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CCAS Statement of Purpose

Critical Asian Studies *continues to be inspired by the statement of purpose formulated in 1969 by its parent organization, the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (CCAS). CCAS ceased to exist as an organization in 1979, but the BCAS board decided in 1993 that the CCAS Statement of Purpose should be published in our journal at least once a year.*

We first came together in opposition to the brutal aggression of the United States in Vietnam and to the complicity or silence of our profession with regard to that policy. Those in the field of Asian studies bear responsibility for the consequences of their research and the political posture of their profession. We are concerned about the present unwillingness of specialists to speak out against the implications of an Asian policy committed to ensuring American domination of much of Asia. We reject the legitimacy of this aim, and attempt to change this policy. We recognize that the present structure of the profession has often perverted scholarship and alienated many people in the field.

The Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars seeks to develop a humane and knowledgeable understanding of Asian societies and their efforts to maintain cultural integrity and to confront such problems as poverty, oppression, and imperialism. We realize that to be students of other peoples, we must first understand our relations to them.

CCAS wishes to create alternatives to the prevailing trends in scholarship on Asia, which too often spring from a parochial cultural perspective and serve selfish interests and expansionism. Our organization is designed to function as a catalyst, a communications network for both Asian and Western scholars, a provider of central resources for local chapters, and a community for the development of anti-imperialist research.

Passed, 28–30 March 1969
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MIXING UP

Social Contact and Modernization in a Japanese Joint Venture in the Solomon Islands

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ABSTRACT: Increased interactions between groups of people through modernization may be embraced as mutually enriching or denounced as causing "negative social impacts." This paper is predicated on the assumption that people's perceptions of modernization projects influence their outcomes, because people resist rather than commit to negatively perceived projects. The nature of social contact brought about through modernization is a key factor in perceptions of modernization projects. Three types of social contact in a fishing joint venture between the Solomon Islands government and a Japanese company are explored in this paper: contact between men and women, between ethnic groups within Solomon Islands, and between Solomon Islanders and foreigners. Some of the criteria by which interviewees judged social contact included whether it was peaceful or caused friction, whether it caused cultural change, and whether it was hierarchical. The types of contact are discussed in terms of those criteria to reveal their varied effects on perceptions of modernization.

The opening up of economies and increasing contacts with the rest of the world are part of the constellation of processes we call modernization.[1] Opinions vary, however, about whether this opening up is good or bad. Neo-Marxist perspectives on dependency in the capitalist world system judge this contact to be unhealthy for former colonies. Neo-Marxist-oriented policy-makers thus restricted and closely managed contact with the world economy from the 1950s to the 1980s. In recent decades, however, others have contended that removing all barriers between local economies and the world economy is fundamentally

necessary for achieving development (or economic growth at least). Other kinds of contact and diffusion unavoidably follow economic contact, including changes to systems of government, flows of people, and the mingling of cultures. Some liberal philosophers have expressed the hope that greater economic integration would encourage peaceful relations among peoples. Cosmopolitans have also presented the integration of peoples as a desirable thing. Still others, however, feel that increased contact between peoples is socially, culturally, and morally detrimental, or results in violence. Clashes of perceptions about whether contact is beneficial or harmful are particularly controversial when the modernization process involves substantial levels of foreign investment and/or labor migration.

Perceptions of modernization are important because they affect the legitimacy of modernization efforts, and therefore whether people respond to those efforts with compliance and commitment, or resistance and sabotage. Since social contact is a major part of modernization, it may be assumed that the nature of social contact brought about through modernization is a major influence on perceptions of modernization. Understanding the nature of social contact in modernization is therefore a necessary part of understanding people's perceptions of and responses to modernization.

In this paper the nature of social contact brought about by modernization is investigated through the case study of a tuna fishing and processing joint venture between the Solomon Islands government and giant Japanese multinational Maruha Corporation (known as Taiyō Gyogyō Kabushiki Kaisha until 1993).[2] Solomon Taiyo Ltd. (hereafter Solomon Taiyo) started in the early 1970s and became a mainstay of the Solomon Islands economy as a value-adding, for-

eign exchange-earning manufacturer and the second largest source of cash employment for Solomon Islanders. In Solomon Taiyo Solomon Islanders of various island groups worked and lived together with Japanese managers, Okinawan fishermen, a handful of Fijians, and a couple of dozen Filipinos. They socialized together and apart, made friendships, had fights, had sex, and formed families. This paper focuses mainly on relations through work and socializing, including heterosexual relations,[3] among Solomon Islanders and between Solomon Islanders and Okinawans and mainland Japanese. Interviewees often referred to the social contact brought about by Solomon Taiyo as "mixing up."

Social contact brought about by Solomon Taiyo is categorized into three types that were of central concern to interviewees: contact between women and men, between intra Solomon Islands island groups, and between Solomon Islanders and foreigners. Each type of social contact is explored for factors that affected interviewees' evaluations of social contact through Solomon Taiyo, including whether the contact was peaceful or contentious, whether it caused cultural change, and whether it was hierarchical. Comparing and contrasting these types of contact in terms of these factors reveals the complexity of the nature of social contact brought about through modernization. Some aspects of the social contact were seen as positive, some as negative; some of the impacts were more significant than others, and therefore more likely to have an influence on the overall legitimacy of the company as a modernization project.

Background on Solomon Taiyo

Solomon Islands is a tropical island country in the Western Pacific, east of Papua New Guinea and northeast of Australia. Its waters are abundant in the species skipjack (or bonito), which has a large market as a tinned fish in Western countries and as a smoke-dried product called *katsuobushi* in Japan.

Prior to colonization by the British in the 1890s these islands did not comprise a single society but were made up of tens of different language groups with more or less distinct cultures and with some phenotypical differences in face shape, stature, skin, and hair coloring. Political systems were hereditary in some areas and not in others, with blood feuding a feature of many cultures in the eastern parts and headhunting prevalent in the west. There were trading and fighting relationships between some groups but in general the groups kept to themselves. Movement among the islands and the commingling of island groups, which was limited and often met with violence before colonization, became much freer during the colonial era, but identification as belonging to a particular island group remained a basic social marker, as it still does today.

In 1978, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate became the independent Solomon Islands. The colonial system failed to develop much political cohesion or an extensive capitalist economy for Solomon Islands. Local people were not impoverished enough to commit long term to the employment offered by white traders and plantation owners, and the administration did not make a concerted effort to force local people into cash employment (apart from a head tax imposed in the early 1900s). The administration also did not allow planters to import people more desperate for cash work from the Indian subcontinent as

had been allowed in Fiji, nor did they encourage local people to establish their own capitalist enterprises.[4] Indigenous attempts to establish businesses were discouraged by the administration, which favored white ownerships of businesses.[5] Trading companies, copra plantations, and logging were the main commercial activities; these were owned and managed almost exclusively by white and Chinese expatriates, with Solomon Islanders making up a transient labor force. Most of the population (possibly 100,000 in 1900, growing to around 200,000 in the late 1970s, and up to 400,000 in 2000) lived for most of their lives in villages, relying on the surrounding bush, rivers, and sea for most of their material needs.

By 1970, however, colonial empires had fallen out of fashion, so a policy to strengthen the cash sector of the local economy was quickly devised to provide some kind of economic basis for granting Solomon Islands independent statehood. In the absence of local expertise and capital the policy was to encourage foreign investment in various primary commodity areas such as plantations, logging, and mining, as well as in a new area identified as having commercial potential — tuna fishing.[6] Under the UN Law of the Sea, which was then being developed, countries were preparing to declare large exclusive economic zones (EEZs) around their shorelines, reflecting the internationally widespread idea that newly independent former colonies should be able to use their natural resources, including marine resources, as foundations for modern economies.

At the same time Japanese fishing fleets were reestablishing distant water activities that had been curtailed in the years following World War II, and they needed to devise a plan to secure access to fishing grounds and port facilities within EEZs. The Japanese fishing industry's plan was to form joint ventures with the governments of countries that would come to own the fishing grounds. Japanese fishing companies established thirteen joint ventures with Pacific Island states from the late 1960s on.

After eighteen months of feasibility studies, the Solomon Islands Governing Council ratified in 1973 a joint venture agreement with Taiyō Gyogyō. The company grew slowly but steadily over the next three decades to become the second largest employer in the country, after the government, with a labor force of more than three thousand, including casual workers, a fleet of more than twenty fishing vessels, and an extensive shore base at Noro that included ice makers, cold storage, a fuel depot, a fish meal factory, a fish-smoking facility, and a large cannery.[7] The company's main product was canned fish, sold mostly to the United Kingdom. Noro town grew up around the Solomon Taiyo base to house employees and provide services.[8] Solomon Taiyo had chronic profitability problems but both the Japanese partner company and the Solomon Islands government gained financially more than they invested through nondividend income such as taxes and commissions, and both gained substantial nonfinancial benefits from the company as well.[9] For the Solomon Islands government perhaps the major benefit was that the company was a large and steady source of employment for Solomon Islanders of all social ranks.

Less than 10 percent of the Solomon Islands population has ever been engaged primarily in cash employment. Village economies enabled people to lead

full and healthy lives with very little cash, but during the colonial era some parts of Solomon Islands society began simmering with dissatisfaction at what they saw to be restricted access to the material and symbolic goods of modernity. In addition, regional ethnic identifications remained very strong, often chauvinistic, throughout the colonial and independence eras. In late 1998 these two long unresolved problems combined to cause civil unrest organized along ethnonationalist lines. Sporadic outbreaks escalated to the point that they paralyzed the government and all services. By mid 1999 large companies on the island of Guadalcanal had ceased operating. Solomon Taiyo, based hundred of kilometers away in Western Province, survived longer, but the steady erosion of already scant government services made the business environment very insecure. In 2000, perhaps influenced by contemporary events in Fiji, the Ula'falu government was overthrown in a coup. Around the same time the life of one of the Japanese nationals working for Solomon Taiyo was threatened when the boat he worked on was hijacked. For the Maruha Corporation, the hijacking was the final straw in a virtually impossible business environment and it withdrew from the joint venture. A few months later the company reemerged as a wholly government-owned venture named Soltai. According to managers in the Overseas Fisheries Section of Maruha, who are in contact with their former colleagues, Soltai continues to fish and export frozen and smoked fish, but it has been unable to keep its cannery operating.

Mixing Up in the Colonial Era

The three types of social contact evident in Solomon Taiyo's operations existed during the colonial era as well and these informed the patterns later inherited by the company.

Many of the cultures brought together in the colonial creation of Solomon Islands were quite sex-segregated, with separate living quarters for men and women and distinct spheres of social activity for each.[10] Colonial and Christian social influences started to break down the structures of segregation in most communities by undermining the religious principles underpinning sex segregation and by fostering living arrangements that precluded segregationist practices in towns and missionary villages and on plantations.[11] Island groups all had their own forms of gender relations,[12] but overall it is fair to say that gender relations during the colonial era tended to reinforce hierarchies between men and women, adding British colonial sexism to indigenous sexisms.

Colonial society did not entirely destroy sex segregation either; some indigenous segregationist practices disappeared but some colonial practices reinforced segregation in other ways. One of the ways colonialism both preserved hierarchies between men and women and kept men's and women's social spheres to some extent separate was through differential incorporation of men and women into the colonial political economy. In the early colonial period European traders, then later also plantation owners, conducted business dealings with local men, while relating to local women as sex partners and/or domestic servants. A very small minority of local women who had relationships with colonial men or worked as servants were able to travel outside their village and be

part of the cash economy for a period of their life. All other women lived out their lives in villages, with little or no contact with the outside world. By contrast, the majority of able-bodied men sojourned as indentured laborers on plantations and in other places of employment, where they lived in single-sex barracks. They gained life experience and cash goods such as axes and guns before returning home to marry and settle down. The fact that men had opportunities to travel, mix with other men, and work in the cash economy, while women stayed in their villages, resulted in a separation of women's and men's social spheres characterized by perceptions that women belonged in traditional life, not in modern life, and that women had no role to play in modernization efforts.[13]

The nature of the differential incorporation of women and men into the colonial political economy meant that men had advantages over women in relating to the colonial system. For example, women's exclusion from cash work and trade meant they had no opportunity to learn the lingua franca, Pijin.[14] The British did not expect women to be landowners, so they approached

島の玄関、佐良浜港の移り

●昭和51年

●昭和56年

●昭和61年

Development of the fishing port of Sarahama

Pijin-speaking men to conduct negotiations for land purchases. These men were thus easily able to exclude landowning women from the negotiations.[15]

These patriarchal aspects of the colonial political economy manifested themselves variously in complex forms of social contact. Sexual relations between colonizer men and local women, for example, involved a simultaneous mixing up of men and women and Solomon Islanders and foreigners. Sexual liaisons between foreign men and local women were more or less socially accepted. Judith Bennett has presented evidence that these relations were viewed as immoral in some circles.[16] But on the whole, relations between white men and local women were accepted (in contrast to liaisons between white women and local men, which were viciously opposed, by white men in particular).[17] While sexual mixing up with white men carried some moral taint for local women, it did give them access to modern material goods, and if they managed to secure a long-term relationship this brought prestige in local society. Sexual mixing up exposed local women to exploitation but it also created opportunities for them and their families to gain material goods and status.[18]

Judith Bennett believes that these sexual liaisons were the strongest ties between European traders and the communities with which they traded in the 1800s.[19] Sexual liaisons between local women and European men continued to be a key facet of the articulation between Solomon Islands communities and colonial settlers. A distinguishing feature of this form of mixing up is that it was un-

島民を迎え、人々を迎え。
わり。

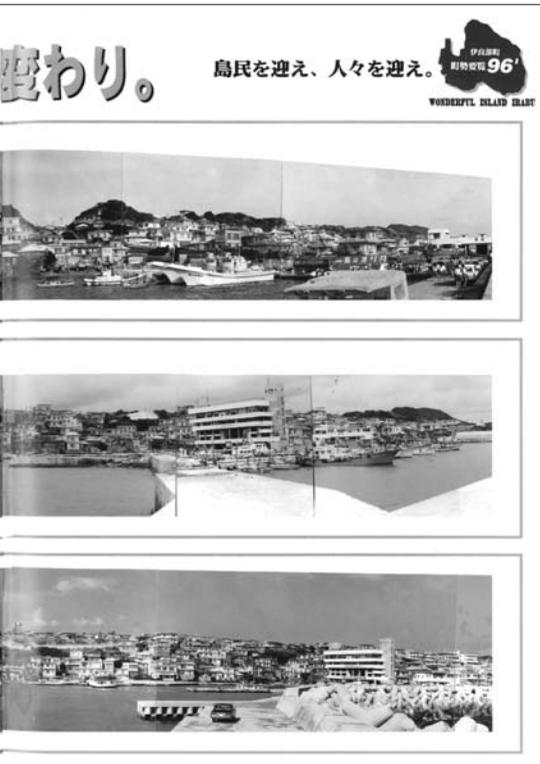on Irabu Island in Okinawa: 1976, 1981, 1986.

equal. Notwithstanding the circumstances or attributes of any individuals involved, white men had structural advantages over their local women partners, both as colonizers and as men.

Another feature of contact with foreigners, heterosexual and otherwise, was that it initiated processes and ideologies of modernization in Solomon Islands. Heterosexual relations between Solomon Islanders and foreigners challenged and greatly changed the local sexual mores, systems of authority, life opportunities, and worldviews. These changes were often interpreted as being destructive of local culture.

Mixing up between foreigners and Solomon Islanders varied according to the ethnicity of the foreigners involved. Mixing up with whites was structured by the colonial system, and was clearly very unequal. Other foreigners with whom Solomon Islanders came in contact during the colonial era included Chinese traders and migrants brought by the British from another Pacific colonial territory, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands (now Kiribati). As displaced people with no land rights in Solomon Islands and without the cultural capital to gain wealth or power through the modern sector the "Gilbertese" minority were subordinated in relations with Solomon Islanders. Chinese traders, however, although not supported by the government to the same extent as whites, generated levels of wealth through trading in the capitalist sector that enabled them to avoid subordination in relations with Solomon Islanders. Various racist ideas about whites, Melanesians, Polynesians, and Asians permeated all sides of these different kinds of mixings up.

During the eight decades of colonialism in Solomon Islands, one of the most significant influences on mixing up between Solomon Islanders and foreigners was World War II. Solomon Islands was an important battle zone in World War II, so large numbers of U.S. and Japanese troops were based there. According to written histories and my interviewees, most Solomon Islanders kept away from the fighting zones as far as possible and had limited contact with the Americans or the Japanese, apart from some Solomon Islander men who worked for the Americans.[20] Despite limited personal contacts, the war is nevertheless an epoch marker in terms of increased contact between Solomon Islands communities and the outside world. One reason for this was that for the purposes of war the Japanese and Americans built airfields and roads that made transport and travel easier after the war.

Another important reason the war caused significant changes in mixing up between Solomon Islands and foreigners was that although the human contact with outsiders was limited, it was very influential. The men who worked for the

Americans gained new insights into race relations as they saw black people being active and (more) equal agents in the modern world. Relations between black and white U.S. soldiers were much more egalitarian than relations between colonial whites and Solomon Islanders; black American soldiers were allowed to wear the same clothes as whites and to drive and operate modern machinery; they were also paid much better than Solomon Islanders. The U.S. soldiers criticized British colonialism and encouraged their Solomon Islander coworkers to demand more autonomy and equality.[21] In the decades of colonialism following World War II and the early years of independence most of the important Solomon Islander political leaders had worked for the Americans.

World War II was thus a major contributor to local anticolonial movements in the second half of the twentieth century. International discourses of anticolonialism are closely related to discourses of nationalism and self-determination, including the idea that the domination of ethnic group A by ethnic group B, in group A's home territory, is morally wrong.[22] While it is arguable that Solomon Islanders never saw colonialism as properly legitimate, wartime experiences and the rise of international anticolonialism after the war strengthened the sense that hierarchical relations between Solomon Islanders and foreigners were thoroughly *illegitimate*.

One of the most fundamental changes to Solomon Islands society wrought by colonialism was that Solomon Islander men pursuing wage employment became able to travel freely to other islands. Prior to colonial "pacification," groups stayed mostly within their territory. Plantation owners preferred to bring in indentured labor from distant island groups so that dissatisfied workers could not simply go home. The colonial administration employed a strategy of divide and rule between groups so Solomon Islander public servants were often posted away from their homes.[23] Naturally this resulted in inter-island group sexual relations, which if they resulted in marriage intensified the mixing up and fixed it into the structures of those families. Inter-island group marriage was seen as a source of social problems if the outsider partner refused to conform to the norms of the village in which the couple settled, or if they hosted many visiting relatives from their home village. Both of these tendencies were seen to erode local culture and village authority structures.

The Malaitans and Western islanders, which were the two most populous groups, dominated other island groups in some senses, but generally speaking each island group tended to dominate within its own territory. Outsiders were outsiders and did not have the same rights as locals. For example, white plantation owners in the Western Roviana area employed laborers from Malaita from the early 1900s. By the end of the colonial era, therefore, there had been Malaitan communities in the Roviana area for seven decades, but Malaitan laborers were still regarded by Roviana people very much as temporary visitors, who were not welcome to settle permanently and did not have many rights as residents. Mixing up between island groups, therefore, was as prone to violence as mixing up with foreigners but differed in that it lacked a clear hierarchical structure. All groups practiced exclusion and chauvinism, with no one group having a decisive overall power advantage in terms of control of government or business.

Mixing Up in Solomon Taiyo

As a joint venture company employing a combination of expatriate and local women and men from every island group in its fleet and on the shore base, Solomon Taiyo's operations generated a great deal of social contact over the years. Solomon Taiyo inherited colonial patterns of mixing up, some of which were reinforced by the company, while others were transformed.

Mixing Up of Women and Men

One Solomon Taiyo woman office worker I interviewed surmised that "Christianity goes well with today's world," as opposed to the indigenous religion from her part of Malaita in which the sexes are strictly segregated because of the belief that women's bodily secretions are often toxic to men. She saw these segregation laws as being impractical in modern society where people had to "mix up with other people, not like before, stick to ourselves."[24] Solomon Taiyo was a prime example of modern sites in which mixing up of the sexes was unavoidable because women and men worked side by side.

Before 1990 Solomon Taiyo employed only a handful of women as clerical workers, in line with the colonial idea that wage work in a company town was an unsuitable life for Solomon Islands women. Men were hired to clean and de-bone fish on the processing lines, which was very unusual in the international canning industry. This work was considered tedious and of low status, and the company always had problems retaining staff and achieving an efficient level of skill on the production lines. When a new factory opened in Noro in 1990 Solomon Taiyo began employing women, because accommodation arrangements were no longer the "labor-line" barracks-type that had been seen to be so unsuitable for women. For rural Solomon Islander women, this new cash employment opportunity represented a second wave of change in material gender relations since the first colonial contact. In the first wave women were excluded from wage paid labor, then at Noro women were hired to do work that men were unwilling to take up — work that required manual dexterity and that tended to be lower paid.[25]

Vestiges of norms from the colonial pattern of mixing up were visible in some interviewees' opinions of Solomon Taiyo as a mixed-sex workplace. A male schoolteacher looked unfavorably on the practice of employing women because women workers "promote sickness" such as sexually transmitted diseases. He felt that men and women working together "creates grievances," meaning neither would perform their duties properly. A local businessman employed only single men to work his land because "women cause problems. Because if the couple fight then the man won't work properly. So I prefer not to have women. I like just men, then they concentrate on their work."

Nevertheless, men and women had worked together relatively smoothly in Solomon Taiyo for some years, so most interviewees saw the company as an example of how men and women could work effectively together. A Japanese manager said to me that when Solomon Taiyo's workforce was mostly male the atmosphere was very aggressive and adversarial, but when women joined the

workforce the company atmosphere became "rounder" and interpersonal relations were smoother.

A male Solomon Islander fleet administration worker said attitudes toward women had changed through mixed-sex working environments at Solomon Taiyo. In earlier years, he said, if a woman walked by a group of men on the shore base the men made catcalls, whereas now there was "a bit more respect." The public health officer at Noro also found differences in relations between men and women caused by working together. An example she gave was that women never used to tell men about their health problems; in village life health issues were dealt with among women. But in Solomon Taiyo when a woman's supervisor was a man she had to discuss health issues with him. A related change, she added, was that women and men would not previously have been able to discuss sex in front of each other so sex education workshops had always been divided. In recent years, however, they had been able to conduct some mixed sex education workshops in Noro.

Many Solomon Islanders cited positive effects from Solomon Taiyo's new kind of mixing up. The women who worked for the company I interviewed and/or observed enjoyed the opportunity to earn a wage and the relative freedom of relations with men — ranging from collaborative work relations, to personal friendships, to sexual relations. Most people interviewed, men and women, employees and not, appreciated the additional cash coming into village economies now that women were able to earn a wage.

At the same time, however, the new forms of mixing up in Solomon Taiyo were also seen to have negative impacts on women, their families, and communities as a whole. These negative impacts were related to the low socioeconomic status of the women who worked for the company and to the position of Solomon Islands as an "underdeveloped" economy, but they were also due to patriarchy. Notwithstanding the fact that a few women occupied supervisory positions and notwithstanding company policies of equal pay for equal work along gender lines, the conditions for women were on the whole worse for women than for men: many interviewees pointed out the working conditions for women were the worst in the company.

Although mixing up between men and women in Solomon Taiyo was different in some ways from mixing up between women and men in the colonial era, it remained hierarchical. A male Church leader explained that women "scratching" fish (cleaning bones and skin from cooked fish in preparation for canning) had the hardest jobs in the company. The work was boring and involved standing all day in an environment redolent with the odor of boiled fish. He expressed concern about the levels of pay and prospects of promotion for women workers and worried that some of them were "being driven to going on the ships" (prostitution) in order to make ends meet financially.

A woman who had worked five years on the first cleaning line said that women workers usually cleaned about 122 trays of fish in a day, sometimes more. They started work between six and seven in the morning and if they did not have too many trays to do and everyone worked quickly they might finish between four and five-thirty in the afternoon. On other days the work went until

Solomon Taiyo's Base on the end of Noro Point, as seen from Noro's "downtown" area where the bank, market, town council office, and Ports Authority are situated. (All photographs courtesy of the author.)

past seven in the evening. Commuting time for the several hundred women who lived in villages outside Noro was an hour or more each way. A common concern voiced on behalf of women workers was the effects of long working and commuting hours on family life. A male Solomon Islands National Union of Workers (SINUW) representative noted that the early departure and late return of cannery women workers caused "social problems." For example, the length of the working day plus commuting time was a problem because women did not then have time with their children and husbands. Many interviewees talked of children who hardly knew their mothers because for six days a week the women were only at home while their children were asleep. In her research from the early 1990s Sasabe Mari found that children of cannery workers were often left in the care of their fathers.[26] Fathers were affectionate caregivers but Sasabe's survey showed that many did not feed or clean their children properly. In addition, few fathers took responsibility for housework duties so women did the housework when they returned at night. This "double shift" left women exhausted and, as a result, they neglected some of their duties. Interviewees were sympathetic about the heavy workload these women shouldered but they still saw housework and childcare as the woman's responsibility. No one questioned whether husbands should change their lifestyles, only whether wives should continue to work at Noro, or whether the company could make their paid workload lighter, or whether living in Noro and having shorter commuting times could allow wives to do both paid and family work more easily. Male employees were never expected to take on village responsibilities as well as paid work in the same way.

Some interviewees recognized that the cited negative impacts related to Solomon Taiyo's mixing up of men and women were caused by the subordinated

position of women in the workplace, families, and society as a whole. One local male union representative acknowledged that Solomon Islander attitudes toward women are very discriminatory and he noted that women cannery workers' village upbringing and limited schooling made them particularly vulnerable to exploitation. The matron of the Solomon Taiyo women's dormitory said that women workers told her of men making women do the men's share of work as well as their own. She thought local men "used their position" to get women to work hard so the men could receive pay raises and promotion. A woman who worked for an international nongovernmental organization and a village elder woman both said they observed that families put pressure on women to take up employment at the cannery so their families could afford cash goods. Representations of the women from outside contained more victim identification than those women's representations of themselves. Women I interviewed were working for themselves as well as for their families and some were clearly strong independent individuals. One woman had worked on the third cleaning line in the cannery for ten years, since the cannery first started. Although she had limited literacy, she had risen to the level of supervisor. She said she liked the work but she and the others who had been there a long time had pains in their feet from standing all day. When asked if she gave her pay to her family she snorted, "I use it for myself."

The point here is that asymmetrical relations between women and men were recognized by at least some Solomon Islanders to be a root cause of most of the negative impacts they saw arising from women working at Solomon Taiyo. But no interviewees turned this around and suggested that making gender relations more equal would diminish the negative impacts. Rather, the negative impacts were usually interpreted to be a subset of the symptoms of modernization and capitalism. For example, media articles entreated "the company" or (foreign) "management" to do something about problems such as sexual harassment and unplanned pregnancies in Noro. Such articles noted that the village women employed by the company were naïve and ill-equipped to stand up to men or protect themselves, but they never mentioned the responsibilities of village social systems in raising girls as subordinate to boys, in failing to train young women how to look after themselves outside the village context, and in perpetuating normative systems in which women suffer most of any negative effects from unsanctioned sexual liaisons (in terms of their "reputation" or caring for offspring).[27]

This reflects the low priority given gender equity in Solomon Islands society. Solomon Islanders interviewed represented women's liberation as bad, and traditionalist rhetoric about ethnicity and culture is often employed to argue against assertions of the rights of women in relation to men.[28] I interviewed several women activists involved in schemes to help women, but not one described herself as a feminist. Indeed one said she did not like feminism and preferred to describe herself as someone who worked for the betterment of communities, which involved improving the lot of women in those communities. Complaints about patriarchy in Solomon Taiyo were far less prominent in interviews than complaints about aspects of ethnic mixing up. Indeed, negative impacts from

women working at Solomon Taiyo were often framed, not as something men did to women, but as something the foreigners did to *our* women.

Mixing Up of Island Groups

Noro was largely uninhabited when Solomon Taiyo established a fishing base there in the 1970s. The population swelled when in 1990 it became the main base for the company and processing factories were opened. Solomon Taiyo's workforce was from all over the country, and the town reflected this, being one of the few places in Solomon Islands characterized by the mixing up of different island groups. The town offered many milieus for such mixing up, but here I will restrict discussion to island group mixing up in the workplace and in bait grounds where fishing crews mixed up with villagers.

Many Solomon Islander interviewees asserted that particular island groups dominated certain work areas and garnered recruitment and remuneration benefits for their kin. Solomon Islander interviewees said they believed this happened because it was normal practice in Solomon Islands for people from the same kinship group to "look after each other" at work. But company policy was actually similar to the colonial policy of divide and rule; island groups were prevented from consolidating within the workforce because human resources managers actively mixed them up — in company-sponsored living quarters, in workplaces on the shore base, and on fishing vessels.[29] The rationale given for this was that if island groups were allowed to consolidate in the workplace fighting between island groups would occur. While I observed fighting between island groups outside working hours, I found no evidence that island group rivalries were played out in the structure of Solomon Taiyo's workforce in any systematic way. The island group distribution in Table 1 (below) is in proportion with national population distribution. The type of mixing up between island groups in Solomon Taiyo is therefore similar to mixing up in the colonial period in at least one sense: it was often antagonistic and mutually chauvinist but did not manifest a definitive pattern of dominance by one group over the others.

Table 1. Self Identification of Employees by Province (Percentages)

Birth Place	Malaita	Western Province	Guadalcanal	Temotu	Isabel	Central	Makira	Choiseul	Other / no answer
Male	20	18	13	7	6	6	5	4	21
Female	7	59	3	-	2	2	5	7	15

Source: Noro Town Council (Noro): 8/1/4, file containing papers and correspondence on health and medical services — health education seminars and workshops, survey filled out by 918 workers for a Health Education Workshop on HIV/AIDS held in February 1993 by the Solomon Taiyo Clinic.

Men and women of all ethnic groups working and living together in Noro town formed sexual relationships, some temporary, others leading to marriage and/or children. Solomon Taiyo, therefore, constituted an environment in which the heterosexual mixing up between island groups begun in the colonial era could continue and intensify. These sexual relations were usually perceived negatively. A technical report on gender issues as part of a wider study to set up a national Tuna Management Plan in 1998 cited the "social impacts" of the tuna industry as being sex work, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and cultural and family breakdown.[30] An article entitled "Hidden Cost of *Tin Pis*" (tinned fish in Pijin) also said that as a result of the tuna industry the number of sex workers in Solomon Islands was increasing.[31] Some interviewees referred to Noro as a "cowboy town" because it was full of young men who drank, fought, and swaggered around. Because of the cannery there were also large numbers of young women who had a reputation for being sexually free, living as they did away from their parents and the rigid social mores of village life. A local joke about Solomon Taiyo was "*mekim Taiyo, mekim pikanini*" (make Taiyo, make babies).[32]

Noro had a reputation for high levels of STDs and unplanned pregnancies. For the period Solomon Taiyo was based at Noro the majority of the town's population was between the ages of eighteen and thirty, a time of life when most Solomon Islanders form sexual partnerships and have children. Underrepresented in the Noro population were the very young and very old who are less likely to be sexually active or become pregnant. The overall numbers of STDs and pregnancies might have seemed high compared to other Solomon Islands towns of the same population, but considering the demographic it was actually not high.[33] It is nevertheless significant that Noro was *seen* to be a hotbed of sexual vice. This perception contributed to the overall sense that social contact through modernization led to moral decay. A Western Province politician interviewed said he was concerned about the social impact of fishermen who came ashore "looking for ladies" causing disruption to "the traditional lifestyle." He said that before Solomon Taiyo most villagers did not have access to alcohol, but now lots of people got drunk and this made villages less pleasant places to live. The "attitudes of females has changed," the politician said, because they were "exposed to the fishermen, the girls especially" and communities were worried about their "changed behavior." The politician said that intermarriage between island groups disturbed villages because outsiders did not always assimilate culturally or recognize the local chiefs' authority. The numbers of single mothers were seen to have increased. Most other Solomon Islander interviewees, including village women, expressed similar sentiments. I interviewed two teenage village girls who went drinking with Solomon Taiyo crews when they came ashore, one was pregnant at the time of interview and seemed unlikely to find someone to take responsibility and help her raise her child. A reproductive health worker in the Western Province in her fifties said that over the last twenty years the phenomenon of young single mothers has grown. It would be difficult, however, to establish a direct causal connection between such a trend and Solomon Taiyo.

While negative sentiments were expressed about heterosexual mixing up between island groups seen to be caused by Solomon Taiyo, in terms of the frequency of the raising of this issue in interview, and in terms of the strength of the negativity expressed, heterosexual mixing up between Solomon Islanders and foreigners was a more significant problem. Illicit sex, prostitution, STDs, and unplanned pregnancies were mentioned in representations of island group mixing up, but they were more usually framed as negative social impacts arising from contact between Solomon Islanders and foreigners.

## Mixing Up with Foreigners: Okinawans and Villagers

Solomon Islanders and foreigners interacted in many ways through Solomon Taiyo, from the level of international political economy to the level of personal contact. When interviewing Solomon Islanders about their contacts with foreigners through Solomon Taiyo relations between Okinawan fishermen and village women would invariably arise. From the early days of Solomon Taiyo most of the Japanese nationals employed by the company were fishermen from the fishing port of Sarahama on the island of Irabu, in the Miyako group of islands in southern Okinawa.[34] These fishermen trained Solomon Islanders who gradually replaced them; in 1999 only thirty or so Okinawans were contracted to Solomon Taiyo as fishing masters, captains, and chief engineers. Contracted annually through a Miyako-based company called Tokuyō Gyogyō, the Okinawan fishermen worked in Solomon Islands for ten months of the year, returning home for a holiday in December and January.

Solomon Taiyo's fishing methods meant the catcher boats were moored in lagoon areas, close to villages, in the afternoons and early evenings, ready to start bait fishing later in the evening and then pole and line fishing out at sea from dawn. The afternoon and early evening time was also a rest period, so fishermen from the boats often took the opportunity to visit nearby villages. This was how sexual relations between fishermen and village women came about. Solomon Islanders generally expressed disapproval of these unions.

My transcripts of interviews with Solomon Islanders about the presence of Okinawan fishermen in villages show that there was a social consensus that relations with local women were negative impacts from the social contact facilitated by Solomon Taiyo. A local woman in a nongovernmental organization office voiced a typical complaint about Solomon Taiyo. "Too many colored children," she said loudly and clearly, as she turned back to the spreadsheet on her computer. In the words of a bait-ground village resident: "I think most people hate Okinawans… And if they come into the village they just, you know, ask the girl in front of their brothers.…That's why a few locals say they hate Okinawans." A Fisheries Department officer said his village had "very bad social impacts" from the fishermen. "People did not want the Okinawans especially to go ashore" since a few "part Okinawan" children had resulted from previous engagements. The elders told Solomon Taiyo management to let the crew come ashore only for food because they were not "behaving themselves." Most Solomon Islander interviewees said problems between crews and villagers decreased because the number of Okinawans decreased, which indicates a belief

that problems were caused by Okinawans/foreigners. In the words of a woman resident of a bait-ground village: "I was not happy because when they come to the village they look for women and things like that, from the beginning, I think. Now they are all right, because almost all Solomon Islanders on the boat."

Protests against the sexual mixing up of Okinawan fishermen and local women date back to the earliest days of Solomon Taiyo. In 1973 a representative of Western Province asked the governing council what was to be done about the foreign fishermen "marching up and down the streets in my constituency looking for girls."[35] There was a flurry of letters to the editor in a Honiara newspaper about prostitution in 1975.[36] In 1977 an issue of the *Solomons News Drum* headlined a story about a petition against women selling sex to foreign fishing crews in Western District: "Curb the girls' demand."[37] In 1980 the same paper printed a story about Solomon Taiyo discussing disciplinary measures in response to complaints from bait-fishing communities about the "behavior of
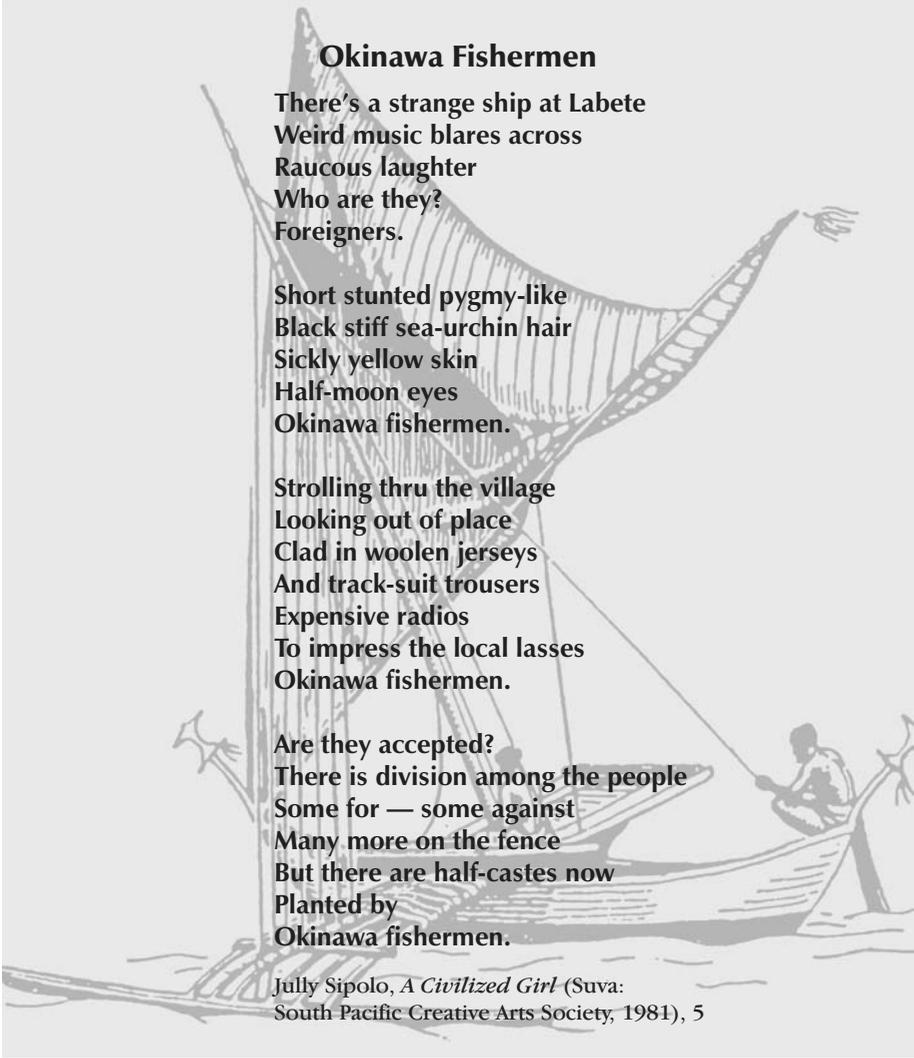
Okinawa Fishermen

There's a strange ship at Labete
Weird music blares across
Raucous laughter
Who are they?
Foreigners.

Short stunted pygmy-like
Black stiff sea-urchin hair
Sickly yellow skin
Half-moon eyes
Okinawa fishermen.

Strolling thru the village
Looking out of place
Clad in woolen jerseys
And track-suit trousers
Expensive radios
To impress the local lasses
Okinawa fishermen.

Are they accepted?
There is division among the people
Some for — some against
Many more on the fence
But there are half-castes now
Planted by
Okinawa fishermen.

Jully Sipolo, *A Civilized Girl* (Suva:
South Pacific Creative Arts Society, 1981), 5

some *Okinawan* crew members towards villagers" (emphasis added).[38] Government records contained much correspondence from concerned Solomon Islanders who wanted to discourage sex between crew members and local women. For example, a memo from a local government administrator in Western Province to the provincial secretary regarding "brothel practice in Taiyo Catcher Boats — Marovo Lagoon" said that local crew were buying sex but the memo pointed out that this practice had started with Okinawans.[39] Minutes from a Noro Town Council Meeting in 1994 noted with concern that "certain girls in Noro Town are now going into *overseas* boat [*sic*] coming into Noro port for unknown reasons" (emphasis added).[40]

These media representations and many of the interview representations of problems between local crews and villagers blamed the Okinawans, and asserted that the problems had become fewer as the Okinawans became fewer. It is difficult to say whether or not the problems actually diminished, but problems did continue to occur and a close look at problems in villages arising from contact with fishing crews reveals that Okinawans were not even involved in many of the incidents, and they certainly could not be held solely responsible for some in which they were involved. In the early 1990s, for example, Solomon Islander crew members raped a village woman in Vangunu, leading to fighting between the crew and villagers that resulted in serious injuries and the jailing of at least one villager.[41] Interviews indicated that about twelve Okinawan children had been born in one village near a bait-ground that had been well used by Solomon Taiyo catcher boats for twenty-five years. Comparing the numbers of children parented by Solomon Islander fishing crews is not easy because their offspring were not visually identifiable as such, whereas the children of Okinawan fishers were marked by the texture of their hair, shape of their eyes, and light skin color. It is safe to assume, however, since Solomon Islander crew had outnumbered the Okinawans since the early 1980s (by thirty-five to two by 1999) and also engaged in sexual relations with village women, the numbers of children fathered by Solomon Islander crews in villages would have been far greater than the numbers fathered by Okinawans.

A deeper reading of the interviews also reveals that beyond the social consensus that relations with Okinawans were a "bad thing," the actual relationships were far more complicated. I interviewed several women from one village who had children by Okinawan fishermen. One woman in her twenties spoke warmly of her 41-year-old boyfriend, who gave her a monthly allowance and bought her a wooden house with louvered windows, electrical appliances, and plenty of clothes and toys for their two children. She said she knew her boyfriend would eventually return to Irabu and his family there, never to come back to Solomon Islands, but she said she felt well set up and was not upset by the prospect. She was probably somewhat stigmatized by her involvement with an Okinawan fisherman, but the fact that the relationship was stable and she had far more modern goods than most of her village contemporaries would have offset this stigma. Another woman in her forties had two children by different fishermen, one child already grown up and living in Honiara, the other a toddler at the time of interview. The first father had sent money for food and clothes

for the duration of his daughter's childhood, but the second father was refusing to admit paternity. This woman had been married to a local man for several years between the birth of her two part-Okinawan children. She said she found Okinawan men attractive because they looked after themselves and dressed well, but generally did not distinguish them greatly from local men.

One local man I interviewed several times at first repeated the social consensus representation that Okinawans are predatory and their relations with local women are bad. But in later interviews, obviously with some reluctance, he admitted that he had often hosted Okinawan fishermen at his house, which was the main way connections with local women occurred. He became close friends with some of these Okinawans over the years. They taught his wife how to prepare sashimi and other food they liked, gave his wife money to pay for the food and for her cooking services, and brought whiskey to share with the man of the house. When he and his wife had a baby their Okinawan friends visited her in the local hospital and brought gifts such as powdered milk.

The author of the "Okinawa Fisherman" poem (see sidebar) told me that when the Okinawan fishermen first came to her village they stayed with families and brought lots of food with them, "treats" like Coca-Cola, rice, biscuits, tinned food, and fresh ocean fish. In return the families gave them fresh fruits and vegetables, and sometimes handicrafts. When recovering from an illness an Okinawan fisherman had noticed that the woman was very thin and looked unwell so he brought special food and tonics for her until she started to look better. So the author clearly had positive feelings as well as negative ones about Okinawan fishermen, but it was only the negative feelings that were publicly expressed in her poem.

Contradictions between the social consensus that contact with Okinawans was bad and the complicated actualities of these relations were played out in the interviews. One female bait-ground resident came full circle in just a few sentences:

> I don't like the way, the Japanese [Okinawans] especially. They seems to be wild, and they just aftering women. They not chasing them but you can see that on the first time lots of girls have children, Japanese children.…Girls were so crazy about them the first time they come here.…And um, maybe girls, women or whatever, during the beginning when they arrive working, maybe just they like some food I think, maybe money.[42] Yeah, 'cause there is no job during that, many girls don't have a job. So when the Japanese come some of the families accept [them into] their home, so maybe one or two Japanese come and have rest there. So lots of them were sort of being looked after, in this village.…I think the matter of, they go crazy because also the girls, you know, sort of stirring them up. The Japanese are good people, kind [laughter].…But they are nice people. Nice people.…They are nice people anyway.

Other examples of contradictions arising between consensus and actuality emerged in discussions of prostitution. Prostitution was usually represented as something perpetrated by foreigners on Solomon Islanders, despite the fact that it was engaged in by contemporary Solomon Islanders, and there was a

precolonial history of prostitution in many Solomon Islands cultures.[43] The matron at the women's hostel in Noro said that sometimes men came to the hostel wanting to pay her for access to women. She began by saying that her response to the men was that she was "not selling Solomon Islanders." Then she noted that it was not only foreigners, but "also Solomon Islander men [who] come and ask for my girls." A woman interviewee who worked for an international nongovernmental organization in Honiara said that prostitution was a village responsibility as well as the responsibility of the Okinawans and that the root causes of prostitution lay in the situation wherein village women had virtually no other opportunities to earn cash. Following that, however, the narrative of foreign exploitation reasserted itself. "Perhaps a policy or something could be written down so *foreigners* don't do this," she said (emphasis added).

Some interviewees acknowledged the tendency to blame the foreigners of Solomon Taiyo for problems that on closer inspection have diffuse causes. According to one Western Province health worker:

> And I think it depends on us Solomon Islanders…because people say, "Oh, problem there [Solomon Taiyo], problem." It depends on us to control ourselves. Many times we feel that, especially the hospital, because of Taiyo lots of girls have STDs and lots of boys have STDs and, but it depends on us, yeah? Individuals to think. The problem is sometimes comes from people on the boats. They have VD and, I mean gonorrhea and syphilis. But also us. The Solomon Islanders themselves, they get it from here, from that girl, from that boy, from this place, from that place, from the Solomons ourselves.

So clearly Solomon Islander interviewees were aware that mixing up with Okinawans was complicated, nevertheless this awareness was overridden in their representations by the social consensus that the mixing up caused negative social impacts perpetrated by the Okinawans. I propose that the tendency to portray mixing up with Okinawans in this way is a local manifestation of a global narrative in which mixing up with foreigners is seen as detrimental to the natives.[44] Anti-imperial and nationalist struggles in the twentieth century contributed greatly to discourses against ethnic mixing up. While there may be several ingredients in the ideological reasoning behind such narratives, anti-imperialism is one of the key ingredients; mixing up with foreigners is seen as particularly undesirable if locals are seen to be dominated by foreigners. This is not to say that narratives against ethnic mixing are not used by peoples who have not been colonized, or even by colonizer groups themselves, such as in Japanese images of immigrant Koreans during the twentieth century. But, of the various reasons for denouncing mixing up as undesirable, one of the rhetorically strongest is a credible claim that this amounts to a form of imperialism. And it may be assumed that societies that have been colonized are particularly sensitive to hierarchical mixing up. Such narratives are convenient for local leaders because they enable them to shift the blame for bad leadership and corruption to external enemies.

I propose that Solomon Islands' experiences of colonization and their postcolonial status as "underdeveloped," in combination with strong global

Two Sarahama fishers taking out a keen amateur fishing tourist to try pole and line fishing in waters off Irabu Island.

discourses against colonial-style relations, have influenced Solomon Islander national identity, and therefore the way Solomon Islanders relate to foreigners. In other words, Solomon Islander understandings of their mixing up with foreigners are formed within a national habitus that contains a set of related predispositions. Solomon Islanders are predisposed to expect negative impacts on themselves from ethnic mixing up, to expect subordination in this mixing up, and to feel that this subordination is unjust. In the context of such predispositions, credible claims that mixing up with outsiders in Solomon Taiyo caused negative social impacts and/or was hierarchical, therefore, could be expected to have greatly damaged the legitimacy of the company. I have already said that management deliberately prevented island group chauvinism manifesting hierarchically in company structures through a policy of divide and rule, but what about hierarchies in mixing up with foreigners?

The preceding analysis of mixing up with Okinawans at the village level demonstrates one part of my proposal, namely, that Solomon Islanders were predisposed to be pessimistic about the effects on themselves of mixing up with foreigners. However, while mixing up with Okinawans in villages was hierarchical in some senses — foreign men with the goods of modernity mixing with local women who want modern goods and have extremely limited access — Okinawans did not have a clear structural power advantage over Solomon Islanders, as white men had with the colonial administration. So explaining relations between Okinawans and villagers alone does not make the case about hierarchical relations with foreigners in Solomon Taiyo. In order to explore my proposal further in the following section I investigate mixing up between foreigners and Solomon Islanders in the workplaces of Solomon Taiyo, where claims to subordination on the basis of nationality were credible.

Mixing Up with Foreigners in the Workplace

In its employment structure Solomon Taiyo continued the colonial pattern of mixing up with Solomon Islanders subordinate to foreigners (and more or less horizontal relations between island groups). University-educated Japanese

mainlanders held eight of the top management positions in the company, the others were filled by two Solomon Islanders, two Australians, and a Filipina. A couple of Fijians, a couple of dozen Filipinos, and about thirty Okinawan fishermen held some of the technical supervisory positions; the rest of these, along with other middle management positions, were held by Solomon Islanders. Solomon Islanders held all the manual labor positions.

In addition to the distribution across job types, there were also hierarchies of nationality in terms of remuneration in Solomon Taiyo. The practice of ranking remuneration according to nationality, even for the same work, is common in the international fishing industry and in all Solomon Islands workplaces. The ratios of remuneration differences according to nationality in Solomon Taiyo were typical by Solomon Islands' standards. Japanese and Australian nationals received the highest remuneration, next came Fijians and Filipinos, with Solomon Islanders receiving the lowest pay. Solomon Islander fishing masters received about one-tenth the salary of Okinawan fishing masters, and I estimated that the Solomon Islander deputy general manager received at most one-fifth of the salary of Japanese senior managers.[45]

Some Solomon Islanders were not subordinate in relation to some foreigners; one Solomon Islander personnel manager, for instance, had sacked an Okinawan fishing master in the mid 1990s. On the whole, however, a hierarchical relationship between foreign and local employees was clearly and materially manifest in company structures. This hierarchy was also visible in symbolic aspects of relations between Solomon Islanders and foreigners in the workplace. Hierarchical symbolic relations between Solomon Islanders and foreigners, however, were less obvious than the material relations because they were obscured by norms and practices that denied hierarchy.

Mainland Japanese and Okinawan commentators on Solomon Taiyo often asserted that Sarahama fishermen were successful in Solomon Taiyo because they were egalitarian in their relations with people of other ethnic groups.[46] One Japanese manager said relations between Sarahamans and Solomon Islanders were smooth and offered as evidence the fact that they were able to fish effectively together. A social consensus was visible in Okinawan narratives that relations between Okinawan and Solomon Islander crew members were "close" (*shitashii*). The reason Okinawan interviewees often gave for saying relations with Solomon Islanders were close was that several times during the 1980s Okinawan fishermen had invited one worker from each ship to Miyako for a group homestay visit. They also mentioned that they brought gifts back from Japan for their Solomon Islander workmates each year and that these gifts were greatly appreciated. The narrative of closeness related by virtually all Okinawan interviewees was, however, also often belied by the particulars they related of relations with Solomon Islander coworkers. One confessed that when they were in Solomon Islands they socialized with each other, not with Solomon Islanders. Another Okinawan said that they rarely ate together with the Solomon Islanders and did not drink alcohol together.[47]

The narrative of closeness in Okinawan representations of relations with workmates is like the narrative of negative social impact in Solomon Islander

representations of relations with villagers in that the observable actuality of relations often deviated from the social consensus about the relations. Okinawan interviewees explained this social distance from their Solomon Islander co-workers as necessary to maintain their authority over them.[48] This gap between a representation of closeness and an actuality of distance thus also constitutes a gap between norms of ethnic equality and the actuality that Okinawans were structurally superordinate to their local workmates. One of the ways hierarchy was visible in symbolic relations, albeit still obscured, was in the generosity of Okinawans toward Solomon Islanders, which was often expressed as paternalism. Paternalism is sometimes difficult to recognize as dominance because it is often manifest in the giving of gifts rather than as unpleasantness, but it is nonetheless subordinating.[49] The following quote from an Okinawan fisherman exhibits a clearly paternalistic attitude toward Solomon Islanders.

> They almost all use Miyako's, Sarahama's language, those guys, "oi, oi, oi" comes from them without thinking, "oi, oi, oi" they say.…"You haven't seen Nakada recently have you?" they say, those guys in Sarahama language.…In the end, they want a cigarette, they come and call out to people they think are Japanese, take a cigarette and smoke it. One time, last year, it happened last year I think, with a baby, holding a baby, she came up to me.…"Why are you walking around in bare feet?" [I asked]. She was going around with no shoes on. When I asked whose baby it was she said it was mine, this person I didn't know. "What? If it was my child wouldn't its skin be a bit whiter?" I asked. "No, [she said] you didn't give me an umbrella, you wouldn't give me money even for a sun umbrella so I couldn't protect the baby from the sun. The baby is tanned by the sun, that's why the baby is so black." [Laughter] That's what she said. In my language. "That's strange, I don't remember you; here, have twenty dollars," I said. She said, "OK," took it and said "Thank you."…Before, a long time ago, this undeveloped place [*mikaichi*], do you say undeveloped? When we first went in, they threw lots of rocks, threw rocks but they don't do things like that now. Now everyone is close.…We…gave cigarettes, gave sewing machines, whatever we gave, they thought Japanese were great. Especially if you are Okinawan, if you are Okinawan, they think we are the best, if you go there. If you are from this island.…We brought them here. Then when it was time to go home, we gave them money.…Old clothing from each house here in Sarahama. We filled the ships with used clothing and went, and gave it to everyone. At that time over there even young women walked around with their breasts hanging out, most had them out, only a piece of bark wrapped around their waist. So, poor things, so, we went around each family and gathered everyone, and filled each boat with stuff for children to stuff for old people. We went and gave it to them and they thought it was the best. They were really happy.…If they invite us for a meal, we don't say "no," we go; there they don't use chopsticks, they eat with a spoon or their fingers so, eat together. And their food, we don't say "your food is yuck, so I won't eat it" or anything like that; we eat together with our fingers, because if you eat together it makes them happy. That is, that is

how you get close.…And when we go ashore, the Japanese should look like proper Japanese, put shoes on, well it is okay not to put a tie on, like a private ambassador, um, go ashore properly. If you do that they think "as you'd expect, the Japanese are impressive aren't they."

This fisherman talked of the gifts Okinawans gave, such as cash, cigarettes, sewing machines, and clothing. In his representation even accepting Solomon Islander hospitality is something he *gave* them; the courtesy of not insulting or refusing their food, nor refusing to eat with his hands as they did. There is no sense of equal reciprocity in his picture, not a sense that Solomon Islanders' hospitality was a gift to him, or that he might be upset by Solomon Islander reactions to Okinawan food eaten on board fishing vessels (often unfavorable). His sense of being in a paternal position vis-à-vis Solomon Islanders seems to be based in identification as belonging to a "developed" country, Japan, in contrast to *mikaichi* Solomon Islands.

A Solomon Islander interviewee, who had entertained Okinawans in his home, emphasized that his Okinawan guests did not require special rooms or arrangements. They slept on the floor with everyone else. He mentioned more than once that he drank and sat with the fishermen, stressing that they treated him as their social equal. In this sense, relations with villagers resembled the ideal of closeness more than relations with crew members, but even here no Okinawan fishermen pointed out that Solomon Islanders treated them as equals, rather Okinawan interviewees stressed the egalitarianism they themselves extended, revealing a mutual predisposition to expect hierarchy.

Old-fashioned hierarchies of race in which "Asian" was considered of a higher order than "black" constitute part of the background influences in this situation. Newer ideological forms are also at play. Several authors have written of "discourses of development" wherein categorizing peoples according to the relative levels of economic development of their national economy is a hierarchical form of identity politics.[50] Okinawans' rationales for their positions of wealth and power over Solomon Islanders did not contain references to biological attributes, but were based on ideas about the relative stages of development or modernization of Okinawans/Japanese versus Solomon Islanders. One Okinawan fishing master said that Solomon Islands was the "poorest country in the world" and "undeveloped." He admitted that Honiara was "growing up," but added that remote islands were "still" not there. He thought it was "stupid" for Solomon Islands to have become independent because he thought Solomon Islanders were incapable of independent governance. Another Okinawan who identified Solomon Islands as less "developed" than Japan specified sectors in which this was visible: schooling, telecommunications, availability of commercial entertainments and household appliances, and the capacity of unions and the government to protect workers and the environment. This self-identification as more modern than Solomon Islanders was the basis for hierarchical relations in the symbolic realm, enmeshed with structural and financial advantages.

Okinawans, however, were not the only kind of foreigners with whom Solomon Islanders integrated in Solomon Taiyo. Solomon Islanders also had a great deal of contact with mainland Japanese managers in the company. Rela-

tions between Solomon Islanders and Japanese were hierarchical, but not in precisely the same way as with Okinawans. When asked about relations with Japanese compared to relations with Okinawans one Solomon Islander manager said:

> Okinawans are much more like Solomon Islanders, you know? The Islander mentality. Okinawans have it, the mainland Japanese they don't. They don't have that sort of attitude. Not as intimate as the Okinawans.…The way you talk, ah, the way you share things, the way you reward things. The Okinawans are a little bit more casual. Whereas the mainland Japanese are more formal. And, ah, on the boat too, the purse seine [net fishing] fleet is manned by mainland Japanese people.…It is the way they organize work on board. On the purse seine fleet they are more strict, more aggressive, whereas on the pole and line boats they are more together.

A comparison of Japanese managers' and Okinawan fishermen's places of rest and recreation in Noro encapsulates some of these differences in social contact between Japanese, Okinawans, and Solomon Islanders. Several times I visited the Okinawa Rest House, where off-duty Okinawan fishermen came for time ashore. Many local women were always coming and going from the house. On one occasion a local woman was sitting on the floor in front of the large television set with one of the Okinawan engineers and a light-skinned baby. A woman whom I recognized from the quality control department at Solomon Taiyo was having lunch in the kitchen. A young woman whose father was an Okinawan fisherman was staying at the house, visiting her father during her college semester break. The Okinawa Rest House had a relaxed and hospitable atmosphere. The women who ran it seemed to consider it their home as well as their workplace. They sat at the same table as the fishermen, talked to them without deference, and had their friends and family visit them at work. The Staff House, for mainland Japanese managers and technical supervisors, was also hospitable, but much more formal, and the attitude of the women working there was very different from the women working in the Okinawa Rest House. At the Staff House women cooked quietly in the kitchen and emerged in the main room only to serve. They did not engage in conversations with the Japanese men and replied to instructions as subordinates. Their friends and family were not in evidence. The differences I noticed between the Okinawa Rest House and the Staff House bear out the Solomon Islander manager's analysis of the difference in relations between Solomon Islanders and Okinawans, Solomon Islanders and Japanese. Japanese were more formal and strict while Okinawans were more casual and intimate; this tended to make hierarchies more ambiguous.

Some of the difference between Japanese relations with Solomon Islanders and Okinawans' relations with Solomon Islanders was cultural, as there are many points of difference between Okinawan culture(s) and mainland Japanese culture(s).[51] Another crucial explanation for this difference, however, is the respective class positions of the mainland Japanese, graduates of Japan's top fishing faculties and universities who were recruited as managers for Maruha, a prestigious company, and Okinawan high school graduate fishermen

from a remote rural part of Japan. Indeed Tomiyama Ichirō has argued that many explanations of "cultural" difference between Okinawans and Japanese may be better understood as class differences, in a world systems theory sense, historically rooted in the annexation of Okinawa into the prewar Japanese empire.[52] Okinawa continues to consistently have the lowest income per capita of Japan's prefectures and is financially dependent on the national government for revenue.

A former Sarahama fisherman told me that the Okinawans got along better with each other and with Japanese from other remote rural areas than they did with mainlanders from the big cities. Another fisherman said this as well, then went on to list grievances based on material differences between the living and remuneration arrangements of the managers and the fishermen. There were bad feelings between the two groups, he said, and they did not socialize together. A mainland Japanese manager said:

> As you'd expect we, there are positions they and we take, that is, not very, draw a little distance.…From their point of view they would naturally have dissatisfactions regarding us, I think, and if we drank a bit of alcohol, there would be those kinds of unpleasant things I think, so we avoid going there [Okinawa Rest House] at night whenever we can.

A fleet manager I interviewed appeared to be the only mainland Japanese with a working understanding of the Sarahama language. He said that before he came to Solomon Taiyo in the mid 1980s the Tokyo office had sent several different fleet managers. None of them had been effective because not one of them had ever worked on a boat. They also found it difficult to communicate with the Okinawan fishermen "because of the history of Japan." The fleet manager said it was hard work becoming accepted by the Okinawans. In the early years they did things to make him look bad. But he thought he bridged the gap because he was a fisherman. An Okinawan fisherman said that the Okinawan fisherman would not follow directions from other managers but their "feelings matched" with the fleet manager because he was a fisherman.

This status difference between the mainland managers and the Okinawan fishermen, more or less related to class, also existed in Solomon Islander perceptions of Okinawans and Japanese. A Solomon Islander former politician said he felt mainland Japanese were "more gentleman-like" than Okinawans. Members of the Solomon Islanders governing elite told me that they found it easier to "get along with" mainland Japanese than the Okinawans. Villagers and lower-ranked public servants, however, found the Okinawans more approachable. One village resident described Okinawans as "so friendly," as distinct from the mainland Japanese "bigwigs" at Noro. He said the Okinawans would "get close" and "mix up" with local people. Several other interviewees also pointed out that Okinawans had much more contact with ordinary Solomon Islander villagers than did Japanese managers.

A Solomon Islander former politician described Okinawans as "rough," "not educated." Since the English language has been a marker of education and a criterion for prestigious and lucrative employment for Solomon Islanders, a lack of English-language ability is often taken to indicate a lack of education, and

"Staff" housing for Solomon Taiyo managers in the Baru area of Noro.

most Okinawan fishermen did not have good English-language skills. Their lack of English meant they were unable to quickly pick up Solomons Pijin (made up of many English root words). So for working on the boats Sarahama men and local crews developed a new kind of Pijin, called Okinawan Pijin. This was made up of Sarahama language and Solomons Pijin, with a handful of Japanese and English loan words thrown.[53] Okinawan Pijin was disparaged by many Solomon Islanders as an inferior kind of language.[54] Another way in which Solomon Islanders represented Okinawans as inferior was to describe them as barbaric and lacking culture.[55] These representations are part of the contradictions to Okinawan dominance over Solomon Islanders in symbolic relations I mentioned earlier in relation to some Okinawan norms and practices. These did not cancel out symbolic subordination of Solomon Islanders in relations with Okinawans, rather there was a complex coexistence of contradictory discourses.

The preceding discussion shows that, notwithstanding the fact that some Solomon Islanders in some situations were dominant over some foreigners, symbolic hierarchical relations were sometimes obscured, and the nature of integration varied across different groups of foreigners, overall mixing up between Solomon Islanders and foreigners was materially and symbolically hierarchical. Both intra-Solomon Islands mixing up and mixing up with foreigners were seen as causing negative social impacts, but when representations of both kinds of ethnic integration are compared, protests against the results of mixing up with foreigners were far more strident and pervasive. The main difference between these two types of mixing up was that island-group mixing up was horizontal while mixing up with foreigners was demonstrably hierarchical. In terms of mixing up with foreigners, Solomon Taiyo was thus similar to colonialism. That Solomon Islanders drew parallels between colonial relations and relations with foreigners in Solomon Taiyo is indicated by Tarcicius Kabutaulaka who points out that "Asians" (including Solomon Taiyo's Japanese and Okinawans) have joined whites as foreigners with whom Solomon Islanders engage as sub-

ordinates.[56] Kabutaulaka frames this form of social contact as part of contemporary colonization of the mind in Solomon Islands society.[57] This colonial taint was the main reason that mixing up with foreigners in Solomon Taiyo was the form of integration inspiring most interviewees' assertions that the company and its modernization caused negative social impacts.

Conclusion

Solomon Taiyo was one company but since many of the factors involved, such as postcoloniality and the condition of being in a joint venture with a Japanese company, are broader than the company, conclusions from Solomon Taiyo raise a set of questions that may form a fruitful basis for investigation of other cases. Mixing up through Solomon Taiyo was not a single, even, homogenizing process. Rather it was a web of different kinds of mixings up. Some of these mixings up included women and men, island groups, and Solomon Islanders and foreigners. Each kind of mixing up was perceived differently. In terms of effects on perceptions of and responses to modernization, therefore, social contact was a set of factors.

Mixing up of men and women in Solomon Taiyo was hierarchical, reflecting strong patriarchal elements in the cultures of the ethnic groups involved. The negative effects of women's subordination were noticed and deplored, but patriarchy was rarely identified as a causal factor; equally rarely did interviewees suggest dismantling gender hierarchies as a solution to women's problems. Mixing up of women and men in Solomon Taiyo also resulted in many heterosexual liaisons across ethnic groups, and many Solomon Islander interviewees declared that a "loss of culture" and a decaying social order were, in part, the result of these long-term relationships.

Solomon Islander tendencies to favor their own island group members in the workplace and to coalesce into island groups, adopting adversarial behavior toward other island groups, were seen by the company to be disruptive to operations. So mixing up between island groups was actively made horizontal by Solomon Taiyo management. Nevertheless, because relations between island groups are so adversarial in Solomon Islands society, Solomon Islander interviewees expressed concerns that Solomon Taiyo was allowing one island group or another to gain unfair advantages. So, although island group relations were horizontal, the perception that hierarchies between groups were being facilitated through the company helped damage perceptions of its modernization, as did the fact that violence often erupted between the island groups brought together by the company.

The nature of mixing up between Solomon Islanders and foreigners in Solomon Taiyo was structurally hierarchical and it was represented as such by almost all Solomon Islander interviewees. They expressed a strong sense of injustice at this subordination. Anxiety over the nature of mixing up with foreigners was easily the most significant discourse shaping social reception of Solomon Taiyo and its modernizing influences. Indeed, the preoccupation with domination by foreigners was such that it permeated perceptions of all the negative aspects of mixing up in Solomon Taiyo. Problems suffered by women were framed by

some interviewees as perpetrated on "our" women by "foreigners," rather than being seen as a result of patriarchy. Representations of struggles between island groups resonated strongly with representations of struggles against foreigners, since both were forms of struggle against outsiders and there is a ready vocabulary in nationalism to speak of territorially based resource rights, employment rights, and migration rights accruing to certain groups and not others.

This analysis shows that cultural changes occurring through mixing up inspire resistance against modernization when the changes are interpreted as the loss of culture and/or decay of social order. Not all cultural changes were interpreted negatively, however. Changes to social behavior and understandings of social relations brought about through increased contacts with other groups were also interpreted positively. Further work needs to be done on why cultural change through mixing up is interpreted more or less negatively in certain circumstances.

The analysis yielded more unexpected results regarding the role of hierarchies in mixing. Contrasting hierarchical mixing up of women and men with hierarchical mixing up of Solomon Islanders and foreigners showed that hierarchies per se do not inspire resistance. It depends on the legitimacy of the hierarchy. This is not to say, however, that mixing up based on a hierarchy that is seen as legitimate, in this case patriarchy, inspires no protest at all. The patriarchy at the core of the mixing up of the sexes was largely overlooked, but its negative effects on women's lives were widely denounced. In mixing up with foreigners both the hierarchy and the negative effects of the mixing up on people were seen as illegitimate.

The fact that hierarchical mixing up with foreigners was so strongly negatively perceived in Solomon Taiyo raises a couple of points to consider in other situations. One is to consider further the role of legitimacy in shaping resistance, which could be theorized along the lines of ideas raised by Bourdieu, in his later works, about the nature of resistance.[58] Another is that anticolonial and nationalist discourses are currently so hegemonic in people's understandings of themselves and the rest of the world, the nature of social contact between nationality and/or ethnic groups in a modernization project may be the crucial factor affecting local responses to the project.

Notes

1. In this paper I use "modernization" rather than "development" because I agree with the many commentators who over the last decade or so have pointed out that the idea of development amounts to a form of Orientalism; self-congratulation on the part of the West or the North, or the former colonizers, that *we* know how to do economics and *they* do not. See W. Sachs, ed., *Development*

Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power (Johannesburg and London: Witwatersrand University Press and Zed Books, 1997). "Modernization" might seem to be an odd alternative because of its association with outmoded theories of development from the 1950s and 1960s, but I use the term not in the sense it was used by W.W. Rostow but rather as it is used by more contemporary theorists, for example, U. Beck, A. Giddens, and S. Lash in *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in Modern Social Order* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

2. This paper is based on fieldwork in Solomon Islands in 1999, and in Japan and Okinawa in 1998-2000. A large part of the data consists of interviews — some hand noted, others tape recorded and transcribed — with around ninety people involved with Solomon Taiyo as employees, contractors, managers of companies contracted to Solomon Taiyo, residents of nearby communities, community leaders, politicians, public servants, and nongovernmental organization workers. Other sources include archived files from a number of Solomon Islands government offices, consultancy reports generated about Solomon Taiyo, records of parliamentary debates, and print media.

3. Other kinds of sexual liaisons no doubt took place, but heterosexual ones were the only ones about which I was able to gather data. Judith Bennet discusses homosexual liaisons during the plantation era and the war in *Wealth of the Solomons: A History of a Pacific Archipelago, 1800-1978,* Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 3 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987).

4. See Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons*; Peter Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation: A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migration 1870-1914* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 1973).

5. See Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons.*

6. A search of the files of the National Archives of Solomon Islands and the Fisheries Division office in Honiara from this period unearthed many letters and reports from Jonathon Pepys-Cockerell, a colonial officer of the Western Pacific High Commission in Suva, about meetings with various international companies involved in the catching and processing of tuna. This correspondence confirms that this was the British policy direction toward Solomon Islands in the early 1970s. Pepys-Cockerell was concerned to find investors who would deal with Solomon Islanders in good faith and who would establish shore-based facilities that employed Solomon Islanders and added value in Solomon Islands industry. Companies from the United States were rejected because the U.S. tariff system made it uneconomical for any but the most basic processing to be conducted outside the States.

7. Noro is situated on a natural harbor in a narrows between the islands of New Georgia and Kohinggo, near Kolumbangara, in the Western Province.

8. Other products included frozen fish, sold mostly to Thailand, and smoked fish, sold exclusively to Japan. Because the pole-and-line fishing method was used the canned product was acceptable to the ecology- and quality-conscious British supermarket chains Sainsbury's and Waitrose. Pole-and-line caught fish have a shorter period of stress before death, the meat is less squashed, and the fish are chilled faster than fish caught by the less labor intensive, and therefore far cheaper, purse seine method. Pole-and-line fishing is very species-specific and so has a very low percentage of by-catch. It is less likely than net fishing to take whole schools of fish. These features along with the fact that it falls under the Lomé Convention(as an Africa, Caribbean, Pacific product), make pole-and-line-caught fish exempt from the European Union's 24 percent tariff on imports of canned tuna. Pole-and-line-caught tuna thus has a market in the UK despite being more expensive than purse-seined tuna. Canned sales had long made up the bulk of the value of Solomon Taiyo sales.

9. Widespread knowledge that the company was not profitable, with little effort made by the company or the government to publicly explain why, led to suspicions that the Japanese partner was engaging in transfer pricing and that the company was actually profitable but the books were "fiddled" so as to avoid paying taxes in Solomon Islands. A report from the mid 1990s makes a convincing case that the reason behind the longevity of the company despite a lack of profits was not transfer pricing, but the fact that both partners were gaining financially from before-profit payments (duties and commissions) and both had nonfinancial (political) benefits to balance against poor profitability. See A. Hughes and O. Thaanum, *Costly Connections: A Performance Appraisal of Solomon Taiyo Limited,* FFA Report, no. 95/54 (Honiara: Forum Fisheries Agency, 1995). My interview material supports this assessment, as did other consultancy reports such as one conducted by a wing of the World Bank in 1999: South Pacific Project Facility, *Report on the Valuation of the Solomon Island Government Investment in Solomon Taiyo Ltd* (prepared for the Investment Corporation of Solomon Islands, June 1999, SPPF/00157).

10. For discussion of pre-contact gender relations in Melanesia, see M. Jolly, "Soaring Hawks and Grounded Persons: The Politics of Rank and Gender in North Vanuatu," in *Big Men and Great Men: Personifications of Power in Melanesia,* ed. M. Godelier and M. Strathern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

11. Some groups, such as the Kwaio of Malaita, were more resistant to these changes than others. For elaboration of this point see any of Roger Keesing's numerous publications about the Kwaio people.

12. Differences in gender relations were reflected in factors such as whether land use rights and hereditary authority were passed down through the male or female line, whether women were able to mobilize these rights themselves or their male relatives could on their behalf, and whether women's contributions were sought in community and family decision-making or decisions were made only by men.

13. Meltzhoff and LiPuma found that on the island of Sa'a, women were explicitly excluded from community development planning because it was thought they had no understanding of the cash economy. S.K. Meltzhoff and E. LiPuma, "Hunting for Tuna and Cash in the Solomons: A Rebirth of Artisanal Fishing in Malaita," *Human Organisation,* 45, no. 1 (1986): 53-62.

14. Christine Jourdan, *Sapos Iumi Mitim Iumi: Urbanisation and Creolisation in the Solomon Islands* (Canberra: PhD diss., Australian National University, 1985), 53. According to Keesing, Kwaio women were enclosed in the village, most did not speak Pijin, and they never travelled outside to town. R.M. Keesing, *Custom and Confrontation: The Kwaio Struggle for Cultural Autonomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 204. Corris found that some women were contracted as indentured labor during the plantation period, but that they made up less than 10 percent of the total. P. Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation,* 45.

15. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons,* 118.

16. Some Malaitan island groups responded violently to mixed partnerships. These partnerships were often hidden from white women.

17. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons,* esp. 182.

18. Bennett discussed such opportunities being taken up by many women and/or their families, especially in Western Province (*Wealth of the Solomons*). The story of Norman Wheatley, a plantation owner and trader in Munda in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is also the story of his two local wives and how marriage to him affected their families. See J.A. Boutilier, "New Geor-

gia Days of Norman Wheatley," *Journal of the Solomon Islands Museum Association,* no. 3 (1975): 29-41.

19. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons,* 70.

20. Solomon Islander men who have recorded their interactions with the Americans, and to a much lesser extent the Japanese, include the following: G.A.P. Zoloveke, *Zoloveke: A Man from Choiseul,* J. Chick, ed. (Honiara: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of South Pacific, 1980); J. Fifi'i, *From Pig Theft to Parliament: My Life between Two Worlds,* R. Keesing, ed. (Honiara: Solomon Islands College of Higher Education and University of South Pacific Press, 1989); and contributors to a special issue "Taem Blong Faet: World War II in Melanesia," *O'O Journal of Solomon Islands Studies,* no. 4 (1988).

21. These effects of contact with the Americans during the war are detailed by Fifi'i, *From Pig Theft to Parliament,* and Zoloveke, *Zoloveke,* both of whom were important political activists in the decades following World War II. The importance of this was also analyzed by H. Laracy in *Pacific Protest: The Maasina Rule Movement in Solomon Islands, 1944-1952* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1983).

22. There is no space to go into it at length in this essay but the idea of territory is crucial in these ethno-nationalist norms. Domination of "migrants," especially "refugees," by the "citizens" of a territory is clearly still considered legitimate around the world.

23. Zoloveke (*Zoloveke: A Man From Choiseul*) was himself posted far away from his home, and he wrote that Solomon Islanders working for the police were also posted away from home. The brutal punishment of the Kwaio people following the massacre of two white tax collectors and several of their local assistants in Malaita in the 1920s was effected by the colonial government through employing non-Kwaio locals who had their own reasons for venting violence on the Kwaio. See R. Keesing and P. Corris, *Lightning Meets the West Wind: The Malaita Massacre* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980).

24. Many of the interviews used in this research were conducted either in Solomon Islands Pijin or Japanese. All translations in this paper are the author's unless stated otherwise.

25. K.M. Barclay, "Regional Integration and Dis-Integration in the Pacific: Economic Articulations." in *The Economic Impact of Regional Integration in the Pacific Rim,* ed. M. Falck and A. Santa Cruz (Guadalajara: University of Guadalajara Press, forthcoming). The chapter discusses gendered differences in pay and job type within the company. Overall, women were clustered around lower paid work in both the waged worker and salaried staff categories. As is often the case this was not based on a policy of paying women less than men, but based on definitions of job type and skill level that indirectly discriminated against women.

26. Sasabe Mari, *Current Situation surrounding the Female Workers of Taiyo Cannery in the Solomons* (Suva, Fiji: YWCA Japan/Pacific Conference of Churches, 1993), 39-43.

27. An article in the *Solomon Star* in 1994 was headlined "Solomon Taiyo Responsible for Educating Its Workers." The reporter wrote of naïve girls with sheltered upbringings and minimal education being vulnerable in Noro, and looked to tuna industry managers to fix the problem. Noro Town Council (Noro): 8/3/5, file containing papers and correspondence on health and medical services — environmental health — communicable diseases (no date or page number on clipping).

28. For example, in 1987 the then minister for home affairs and provincial government, Andrew Nori, who later became a leader in the Malaita Eagle Force (one of two major groups involved in recent violence) spoke on women and tradi-

tion in a speech reported in a Honiara newspaper. Nori asked women to respect religious and cultural values and warned that "radical deviations" in women's activism might alienate women from the rest of society and lose them support. He was paraphrased by the paper as saying "it is uncommon in our society for women to revolt against their menfolk" and that women did not need to fight for more equality because they already had laws for Equal Opportunity. *Nius,* 8 May 1987, 2-3.

29. For a discussion of management policies regarding the splitting up of island groups, especially in relation to living arrangements, see S.K. Meltzhoff and E. LiPuma, *A Japanese Fishing Joint Venture: Worker Experience and National Development in the Solomon Islands,* ICLARM Technical Report 12 (Manila: International Center for Living Aquatic Resources, Management [ICLARM], 1983).

30. Gayle Nelson and Patricia Tuara, *Solomon Islands Tuna Fishery Management Plan: Gender Issues Technical Support Component* (Honiara: Forum Fisheries Agency/ Forum Secretariat, Pacific Community/Canada-South Pacific Ocean Development, c.1998), 13.

31. Noro Town Council (Noro): 2/2/1, file containing papers and correspondence on administration — meetings — Full Council meetings (no author name, publication name, date, or page number on clipping).

32. Solomon Taiyo, the company as well as its tinned product, were generally referred to as "Taiyo" in Solomon Islands. A nongovernmental organization worker mentioned this joke in an interview and the deputy general manager referred to the same joke when talking frankly about some of Solomon Taiyo's social issues in a Tuna Management Plan meeting held at the Forum Fisheries Agency, Honiara, April 1999.

33. Three health workers from Noro and two sexual health workers from the Western Province health service concurred that STDs and pregnancy rates in Noro were high in absolute terms, but considering the demography of Noro residents, these rates were proportionally average for the province.

34. I usually I prefer the gender-neutral term "fishers," but these Okinawans were all men and their sex was significant, so I refer to them here as "fishermen." The reasons fishermen from Sarahama in particular were employed, the arrangements for their employment, and the effects of this employment in Sarahama have been discussed in Wakabayashi Yoshikazu, "Nanpō Katsuo Gyogyō no Sonritsu Yōin to Kiso Kōzō — Okinawa ken Irabu chō no Soromon Shutsugyo-sendan ni kansuru Jirei Kenkyū" [Factors in the development of bonito fishing in the South Pacific: With special reference to the organization and composition of the Okinawan fishermen of Solomon Taiyo Ltd.], *Chiiki Gyogyō Kenkyū* [Regional Fisheries Research] 37, no. 2 (1996): 139-59.

35. British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP), *Governing Council Debates Official Report,* 11th Meeting, 10-15 July 1974 (Honiara: Government Printing Office, 1974), 104.

36. *News Drum,* 11 April 1975, 8; *News Drum,* 18 April 1975, 8; *News Drum,* 21 March 1975, 8.

37. Ibid., 4 February 1977, 4.

38. Ibid., 14 March 1980, 3.

39. Western Province Government (Gizo): 10/1/17 I, natural resources — fisheries — Solomon Taiyo — Noro, memorandum dated 1 June 1994. This memo stated that community leaders had been complaining about prostitution ever since Solomon Taiyo started bait fishing in Marovo. The memo said the practice started with Okinawan crews but has now been adopted by Solomon Islanders. Later that year this administrator inquired about legal action to prosecute for prostitution on "Taiyo Catcher Boats" in Marovo. Western Province Govern-

ment (Gizo): 10/1/17 I, natural resources — fisheries — Solomon Taiyo — Noro, memorandum dated 22 November 1994.

40. Noro Town Council (Noro): CF 1/28, confidential file containing papers and correspondence on full council and executive — elections — board — commission and committees. (No date.)

41. An Okinawan fishing master told me this story. It seems to be the same incident mentioned in a letter from a Church leader in Patutiva, Marovo, to the general manager of Solomon Taiyo. Western Province Government (Gizo): 10/1/17 I, letter dated 19 March 1996.

42. Several bait-ground residents said families wanted their daughters to become involved with the fishermen because it meant they would receive shop foods and other goods.

43. Bennett mentions the historical background of prostitution in Solomon Islands at several points in *Wealth of the Solomons.*

44. Other probable influences on these portrayals of Okinawans include anti-Asian sentiments mediated by global English-language media and the pre- and post-Independence white elite in Solomon Islands.

45. Remuneration figures were guarded closely by the company so none of the files explored during fieldwork contained figures on salary packages for individuals, or a breakdown by nationality. I pieced together a picture of the pay differences from several sources. Okinawan fishing masters interviewed said they received a monthly income about ten times that of Solomon Islander fishing masters, and a survey I conducted of Solomon Taiyo fleet workers corroborated this. Japanese employees in Solomon Taiyo said that they were paid an amount roughly equal to a similar position in Japan, plus a bonus because this was considered a hardship posting. According to Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare statistics in 1999 the average monthly income for manufacturing employees in enterprises of a similar size to Solomon Taiyo was US $3,067 (http:// www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-l/basicsurvey/99f.html, accessed 4 October 2002). The median monthly income for fifty Solomon Taiyo workers surveyed in 1999 was US$100-120. Even considering that the Ministry figures include management whereas the Noro figures did not, the ratio of ten to one is a conservative estimate of the income difference. In 1998 the total remuneration for sixty or so expatriates was SBD$17.7 million, whereas the total remuneration for 2,200 Solomon Islanders was SBD$21 million. (South Pacific Project Facility, *Report on the Valuation of the Solomon Island Government Investment in Solomon Taiyo Ltd,* report prepared for the Investment Corporation of Solomon Islands, SPPF/00157, June 1999.) Solomon Taiyo was no more exploitative than other companies in its use of nationality-based remuneration; indeed, it was rumoured that Solomon Taiyo's Solomon Islander deputy general manager was the most highly paid Solomon Islander in the country.

46. "(W)ealthy in conciliation with other peoples…." Wakabayashi, "Nanpō Katsuo Gyogyō," 101. This is from a list of reasons Sarahama fishermen were preferred for South Seas fishing drawn from documents from Taiyō Gyogyō, Tokuyō Gyogyō, and from research on Okinawan fishermen by other academics.

47. Most of the Okinawans' socializing involved alcohol, especially the ritual drinking game called *otōri,* so by saying that they did not drink together he was saying they did not socialize together.

48. That social distance was drawn to reinforce workplace hierarchies was corroborated by my observations, and has been noted as a feature of Japanese shipside sociology before. See Chris Dyer, "Social Organization as a Function of Work Organization aboard a Japanese Surimi Trawler," *Human Organization* 47, no. 1 (1988): 76-81.

49. For example, Kondo found that she was identified as subordinate within Japanese society because she "was not to be feared and obeyed, but protected and helped." Dorinne Kondo, *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15. Ortner discussed structural Marxist anthropologists who found that the "apparently benevolent authority of elders, or the apparent altruism and solidarity of kin, are often grounded in systematic patterns of exploitation and power." S.B. Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 1 (1995): 179.

50. David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998); G. Esteva, "Development," in Sachs, *The Development Dictionary,* 6-25.

51. W.P. Lebra, *Okinawan Religion: Belief, Ritual and Social Structure* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1966).

52. Tomiyama Ichirō, *Kindai Nihon Shakai to "Okinawajin" — "Nihonjin' ni naru Koto to iu Koto* [Modern Japanese society and "Okinawans": On becoming "Japanese"] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōron Sha, 1990).

53. For example, the English word "girl" in Pijin is pronounced "gel" or "geli," but as it came into Okinawan Pijin via Japanese is pronounced "gyāru." In Pijin the word "swim" is used for personal washing, but in Okinawan Pijin the word "sawa" [shower] is used. Pijin's "bia" [beer] is Okinawan Pijin's "bīru." Edvard Hviding gives some detail on the syncretist grammar and syntax of Okinawan Pijin and calls it a nautical pidgin as defined by Roger Keesing. See Edvard Hviding, *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon: Practice, Place, and Politics in Maritime Melanesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 408-9.

54. The form of Pijin used by Okinawans was disparaged by locals and seen to show the limited abilities of the Okinawan "wild men." Hviding, *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon,* 324, 408-9. A Solomon Islander fleet administration employee I interviewed said it was very difficult on the ships because the Japanese could not speak English or "proper Pijin." Okinawan Pijin is a "rubbish language," a village elder said. "It spoils our good broken English."

55. Edvard Hviding found many people in the Marovo area thought the Okinawans barbaric because they "lacked *kastom.*" Hviding, *Guardians of Marovo Lagoon,* 324, 408-9. *Kastom* is a Pijin word adapted from the English word "custom." *Kastom* roughly translates as traditions or indigenous culture as opposed to modernity and "introduced culture." For example, a UN Development Advisory team reporting on the proposed use of Noro as a base in 1975 said that Solomon Taiyo should "not repeat the mistakes of Tulagi," including the "behavior of Japanese crews." The report went on to say that relations between foreign fishermen and local villagers needed improvement, specifically that fishermen should "observe the customs of the people." *Report on Proposed Fishery Base, New Georgia, British Solomon Islands Protectorate* (Suva: UN Development Advisory Team, 1975), 4, 20.

56. Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, "I Am Not a Stupid Native! Decolonising Images and Imagination in Solomon Islands," unpublished paper (Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, c. 1996), 2.

57. Two important theorists of the "colonization of the mind," which lives on after decolonization, are A. Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988) and A. Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (New York: Condor, 1965).

58. See, for example, P. Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations,* trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Polity Press), esp, 234-36.

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