, or blending of new cultural models allows for new insights into this process.

Having elaborated on schema change tendencies in Tonga, it would be advantageous to do schema research in another well-studied post-colonial setting (Perhaps the Tswana of Africa, whose culture change studies by Comaroff and Comaroff are well known). In this way, the tendencies of schemas in Tonga could be analyzed and explored in a cross-cultural setting.

The schematic tendencies distinguished in this thesis need not be limited to historical or colonial studies. Another possible avenue for future research would be to assess and apply the schematic tendencies identified above to cognitive change issues such as drug rehabilitation, or to contemporary policy issues which impact culture such as tourism. A working understanding of cognition and schematic tendencies could help policy makers to better facilitate change in a multiplicity of environments.
## APPENDIX I

### WORK AND STATUS IN EARLY CONTACT TONGA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Status*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Make Tapa Cloth, Mats, and Baskets</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make Kava</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collect Shell Fish</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep Sea Fishing</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetch Water</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gather Firewood</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Original chart based upon Gailey's analysis of division of labor (1987).*
APPENDIX II

WORK AND STATUS IN CHRISTIAN TONGA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Status of Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sewing</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Care</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make Tapa**, Mats, Baskets</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep Sea Fishing</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Higher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collect Shellfish</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Original chart based upon Gailey's analysis (1987)

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