Estimated Productivity of Four Fishing Expeditions, 1979

Month	Weight of catch (kg.)	Labour in man-hours	Productivity kg./man-hour
February	155	252	0.61
March	250	343	0.73
April	50	64	0.69
November	599	1170	0.51
Total	1054	1829	0.58

sing fish. Productivity varies between a half and three-quarters of a kilogram of fish per man-hour, roughly in line with a Manus Provincial Government (1980: Appendix 7) study of productivity of south-east Manus angling: 0.87 kg. per man-hour of actual fishing. If we assume that each hour of fishing requires about one-half hour spent on preparing for fishing, getting to and from the fishing grounds, and cleaning up afterwards, this figure reduces to about 0.6, broadly in line with Ponam's productivity.

Islanders use fish in two basic ways: personal consumption, and local marketing and trade relationships with people outside Ponam. Personal consumption takes most of the catch, and except for the worst few months of the year an adult eats roughly half a kilogram of fish daily, and children eat about a quarter. Although trade partnerships and the local weekly markets on the nearby north coast remain strong, most of Ponam's market and trade partners moved from the inland to the coast after colonisation and have started fishing, so they have less need for Ponam fish. As a result, islanders generally have to supplement fish with cash goods and money in their exchange dealings (cf. Carrier 1981 for a description of Ponam's dependence on imports).

