



United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women

A photograph of a woman with dark hair, wearing a pink shirt, looking directly at the camera. She is holding a sign that says 'ICE CUP'. The background is a blurred outdoor setting.

Pacific Markets and Market Vendors

**Evidence, Data and Knowledge
in Pacific Island Countries**

Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography
1st Edition – July 2011

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Pacific Markets and Market Vendors: Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography
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FOREWORD

Markets, whether centrally organized by a government body or ad hoc in nature, provide a critical source of income generation for women throughout the Pacific Island region. Yet like their counterparts in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and much of Asia, women who trade in Pacific Island markets have their work dismissed as marginal, unskilled, and unimportant. Governments all too frequently ignore the substantial contributions that women market traders make to local and national economies. Women market traders connect urban consumers with rural producers, pay significant fees that subsidize municipal town planning ventures, and, of course, provide economic support to countless households and communities throughout the Pacific.

With concerns about food security issues again becoming a priority throughout the world, governments can no longer afford to ignore the important roles played by market traders in bringing affordable and high quality produce to towns and cities. This is particularly true in the Pacific Islands, where climate change continues to create real and immediate threats to sustainable livelihoods. Now, more than ever, administrators need to work closely with market traders in order to determine how they might build partnerships that facilitate women's economic empowerment and poverty eradication measures while also ensuring a reliable supply of healthy local produce to Pacific urban centers or towns.

The literature on Pacific Island markets and market traders is scattered across many academic disciplines and development project reports. This review and annotated bibliography unites these diverse sources to reveal a number of commonalities shared by women market traders. From these sources, we know that the vast majority of market traders are women, many of whom work long hours in conditions that they describe as inadequate, unsanitary, hazardous and unsafe. We also know that the income earned from market trading supports countless households across the Pacific Islands, paying school fees and other expenses and, above all, keeping families out of poverty. Despite its potential for income generation, however, market trading can be unreliable due to the frequency with which bad weather, poor or unsafe transport conditions, a lack of formalized associations for women to articulate their needs, and economic factors (including limited access to credit) reduce women's abilities to sell their produce.

All of the available evidence and analysis suggests the pressing need to develop a strategy for mainstreaming gender in marketplace development and governance. Women market traders need to have a voice in any and all initiatives that concern their place of work. Part of the way forward lies in considering market trading as real and valuable work, rather than a devalued feminized occupation with associated lower prestige and reduced possibilities for upward mobility. More specifically, markets need to form a central focus of town planning efforts, including the development of safe and hygienic marketplaces with adequate sanitary facilities. Women need to be directly involved in these efforts. Women market vendors particularly need support to organize, educate and empower themselves to proactively engage in dialogue with the city and town councils that are most often responsible for supervising and managing the operations of Pacific Island markets.

It is clear that women market traders have long 'fed' and, (through their sometimes considerable stall and other fees), subsidized, a number of Pacific Islands towns and cities. Now it is time for towns and cities to open their doors to dialogue and to incorporate these traders on more equal terms that consider their needs. This is particularly important because, even within a single marketplace, traders come from diverse cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. Rural women who travel long distances in difficult conditions, only to sit in an area exposed to the elements to sell their produce on an ad hoc or otherwise infrequent basis are less likely to be able to participate in self-help organizing efforts than, for instance, city-dwelling market traders who profit from the early morning sales of farmer-wholesalers, live in close proximity, and are more established in the marketplace.

How can women market traders best organize themselves in ways that will allow them to convey their priorities, needs and concerns to those in power? How can the inequalities between rural and urban traders be reduced to allow them to unite in solidarity for the cause of improved marketplace working conditions?

Part of the answers to these complex questions can be found by listening to the voices of Pacific women market traders. When women describe making journeys to market of five hours or more in the back of a truck, clutching their produce to avoid falling out on slippery, unsafe roads, and when we see nothing has changed for the past

20 years, our policymakers need to listen. If women traders are forced to huddle, sometimes with small children, under makeshift tarpaulin shelters in the darkness as they wait through the late night to early morning, for the market gates to be unlocked, city and town council officials need to recognize their responsibility as duty bearers, as well as tax collectors, to ensure accommodation for those who provide their constituents with their main source of food.

Many Pacific Island residents encounter women market traders on a regular basis through their own food shopping activities. These women are not part of a hidden population or engaged in culturally inappropriate activities, and yet their work remains devalued, dismissed and stigmatized in ways that continue to justify and sustain their poor working conditions. It is time for planners, policymakers, and legislators throughout the Pacific Islands to recognize the important work of women as market traders and earners of family incomes.

UN Women in the Pacific, together with the support of ILO and UNDP, is currently implementing a project called Partnerships to Improve Markets. Recognizing the need to involve political and administrative leaders, gender equality advocates, and a range of stakeholders at work in markets, the project will build the capacities of participants to engage in gender-sensitive initiatives. One of the most dynamic aspects of the project involves the recognition that market traders must have a voice to articulate the hardships they face in the everyday course of their work. By empowering women market traders to organize and speak to authority as a unified community, the project also moves toward increasing women's political participation.

This summary of scholarly and development-related literature on Pacific Island markets and market traders has been compiled with the intention of providing practitioners and policymakers with a concise yet holistic overview of current knowledge and frameworks for understanding markets in the region. The evidence presented here offers a powerful case for increased investment in marketplace infrastructure, further training for market traders who desire it, and, above all, the need for governments and other stakeholders to recognize the important role market traders play in sustaining Pacific Island economies and households.

What follows is intended as a "living" document, and will be updated regularly. Comments, feedback, and additions are welcome.

Elizabeth Cox
Regional Programme Director
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INTRODUCTION

This literature reviews synthesizes material from the books, academic articles, and reports listed in the attached annotated bibliography on markets and market traders in the Pacific Island region. Information has been grouped into the following topics:

- (a) Nature and extent of market trade in the Pacific
- (b) Social context of market trade in the Pacific
- (c) Challenges faced by Pacific Island market traders
- (d) Recommendations for improving Pacific Island markets

This paper provides information on the following countries:

- American Samoa
- Federated States of Micronesia
- Fiji
- Kiribati
- Nauru
- New Caledonia
- Papua New Guinea
- Samoa
- Solomon Islands
- Tahiti
- Territory of the Wallis and Futuna Islands
- Tonga
- Vanuatu

The literature review contains some general comments about market trade across the Pacific, followed by specific information for each Pacific Island country, where available. The amount of information available on each Pacific Island country varies. The most comprehensive information comes from countries with larger population sizes and associated great likelihood of study by academic researchers and development agencies. Papua New Guinea is thus overrepresented in studies of market trade. Limited information is available on Polynesia, and almost nothing has been published on Micronesia. Countries in these areas would prove fertile sites for future research on market trade.

The attached annotated bibliography provides concise summaries of the books, academic articles, and reports referred to in the literature review. When available online, hyperlinks have been included in the annotated bibliographic citations.

A. NATURE AND EXTENT OF MARKET TRADE IN THE PACIFIC

TYPES OF MARKETS IN THE PACIFIC

1. *Municipal markets* are organized by local government and require vendors to pay stall fees (Lateef, 1994).
2. *Roadside markets* are typically organized on an ad hoc basis by farmers or their intermediaries, and may or may not be legal and subject to regulation by local authorities (Anderson, 2008).
3. *Private, individual or home-based markets* are organized by individuals with extra produce or other goods to sell, and may be ad hoc or semi-permanent in nature (van der Grijp, 2003).
4. *Periodic markets* take place on an as-needed or ceremonial basis and may or may not be regulated by local government authorities (Bourke, 1986; Gewertz, 1977; Lederman, 2009).
5. *Barter markets* feature the exchange of produce or other goods without cash, and seem to be decreasing in number (Gewertz, 1978).
6. *Flea markets* sell used, discarded, or scavenged items, some of which may be sourced from other countries (Besnier, 2004; Brown & Connell, 1993).
7. *Handicraft markets* cater primarily to tourists and sometimes to local urban residents interested in goods manufactured by those with rural ties (Connelly-Kirch, 1982).

PACIFIC MARKET STRUCTURES AND COMMODITY CHAINS: A BASIC OVERVIEW

8. Pacific Island markets vary enormously both in their levels of complexity and the geographical extent of their commodity chains. Some markets unite diverse ecosystems with produce arriving from great distances and therefore play a critical role in linking rural producers and urban consumers (Benediktsson, 2002), while others are highly localized (FPDA, 2009).
9. Urban markets across the Pacific face unique hardships due to their location in fragile ecological coastal zones, pollution from exhaust, sewage, noise, and dumping, and the breakdown between local and national economies due to remittances, aid, and the presence of profitable corporations which may not always be accountable to or benefit the general public (Connell & Lea, 2007).
10. Urban markets are enabled by reduced numbers of individuals who engage in agriculture due to their participation in the cash economy and wage labor force. One study suggests that encouraging Pacific Islanders to grow their own food in urban home-gardens would alleviate this problem of a limited produce supply somewhat (Thaman, Elevitch & Kennedy, 2006). Other studies have noted that preferences for processed or otherwise unhealthy foods reveal deep inequalities between producers and consumers (Gewertz & Errington, 2010), and changing notions of status (Kahn & Sexton, 1988).
11. Food preferences, including a desire to consume processed and imported foods, impacts market trade in addition to having serious health consequences. At least one study raises concerns about the food security situation created by urban Pacific Islanders who do not grow their own food, frequently prefer processed foods, and rely upon rural farmers for their produce (Haden, 2009).
12. Some markets are dominated by farmers who have grown the produce for sale (Anderson, 2008; Anderson, 2010), while others are largely operated by brokers selling produce purchased from farmers or wholesalers (Singh, 1996), while other markets are dominated by some combination of both.
13. The potential for revenue generation and amounts earned by market traders also vary widely from quite lucrative (Anderson, 2008), above the national minimum wage (Lateef, 1994), to supplementing other wages or income generation activities (Finch, 1991). Some studies suggest that market trading and other informal sector income is uniformly more lucrative than formal sector work despite the lower level of prestige accorded to it (Umezaki & Ohtsuka, 2003).

14. Pacific Island markets vary considerably in the infrastructure they provide to traders. Market traders describe their working conditions as ranging from adequate (Taulealea, 2005) to basic (Chang et al, 2010) to extremely poor and even unsafe (Pollard, 1996).
15. Markets throughout the Pacific are highly feminized, with the percentage of women traders ranging from over half to a vast majority (Anderson, 2008; Chang et al, 2010). There is some indication that this has not always been the case, as evidence suggests that the first traders to appear in urban markets were men; this seems to have been the case until the 1950s (Jackson, 1976).
16. Markets play a role in transforming gender relations, as the introduction of a cash economy can either reduce women's status (Feiberg, 1986) or dramatically democratize gender relations (Mosko, 1999).
17. Access to markets can be a highly coveted prospect due to their potential for cash generation, particularly by groups with limited access to cash or transportation. This can result in a situation in which groups without access to markets may envision themselves in a situation of relative deprivation with respect to those who do have such access (Hirsch, 1994).
18. Market trading is frequently embedded in broader cultural meanings about exchange (Munn, 1992[1986]) and has historically served an important function in regulating relationships between groups, including in reducing levels of hostility (Ross, 1978).
19. National and local governments often ignore the economic contribution markets and market traders make to local and national economies (Bourke, 2005). National governments, and local governments and communities as well in some cases, sometimes prioritize and place a higher level of prestige on export crops due to the regulated form of income they produce (Hide, N.D.).
20. Pacific market traders have historically combined market trading with other income generation strategies, including wage labor, customary exchange with kin, and growing cash crops for export (Brookfield, 1969). This is also true for residents of contemporary informal housing settlements (Maebuta & Maebuta, 2009).
21. Markets existed in the Pacific Islands in the form of barter markets or other organized exchanges of goods long before the colonial period (Carrier & Carrier, 1989; Gewertz, 1978), although trade with urban areas did considerably transform life for rural Pacific Islanders following colonization (Belshaw, 1952).
22. Climate change poses serious risks to food security in the Pacific Islands due to rising sea levels, increasing food costs, dependency upon imported food, and depleted soils due to cash cropping (Barnett, 2010).
23. Rural producers in remote areas are sometimes dependent upon urban consumer preferences for their cash income. This is exacerbated in situations where rural areas specialize in a single particular agricultural product (Sofer, 2007).
24. As with other forms of feminized labor, market trading allows women greater flexibility than formal sector work due to its variable hours (Anderson, 2008; Connolly-Kirch, 1982).
25. Some literature has documented the appearance of significant number of migrant or ethnic Chinese traders in Pacific Island markets (Ali, 2002). In at least one case, Chinese traders have come to dominate roadside and small enterprise trading (Besnier, 2011).

NATURE AND EXTENT OF MARKET TRADE IN PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in Fiji

26. Fiji has thirteen municipal markets (in Suva, Lami, Nausori, Korovou, Vaileka, Tavua, Ba, Lautoka, Nadi, Navua, Sigatoka, Labasa, and Savusavu) and countless roadside markets ranging from temporary and ad hoc to regular but illegal (Taulealea, 2005).
27. Findings from at least one study (based in Labasa) indicate that there is a high degree of correlation between the completion of basic schooling and increased income (Singh, 1996).

28. One study in the Suva Municipal Market, based on a sample of 200 women, found that market traders provide critical contributions to family income. This study also noted significant differences between Fiji's two major ethno-linguistic groups, with Fijian-speaking women traders more experienced with trade, supporting larger households and with higher levels of education than their Hindi-speaking counterparts (Lateef, 1994).
29. An economic analysis of markets in Suva, Nausori, Sigatoka and Labasa found that markets are critical sites of social, cultural and economic activities that make significant contributions to Fiji's local and national economies. Most notably, income from market trading in Fiji is immediately redistributed in the community through fees paid to city and town councils, and by women market traders' spending their earnings on education, food, and shelter for their families (FDC, 2010).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in Kiribati

30. Kiribati does not have the kinds of large fresh food markets found in Melanesia. Local produce marketing is limited, although stores do sell some amount of local produce that has been purchased from local growers by the Kiribati Handicraft and Local Produce. At least one study has undertaken to ascertain the possibilities for creating a local produce market in South Tarawa (Sharp, 2005).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in Nauru

31. The accumulation of phosphate-related wealth led to a situation in which imported and processed foods replaced locally grown produce. Efforts are now being undertaken to encourage Nauru residents to engage in farming for their own consumption and to sell to others through market trade (Stephen, 2009).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in Papua New Guinea

32. Market trading is widespread in Papua New Guinea and includes a combination of wholesaling, direct bulk selling to wholesalers, and trade in both municipal and ad hoc markets, and there are extensive social and economic networks that connect seemingly isolated rural areas with urban markets (Benediktsson, 1998; Epstein, 1982).
33. One study found that the majority of produce sold in Port Moresby came from neighboring areas, indicating that peri-urban centers play a critical role in the production and distribution of food to the capital (FPDA, 2009).
34. Papua New Guinea has an extensive history of trade in produce between ethnic groups (Carrier & Carrier, 1989; Gewertz, 1977; Gewertz, 1978), and it is likely that more consumers will begin to utilize markets as the prices of imported food continue to rise (Bourke, 2005).
35. Women with access to fertile land and roads in Papua New Guinea are the most likely to be successful in roadside selling. Roadside sellers in Madang province earn an average of three times the national minimum wage, sell an average of three days a week, and engage in other income-generating work (Anderson, 2008).
36. Women dominate market trade but do not have the institutional support, including access to credit and further education, that would allow them to expand their operations (Chang et al, 2010).
37. Peanuts and betel nut are important crops grown by traders for local and export sale, and accordingly have been the subjects of study with respect to growers and traders' needs in this sector (Omot et al, 2006; Kolopen et al, 2006).
38. The literature related to market trade and agriculture in Papua New Guinea is voluminous and is described concisely elsewhere (Hide, N.D.).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in Samoa

39. There is minimal information available on markets in Samoa, although work performed by Samoan women through trading and other informal sector activities plays a critical role in supporting many families (Dunlop, 2003).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in the Solomon Islands

40. There are extensive numbers of markets in the Solomon Islands, which can be divided into four major types. Provincial markets are regulated by local government authorities, private markets do not involve government in any capacity, local markets are apparently ad hoc and without government involvement, although they feature regular suppliers, sellers, and vendors, and single sellers who operate independently (Vinning & Sale, 2009).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in Tahiti

41. Although there is limited information available on markets in Tahiti, there is at least one market in Papeete that attracts rural, suburban and urban residents (Pollock, 1988).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in the Territory of Wallis and Futuna

42. There is no central market on Wallis, although there have been three previous attempts, in 1976, 1980, and 1990, to create one. Despite the lack of a central market, there are a number of small local markets managed by *kautahi* (cooperatives and semi-cooperatives).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in Tonga

43. In addition to Talamahu Municipal Market, the largest produce market in the capital of Nuku'alofa, there is a flea market specializing in the sale of used goods sent to relatives by members of the Tongan diaspora with the intention of reselling them to Tongan residents (Besnier, 2004; Brown & Connell, 1993).
44. Government civil servants in Tonga carry out weekly surveys at Talamahu Market, the capital's central fruit and vegetable market, in order to assess supplies and prices (Tonga, Kingdom of, 2004).

Nature and Extent of Market Trade in Vanuatu

45. Port Vila has a central market, and peri-urban residents partake of the opportunity to sell goods there (Philibert & Jourdan, 1996).

B. SOCIAL CONTEXT OF MARKET TRADE IN THE PACIFIC

HISTORICAL ROLES PLAYED BY PACIFIC ISLAND MARKETS

46. The origin of produce markets organized and administered by a central authority with regulatory powers dates to the advent of the colonial period throughout the Pacific Islands (Connell & Lea, 2007). Women played a significant role in these exchange transactions, a fact that was overlooked by scholars until the advent of feminist anthropology which documented women's contributions to trade (Gewertz, 1977; Strathern, 1990; Weiner, 1976).
47. Markets have historically served an important social function by easing tensions between otherwise antagonistic groups through the creation of dependency relationships based upon trade (Gewertz, 1978; Ross, 1978). According to at least one study's findings, markets are also sites where marriages and other important life rites are arranged (Epstein, 1961).
48. Particularly in Papua New Guinea, markets took place between two ethno-linguistic groups, providing a critical space for the exchange of goods, information, and beliefs (Keil, 1977).
49. Markets are an important indicator of consumers' food preferences, particularly in countries where imported or processed foods are preferred over local foods. Hence historical (or otherwise dated) studies of markets can prove quite useful for those seeking to understand broader sociocultural dynamics of contemporary Pacific markets (Brookfield, 1969; Kahn & Sexton, 1988).

CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE AND CAPITALIST EXCHANGE

50. Market trade takes place in cultural contexts that place a high value on reciprocity and fulfilling obligations to kin. This presents dilemmas for traders, who must reconcile their individual desire for income generation with their customary responsibilities. One study found that urban traders have a comparative advantage over rural traders due to the reduced pressure to maintain close ties, some of which are economic, with kin (van der Grijp, 2003).
51. In many Pacific Island countries, markets were the first places where goods were exchanged for cash, particularly since most markets unite rural producers with urbanites who have more ready access to wage labor. One study documents how at least some rural residents continue to anticipate the building of a road that would link their village with the capital city, thus providing cash income to acquire the kind of lifestyle they believe that most urbanites maintain (Hirsch, 1994).
52. There is varied and somewhat contradictory evidence regarding the impact of cash earned from market trade upon rural producers who previously practiced subsistence agriculture. Some studies have argued that the introduction of a cash economy dramatically alters the gendered division of labor and related sex roles, with greater prestige attached to cash generation (Feinberg, 1986; Mosko, 1999), while others contend that cash-for-goods exchanges are simply incorporated into previously subsistence-based groups' existing belief systems by utilizing multiple strategies to make sense of the use of cash (Sykes, 2007).

Social Nature of Markets

53. Markets are both products of and embedded in the social context in which they take place. They are also social gathering sites as much as they are locations of economic exchange. Consumers value the opportunity to interact with others in the public atmosphere of the marketplace (Besnier, 2004; Pollock, 1988), and this is likely true of at least some traders as well.
54. Individual market traders are keenly aware of their ties to local social networks and connections to broader global supply chains through the production of agricultural goods, and frequently seek out these networks in their trading strategies (Benediktsson, 2002).

55. Two Polynesian studies indicate that culturally particular notions of shame may play a role in reducing the number of individuals who are willing to trade in the market. In both of these studies, the authors find that ideas about pride and self-sufficiency significantly inhibit those who might otherwise consider trade as an option for income generation (Addo & Besnier, 2008; van der Grijp, 2003).

SOCIAL CONTEXT IN PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES

Social Context in Fiji

56. The Suva Municipal Market features a gathering of individuals from all of Fiji's ethno-linguistic groups, linking rural producers, urban consumers, and peri-urban or suburban wholesalers in a single social environment (Lateef, 1994).

Social Context in Papua New Guinea

57. Social networks composed of kin as well as trade-based relationships are important components of traders' strategies for interacting in the marketplace (Benediktsson, 1998).
58. Kin cooperatives or family-owned production units play a critical role in producing, transporting, and selling goods at Papua New Guinea markets (Bourke, 2005; Ross, 2005).
59. One study finds that many Papua New Guinea small-scale businesses serve to enhance the owner's social prestige in the community rather than to generate cash profits, thereby improving quality of life in ways that do not presuppose cash income as the primary index of success (Curry, 1999).
60. Gift exchange is a prominent feature of diverse Papua New Guinea cultural practices, and ceremonial exchange festivals and other gift-giving occasions are critical elements of the production, distribution, and circulation of wealth. Such exchanges are not usually cash-based (Munn 1992, 1986), and there is evidence that market trading both disrupts and contributes to these practices (Lederman, 2009; MacKenzie, 1991).
61. Market traders are able to accumulate significant social power through their cash-generating activities, which one study finds to have taken precedence over customary forms of exchange in terms of its ability to generate prestige in the community (Mosko, 1999).
62. One study documents traders' use, in Central New Ireland province, of *lulleparat* (magic or sorcery), which they acquire from one another in exchange for shell wealth, ceremonial foods, or cash, and which they believe to help them retain customers (Sykes, 2007).

Social Context in the Solomon Islands

63. One study found that the gendered division of labor in the Solomon Islands is quite similar to elsewhere in the Pacific Islands, leading to the feminization of market trade (Pollard, 1996).
64. In the past, feuding groups would suspend their hostilities on market days in order to facilitate trade. The author of a study on this issue posited that hostility between different groups historically allowed Solomon Islanders to specialize in particular forms of production in order to engage in trade on appointed market days (Ross, 1978).

Social Context in Tahiti

65. Tahitian markets undoubtedly fill an important role by uniting food producers and consumers, and yet they are also sites for the exchange of information, providing a much-anticipated social space for rural, suburban, and urban residents alike (Pollock, 1988).

Social Context in the Territory of Wallis and Futuna

66. Traders and entrepreneurs on Wallis face serious demands from kin and other members of their social networks due to their social obligations to share their profits. This pressure is diminished for those in urban areas, where people have fewer close relationships, less group solidarity, and more individual mobility (van der Grijp, 2003).
67. One study attributes three separate failures at creating a central market on Wallis to cultural beliefs about work and pride, which inhibited individuals from selling at market because they worried about the quality of their goods, and made potential consumers wary of buying because doing so implied that they could not grow their own crops (van der Grijp, 2002).

Social Context in Tonga

68. One ethnographic study of Tonga's second-hand marketplace indicates that participation in the market democratizes an otherwise highly stratified social system, since many sellers are women and none are from wealthy or high-ranking chiefly families (Besnier, 2004).

C. CHALLENGES FACED BY PACIFIC ISLAND MARKET TRADERS

INFRASTRUCTURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHALLENGES

69. Access to roads and poor transport conditions inhibit individuals' abilities to engage in trade, particularly if they must travel from remote rural areas where roads are sometimes dangerous and unreliable even in the best of circumstances (Chang et al, 2010; Hirsch, 1994; McGregor, 2006).
70. Bad weather impacts road conditions but also determines market success or failure for those who grow their own produce. Storms and other unexpected weather can significantly undermine a trader's ability to grow and bring produce to market (Ross, 2005).
71. The quality of produce is impacted by weather, transport conditions, and the use of fertilizers or pesticides. One study found that nearly ninety percent of resorts and hotels import produce from abroad due to their perception that local produce is inferior in quality (Taulealea, 2005).
72. Lack of solidarity amongst market traders stems both from the fact that traders are in competition with one another and from the reality that individuals disperse from the market once their goods are sold, thus diminishing their sense of community (Benediktsson, 1998).
73. Market traders have reported limited or no access to credit as one of their most significant challenges to expanding their businesses. Without credit, market traders are unable to expand their operations even when the potential may exist for expansion (McGregor, 2006; Sullivan & Ram-Bidesi, 2008).
74. Cultural beliefs about shame and appropriate leadership roles (Addo & Besnier, 2008; van der Grijp, 2002; van der Grijp, 2003) may inhibit traders from activist organizing.

RISKS TO HEALTH AND SAFETY

75. Market facilities sometimes lack adequate space, forcing vendors to sell outside where they are exposed to wind, rain, and harsh sun. Some markets have very poor water and toilet facilities that pose serious health risks to vendors, particularly since many vendors spend the majority of their working hours in the market (FPDA, 2009; Pollard, 1996).
76. Violence against women is also a health and safety concern for women market traders, who have reported harassment by customers and others in the market vicinity (Chang et al, 2010).

DEMANDS FOR FINANCIAL OR IN-KIND SUPPORT

77. Market traders' stress levels may be increased by the pressure they face as heads of households or as their family's sole source of income. Some market traders have unemployed husbands or other male adults they support in sharp contrast to cultural beliefs about gender roles (Lateef, 1994).
78. Frequent requests for financial support in the form of loans or gifts to kin cause many small-scale enterprises to become insolvent. While traders develop their own strategies for coping with these demands from kin and other members of their social network, they sometimes do so in violation of local cultural norms (Curry, 1999; van der Grijp, 2003).

CULTURAL BELIEFS ABOUT GENDER

79. Women's work is often devalued and minimized, despite its significant contribution to families and communities, and market traders are no exception to this. Women's powerful economic and non-economic contributions to their families and the national economies in which they live are all too frequently overlooked by both their own families and national governments (Bourke, 2005; Dunlop, 2003).

80. Women's role in production may be further devalued in societies where men handle the vast majority of cash exchange, which is often viewed as more prestigious (Feinberg, 1986).
81. One study found that almost 90% of traders believed that a man is always the head of the household, which has serious implications for women's abilities to make decisions and choices about their market-related earnings (Pollard, 1996).
82. Women are frequently associated with domestic practices, particularly food preparation and the provision of sexual favors. In one study, these activities were linked through an elaborate system closely resembling a market structure (Hammar, 1996).

CHALLENGES FACING MARKET TRADERS IN PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES

Challenges Facing Market Traders in Fiji

83. Market traders work very long hours and often contravene gender norms by supporting entire family units. In one study, a number of market traders identified their working conditions as substandard and noted that improved facilities would help them in their work (Lateef, 1994).
84. Tourism is a significant source of revenue for Fiji, and yet many hotels and resorts refuse to buy from local producers due to the perception that their produce is of inferior quality and unreliable (Taulealea, 2005).
85. Women traders dealing in tuna have reported difficulties in accessing credit, which undermines their ability to expand their enterprises (Sullivan & Ram-Bidesi, 2008).

Challenges Facing Market Traders in Papua New Guinea

86. Traders in six of Port Moresby's open markets are exposed to the elements due to inadequate shelter in the market, presenting risks to their health and safety (FPDA, 2009).
87. Access to markets in Papua New Guinea can be limited by the lack of roads that connect rural producers with urban consumers or wholesalers. This can cause significant resentment of groups who do have access to road transport for marketing purposes (Hirsch, 1994).
88. Transport, when available, can be expensive and unreliable, causing traders considerable hardship and posing risks to their health and safety as well as to the produce they transport (Chang et al, 2010).
89. Kin or other members of a trader's social network can impose requests for credit or cash, thus compromising a small business and resulting in its collapse (Curry, 1999).
90. Weather conditions can destroy entire crops, eliminating any possibility of profit for traders who grow their own produce (Ross, 2005).
91. Women in Papua New Guinea's tuna industry, including market traders, have reported difficulties in accessing credit, which prohibits them from expanding their small businesses (Sullivan & Ram-Bidesi, 2008).

Challenges Facing Market Traders in the Territory of Wallis and Futuna

92. Local cultural norms inhibit many individuals from engaging in trade due to the fear of being mocked by others as unable to grow produce for their own consumption or unable to grow the best produce for sale in the market (van der Grijp, 2003).
93. Requests for credit or goods from members of a trader's social network are frequent and difficult to refuse due to local cultural norms (van der Grijp, 2002).

Challenges Facing Market Traders in Tonga

94. Shame also plays a role in market trade in Tonga, particularly with respect to pawnshops (Addo & Besnier, 2008), but also with respect to trade at the flea market despite its widespread popularity (Besnier, 2004).

95. One dated but valuable study found that one-third of 425 small trading stores were less than one year old, that one-third close within a year of opening, and that only 10% of all shops were over a decade old (Hau'ofa, 1979).

Challenges Facing Market Traders in the Solomon Islands

96. Bad roads or otherwise difficult transport conditions present challenges to Solomon Islands traders, who may be unable to access markets when they have produce to sell (McGregor, 2006).
97. Working conditions in Solomon Islands markets are inadequate and leave women exposed to the elements, which undermines their health and safety as well as the quality of their produce (Pollard, 1996).

D. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING MARKETS

RECOGNITION OF MARKETS AS SIGNIFICANT SOURCES OF REVENUE

98. One study identified three incorrect assumptions currently governing many approaches to women working in the informal sector, including the notions that such work is undesirable, poorly paid, and unskilled. To the contrary, the study noted that most women earned considerably more than they would have in the formal sector and suffered from less time poverty (Anderson, 2008).
99. Identifying the production and marketing of fresh food in Papua New Guinea as “one of the country’s biggest economic success stories”, one study found that market traders’ contributions to the economy were highly undervalued by both government elites and international organizations (Bourke, 2005).

RECOGNITION OF MARKET TRADERS AS BUSINESSPEOPLE

100. Market traders engage in a number of self-improvement strategies designed to maximize their income generation potential, including engaging in multiple forms of work (Anderson, 2010), and tapping into social networks that help them succeed on local terms (Benediktsson, 1998).
101. The work of market traders supplies local as well as global commodity chains (Benediktsson, 2002). Their careful investigations into ways to support themselves and their families (Brookfield, 1969; Brown & Connell, 1993) should be recognized by local and national governments in order to help reduce some of the stigma associated with market trade (van der Grijp, 2002) and perhaps encourage further local agricultural production and sale.
102. Recognition of market traders as businesspeople will assist in the provision of credit to help them with their enterprises, as some traders report difficulties accessing credit (Chang et al, 2010; Sullivan and Ram-Bidshi, 2008).

INVESTMENT IN INFRASTRUCTURAL IMPROVEMENTS TO MARKETS

103. One Solomon Islands-based study recommended improvement of road conditions to facilitate trade. It also recommended extending credit managed by a commercial bank to the rural areas in order to support and encourage agricultural production (McGregor, 2005). A second study, based in Papua New Guinea, indicated that the lack of road transport negates any possibility for rural residents to engage in trade, even if they desire to do so (Hirsch, 1994).
104. Market conditions in many Pacific Island countries require significant improvements to make them safe and hygienic places to work and sell (Chang et al, 2010; Pollard, 1996). Making such improvements demonstrates institutional commitment to markets and to market traders, who generate a substantial source of income in many countries.

GOVERNMENT PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND MARKETING

105. Nauru has engaged in a promising program to advance local agriculture and marketing in the wake of the phosphate boom’s collapse, which has left many of the island’s residents cash poor and yet unaccustomed to agricultural work. A current program undertaken by Nauru’s Division of Agriculture seeks to create an attitudinal shift in residents by encouraging household crop cultivation and marketing (Stephen, 2009).
106. Government promotion of local agricultural production and marketing may help to reduce some of the widespread preference for imported and/or processed foods, the consumption of which has seriously negative health consequences (Gewertz & Errington, 2010; Haden, 2009).

107. Linking agricultural producers to tourism industry service providers would be particularly useful in countries like Fiji and Tahiti, which derive significant sources of income from tourism. Currently, many such service providers import food rather than utilizing local producers' crops, which would be both wasteful and unnecessary if proper provisions were made for the exchange of produce and cash between these two parties (Taulealea, 2005).
108. Women market traders have identified their need for training in agriculture, bookkeeping and savings, pest and disease control, and soil fertility (Kolopen et al, 2006).

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY: PACIFIC MARKETS AND MARKET TRADERS

Addo, P.A. and Besnier, N. (2008). *When Gifts Become Commodities: Pawnshops, Valuables, and Shame in Tonga and the Tongan Diaspora.* *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14: 39-49.

This article is based upon research by two anthropologists and has implications for studies of market trade in its analysis of the role shame plays in the exchange of goods for cash. Focusing upon pawnshops in Tonga, the authors describe how Tongans in need of cash bring culturally valuable woven mats, all of which are produced by women, to sell to pawnbrokers with the hope that they will eventually be able to buy them back. Pawnbrokers then sell unclaimed mats to Tongans who do not have access to producers of such mats, particularly individuals who receive or send remittances, thus engaging in other forms of market exchange. Findings suggest that shame has a powerful role in these transactions in terms of the seller's shame at having to pawn their culturally valuable goods in exchange for cash, and the buyer's shame at not having access to their own mats. It presents a valuable contribution to the role of emotions in economic exchange, and thus has implications for market trade.

Ali, B. (2002). *Chinese in Fiji.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

This book documents the history of the Chinese community in Fiji, including those who engaged (or currently engage in) market trading. In addition to providing cultural background, the author also describes the economic activities of these Chinese traders from their first arrival in 1808. This book notes that some traders were itinerant, travelling through Fiji to sell their wares, while others were based in trade stores of their own or in municipal markets. Produce marketing, including for export, was carried out to such an extent by Chinese traders that the Fijian word for "banana", *jaina*, is the same as the word for "China".

Anderson, T. (2008). *Women Roadside Sellers in Madang.* *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 23(1).

<http://peb.anu.edu/pdf/PEB23-1-Anderson.pdf>

This article, written by a political economist and based upon research in Madang province, Papua New Guinea, argues that three assumptions about women in informal sector are wrong: [1] government or corporation-led developments are more desirable and create more permanent jobs, [2] exports expand income generation potential, and [3] informal economic sector work is marginal, unskilled and limited in its potential for income generation and market reach. The majority of rural and urban traders in Madang province are women, and many face pressure to use land for logging or oil palm plantations or to work as laborers on oil palm or fruit concerns. This article argues that roadside selling may in fact be more lucrative for women, as the author's survey found that these traders earned, on average, over three times the national minimum wage. The most successful women traders have access to good quality custom (inherited) land and major roads. Traders sell an average of three days a week, cultivate some crops for export, and engage in other small business ventures. Roadside sellers identified theft, school fees, family problems, and bargaining pressure from Highlands wholesale betel-nut buyers as their major challenges. Because these women vendors sell in local markets, they benefit directly from sales.

Anderson, T. (2010). *Land Registration, Land Markets and Livelihoods in Papua New Guinea.* Chapter 3 in, *In Defence of Melanesian Customary Land.* AID/WATCH.

<http://www.aidwatch.org.au/sites/aidwatch.org.au/files/Tim%20Anderson.pdf>

Written by a political economist, this book chapter contends that women in Papua New Guinea benefit more from use of their own land and self-controlled small businesses, including market trading, than they do from formal employment, which is lower paid and enforces greater time constraints. 97% of land in Papua New Guinea is owned by families, resulting in a situation whereby international financial institutions, aid agencies, large corporations and other groups attempt to appropriate this land from families for commercial or other private use. Given that most land owners have little access to cash despite their land assets, this chapter explores several primary reasons why some of them agree to low rents of between 20 and 100 kina per hectare: [1] pressure to pay for school or health service fees increase vulnerability among the cash-poor; [2] the lessees offering cash for land are often a single company backed by the regional or national government; [3] false promises of roads or health centres offered by the lessees. The author makes five additional observations of relevance to market trading: [1] all families surveyed

relied on cash income from markets; [2] median cash income from marketing (including export crop marketing) activities ranged from 3,000 to 4,2000 kina annually for families surveyed in Oro and Madang; [3] families earning the highest annual incomes (up to 16,000 kina) cultivated two or three crops for the domestic markets (peanut, betel nuts, and fruits) and a few export crops that could be planted with the domestic crops (cocoa, coconut and vanilla).

Barnett, J. (2010). *Dangerous Climate Change in the Pacific Islands: Food Production and Food Security*. *Regional Environmental Change* 11(1): 229-37.

This article describes risks to food security posed by climate change in the Pacific Islands, noting that its adverse effects are likely to manifest themselves in food systems. More specifically, the author argues that climate change may reduce supplies of food from agriculture and fisheries, and could restrict the ability of countries to import food due to high costs. Such changes would inevitably create negative repercussions for the ability of households to buy food for family consumption. Arguing that climate change poses serious risks to food supplies in the Pacific Islands, the author contends that households' abilities to access safe, adequate, and nutritious food may be further restricted in the future due to climate change.

Belshaw, C.S. (1952). *Port Moresby Canoe Traders*. *Oceania* 23: 26-39.

Although dated, this article is valuable for its documentation of the midcentury varieties of trade that ensued between Papua New Guineans, as well as between Papua New Guineans and European settlers. None of this trade was formerly regulated by the colonial administration, and trade was classified into three main types: [1] trade between rural residents and their friends or relatives living in Hanuabada or Koki, which the author classified as "invisible" because it was not apparent to casual observers; [2] traders who peddled their wares from house to house in both European and Papuan areas, or who engaged in roadside selling near stores; [3] canoe-trading, whereby traders travelled by canoes from their place of residence to sell at Koki Beach or at Konedobu on the outskirts of Hanuabada.

Benediktsson, K. (1998). *Food Markets in the Eastern Highlands, Papua New Guinea: Actors, Power and Rural Development Geography*. *Geografiska Annaler*, 80B(3), 159-172.

This article explores the social worlds of food markets in Papua New Guinea through discussions of fruit and vegetable wholesaling (both government and non-government), direct bulk selling to wholesalers and others, and food trade in the market. Produce marketing has received less attention than coffee production in discussions of rural development in Highland Papua New Guinea. Such marketing is a critical economic activity for many Highlanders. The author provides descriptions of historical and contemporary forms of produce markets in Papua New Guinea's Eastern Highlands Province, noting that close attention must be paid to social interaction between individuals and groups. Such interaction, the author argues, combine with market traders' awareness of the broader global economy to shape marketplace culture. This paper highlights how market traders consistently make use of their knowledge of local social networks while remaining mindful of the potential to tap into global markets.

Benediktsson, K. (2002). *Harvesting Development: The Construction of Fresh Food Markets in Papua New Guinea*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Written by a geographer, this academic book provides an overview of the transition from a subsistence to a market economy in Papua New Guinea. The author focuses upon three key elements found in Papua New Guinea's markets and other sites of economic exchange: [1] how local cultural specificities shape the way that markets are organized and conducted; [2] examples of the historical and regional differences in markets across Papua New Guinea; [3] how individual market traders (and others involved in related forms of economic exchange) play a critical role in creating local, regional, and global networks of exchange. The book features detailed ethnographic description of marketing networks in both rural and urban marketplaces, thereby documenting the interconnected nature of these different sites and highlighting the fact that rural areas are not as isolated as they may initially seem. By focusing on the prominent role played by individual market traders in Papua New Guinea's local and national economies, this book provides numerous examples of how focusing on individual lives reveals much about broader economic processes.

Besnier, N. (2011). *On the Edge of the Global: Modern Anxieties in a Pacific Island Nation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chapter Two of this ethnography describes how small roadside stores and trading activities in Tonga are dominated by ethnic Chinese or Chinese migrants. Many such migrants come from Fujian province and work very long hours by keeping their trading enterprises open as long as the law will allow. Such Chinese traders now control 70% of retail trade in Tonga and a significant percentage of wholesale trade. Evidence suggests that the majority of these profits are returned to China via remittances, with some more successful Chinese entrepreneurs paying high exchange rates for U.S. dollars, which are easier to transport out of the country to circumvent the legal restrictions on exporting funds. Poorer Tongans have been displaced from trading activities, but the author argues that wealthy Tongans have not been impacted.

Besnier, N. (2004). *Consumption and Cosmopolitanism: Practicing Modernity at the Secondhand Clothes Marketplace in Nuku'alofa, Tonga*. *Anthropological Quarterly* 77(1): 7-45.

Written by an anthropologist, this article features an ethnographic study of the second-hand marketplace (which also sells food and market goods) in Tonga's capital city, Nuku'alofa. This marketplace, known as the *fea* (derived from the English language word "fair"), takes place weekly and is a popular meeting place for many Tongans, particularly since sellers allow potential buyers to browse and handle goods they may be interested in purchasing. Such behavior is in sharp contrast to the "box shops" selling goods on the rest of the island, which physically separate potential buyers from goods for sale. The main items for sale at the market are goods sent to the sellers from their relatives in the Tongan diaspora, such as used clothes and electronic goods, but cooked food is also sold. Many sellers are women and none hail from the wealthy or high-ranking elite, which allows ordinary Tongan people to participate in so-called "modern" consumption practices.

Bourke, R.M. (2005). *Marketed Fresh Food: A Successful Part of the Papua New Guinea Economy*. *Development Bulletin* 67: 22-25.

This very brief overview, written by a geographer, describes the local production and marketing of fresh food in Papua New Guinea as one of the country's biggest economic success stories. The author argues that government elites and international organizations have undervalued and overlooked markets as sites of income generation and exchange. The article provides a succinct overview of trade in Papua New Guinea, including pre-colonial exchange between the coast and the interior, the expansion of trade to missions or government settlements and markets, and the emergence in the late 1960s of market intermediaries who buy produce from farmers and then sell it to consumers. The author documents the increased popularity of locally grown foods, such as sweet potato and rice, over flour-based imports due to devaluation of the kina in the 1990s. Arguing that a weakened economy in Papua New Guinea has benefitted rural food producers and marketers, the author notes that the size of produce markets has increased dramatically in past twenty-five years as a consequence. This article predicts that the cost of transporting and selling fresh food will likely decrease in the future, making it more competitive with imported foods.

Brookfield, H.C. ed. (1969). *Pacific Market-Places: A Collection of Essays*. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Although dated, this edited volume is the only comprehensive academic overview of Pacific Islands markets. It features detailed ethnographic chapters on markets in Lautoka and Suva (Fiji), Apia (Samoa), Kerema, Port Moresby and Rabaul (Papua New Guinea), Honiara (Solomon Islands), Noumea (New Caledonia), and La Foa (New Caledonia). Many of the chapters are written by geographers and focus upon spatial aspects of marketing and relationships between farmers who produce goods for sale in the market and brokers who purchase from farmers to sell to consumers. This volume provides valuable historical analysis of the introduction of currency into Pacific Islands economic exchange, which is partly due to its date of publication. The editor contends, in the volume's introduction and conclusion, that Pacific Islands farmers are "multiple-insurers" who ensure income security and reduce their risks of hardship through cash cropping, wage labor, market trading, and investment in kin-related exchange. Taken together, the chapters underscore the importance of situating market trade within the cultural context in which it occurs.

Brown, R.P. and Connell, J. (1993). *The Global Flea Market: Migration, Remittances, and the Informal Economy in Tonga*. Development & Change 24: 611-47.

This article, based upon an ethnographic survey at Nuku'alofa's market by an economist and a geographer, documents how remittances sent by Tongans working abroad impacts their relatives' abilities to engage in market trade. The authors argue that remittances are actively employed in business ventures by family members, thus disputing the notion that remittance recipients are passive accumulators of funds sent from abroad. In doing so, this article presents evidence that Tonga's national economy has been significantly altered by the receipt of remittances sent by Tongans living abroad. These findings are important because they demonstrate [1] that remittances form the basis of small businesses; [2] the ability of some remittance recipients to transform themselves into entrepreneurs; [3] that these entrepreneurs represent a significant challenge to larger scale operations in the so-called formal sector; [4] the existence of "transnational corporations of kin" who support each other through remittances and the exchange of goods and agricultural products.

Carrier, J.G. & Carrier, A.H. (1989). *Wage, Trade, and Exchange in Melanesia: A Manus Society in the Modern State*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Based upon long-term ethnographic research on Ponam Island, a small community in Manus Province, Papua New Guinea, Chapter Four ("Local Trade") of this book makes frequent reference to marketing activities. Ponam Islanders previously defined their calendar around the once weekly markets that occurred in pre-colonial times. The day before market, fishing activities intensified and up to a dozen canoes carrying as many as 100 people set forth to trade. The author describes how Ponam transactions are both indirectly and directly shaped by a framework of mutual obligation, whether they involve exchanges at the provincial market, local markets, trade partnerships, or free market trade.

Chang, C., Be'Soer, L., Wali, C., Anjan, J. and Ramita, I. (2010). *Women in Sweet Potato Marketing in Papua New Guinea*. In the proceedings of the 54th Australian Agricultural and Resource Economic Society (AARES) Annual Conference. Adelaide.

<http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/58887/2/Chang,%20Christie.pdf>

This article presents a multi-faceted perspective authored by an academic and three Papua New Guinea-based development practitioners. The authors argue that although Papua New Guinea women play an important role in agricultural production and marketing, they lack the institutional support that would allow them to increase their contribution to the local and national economies and their own household livelihoods. This study identifies issues facing Highland Papua New Guinea women farmers in their efforts to generate income from sweet potato marketing. Findings, based upon two focus groups with women producers and market vendors in Goroka and Mount Hagen, indicate that specific marketing issues facing women farmers include heavy work load, expensive and unreliable transport, poor facilities at the open markets, harassment and violence against women, and uneven distribution of income within the household. The authors suggest that group marketing may be a possible solution to many of the problems facing women farmers. The article also details a workshop held with women traders, which may be of use to others planning similar events.

Connell, J. and Lea, J. (2007). *Living in Town: A Sustainable Future. Chapter 8, in Urbanisation in the Island Pacific*. London and New York: Routledge.

This chapter, taken from a volume covering the problems associated with changing population demographics related to urbanization throughout the Pacific Island region, discusses several common themes in Pacific urbanization: [1] location in fragile ecological coastal zones; [2] pollution from exhaust, sewage, noise, and dumping; [3] breakdown between local and national economies due to remittances, aid, and profitable corporations. It provides a thorough, concise overview of the historical establishment and development of Pacific urban centers from first contact to the present, including uneven urban development, the emergence of informal housing settlements, security concerns, and ethnic diversity. Although markets are not directly addressed in this chapter, this resource is included here because it provides valuable information on the context in which urban traders live and work, as well as the dynamics of urban populations who form the main clientele for market traders' products.

Connelly-Kirch, D. (1982). *Economic and Social Correlates of Handicraft Selling in Tonga*. *Annals of Tourism Research* 9(3): 383-402.

This article describes the activities of women traders at Tonga's handicraft market, exploring the central question of whether all women have access to such work. It argues that while tourism has created additional jobs, there is fierce competition for these due to the increased numbers of people without access to agricultural land or other income-generating opportunities. Many Tongans consequently view handicraft sales as a ready and immediate source of much-needed cash, which is convenient for women due to the relatively low costs of handicraft production and greater time flexibility. Nonetheless, the author argues, handicraft sales create conflicts for women due to their contradiction of culturally valued notions of hospitality and exchange, and encourage handicraft sellers to engage in status rivalries that are a source of anxiety for them.

Curry, G. (1999). *Markets, Social Embeddedness and Precapitalist Societies: The Case of Village Tradestores in Papua New Guinea*. *Geoforum* 30:285-298.

This article examines how individuals differentiate between gifts and commodity exchange in Papua New Guinea, focusing particularly on the reasons why small-scale businesses often become insolvent because of the pressure to extend credit to kin. The author examines the social context of economic decision-making in Papua New Guinea, and argues that many such businesses are established with the primary purpose of enhancing the owner's social prestige and facilitating gift exchange rather than maximizing profit. Three key findings are presented: [1] profits and a desire for consumption are not always the primary motivating forces for entering the market economy; [2] community pooling of the capital and labor to create such an enterprise can also be an exercise in group solidarity and a reaffirmation of existing social bonds; [3] indigenous forms of exchange, particularly gift-giving, have the potential to improve quality of life far more than participation in the market economy solely with profit motives. The author finds that while participation in indigenous exchange practices reduces individuals' ability to generate revenue through small business ventures, including market trading, it increases social prestige in ways that existing economic models do not measure.

Dunlop, E.R. (2003). *Women and the Informal Sector: Pisinisi Laititi*. Pages 68-78 in Peggy Fairburn-Dunlop, ed. *Samoa Women: Widening Choices*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.

This chapter is part of an edited volume on economic options available to women in Samoa. The author argues that very few, if any, contemporary Samoan families live solely on subsistence agriculture, necessitating the participation of family members in the cash economy. Based upon research with women engaged in small businesses (*pisinisi laititi*) in Samoa, findings indicate that the economic activities of Samoan women, including marketing and agricultural work for pay, are critical parts of the Samoan economy. The author uses her findings to indicate that income generated by women engaged in activities such as market trading, food selling, and other small-scale economic activity, is critical to the lives of many Samoan families and should be recognized as such.

Epstein, T.S. (1982). *Urban Food Marketing and Third World Rural Development: The Structure of Producer-Seller Markets*. London and Canberra: Croom Helm.

This book is based upon research in seven Papua New Guinea markets: Rabaul and Vunapope in New Britain, Goroka, Lae and Mount Hagen in the New Guinea mainland, and in Port Moresby at Koki. Chapters describe markets' settings, transactions, and how producer-seller markets are connected. The author discusses the persistence of producer-sellers at Papua New Guinea markets, arguing that hierarchically structured wholesale/retail food trade is likely to evolve only in countries with a strong centralized political administration. Findings presented indicate that ethnic heterogeneity and a lack of a unifying political atmosphere inhibit the growth of centralized marketplaces, resulting instead in a number of locally regulated markets.

Epstein, T. S. (1961). *A Study of Rabaul Market*. *The Australian Journal of Agricultural Economics* 5: 49-66.

This article (by an economist) is dated but of historical interest, particularly because it reflects many contemporary findings about markets. The author, based upon research conducted in the late 1950s, recommends infrastructural improvements for the market to make it more orderly for sellers and more attractive to buyers. Findings indicate that prices were set based upon supply levels at the market, often assuming constant demand, with prices reduced at the end of the day but never increased, and prices static throughout the market. The majority of sellers at the time of research were women (with less than 2% men), with traders seated by village grouping and villages

specializing in particular types of produce or goods. One of the most interesting observations made by the author is that many women viewed the market as a social outing, bringing with them just enough produce to sell for money to cover their transport costs. The market was a space for arranging marriages, feasts, and mortuary rites.

Feinberg, R. (1986). *Market Economy and Changing Sex-Roles on a Polynesian Atoll*. *Ethnology* 25 (4):271-282.

Written by an anthropologist based on fieldwork in Nukumanu Atoll, a Polynesian outlier in eastern Papua New Guinea, this article contends that changes in the economic system, including a new dependence upon imported foods (as opposed to subsistence horticulture), has resulted in the devaluation of women's economic activities. The article examines the transformation from subsistence agriculture to commodity production's impact on gender roles. It also explores how these changes have come about, providing historical and ethnographic analysis of how community responses to Western contact have produced gendered social changes with respect to the division of labor and sex roles more broadly. The author argues that because men predominate in wage-earning and money-handling, women's status has dramatically declined in the past century due to high value placed upon cash and purchasable commodities.

Finch, J.D. (1991). *Coffee, Development, and Inequality in the Papua New Guinea Highlands*. Ph.D. Dissertation: City University of New York.

This dissertation, based on long-term anthropological fieldwork in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, examines the social consequences of agricultural development by documenting the impact of the expansion of agricultural commodity production and market trading upon kin-based communities. The author describes how agricultural development based upon the commercial production of coffee began in the Eastern Highlands after World War II, and includes both smallholdings and plantations. While Papua New Guinea Highlanders own the land, tools, and commodities produced, they also engage in wage labor on coffee plantations larger than those upon which they grow their own coffee for sale. The author's research findings indicate that because Papua New Guinea Highlanders exercise such control over the production of coffee, they remain able to preserve a commitment to an agrarian way of life in the face of persistent pressures of powerful economic, political and ideological forces that place a high value on economic profits.

FDC- Foundation for Development Corporation, The. (2010). *Partnerships to Improve Markets Project, Fiji Phase Two. Economic Analysis Report- Four Markets: Suva, Nausori, Sigatoka, Labasa*. Suva: U.N. Women/The Foundation for Development Corporation.

Researched and compiled by FDC as part of the second phase of the U.N. Women-funded Partners Improving Markets Project, this report describes findings collected from four markets in Fiji: Suva Market, Nausori Market, Sigatoka Market and Labasa Market. Surveys were conducted at random with a total of over 250 market vendors. Findings note that the four markets studied (and likely other markets throughout Fiji) are important hubs of social, cultural and economic activity. The report's economic analysis describes markets' contributions to Fiji's local and national economies by providing employment to traders, market workers and countless ancillary parties including: transportation industries, council workers, farmers, and law enforcement. Market vending provides positive income generation for many women, who then use their earnings for food, shelter, health and education for their families, and community obligations. This economic analysis provides a snapshot of the microeconomic and macroeconomic issues of the target marketplaces, and provides an examination of the economic activity which is occurring in, and being generated by, the marketplaces.

Fresh Produce Development Agency. (2009). *Feeding Port Moresby Study*. Fresh Produce Development Agency and NZAID.

<http://www.fpda.com.pg/userfiles/file/FINAL%20Feeding%20POM%20study%20-%20For%20ADG.pdf>

This report was compiled by the Fresh Produce Development Agency (FPDA), a semi-autonomous public entity established in 1989 with the goal of developing commercially viable and sustainable horticulture in Papua New Guinea. Research for this report was undertaken for six weeks in Port Moresby, the country's largest market for fresh produce, in order to assess the volume, origin, and distribution of fresh produce supplies in the city. The study examines the size of fresh produce imports into Port Moresby, the volume of peri-urban produce production, and the distribution system between produce wholesalers, market vendors, and food service providers. Key findings indicate that: [1] the majority of fresh produce was supplied from sources local to Port Moresby; [2] the annual

volume of fresh produce imported into Port Moresby is 7,500 tonnes, comprising 2,500 tonnes from international air and sea arrivals, 3,500 tonnes from domestic sea arrivals and 1,430 tonnes from domestic air arrivals; [3] fresh produce production in the peri-urban area totalled 50,000 tonnes per year; [5] annual demand for fresh produce in Port Moresby was estimated to be around 140,500 tonnes; [6] market vendors in the six open markets in Port Moresby need improvements due to exposure to the elements, poor water and sanitation facilities, and lack of adequate space to display produce.

Gewertz, D. and Errington, F. (2010). *Cheap Meat: Flap Food Nations in the Pacific Islands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

This accessible scholarly book, based upon research by two anthropologists, examines the trade in “flaps”, the fatty belly cuts of lamb or mutton that are widely consumed throughout the Pacific Islands. The authors trace the journey of these high calorie animal products, which are of extremely low nutritional value (often constituted of more than 50% fat), from New Zealand and Australia to markets in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and Tonga. Based upon detailed ethnographic work throughout all five of the countries that feature prominently in the production and consumption of flaps, the authors argue that the sale of these low quality cuts of meat, which are deemed unfit for human consumption in their countries of origin, provides evidence for the social nature of nutrition policies and market trade on a global scale.

Gewertz, D. (1978). *Tit for Tat: Barter Markets in the Middle Sepik*. *Anthropological Quarterly* 51 (1):37-44.

This anthropological article employs ethnographic data from four linguistic and cultural groups living in the middle Sepik of Papua New Guinea. These groups were, at the time of writing, intimately connected through barter markets that traded fish for sago in a highly ritualized exchange that emphasized the superiority of the coastal-dwelling Chambri people over those of the Sepik Hills. Using detailed ethnographic data, the author argues that the Sepik Hills people, who the Chambri, at the time of writing, felt were inferior and vulnerable, paid for their autonomy with a show of deference to Chambri women during exchanges at the barter market. Interestingly, however, Chambri women showed the same deference to men in their home villages upon their return from the market. Although dated, this article is interesting because it provides an example of how inter-village relations can be measured or understood through the marketing activities in which they engage.

Gewertz, D. (1977). *From Sago Suppliers to Entrepreneurs: Marketing and Migration in the Middle Sepik*. *Oceania* 48: 126-140.

This article describes a dramatic trade-related change that ensued from the incorporation of the Chambri and Sepik Hills people into the same local government council. This shift in relations between the groups, who previously based their trade relations upon the premise that Sepik Hills dwellers were subservient to the Chambri, resulted in an equalization of the two groups that invalidated their previous trading relationships. Chambri women traders manipulated this system to their own ends, recognizing that they could no longer expect to make a three hour canoe journey to trade fish for sago and betel nut once the Sepik Hill dwellers requested cash instead. To earn enough money to buy sago, Chambri women began to travel once per year to sell fish in large markets at Pagwi, Maprik or Wewak, with market price for the fish determined by the distance from the fishing grounds. This article is useful for its detailed description of how market traders respond to dramatic socioeconomic change in ways that allow for the continuity of trade, albeit under different conditions.

Haden, R. (2009). *Food Culture in the Pacific Islands*. Boston: Greenwood.

This book comprises seven chapters that present a comprehensive overview of food production and consumption practices throughout the Pacific Islands. Chapter one presents the history of food production in a region that was, until relatively recently, quite isolated from external culinary influences. Chapter two discusses typical ingredients used in various types of Pacific Islands cuisine, followed by a chapter on unique cooking styles. Chapter four examines the impact of the widespread popularity of imported processed foods, followed by a chapter on regional varieties of foods. Chapters six and seven discuss the emergence of recreational eating away from the community, including in restaurants, and foods consumed on special occasions. The final chapter, on diet and health, describes food security issues and the impact of processed foods. Discussions of markets are interspersed throughout, and the remainder of the book provides valuable cultural context for understanding consumers who come to market.

Hammar, L. (1996). *Bad Canoes and Bafalo: The Political Economy of Sex on Daru Island, Western Province, Papua New Guinea*. *Genders* 23: 212-43.

This article, by an anthropologist, describes the elaborate economic, social and sexual relationships that take place in Daru, the seat of the Fly River Provincial Government in Papua New Guinea. Daru has a wharf, airport, trade store, bank, and access to radio and television, and is the site of gun and drug smuggling as well as a significant sex trade. The author argues that Daru is a site where workers from timber camps, sawmills, local government, mines and villages come from areas with male-female ratios sometimes exceeding 50:1 to engage in paid sexual relationships with women. This is significant for studies of market trade because of the frequency with which such women provide the men, who are away from their families, with symbols of domesticity such as bundles of sago, betel nut, and dishes prepared with seafood, banana and other ingredients unavailable at timber camps but easy to find at Daru's public market. The author argues that all of Daru is, in some ways, a marketplace supplied and supported by female labor of various kinds.

Hau'ofa, E. (1979). *Corned Beef and Tapioca: A Report on the Food Distribution Systems in Tonga*. Monograph 19, Development Studies Center. Canberra: Australian National University.

This study of store and produce market trade in Tonga describes the export of fresh local produce in order to finance the import of tinned and processed foods. At the time of writing, Tongan government vessels sold the majority of their tuna catch to canneries in Fiji and American Samoa. The profits helped pay government salaries and wages, which were then spent on poor quality canned fish. The book includes the results of a 1976 survey that demonstrated that one-third of 425 stores surveyed were less than a year old, one third of shops close down within twelve months, and only ten percent of Tonga's shops were more than a decade old. Additionally, the book documents the emergence of significant inequalities among the market traders and exporters, although cash cropping offers greater possibility for success than retail trade.

Hide, R. (N.D., unpublished). *Women in Market Trade, Chapter Five in Women's Participation in Agriculture in Papua New Guinea: A Review*. Canberra, Department of Human Geography, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. Please contact the author for a copy of this review at robin.hide@anu.edu.au.

This unpublished book chapter provides a thorough overview of the extent to which and reasons why market trade has come to be dominated by women, and how much control women have over their market-related earnings. It also describes the extent to which growth in marketing has been accompanied by specialization and the emergence of intermediaries and whether women have benefitted from this expansion. It concludes that the majority of market traders earn low incomes and that marketing remains a low-status occupation. The author recommends that marketing should be accorded the same status and attention by governments as export crops have been.

Hirsch, E. (1994). *Between Mission and Market: Events and Images in a Melanesian Society*. *Man* 29 (3):689-711.

This article describes how access to Port Moresby markets have altered relationships between the Mekeo, who have access to the capital via a road, and the Fuyuge of the Udabe Valley, who do not. Road access facilitates market trade for the Mekeo, who grow betel nut on their own land to sell to Port Moresby consumers, thereby accumulating significant wealth. The Fuyuge are keenly aware that their produce could also generate cash income, but they have no means by which to transport it to market due to the prohibitive cost of flying produce to Port Moresby from the local mission airstrip. Despite the limited likelihood of the construction of a road linking the Fuyuge to Port Moresby, men and women discuss the benefits it would bring, such as metal roofs, processed food, and, most importantly, more extravagant ritual exchanges. Findings presented here are useful because they document how markets impact those isolated from them, and how individuals in such communities envision the potentially transformative potential of participation in market exchanges.

Jackson, R. (1976). *The Impact of the Introduction of Markets: A Case Study from the Highlands of Papua New Guinea*. *Savanna* 5(2): 175-183.

This article describes how colonial rule in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea introduced urban marketplaces, which despite their external origin, became extremely successful. While trade was a common occurrence prior to the advent of colonial rule, urban marketplaces were not established until the late 1950s, after which they became extremely popular. The author explains this popularity by noting that marketing and retailing are intimately

connected, with rural females selling surplus produce to city dwellers in order to generate cash and purchase commodities. This is in sharp contrast to earlier forms of market trade, which were supplied by male sellers and catered to by expatriate buyers.

Kahn, M. and L. Sexton, eds. (1988). *Continuity and Change in Pacific Foodways: A Special Issue of Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment* 3(1/2).

This special issue of the academic journal *Foodways* features a collection of seven essays by anthropologists examining food production, acquisition and consumption practices in a variety of Pacific Island contexts. James Bindon presents a historical view of food in American Samoa followed by implications of changing dietary choices, Juliana Flinn examines gendered food production and food choice amongst the Pulapese in Truk State, and Jill Grant explores the cultural significance of produced versus purchased food in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. Miriam Kahn discusses the cultural meanings ascribed to food choices in Western Papua New Guinea, David Lewis examines the historical processes that led to Kiribati's dependency upon imported foods, and Lorraine Sexton explores food-related consumption practices in highland New Guinea, where some locals referred to consuming purchased foods as "eating money". Markets and marketing are an underlying part of all the essays, and this is an important resource because it highlights the perspectives of market consumers and their food preferences in a variety of Pacific Island contexts.

Keil, D. (1977). *Markets in Melanesia? A Comparison of Traditional Economic Transactions in New Guinea with African Markets*. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 33 (3):258-276.

This article compares markets in Africa with transactions carried out in Papua New Guinea at the time of writing with the broader goal of determining what constitutes a market. The author argues that markets in Papua New Guinea and in Africa are somewhat similar in that both are divided into periodic, arranged, daily, and annual markets of different types. At the time of writing, the anthropologist author found that Papua New Guinea markets were significantly different from African markets in that the former are limited to exchanges between two rather clearly defined groups, whereas the latter allows the assembly of more groups. This is interesting because it provides some historical insight into how Papua New Guinea markets were structured at the time of writing.

Kolopen, J., Fahey, G., Bafui, J. and Saese, H. (2006). *The Role of Women in Production and Marketing of Peanut in the Markham Valley of Papua New Guinea*. Pages 96-102 in *Improving Yield and Economic Viability of Peanut Production in Papua New Guinea and Australia*. Canberra, Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research.

<http://www.aciar.gov.au/web.nsf/doc/ACIA-6VD8Y2>

This report describes the results of an Australian Centre for Agricultural Research (ACIAR) study to determine women's roles in decision-making and production in Papua New Guinea's peanut industry. Findings demonstrated that women played key roles in decision-making with respect to cultivating crops for household consumption, childcare, and family planning. Women also actively participate in peanut production-related activities such as locating and storing seeds, weeding peanut plants, and marketing the final product. Women identified their key training needs as additional education on bookkeeping and savings, disease control, and soil fertility. The same women felt constrained with respect to peanut production and marketing by illiteracy, lack of agricultural knowledge, and lack of extension visits to their farms.

Lateef, S. (1994) *Women Market Vendors in Fiji*. Suva, Fiji: Fiji Association of Women Graduates.

This six chapter report draws upon research with women vendors in the Suva Municipal Market is based upon a one month study with a sample of two hundred women. The study argues that such women constitute a vital contribution to Fiji's economy by linking rural producers with urban consumers. Results of the study indicate that market vendors' earnings are critical contributions to their family income, and that significant differences existed between Fijian-speaking women and Hindi-speaking women, the latter of whom had an average of less time trading, were more likely to have unemployed husbands, and lower levels of education, while the former had larger households dependent on their income. The report also includes appendices with the survey and related instruments used in the study, which may be of interest to those designing related projects.

Lederman, R. (2009). *What Gifts Engender: Social Relations and Politics in Mendi, Highland Papua New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gift exchange plays a crucial role in the social and political organisation of Mendi society in Papua New Guinea. This book reveals how considerable light can be shed on Mendi society, particularly on its political economy, by examining both the well-known ceremonial exchange festivals and the hitherto relatively little-studied everyday gift-giving practices. The author shows that the latter are crucial for understanding inter-group politics, the process of leadership, male-female relationships and the status of women, and the production, distribution and circulation of wealth. Currently the only book available on this society, the work is interesting for its integration of the study of gift exchange and politics with the study of gender roles and relationships. Throughout the book, the anthropologist makes a persuasive argument that the role of exchange also has implications for market trade and exchange of all kinds.

McGregor, A. (2006). *Solomon Islands Smallholder Agriculture Study: Volume 3, Markets and Marketing Issues*. Canberra: AusAID.

http://www.ausaid.gov.au/research/pubout.cfm?ID=4088_5412_1071_6193_2813&FromSection=Publications&Type=All

This report is part of a five volume AusAID-sponsored study documenting the development of recommendations for a set of agricultural interventions supporting both subsistence agriculture and income-generating activities for rural Solomon Islands communities. It identifies the major constraints to increased profits from marketing activities as poor transport conditions, lack of rural financing opportunities, and lack of accurate information exchanged between producers and consumers regarding demand, supply, and related issues. The report considers six economic and infrastructural factors impacting the marketing of coconuts, oil palm, cocoa, produce (including coffee), high-value niche commodities and livestock products: [1] the industry situation, [2] financial and economic viability; [3] market opportunities; [4] marketing arrangements and performance; [5] marketing problems and constraints; [6] recommendations on how marketing might be improved prospects for industry rehabilitation and expansion suggested interventions to assist rehabilitation and expansion. This volume also evaluates the potential for introducing new products, such as spices (particularly vanilla and chillies), and the tropical fruit tree known as the medicinal fruit, noni. In each case, market prospects and economic and financial viability are considered, as is the possibility for organic and fair trade certification.

MacKenzie, M. (1991). *Androgynous Objects: String Bags and Gender in Central New Guinea*. New York: Routledge.

This book presents an anthropological analysis of the various meanings ascribed to the *bilum*, or looped string bags, made by the Telefol people of Central New Guinea. *Bilum* are used by both men and women, and are widely sold in Papua New Guinea markets and also used as handbags to carry produce. *Bilum* are also a critical element of gift exchange, thus playing roles as both indispensable to marketing and as market goods themselves in both the cash and exchange economies. Using the production, sale, and redistribution of *bilum* as its central focus, this book contends that analyzing the material elements of this market staple allow for a much deeper understanding of gender and other social relations in Papua New Guinea.

Maebuta, H. & Maebuta, J. (2009). *Generating Livelihoods: A Study of Urban Squatter Settlements in Solomon Islands*. *Pacific Economic Bulletin* 24(3): 118-131.

This article is based upon findings generated by an economic survey designed to ascertain the income generation strategies of over two hundred residents of an informal housing settlement in the Solomon Islands. Researchers found that 28% of residents generated cash through full-time and casual unskilled paid labor as well as through sales of betel nut and cigarettes. Nearly half of the household members earning cash were female, and just over half of all residents did not have sufficient savings to engage in income-generating activities such as trade or roadside sales. Findings indicate that income earned from informal activities, including trade, is twice as much as the average fortnightly income from casual and full-time employment and 1.5 times more than the national minimum wage. The authors argue that the construction of a marketplace for betel nut sales would benefit informal housing settlement residents.

Mosko, M.S. (1999). *Magical Money: Commodity and the Linkage of Maketsi ("Market") and Kangakanga ("Custom") in Contemporary North Mekeo*. Pages 41-61 in Akin, D. and Robbins, J. ed. *Money and Modernity: State and Local Currencies in Melanesia*. Pittsburgh, Pa., University of Pittsburgh Press.

This book chapter, taken from an edited volume on the meanings ascribed to money across Melanesia, discusses how residents of North Mekeo, which is located 120 kilometers from Port Moresby, distinguish between *maketsi* (market) and *kangakanga* (customary) exchanges. The author argues that the introduction of money and market trade, particularly in the form of the lucrative betel nut trade with Port Moresby have democratized gender relations in some ways, because money and purchasable commodities have taken precedence over male-dominated forms of ritual practice that formerly wielded authority. Hence power that was previously monopolized by men who inherited the ability to perform sorcery or other highly respected cultural practices, power and prestige are now attributed to individuals who make money, regardless of gender.

Munn, N. (1992 [1986]). *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim Society*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

This book describes how value is attributed to particular exchange objects on Gawa, a small island off the southeast coast of mainland Papua New Guinea. Residents of Gawa participate in the long-distance kula shell exchange ring, and this book answers the fundamental question of why otherwise self-sufficient islanders choose to engage in market exchange that involves considerable risk through sea travel. The author, an anthropologist, finds that the community defines itself at least in part through this exchange, which reaffirms its own internal hierarchies and way of life. This book is useful for studies of market trade because it presents a detailed ethnographic example of why isolated Islanders in a remote area of the Pacific choose to participate in trade for reasons other than monetary gain.

Omot, N., T. Wilson, J. Anzen, A. Ramakrishna, Y. Tomda and T. Geob (2006). *Progress Report on a Peanut Market Study in Papua New Guinea*. Pages 85-88 in *Improving Yield and Economic Viability of Peanut Production in Papua New Guinea and Australia*. Canberra, Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research.

<http://www.aciar.gov.au/web.nsf/doc/ACIA-6VD8Y2>

This report describes the results of an Australian Centre for Agricultural Research (ACIAR) study on how peanut yields and quality might be improved in Papua New Guinea, where peanuts are an important cash crop for rural growers. Urban vendors sell fresh, dried, fried, roasted or boiled peanuts as a snack food. The study sought to understand current relationships between demand, supply and price of peanuts in domestic market, and assess the reaction of peanut growers and consumers to possible future changes in demand for and price of peanut. Findings suggest that the average price of peanuts sold in the Port Moresby and Lae markets in eight and five kina per kilo. Consumers indicated that they would more than double their peanut purchases if prices were reduced by half.

Philibert, J.M. and Jourdan, C. (1996). *Perishable Goods: Modes of Consumption in the Pacific Islands*. In *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Market, Local Realities*, edited by D. Howes. London: Routledge.

This book chapter compares and contrasts the symbolic significance attached to consumer goods in two villages, one in Vanuatu and often in the Solomon Islands. In the Solomon Islands, imported consumer goods are placed with the local conception of production for market. Hence villagers describe the consumer goods that can be purchased in town as akin to the bounty of nature, which they believe to be limitless. By contrast, residents in the peri-urban village of Erakor in Vanuatu do not view consumer goods as bountiful, and instead see them as individual possessions not to be shared with others. Both cultures are characterized by varying levels of participation in communal systems grounded in reciprocity, but the valuation of material goods seems to vary based upon proximity to urban areas wherein residents have the opportunity to participate in the cash economy via market trade and other forms of commercial exchange.

Pollock, N. (1988). *The Market-Place as Meeting Place in Tahiti*. Chapter 11, pp. 203-213 in Nancy Pollock and R.Crocombe (eds.). *French Polynesia*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.

The anthropologist author of this book chapter contends that although Pacific markets serve a dual function of providing access to locally produced food and providing an outlet for food sellers, there is also an important social function to markets. Based upon research in Tahiti, this book chapter finds that the market is a critical site for

the exchange of information and for rural and urban Tahitians to intermingle. Transport plays a critical role in this exchange, with most rural and suburban consumers arriving at the bus station adjacent to the market. Attendance at market is not just about the exchange of cash for goods, the author argues, but about the opportunity to interact with Tahitians from different walks of life.

Pollard, A. (1996). *Sandrae: Tirelessly Laboring without Gain: A Research into Issues Affecting Women Market Sellers in the Course of Carrying out their Marketing Activities at the Honiara Market, Solomon Islands*. B.A. Thesis, Victoria University of Technology, Melbourne.

Written by an undergraduate researcher, this report comprises seven chapters describing the findings of a month-long research period at Rove and Kukum Markets in the Solomon Islands. It provides an overview of the gendered division of labor in the Solomons, as well as similarities between Solomons traders and women workers elsewhere in the South Pacific. The author's key findings from a sample of 185 women indicate that 89% of traders believe the father is head of household, 70% of traders had more than four children (corresponding with the national average), only 5% of traders had reached secondary school, 95% use market trucks for transport, and many women travelled long distances to work in conditions that 76% described as inadequate. The report contains four recommendations: [1] construction of more and better market facilities; [2] provision of training programs; [3] development of alternative market avenues for women's produce, and [4] the establishment of a market committee.

Ross, G. (2005). *Marketing Fresh Food in Papua New Guinea: The Alele Story*. *Development Bulletin* 67: 25-27.

This short article was written by the director of Alele Fresh Farm Produce Limited, a Papua New Guinea-based family-owned company directed by five Milne Bay women that supplies fresh food to Port Moresby. The company opened in 1978 in response to the lack of locally-produced food in the capital. The author overviews the obstacles the company faced, including potato blight, storms, and weak links between growers, the business sector, and public institutions. Although very brief, it provides a personal account of the obstacles faced by farmers in growing and transporting crops to market.

Ross, H. (1978). *Baegu Markets, Areal Integration, and Economic Efficiency in Malaita, Solomon Islands*. *Ethnology* 17(2): 119-138.

This article draws upon ethnographic research with the Baegu people of northern Malaita in the Solomon Islands, who engage in barter markets. At the time the article was written, the Baegu engaged in subsistence, cash, and prestige economies, all of which had their own currencies ranging from cash to dolphin teeth. The article describes the twenty-three markets along the Lau coast, as well as regular markets held on Mondays and Thursdays, during which feuds between different groups were temporarily suspended in order to conduct trade. Most interesting is the author's description of why markets are not sites of hostility given that they involve rival groups who, at the time of writing, were otherwise in a perpetual state of conflict, and why despite trading with each other the groups remain in perpetual hostility. The author gives three reasons for this: [1] economic specialization between hill and sea people (who trade) is facilitated by fear of entering one another's territory; [2] such hostility encourages specialization by separation; [3] markets, as one elderly man told the author, "let us live together without fighting".

Sharp, T. (2005). *Sustainable Urbanisation and the Market: Food Security and the Fresh Food Markets of South Tarawa, Kiribati*. B.A. Thesis (Environmental Planning), Griffith University.

Based upon undergraduate research on Kiribati, this thesis describes the food insecurity issues arising from the island's relatively rapid transformation from self-sufficiency to dependency upon imported foods. This problem has been compounded by urbanization and increasingly dense population concentrations that leave little room for agriculture even when the individual inclination may exist. The author explores the food marketing and distribution system in South Tarawa, describing the ways in which individuals, non-governmental organizations, government, and international organizations in Kiribati have responded to the need to develop long-term plans for food security on the island. Kiribati poses unique challenges in terms of its physical and human geography, and this thesis argues that it is only through responding to local desires and voices that the island's food security needs can be met.

Singh, J. (1996). *A Survey of Market Vendors in a Rural Township: Could More Schooling Assist Rural Market Vendors?* Journal of Pacific Studies 19: 159-172.

http://www.usp.ac.fj/jps/VOL19_Singh.PDF

This article, based upon a random survey of market vendors in Labasa, Fiji, examines the correlations between educational levels and income. Findings suggest that the completion of basic schooling significantly increases traders' earnings, leading the author to conclude that possible associations exist between schooling and success in self-employment. The results of the random survey suggest that socialization, formal and informal education, and information dissemination all play roles in determining an individual's likelihood of success in self-employment through market trading and, perhaps, other self-employment activities.

Sofer, M. (2007). *Yaqona and the Fijian Periphery Revisited*. Asia Pacific Viewpoint 48(2): 234-49.

This article describes economic issues surrounding the production and sale in Fiji of yaqona, which is known elsewhere in the Pacific and in the world as kava. The roots of yaqona plant are used to produce a beverage with a depressant affect that makes it a popular social drink in addition to its important ceremonial and social role. Based upon two decades of research on the outlying Fiji island of Kadavu, findings presented suggest that yaqona has increasingly become a very important cash crop for Kadavu residents, with some households becoming dependent upon cash rather than the subsistence livelihoods that previously sustained them. The author finds that while agricultural conditions in Kadavu are widely recognized as producing superior yaqona, the island's distance from centers of trade creates a situation in which producers are rendered marginal and vulnerable.

Stephen, G. (2009). *Household Food Garden Development Project: Extension Phase Project, Terminal Report*. Nauru: Division of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Industry, and Environment.

http://www.faopacific.ws/Portals/167/programmes/trust%20funds/country_TF/FAOITANAU01%20Terminal%20Report.pdf

This short terminal report was prepared by the project officer of the Division of Agriculture in the Department of Commerce, Industry and Environment in Nauru. Prior to the accumulation of phosphate-related wealth on Nauru, agriculture, fishing, and pig and poultry farming provided the foundations of subsistence livelihoods. The influx of cash resulting from the phosphate boom on Nauru led to the replacement of these much healthier and locally available foods by imported foods, particularly rice, sugar, and processed or canned foods, which resulted in serious health complications for many Islanders. The report documents how the weakened economy and rising food prices encouraged Nauru's government to encourage residents to engage in agriculture and animal farming for their own consumption as well as to sell to others. The most significant challenge to encouraging market and household gardening is the population's unfamiliarity with this form of production.

Strathern, M. (1990). *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

This book, written by an anthropologist, provides a thorough overview of trade and exchange practices throughout Melanesia that will be of great interest to those who study or work with markets in some capacity. The author explores how gender roles impact trade in unique ways in Melanesia, particularly in terms of the separation between kin-based exchange relationships and market transactions. Simultaneously, however, the author introduces the concept of enchainment in both indigenous exchanges and cash transactions in the market, whereby people are tied to a perception of traders as enemies, victors, or strangers. Viewed in this way, market trading solidifies social bonds within a group by facilitating comparisons between particular communities and those they view as outsiders.

Sullivan, N. and Ram-Bidesi, B. (2008). *Gender Issues in Pacific Island Tuna Fisheries: Case Studies in Papua New Guinea, Fiji and Kiribati*. Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, Forum Fisheries Agency, and Secretariat of the Pacific Community.

<http://www.ffa.int/system/files/%252Fhome/ffaadmin/%252Ffiles/ffa/Gender%20issues%20in%20P.I.%20tuna%20industries%20II%20.pdf>

This study examines the challenges facing and opportunities available to women in the tuna industries in Fiji, Kiribati, and Papua New Guinea. With the broader goal of increasing women's participation, the study identified several

issues common to all three countries, where women are essential contributors in tuna collection and marketing: [1] inadequate wages; [2] lack of training for women who wish to expand their tuna marketing operations; [3] growth of the sex trade between deep-sea tuna fishermen and women who market their tuna. Although the study found very few institutional constraints to women's further participation in the tuna industry (despite their customary exclusion from working on fishing vessels), a number of recommendations for improving women's participation were identified: [1] access to credit; [2] tuna industry sponsorship of prominent young women to continue their education; [3] greater attention paid by governments and the tuna industry to health and safety concerns faced by women involved in tuna marketing.

Sykes, K. (2007). *The Moral Grounds of Critique: Between Possessive Individuals, Entrepreneurs, and Big-Men in Papua New Guinea*. *Anthropological Forum* 17(3): 255-268.

This article describes how early economic development plans for Papua New Guinea enabled entrepreneurs to self-identify as individuals who were significantly different from Big-Men, and yet no such separate identity exists for those who head small businesses. Based upon anthropological fieldwork in Central New Ireland, the author argues that Big-Men claim authority by meeting kin expectations, while small-scale entrepreneurs claim prestige by managing networks of kin. The author finds that market traders and other small business proprietors must constantly ponder what constitutes sound business practices in the absence of strong traditional models for their behavior. Part of their strategies for doing so involve magic, known as *lulleparat*, which market traders acquire from one another in exchange for shell wealth, money and ceremonial foods, and makes customers happy to part with their money and possesses them to return again and again.

Taulealea, S. (2005). *A Feasibility Study for Developing a Marketing Center at the Navuso Agricultural School in Fiji*. M.A. Thesis, International Studies, University of Wyoming.

This M.A. thesis, written by a Fijian student, describes the challenges faced in marketing agricultural commodities in Fiji. The author found that nearly ninety percent of Fiji's resorts and hotels imported their food at three times the price of local products rather than sourcing it from local producers due to perceptions of the latter's low quality. The thesis provides an overview of Fiji's thirteen municipal markets (Suva, Lami, Nausori, Korovou, Vaileka, Tavua, Ba, Lautoka, Nadi, Sigatoka, Navua, Labasa, and Savusavu), 62 supermarkets, and roadside markets, and describes the variety of produce available in Fiji. The author also covers packaging, transport, and the potential for creating a center that would coordinate many of Fiji's produce marketing activities.

Thaman, R., Elevitch, C. and Kennedy, J. (2006). *Urban and Home-garden Agroforestry in the Pacific Islands: Current Status and Future Prospects*. Pages 25-41 in Kumar, B. and Nair, P. eds. *Tropical Homegardens: A Time-Tested Example of Sustainable Agroforestry*. The Netherlands: Springer.

This chapter describes the nature and future potential of urban food production and home-gardening in rapidly urbanizing islands, and suggests that intensification and enrichment of these systems could serve as an important foundation for sustainable development. The breakdown of agricultural systems previously prevalent in the Pacific Islands through increased urbanization and deforestation have created a number of problems related to nutrition, health, food security, poverty, and trade deficits through excessive imports. This chapter reviews the different types of produce grown in home-gardens throughout the Pacific Islands, varieties of urban agroforestry, the limitations of home-gardening, and future prospects for marketing home-garden produce.

Tonga, Kingdom of. (2004). *Talamahu Market Survey Report*. Nuku'alofa: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and Food.

This annual survey report is compiled by civil servants working for Tonga's Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and Food. It is based upon a survey carried out every Friday by Ministry officials and staff of the Statistics Department. During the course of this survey, the surveyor enters data on weights, measures, and prices for specific commodities, which are then used by the Statistics Department and the Ministry to assess supplies and prices. The survey report lists this information for all commodities for sale with the exception of firewood, coconut oil, and handicrafts. Talamahu Market is the main market on Tongatapu, the island where the capital is located, but there are other official markets in other island groups in addition to much trade from roadside stalls.

van der Grijp, P. (2003). *Between Gifts and Commodities: Commercial Enterprise and the Trader's Dilemma on Wallis ('Uvea)*. *The Contemporary Pacific* 15: 277-307.

This article describes the Wallisian version of the trader's dilemma, the quandary between the moral obligation to share wealth with kinfolk and neighbors and the necessity to make a profit and accumulate capital. Many Wallisians who have earned wages in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, or New Caledonia, return to open a small shop in their home village, and frequently have to close down their enterprises after less than two years. This article uses case studies of successful indigenous entrepreneurs on Wallis, with special attention to strategies they have used to cope with the trader's dilemma, which occurs mainly in peasant villages and is less prevalent in urban settings where people tend to have fewer close relationships, less group solidarity, and more individual mobility. Focusing on three entrepreneur's biographies, this detailed accounts of how individuals balance kin demands with their individual economic success have dramatic implications for market traders elsewhere, and provide a valuable French Polynesian contribution to the literature.

van der Grijp, P. (2002). *Selling is Poverty, Buying a Shame: Representations of Work, Effective Leadership and Market Failures on Wallis*. *Oceania* 73: 17-34.

This article examines why there is no central market on the Polynesian island of Wallis, attributing the dual central causes to cultural constraints on leadership and indigenous beliefs about work and pride. There have been three efforts to create a central market in Wallis. The first, in 1976, failed due to locals' fears of ridicule if their produce was not the best for sale and, worse still, potential consumers worried traders would taunt their failure to grow their own produce. The second attempt, in 1980, was administered by a group of nuns who had little business experience and bought unsalable quality goods in order to provide poor families with cash, resulting in low sales. In 1987, a third market experienced some success, which was undermined when local producers began to open their own markets closer to their home villages, and finally ended when the roof of the market was destroyed during a 1990 cyclone. Although Wallis still has no central market, the article provides numerous examples of *kautahi* (cooperatives and semi-cooperatives) that operate small markets of their own.

Umezaki, M. and Ohtsuka, R. (2003). *Adaptive Strategies of Highlands-Origin Migrant Settlers in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea*. *Human Ecology* 31(1): 3-25.

This article examines the economic survival strategies adopted by Huli-speaking migrants who have come to Port Moresby from the Huli-speaking Tari Basin of the Southern Highlands Province. Based upon interviews on time allocation and food consumption in three informal housing settlements, findings demonstrate that migrants engage in a variety of income-generating activities, including street vending, as well as some formal sector work. Households that depended upon informal sector income-generating activities (such as trading) earned the same amount or more than households reliant upon income from formal sector activities, and had shorter working hours.

Vinning, G. and Sale, A. (2009). *Marketing Skills Training Lessons from Solomon Islands' Retail and Food Service Sector*. Occasional note-Marketing 09/09. Honiara: Solomon Islands Agricultural Livelihoods Unit.

This report is based upon a much larger study on marketing and agricultural production throughout the Solomon Islands that focuses upon teaching marketing skills as one of its main goals. Findings presented draw upon the study's fieldwork in the Gizo, Auki, Honiara, and Noro Markets, and observations of the Tulagi, and Munda Markets. The report's authors note the existence of four types of markets in the Solomon Islands: [1] provincial (administered by local government); [2] private (no government involvement); [3] local markets (unregulated by the government, but with regular suppliers, vendors and purchasers), and [4] single sellers. The report also overviews transportation, packaging, time, price, and the distinctive attributes of particular types of produce, thus presenting a concise overview of the operations of marketing in these towns.

Wardlow, H. (2006). *Wayward Women: Sexuality and Agency in a New Guinea Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

This ethnography describes the intersections between gender-based violence, sex work, and commodity consumption by focusing upon Huli "passenger women", who engage in transactional sex. The author presents a compelling analysis of passenger women's statements that their family members have treated them as "*olsem maket*" (market goods), and that they have responded by running away from home and engaging in sex work.

Passenger women's narratives throughout the text examine Huli exchange practices related to kinship and bridewealth, and how their engagement in sex work destabilizes these. Broader analysis presented throughout the book examines the ways in which capitalist economic practices transform social institutions, such as the way that some of the Huli synonyms for sex work derive from commonly purchased processed foods and other commodities.

Weiner, A. (1976). *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspectives on Trobriand Exchange*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Although dated, this study of women, men, and economic exchange in the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea is important for its descriptions of women's important economic contributions to everyday life. This ethnography documents the engagement of Trobriand women in the exchange of banana bundles, grass skirts, and other valuable commodities, thereby documenting the system of trade that existed at the time that the research was undertaken.



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