SAMOAN PERCEPTIONS OF WORK:
MOVING UP AND MOVING AROUND

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I argue that structural theories of immigration and adaptation do not give adequate attention to cultural variation, and in particular, to cultural variation in perceptions of work. Such perceptions are fundamental to the immigration process, and particularly important in migrant adaptation to destination labor markets.

My primary focus is Samoan work perceptions and patterns, although a detailed discussion of structural factors influencing Samoan immigration and adaptation is also presented. In the past, Samoan work perceptions centered on tautua, service to chiefs and families, and fa'alavelave, mutual support during crucial life cycle events. Today, Samoans still serve and support their chiefs and families, and the concepts of tautua and fa'alavelave have gained additional meaning within the context of urban workplaces in Samoa, New Zealand, and the United States. Tautua and fa'alavelave remain important social transactions between leaders, supporters, and kinsmen, and these transactions provide the economic basis for what is now an international kinship system.

Using an ethnohistorical approach I trace the evolution of Samoan work perceptions and patterns from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, and this 150 years of history is divided into traditional, transitional, and contemporary periods. The analysis of traditional work uses missionary accounts, early ethnographies, oral histories and proverbs, while transitional and contemporary work perceptions and
patterns are analyzed using archival, governmental, ethnographic and informant data. Informants from Hawaii, American Samoa, and Western Samoa were interviewed, and I attempted to develop a two generational perspective on changing work perceptions. Data on Samoan work perceptions and patterns were also gathered from classroom interactions with students at American Samoa Community College, from a survey of fifty Samoan households in Kalihi Valley, Hawaii, and from local community organizations.

In attempting to explain immigration and adaptation, most structuralist arguments place immigrants in a deficient and exploited position relative to a dominant host society. In this study I demonstrate that Samoans are adapting to overseas labor markets through culturally distinctive work perceptions and patterns. Tautua and fa'alavelave are unique social transactions powerfully influencing work and adaptation. By examining Samoan perceptions and patterns of work it is my goal to identify unique cultural competencies rather than deficiencies in Samoan workers.
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CHAPTER I
THEORY AND METHOD

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Most studies of international migration focus on the structural factors responsible for emigration, while studies of immigrant adaptation emphasize the structural factors responsible for cultural deficiencies in immigrant communities. In this dissertation I carefully analyze an important feature of Samoan culture, that is, Samoan perceptions of work, and I show how these perceptions shape their immigration and adaptation strategies. While there is no doubt that structural factors influence immigration and adaptation, these two processes are also powerfully influenced by distinctive cultural perceptions, and in particular, by cultural perceptions of work.

In the past Samoan perceptions of work centered on two key social transactions: tautua, service to chiefs and families, and fa'alavelave, mutual support during crucial life cycle events. Over the last 150 years tautua and fa'alavelave have evolved in response to Christianity, European entrepreneurship and cash agriculture, colonial administration, American militarism and cannery development, expanding governmental structures, wage labor and migration. Today, tautua and fa'alavelave remain important social transactions between leaders, supporters, and kinsmen, and these transactions provide the economic basis for what is now an international kinship system extending from New Zealand, through Samoa, to the United States. My analysis of Samoan perceptions of
work, *tautua* and *fa'alogalave*, elucidates the distinctive cultural features of Samoan migration strategies, and identifies the unique cultural competencies of the Samoan worker.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Transactions and Dimensions of Work

Using an ethnohistorical approach I trace the evolution of Samoan work perceptions and patterns from the early 19th century to the present. I divide this 150 years of Samoan history into three periods—traditional, transitional, and contemporary—and analyze the important dimensions of work. My discussion of traditional Samoan work analyzes the indigenous aspects of work still prevalent into the mid-19th and early 20th century. The analysis of transitional work focuses on the employment experiences that shape Samoan perceptions of work before they leave Samoa, and my analysis of contemporary work focuses on Samoan work experiences outside Samoa.

In looking at the evolution of current Samoan work perceptions and patterns, I use an analytical framework developed by Sandra Wallman in her "Introduction" to *The Social Anthropology of Work* (1979), in which she conceptualizes work as a social transaction (after Barth 1967, Firth 1967). She argues (1979:5) that the significance of work is more often seen to lie in the quality of the relationships involved in the allocation, production, and distribution of resources than in the bald facts of material survival.

Her analysis, as well as the analyses of the other authors in the above mentioned text, focuses on the social transactions of chiefs and commoners, management and labor, union leaders and union members.
For the traditional fa'a Samoa, 'Samoan way of life', this approach is particularly useful in examining the social transactions between chiefs, chiefs and specialists, chiefs and commoners, men and women, masters and apprentices. During the transitional period it will be used to examine the transactions of European plantation owners and Samoan workers, Samoan growers and European merchants, military officers and Samoan wage laborers, cannery officials and shopfloor workers. In addition, the transactions prevalent in modern Samoan government work will be discussed. In the contemporary Hawaii context, the framework illuminates employer-employee transactions in a number of selected occupations.

Wallman (1979) develops a work dimensions framework that emphasizes four dimensions: 1) the resources produced and their value 2) incentive 3) identity 4) time. To Wallman, the meaning of work is in large part determined by the value of the resources produced. Resources include the terrestrial, arboreal, and marine materials used for food, manufacture, and ritual. Produced commodities are second stage resources derived from the raw materials of the environment. Labor, and the specialized knowledge of expert producers, negotiators, and distributors are viewed as crucial resources. Individuals ascribe varying values to these resources within the contexts of subsistence, ritual, and trade, and this evaluation shapes the meaning of particular work activities.

Wallman makes an important distinction between incentives to work, and incentives to working well, that is, long and hard, or skillfully. There is a strong relationship between the environment and incentive,
as the difficulty of producing resources influences the worker's perception of the sufficiency of incentive. Social factors, too, influence incentive, as working may result in social, economic, or political rewards. These rewards include, but are not limited to, the enhancement of personal and group status, the accumulation of resources, and wide-ranging political power.

The anthropologists who contributed papers to The Social Anthropology of Work studied incentives to work and employment, and incentives to working well or skillfully. The general conclusion reached in these studies was that work related incentives depend particularly on the complex interaction between resources, their value, and identity structures.

The identity dimension of work most obviously applies to individuals, but in many non-Western societies, the identity derived from work must also be viewed in terms of kin and village groups, castes and guilds; men's groups and women's groups. In addition, different work activities provide different bases for identification. For example, cultivation work may not provide a bases for individual identification, but may be crucial in group identity maintenance and enhancement. Carpentry skill can provide strongly positive identification for individuals and groups, while specialist skills usually are identified with individuals.

The time dimension of work manifests itself in diverse ways. An analysis of this dimension, according to Wallman, should include the timing of daily work activities, the pace or rhythm of work, ritual or seasonal variation in work intensity, the individual life cycle and work
requirements, and time inputs as a measure of the value of a resource and related work activity.

These four work dimensions, considered in relation to important social transactions, will be analyzed in the traditional, transitional, and contemporary contexts of work among Samoans.

Cultural Variation in Immigration and Adaptation

Howard and Scott (1981:114) have stated that Minority group members pursue goals and sometimes achieve them, they actively engage in interpersonal relations from which they derive satisfaction, and they organize their activities in ways that are meaningful to themselves and those with whom they associate.

The scientific task of this study is to show how Samoans perceive their work activities, and pattern meaningful work and non-work social transactions. Samoan work perceptions center on two important social transactions: tautua, service to chiefs and families, and fa'alavelave, mutual support during crucial life events. Only when these perceptions and transactions are understood "can the real impact of circumstances imposed upon them from the outside be assessed" (Howard and Scott, 1981:131).

These external circumstances are the usual focus of structural theories of immigration and adaptation (see Appendix 1). Structural explanations of immigration often emphasize factors such as colonialism, political instability and inequality in the country of origin; differences in income and educational opportunities in origin and destination countries; dependency relationships and incorporation into a capitalist world system. Nearly all of these structural factors
impact Samoan migration. However, there are many culturally distinctive features that are equally important in understanding Samoan migration strategies, for example, the Samoan pattern of visiting to keep family ties "warm" (malaga).

In attempting to explain immigrant adaptation, most structuralist arguments place immigrant communities in a deficient and exploited position relative to the dominant host population. The deficiency perspective emerged in anthropology with the work of Oscar Lewis and his concept of the culture of poverty (1966). Lewis' culture of poverty concept emphasized that ethnic groups, when confronted by long-term abject poverty, develop a way of life which inhibits self-sufficiency and justifies dependence on social welfare. This way of life is presumably transmitted intergenerationally creating a permanent class of poor people in urban societies.

According to Miller (1981:270) the culture of poverty argument takes two general forms when applied to the relationship between poverty and work:

First, the lack of future orientation by the poor leads them to value the spontaneous pleasures of street life and to reject conventional work. Second, the personal and emotional aspects of poverty and unemployment inhibit the poor from working, and from their work. The solution to the problems of poverty and unemployment are to be found in counseling and other forms of treatment which attack the individual's avoidance of work.

Miller agrees with Valentine's (1968) assessment that culture of poverty formulations typically blame poverty on the poor.

Lewis' research has primarily focused on Mexican and Puerto Rican communities. However, the deficiency perspective has influenced social science research on Native Americans, Filipino-Americans, the
Irish in England, the Maoris in New Zealand, and the Aborigines in Australia, to name but a few (Howard and Scott, 1981:123). Certainly structural factors influence the successful adaptation of migrant groups, but immigrant adjustment is also powerfully influenced by the unique cultural orientations that migrants bring with them to the city.

A growing body of literature has stressed the dynamic interaction between immigrant culture and the structural constraints imposed by a host society. Gans (1962) emphasized that for Italian-Americans the culture they brought with them from Italy shaped their response to American institutions and to the American economy. Hareven, in her study of French-Canadian immigrants (1975:250), agrees with Gans' conclusion stating,

Newcomers to industrial society tended to shape the system to their own needs . . . modifying the system to fit their wants and traditions.

Montgomery in his historical analysis of the evolution of labor management relations in the United States (1979:40), makes a similar point:

Immigrant workers were not passive clay to be molded by the requirements of American industry, but brought with them preindustrial work habits that shaped their responses to the environment they found here.

The studies conducted by Gans, Hareven, and Montgomery, show clearly that cultural perceptions and patterns of work can be crucial to the successful adaptation of immigrant groups. These three studies strongly refute deficiency formulations of immigrant adaptation, and point to the unique cultural strengths immigrants bring with them as they enter host society labor markets.

In a recent paper, Portes and Manning (1984) acknowledge the importance of group variation in their consideration of economically
successful ethnic enclaves. They discuss Jewish, Japanese, Korean, and Cuban immigrants to the United States, and their success in forming self-sufficient and prospering ethnic communities. But only in the case of Jewish enclaves do they refer to "culture" as an explanatory factor in entrepreneurial success. For the Japanese, Korean, and Cuban enclaves there is little or no consideration of cultural traditions of enterprise and entrepreneurship. Light (1972, 1980), however, has presented conclusive evidence supporting the cultural origins of Korean entrepreneurship. He explicitly argues that Korean immigrant communities have taken advantage of traditional "rotating credit associations" to accumulate the capital necessary to operate successful entrepreneurial ventures in American urban enclaves.

In the Korean case, Portes and Manning (1984:15) state "the origins of Korean enterprise are uncertain but its existence is undisputable," and they offer only structural explanations for the Korean "business impulse." They describe Korean entrepreneurship as a situational response to the growing commercial vacuum arising from the consolidation of advanced capitalism. In this view, ethnic enterprise constitutes a disguised form of cheap labor which provides inexpensive goods and services for the center economy.

This structural explanation would seemingly apply to all immigrant groups with sufficient family labor, and it offers little explanatory power in relation to the Koreans as a distinct immigrant group.

As Light has conclusively shown, the Korean "business impulse" results from a cultural tradition of enterprise and entrepreneurship, in particular, the rotating credit association, the kye. Structural
arguments can be compelling, but only after considering cross-cultural differences in enterprise and entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship is one of many work patterns and perceptions that vary cross-culturally, and Barth (1963) has focused on entrepreneurship as a distinctive and important form of social transaction and exchange. Yet nearly all international migration and adaptation theories neglect cultural differences in immigrant work patterns and perceptions. Generally, immigrants are viewed as a culturally homogeneous mass, all aspiring for the same work-related goals.

In this study I demonstrate that Samoans are adapting to overseas labor markets through culturally distinctive work perceptions and patterns. Tautua and fa'alavelave, like the Korean kye, are unique social transactions powerfully influencing work and adaptation. By examining Samoan perceptions and patterns of work it is my goal to identify unique "alternative competencies" (Howard and Scott, 1981:147), rather than deficiencies in Samoan workers.

METHODS FOR THE STUDY

In Part I, Traditional Work in Samoa, the discussion is based primarily on literature available from the late 19th and early 20th century. Indigenous elements of the fa'a Samoa were still pervasive during this period, and I will refer to them as "traditional" or "aboriginal." The reader should bear in mind, however, that although the material is presented in a somewhat static fashion, that work patterns had already changed by then, and were continuing to change (see Hau'ofa, 1985).
The first chroniclers of the fa'a Samoa were Protestant missionaries deeply concerned that idle hands were the work of the devil. Perhaps for this reason the missionary accounts provide a fairly comprehensive picture of Samoan work patterns and perceptions. In particular the writings of Reverends Stair, Turner, and Williams give fine general accounts of traditional Samoan "employments."

In addition to these missionary accounts Dr. Augustin Kramer's *Samoa Inseln* (1902) presents detailed ethnographic data on Samoan work. Kramer's four volume work also provides rich genealogical and oral historical materials. To complement these materials proverbial expressions collected by Milner (1966) and Schultz (1980) will be analyzed to ascertain insights into the meaning of work for aboriginal Samoans.

Peter Buck's *Samoan Material Culture* (1930) presents precise ethnographic data on the technical processes involved in early Samoan work practices. He also places these techniques and practices within the wider cultural context of the fa'a Samoa, and thereby elucidates the social meaning of various work activities. It should be noted that both Kramer and Buck overly romanticized some aspects of aboriginal Samoan culture, and there are some serious misrepresentations in Buck's and Kramer's accounts. Mr. John Kneubuhl, a highly renowned and widely respected Samoan culture historian was asked to review Part I. He also commented on the inadequacies of some of Buck's and Kramer's interpretations, and in most instances I followed his advice in drawing conclusions about traditional Samoan work. Mr. Kneubuhl did, however, praise the overall thoughtfulness and detail of the Buck and Kramer works.
The literature described above provides the ethnographic base for the analysis of traditional work in Part I. Other studies, like Watter's "Cultivation in Old Samoa" (1958), and McGrevey's "Samoan Tattooing" (1973), which focus on specific work activities, were also found to be useful sources.

My discussion of transitional work activities (Part II) is based on a combination of literature and informant sources. There is a large body of literature discussing Samoan responses to commercial agriculture. The works of Keesing (1934), Lewthwaite (1962), and Pirie (1970, 1976) were found to be particularly useful on this topic.


Informants for Part II included six older Tutuila-based men, and a class of thirty college and graduate level Samoan students. My concern was to derive a two generational perspective on changing Samoan work relations. The students, from American Samoa Community College, were engaged in classroom discussions concerning the changing Samoan culture, and in particular, changing work relations. Many of them
submitted thoughtful papers detailing the process of changing work relations in Samoa. Finally, many of the Hawaii-based Samoan informants, older and younger, discussed their own work histories, and provided information on changing Samoan work patterns and perceptions.


The material presented in Chapters XVI and XVII is based on research conducted in 1983 under the auspices of the Hawaii State Commission on Population and the Hawaiian Future. These chapters also include data from the 1980 U.S. Census, a publication by the (formerly) Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, An Assessment of HEW Services Delivery to American Samoans (1980), and the U.S. Department of Labor Report (1984) mentioned above.

Data sources were also identified within the State of Hawaii, and the City and County of Honolulu governments. At the state level, the Department of Social Services and Housing (DSSH) collects information on the amount of support they provide to Samoans, and some employment data. The State Department of Health's Surveillance Program also provided Samoan employment data for the period 1970-1980. Officials at the Office of Human Resources of the City and County of Honolulu indicated that about 200 Samoans per year were trained in their programs between
1980 and 1983, and they provided summary data. Other job training data were gathered from the Job Corps Program where approximately 200 Samoan received training between 1973 and 1982. Job Corps officials made available the individual case files on Samoan trainees.

Although the data base on the Samoan community in Hawaii is improving, the existing data is diffuse and lacks integration. These data were therefore supplemented with data derived from an employment survey of Samoan households, participant observation, and informal interviews.

The survey was conducted at Kalihi Valley Homes, where according to the State Department of Planning and Economic Development (1982), 1,285 Samoans were resident in 1980. According to Catholic Social Service personnel at Kalihi Valley Homes more than 200 Samoan families were in residence in 1983. This represented a major increase since 1966 when Ala'ilima and Ala'ilima (p. 2), reported only 45 Samoan households.

Samoan households were identified by apartment number using the State Housing Authority rosters. The list of apartment numbers served as the sampling frame, and after a random start, every fourth household was included in the systematic sample. This resulted in a total sample size of fifty households, which were representative of Samoan households at Kalihi Valley Homes, but not of the wider Samoan population in Hawaii.

A formal survey questionnaire was developed in collaboration with Peter Pirie, Kenisele Lafaele, my research assistant, and Timena Brown of the Catholic Social Services staff. I trained two Samoan interviewers, and the survey instrument was field tested and revisions made. Final interviews were conducted with household heads who were
asked about all adults, eighteen years or older, residing in the household. Upon completion of the interviews, which were closely supervised by myself and my research assistant, the questionnaires were coded and analyzed over a six week period.

The research results presented in Chapter XVII were derived from interviews with numerous Hawaii-based Samoan workers. Those interviewed included older and younger Samoans, representing a wide range of occupations. The discussion of current Samoan work also includes Kalihi Valley Homes Survey data, and information from informal discussions with members of three local community organizations, the Fetu Ao Organization, the Samoan Service Provider's Association, and Fofoga o Samoa.

The final chapter of this study will assess the relevance of current theories of international migration and adaptation to the Samoan case. Also, this chapter will delineate the unique competencies of Samoan workers, and discuss the possible direction of change in Samoan work perceptions and patterns.
PART A - TRADITIONAL SAMOAN WORK: INTRODUCTION

Part A of this study examines general features of the social organization of work in aboriginal Samoa, and focuses on the dimensions of traditional cultivation, carpentry, fishing, fine mat making, and tattooing. Chapter II presents a brief overview of the Samoan environment, and discusses the central productive relations of traditional Samoan society. These productive relations involved chiefs (matai) and families (ʻaiga), individuals and groups, men and women, and revolved around the concept of work as service (tautua) to chiefs and family.

In chapters III-VII, the Wallman work dimensions framework is used to analyze the five main work activities of aboriginal Samoa. In general cultivation was a work activity conducted by all members of the ʻaiga, and usually in groups of men or women. Carpentry was a specialist activity, where an individual achieved enough prestige and wealth to rival the matai. Fishing and tattooing were also specialist activities, but they did not provide the great prestige and wealth, nor the continuous recognition, of carpentry. Fine mat-making was the province of women, and I argue, provided the stimulus for political maneuver, and skillful, diligent work in aboriginal Samoa.
CHAPTER II
THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN SAMOA

THE SAMOAN ENVIRONMENT

In 1962, Fox and Cumberland published a major survey work on the geography and ecology of Western Samoa. This work, along with Davidson's archeological research (1979), and Watter's analysis of Samoan agriculture (1958), make it possible to develop a comprehensive picture of the Samoan environment.

The oceanic high islands of the Samoan archipelago are in relatively close proximity, and nine of the islands are inhabited. In the western part of the group, the two largest islands, Savaii and Upolu, are separated by the narrow Manono strait, where two much smaller islands, Apolima and Manono are located. Savaii has a land area of 1814 square kms., and rises to a height of nearly 1850 meters. By comparison, Upolu has a land area of 1115 square kms., and the highest volcanic cones in its interior rise to about 1100 meters.

The island of Tutuila lies 70 km. southeast of Upolu, and has a land area of 145 square kms. Just off the northeast tip of Tutuila lies the swampy island of Aunu'u, and much further east is the Manu'a group--Ofu, Olosega, and Ta'u.

In the Koppen classification, Samoa's climate is of the Af. type. It is characterized by hot, humid tropical rainforest with some leeward-windward variation. Extremes in heat and humidity make agricultural work an early morning occupation. Rainfall is greatest
in the interior mountainous areas of all islands, and relatedly, rainfall is greatest on the larger islands. The Savaii highlands are the wettest area with an annual mean rainfall of considerably more than 6,000 mm, and the western ends of Upolu and Savaii are the driest areas having an annual rainfall of approximately 2500 mm (Davidson, 1979:34). High winds and salt-spray are occasionally a hazard to agriculture, and destructive hurricanes struck the archipelago in 1889, 1960, and 1968.

The Samoa group is a chain of shield volcanoes which have extruded basaltic lavas over a long period, with the older rocks generally found in the east. Tutuila and the hilly parts of eastern Upolu have rugged, dissected landscapes, where the earth is able to retain rainwater and permanent streams can develop. In contrast, the western part of Upolu is formed by more recent geological activity and the earth lacks in surface water. The coastline of Upolu is mostly flat with a protecting barrier reef, while the coastline of Tutuila is extremely steep, forming in the central-eastern section of the island a natural harbor.

Savaii has undergone three phases of recent volcanic activity in 1760, 1902, and 1905-1911 (Davidson, 1979:84). Most of Savaii has rather rich soils, although they are frequently lacking in sufficient surface water because heavy rainfall in interior areas passes through porous soils only to emerge in coastal springs. The Savaii coastline is characterized by steep cliffs, and low flat stretches protected by coral reef (Davidson, 1979:84; Fox and Cumberland, 1962).

The most productive soils for agriculture in Samoa are of intermediate age, and are located in moderately dissected areas where deep
clays can retain nutrients and surface water. In slightly dissected landscapes, suitable soils of clay and loam are found, and these soils, where deep enough, can retain necessary nutrients and water. Soils found on steepland, and in the alluvial flats are also fertile, however this land is not extensive. Erosion of steeplands, the rain-fall leaching of flatlands, and general rockiness are the main soil problems confronting the Samoan cultivator (Wright, 1962:83-84).

Previous to European contact, wild mammals species were limited to rats, boars, and fruit bats. There were numerous kinds of insects, and a wide range of mosquito species responsible for the high prevalence of elephantiasis in the Samoan population. Centipedes, and a poisonous species of scorpion could also prove harmful.

Seven poisonous varities of fish were known, but resources from the lagoon, reef, and open sea abounded, and edible species were "far too numerous to name" (Watters, 1957:349). Samoans heavily exploited mullet and mackerel in the lagoon, the marine worm (palolo) and many kinds of shellfish from the reef, and bonito and shark from the open sea.

Domesticated pig and chicken supplemented marine protein sources. In addition, Samoans were accomplished fowlers. At least 18 species of birds were eaten, with pigeons and doves being the most popular. As Watters (1957:350-1) concludes:

The resources of the sea and forest supplemented the more important gardens and cultivated groves, providing a broad economic base . . . So liberal
was the Samoan natural environment that a subsistence system was supported more easily than in most other groups of the Pacific, and little effort was required to maintain comfortable living standards.

CHIEFS, FAMILIES, AND THE LAND

The traditional Samoan land tenure system was the basis for a careful articulation of family organization and chiefly authority. Each Samoan extended family ('aiga) was headed by a chief (matai) who held a title associated with a founding ancestor, and with certain sections of village and plantation land. Subgroups within an 'aiga, centering around descendants of the brothers or sons of the founding ancestor, or centering around the descendants of sisters or daughters of the founding ancestor, also had matai titles with authority over sections of village and plantation land.

There was clearly a genealogical basis to the titles system, but the initial creation and conferring of a title was based on an individual's achievement. According to Holmes (1971:91):

> Each village has from 10-50 matai titles which have been created at various times by important persons or by the fono (village council). Many families can name the original titleholder and the circumstances (usually meritorious service in peace and war) under which the title was conferred.

Between the numerous genealogical options, based upon relation and descent from a founding ancestor on the male and female sides of the 'aiga, and the creation of new achievement-based titles, the Samoan matai system and its articulation with customary land tenure was dynamic, and flexibly adaptive. Each 'aiga possessed some land from
which they met their daily, ritual, and exchange requirements. When an 'aiga grew large through marriage, births, and adoptions, a new matai title could be created to oversee the activities of a fissioning 'aiga segment. The new matai was given control of a piece of land which had previously been under the authority of the matai of the original larger 'aiga. The new matai was subordinate to the original titleholder and had to show respect, and render services to him, or risk losing his authority over the sub-group 'aiga and its land allotment.

Because of Samoa's cognatic or non-unilineal descent system an individual can trace a kinship relationship to numerous matai, that is, he is a member of numerous 'aiga, with many potential claims to land use. Tiffany succinctly describes the geographic and genealogic complexity of Samoan kinship (1974:36-7):

The residential core of an 'aiga is composed of consanguineal members as well as non-members who generally associated themselves with that 'aiga through an official link. Most 'aiga in Western Samoa are traditionally associated with one particular village where the descent group was believed to have been originally established by its founder. Hence, the localized residential core of an 'aiga occupies the land which belongs to that 'aiga, while the geographically scattered members continue to reside on lands owned by different 'aiga in other villages located throughout the Samoan archipelago. Persons constituting the residential core of an 'aiga continue to exercise their membership options with other 'aiga on whose land they do not reside by contributing goods and services when important 'aiga events, such as deaths, marriages, titles installations, and house dedications take place.

Individuals may be members of an 'aiga because they are of "one blood" (toto e tasi), or "one body" (tino e tasi) with ego. Toto e tasi members are all those individuals who are biologically related to ego.
Tino e tasi members are all the people, related or not, who demonstrate solidarity with ego and the tino e tasi members must maintain active, supportive relations with ego in order to remain a member of his 'aiga. This tino e tasi distinction is clear evidence that Samoans formally conceptualized kinship relations in more than biological terms. In the ancient fa'a Samoa, kinship relations could be made and maintained between biologically unrelated individuals, through continued respect, service, and solidarity (Shore, 1976).

Just as it was possible to become an 'aiga member through relations of interpersonal solidarity, so too it was possible for biologically related individuals to lose 'aiga membership if they were inactive in 'aiga affairs for a long period of time. Thus, kinship relations could be made and unmade. If individuals allowed their kinship relations to lapse with one 'aiga group for a long period of time, then members of that 'aiga may have reckoned that he or she was contributing to the well-being of another, perhaps distantly related, 'aiga core.

Crucial to the maintaining of kinship relations was service (tautua) to the 'aiga and its matai. A major component of this service was productive work in such areas as cultivation, carpentry, fishing, fine mat making, and tattooing. In addition to these work activities, an individual served his 'aiga and matai by consistently contributing resources to important ceremonial events, and by actively participating in the preparation for, and the conducting of these events. Thus, work was integral to making and maintaining kin relations in old Samoa. Without work, without working together, kinship relations would lapse, and perhaps disappear. If kinship did lapse in one generation, it was
possible to reassert kinship in the next generation, but this reassertion had to be accompanied by cooperative work activity and participation in 'aiga affairs.

In addition to directing the daily activities of the 'aiga, the matai determined who had access to family lands, and represented his family in the village council (fono). Matai with high chief (ali'i) titles were often considered divinely descended noblemen, and their role in the council was largely symbolic (see Shore, 1982). The more active, executive power was wielded in the council by matai with talking chief (tulafale) titles.

The holders of associated ali'i and tulafale titles complimented each other in council politics. Before the council meeting began, ali'i and tulafale developed the strategies necessary to best represent their 'aiga. During the meeting, the tulafale articulated the position of his ali'i, and if his presentation was convincing, the needs of the 'aiga were usually met. The status of the ali'i and tulafale was thus enhanced, and the next time the council met, the ali'i position was elevated in terms of prestige, while the tulafale's attempts to successfully argue his position would have to be tempered by his own recognition that in the previous council session his argument had carried the day. In the latter meeting the tulafale would have to show the willingness to compromise that the other matai had demonstrated earlier.

The ali'i and tulafale carefully managed the flow of 'aiga resources such as land, food, manufactured goods, labor, information, and capital. The higher the position of these matai, that is, their titles, in a hierarchy relative to an apical founding ancestor, the more resources
they managed, and relatedly, the greater the competition for these titles when they were vacated upon the matai's death.

When a matai died, a large number of potential heirs were considered. Some authors have claimed that there was a tendency toward primogeniture, while others emphasize that the right of a brother to inherit took precedence (see Holmes, 1971:93). O'meara (1983:2) distinguishes a true heir who lives with the residential core of the 'aiga, from an imported heir who lives away from the 'aiga core but continues to contribute to the core's social and political affairs. An adopted child, or a daughter's husband might also be considered an heir to a vacated matai title.

In most questions of matai title inheritance qualifications of descent and family service were carefully considered. The Samoan proverb, "The way to attain authority is through service," ("O le ala i le pule le tautua") indicates that potential title inheritance operated as an incentive to tautua, and thus, diligence in work activities. If an individual was not in a favorable genealogical position to inherit a title his claim to the title could be significantly strengthened if he had a solid reputation as a worker, or as a warrior, in support of 'aiga endeavors (Schultz, 1980).

If an individual became a matai the nature of his or her work changed. The matai had to skillfully plan, and then articulate 'aiga needs within the village council, and carefully manage 'aiga resources both inside and outside the village council. The resource of primary concern to the matai, and the 'aiga was land.
Keesing (1934) distinguishes five categories of land use in Samoa, and Holmes (1971:94-6) reiterates the relevant factors of land rights and land use. The land use distinctions made by Keesing and Holmes are summarized below:

1. Village house lots: Samoan villages are divided into named house lots containing a guest house for important visitors, one or more sleeping houses, and a cooking house. Ancestral graves are also found on these lots, and a small number of coconut and breadfruit trees, and taro plants, may be found on village house lots.

2. Plantation lots: Lying around and behind the village these lots accommodate major stands of coconut and breadfruit trees, and small taro and banana plots. Rights to plantation lands are clearly defined though boundary markers are transient and disputes do arise. Families with surplus plantation land may allow non-resident kinsmen to plant and produce quickly maturing taro or banana on these lands.

3. Family reserve sections: Higher up the mountain slopes are lands generally reserved for the main taro plots of village families. These lands are fallowed and when the dense secondary forest is cleared, an excellent soil for taro production results. Village men's groups or enterprising individuals may work these lands.

4. Village lands: Beyond the reserve sections are lands which lie within the village boundaries but are
not the property of specific families. Individuals may acquire rights to this land by clearing and planting, although the approval of the village council solidifies individual land claims.

5. District lands: These lands are claimed by district councils largely to establish political boundaries. Chiefly pigeon hunting, pig hunting, and some gathering of forest products were also conducted here.

The social organization of Samoa revolved around the chiefs, the families, and the land, and working the land, as well as exploiting the resources of the sea, employed nearly all the Samoan population. The following two sections will focus on the Samoan labor force, and consider the work of individuals and groups, and the work of men and women.

LABOR FORCE: INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

Except for infants, everyone was a member of the labor force in ancient Samoa. Individuals had economic responsibilities to their households, their 'aiga, their village and district, and these responsibilities were met through a careful articulation of individual and group work. From early childhood through later adult life, a Samoan worked individually on household and family projects, as well as in groups on larger village and district undertakings, and the Samoan worker gained respect and status in both these contexts.

The work of Samoan children was done individually or in informal groups, and included the light maintenance of lands immediately adjacent
to their houses, and also the light weeding of household gardens and plantation lands. Young Samoans frequently gathered the materials needed by adults in their work activities. These materials included pandanus, ti, and palm leaves, as well as fallen coconut and breadfruit. Perhaps the most important work activity of Samoan children was their fetching of salt- and fresh-water in coconut "water bottles" for food and kava preparation (Grattan, 1948:161). In some areas water sources were a great distance from the village, and this fetching work could be time-consuming and difficult. Grattan discusses the other work of children:

Before the advance of maturity defines the sexes too clearly and raises bars of conduct and behavior, young people are accustomed to perform many of the more trifling tasks in common. They ... cut the grass before the guest houses or about the malae. They dance together, weave coconut leaf baskets for casual use (although it is the boys who cut down the green leaves from the palms), make 'aulama, or torches, from bundles of the dry leaflets for reef or lagoon fishing, or catch crabs on the beaches or in the swamps at night. The older grades of both sexes make kava as required (p. 165).

As Samoan children grew up they took on progressively more difficult and skillful tasks, and as they approached adolescence they began to move into more formalized work groups. The village men's group ('aumaga) was the strength of the village. It included all the untitled men (taulele'a) of the village, and was usually headed by the most likely heir (manaia) to a leading title of the village. Shore (1982:101-2) describes the functions of the 'aumaga:

The 'aumaga functions as servants of the chiefs' council as well as an institution for socializing young men in political and oratorical skills useful when they become matai. It is through
membership in the 'aumaga that a taule'ale'a can tautua (serve) the chiefs, and thus earn himself a title one day.

A Samoan male may belong to his 'aumaga for twenty years or more, and only upon assuming a matai title does he formally lose membership in this group.

Young girls move into a parallel organization called the aualuma, or village women's group. This group includes unmarried women, and the wives of untitled men, and was headed by a taupou, the daughter or sister's daughter of a high ranking chief. Their traditional responsibilities were primarily related to entertaining guests, and giving the village a clean and ordered appearance. Just as young men moved out of the 'aumaga upon receiving a matai title, so too the wives of newly titled men moved out of the aualuma.

In addition to participating in the group work activities of the 'aumaga and the aualuma, Samoan men and women could belong to craft-specific occupational groups. Men often worked within highly structured carpentry guilds headed by a master-carpenter, and women frequently met in the weaving house to receive instruction in, and practice fine-mat weaving. The dimensions of these work activities will be discussed in Chapters IV and VI.

Upon becoming a matai the basic nature of a man's work activity changed. Although he could still do the difficult work of cultivation, or the dangerous work of deep sea fishing, the matai more usually commanded this labor of younger men within the household or 'aiga. In conjunction with other matai in the village, he could direct the 'aumaga to complete larger work task. The untitled man's work was productive and physical, the matai's work was directive and political.
The chief's wives formed their own separate organization (faletua ma tausi). Although this organization was largely symbolic and ceremonial, it did oversee the aualuma in its efforts to entertain guests and maintain the clean appearance of the village, and the chief's wives produced their own distinctive fine-mats ('ie toga) within the weaving house.

Older Samoan men were primarily responsible for producing the large quantities of sennit required in house and canoe construction, and this work was usually done in informal sessions of leisurely conversation. Older Samoan women continued their weaving and tapa-making work, and these activities too were conducted in an atmosphere of leisure and conversation. Elderly Samoan men often knew special fishing, carpentry, manufacturing, and tattooing techniques, along with the related lore, and older Samoan women frequently knew effective medicinal, mid-wivery, and embalming techniques. In their later years, these elder Samoans with specialized knowledge transmitted this information to interested "apprentices." Thus older Samoans continued to produce what Wallman defines as "economic resources," that is, material goods like sennit, mats, and tapa, as well as the "non-economic resources" of specialized knowledge and information.

There were a large number of specialist occupations in the traditional Samoan labor force. Stair (1897:142) presents 31 specialist titles, the first 23 of which were male occupations, while the last 8 were female occupations:
It is interesting to note that none of the specialist titles apply directly to agriculture or animal husbandry.

LABOR FORCE: THE WORK OF MEN AND WOMEN

Grattan (1948:161-165) provides a useful framework for the analysis of the sexual division of labor in aboriginal Samoa, and the earlier works of Kramer, Mead, and Buck provided a unique glimpse of the working relations between Samoan men and women.

Grattan makes three distinctions between men's and women's work. First, there are types of work done exclusively by men or women. Secondly, there are similar types of work done by both men and women.
but with restricted applications of techniques and methods. Thirdly, there are occupations which are the work of one gender group at an early stage, and the work of the other gender group at a later stage.

Men did "all work with wood," including the construction of houses, furniture, plank boats, dugout canoes, oars and sails. Men also manufactured bowls, drums, tools, sennit, combs, head-dresses, whale's tooth necklaces, and weapons such as knives, clubs, spears, and slings. Men were also responsible for making the equipment necessary for fishing, line, nets, hooks, lures, spears, ropes for lassoing sharks, traps, and pots.

The work associated with cultivation and animal husbandry was largely the province of males. According to Buck (1930:240), cultivation was one of the most important occupations of the men, and the yields from agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as other products of men's labor formed the gifts ('oloa) of the groom's family to the bride's family at wedding ceremonies.

Women's work activities revolved around the manufacturing of all grades and qualities of mats. Of greatest importance, and requiring by far the most skill, was the plaiting of fine mats ('ie toga) which formed the basis of the bride's family's return gift at marriage (toga). Women also made functional mats, sleeping mats, blinds, and fans, as well as the ti leaf gifdles and barkcloth used as clothing in ancient Samoa. Women did the daily housework, and were involved in cultivation activities related to the plants used in their manufacturing--pandanus, ti, and paper mulberry (Buck, 1930:549).
Circumcision and tattooing were practiced by men who also manufactured the delicate implements used in these operations. Women were accomplished midwives and embalmers, and were primarily responsible for tending to graves after burials (Grattan, 1948:162).

Men and women were often involved in similar types of work but used different techniques and methods. This is most clearly evidenced in fishing activities, and Grattan (1948:162-3) provides an illuminating discussion of these differences:

> Men and boys are responsible for practically every form of fishing including net and torchlight fishing on the reef at night. The women, however, fish for the small things of the sea and invertebrates, going at low tide to the reef and lagoon. This involves poking into holes in the rocks and coral with the bare hands or sticks, and some women become remarkably proficient at determining what is in a hole merely by touch. They also collect all types of shellfish... Both men and women catch the octopus, the women in shallow water with the aid of stick, although not all of them attain the same high degree of proficiency, and the men in deep water alongside the reef in a canoe, using a special lure. They both, however, kill it with a quick bite in the region of the eyes... Women do not fish from a canoe in deep water; that is reserved for men, although occasionally women may poke about with sticks from a canoe in shallow water...

There are a few types of fishing that men and women and even those of the younger generation perform together. There are certain methods that require the cooperation of the entire village, notably that termed lau, in which a whole section of the lagoon is enclosed with nets or coconut leaf strips suspended from lines. The enclosure is then gradually reduced to a point where a long plaited bag prepared by the women receives the catch. Men performed the heavy work of handling the nets. The women stand behind the line of the net enclosure and beat the water to frighten the fish towards the trap; but any that jump the wall or succeed in making their escape through it are caught by the
women in hand nets or scoops may be treated by them as a personal catch. The principal haul, however, is divided between all the families participating.

In sum, women's fishing often involved only the hands, hand nets, or sticks, while men's fishing employed canoes, and more elaborate lures, nets, and traps.

In occupations where men and women worked cooperatively, they were often active at different stages of the total work process. In crop cultivation, for example, the men were active in the heavy clearing and planting stage, while the women did some light weeding and harvesting. Most of the cooking work was done by men. This included gathering fire-wood, making the fire, lacing fish and cultigens into leaf covers, killing and dressing the pigs and chickens, and serving the meals. Women often did the work of skinning and grating taro and yams, bananas, breadfruit, and coconut. For important feasts, however, all the work of preparing food was completed by the young men in the men's group.

In the process of roofing a house, the women were responsible for planting and tending the sugarcane for thatch, and they would fold the sugarcane leaves onto cane-like sticks to be attached to the roof framework. Men finished the process by placing and tying the thatch pieces to the roof beam. Women did all the work of preparing coconut materials for sennit weaving, but men did the weaving. Similarly, young boys gathered coconut leaf materials but women made and hung the blinds they produced from these materials.

Kramer describes the day to day working round of Samoan men, women, and youth (1902:152-155):
Everyone rises early at the first sign of day, at the appearance of the redness of the dawn . . . The old men begin upon their morning work in the house or in the neighboring bush, but they usually break off when the sun guilds the tops of the palms. The young men, who have received their orders the previous evening from the head of the family, spring up, take their knives and go off into the bush, often pretty far, where they look after the plantations and after the bananas and breadfruit. Soon, still before mid-day, they are to be seen returning, skipping along on the balls of their feet, their gait swift in spite of a load of fruit, which they usually carry in two baskets, one in front and one behind on a stick. They go now and prepare the first meal, lunch, which is usually taken shortly before mid-day . . . The others have not been idle, though the girls have sat some time in the house, stretching their arms and yawning, some have even lain down again until roused by energetic words. If it is a few days before full moon or before the new moon, i.e., when it is low water in the forenoon, some women and girls will be sure to set forth for the almost dry reef lagoon, fish basket on shoulder and staff in hand, to gather mussels and snails, sea-cucumbers and sea-urchins, in short all the lower animals which serve them as food. Others go to the water-hole or set about the daily work, plaiting mats, weeding grass, feeding the hens, etc. The father of the house has himself seen to the care of his pigs at an early hour and now sits inside with some other elderly men engaged in lively conversation, whilst his daughter makes ready an early kava for them. If a light meal is taken about eleven o'clock, then a short siesta is indulged in during the hot mid-day hours. Sleep does not last too long. Visitors come or someone is visited. There are numerous small tasks, such as repairing house or boat, setting in order fishing lines and nets, the daily cares of the family in varied confusion, meanwhile the boys play in the village place and the girls bathe. When the long shadows of evening fall everyone tries to reach home, then as soon as night comes fires are rekindled . . . Thus the daily life passes pleasantly and simply but not always as leisurely as many like to represent it . . . They do not shrink from hard toil, they lay out taro plantations high up in the mountains after felling the trees, or they grow the same
plant in swamps . . . they often drag wood for building boats and houses a great distance, or go out to sea for days together catching fish. With these matters old and young are constantly busy, but there is in addition sufficient work in government and politics for the heads of families, for the chiefs and orators, for every adult Samoan is a politician.

Kramer has presented a sensitive and colorful picture of the general, daily working round in old Samoa. In the following chapter, Wallman's work dimension framework (1979) is used to analyze, in much greater detail, the patterns, perceptions, and meaning of work in aboriginal Samoa.
CHAPTER III
TRADITIONAL CULTIVATION

CULTIVATION OF PRINCIPAL CROPS

Accordingly, the working of plantations, which was watched over by the god 'O le Sa, was very extensive, for it is a great mistake to think that the natives of the Pacific lived on the fruits of the forest just as they were provided by nature (Kramer, 1902: 165).

In old Samoa, the work of cultivation produced six principal food crops—the root crops of yams, taro, and giant taro (ta'amü) and the tree crops of breadfruit, banana, and coconut—as well as the ceremonial drink, 'ava. Although these crops were of primary importance as either food or beverage, most of them served multiple functions in subsistence, and in the context of sociopolitical transactions. A consideration of multiple crop functions provides a more accurate assessment of the value of particular plants, and thus the value of the work activities associated with their cultivation. Also, many important crops are referred to in Samoan oral narratives and proverbs, and these references suggest the meanings associated with their cultivation and use.

THE ROOT CROPS

Yam ('Ufi) Cultivation

According to Buck (1930:546) and Watters (1958:341), yams (Dioscorea affinis alata) were perceived as an uncertain crop, requiring greater
time and attention than the other tuberous crop, taro. Despite greater inputs of time and attention, yam crops often failed because the roots did not recover from bruising during transport or planting.

Yams were planted in June, July, and August and approximately six months later were ready for harvest. In parts of drier northwest Upolu and Savaii yams were planted earlier in May. Due to inadequate rainfall this planting resulted in yams of poorer quality, however these yams could be harvested in December before the onset of the hurricane season (Watters, 1958:341-2).

Yams, often planted as the first crop of a clearing, were divided and cut into pieces the size of the palm of the hand. Two to three baskets filled with yams were emptied into large holes and covered with banana leaves for up to three weeks. According to Kramer's informant (1902:247):

An old man then goes to clear the bush . . . When the bush is cleared then the rubbish and stones are gathered up for "no rubbish and no stones are allowed to lie about on the ground," if it is wished to plant yams.

When the yam sets sprouted they were carefully removed with a digging stick ('oso). This stick was approximately five feet long, and make of heavy wood, two inches in diameter at its sharpened end. Using this stick, along with a thicker, blunt-ended stick ('oso tō), two of the sprouting yam sets were planted in each hole of loosened earth (Watters, 1958:341). Kramer's informant states (1902:247):

The earth must not be taken away from the hole, it is left in the hole which has been dug.
Holes were dug near a tree or fallen branch so that growing vines would have a natural trellis, or sticks were implanted near the hole to facilitate vertical vine growth. Watters (1958:341) indicates that a loose soil structure, and free drainage were necessary for maximum tuber growth. Two to three hundred yam sets made up the typical yam plantation, the planting of which took three to four days (Kramer, 1902:247). Young men in the village men's group were primarily responsible for the yam planting, and after planting they would place stones around the yam sets, "that the hens may not scratch out the pieces" (Kramer, 1902:247). Mounding was an unpopular but necessary task, and weeding was "women's work" (Watters, 1958:342). Watters suggests an 1840 plantation production figure of approximately fifty bushels of yam per acre. However, he concludes that, "The crop often completely failed on account of neglect" (1958:342).

Due to greater labor inputs, and a higher probability of unsuccessful harvesting, yams were often scarce. They were however a favored subsistence food, and one of Buck's informants ranked yams among the four required foods to serve visiting chiefs (1930:133).

Yams as a resource then were valuable as a food crop in both subsistence and the social-political context. On the other hand, the labor requirements of yam cultivation, and the unpredictability of their harvest made them somewhat less valuable than taro. In Samoa, yams were not ascribed the degree of sacred value they received in Tikopia, where they figured prominently in ritual performances, and where they were valuable crops during drought periods (Firth, 1952).
Kramer's informant's account of the yam planting process suggests that some prescribed behavior was associated with yam cultivation. The plantation land had to be properly cleaned, and apparently soil removed from one hole had to be used to refill the same hole. These behavioral prescriptions may have been associated with the intervention of spirits (aitu), and/or with the secular control exercised by chiefs, the representatives of the gods on earth. To this extent, and to the extent that yams were a required food to serve chiefs, yams may have had sacred value.

Clearing, careful transporting, and planting, as well as mounding, weeding, and soil maintenance, made yam cultivation a time-consuming enterprise. For six months of the year, individuals in various stages of their life-cycle were occupied in this cultivation, and despite their best efforts the yam crop still might not produce.

The difficulty of successfully exploiting the yam harvest worked as a disincentive in most areas where either wet or dry taro could be grown. In areas without access to more easily cultivated taro, the difficulty of yam cultivation operated as an incentive to careful management, and fuller utilization of the labor force, older and younger men and women taking part in this cultivation work.

There are no terms referring to specialist yam cultivators, and the successful cultivation of this crop probably reflected positively on an entire kinship group and their chiefs, as well as on the village men's group that could provide yams to visiting chiefs.

Milner (1966:465) gives four terms for yams. The most commonly used term is 'ufi, with palai being a common and hard yam, ufilei
being a sweet yam with a spiny stem, and soi being a wild yam. Watters (1958:432) indicates that approximately thirty-eight forms of yam have been identified in Samoa, and other terms of yam appear in Kramer's ethnography.

Various forms of yam appear in numerous context within Samoan oral narratives. Kramer (1902:834-5) suggests that yam was an important "kava food of the land" in old Samoa, and this supports the contention of Buck's informant that yams were a food appropriate to serve chiefs. In another narrative sweet yams (ufilei) appear with banana as a gift of reconciliation from younger brother to older brother after the younger brother was discovered having sexual relations with his brother's wife. To the younger brother, a gift of yams and bananas was seen as a means of extracting himself from a difficult predicament. Kramer also recounts a narrative in which individuals must kill threatening spirits in order to obtain the first yam plantation (1902:215).

Yams also appear in Samoan proverbs in similarly perplexing situations. Milner (1966:213) presents the proverb, "It is like waiting for the soi," meaning a "forlorn hope." According to Schultz (1980:57), the proverb "It came not when the yam plants withered; it came not when it sprouted again; it came when the plant was once more in leaf," meant "he who comes late must be content with what's left."

It is possible to reach some tentative conclusions about the Samoan perception of yams from this oral historical and proverbial material. Yams could seemingly be domesticated only after certain spirits were killed. In addition, yams are associated with difficult predicaments, forlorn hopes, and unmet expectations. These
interpretations from the traditional narratives would seem particularly valid in light of the reality of yam cultivation, that is, despite the most conscientious planting and careful attention, the hope of a successful harvest may not be realized. It's likely that as Samoan men and women went to work their yam plantations, they were aware of the difficulty of their work. They may have viewed their yam production with pessimism, or at most, cautious optimism. Further, if taro was not locally available, they may have viewed the possibility of not having a daily and ritual supply of a tuberous crop as a very difficult predicament.

Taro Cultivation

According to Buck (1930:129) taro (Colocasia esculenta) was the staple vegetable food of aboriginal Samoa, and was the most highly esteemed cultivated crop. Taro had a high ceremonial value as it was the correct food to serve high ranking chiefs. Grated taro in coconut cream (fa'ausi) was an appropriate dish to serve guests, and the taro leaves provided the only green, leafy vegetable for daily and ceremonial meals.

The planting of taro frequently followed the harvesting of a yam plantation, although taro could be a pioneer crop on virgin land. When planting time arrived and planting materials called tiapula (the top of the corm, along with the stalk and a central cluster of leaves) were in short supply, people visited kinsmen in other villages where they were ceremonially supplied. Six to seven months after planting, taro would be harvested, and in many areas three crops could be grown and harvested in two years (Watters, 1958:342).
Taro cultivation was typically a successive process. The taro was pulled from the soil, the edible corm cut off, another was set in the soil about a foot from the original planting. Successive planting, and the greater likelihood of a successful harvest, meant that far more food was obtained per acre of taro than yam (Watters, 1958:342).

Where water availability was not a problem, that is, in windward and elevated area, there was no periodicity in planting, and a taro plantation would present taro plants at all stages of development. Further, there was some inter-planting, giving the taro plantation (ma'umaga) an appearance of crop variety and abundance. Competition with weeds could be detrimental to the taro crop; however in some areas, primarily steeper slopes, weeds helped retain moisture in the soil, and limited soil erosion. On these steeper slopes, where water drained freely, taro could remain in the soil for months, but on damp land taro was harvested as it matured. Additional labor inputs included the construction of fences around the taro plantation to protect the plants from wandering pigs. In many cases, the ma'umaga was miles from the cultivator's village, so additional time was required to walk to and from the plantation. Kramer's informant states that when a man wanted to lay out a plantation he set out "while it is still night with a load of tiapula" (1902:244).

The chiefs were actively involved in planning for taro cultivation. According to Watters (1958:342):

Some foresighted matai planted in December, instead of November, in view of the fact that tropical cyclones were most common in January; the later planting meant that the taro would be too small to be harmed.
Many months before a plantation was to be cultivated trees of a virgin forest were ring-barked and thus eventually killed. The trees were then felled with a stone axe, a work activity that sometimes occupied an entire day (Kramer, 1902:243). To clear the bush and undergrowth fires were lit against the trunks of the trees, and sheets of bark were used to transport live ash to locations facilitating thorough burning and clearing of the land (Watters, 1958:340).

With the bush finally cleared, large tiapula were planted one per hole, while smaller tiapula were planted two, and sometimes, three per hole. When three to four leaves had grown on each plant, the undergrowth was weeded until "everything was clean. Then when it is almost ripe, then everything is overgrown but the bush is not weeded out anymore" (Kramer, 1902:244-5).

Watters (1958:342) points out that mulching near the taro stalks retarded weed growth, however two weedings were usually required. Mulching does not seem to have been as extensively practiced in Samoan taro cultivation as it was in Tikopia, where more frequent droughts necessitated thick mulching in order to conserve soil moisture (Firth, 1952). Moisture conserving mulching was apparently less crucial in relatively drought-free Samoa.

As taro was the most essential root crop to be served on ceremonial occasions, a steady supply was necessary to maintain and enhance personal status. Watters suggests (1958:343) that in contrast to yam, an ample supply of taro was relatively easy to acquire, and only very careless cultivators would have difficulty attaining the necessary quantities of taro. An average family cultivated about one-half acre of taro land
which yielded approximately 1200 tubers per year. The destruction of a taro plantation by wandering pigs was a primary concern of Samoan cultivators. To protect against this, rock walls were constructed around larger taro gardens.

Samoans also cultivated wetland taro (*Cytosperma chamissonis*), particularly on swampy Aunu'u, and on Ta'u and Olosega. Although wet taro did not figure as prominently as dry taro in the Samoan diet, it was more glutinous, and was considered better eating. It also grew more rapidly, providing a food source only four months after planting.

Many wild forms of taro grew in wet ground at higher elevations. These wild taro could supplement daily food sources, and were perceived as a valuable food during infrequent drought periods. Wild taro could not however be served to guests; only the cultivated varieties would show the necessary level of respect to chiefs and visitors (Buck, 1930:546).

In analysing taro cultivation from Wallman's work dimensions perspective, taro was clearly an extremely valuable resource, both in subsistence and in the sociopolitical context. Chiefs and visiting groups (*malaga*) expected to receive taro while they were probably surprised to receive yam. The resiliency of the *tiapula*, and the ability to successively plant taro resulted in greater yields of taro than yam. Taro did not require the careful weeding, mounding, and soil maintenance that was associated with yam cultivation. A great deal of labor was required to construct walls for protecting taro from wandering pigs, however, the willingness of the men's group to do this work is a clear indication of the value of this crop. Taro was also cultivated in smaller patches near individual houses. Here the random wanderings of
pigs could be observed, and a carefully placed rock toss would chase them away from taro plants.

Taro was the basis of ceremonial food, and the proper food to serve chiefs, and it obviously was a crop of some sacred and religious value. According to Buck (1930:240), because of

... the importance of the plantation to the Samoan people, they were entrusted to the gods and spirits. Lesa, an owl, the special god of agriculture, offerings were brought to him, especially in April when the dry weather begins so that he might send rain and ensure abundance. Offerings were also made to Foge and Toafa, protecting gods.

Although there were no specialist taro cultivators, the labor force exploiting taro resources was managed by chiefs, and a crop shortage reflected on his chiefly status and identity. In most villages taro was abundant and this reflected positively on the chief's management skills, and on the village men's group, the strength of the village.

After receiving the pronouncement of the chiefs to lay out the plantation, the head of the men's group, usually a high chief's son (manaia), would organize and direct these laborers. An individual could go alone to the plantation to clear and work the land, but the work of taro cultivation was, in large part, a group effort, and the manaia and the men's group were closely identified with this work activity. Taro was an essential element in the oloa, the presentation of the groom's family to the bride's family at marriage, and this is further evidence that taro cultivation was identified as a male work activity. The manaia was the probable heir to his father's title but other individuals in the men's group, knowing that the road to authority was through service, would work hard in taro production. The incentive to this work was to
gain recognition for having served the 'aiga and the matai by providing the required taro resources.

The clearing and planting of a new taro plantation was a time consuming process. Further, when the amount of time walking to and from the plantation is considered, along with wall-construction time, successful primary cultivation demanded a great deal of time from all the individuals in the men's group. In terms of time inputs, however, the secondary and sometimes tertiary replantings of taro reaped significant net productive value. A further time consideration involved ceremonial feasting with chiefs and visiting kinsmen. On short notice, cultivators might have to accelerate their work pace and produce large quantities of taro in order to meet their obligation to provide this quintessential feasting food. Kramer (1902:164) provides a revealing account of the responsibilities of the host village to a visiting group (malaga):

Such is the way the journey goes, and often enough, because of it everything in the plantation is eaten, particularly if the visiting chief is of especially high family ... Then the homages of food (ta'alolo) are on a higher scale ... The travel loving Samoans invaded different places like a swarm of locusts, for free hospitality is the rule.

Samoa was favored with 59 different forms of wild and cultivated taro (Christopherson, 1935:41-2). Many of these forms are distinguished by name and figure prominently in Samoan oral narratives and proverbs. Before considering this material, however, some insights into the meaning and value of taro in aboriginal Samoa can be gained from Kramer's discussion of the Samoan system of justice. According to Kramer (1902:167), the primary function of the Samoan system of justice was "the protection of agricultural products."
If one steals taro but leaves the root stalk so that it may produce again for the owner, there is a fine of 50 taro and 80 fish . . . If one steals and destroys the root of the taro, a fono (council) of the wrongdoers village orders that the man be brought before them hanging from a stick like a pig, bound hand and foot, and left to lie in the hot sun.

The Samoans recognized that a theft of taro should be punished. However, from the Samoan perspective, the destruction of the tiapula was a far more serious crime, for the thief was taking the reproductive capacity of the crop, and one and perhaps two replantings were lost. The thief was taking food for himself while wasting the food source of others. The thief had not worked with the men's group but had usurped their work efforts.

The importance of taro in the Samoan world view is demonstrated by the belief that taro cultivation practices were brought to earth, and taught to the Samoan people, by the original founding ancestor, the demigod, Pili. Kramer's informant emphasizes that, "Pili is the teacher of talo planting, he made the digging implements--oso and oso tō" (1902:228). As will be seen in the later discussion of fishing, Pili also demonstrated great prowess in net-fishing. This founding ancestor brought to the islands the requisite skills for successful exploitation of the crucial land and sea resources--taro and fish.

In the oral historical material recorded by Kramer, taro plays a role as both a reconciliation and tribute food. In one account Tigilau, a chief with many wives, sent the men out night-fishing. They returned with nine full baskets of fish and laid them in the center of the village (malae) for distribution the following morning. One of the chief's wives
swallowed all the fish, and in her deceit she, with the other wives, blamed Sina who was then exiled from the village, even though she carried Tigilau's son. Years later, the son was responsible for Sina and Tagilau meeting. At this meeting Sina chewed the taro, and when Tigilau swallowed it they were reconciled and returned together as husband and wife (Kramer, 1902:266).

Taro figures as a tribute food in two separate narratives, and in both cases it appeases cannibalistic appetites (Kramer, 1902:800). In the first case, the infamous cannibal chief, Mālietoa Faiga, was seriously ill. Nafanua, the goddess of war, prepared taro "dumplings" (fa'ausi), and presented them to Mālietoa in the ceremonial ma'ilo dish. The fa'ausi cured the ailing chief who would thereafter not consume human flesh. In the second narrative involving taro as a tribute food, two women, Luaui and Luama'a, feared for the future of their families because Tagaloalā (Tagaloa of the sun) was eating family members one after another. Luaui and Luama'a wandered up two trees to the appropriate place to present human sacrifices, but instead of placing human beings, they presented a tribute of taro, fish, birds, kava, and tools. Tagaloalā was only partly appeased, and Luaui sat on Tagaloalā to become pregnant with his child.

Samoan oral historical materials provide evidence of the status and importance of taro cultivators, and thus, the value of taro in old Samoa. One legend recounts the ill-fated Tualau who, in trying to seize for himself the rights over Chief Toleafoa's taro cultivators, suddenly died. This killing may have been the work of La'alā'a, a spirit, who through the use of lightning swiftly killed a usurper of another's agricultural production (Kramer, 1902:240).
Another legend refers to the plight of a younger brother who does not cultivate taro. This younger brother pleads:

The chiefs Tualogo and Seaota, why are you angry. Are you indeed my brothers? Fanene and Talo, you are the eldest, but I am small, you stay there and work taro. I come to the plantation to beg for food for myself. I wish to eat, I go away (Kramer, 1902:587).

In the narrative, the eldest brothers work at cultivating the taro while the younger brother must beg for food. Further, because service is the route to authority, the older brothers, through their taro cultivation have a better opportunity to become chiefs. From the perspective of the younger brother, he has not served his chiefs, and they are angry with him. He does not work in taro cultivation and must beg for food. He is unable to succeed to chiefly title, and he must "go away."

According to Kramer (1902:800), tagata magafa refers to the strong and industrious people who work the plantations, and for these workers finer qualities of taro were sometimes reserved. In Manu'a, the saying "Evil is the dying of the tagata magafa, and the happily living chiefs," emphasizes the importance of the tagata magafa for the maintenance of social harmony as embodied in the contentment of the chiefs.

Taro also figures prominently in the proverbial expressions collected by Dr. E. Schultz (1980). The proverb "Like the taro holes in Asau," refers to the practice of replanting the tiapula in the same hole. This proverb generally refers to old usages and customs, that is, old customs may be successfully used again, or, old customs may function as precedents, and as guidelines to appropriate behavior (1980:51).

Schultz' informants interpret, "Let each plant two taros in a particular spot," as meaning that one should not be reliant upon
neighbors, that one should attend to his own work. Pratt translates this proverb as, "Better to have a small plantation of your own, than to be joined with another" (Schultz, 1980:51). This proverb demonstrates that Samoans recognized the advisability of maintaining both their household and plantation taro.

The proverb, "Collect the taro leaves," was used in critical or emergency situations, and meant that all the matai should come together to discuss immediate solutions to serious village problems. A similar urgency is expressed in the proverb, "As if wrapped in an old taro leaf." This proverb relates to the story of Losi who stole taro from heaven by wrapping it in an old taro leaf. Had he not taken this last precaution he would have failed in his attempt to exploit the taro of the gods. This proverb is used to express the need to take every precaution in a difficult endeavor (Schultz, 1980:127, 135).

When the head of a family addressed a favorite child, he might say, "May you grow in a swamp." This was a father's loving wish that a child should grow quickly, be strong and supportive of his father.

From the oral historical and proverbial material, it is apparent that Samoans perceived taro as an extremely valuable crop. Taro was a subsistence food, a tribute food and a food of reconciliation. It could even be presented to appease the most voracious cannibal chiefs.

Metaphorically, taro is used to suggest the relevance of old customs and usages, and to suggest the relationship of a favored son to his father. As the tiapula can be replanted, so too can old customs be of value as precedents for current action, and so too will the favored son succeed his father.
Although taro cultivation could be "dirty work," it was much more than mere manual labor. Samoan men going to their household or village cultivations may have perceived this work with optimism and enthusiasm. Taro was a much more reliable crop than yam, and thus, an individual worker's abilities were more likely to be positively demonstrated. Because of the relationship between service (tautua) and authority (pule) in aboriginal Samoa, the ability to successfully cultivate large quantities of taro might enhance political potential.

Finally, because of the varied nature of taro--wet and dry, wild and domesticated--an adequate supply of taro was usually assured. Even if a severe drought caused cultivation problems, wild taro could be gathered, or cultivated varieties could be acquired through kinship linkages to areas unaffected by rainfall shortage. A matai who could not provide taro for fellow chiefs, or visitors was not being served by his family, and the absence of taro at an important political meeting was a clear signal that the matai's power was waning within his 'aiga and village.

To have an ample supply of taro was a gift of the gods. To be unable to serve taro to chiefs and visitors may have been an indicator that the gods were displeased with the conduct of family and village affairs. Even if a family, or village, plantation was unproductive, individuals could borrow taro from numerous kinsmen in other villages. Not serving taro thus indicated some fundamental breakdown in family and village relations. It was the responsibility of the chiefs to resolve these family and village issues, to appease the gods, and to provide the taro.
Ta'amū Cultivation

The ta'amū, or giant taro (Alocasia macrorrhiza) was cultivated and used as a subsistence food, as a food for chiefs and guests, and as an essential emergency food during drought periods. Ta'amū cuttings, or "slips," were collected and left to lie about for a few days while a suitable place to plant them was found. According to Kramer's informant (1902:246):

... Ta'amū can be planted in a taro place, but not together with taro; the taro plantation may be pulled up, and the ta'amū planted where the other was.

This information suggests that ta'amū planting may have marked the last productive period for a specific clearing of land. Watters (1958:344) states that ta'amū had an advantage over taro because the ta'amū corm could be left in the ground for a longer period of time without spoiling. Thus, a typical root-crop productive cycle on a new clearing may have proceeded as follows: First, yams, the unpredictable food source, were planted in a new clearing. Then, taro, the predictable and successive food source, was cultivated and harvested for a period of six months to two years. Finally, ta'amū was planted, and left in the ground until needed for subsistence, ceremony, or survival.

In addition to its ability to be stored in the ground, ta'amū was valuable because it grew better than taro in higher gardens, where more compact, less freely drained soils were found (Watters, 1958:344). Further, the ta'amū corm grew mostly above ground enabling the cultivator to know exactly how much crop was available. Ta'amū was also planted around taro cultivations because the large ta'amū leaves and stalks
protected the taro from weeds and marked garden boundaries (Schultz, 1980:50). The ta'amū leaf was useful as a covering for the earth oven, and three forms of ta'amū were used in ceremonial food presentations (Kramer, 1902:246).

There are no terms referring to specialist ta'amū cultivators, and apparently ta'amū cultivation was closely identified with the work of the men's group ('aumaga). As with taro cultivation, an individual could go alone to the ta'amū plantation to care for the plants, or to do some weeding. The conscientious ta'amū cultivator gained status within his 'aumaga but the status of the entire 'aumaga was enhanced by providing an abundant supply of ta'amū. Of course, it must be kept in mind, that any enhancement of 'aumaga status reflected directly upon the chiefs of the village.

The incentives for cultivating ta'amū were its value as a ceremonial food in the socio-political context, and its usefulness as an emergency food source. Chiefs were probably somewhat surprised to receive ta'amū, instead of taro, much as they were surprised to receive yams, and the ceremonial incentive to cultivate ta'amū probably varied in relation to taro availability. If taro were in short supply, ta'amū became an essential ceremonial food, if taro were abundant, ta'amū need not be served. The emergency food incentive was probably greater for ta'amū than for either taro or yams, due to the fact that ta'amū could survive in the soil for longer periods without spoiling. Samoans also stored breadfruit in pits for 3-5 months, and this fermented breadfruit (masi) could be crucial in the event of drought and famine. Thus, the incentive to cultivate ta'amū as an emergency food probably varied in relation to individual and group access to stored masi supplies.
When ta'amū replaced a taro plantation, some time was required to "pull-up" the taro. After this initial time expenditure, it does not appear that ta'amū required extensive time inputs. Rock walls were already constructed to protect the crop, and as ta'amū was the last crop of a clearing, there was less concern for complete weeding and cleaning. For ta'amū, more than for taro or yam, the plant--leaves, stalk, and corm--was allowed to grow as large as possible because the ta'amū was an important boundary marking, weed controlling, and emergency food crop. Allowing the crop to approach its maximum size required little time and intervention by the Samoan cultivator. More distant ta'amū cultivations did however require more walking and transport time.

The fact that ta'amū could be stored in the ground meant that, within limits, it could be called upon as a food resource whenever necessary. The Samoan worker may have viewed ta'amū cultivation in a way similar to a European's perception of an interest earning savings account. An initial investment of time in replacing, or encircling, the taro plantation with ta'amū, resulted in a resource that continued to grow and flourish without major work and time inputs, and ta'amū was frequently called upon when taro and yam supplies were low or unavailable. Europeans set aside savings for a "rainy day," Samoans relied on ta'amū for the rainless days of drought and potential famine.

Christopherson (1935:43) identified fourteen forms of ta'amū growing spontaneously in Samoan forests, and Buck (1930:548) states that Samoans recognized eight different types of ta'amū. Ta'amū is not distinguished from other forms of taro in the oral narratives and genealogies collected by Kramer, and it figures in only one of the
proverbs ascertained by Schultz. The proverb, "Plant the giant taro to prevent the weeds from spreading," suggests the importance of ta'amū as a weed controlling and boundary marking crop. This proverb may be used as an expression of respect for a previous speaker in a chiefly council, indicating that this speaker has clearly established the boundaries of discourse.

Ta'amū cultivation seems to have been very important to the Samoan worker. Ta'amū was a solid, reliable crop that established boundaries, and facilitated the growth of other plants. As a source of famine food, ta'amū, to some extent, must have been perceived as security against the dying off of one's family and village. Finally, Samoan perceptions of ta'amū can be contrasted with their perception of yams. The ta'amū, with its large corm, most of which was visible above the ground, required little expenditure of time and effort. One could plainly see the results of one's labor, and follow closely the development of this food source. By contrast, the yam, after much investment of time and effort, was growing below the soil surface, with its progress invisible to the cultivator. Further, after months of work, the yam corm might fail to develop, and result in little or no food value. Clearly, a much higher level of risk was involved in yam cultivation, and a much higher degree of security, both short-term and long-term, was afforded by ta'amū cultivation.

THE TREE CROPS

There are some important differences between root crop and tree crop resources. Among the root crops, only taro produced for more than a year, while banana, coconut, and breadfruit trees produced for many
years. None of the root crops produced more than one yield per planting, while all the tree crops provided multiple yields of food. The value of root crops was almost entirely as a food source, while banana, coconut, and breadfruit trees were also valuable as sources of wood and other materials for manufacture and construction. Further, tree crops were usually planted close to the village, and thus were much more closely identified with individual villages than root crops, which might be planted miles from the cultivator's village.

Banana (Fa'i) Cultivation

Bananas were a highly valued crop, and Watters (1958:349) points out that "in contrast to Fiji, it was no insult to offer a guest a meal of bananas." In addition, bananas were highly esteemed as a food to eat with fish and meat (Buck, 1930:134). Some banana trees provided ripe fruit, others served as a source of the green cooking banana, and from a variety of plantain Samoans derived a purple dye for tapa and mats. Kramer's informant discusses some of the steps involved in planting the banana plantation (1902:243):

For two to three days loads of banana slips are brought. Then the place is made "beautifully clean" where the plantation is laid out... A digging stick is taken, a hole is dug, and the banana slip planted in it... The only work required is to weed the plantation, to control weed overgrowth. Usually a number of stems are cut off at the same time and used in a new place to lay out a new plantation.

Watters argues that bananas were usually planted near houses, although these soils were often too shallow for optimum yields. Samoans apparently realized the importance of deep planting for Watters observed holes being dug close together and "several feet deep" (1958:349).
Samoans also recognized that bananas grew best on newly cleared land where they might expect five to six years of productive yield. When the banana tree reached two to three meters in height it bore fruit. After bearing fruit, the tree was then cut off at its base, and new shoots sprouted from this rootstalk. After approximately nine months, one of these shoots could bear fruit again. Some types of bananas were important kava foods, so their harvesting often coincided with the timing of important chiefly meetings (Kramer, 1902:797).

The primary incentive for cultivating bananas seems to have been its favored taste as a food. Both in daily meals and ritual feasts, ripe and green bananas provided a welcome alternative to the starchy taste and texture of taro, yams, ta'amū, and breadfruit. Kramer's informant alludes to the "banana fono of the chiefs" (1902:244), for which certain kinds of bananas were ripened by dipping them in sea water, and heating them in the earth oven. Kramer's informant also refers to, "ripe bananas, ripened on the stem as the kava lunch of the chiefs at the pigeon catching" (1902:837). Bananas appear to have played an important role as a food fit for chiefs, and thus, to some extent, incentive for their production emanated from socio-political considerations.

Kramer (1902:72) presents an excellent example of a chiefly proclamation in relation to banana, and other crop, cultivation:

The people shall go and lay out their taro plantations, they shall plant their taro. They shall plant ... a hundred banana plants, and a hundred yams; they shall lay out a fine kava plantation ... They shall clean their land of weeds that the ground may look fair ... If these rules are transgressed by anyone, he shall be fined five fine mats, or his pigs shall be killed.
From this proclamation it is clear that chiefly sanctions operated as incentives to largescale banana cultivation, and to productive activities in general. It also appears that the Samoan cultivator was encouraged to do more than just adequate weeding, he must make the "land look fair," or make the plantation "beautifully clean," or, as in the case of yam planting, there must be "no rubbish and no stones allowed to lie about." This concern for the cleanliness and appearance of a plantation suggests that chiefly directions stimulated work activity over and beyond that necessary for successful food acquisition. These directives may have been simulated by ritual concerns that the agricultural gods should be pleased with the "aesthetics" of plantation agriculture.

Further incentives to banana cultivation included the ease of planting and plantation maintenance. In the planting process, Buck (1930:549) reports that, "not much care is taken in selecting good plants or taking care of the cultivation. Holes are made and the plant stuck in to take its chance." Additional incentives for cultivating banana included its usefulness as a stored food source, ripe, peeled bananas being placed in underground storage pits whenever the crop yield exceeded local consumption capacity.

Again, there was no specific term for a specialist in banana cultivation. Bananas, like taro, were cultivated in village plantations and household patches. To the extent that bananas were exploited from plantation yields, the work of their cultivation was identified with the village men's group, the village, and the matai. Household patches were identified more directly with individual cultivators and
and families, though the bananas produced from these patches often made their way into feasts provided for chiefs and guests that enhanced village, household, and individual identity and status.

Bananas figure in only one of the Samoan proverbs collected by Schultz (1980). The phrase, "It is the shagginess of the young banana bunch," refers to the disorderliness of youth. Just as the more mature banana bunch will have a balanced, ordered appearance, so too will the older Samoan individual be more ordered and controlled in his appearance and behavior. Bananas, metaphorically, represent the development of the individual from youth to maturity, and its surprising, in light of Samoan concern for seniority and status, that bananas appear only in this single proverb.

An older Samoan informant discussed the extensive root system (suli) of banana trees. He related that the suli could extend from an original tree in one village to neighboring villages where it emerges as a new tree, and he emphasizes that "suli" was often used metaphorically to refer to the extensive character of the Samoan 'aiga.

Because bananas were a favored food, and could be stored for consumption at a later date, they were a highly valued crop. Further, their cultivation in patches and plantations meant that they were available and accessible in both large and small quantities. Banana cultivation was the responsibility of individuals and groups, and because banana was a kava food, its cultivation could be an important means of status enhancement at specific points in time. Banana cultivation was also relatively easy and a sufficient supply seems to have been assured. Due to the large productive yields in relation to work inputs,
the Samoan worker probably viewed banana cultivation favorably, much as he did the work associated with coconut and breadfruit.

Coconut (Niu) Cultivation

Coconut, as a multipurpose crop, was rivaled only by breadfruit in terms of overall function and value. One aspect of the coconut's versatility was its ability to thrive at various elevations, and in very different local environments. Generally, groves of coconut were situated near coastal settlements, though it was apparently a common practice to plant coconut near taro and yam areas so workers could refresh themselves (Kramer, 1902:239). Watters states (1958:348):

No spot in old Samoa was farther than thirty minutes from coconuts—which meant food and drink.

The coconut groves of most 'aiga were usually less than one acre in size, however due to the practice of allowing fallen nuts to sprout where they fell; groves often became densely planted. Yields from coconut trees ranged from a minimum of ten to twenty nuts per tree to an optimum of fifty to sixty (Watters, 1958:348). Supplies were abundant year round, and many coconut trees bore fruit for as long as seventy years.

Coconut was a valuable resource because the twelve distinct varieties served as a readily available food and beverage source, and coconut "fruit water" (sua) and cream (pe'pe'e'e) served to enhance many daily and ceremonial food dishes (Kramer, 1902:250). Sua was a refreshing beverage that could be consumed anytime, and a ceremonial drink that could be offered to guests in place of kava. Sua provided the only beverage alternative to fresh water, or kava which required fresh water, and sua was frequently the most readily available drink.
As a food source, coconut meat could be consumed in the half ripe stage when it was "very thin and can be scraped with the nail," or when it is fully ripe with a hard white kernel (Kramer, 1902:251). Coconut was the only fruit consumed primarily in a raw state, and it was considered impolite to eat coconut "at or after food" (Kramer, 1902:251). Coconut meat seems to have had a unique status among Samoan food sources, serving primarily as a quick nourishment for Samoan workers, passers-by, and travellers.

The rich coconut cream (pe'epe'e) was the central ingredient in many daily and ceremonial food dishes. Kramer likens the use of pe'epe'e to the Europeans use of butter or dripping (1902:251). Buck (1930:128-9) specifies many dishes made with pe'epe'e and some of these were essential ritual foods to serve chiefs and guests. A liquified coconut pudding (vaisalo) was an important dish to serve sick people, and the husk of one kind of coconut was chewed for its sweet taste and fibre. Thus, coconut provided a great variety of foods and food enhancements.

The non-edible parts of most coconuts, the shell, husk, and palm, were also valuable because they had great functional utility. A large number of Samoan housekeeping terms, make reference to coconut (Kramer, 1902:251). Coconut shells were used to carry water, and half-shells functioned as drinking cups, the most important of which were the named kava cups. The coconut palm and midrib were used to manufacture the common baskets of everyday use. Large quantities of sennit were plaited from coconut fibre to be used in house and canoe construction and sennit weaving was the unique employment of Samoan elders who spent many leisurely hours at this task. Coconut leaflet combs were manufactured by Samoan women.
Coconut also figured prominently in the mortuary rituals of ancient Samoa. With the death of a matai, a tabu (sa) was placed on certain coconut palms. These trees were marked with an adze incision, and from them no nuts could be procured until after the mourning ceremonies were completed. From the nuts that ripened during this period coconut oil was gleaned and brought to the surviving chiefs of the village. Coconut oil, an important external medicine in old Samoa, was provided to the surviving chiefs to heal their sore bones, muscles, and nerves.

The planting of coconut palms was always closely associated with the laying out, and thus, the identity of a new village. According to Buck (1930:550) trees were privately owned, however

Unless trees are prohibited by particular warning marks, travellers have the right to take a few drinking nuts from any wayside trees, but they must not abuse the privilege.

In addition to the adze incision tabu placed on trees at the death of a chief, some trees were off limits when a coconut leaf plaited in the shape of the a'u (a fish that viciously attacked humans) was tied around a tree (Steubel, 129). This prohibition was associated with the spirits of the 'āiga who owned the trees, and was initiated when the privilege of procuring nuts was being abused, or when the 'āiga was trying to accumulate an adequate supply of coconuts for a chiefly installation or wedding. Because coconut supplies were usually abundant, the nuts were accessible to the entire village and to travellers. However, abuse of privilege, and the impending occurrence of special events, led to a clearer identification of coconut trees and groves with specific 'āiga.
As mentioned above, coconut was often planted near distant taro and yam areas so 'āiga workers could refresh themselves. Schultz (1980:49) indicates that coconut trees, like the giant leaves of the ta'amū, were used as boundary markers identifying 'āiga and village taro and yam cultivations.

Although coconut was an important food, and had great functional and ritual utility, it does not appear that coconut cultivation involved a great deal of individual incentive. Watters (1958:348) suggests that fallen nuts were allowed to "sprout where they fell," and Buck (1930:550) indicates that Samoans took up "the attitude in many cases that the coconuts will care for themselves." The only task required of the coconut cultivator was the digging of a hole deep enough to hold a nut, and no weeding, mulching, or pest protection was practiced. Apparently, the coconut cultivator did not have to be highly motivated to attain a successful and bountiful harvest of this valuable crop. Coconut, perhaps more than any other crop, may have been perceived as an "inexhaustible gift of the gods" (Watters, 1958:348).

After the six to eight years it took for a new coconut planting to bear fruit, the only time constraints involved in coconut cultivation were those imposed by tabu. Once the tree began to produce it could bear fruit for decades.

Although the Samoans seem to have spent little time cultivating coconut, much more time was invested in converting this resource into food and functional materials, and some of the important determinants of work tempo are evident in these conversion processes. For example, the husking and splitting of the nut, and the grating and squeezing of
appropriate quantities of coconut meat, were arduous and time-consuming processes. The amount of time invested, and the pace of this work, was closely determined by the size of the gathering to be served, the status of the chiefs and guests in attendance, and the amount of preparation time available before the feast. The conversion of coconut into sennit fibre involved major time inputs, although this was not really time-consuming work. Sennit plaiting was conducted by elders and chiefs during leisurely hours of polite conversation and group assembly, and in this context sennit-making was a slow and relaxing process. In producing both coconut cream and sennit, the social context of feasts and gatherings determined work tempos and time inputs.

Coconut figures prominently in the oral narratives and proverbs collected by Kramer (1902), Buck (1930), and Schultz (1980). Buck recounts that the final request of Tuna, the unfortunate lover of Sina, was to have his head cut-off and planted, and from this planting grew the first coconut tree. Perhaps because the first coconut grew from a human head, coconut and coconut shells figure in future predictions and omens in other Samoan narratives (Kramer, 1902:203).

In one narrative, coconut is associated with the end of cannibalism. The cannibal chief, Mālietoa Faiga, attempted to deceive Pulele'i'ite and his travelling party by changing the appearance of different kinds of coconut. But Pulele'i'ite recognized the deception and this recognition caused Mālietoa to renounce his cannibalism.

In at least two different narratives coconut appears symbolically to represent Samoan female fertility (Kramer, 1902:406, 926). Further, the Samoan proverb, "May the coconut bear a rich harvest," is applied to the wife of a chief so that she may be blessed with many children.
The role of the individual within the 'aiga is emphasized in the following proverb. "May the cluster of nuts bow to the midrib of the coconut leaf," means that just as the coconut leaf belongs to a cluster of nuts so each individual belongs to his family (Schultz, 1980:49).

Three proverbs include the imagery of coconuts to emphasize the dynamic relationship between strength and weakness in Samoan culture. The first, "A pair of coconut trees, one full of maggots," refers to two related villages of unequal strength. The second proverb, "The falling of a ripe coconut, the ripe coconut will grow, the unripe will not," refers to the strong village or individual who has been defeated in war, and the likelihood that they will rise to power again. The third proverb, "Fallen off a high coconut palm," is used in reference to a man who has been defeated, but defeated by a man of rank.

Finally, the proverb "Like a coconut falling in the night," associates coconut with the spirits of the night, and with wise decision-making about the future. The interpretation of this proverb is that one should not hastily make decisions, but wait and make wise judgements when more information becomes available.

Coconut was perceived as a symbol of permanence (Watters, 1958:348) for a single tree could outlive a mortal man. Coconut was also seen as an all-encompassing resource, as is evident from its symbolic association with the predictive and decision-making functions of the mind, the powerful functions of the body--cannibalism and birth--and the socio-political functions of kinship, chieftainship, and village life.

The all-encompassing nature of coconut is also evident in its worldly uses. Coconut was food, drink, and source of important
functional goods. Coconut was also used to produce the sennit lashing crucial to the construction of houses and canoes. Without the sennit, houses would not stand and boats would not float. Without the sennit, and without the coconut, the entire 'āiga, could not be appropriately housed or fed.

Coconut was crucial to Samoan survival and central to the Samoan world view. They grew and flourished without great human intervention and effort, and Samoans must have been constantly impressed with the ease of abundant production from these trees. In the coconut, Samoans perceived fertility and self-sufficiency, and from their coconut cultivations they must have gained confidence in their future.

**Breadfruit ('Ulu) Cultivation**

Most accounts of Samoan cultivation suggest that after taro, breadfruit was the most important crop, and in those areas where taro was not planted, it was the "staff of life" (Watters, 1957:348; Kramer, 1902:136). Breadfruit was, however, more susceptible to drought than taro, and suffered during prolonged droughts in Northwest Upolu and Savaii.

In most years, breadfruit was generally abundant, and Samoans could depend upon four crops and seasons. The first season began in March with the flowering of the edible fruit. "The season of the laying down," began in May after strong westerly winds blew down some 'ulu trees that continued to bear fruit. The third season, "The season of the fruit like birds," began in August, after severe winds cleared the leaves off the trees and the fruit showed up on the limbs like birds. The final
season, began in October, and provided the last breadfruit supply before the onset of the hurricane season.

As a ceremonial crop, breadfruit was next to taro in importance. Two particular dishes, a breadfruit paste and breadfruit cooked in salt-water, were favored when serving chiefs and guests, and a specific variety of breadfruit was an important kava food (Kramer, 1902:797).

In addition to being a valuable daily and ceremonial food source, breadfruit was preserved and stored in underground pits. This masi was crucial during periods of food scarcity, and according to Buck (1930:132) breadfruit was stored in pits "more as a means of preventing waste than any particular liking for the fermented food." Masi stores also supplemented coconut for workers in distant taro and yam areas. Watters (1958:349) indicates that masi was stored for only three months, while Buck (1930:132) states that this food could be preserved for a year or more. Samoan informants have discussed masi pits greater than fifty feet in length (Ala'ilima, personal communication). Preserved breadfruit seems to have been bountiful, with individual households and entire villages taking part in the construction of masi pits.

The breadfruit tree was also extremely valuable as a source of timber for high status Samoan houses (Stair, 1897:153):

The roofs of the best description of houses were always made of breadfruit, and were much valued, the erection of a breadfruit house of even ordinary dimension being a very formidable affair.

The breadfruit tree provided other useful resources. The pitch was crucial to canoe construction, and breadfruit leaves served as oven covers, food wrappers, and platters. Finally, the breadfruit tree was explicitly mentioned as having value as a shade tree.
Breadfruit cultivation did not require great individual incentive, although on rare occasions, cuttings from a favorite variety of breadfruit would be carefully planted and tended. Kramer (1902:242) states that coconut and breadfruit cultivation "were equally easy, a twig set in good soil sprouts immediately." As with coconut cultivation, the breadfruit cultivator reaped an abundant crop without great labor inputs.

For both breadfruit and coconut cultivation, the level of incentive was not proportionate to the value of the crop. These two tree crops played a significant role in the daily and ceremonial consumption patterns, and in supplying items of functional economic importance for the household and the village. However, they grew and were harvested without major inputs of time and labor, and were probably perceived as major gifts of the gods.

A higher level of incentive was required when converting breadfruit and coconut into the "second-stage" foods of masi and pe'epe'e respectively, and from these work activities it is possible to suggest major differences in Samoan perceptions of these crops. In the production of masi the main incentives were the need for a survival or famine food, and a desire to prevent waste. The primary production incentive for pe'epe'e was its favored status as an enhancer to a wide range of Samoan food dishes.

Both masi and pe'epe'e could be consumed daily, but they became crucial in significantly different contexts. Masi was indispensable during rare periods of famine and drought, while pe'epe'e was indispensable during frequent periods of feasting and ritual. Masi was crucial biologically, while pe'epe'e was crucial socially.
Breadfruit trees were identified with specific villages, men's groups, and households. Breadfruit, like coconut, was planted in close proximity to newly established villages, and in distant plantations where it provided food nourishment for root crop cultivators. It was generally in abundant supply and available to all villagers, guests, and travellers. Unlike coconut, breadfruit trees were planted in a more scattered manner and not in groves, and no mention is made in the literature of tabus or restrictions on breadfruit trees.

Breadfruit harvesting, timed in close association with daily and ritual requirements, was a quick and easy process. The breadfruit hung from the ends of branches so it was not necessary to climb the trees. Samoans used a long pole (lou), with two crossed sticks attached at the end to shake the 'ulu to the ground. A careful rock toss achieved the same end.

Preparation of breadfruit for daily consumption took little time and involved only the removing of the skin, as most breadfruit could be cooked whole on the hot oven stones. More elaborate dishes with coconut cream took more time, and for these dishes the breadfruit was mashed or grated.

One important time consideration in breadfruit cultivation was when to cut down a tree for use in house construction. The decision to cut down a breadfruit tree was based on whether the tree had attained an appropriate size for use in house construction, and whether other trees in close proximity were supplying breadfruit, and the decision was up to the owner of the tree (Kneubuhl, 1984, personal communication).
Breadfruit does not figure as prominently as coconut in the Samoan narratives recorded by Kramer, however, in one narrative it figures along with coconut in the ending of Mālietoa Faiga's cannibalism (1902:203).

Breadfruit plays an important role in many of the proverbs collected by Schultz, and the interpretation of each of these proverbs involves the role of chiefs, and chiefly decision-making. The saying "Like a breadfruit plucked on stony ground," refers to a breadfruit which is crushed, and unusable after falling on hard ground. The phrase is used when advise provided by chief is disregarded. Chiefly advice, "Gather the breadfruit from the farthest branch," means to attempt and complete the hardest task first.

Two proverbs refer to the passing of chiefly titles between generations: "When the breadfruit harvest comes, the lou (harvesting pole) will be found too," means that for each generation there will be a chief. "Like an uprooted breadfruit tree," refers to the uprooted tree that continues to bear fruit. In a similar way, an 'aiga will continue to flourish if the matai passes his title to his relatives. Another proverb, "Like the protection afforded by a house built of 'ulu wood," pays homage to the strong alii or tulafale who protects his family.

Two proverbs refer to dissatisfaction with chiefs: "You shake in vain the branches with no fruit," is applied to chiefs who make decisions while the common people, without a voice in decision-making, are the ones who get hurt. "When there were breadfruit the chiefs forgot who had fed them with wild yams cooked in leaves," is a complaint
that the chiefs are inconsiderate of commoner needs during periods of abundance. Only during famine times, when the wild yams are eaten, do the chiefs need and respect the commoners. When prosperous times return, the chiefs treat the people harshly.

The proverb, "He pretended to come for fire, but really he wants \textit{masi}," is applied to an individual who asks the chief for one thing, when he really wants something else. The proverb refers to deception in negotiations between commoner and chief, or between two villages.

The place of breadfruit in proverbs referring to the role of chiefs and chiefly decision-making demonstrates the centrality of this crop in Samoan political perceptions. Breadfruit, like coconut, was perceived as a crop insuring self-sufficiency. Where the coconut was seen in association with fertility, the breadfruit was symbolic of perpetuity, the perpetuity embodied in the person of the \textit{matai}. As Shore has emphasized (1982:82):

\begin{quote}
Samoans characterize the \textit{matai} system as the foundation of their society because the chiefs provide Samoans with a sense of their own immortality as a people.
\end{quote}

Because of breadfruit's daily availability, and long-term storability as \textit{masi}, Samoans were assured of sufficient food supplies. Breadfruit also provided the wood for the most durable and prestigious houses. Further, breadfruit also provided the pitch that patched the cracks in the fishing canoes, enabling Samoans to efficiently exploit marine resources. Like the breadfruit tree, the \textit{matai} provided food from the land and sea, and shelter for the \textit{\textquoteleft aiga}, and the proverbs suggest rather clearly a metaphorical link between breadfruit and \textit{matai}. 
The Samoan worker probably viewed coconut and breadfruit cultivation in similar ways. Breadfruit and coconut were both gifts of the gods, requiring little human intervention in their successful harvesting. Breadfruit meant survival, and coconut symbolized reproduction, and both assured an enhanced quality of life for commoners and chiefs alike.

KAVA ('AVA) CULTIVATION

In ancient Samoa, 'ava was cultivated primarily because of its importance in social and political ceremony, and secondarily because it served numerous medicinal purposes (Churchill, 1902:57-8). 'Ava, unlike most crops grew best in stony ground near individual households (Buck, 1930:147). Kramer indicates that 'ava was also cultivated, along with sugarcane, in the area behind bananas in a typical village (1902:239).

After four to five years of growth 'ava was suitable for consumption. The entire plant was removed from the soil, and most of the leaves were trimmed away, leaving the stem attached to the root. This intact stem and root (tugase) was essential to Samoan ceremonial life for it was a valuable gift presented to visitors of rank, and the longer, finer 'ava roots made the most favored 'ava. Some 'ava roots were deemed unsuitable for tugase and were divided into shorter pieces for ordinary use.

Buck gives an illuminating account of the relationship between 'ava and chiefly status (1930:147):

A chief had to have a stock of dried 'ava always on hand not only for his own use, but for the innumerable calls made upon him by ceremonial
custom. Those below the rank of matai were exempt from such calls. On election to mataiship, one of the first things to be done was to lay in a stock of 'ava. Failure to comply with the customary presentation of 'ava led to loss of prestige and probably deposition from a position which the holder failed to maintain with dignity.

The "innumerable calls" made upon the chief included ceremonies involving validation of titles, ratification of agreements, celebrations of important marriages, births, and deaths, and group visits (Mead, 1930:106).

Keesing and Keesing (1973:72) emphasize that no meeting of titled people could proceed until 'ava was mixed and served, and that the "rank order" of chiefs was demonstrated by the order in which they were served. Shore (1982:303) argues that the 'ava ceremony symbolizes group solidarity, and that the order of service identified key decision-makers. In old Samoa 'ava drinking was largely a male prerogative although the daughter (taupou) of a high chief might be served 'ava on a ceremonial journey (malaga). The most elaborate 'ava ceremonies involved the highest ranking chiefs, and at these, chiefs replaced untitled men and women in the mixing and serving (Keesing and Keesing, 1973:73).

Outside of the primarily political context, 'ava was used within the household to worship family gods, and to expiate violations of supernatural prohibitions. 'Ava was a major medicine of traditional healers (fofō), and its medicinal uses have been summarized by Churchill (1902:57-8). In addition, 'ava was made and consumed upon the initiation of a new piece of work in order to assure its favorable
outcome. This was done not so much to appease a particularly deity as to demonstrate an awareness of expected and ordered procedures (Mead, 1930:106).

There were thus important political, ceremonial, medical and economic incentives to planting 'ava. The village men's group, as well as workers within individual households were responsible to their matai, and had to continuously supply them with sufficient supplies of high quality 'ava. No single crop was so closely identified with individual matai, and thus with specific aiga.

The oral narrative material in which 'ava appears suggests that 'ava cultivation was difficult work, that some 'ava lands were tabu, and that 'ava was embued with great spiritual potency. In one narrative, involving Tagaloalā, the cannibalistic sun god, Luaui, his future mate serves 'ava and food to appease his cannibalism. She laments:

> The kava is planted by strong people... on a rocky spot, which had a prohibition laid on it. I have cut the kava up into little pieces, I have scraped it with a kava grater of shell, I have worked it with a strainer of coconut fibre, I have mixed the kava... in a kava bowl... it is ready! I have distributed the kava. Tagaloa now eat this fish here... the fish from the reef entrance, Eat this bird here, a fat hen! Turn thy face here, my family is dying out on account of thy cannibalism (Kramer, 1902:800-01).

The narrative continues with Tagaloau, the son of Tagaloalā and Luaui, demanding the first cup of 'ava. This narrative suggests that 'ava may have been perceived as plentiful in old Samoa:

> When the kava is distributed I am the first... because I am of great importance... I must have the first kava, for here kava grows in abundance.
The spiritual potency of 'ava also figures prominently in a second narrative. Lele'asapai who was attempting to avenge a theft from his village yam plantation, had to outwit the spirit of Savea Siuleo, the guide to the land of the dead. Lele'asapai had to protect himself from the "poisonous 'ava branches attacking him, because they are the 10,000 spirits" (Kramer, 1902:214).

In the narrative involving Luaui, 'ava is to play a positive role in ending cannibalism, while in the story of Lele'asapai 'ava appears to be an instrument of death. Apparently 'ava symbolizes both the positive and negative outcomes that can potentially emerge from the council of chiefs. 'Ava also figures in oral narratives as an important ceremonial drink for the chiefs at the sacred pigeon catching place, and at the rituals performed on the village malae (Kramer, 1902: 837, 838).

Samoan perceptions of the work of 'ava cultivation were almost certainly shaped by a concern for the pragmatics of chiefly status, that is, the cultivator knew he must supply his chief with sufficient supplies of finer quality 'ava roots. Perceptions of 'ava cultivation were further tempered by an awareness of its spiritual potency, manifested either benevolently or malevolently by matai and fofō. Lastly, that 'ava was consumed previous to initiating work activities in order to assure their successful outcome, indicates that Samoans perceived the spiritual potency of 'ava to positively impact work productivity.
CHAPTER IV

CARPENTRY

CARPENTRY GUILDS

As regards the architecture of the Samoan house, it may be reckoned among the most beautiful found among any primitive people of any period, and it deserves all the more appreciation because no least piece of iron is used, the whole house to-day, as in former times, being tied together. Even especially large houses suffer no loss thereby; the forms are always artistic and well-ordered. This was noticed by the first visitors, and a stay in such a house, open on all sides and with its high thick roof affording excellent protection from the sun impresses one agreeably. The houses are both very cool and salutary, all the more so as scrupulous order and cleanliness reign in them (Kramer, 1902:397).

In old Samoa, house and canoe builders (tufuga fai fale, tufuga fai va'a) were organized into identifiable craft guilds. The structure and organization of these guilds was very similar to that of an 'aiga, with guild masters attaining matai titles, and each guild standing in a hierarchical relationship based on its position of descent from Tagaloa, the supreme deity. All guild members belonged to the family of Tagaloa (Sā Tagaloā). Although guild members were frequently members of the same cognatic 'aiga, usually locally based, it was possible for an individual to "make" a kinship relationship with the Sa Tagaloa through apprenticeship and the demonstration of precision and diligence in carpentry. There was thus relatively open access to guild membership, and Goldman has emphasized their corporate continuity, their "firm internal
organization of rules and regulations . . . and the hierarchy of masters and apprentices" (1960:255).

According to one tradition, Tagaloa ordered the original guild to choose timber from the forest, and a man named Malama selected the breadfruit tree as the correct timber for house construction (Buck, 1930:19-20). Tagaloa then taught the men of the guild how to build houses, and this group passed on the knowledge to their descendants. Handy (1923:15) and Goldman (1960:257) state that all carpentry guilds were descended from the 'Aiga sa le Malama, while Buck (1930:85) and Hjarno (1976:83) have questioned this. These latter authors have stressed the association of particular guilds with particular districts, "so that the whole group of islands was served." According to Buck (1930:85), the names of the guilds and the related districts were as follows:

- 'Aiga sa Sao -- Manu'a
- 'Aiga sa le Malama -- Tutuila
- 'Aiga sa To -- Tutuila
- 'Aiga sa te Ifi -- Upolu, Atua
- 'Aiga sa Moe -- Upolu, Aana
- 'Aiga sa Logo -- Upolu
- 'Aiga sa Solofuti -- Upolu
- 'Aiga sa Sigi -- Savaii
- 'Aiga sa Tagavailega -- Savaii

Turner (1884:157) estimated that about one out of every 300 men was a master builder (matai tufuga), and if this estimate is correct then there were approximately 50-70 matai tufuga in an archipelago of 30,000-40,000 people. Young men, who were usually, but not always, kinsmen, were apprenticed to a matai tufuga, and if they demonstrated service (tautua), and proved to be workers of acceptable skill, they became tufuga through their election into the guild of the district where they
lived (Buck, 1930). Handy (1923:15) states, "The profession is heredi-
tary, but the trainee must come through serving an apprenticeship under
a tufuga." After years of demonstrating carpentry skill in the
construction of houses and canoes, the tufuga was elevated to the
prestigious position of matai tufuga.

Both tufuga and matai tufuga status were thus attained through the
meeting of both inherited and achieved criteria, and Goldman has
emphasized (1960:256):

That commoners are admitted to such distinguished
professions is but another example of the Samoan
system of extending the blessings of aristocracy to
the many.

Upon achieving tufuga status the carpenter was known by the name of
his guild and whether he was a chief or an untitled man, that guild name
entitled him to receive 'ava, and to take part in public functions
(Handy, 1923:15). Kramer also presents oral narrative material
supporting the "kava status" of the carpenter (1902:776-7):

Tagaloa's circle of chiefs sat there peacefully
looking who was to receive the first cup of kava
... The carpenter receives the first cup of kava
on his title ...

Mead (1928:34) further substantiates the chiefly status ascribed to
tufuga:

Skill in housebuilding means wealth and status,
for a young man who is a skilled carpenter must be
treated as courteously as a chief and addressed
with the chief's language.

The professional status of an individual tufuga depended upon the
position of his guild within the Sa Tagaloa and his professional
ancestry within the guild. If a tufuga belonged to a guild of high
hierarchical position, and if his forefathers had been carpenters since
the founding of the guild, he was of very high status among all carpenters (Handy, 1923:16).

Each guild was headed by a matai tufuga selected on the basis of his professional ancestry and his ability as a carpenter. The matai tufuga presided over guild meetings, the most important of which were those where an apprentice was admitted to tufuga status. At these meetings, which were attended by the leading tufuga of the district, the newly accepted craftsman presented fine mats ('ie toga), tapa cloth, and other valuable gifts to the tufuga who had been his master and teacher. If a tufuga of higher rank was present, the master tufuga would pay deference by directing the fine mats and other gifts to him. The higher ranking tufuga, with graceful oratory, would accept the gift of respect but insist that the material gifts go to the individual in whose honor the feast was really given, the master tufuga of the new initiate (Handy, 1923:16). After the presentation of the gifts there was further speech-making, 'ava drinking, and feasting. This guild ceremony usually marked the successful completion of a large house (fale) by the apprentice, "there is no testing or examination; the house that he has completed stands as evidence of his qualifications" (Handy, 1923:16).

Although the guild was a corporate entity, with a strong internal organization, a head carpenter could employ a tufuga of another guild. This might occur when a matai who had contracted with a guild to build a house had a kinsman who was a skilled carpenter. The kinsman of the matai would work for the guild's head carpenter but would not have high status within the work group.
Each guild had a particular sennit design it used in lashing a house together. An individual familiar with the specific sennit designs could identify which guild had constructed a chief's fale. If a prominent tufuga from outside the contracted guild assisted in the construction of a fale, he would often be honored by being asked to apply one of the sennit lashings of his guild to the fale. This lashing would stand as a lasting symbol of the cooperative work of the contracted guild and the prominent tufuga.

THE TRANSACTIONS OF CHIEFS AND CARPENTERS

To maintain their own status, the chiefs had to have the very best the builders could provide. The builders thus attained great power. They organized into guilds with rules and regulations that chiefs of the highest status could not afford to disregard (Buck, 1930:9-10).

Before initiating the task of building a new fale, a wise matai made a careful assessment of his ability to amass the quantity and quality of resources needed to support the head tufuga and his work group. If the matai determined that he could accumulate the necessary fine mat and food resources, he then considered the architectural qualifications, as well as the manual skills of a potential tufuga.

The matai then requested the services of a particular builder. The builder usually inquired whether the matai wanted a fale afolau (long house) or a fale tele (round house), and how many beams the house would require. The matai's answer indicated the shape and size of the house, and the builder made an estimation of the labor involved, and "probably sized up the ability of the matai to carry out his side of the contract"
(Buck, 1930:87). If the builder took on the project he accepted a fine mat from the matai to seal an agreement. The matai was now referred to as "taufale" because he had contracted to have a house built, and he remained the taufale, or "patron" until the house was completed. Further, more detailed negotiations continued over a bowl of ava, and the final contract was orally recited and agreed upon.

There were two kinds of contracts between a patron and a builder, the ordinary contract and the fale agai agreement. Under the terms of both contracts the patron's working family was responsible for cutting and transporting the necessary wood to the village. The ordinary contract was a defined relationship of service (tautua), bringing two families—the patron's and the carpentry guild—together in a transaction emphasizing mutual service. The fale agai contract was a defined relationship of galue, that is, the work would have to be paid for. The fale agai agreement did not involve the service, solidarity, and support central in the ordinary contract. Buck's informant, Nua of Ta'u, a master builder, delineates the terms of the ordinary contract (Buck, 1930: 88):

The taufale and builder agree to become one family (feagaiga) and live together in love and harmony during the construction of the house. The builder agrees to do everything he can to meet the desires of the taufale. The taufale agrees on his side to respect the laws and observances of the Sa Tagaloa. . . The taufale must feed all the builders engaged on the work. When the food is cooked in the oven, that for the builders must be put on separate baskets . . . Absence for any time is regarded as neglect and may lead to the builders abandoning the work. The attendant brings water, drinking nuts, and brews kava. In bringing food, the builders must be served first. After the building has commenced the taufale must not give food, bark cloth, or fine mats to anyone other
than the builders . . . If given without consulting the builders, the action is regarded as a lack of respect, and they abandon the work. In ceremonial drinking of kava between the two parties the head builder is served with the first cup, and his three titles are called. In all speeches he is addressed by the same titles.

On his side the builder promises to treat the taufale with all respect. He also calls the taufale by three titles in speeches and kava drinking . . . By mutually honoring these titles they place one another on the highest ceremonial plane. . . . A builder must not call from the scaffolding for anything below. He must come down for it himself. He can not use an adze on the framework. All fitting of timbers must be done in the shed or on the ground. All thatch rafters must be joined and lashed on the ground. No piece can be joined onto the thatch rafter once it has been raised to the oblique position on the frame. This does not apply, of course, to the arches. The builders must not eat or drink standing.

Throughout the construction of the fale, the families of the patron and the builders alternated in bringing ceremonial food presentations of pig, taro, and 'ava to the building site. Under the terms of the ordinary contract the patron had relatively little control over the quality of the builder's work. He could not complain about inferior work for this would show disrespect to the master builder, and might cause him to terminate the house building.

When a fale agai agreement was entered into, the patron had the right to directly observe the work, and comment upon any slovenly technique. Under this contract, he could tell the builder exactly what he wanted. He could criticize certain lashing patterns or the neatness of their turns, he could insist on proper timbers such as breadfruit for the rafters, and he could insist that poor work be rectified.
Buck (1930:89) relates that for the privilege of more directly overseeing and inputting the building process, the patron had to mobilize more labor force and food resources. In addition, the character of the relations between patron and builder changed significantly as the builder's demands increased.

The food must be of the best and pork must figure more frequently. The family of a taufale are kept busy procuring fish and other foods. The builders will eat no cold food, so fresh ovens have to be made. They will drink no water so baskets of drinking nuts must ever be on hand with an alert attendant ready to supply their demands. The prohibition of the taufale giving anything away is rendered doubly strict.

In the strict fale agai contract there is no trusting to honor, and no sentiment. The elimination of the sentiment of relationship is difficult to carry out, but is usually obviated by employing a head builder from some other village or district who has no blood tie with the taufale. The taufale gets a good house if his finances can stand the extra drain. At the finish of the work a higher rate of reward is expected than under the ordinary contract. If the taufale fails during the building to satisfy the demands of the builders, they have no hesitation in leaving the work, for in the fale agai there is no blood tie and no sentiment of forbearance. Each side is out to get the most it can. Before leaving on strike, the builders leave a sign in the house that acts as a warning to the entire guild. The Sa Tagaloa tapu the taufale and and no other builders will complete the house. The only chance the taufale has of getting this house completed is to humble himself before the head builder with a substantial present of fine mats, and with the use of much ceremonial speech persuade him to resume the work. The position is on a par with a civilized industrial strike for increase of wages. In Samoa, however, the strikers are in a more entrenched position than their trade union compatriots.

Kramer (1902:424) also comments on the transactions between carpenters and patron-chiefs:
The carpenters and their whole families are a tax on the chief for many months, often for as many as nine, so that it can be understood that a family often attained a house and is thereby ruined owing to the greediness of this corporation.

Ceremonial feasting accompanied the completion of various stages of the house construction. When the main posts of the house were erected the first important feasting took place.

Later in the day the posts and ridgepole would be set in place and the villagers and the builders would sit in their appropriate positions for speeches and feasting. A presentation of green 'ava was made to the master builder. Buck (1930:92) states that the green 'ava was the highest honor paid to chiefs and is thus "an appropriate tribute to the guild descended from the gods." This ceremony was designed to assure that relations between the families of the patron and the master builder remained warm and cordial, and that no problems arose that could jeopardize the successful completion of the fale.

The evening meal was preceded by a ceremonial 'ava drinking where the head builder received the honorary first cup. This meal ended the days proceedings with a formal recognition of the high status of the builder's guild.

A feast took place upon the completion of the second rounded end of the fale. A payment of piles of fine mats, and bark cloth was collected by the builder's guild, visiting builders, and some of the patron's working family (fai'oa). Abundant food consisting of pigs, taro, and other foods, was prepared in a special oven, and presented with great ceremonial detail. Fine mats were presented to the builders for the following reasons (Buck, 1980:96):
--The hands that were cut in the work
--The eyes that were injured by the chips
--The labor done in the house
--The work done in the forest
--The children of the builders who were beaten by
  the children of the owner
--The cutting of the thatch at the eaves

Actually, the cutting of the thatch at the eaves had not yet been
completed, for that work was the responsibility of the patron's family.
Usually though, one or more of the builders would return to help with
the thatch cutting.

When the house was successfully completed the important consecra-
tion feast (umu saga) was celebrated (Handy, 1923:14). Buck (1930:146)
describes the "strange scene" at the final payment:

The chief's family sat within the quest house and
the builders sat outside in the open space before
it. Women wearing the fine mats went out and then
laid them before the builders. If not enough, the
builders coaxed and threatened, saying the payment
was inadequate and not what they considered in
keeping with the rank of their employer. The chief
pleaded poverty. The builders replied by asking
why, if poor, he had presumed to employ them. If
the chief produced some more mats, the builders
were extravagant in their praise; if not they were
equally loud in their vituperation.

If enough fine mats were received then a house consecration feast
was held. After formal 'ava drinking, speeches, and the further presenta-
tion of gifts, a prayer of consecration was addressed to all members
of the builder's guild, living and dead. This prayer asked for the
ancestor's blessing upon the house just completed, and requested that
the unity and prestige of this Sa Tagaloa family be maintained and
supported.

There was a final celebration a year or two after the completion
and consecration of the fale. This ceremony consisted of feasting and
entertainment, and did not involve the more formal and rigid elements of the consecration feast.

CANOE BUILDING

Members of carpentry guilds were also skilled in canoe construction, but there were certain types of canoes, and houses, that guild members would not build. According to Buck (1930:377):

The paopao canoes are made by the householders who are not expert craftsmen. A master builder while enumerating the canoes made by the carpenter's guild omitted the paopao. On my mentioning it he said, "The paopao is not a canoe." Neither is it from the expert point of view. In the eyes of the guild they rank it with the cooking houses and are beneath their dignity to build. Hence, unskilled labor gets employment to its own content for no one would pay the price of skilled labor for either paopao or cooking house.

Aboriginally, Samoans apparently distinguished six types of canoes differing in size and construction. The paopao was a small dugout canoe with two outrigger booms while the soatau was slightly larger with a third outrigger boom. Both the paopao and soatau were propelled by paddling. The iatolima was the largest of Samoa's simple dugout canoes, with five outrigger booms, topsides, bow and stern cover, and was both paddle and sail propelled.

Samoans also distinguished three types of plank canoes. The va'a alo made of lashed planks with two outrigger booms connected by a float was propelled by rapid paddling during bonito fishing. The 'amatasi was larger with two outrigger booms also connected by a float. The 'amatasi was unique in having a platform over the outrigger booms, balancing spars to counteract the weight of this platform, and a sailing mast.
The 'alia was a double voyaging canoe consisting of two canoes lashed together. All of the plank canoes had top sides and bow and stern covers.

In general it was the plank canoes that were built by the specialist carpenters (tufuga fai va'a), and Kramer (1902:444) indicates that it was almost as "ceremonious and costly" to build these boats as it was to construct a house. For example, at the first negotiations of a patron and a builder over the construction of an 'alia, a fine mat called 'o le tauga was presented, and if the builder accepted it, he took on the work. The patron's family did the rough work of cutting and transporting the wood to the village where it was allowed to properly dry for the strakes and keel. At the laying of the keel a second gift was presented to the builder, this corresponded with the gifts at the erection of the main posts of the house. When the two canoes were joined with cross bars a third gift and a feast was given to honor the tufuga, and this corresponded to the gift-giving and feasting at the completion of the framework of the house. At the final ceremony (umusā), fine mats were presented for special services:

- For the work in the bush
- For hewing the wood
- For the work of the carpenter
- For the work of the carpenter's wife
- For the erecting of the bow
- For the beautifying of the keel

If the builders were satisfied with their share of fine mats they departed amidst the praise of the patron and his followers. If the guild members were dissatisfied, the most "disorderly scenes of shame and meanness followed, until peace was restored by means of additional
gifts" (Kramer, 1902:445). Buck describes one manifestation of this "meanness" (1930:416):

... the builders could adopt a rather mean way of venting their spite on a chief when it was not deemed advisable to go on strike. They could make the canoe, if it was a fishing canoe, unlucky ... The lashings of the topsides or gunwale to the side pieces in a bonito canoe are called the pu fagota. The correct number of lashings ... are fifteen on the right and sixteen on the left. All the builders had to do was to change that number and the canoe would never catch more than ten bonito. This may apply only to Tutuila where it was told to me but it gives an idea of how simply a disaster could be brought on the man who was sparing of food and fine mats.

Just as the members of the patron's family did the final stages of the housebuilding work, the trimming of the thatch, so they also did the final piece of canoe-building work, the careful polishing of the outside of the canoe. Over a period of two to three months, from the initiation of the canoe construction to its final polishing, the canoe was completed, and it was now ready for its trial voyage.

Although the 'alia and amatasi were larger, the va'a alo required the greatest precision in carpentry skills for these bonito boats were carefully build for agility and speed with thin light hulls. For many skilled canoe builders it was easier to control the hull thinness by cutting out short sections of planks than by excavating a hull in one piece. This technique of plank bonito canoe construction was firmly established in old Samoa, the latter dugout bonito canoe construction being "despised as not being true to type" (Buck, 1930:380).

The lower tier of the hull consisted of five sections which had to be carefully shaped and fitted to form the foundation line of the canoe. These five sections were individually named and they were frequently
referred to in the construction process. The upper tier of the canoe apparently required less attention and concern for its four sections sections were not individually named but collectively referred to as Ola o le laulua, sections of the second tier.

The Samoan builder did not waste any timber material. If a plank was flawed it was carefully patched using sennit and breadfruit pitch. Buck comments on the skill and practicality of the Samoan carpenter (1930:381):

Canoe builders were masters of shaping, fitting, and lashing, and though they had a general rule as to the number of sections to be used in each tier they had no hesitation in altering details to make the available materials suit their purpose.

Buck indicates (1930:399-400) that in the construction of some plank canoes a shell ornamentation was added to mark of seats for high ranking ali'i. These shells (ovulum) were difficult to find in Samoa, and came into families usually as presents to their ali'i. The shells remained with particular families for a considerable time, and when a boat was old and rotted they were transferred to a new plank canoe.

SUMMARY: THE DIMENSIONS OF CARPENTRY

A wide range of resources were incorporated into the work of carpentry. A section of village land was set aside and cleared by the patron's working family for a house lot. The material resources required for the construction of a house or a canoe included hard and soft wood timbers, sugarcane leaves for thatch, coconut husk for sennit and brushes, coconut palm for screens, the midrib of coconut palm for needles, pandanus for mats, shells for ornamentation, and breadfruit pitch.
In terms of labor resources there were two distinct sets of workers involved in carpentry, the builders and the patron's working family. The latter group employed their skills in fine mat- and tapa-making, animal husbandry, fishing, cultivation and thatching, to support the skills of the carpenters in their construction of houses and canoes. The master carpenter's skills ranged from tactful negotiation to architectural design, to management of his guild workers. The other carpenters were skillful at adze, plane, and stone work, and intricate sennit lashing and adhesion. The patron-chief also brought his negotiating skills into contractual discussions, as well as managing the work efforts of his supporters. Finally, some capital was produced in the carpentry process, this included stone adzes and planes, sennit, needles, fine mats and canoes.

In considering the time dimension of carpentry, house construction took approximately nine months while canoes took two to three months to complete. Both house and canoe construction could become temporarily protracted if the patron's resources did not flow to the carpenters. The overall pace of the carpentry work was thus regulated by the flow of resources produced by the patron's working party. Conversely, the pace of the working party was influenced by the demands of the carpenters. The numerous feasts marking the completion of various stages of construction served to continually re-emphasize the relationship of time, and the coinciding work of the patron's family and the carpenter's.

Under the verbally agreed upon terms of the ordinary building contract the master carpenter and the patron dictated the work pace of their respective labor forces. Under the fale agai agreement however
the patron might criticize the work pace of the carpenters, that is, the patron might criticize the builders for working too quickly, too slowly, or not enough each day. For this right to criticize the patron had to require more labor from his workers or expand his network of supporters. If the master carpenter was unhappy with the patron's provision of resources, he could terminate his work and leave a canoe or house unfinished.

Incentives to work, and to working well, differed for the patron, the carpenters and the patron's working family. The work of the patron was to negotiate a building agreement, and carefully manage his labor force. In this work, the primary incentive was the acquisition of a new house or canoe. A new house represented a long term shelter for himself and his family, a new structure for political meetings, or, in the case of the guest house, the ability to accommodate guests. A new canoe represented for the patron the means of providing his family with a greater quantity of marine food resources, and a means of transport and travel. The status of the patron, and his 'aiga, were also enhanced by the completion of these major cooperative enterprises.

For skilled carpenters the incentives to work were the material rewards of fine mats, tapa, and food, and the psycho-social reward of maintaining the honor of the guild. In addition, the incentive to working well was the desire to enter into future building agreements, and thereby further enhance the status and renown of the guild.

For the patron's working party, the incentive to work was the recognition that a new house or canoe would become 'aiga property. Further, individuals saw this work as an opportunity to serve (tautua)
their chief and thus improve their chances of inheriting a title. If an individual inherited the chief's title he might inherit the right to move into the house that he had indirectly helped to build. In the case of canoe construction, the individual worker was also motivated by the knowledge that the canoe improved the fish catching and travelling potential of the 'aiga.

In the process of carpentry work, the identity dimension was very strong. Throughout Samoa, all carpenters shared an identity as descendants of Tagaloa, and were organized into district level guilds. When an individual completed his apprenticeship, he became a tufuga and was recognized by the name of his guild, and this recognition enabled him to drink 'ava, and to actively participate in the public discussions of his village. Each guild had its own identifiable sennit lashing design which symbolized the cooperative work of the guild members with the patron and his supporters. Although there were many specialist titles in Samoa, only the house and canoe builders seem to have organized themselves into district-wide craft guilds.

The patron and his working party were also identified with house and canoe construction. The successful completion of a house or a canoe reflected most directly and positively on the status of the titleholder. Conversely, an unfinished house or canoe was an embarrassment to the chief and to his title. An unfinished house, in particular, stood as a lasting monument to the ineffectiveness of a chief in mobilizing resources. The identity of the working party was of course substantially linked to the strong or weak position of the matai.
CHAPTER V
FISHING

The Samoan islands were endowed with bountiful reefs and surrounding seas, and the Samoan people exploited this rich resource area using numerous techniques ranging from groping with their hands to noosing sharks. Generations of fishermen have learned, and passed on their knowledge about the habits and movements of fish, and this knowledge led to the invention of many ingenious nets, weirs, baskets, traps, and hooks. Although Samoans clearly worked hard, and cleverly, in their exploitation of marine resources, there were also the everpresent elements of adventure and play in their fishing activities.

The most common fishing technique employed by both men and women was groping (naonao) through the lagoon rocks with bare hands or short spears. After years of exploiting the lagoon villagers knew every narrow crevice and could determine what was hiding or resting in a crevice merely by feeling it with their short spears (Kramer, 1902:308). Groping could be dangerous work as the lagoon was inhabited by marine organisms with deadly poisonous bites, water snakes, and the locust shrimp capable of detaching fingers with its knifelike tail.

Rock heaps (ma'a) were also placed within the lagoon to provide additional resting habitats for fish. To capture these fish women would place a basket on one side of the heap and gradually remove the stones driving the fish into the basket. Men, using a different technique, would encircle the ma'a in canoes and gradually close the circle. The men then leaped out of their canoes and speared the frightened fleeing
fish. A more efficient method was to surround the rock heap with a net and carefully remove the rocks while keeping the fish within the net. After catching these fish, the rocks were again placed in piles for future exploitation.

Fish were also driven into the ma'a piles, or a plentiful growth of branching coral. Samoans were expert at moving through the sharp coral and avoiding the onrushing ocean, and even after sustaining a coral cut the "Samoan constantly explores the coral patches with impunity" (Buck, 1930:419).

The octopus (fe'e) was a favored delicacy, and frequently caught at low tide by women using an octopus stick (sao fai fe'e), about 3-4 feet in length, and a half-inch in diameter. The sao fai fe'e was thrust into a hole and spun around rapidly to frighten the fe'e out of hiding. As the octopus fled it was quickly seized and bitten between the eyes to kill it. Kramer presents a vivid picture of encounters between fe'e and Samoan women (1902:308):

> They take the cuttle-fish with the hand alone, and when they have pulled it out, they bite it with their teeth through the neck, the arms of the polyp winding themselves round their faces and breasts, suckers cause red rings on the skin, which often remain visible for a week.

Women used the stick method to catch fe'e while men paddling in small dugout canoes used an elaborate lure and float. This stone lure, which the Samoans believed looked like a rat, was dropped to near the reef bottom, and jerked vigorously to attract the attention of the octopus. A shell was attached to the lure and as it clicked against the stone it made a noise like a rat's squeak. Buck (1930:437) describes the action of the catch:
When an octopus sees the moving lure, it reaches out one tentacle and rests it on the lure. The fisherman who watches his lure in the clear water, draws it steadily upward. As it nears the surface, the octopus which follows it up still with only one tentacle on it, probably realizing from the increasing light, or lesser weight of the water that it stands a chance of losing whatever the lure represents to it, suddenly pounces on the lure, rests its body on it, and clasps its tentacles around it. This is the psychological moment when the fisherman draws it quickly out of the water and into the canoe. The octopus is seized by the body and bitten between the eyes to kill it.

Small squid could be caught in the reef without peril, however larger squid caught in a shallow reef were dangerous because they could wrap around reef bottom rocks while at the same time wrapping around a man and his small canoe. A larger octopus caught in the reef was drawn out into deeper water if possible. If not, the lure was left motionless on the reef bottom where, it was hoped, the octopus, realizing it was only a stone, would release it and move away. Kramer (1902:360-5) relates the narrative material associated with the dangers of catching the large octopus in shallow water.

Samoans devised snaring techniques for catching sea centipede, crayfish, and sea eel. Skipjack were also snared in Samoan waters. Heaps of branching coral were made to attract the small penu penu fish and the skipjack (malauli) which preyed upon them. The fisherman floated in their canoes over the coral heaps and carefully watched as the skipjack came in search of penu penu. A loop of four-ply sennit braid was held by a fisherman swimming in the water, and when the skipjack entered the loop it was drawn taut around the fish. The fisherman
then jumped back into the canoe and played the fish. According to Buck (1930:422):

> It was looked upon as great sport to let the fish tow the canoe. When tired the fish was hauled into the canoe. The snaring of malauli thus partook of the nature of a game as well as adding to the food supply.

In any Samoan village, the most visible communal work activity was the laulaua method of lagoon fishing. This method involved many individuals in a long coconut-leaf sweep driving fish into carefully placed nets. Buck discusses the relevant organization and support activities (1930:429):

> The matai heads of families meet together in one of the guest houses and over a bowl of kava decide to have a laulaua (lau, leaf; loa, long) which is the name given to the method of fishing as well as the means. The tautai or head fisherman is, of course, present and discusses the tide and time. The meeting decides that ten fathoms of leaf from each family will make a sufficiently long laulaua. The news is promulgated and the head of each family sends one of the young men (aumaga) to the woods to get ten fathoms of the fue va'i vine. Others collect green coconut leaves, split them down the midrib and thin the midrib strips down. The young man returns with a coil of vine and throws it down in front of the family dwelling house. The family head ties a knot at one end of the vine and after measuring off ten full-arm spans, ties another knot. The vine is stretched waist high between two trees and the part between the two knots filled in . . . The ten fathoms are then coiled and left for the assembling on the morrow. Each family has its ten fathoms in waiting.

> The laulaua sweep drove the fish into a V-shaped net with wooden floats at water level, and large stones weighing it down at its bottom. Banana leafs were attached to the leading edges of each side of the net.
These leaves apparently confused the fish who would turn inward into the net rather than swim through the banana leaves.

Under the head fisherman's (tautai) supervision, the sweep was carried by canoe to a distant point in the reef, and laid out in a long curve. The people were evenly spaced along the sweep, and they pushed their part of the sweep toward the shoreline in a long process that could be undertaken only once in each tidal change. Most people carried poles to beat the water, and to rest upon if the water was unusually deep. Using leaves, and shouting and laughing, the people drove the fish toward the set net, and when the tautai determined they were at the right distance, the two ends of the sweep converged on the net. As a large crowd gathered, the ends of the sweep were doubled up until it closed right up against the leading edge of the net. The net was then lifted into the tautai's canoe, and the fish were taken to shore, and divided amongst the families who had contributed sections to the lauloa leaf sweep.

These sweeps were also conducted using two shorter lauloa, and a cone-shaped mat receptacle. The come (tu'i) was made of house floor mats contributed by the village and stitched together. The cone was placed close to shore, and one of the lauloa was set immediately adjacent to it. The other lauloa was placed further out in the reef and parallel to the nearshore lauloa. The more distant lauloa was pushed counterclockwise and forward, while the nearshore lauloa was pushed clockwise. Both these coordinated sweeps drove the fish into the cone. If the cone was full of fish it was difficult to lift from the water
because of the weight of the wet mat material, and two poles were set underneath it to take the entire load to shore.

The Samoans also adapted a sweep method that employed few people. Using shorter sweeps and scoop nets, mackerel and shoal fish were caught in large numbers. In addition women often used scoop nets to catch fish as they attempted to escape lauloa sweeps.

Coconut and banana leaf weirs (tupa) were used to catch fry in their eastward and westward movements across the reef. The leaves of either coconut or banana were fastened by their tip ends to a vine approximately 16-24 inches apart, until a length of 20 feet was attained. The vine was anchored to the reef bottom with stones and the leaf stocks floated to the surface. The entire weir consisted of two of these vine assemblages forming a V-shape. Between the two closest endpoints of the weir a scoop net, approximately two and a half feet wide, was positioned to catch the fish. In the morning a weir was placed with the V-opening to the west to catch the eastward moving fry, while in the evening, a second weir was placed with the V-opening to the east to catch the westward moving fry. To have a successful morning catch the fishermen had to be at the weir before daybreak, while in the evening the fry were running in large numbers at sunset.

Larger weirs made of loosely built coral stones required greater inputs of labor and time. These walled weirs were funnel-shaped and designed to work in conjunction with larger nets that caught fish as they moved into and out of the reef with the changing tide.

Thatch sheets, similar to those used in roofing houses, were used to construct dams (puni). Dams were placed across tidal inlets or
estuaries of streams to catch fish as they returned to the open sea with
the falling tide. This was a community method of fishing with households
involved in the thatch preparation, the driving of stakes into the muddy
reef bottom, the attaching of thatch to the stakes, and the supervising
of the catch and its distribution. Smaller dams were however frequently
prepared by individual households and placed across smaller openings in
the reef.

Samoans used at least six different types of traps. One was a
manipulated trap, usually worked by a woman, and the other five were
self-acting. The manipulated trap was used in day fishing among the
branching coral of the reef. A woman placed a dark stone about the size
of the small tu'u'u (genus Chromis) fish into the trap, and laid it on
its side near some fish. The woman remained within reach of the trap
and observed it with her head submerged. The tu'u'u, known to be
aggressive, entered the trap to fight the decoy dark stone. The woman
immediately covered the entrance and lifted the trap from the water.
The captured tu'u'u was then used as a decoy, its mouth hooked to the
trap bottom. The woman moved around the reef and captured many tu'u'u.
In Savaii, according to Buck (1930:448), this trapping was the most
common form of female fishing, and the easiest way a woman could
replenish the family's flesh food supply.

The most widely used self-acting trap was the lobster pot trap, and
the other traps were modelled after it. These traps have a funnel shape
entrance descending into a smaller compartment which is sometimes baited.
After the fish has reached the smaller compartment it could not make its
way out the entrance.
Kramer discusses the necessary precautions to be taken with these traps (1902:319):

One takes the fish basket and ties it to the post of a house, in which one sleeps at night, so that no lizard may go over it, nor a beetle, nor any living thing, for otherwise no fish will go in when it is brought to sea.

Many different forms of net-fishing were practiced in old Samoa, and the value of this fishing is indicated by the ceremony that accompanied the final stages of net manufacture. Kramer (1902:329-32) describes in great detail the preparations for the tying of the net, and the social transaction involved:

The eldest of the family orders everything to be made ready for the tying of the net . . . Food must be prepared, for it would be useless to bring a net to sea if food had not been prepared beforehand . . . several fishermen come to the tying of the net. The young people of the family are directed to ripen bananas . . . and so 20-30 bunches of bananas, indeed up to 40 are buried for a week to be ripened . . . then the young people go to their taro plantation and fetch 300-400 heads of taro. Then when all is collected for the meal, then it is prepared . . . The eldest son orders his family to bring all the prepared food for the tying of the net . . . into the house in which the fishermen and the net are . . . to the fishermen who have made the net (tufuga fai upega). Then the true fisherman of the net orders that everything be divided and given to the different fishermen who have taken part in the tying of the net. Then the kava is made, the kava which is forbidden to the spirits, so that a great many fish may be obtained with the net . . . This food for the craftsmen is also known as umusa, holy food. It is laid on the finished net or boat to the accompaniment of benedictions that bring it luck.

Nets were usually made of the bark of the fausoga (Pipturus) bush, or the breadfruit tree, and ranged in size from small hand nets to large community seine nets. Small dip nets were attached to a single
rod and used primarily in the reef during torch fishing at night or during communal lauloa sweeps.

The medium-, long-, and double-handled dip nets were used in reef fishing and were manipulated by two or more men who set them across small reef channels while others drove fish into them. The medium- and long-handled dip nets were also used to catch flying fish during torch fishing.

Scoop nets were utilized to catch seasonal palolo (Eunice sp.), and to catch fry at the mouth of banana and coconut leaf weirs. The arched hand net, and the arched net with line were used from canoes just outside the reef. Four sticks were tied together forming a handle and then arched and fastened to the four corners of the net. The net was submerged and as a fish moved between the four arches, or bit at the baited line above the netting, the entire assemblage was jerked from the water. The jerking motion, and the weight of the water caused the net to sag slightly making escape difficult for the fish. Mullet hand nets were employed to catch fish as they attempted to jump free of a seine net or weir, and special hand nets were very effective at catching fresh water shrimp.

The Samoan casting net was a few fathoms long and approximately five feet deep, with floats lining the upper edge, and sinkers attached along the lower edge. Buck gives a picturesque account of the casting net's use (1930:481):

The fisherman walks along the edge of the lagoon or wades in the shallow water until he sees a shoal of fish. Judging the distance, he swings the folded net backwards and forwards to gather impetus and then, with a curve, to the front of the body and back. From the back swing, he comes
forward with the cast. As the hand goes forward, he turns it with the back upwards in pronation as he lets go. The sinker line spreads out in a curve which is restricted to a circle if the ends are tied. The fisherman who demonstrated the method on land, showed his skill by throwing the net over me. The net is thus thrown with a high trajectory into the air and falls fairly vertically round the mark. Subsequent practice showed that the throwing is quite simple if the net has been properly folded.

Seine nets varying in length from 8-10 fathoms with float and sinker lines were used as barriers, weirs, or enclosures preventing the escape of fish. Shark nets were of large mesh about fifty feet in length, and eighteen feet deep, and were most effectively utilized with a bait that attracted the shark or other large fish which was captured when its gills were snagged in the mesh. Turtle nets were about thirty fathoms long with meshes just large enough to snag a turtle's head. Upon seeing a turtle, the men jumped from their canoes into the water and formed two parallel lines from the end of the net to the shore. While beating the water with sticks the men moved inward to join and then advanced toward the net forcing the turtle into it. According to Buck (1930:488):

The turtles get their heads through the meshes and are caught up in the net. In removing the turtle, the front fins are held and the turtle guided in the required direction. In the daytime, the turtle are seen and readily removed. In netting at night larger turtle are caught. Owing to the darkness however the net and the turtle are bundled together and taken ashore.

To support all these fishing methods Samoans were skilled in the use of spears and bows and arrows. In addition, Samoans were also proficient in poisoning and narcotizing fish.

Samoans also employed a large number of angling techniques. One unique method involved the collecting of cobwebs and rolling them around
a forked stick. This stick was tied to a short line on a bamboo rod and
dangled in the water attracting the *ise* fish. The fish once sufficiently
entangled were quickly pulled from the water (Buck, 1930:489).

Wooden gorges, between two and three inches long, were attached to
a long hibiscus bark line and submerged in combination with a sinker of
waterworn coral. The gorges were completely covered with a bait and
when swallowed lodged crossways in the gullet of the fish. Fishbone
gorges were used in conjunction with hollow circular floats. The floats
about eight inches in diameter were placed a short distance from each
other and the fishbone gorges were suspended on a ten inch line from
each float. The line was tied to the middle of the gorge so that it
could move freely laterally and lodge in the fish's mouth.

In their manufacture, angling hooks required greater expertise than
gorges, and the specialist fisherman (*tautai*) was not always skillful in
making these hooks. When a skilled fishhook maker (*faimatau*) was
employed by a chief certain ceremonies and privileges had to be
observed. The fishhook maker worked indoors, and sat on a raised pile
of mats, a position of high status usually reserved for high chiefs.
The employing chief made special ovens of food and sent the fishhook
maker only food of the highest quality.

Some fishhook manufacturing techniques were closely identified with
particular villages and families. For example, Buck reports (1930:490):

A hook for catching *malauli* (skipjack) is localized
to the village of Satuputea ... The manufacture
was the sole right of one family of which Nu'u is
the present matai or head. Anyone desiring to use
such a hook had to give Nu'u a present and obtain
his permission.
In Kramer's opinion (1902:347-8), the most ingenious of Samoa's fishhooks were those employed in bonito fishing. These hooks had a shank cut from mother of pearl and ground into the form of a fish. The real hook was cut from turtle shell and lashed dexterously to the shank with strips of fausoga (Pipturus sp.) bark. Kramer (1902:354) recounts that for Samoans the success of bonito fishing depended on this dexterous lashing:

The tying of the hook for bonito fishing is extremely difficult. For if the tying of the hook is done wrongly, then misfortune follows, and one obtains no bonito and no shark. But if the tying is done correctly it brings shark and bonito. And the catching is done.

Kramer (1902:761, 775, 809) presents three legends demonstrating the crucial importance of the hook lashing in the fortune and success of any bonito catching venture.

The primary tools used in this manufacturing process were the drill, rubbing stone, and cutting implements. There was apparently great variation in hook manufacture throughout the Samoan archipelago.

When a specialist fisherman (tautai) needed additional bonito hooks he could visit another tautai and request them. During this visit (malaga faga) the tautai in need of hooks announced his wish to see the host tautai's hooks. The host tautai took down his basket of spare hooks and emptied it in front of his visitor who examined them and expressed a desire for one or two. The visiting tautai could not express an interest in, or appropriate, hooks that were on a rod or line, but only those hooks not in use and stored in the host tautai's basket (Buck, 1930).
Bonito fishing was the supreme Samoan sport and chiefly pastime, as well as a productive activity yielding marine protein resources (Kramer, 1902:352; Buck, 1930:506). In bonito fishing, the use of the long rod with many hooks was restricted to chiefs, while untitled men used a shorter rod with only a single hook (Buck, 1930:506). It was advantageous to use both rods simultaneously so that more than one hook would be in the water at different distances from the canoe.

Bonito fishing was always conducted from a bonito canoe (va'a alo), with a crew of two or three fishermen. With three, the man sitting at the bow was the lookout, the man in the middle of the boat was the bailer, and the occupant of the stern seat controlled the canoe and the fishing rods. Buck (1930:507-8) describes the action and teamwork of bonito fishing:

... the steersman as he sits on the seat also rests against the lower end of the rod behind him. He does not hold the rod when endeavoring to keep pace with a school of bonito. Both hands are fully occupied in vigorously plying the paddle for he has to steer the canoe as well as paddle. He, therefore, pays no attention to the rod while the hook is merely trailing in the water. When, however, a bonito takes the hook the backward pull comes on the rod.

The rod post acts as a fulcrum and the lower end of the rod is levered forward. The forward thrust is conveyed to the part of the steersman resting against the rod. He immediately drops his paddle in the canoe, reaches around with his right hand, grasps the rod, pulls it toward him and lifts the self-hooked bonito out of the water ...

The skilled fisherman always swings the fish in on the right side and lands it in the middle of the canoe where it either drops off the barbless hook or is removed by the middle man. It is said that some fishermen are skillful enough to flip the rod so that the hook jerks free in mid air while the fish lands in the canoe. Time spent in unhooking
a fish is time lost. Where every second is of importance while on a school, a barbed hook would be a drawback and not an advantage. There was thus no incentive to invent barbs for bonito hooks. Sometimes, however, through the angle of the canoe and fish being wrong, the fish had to be landed on the outrigger side . . . The steersman drops the rod back on the rod post, picks up his paddle and while keeping up the strenuous race with the school, he awaits the next forward impulse of the rod.

The lookout watched the sea for ripples that might indicate the presence of a school of bonito. All the crew observed as flocks of birds swooped to catch smaller fish, and then the canoe raced to a position immediately over these small fish, and just ahead of the bonito pursuing them. It was in this racing ahead of a school of bonito that the lightness and speed of the canoe was best demonstrated. This canoe position, in relation to the bonito school, yielded many fish, but it was difficult to attain and maintain. Once the bonito passed under the canoe, the hooks landed in "untenanted waters" (Buck, 1930:508).

The role of the lookout was crucial to successful bonito fishing. In addition to spotting schools of fish from the canoe, and carefully following sea birds, he also had to be on the watch for fish that preyed upon bonito. The sawfish was known to charge if a bonito it was pursuing was hooked and thrown into a canoe, so the lookout had to see not only the position of the bonito, but also the position of potentially dangerous fish. From this relationship between the bonito and the sawfish, the Samoans have a saying about the relations between man and a powerful chief: "The bonito is now carefully watching the sawfish," means "Its your move, what will you do?" (Buck, 1930:508). The relationship between bonito and sawfish was thus analogous to the relations between a man and a powerful chief.
Lookouts were also important in initial observations of bonito from the land. When the bonito or sea birds were observed, the fishing crews rushed from houses, hurriedly launched their bonito boats, and were off at full speed to position themselves ahead of the bonito.

There were three bonito seasons each of which corresponded to a breadfruit season (Buck, 1930:509). The first season was in January and February, with the second season beginning in May and lasting through July. The final season was in the months of October, November, and December. During any month of the bonito season particular days were best for fishing, and the bonito caught on these days were named (Buck, 1930:509):

- Bonito of the new moon
- Bonito of the seventh day
- Bonito of the full moon
- Bonito of the half moon waning

On any day of the bonito season, the crew set off after midnight to be beyond the reef, and in position to observe bonito by daybreak. During daylight hours however, the crews and their canoes were always ready on shore if bonito were spotted. These bonito fishermen apparently perceived that they would be successful if their hooks were of good fortune. If their hooks were of bad fortune they might be ineffective in catching bonito, or meet with disaster.

Manu'a claimed to have the fortunate fishermen capable of catching large quantities of fish (Buck, 1930:509):

It is said that on occasion the canoe (of the Manu'a fishermen) becomes so full that the crew get overboard to make room and guide the canoe in through the reef by swimming. Such an event was considered a great honor to the crew of the loaded canoe.
Samoans believed that bonito was a fish of high status, a fish for chiefs, and a fish that Tagaloa desired for himself (Kramer, 1902:356). Linguistic terms used in reference to bonito were also used to refer to chiefs and this also indicates bonito's special status (Kramer, 1902; Pratt, 1960:280).

The importance of bonito fishing is also indicated by the status achieved by the specialist fishermen (tautai). All experienced fishermen were respected as tautai, but from this group one individual was selected as head tautai of the kin group and village. These tautai met in a guest house over a bowl of 'ava, and planned for the bonito expedition. The socioeconomic and political transactions of the tautai closely mirrored those of the matai system. Their expert relations, like those among the carpenters, were explicitly economic, and they paralleled and interfaced with the more explicitly political relations of the matai.

As in the case of expert carpenters, the authority of the tautai could supersede that of matai in particular contexts. Samoans seem to have made a clear distinction between authority over the land, the realm of the matai, and authority over the sea, the realm of the tautai (Buck, 1930:518):

The distinction was conveyed in a saying which amounted to a law, "The authority of the land does not apply to the sea," and "the authority of the sea does not apply to the land."

If a matai was participating in the bonito fishing, the tautai would see that the first fish caught on the first day was presented to him. After this presentation, the matai was considered just another fisherman.
The authority of the **tautai** is best seen in his direction of the bonito fleet, but as will be discussed later, his authority and expertise were also crucial in the much more perilous work of catching shark. The **tautai** took both a directive and active role in fishing. He selected the ocean grounds to be visited, often well out of sight of land, and directed the movements of the bonito fleet. In addition, he maneuvered his own canoe and skillfully hooked and landed the bonito. The **tautai** decided when the fleet would return to land and signalled his decision by raising his paddle. As the fleet neared shore, the **tautai** made a levy on the successful canoes of one or more bonito, depending on the quantity of their catch. These fish were shared equally in a community feast for both the successful and unsuccessful fishermen. If a fishermen deceived the **tautai**, avoiding the levy, his bonito canoe could be destroyed and his fishing gear confiscated. There were thus in operation sanctions enforcing the communal sharing of bonito, and the authority of the **tautai** (Buck, 1930:518).

The **tautai**'s authority was only over the canoes of the fleet. If a lone fisherman observed sea birds in a different area, and went individually to fish there, the **tautai** could not make the levy on his bonito. The individual fisherman directed his catch to his family, or to the **matai** who sent him to fish.

Faafouina I. Pula's account (In Copp, 1950:73-4) presents an illuminating picture of the bonito distribution activities:

> When we were back inside the reef, the other bonito boats were coming in too, so we all gathered in one place in the water, and the chief steersman stood up. He made a good speech about our fishing, and then told us to divide up all the bonito fish so every
boat has almost the same. Then, when we are still in our canoes in the water, we had our food brought together. And the food was cooked taros, Samoan cabbage, and bananas. And we also had some raw bonitos. And for drinking, we had some green coconut juice. When we finished all this, we paddled up to the beach.

On the beach, some people were waiting to carry the bonito-boats up to under the breadfruit trees. And every person who helps, even by only his little finger touching a boat, gets a bonito fish. Or if the fishing is not so good, a piece of fish. Then the head of the family that owns the boat divides up the fishing in it.

The high status of bonito fishing is also evidenced by the numerous prohibitions associated with it. The fishermen wore only the leaf skirt, and the upper body had to be bare during bonito fishing. An eye shade could cover the eyes, but only lime could be worn on the head. While in the canoe a fisherman could not spin the paddle in the air or lean back and stretch his legs over the topsides. When bonito hooks were being made, the craftsman must always work while sitting on a pile of mats, and no noise should disturb his concentration. Not observing these latter prohibitions made the hook "unlucky" and thus potentially dangerous or ineffective (Buck, 1930:520).

Shark fishing, like house building, was initiated by negotiations between expert and chief. The talking chief (tulafale) called upon a tautai to lead an expedition, and the tautai spelled out the conditions of the work to an assembly of tulafale. At the conclusion of these talks, the tautai usually requested, for himself and the young men who would fish with him, pigs, taros, and coconut.

The whole village worked in gathering the food and making the oven. When the food was prepared it was ceremonially taken to the "encouragement house" (tapuai) where the tautai and matai were meeting. This
food presentation was made to assure the success of the shark expedition--without the proper ceremony the expedition would meet with misfortune (Copp, 1950:99).

The tautai ordered the young men to prepare all the fishing instruments, and all the needs of the boat. The main instruments used in shark fishing were the noose, the rattle, the deep bait, the float bait, the near bait, a club and a spear.

The shark noose was made of coconut sennit and used to catch and strangle the shark. Shark rattles were coconut halfshells which attracted sharks into near proximity of the canoe. Deep bait, consisting of an old chicken, or piece of pig, was attached to a sennit rope and thrown overboard about ten feet deep. A bait of pig, or the dried meat of a bonito head, was attached to a breadfruit wood float, and dragged a great distance--ten to twenty fathoms--behind the boat. The near bait, again of pig, or the gills of a fish, was used in the final maneuvering of the shark into the noose. Once the shark was noosed, he was hit over the head with a club made of hard wood. Sharks that continued to fight were then gorged through the mouth and gills with a spear, also made of hard heavy wood.

The tautai and his crew might venture out alone to catch shark, or lead a small fleet to the open sea. Shark fishing occurred any time of the year, through in the stormy months of January and February, Samoans were most reluctant to fish for shark. Some expedition set off in the dark early morning hours and stayed out only one day, while others fished for shark for as many as seven days on the open sea.
As the expedition returned to land, a signal was sent to the people on shore only if sharks had been caught. According to Kramer (1902:358), when the expedition was successful, the tautai stands erect in the lead canoe and jiggles his oar, the only sign received by those on shore. No shout or no song resounds; any noise, loud speech and much else are forbidden as when bonito fishing. When the boats are beached the man who caught the shark is greeted by his wife, who hands him a fine mat (ie toga). The shark is laid in it, and since it is a fish forbidden to the people, it is brought to the chief, who takes the mat for himself and divides the flesh of the shark. The tautai, who caught it, must not receive any of it; he goes quietly into his house, which is closed, and assumes the appearance of a mourner. He does not leave the house until the chief sends for him, he is then led to the chief, who bestows on him as a reward before the assembled people the dignity of tautai ali'i.

Pula (In Copp, 1950:109) describes the distribution activities when large numbers of shark were caught. Of forty sharks, ten, including a big one, were kept by the talking chiefs who presented them to a village where lived a desired bride. The tautai received fifteen of the shark, and he gave some of these to the crew, and to relatives. A travelling party arriving in the village received three, and "all the young men" received two.

It appears that when numerous sharks were caught, the tautai received both enhanced status and food resources. Also, it appears that sharks and fine mats were intimately linked. The fine mat figured prominently in Kramer's account of the reception of the shark on land, and when the talking chief presented shark to the prospective bride's
village, her family likely reciprocated with a presentation of fine mats. Fine mats, their importance as the product of women's work, and their value as exchange gifts from the bride's family to the groom's family, will be discussed in the following section.

SUMMARY: THE DIMENSIONS OF FISHING

Samoa's active estuary, lagoon, reef, and ocean ecology provided a rich marine resource base. Food resources included palolo, sea eel, sea centipede, crayfish, turtle, mackerel, bonito, and shark. To exploit these resources Samoans fashioned elaborate fishing implements from the raw materials of their terrestrial, arboreal, and marine environments. Pandanus, ti, coconut, and banana leaves, as well as numerous vines, figured in the manufacture of leaf sweeps, weirs, and traps, sugarcane thatch was used in the construction of reef-blocking dams, and hibiscus and breadfruit bark provided the working material for gorges and nets. Coconut sennit, in addition to lashing together many of the fishing implements, was also used for the shark noose. Floats were made from the futu fruit (Barringtonia sp), breadfruit wood, while spears and clubs were fashioned from harder woods. The fruit of the futu grated on the coral also provided a deadly fish poison. Finally, mother of pearl and turtle shell were skillfully lashed to make the bonito hook.

In terms of labor resources, boys and girls, from an early age contributed economically by groping around reef rocks and crevices, and by assisting in larger leaf sweeps and fish drives. Women's fishing was generally limited to the reef and lagoon area, while men did almost all the fishing from canoes whether in the lagoon or on the open sea.
Because of the physical strength and skill required in bonito fishing, and the skill and danger associated with shark fishing, younger boys were usually excluded from these work activities (Copp, 1979:71-2).

Fishing work was conducted individually and in large groups. Individual Samoan women exploited the reef to meet household and 'aiga food needs, using their bare hands, sticks, or manipulated traps. Samoan men might venture out in their small canoes to fish. However, most fishing required the cooperative work of more than one individual. Bonito fishing was usually conducted by at least two men, while shark fishing, and driving fish into a small net or trap employed at least three people. Larger fish drives required more manpower, and the coconut leaf sweep required the efforts of many families. Net-fishing, including the work of manufacturing the net, employed over one hundred people.

Information and knowledge was a crucial resource in fishing. From a young age Samoans learned how to exploit the reef and lagoon, and by adulthood they knew the movements and behaviors of many kinds of fish. They also knew where to find them among the rocks and corals, cracks and crevices of the reef and lagoon. Women were particularly efficient at exploiting lagoon and reef resources because they could identify invisible marine creatures with a careful touch of a hand or stick. In addition, women, knowledgeable of the tu'u'u fish's aggressiveness, enticed it into baited traps, and deftly caught large numbers of tu'u'u for their family needs.

The tautai knew the lore, skill, and technique associated with all kinds of fishing. It was, however, most important for the tautai to know how to catch bonito and shark. The tautai knew fish behavior,
and in particular, the predatory relationships between species of fish. He knew that the shark chased the mackerel, that the skipjack ate the penupenu, and that the sawfish fought with the bonito. The tautai knew the movements of the birds, and the movements of the sea, and he knew the best sea-grounds for catching bonito and shark.

On the land, the tautai knew how to transact with the village talking chiefs regarding shark expeditions, and with the fishhook maker about the quality of the bonito hooks. The tautai was also intimately familiar with the capabilities of the bonito canoe, and discussed these with the canoe builder. Thus, the tautai's knowledge was extensive, and he transmitted this knowledge in the canoe, at the head of a fish drive, in the village council, and in the homes of the fishhook maker and canoe builder.

He also transmitted this information to interested apprentices. The knowledge of a tautai could be passed on to a kinsmen-heir, but the heir would have to demonstrate this knowledge successfully by catching a boatload of bonito, or a shark, to become a head tautai.

Bonito was a highly valued marine resource, the acquisition of which was crucial to the maintenance and enhancement of tautai status. Other evidence suggesting the importance of bonito includes the fact that similar linguistic terms were used to refer to bonito and chiefs exclusively. Further, the numerous prohibitions associated with bonito fishing suggest the value ascribed to this fish.

Shark was highly valued partly because of its larger size. Shark was also valuable because as a gift to a potential bride's family it was looked upon favorably when a marriage was being negotiated. That both
shark and bonito were of higher value relative to other fish resources was indicated by the ritual associated with their distribution. Although these two fish took clear precedent to the Samoan, all fish resources were valuable because of their availability and variety. Even in periods of drought fish resources could be exploited from the sea.

In terms of the timing of fishing work, only palolo and bonito seemed to have had well-defined seasonality. In addition to this seasonality, there were appropriate days, related to the phases of the moon, to fish for bonito. The major time considerations in fishing involved effective use of time periods during the day. In almost all canoe fishing, the fishermen tried to be on the appropriate fishing grounds by daybreak. The timing of the fishermen's departure from the village was closely related to the distance to the fishing ground. The further the fishing ground, the earlier the departure, the darker the morning light. In the case of shark fishing canoes might leave around midnight and stay out for several days.

Groping in the lagoon was usually done in the early morning, while torchlight enabled fishing at night. Coconut leaf sweeps could be undertaken only once in each tidal change, and weirs were designed to catch fish moving in one direction in the morning, and the opposite direction in the evening.

The pace of work activity varied greatly. Groping was undertaken at a casual, relaxed pace, while communal fish drives involved steady coordination and deft, quick movements at their conclusion. Bonito fishing was mostly frantic, while shark noosing was controlled and strategic. Shark fishing could be terrifying if movements were too slow, or if control and strategy were overcome by panic.
The primary incentive to fishing was the acquisition of food, and in particular a flesh food to complement the starchy staples of the Samoan diet. Fish was preferred food to serve to guests, and the presentation of fish indicated that the tautai of the host village were skillful in their active and directive fishing role. The serving of bonito or shark was a clear sign to visitors that the tautai and the matai were working together in harmony. Fish therefore was an essential kava food (Kramer, 1902:800-1, 832-3).

Competent fishing was also a means of serving the family ('aiga) demonstrating one's tautua to the matai. A taule'ale'a combined the rigorous work of cultivation with the adventurous work of fishing to provide the resources of land and sea for his family and his chief. To be proficient at both cultivation and fishing demonstrated one's ability to meet 'aiga needs. Untitled men (taulele'a) who were in a disadvantageous position in relation to matai title inheritance, were motivated to work hard and well in their fishing activities so that they might achieve a position of status as a tautai. This is but another example of extending the blessings of aristocracy to the many (Goldman, 1960).

The identity dimension in fishing was not as structured as in carpentry. There were apparently no fishermen's guilds. Identification seems to have been more fluid and passing in fishing work, an individual identifying with a particular tautai and crew as they returned from their fishing. One did not identify, as in carpentry, with a lasting product of work, a house for example, standing as a visible, and more or less permanent symbol of a carpenter's guild, its workers, and their craftsmanship.
Where identification as a carpenter was represented by the static structure of the fale, identification as a capable fisherman was actively asserted through the presentation of fish at important ceremonies. At a wedding ceremony, the groom's family presenting fish as part of its total gift (ʻoloa) was, in essence, displaying its fishing prowess. Further, and more speculatively, as fishing emerges in many Samoan narratives in connection with childbearing, it is probable that men's fishing work was symbolically linked with the sexual and reproductive potency of Samoan men (Kramer, 1902:195, 203, 243). Along these lines, Mead (1928:34) makes a comment suggesting the importance of fishing to the young untitled men:

Fishing prowess means immediate rewards in the shape of food gifts to offer to his sweetheart, without such gifts his advances will be scorned.

A successful coconut leaf sweep, or other communal fish drive, was a source of solidarity and identification for the entire village. The matai and tautai working together and directing these activities, as well as the fish distribution activities, symbolized the self-sufficiency, indeed the wealth of the village. Certain ʻaiga, villages, districts, or islands, apparently asserted their superiority in fishing endeavors. Manu'a, for example, claimed the best bonito fishermen, and an ʻaiga in Satuputea claimed an expertise in making mackerel fishhooks. Finally, making the surest, and thus the luckiest, bonito hooks was a source of great pride and identification.
Samoans make a small kind of mat which they weave with a remarkably fine thread from a species of the Palm leaf. These mats are much sought after by the Tongataboons, who come from Tonga in their canoes to purchase them a distance of six or seven hundred miles as an article of dress for the Tonga Chiefs. Seven large canoes had visited the Samoas just before our arrival to purchase the above articles. Four had returned again and the other three were waiting for a favorable wind to return (Williams, 1984:82).

The manufacture of fine mats was the quintessential women's work in old Samoa. The completed fine mat demonstrated a women's work skill, her persistence in a tedious work endeavor, and her ability to work cooperatively with other village women.

Fine mats were made of the finest available lau'ie, a distinct type of pandanus with large leaves. After the leaves were picked the uneven and prickly edges, along with the spines on the back of the midrib were removed. Each leaf was then cut transversely to facilitate the peeling of the under layer (tua) from the thin upper layer (alo). After a brief exposure to the sun, the leaves were folded in two-foot lengths, bundled in other leaves, and tied up with a strip of fau bast. These bundles, protected from the hot stones by a layer of green leaves, were then baked in the earth oven for about "half an hour" (Buck, 1930:276). After baking, and beginning at the transverse cut, the thin upper layer (alo) of the leaf was peeled from the coarse lower layer (tua).
The alo were then strung together onto a three-ply braid made from the tua. These braided alo were attached to a bamboo or wood stake, or to a stone anchor, and soaked in the sea. After a fortnight of soaking and bleaching in the sea, the alo were cut from the braid and left to dry in the sun. Using a shell, the alo were cut longitudinally, rolled up and stored until needed for plaiting.

Upon initiating the plaiting of the mat, the alo were cut longitudinally into thinner strips, with the number of wefts in most fine mats ranging from twelve to fourteen per inch. Extremely valuable mats had as many as twenty-two wefts per inch, and were over six feet square. Completing a fine mat took many months or even years, "sometimes involving strained eyesight and damaged vision" (Buck, 1930:279).

Stair (1897:144) describes the activities of women upon the completion of a fine mat:

... a sort of "American bee" was held. All the women familiar with the manufacture of these mats resident in the neighborhood were summoned on a given day to bathe the mat. On the women assembling they proceed to wash the mat in fresh water, and after well stretching it out to dry they adjourned to the house to partake of a feast, provided by the hostess to celebrate the completion of her mat.

Fine mats were later decorated with rows of red feathers without which a fine mat is not considered perfect" (Buck, 1930:281).

Fine mats were made throughout Samoa but certain villages, families, and individuals were more renowned than others. An expert older woman might be called upon to assist in the completion or repair of a fine mat, and when so employed the woman had a pig killed for her and was well-fed. The plaiting house was occupied by expert women workers, "who met to
plait fine mats on the invitation of the high chief who kept them in food and made appropriate presents" (Buck, 1930:320). In addition to the cooperative work of expert women, individual women worked in producing fine mats as their spare time allowed.

Fine mats were worn as clothing on ceremonial occasions and marked individual status. Fine mats were however most valuable in the inter-'aiga exchanges affirming and reaffirming marriage alliances, at funerals, and in peace-making. Fine mats were the most significant item in the bride's dowry which also included tapa cloth, coconut oil, and sleeping and house mats. At the marriage ceremony these gifts were presented to the talking chief of the husband's family. Fine mats were exchanged with the groom's family who supplied 'oloa—food, including pig, for the wedding feast, weapons, canoes, houses, and ornaments.

Buck (1930:317) emphasized balanced exchange between the bride's and groom's families in marriage ceremonies. In addition, Mead (1930:27) indicates that fine mats were a kind of currency Samoans used to ascertain equivalent value in other commodities. Later, Mead (1930:75) calls the equivalence between toga and 'oloa "legal and non-realistic," and the more recent analyses of Weiner (1979) and Hjarno (1979) have argued that "toga ranked higher in prestige than 'oloa. There was more prestige in giving fine mats than in giving foodstuffs" (Hjarno, 1979:97).

The question of whether toga was of equal or greater value than 'oloa is of crucial importance in considering the overall value of fine mat resources. Many authors (Hjarno in particular) do not consider all the items of the 'oloa presentation, they consider only the value of the
foodstuffs. Surely, an individual fine mat possessed great value depending on the time inputs of manufacture, the age and sheen of the fine mat, the historical events associated with its previous presentations, and the quality of the red feather ornamentation. But when fine mats were included in the toga of the bride, the bride's family received other solid commodities like canoes and houses as part of the 'oloa, commodities they would have had to expend fine mats on in paying for specialist (tufuga) services.

Hjarno's emphasis on the greater prestige value of fine mats is essential to his argument that fine mats were crucial in political alliance formation through the hypergamous marrying strategies of lower ranking chiefs. Certainly, fine mats played a significant role in political maneuver, both within the Samoan policy, and in relations between Samoa and Tonga. What Hjarno's structuralist argument misses is the fact that fine mats were circulating in other social spheres, enabling another political dynamic to be simultaneously played out. In brief, a chief could save fine mats by marrying his daughter into a family known for its skill in house- and canoe-building. As part of the specialist family's 'oloa the chief receives not only food but skillfully built houses and canoes as well. The chief providing fine mats to the specialist family at the marriage of his daughter would not later have to provide fine mats for houses and canoes.

The chief with the greatest potential political mobility was the master carpenter (matai tufuga). When he married his daughter into another family, he had at his command both the fine mats received at his own son's wedding, and the fine mats acquired in payment for his
carpentry skills. The high ranking chief, whose son was marrying into a matai tufuga line would view this alliance in a favorable light. The high ranking chief would receive quality fine mats with which he could later purchase new houses and canoes, and thus enhance his personal status. Thus, both lower- and higher-ranking chiefs wanted to form marriage alliances with the matai tufuga families. Through the tufuga families, a large quantity of high quality fine mats circulated, additionally, these families were the source of prestigious houses and swift canoes.

Fine mats circulated in a fluid fashion. They not only affected the relative prestige of matai, their circulation incorporated specialists into the political structure. The recent literature has overemphasized the hypergamous strategies of matai, at the expense of a careful and detailed consideration of the dynamic position of specialists in Samoan political maneuver. This misplaced emphasis is surprising in light of the materialist bias evident in these studies.

Mead (1930:77) has emphasized another feature of Samoan political maneuver associated with fine mat flows. She describes the strategies of talking chiefs (tulafale) and high chiefs (ali'i), and stresses that the tulafale "waxes rich" in fine mats while the superior ali'i becomes poor. She concludes:

It is only the chief with a very large and skilled family, or the chief who is a master craftsman, or fisherman, who is not forever fighting a losing battle with his rapacious subordinate. The talking chief, weary of squeezing dry their impoverished lords, turn heartily to the nouveau riche.
The nouveau riche were the skilled tufuga who could attract fine mats, or the warrior chiefs who could wrestle fine mats and political power away from those previously in power.

There was thus balance in the toga-'oloa exchange system because fine mats gained in a marriage transactions enabled the acquisition of 'oloa (houses and canoes) outside marriage, and fine mats lost in marriage transactions immediately acquired 'oloa that would not have to be acquired outside the marriage.

Fine mat exchange between two intermarrying families continued throughout the life course of the marriage, the wife's family presenting toga and the husband's family presenting 'oloa. These presentations occurred at the birth of each child, title installations, and funerals.

Fine mats were so central to a marriage that mothers, upon the birth of a daughter, commenced plaiting a special fine mat ('ie fa'atupu) that would be the nucleus of the daughter's dowry. Plaiting the 'ie fa'atupu was a spare time activity fitted in between the making of other fine mats and other daily work. The 'ie fa'atupu might take as long as sixteen years to complete, and during the final few days before the daughter's marriage special ornamentation would be added.

Fine mat presentations also figured prominently at funerals, and especially at the funerals of chiefs (lagi). Blood relations of the deceased collected fine mats, and among these a mat of great age or historical value would be chosen as "the mat which gives distinction to the property" (Buck, 1930:317). The presentation of this valuable mat brought special distinction to the family, and conversely, without this mat the family suffered in prestige. The most valuable mat stayed
within the village, and was usually presented to the talking chief presiding over the lagi ceremony. From the remaining fine mats, the deceased chief's sister's son received the first pick. Additionally, talking chiefs, if they could demonstrate a blood relationship to the deceased chief in the lagi ritual, also received fine mats, and usually in accordance with their status. Funerals were crucial events where political activity leading to the naming of a new chief were initiated. The lagi fine mat presentations sent a clear signal to all 'aiga members, titled and untitled, indicating who would have a strong or weak voice in naming the new chief.

Fine mats were also the currency of reconciliation and peace making. When a culprit begged for pardon for a major offense, he presented himself in humiliation (ifoga), along with a fine mat, to the offended matai. Special fine mats called "'Ie o le Malo" meaning "Fine mat of Victory" were presented by defeated armies to the victorious sides, as tokens of complete surrender. Fine mats were also presented to visiting chiefs as a sign of respect, and to keep the peace between villages. Buck (1930:274) suggests that the lau 'ie pandanus used in fine mat manufacture was associated in Savaii with Nafanua, the goddess of war. In light of the role of fine mats in compensating specialists, in alliance formation through marriage, in keeping peace and serving as a token of surrender, this association with Nafanua may suggest that the ultimate value of fine mats was as a "currency" of political maneuver.
SUMMARY: THE DIMENSIONS OF FINE MAT MAKING

The material resources involved in fine mat making were few. The *lau'ie* pandanus was carefully cultivated, this being the cultivation activity of greatest importance to women. In addition to *lau'ie*, fine cutting implements of shell, some readily available bundling material, and red feathers for decoration were all that was needed to make fine mats. These resources were all valuable, and, apart from the red feathers needed for decoration, they were all in sufficient supply, they were not scarce resources.

Some individual women, and villages gained renown as skillful fine mat makers and repairers, but the identity dimension of this work activity was more general. Fine mat making was the work of women. Fine mats presented at marriage ceremonies were of course identified with the bride's family, but they were also identified with the numerous other historical events previously marked by their presentation.

Although great skill was required in making fine mats, the techniques and knowledge required were generally accessible to, and known by, the vast majority of Samoan women. The focus of Samoan female labor, the fine mats were valuable, not because scarce resources or specialized knowledge were required to make them, but because of the time inputs to their manufacture, their historic-symbolic value, and their currency in political maneuver.

There is no doubt that fine mat making was extremely time consuming, involving the labor of women for many weeks and months. This activity, like the sennit making of older men, was undertaken at a
leisurely pace, although an impending wedding, house construction, funeral, or visit by extralocal kinsmen, might lead to an accelerated rate of work activity. A sudden death, particularly of a high ranking chief, required very rapid work to complete fine mats, while defeat in war might require a more frantic work pace under difficult circumstances. The pace of work in producing fine mats was closely tied to the social, ceremonial, and political events of Samoan society, and the fine mat, as a permanent, though easily transferred commodity, marked these events.

Fine mats gained value with age, because the older mats had a particular sheen deemed to be aesthetically pleasing. The sheen of an old fine mat was said to be like the wisdom of an old matai (S.C.C.C., 1961:35). Older mats also were associated with historic events of greater antiquity, and it was the wise talking chiefs who could trace the successful wars, weddings, births, funerals, visiting parties (malagas), and constructions, marked by the presentation of a particular fine mat. The production of fine mats thus had a time dimension unlike the time dimension of any other item of Samoan material production. Fine mats had a fluid past, present, and future. They were valuable because they symbolized periods of political strength. Further, they symbolized family pride, prosperity, and perpetuity.

Incentives for fine mat making were clearly political, as well as personal. Talking chiefs, seem to have been always urging the production of fine mats, and manipulating high status marriages. Buck (1930:318) states,

They themselves [Samoans] admit that a talking chief will enter into negotiations for the marriage of his chief influenced solely by the bundles of fine mats he has seen hanging in the guest house of the girl's father.
Although the literature (Buck, 1930; Mead, 1930; Hjarno, 1979) has emphasized the political and economic incentives to fine mat making, there were clearly personal incentives for this work. A woman demonstrated her industriousness, and thus her desirability as a wife. A woman who worked long, hard, and skillfully was making a statement of her own personal worth. Her working well on fine mats indicated that she would be an excellent wife regardless of her rank and status. The woman who was not the eldest daughter (taupou) of a chief, or central to the political machinations of a talking chief, could still marry a man of high rank, because her work abilities brought her renown.
CHAPTER VII
TATTOOING

In old Samoa, the skills of the tattooer (tufuga tā tatau) were in great demand. Almost all young men desired to be tattooed, and only the man of very low birth or extreme cowardice did not undergo the tattooing operation (McGrevey, 1973:31; Turner, 1861:181; Pritchard, 1866:145).

Tattooing signified the passing of a Samoan boy into manhood. This advancement in status brought with it the right to fight as a warrior and to marry (Turner, 1861:181; Stair, 1897:136, 159; Wilkes, 1849:141). A tattooed man (soga'imiti) had earned the approbation of society, as well as the right to act as a cupbearer in the chiefly 'ava ceremony. McGrevey (1973:30) stresses the different work and service conducted by untattooed and tattooed men:

Untattooed men climb for coconuts, get the cooking fires ready, and do other menial tasks, but only tattooed men could handle the food, apportion it, and serve it to the chiefs. Literally therefore, those who wished to serve the "inner circle," the people of consequence who transacted their business inside buildings, had to be tattooed, otherwise they worked outside.

Again, according to McGrevey (1973:30), tattooed men were believed to be more effective at shark and bonito fishing, and more sexually desirable. A soga'imiti was one to be respected, while an untattooed man was pula'ū, bad taro," unworthy to serve the 'ava.

In ancient times, Buck argues (1930:661), only tattooed men could become chiefs, and goes on to state that once a man was tattooed and succeeded to the matai title,
he has the satisfaction of feeling he is truly one of the elect for he can bare his knees with assurance as he sits cross legged before his wall post in the circle of the titled.

Even after succeeding to a matai title and achieving a post in the council house, tattooing still remained symbolic of male potency. Pritchard (1866:146) points out that chiefs over forty years of age were known to employ specialist tattooers to redo their tattoos, and thus restore their youth and virility.

Expert tattooers (tufuga tā tatau) were highly respected, and organized into guilds similar to those of the carpenters. As Buck (1930:641, 655) states:

The ceremonial drinking of kava takes place and the tattooing artist has the honor of the first cup. By virtue of his occupation, he ranks with the builders as the companion of kings.

Young men interested in becoming a tufuga tā tatau aligned themselves with a master. The apprentice assisted the master in tattooing operations, and was allowed to practice on girls wanting less elaborate tattoos (Buck, 1930:656). Eventually the apprentice tattooer, with the master's approval, operated on someone, and if he demonstrated his ability he was allowed into the guild. As in the case of builder's guilds, initiation ceremonies were attended by members from "far and wide" (Handy, 1923:22).

Skilled tattooers and carpenters received similar compensation from their patron chiefs. The more precision, care, and ornamentation the patron requested in the tattooing of his son, the more fine mats, and food had to be presented to the specialist tattooer, his assistants, and family.
The expert tattooer worked with a set of six adze-shaped implements made of wood, turtle shell, and human or pig bone. These implements varied in width and in the number and fineness of their teeth, and according to Buck (1930:638), the coconut fibre lashing of the handle and the teeth plates to the head of the implement formed "a neat piece of work." The use of all six implements made possible skin designs of varying intricacy and fullness. The other tools of the tattooer's service included an instrument container made of pandanus wood, and a mallet of dry coconut leaf midrib which was used to tap the teeth of the implement into the skin. Buck (1930:644) observed:

The tapping is by finger and wrist movement. The swing of the mallet end describes quite a long arc, and the tap is made smartly, firmly, and with precision. Three different patients were seen being tattooed, and the long arc described by the mallet and the quick confident movements were what impressed me most.

The pigment used for colouring the skin was made from the soot of the candlenut, and was kept in a coconut shell. The dry soot was poured into a mortar of coconut shell where it was ground with a pestle made of hibiscus wood. When the soot was sufficiently fine, water was added to make a thick black pigment. A taro leaf was placed over another coconut half-shell and attached to the cup with a line of fibrous bark. This formed the palette into which the skilled tattooer dipped his combs during the operation. The apprentice tattooer used clean barkcloth to absorb excess pigment and blood from the body of the tattooed man or woman, but little sterilization was conducted throughout the operation. In a few rare cases "patients" died during the tattooing operation.
Boys were usually tattooed at ages ranging from twelve to eighteen. The patient determined the pace of the tattooing work, for although others were in the tattooing house to comfort and distract him, the pain was excruciating.

The time needed to complete a tattoo thus varied according to the strength and resolve of the individual being tattooed. Handy (1932:22) states that an average operation took about six months, while "some have such endurance as to allow the whole operation to be finished in three to four days." Buck (1930,656) relates that the usual operation took from four to six weeks, and if the work was much prolonged the tattooer returned to other work in his village. A boy who could not tolerate the pain, and was thus left with an unfinished tattoo, was the object of ridicule and scorn. Social pressures thus worked to accelerate the process of tattoo completion.

Buck (1930:655) refutes the possibility that certain tattoo designs were associated with particular districts or guilds, in contrast to the district-centered carpenter's guilds with their identifying lashing designs. He argues that designs were developed by a individual specialist and passed on to his apprentices. The specialist could also add or delete ornamentation depending on the amount of food, fine mats, and tapa he received, or expected to receive, from his patron. Buck is in basic agreement with Handy (1923:24) who states,

> It is said that those versed in the art, upon seeing a pattern, can name the man who executed it.

Tattooing designs seem to have been identified with individual tattooers, and not with a guild.
Perhaps the greatest resource of the skilled tattooer was his judgement. The expert made careful anatomical assessments of the distances between points of the back, hips, gluteal muscles, thighs and knees. Using the side of an implement, the tattooer applied the pigment to the back of the individual being tattooed (Buck, 1930:643):

To get the first line he used what he called mafaufau (judgement). He could give no anatomical landmarks or approximate measurements of the parts of the body to get the level. No, it was a question of mafaufau that came through serving an apprenticeship to a master craftsmen. It was easier to draw the line than to explain exactly where it should be drawn. The same mafaufau persists throughout the operation.

After the first six lines are traced on the back of the patient, the patron and other chiefs discussed with the tattooer whether the lines were correctly placed or not. When unanimous agreement was reached on the correctness of the line placement on the back, the actual tattooing commenced.

Before initiating an operation the tattooer met with the patron to discuss the tattooing of his son. If the patron was of low rank, the specialist merely arranged the date for the tattooing, and on that date arrived in the patron's village and without ceremony began on the work. Buck (1930:641) describes the transactions between a skilled tattooer and a high ranking chief:

If a chief's son, the father visits the expert and offers a fine mat to seal the bargain. The mat, if accepted is called fusita. The expert on the day appointed by himself visits the village and takes a large pig as a present to the family of the patient. The pig is divided up amongst the chiefs and talking chiefs of the village. The act of respect adds greatly to the expert's social status, especially if he is a commoner. A speech is made
to the expert by the village talking chief and appropriate references are made to the craft of tattooing.

According to Stair (1897:158) sons of talking chiefs were tattooed at the same time as a high chief's son (manaia), in order to "share his pain." A high chief would have a large house built because a number of tattooers were to operate on five or more young men. This tattooing of the sons of chiefs led to great district-level gatherings marked by sham fights, games, music and dance.

The high chief supported the tattooers and all the boys being tattooed with food during the operation. Stair indicates that the tattoos of the talking chief's sons were less esteemed and less attractive than a manaia's, and Handy (1923:21) states that it was possible to distinguish a high chief from a talking chief by the quality of their tattoo.

Although the tattoos of the sons of talking chiefs were less valued than those of a manaia, the talking chiefs were aware that their sons' tattoos would not require any food or fine mat compensation. Indeed, the talking chiefs received a fine mat at the completion of the group operation (Buck, 1930:669).

The tattooers were rewarded in fine mats and tapa at the completion of their detailed tattooing work. Stair (1897) says that as many as a thousand fine mats, and large quantities of tapa were presented to the tattooing specialist. The tattooers, like the builders, were expensive, requiring major outlays of food, fine mats, and tapa. As Buck (1930:654-5) states:

The skilled tufuga tā tatau were like their confreres of the building guild. They
created more elaborate design for those who could pay, and as they were the chiefs, the chiefs naturally had more ornamental designs than those of lesser rank and wealth.

Women were also tattooed but the designs were scant and dainty. Women's thighs were dotted with delicate diamond-shaped designs and with dashes radiating like spokes of a wheel. Female hands were also decorated with loose arrangements of dots, wavy lines, Vs, and Ws (Handy, 1923:24). Only a skillful tattooer could operate on the daughter of a chief (taupou), however other women did not require such specialist services. In compensation for tattooing a taupou, the specialist receive a large quantity of fine mats and tapa.

Finally, the motifs applied to men included straight lines, and linear figures representing various animate and inanimate objects, such as caterpillars, centipedes, trochus niloticus, terns, plovers, bats, pandanus leaves, and fishing nets (Buck, 1930:642; McGrevey, 1973:33). These motifs may have symbolized spirits associated with war, healing, fishing, and agriculture (McGrevey, 1973:33; Stair, 1897:33, 51, 53, 56-7, 69).

SUMMARY: THE DIMENSIONS OF TATTOOING

The resources necessary for tattooing included the hibiscus wood, turtle shell, human and pig bone, and coconut fibre used in making the tattooers implements. The tattooers mallet was adapted from the coconut palm midrib, and coconut half-shell cups were used as vessels to hold and grind the pigment of the candlenut soot. Hibiscus wood was used as the grinding pestle, and pandanus wood served as a container for the
tattooers implements. Bark cloth functioned to absorb the excess pigment and blood from the individual being tattooed.

In addition to these implements, perhaps the greatest resource of the tattooer was his wise judgement (maaufau) in correctly aligning the designs on the body of the "patient." This mafaufa was gained by an apprentice through his personal service and careful attention to the precise and tedious work of his master.

The resources necessary to compensate the master tattooer and his apprentice for their skilled work were food, fine mats and tapa. As in the case of rewarding skilled carpenters, the patron had to have a "working family" to produce these resource rewards. The main incentive for the working family was the knowledge that young boys of their 'aiga were becoming men, fully able to serve in the 'ava ceremony, marry, and later achieve matai status.

The resources produced by the working family provided an important incentive to the work of the specialist tattooer. The skillful tattooing of the sons of high chiefs, along with the sons of the talking chiefs, brought large quantities of these resources, particularly fine mats. In addition, if the tufuga ta tatau transacted with the matai in culturally appropriate ways he gained even more valuable resources, prestige and renown.

Unlike the builder's guilds and their identifying sennit lashings, tattooer's guilds were not identified with specific design aspects of their work. The identity dimension of tattooing was more individuated, specific designs being associated with renowned tattooers, and those individuals who learned the original designs from them.
The time dimension of tattooing work was dictated by the pain threshold of the individual being tattooed. Tattooing might be continuous over a three to four day period, in which case the tattooers would be employed for many painstaking hours each day. More often the work was distributed over a period of four to six weeks, neither the patient nor the tattooer pushing themselves beyond a more or less comfortable pace. Less often, a tattooing work might take six months or more, the patient becoming decreasingly esteemed as time passed, and the tattooer having to decide whether to tattoo or tend to his plantations, fishing, or other work. Some individuals were not able to stand the pain, and were left with an incomplete tattoo. An unfinished tattoo clearly reflected negatively on these individuals, and whether it reflected on the status of the tattooer is unknown. Unlike carpenters, tattooers seem never to have gone "on strike" against their employer. Possibly, this is because the employing father had the option of blaming his putting off of further tattooing work on his son's low pain threshold, rather than on his own inabilities to accumulate the necessary resources. Tattooers could not solely control the pace of the resources coming their way, so the employing matai may have more easily averted discontent, and strikes, by blaming the slow progress of the work on the character of his son.
CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION TO PART I

In applying the work dimensions framework to cultivation, carpentry, fishing, fine mat making, and tattooing some significant general points emerge. First, a wide range of renewable raw materials were employed in productive activities. Different parts of coconut, breadfruit, banana, and hard wood trees, as well as pandanus, sugarcane, ti, and paper mulberry plants were important in Samoan work processes. This flora was supplemented by bone, stone, and shell material, usually functioning as pounding, chopping, or cutting tools.

Second, information was a crucial resource. The specialized skills of the carpenters, tattooers, net makers, fishermen and fine mat makers required detailed knowledge of techniques, artistry, physical processes and tendencies, and all this information was coupled with wise judgement and negotiating wit. Masters, men and women, transmitted their knowledge to apprentices who demonstrated their ability by producing significant resources, a prestigious house, a swift canoe, a large catch of fish, a fine mat.

Third, the identity dimension in work activities was manifested most clearly in the carpenter's guilds, with the "house builder" and "canoe builder" being clearly identified individual statuses. The fact that master carpenters were entitled matai tufuga indicates the strong identity dimension of carpentry work, as both the matai tufuga and the fully political matai were clearly marked social categories.
The tattooers were also clearly identified as specialists, however it does not appear that the tattooers guilds were as highly evolved, socially and politically, as the carpenter's guilds. The tautai's status as a master fisherman was also elevated, but this status recognition was more time and context specific. When the village conducted a communal sweep, or when the bonito and shark fleet went to the open sea, and when these fishing enterprises were completed and resulted in bountiful yields, then the tautai was highly honored. However, during daily subsistence fishing activities, or at the end of an unsuccessful fishing expedition or enterprise, the tautai status was not elevated. Everyone knew who the tautai was, but this specialist fisherman does not seem to have commanded the food and fine mat resources presented to carpenters and tattooers.

Fourth, in addition to material and food rewards, the main incentives to work, and to working well, was the desire to demonstrate service (tautua) to the family, village, and district chiefs, and to thus enhance individual status. In specialized work, material and social rewards were both substantial, the expert receiving large quantities of food and fine mats, as well as gaining prestige and renown. The individual who was in an unfavorable descent position relative to title inheritance could be industrious in cultivation, and through his tautua improve his political potential. He could also work closely with a master tufuga and gain status without concern for inheriting an explicitly political title. Women, too, had social incentives to their work. By demonstrating her tautua through industriousness and skill in fine mat making, a woman enhanced her
potential of marrying into a powerful family. In addition, fine mat work demonstrated the strength of the women's side of the family (tamafafine), and this strength provided the basis for the alliance formation maneuvers of the talking chiefs. Women were thus recognized for their work in support of the 'āiga and its chiefs, and this identification provided a strong incentive to cooperation in the production of a large quantity of superior quality fine mats.

Fifth, the time dimension of work was manifested in many ways. Seasonality as a time dimension was important in most cultivation activities, as well as in bonito and palolo fishing. In terms of the life course of work, cultivation and fishing began at an early age, while carpentry, tattooing, and fine mat making were work activities conducted by adults. All these work activities continued over the entire course of adult life, with an essential productive activity, sennit making, being closely identified with Samoan elders (matua). As older Samoan men attained chiefly titles, their work become increasingly directive, rather than productive.

Work activities varied in the length of time necessary for completion. Fine mat making could take years to complete, while carpenters could work for nine months or more on a fale, and two to three months on a canoe. Tattooing work could take days, weeks, or months, while the work of fishing, by contrast, took only hours, or, in the case of shark fishing, a few days.

Specialists appear to have organized all work activities, except cultivation, and were probably occupied in only one productive activity at a time. Non-specialists were employed in an integrated
round of work activities, attending to their cultivated crops when no other work activities were planned.

The pace of carpentry and fine mat making was dictated by social variables extrinsic to the work activity itself. In the case of carpentry, the work pace was determined by verbally agreed upon contracts, and by the flow of fine mat and food resources from the patron to the carpenters. Fine mat making was generally a leisurely activity but an impending marriage, or a sudden death, accelerated the pace of fine mat completion.

The pace of tattooing varied in relation to both intrinsic and extrinsic variables. The main pace variable was the pain threshold of the individual being tattooed, and this intrinsic variable determined how intensely the tattooer worked. Extrinsic to the tattooing itself, the flow of food and fine mats resources determined the intensity and pace of the tattooers work.

The pace of cultivation and fishing work was determined by intrinsic variables. The pace of planting, weeding, and harvesting were dictated primarily by the condition of the seed plant, the soil, and the crop. An impending feast might accelerate harvesting activities, but if the crop was not ready, it made no sense to over-harvest. This inherent inflexibility in agricultural yield required inter-\textit{āiga} relations of crop-sharing, but did not generally influence the pace of cultivation.

Reef and lagoon resources were exploited on a daily basis, and at leisurely pace influenced primarily by the skillful manual dexterity of those doing the fishing. The more dexterous the worker, the more yield per unit of time, the more likely the work pace would not be rushed.
Communal fish drives were organized around tidal fluctuations, and the pace of deep sea fishing was determined by the speed and power of the bonito and shark.

Finally, work activities in ancient Samoa had value because they resulted in tangible food, housing, canoe, and fine mat resources. Except for tattoos, which clearly had social and political value, all the other commodities produced in cultivation, carpentry, fishing and fine mat making were either 'oloa or toga, and as such were most valuable within the context of the village council, and at marriages, births, and funerals. Work, and the commodities produced, were essential to the functioning of the political system, and to the reproduction of the kinship system. Commodities were produced for individual household consumption and use, and, in addition, the chiefs used these products in the political maneuvers designed to enhance their own political status and the well-being of their 'aiga. There were enough resources to feed and shelter all the 'aiga, and to support an elaborate and dynamic political system.

The aboriginal Samoan worker gained "surplus value" from his work product. The worker received the necessary subsistence value of his efforts, as well as the added value of gaining access to political power through service (tautua) to chiefs, and through specialized knowledge which enabled experts to become central figures as matai tufuga in the Samoan political system. The role of these achievement based specialists in aboriginal Samoan political dynamics has been under-emphasized in the literature, for it appears that in many social contexts, the specialist builder and tattooer were able to accumulate
large quantities of the main resource of political maneuver, fine mats. These mats, and their circulation throughout the Samoan socio-political system, enabled the matai tufuga to gain political authority. This process of power achievement is indicative of what Goldman has called the extension of the blessings of aristocracy to the many.

Work in cultivation, fishing, and fine mat making demonstrated the service (tautua) necessary to become, or marry a chief, while more specialized work in carpentry and tattooing yielded quantities of quality fine mats and food. That specialists received quality fine mats and food indicates their high status and prestige, and, if the fine mats were used to form important marriage alliances, the specialists gained additional authority over land and labor.

In ancient Samoa, despotic chiefs may have severely exploited their 'aiga labor forces. However, the explicit recognition of a "route to chieftainship through service," and the definite power of tufuga over matai in the context of house and canoe building, indicate that the untitled cultivator, fisherman, and apprentice perceived work as an opportunity to achieve both their necessary daily subsistence, and eventual political power.

Similarly, although women may have been exploited in old Samoa, the women's side (tamafafine) of the 'aiga had important rights in the political realm, particularly in the selection of an heir to a matai title. For women, fine mat making was a time-consuming activity, valuable because it could result in the enhancement of their individual position if they married into a powerful family. Fine mat work was also valuable to women because it enhanced the prestige and power of
the tamafafine side of the 'aiga. Fine mat making, as the distinctive work of women, thus functioned as a powerful leveler in the relations of men and women. Without the fine mats, the talking chief role in the formation of marriage alliances would have been much reduced, and the specialists would have received only food as a material reward for their expert skills. The fine mat, the product of women's work, was essential to the elaboration of the chiefly political system, and to the development of specialized craftsmanship in aboriginal Samoa.

At the turn of the 19th century, Europeans were beginning to discover the bountiful islands of Samoa. In the following chapters we will see how Samoans responded to productive relations introduced by Europeans, how the dimensions of work changed, and how the meaning of work evolved.
PART B - TRANSITIONAL SAMOAN WORK: INTRODUCTION

Part B of this study examines the dimensions of the four major work activities--commercial agriculture, military, cannery and government work--introduced to Samoa by European colonizing nations. From 1830 to 1985, as new employments were interwoven into the pattern of traditional work, Samoans formed new perceptions of work's meaning and significance, and it is these perceptions that have shaped, and continue to shape, current Samoan labor market adaptation in Hawaii. Of course, Hawaii's urban environment introduces new opportunities and constraints on Samoan work patterns and perceptions. These will be discussed in Chapter XVII.

Although the four work activities mentioned above will be the primary focus of Part B, the nature of traditional work activities also changed in response to new work opportunities and challenges. These new changes were in some case obvious, some cases subtle, but in all cases they represented potentially serious cultural disruptions. Changes in traditional work will be considered as the integration of each new employment is discussed.

As these new work activities developed over the period of European contact, three other occupations were woven into the texture of Samoan life. Ministers, teachers, and entrepreneurs brought new messages, and simultaneously altered conceptions of the value of work. These latter three work activities will also be discussed.

Part B is organized into two sections. First, a historical overview of the period 1830 to 1985, and the political and economic events
that influenced Samoan perceptions of work in this period, will be presented. In the second section, chapters X through XIII, the focus will be on the resources and values, identity, incentives, and time dimensions of the four main work activities. In the discussion of traditional work activities pre-contact Samoa was viewed, for the most part, as a period frozen in time, and it was relatively easy to maintain the Wallman work dimensions framework in the analysis. Over the period 1830-1985, however, the fa'a Samoa, and in particular, Samoan work patterns and perceptions, were undergoing rapid change. Because of this process of change different dimensions of particular transitional work activities emerge as significant at different times, and it is more difficult to maintain the Wallman analytical framework. The discussion that follows will nevertheless consider these same work dimensions, but in a changing historical and cultural context.

Chapters X through XIII make use of a great deal of narrative data gathered from interviews conducted with older informants in Samoa and Hawaii. All interviews were taped, and I have transcribed them literally, and corrected for grammar while maintaining the full meaning of the informant statement.

Chapter XIV uses data gathered from younger Samoan students with whom I worked in courses taught at American Samoa Community College. Part II thus attempts to present a two generational perspective on changing work perceptions and relations.
In 1828, Wesleyan missionaries from Tonga arrived in western Samoa. Two years later, in July 1830, the London Missionary Society (LMS), led by John Williams and a group of Polynesian mission teachers, arrived at the village of Malietoa Vaiinupo in Fa'asaleleaga, Savaii. Malietoa's recent defeat of A'ana and Atua districts, and his ready acceptance of the Christian faith, resulted in the vigorous growth of Williams' mission society. Lewthwaite (1962:134) indicates that "by 1850 few pockets of paganism remained."

Trade activities were less dynamic, though by 1839 Wilkes (1845: Vol. 2:123) observed that Samoans were seeking "objects of real utility," by which he meant hardware, needles, cotton, and cloth. In 1851, Samoans imported 80,000 to 100,000 yards of cotton (Masterman, 1934:42).

The early Samoan export economy centered around the provision of food--pigs, chickens, root and tree crops--to ships visiting the archipelago. By 1850, missionaries were energetically promoting the concept of self-reliance, and the production of coconut oil. It was reported that by 1850, "virtually every village was producing oil" (Turner, 1861:277; Lewthwaite, 1962:135). The Samoan Reporter declared in 1854 that

Commerce has greatly increased . . . The people are now making coconut oil in great abundance. The
number of European merchants is much larger than heretofore. These islands will doubtless, ere long, become exceedingly important to commercial interests (Quoted in Lewthwaite, 1962:135).

Although vaccinations provided by the missionaries prevented smallpox, the productive activity of Samoan workers was impacted by epidemics of whooping cough in 1849, and mumps in 1851. Also, after the death of Malietoa Vaiinupo in 1841, Samoan workers were increasingly active in warfare, and there was apparently a high death rate associated with the warfare of the 1840s. Lewthwaite (1962:137) states:

Disease and warfare were thus working destruction in Samoa, and the population is thought to have declined by one-third between 1840 and the 1880s.

In 1857, the German firm of Godeffroy and Son established its headquarters in Apia. Its agents tapped the existing system wherein missionaries were promoting the production of coconut oil in the villages, and the European merchants were effectively marketing coconut oil in Apia. Within a few years the Godeffroy firm "had an agent in their employment on every productive island inhabited by the copper-skinned race" (Sterndale, 1874:4; Lewthwaite, 1962:138). By the end of the 1870s, Godeffroy and Son were headquartered in Apia, Jaluit in the Marshalls, and Mioko in the Bismarck archipelago. From these headquarters, coconut oil, and later copra, were shipped to Europe.

The seven years following the death of Malietoa Moli in 1866 were marked by sporadic warfare. There was, however, significant economic change and development in this period. In 1867, Theodore Weber, the manager of Godeffroy and Son, instituted a technical change in coconut
commercialization. Instead of shipping coconut oil overseas, Weber determined that it would be more efficient to ship copra, for copra

... saved shipping space, and yielded not only a greater quantity, and a better quality of oil, but also left the fleshy residue as a valuable cattle food. All told, the transition from oil to copra production is said to have multiplied the value of the coconuts fivefold (Lewthwaite, 1962:141).

During the 1860s, the American Civil War created shortages in cotton which favored a brief cotton boom in Samoa. This short-term cotton profitability, concurrent with the increasing value of coconut, stimulated European demand to purchase Samoan land. The Samoans were eager to sell their lands, particularly when they secured firearms in exchange. Firearms figured prominently in the warfare of 1866-73, and in later conflicts.

The land buying activity of the 1860s created what Lewthwaite (1962:159) has termed a "plantation belt," extending from Mulifanua in the west, through Aleisa and the Apia environs, to Vailele in the east. Further land purchases between 1878 and 1882 "accompanied each outbreak of war," and brought Vaitele and Utumapu, in the uplands of Vailele, into the German plantation economy.

These plantation lands were planted in cotton and coconut, the former bringing more immediate returns, and the latter possibly assuring long-range profitability. Cattle were allowed to graze and thus effectively weed the plantations.

The growing German plantation economy required a large and growing labor force, and Weber determined that Samoan labor would not be adequate. Weber looked initially to Niue, Rarotonga, and the atolls of Micronesia, and later to the Bismarck and Solomon islands, to meet
Samoa's labor needs. In the late 1870s, the Micronesian labor force in Samoa reached a peak of 1200 workers, and by 1885, 800 Melanesians were working in Samoa's plantation economy (Lewthwaite, 1962:143).

Through the 1880s cotton was the chief source of Samoa's export earnings. However, as the coconut palms reached bearing age they gradually displaced cotton as the leading cash crop. Although Godeffroy and Son failed in 1878, it was replaced by Die Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Sudsee Inseln zu Hamburg (D.H.P.G.), and other German firms, such as Hedemann, Ruge and Company. In 1886, German Commissioner Travers wrote:

The moment you enter the harbor your eyes rest upon the great warehouses and business premises of the German firms of Hedemann, Ruge and Company, and the German Commercial and Plantation Company, especially the establishment for the cleaning of cotton and for the processing of coconuts by steam. The extensive buildings and the stately rows of houses occupied by the employees of the company are conspicuous objects, while you perceive clearly on the green hills that come down close to the harbour the extensive German plantations of Vaitele, Moto'otua, Vailele, and especially the coffee plantations of Utumapu lying above the rest (Quoted in Lewthwaite, 1962:146).

Although the Germans were clearly dominant economically in the second half of the nineteenth century, British and American trading interests were also significant. These trading interests, as well as the entanglements of the three foreign powers in local Samoan politics, led to the tensions culminating in the Berlin Conference of 1889, and the Treaty of Berlin in 1899.
German Governor Solf skillfully articulated his colonial administration with the political institutions of the Samoans, and the economic demands of a growing number of large and small landholders. German policy essentially allowed plantation land in the Apia area, and land already in European hands to be sold. Forty year leases of land could be procured, but only after ascertaining government permission, and only in those cases where native lands would not be reduced to less than three acres per person (Trood, 1908:12-13; Lewthwaite, 1962:149).

Governor Solf, while protecting Samoan land, attempted to promote Samoan production. In August, 1900, he issued an ordinance that all Samoan landholders must plant fifty coconut palms annually (Lewthwaite, 1962: 149).

The lure of a stable colonial government in western Samoa attracted many new German settlers, most of whom quickly discovered that land was not in great supply, and that they would have to be satisfied with minimal landholdings. The D.H.P.G., and other German firms controlled much of the land, and they were not inclined to sell. When Samoans witnessed the great demand for land they offered forty year leases, but at triple their previous price. The new small landholders were clearly disappointed in Governor Solf's land policy.

The large companies were very critical of Solf's policy toward indentured labor, particularly with respect to the Chinese "coolie" laborers that began to be indentured in 1903. In that year, 279 Chinese workers arrived in Samoa, and by 1914, over 2000 Chinese were working in western Samoa.
Solf was concerned about the perpetuation of the Samoan culture and way of life, and he saw the permanent residence of indentured Chinese as a major threat to the fa'a Samoa. Despite constant pressure from the big German firms for more Chinese workers, and from Samoa's Chinese Counsel for permanent residence, and equal citizenship status with Europeans, Solf insisted throughout the period that Chinese workers would have to be repatriated.

In the eleven year period, 1903 to 1914, copra remained a mainstay in commercial agriculture, and cacao cultivation was greatly expanded. In addition, rubber plantations were started, giving German Samoa a triple base of agricultural development. The Germans were credited with "remarkable" achievements in checking pests and crop diseases, and by 1914, "Samoa has become a self-supporting colony" (Lewthwaite, 1962: 158-9).

NEW ZEALAND ADMINISTRATION IN WESTERN SAMOA: 1914 TO 1961

On August 29, 1914 New Zealand troops led by Lt. Colonel Robert Logan came ashore at Apia and demanded Germany surrender the territory. This was done peaceably, and on September 1, the British flag was raised. Later that same day Logan informed an assembly of Samoans at Mulinu'u that government would continue along the lines established by the Germans (Davidson, 1967:90-1). Lewthwaite (1962:161) states that the Samoans had little difficulty adjusting to the New Zealand administration:

Samoans had been more deeply influenced by English missionaries than by German rule, and they accepted this new flag without demur.
German trade activities were seriously disrupted by wartime conditions. New export duties applied by Colonel Logan, as well as soaring costs, reduced shipping capability, and sharply falling copra prices, forced the D.H.P.G., and other German firms into liquidation by 1916. The status of the four largest German coconut plantations at Vailele, Vaitele, Mulifanua, and Magia was resolved only in 1926, with the establishment of the New Zealand Reparation Estates. This will be discussed later in connection with the Mau uprisings.

By 1915, both the British and New Zealand governments strictly opposed labor indenturing, and three major repatriations from Western Samoa reduced the number of Chinese from 2184 in 1914 to 838 in 1918, and of Melanesians from 877 to 201 in the same period (Lewthwaite, 1962: 161). These repatriations, coupled with the influenza epidemic of 1918, which reduced Western Samoa's population by one-fifth, and struck hardest at males of reproductive ages, created a massive labor shortage, and led to increasing wages for the remaining plantation laborers.

The influenza epidemic also shaped the early Samoan perception of New Zealand's administration. Lewthwaite (1962:163) states:

... few [Samoans] failed to resent the culpable negligence which permitted fatal contact with the disease-bearing ship, or to make individual comparison with Tutuila in American Samoa, quarantined and immune.

Cacao and rubber enterprises peaked in 1917 and then declined as Chinese labor was repatriated. In 1920, a New Zealand parliamentary party visited Western Samoa, and observed that five companies were either in, or heading for bankruptcy, and that manpower shortages had resulted in lands being choked with weeds and devastated by beetles, rats, and other pests.
At this time planters were disgusted with bungled labor policies, but increasing copra prices reduced their discontent somewhat. For those Samoans who had followed Governor Solf's ordinance, and planted fifty coconut palms a year, the new higher copra prices of the 1920s brought great prosperity.

In May, 1920, a new administration, headed by Colonel Tate assumed office. Tate began shaping administration policy to favor Samoans, and began to implement the League of Nations mandate "to promote . . . the material and moral well-being, and social progress of the inhabitants" (Lewthwaite, 1962:164).

In 1923, Brigadier General (later Sir) George Richardson took over the New Zealand administration and attempted to accelerate economic development at a "forceful pace" (Lewthwaite, 1962:167). Major improvements were made in health services (Pirie, 1970:495), education was extended to remote villages, and agricultural and technical training programs were established. Numerous public works projects, ranging from hospitals to hydroelectric plants were completed, and Richardson sponsored Samoan visits to New Zealand to "evoke aspirations for progress" (Lewthwaite, 1962:167). This "material well-being" and "social progress" was to be supported by developments in Samoan village agriculture. Emphasis was placed on copra, and the cultivation of new crops like limes and peanuts, as well as banana, cacao, and cotton was encouraged in Samoan village agriculture.

Richardson attempted to make inroads into the cultural basis of Samoan production patterns. He tried to regulate what he considered to be the wasteful activities of cricket playing and fine mat malaga.
He also encouraged Samoans to open individual bank accounts, and introduced land tenure changes making it easier for untitled Samoans to acquire lifetime land leases.

Some solid economic and social progress was made, as Lewthwaite (1962:168) points out:

Copra production had reached 15,000 tons, 6,000 acres had been added to village coconut groves, and the 'plantation belt' was rehabilitated. A high birthrate, assisted by infant welfare and medical care, had more than made good the population losses of the epidemic, and an increasing attendance at medical institutions—6,602 in 1923, 96,452 in 1972—indicated the success of the psychological revolution. The leaven of education worked in less tangible fashion, but a significant diminution of crime and the quiet fading of ancient land disputes heartened the administration.

Richardson's forceful progress alienated important sectors of the Samoan population. The European population felt that Richardson's enforcement of New Zealand labor policy had undermined their economic interests. Further, Richardson's administration of the New Zealand Reparation Estates was leading to higher prices for Samoan produced copra. Part-Samoans, who were making inroads into the predominantly European-controlled commercial sector, experienced higher rates of taxation and customs duties, the receipts of which were expended on a growing civil service, and on public works. Samoans felt that Richardson had overstepped his bounds in trying to regulate cricket playing and fine mat mala\atha, and in suggesting land tenure changes. Further, the Richardson administration had subordinated the role of the matai.

A campaign of mass disobedience, known as the Mau movement with the rallying cry, "Samoa for Samoans," crystallized in the period 1926-30.
Davidson (1964:125) vividly describes the attitude and fervor of the Mau movement:

All the members and supporters of the Mau saw Richardson as a 'military martinet' who arrogantly disregarded their opinions and sensibilities, and all sought substantial relaxation of New Zealand control. The Samoans had been humiliated by Richardson through his exercise of powers that belonged in the sphere of Samoan custom and his creation of a political structure in which the effective participants were all, ultimately, his subordinates. The Samoan Offenders Ordinance, 1922, which empowered the Administrator to banish any Samoan and to deprive a matai of his title, had been passed before his arrival, and had itself followed the lines of a proclamation issued by Solf in 1901. But Richardson had used it, from quite early in his period of office, in ways that were certain to arouse widespread opposition. In 1924, for example, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III had been banished for an unspecified period for failing to remove a hibiscus hedge from land that he believed to be his own... After the formation of the Mau the ordinance had been invoked almost with abandon... In the eyes of most Samoans, the powers conferred by the Ordinance represented a perversion of custom.

By March, 1928, Richardson had lost effective control and was replaced by Colonel Stephen Allen. On December 28, 1930, the Mau movement collided head on with Allen's administration. A defiant Mau, marching through the streets of Apia, was met with force and gunshots. At day's end, or soon thereafter, Tamasese and ten other important matai were dead, and the rest of the Mau was scattered in the hills of Mt. Vaea. Only after painstaking negotiations was order restored.

Not surprisingly, the Western Samoa economy suffered during the Mau movement, and as a worldwide depression established itself in the late 1930s, the economic picture worsened. Copra and cacao prices slumped,
and against this economic background, Samoan nationalism, as expressed in the Mau, solidified. The Mau demanded complete repatriation of Chinese labor, and in December, 1937, 167 Chinese were sent home, leaving only 326 Chinese, most of whom had married Samoan women.

With the outbreak of World War II, hundreds of Western Samoans went to work in American Samoa, and many more found employment in related construction activities in Western Samoa. This stimulated Samoan interest in wage labour opportunities outside the agriculture context.

In 1953, Stanner (p. 409) assessed the Western Samoa economy, and concluded that it was in "a subclass so 'backward' that the problem is still one of creating most of the conditions precedent to development." Against this economic backdrop, Western Samoa made its drive towards independence.

INDEPENDENT WESTERN SAMOA: 1962 TO 1985

J.W. Davidson, an advisor to Prime Minister Fiame Mata'afa, has eloquently described the coming of independence to Western Samoa

(1970:410):

At midnight on 31 December [1961] church bells throughout Samoa rang out to mark the birth of a nation which had declared, in the Preamble to its Constitution, that it was 'based on Christian principles and Samoan custom and tradition.' Next morning, at Mulini'u, in the presence of representatives of New Zealand (including the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition), of the member states of the South Pacific Commission, of Germany and of neighboring Pacific countries, the New Zealand flag was lowered for the last time and the Samoan flag raised to fly, in future, alone. The first session of the Legislative Assembly of the Independent State of Western Samoa was opened by the Head of State. This was the
beginning of a week of rejoicing and celebration. In terms of national pride, the attainment of Independence marked the realization of an objective for which Samoans had worked for many years.

By 1965, harsh economic realities were confronting the new nation. The economy of Western Samoa was heavily agricultural, but annual per capita yields from the three main crops of copra, cacao, and banana totalled only $37 (Pirie, 1970:501). Approximately 11,000 tons of copra were being produced annually (the same production level as in 1920), and this production resulted in $11 per capita annually. Village cacao production increased after World War II, but annual capital returns averaged only $10. Individual returns from banana export reached $28 in 1958, but decreased to $13 per capita in 1965. In that same year, taro exports, primarily to American Samoa, and the growing Samoan community in New Zealand, brought about $2.60 per capita annually.

In 1965, the Western Samoa economy was viewed as caught in "the trap of low income and rising population" (Shankman, 1976:26; Pirie and Barrett, 1962), or as underdeveloped due to social and institutional barriers (Ala'ilima and Ala'ilima, 1965). By 1966, however, optimists were predicting an economic boom. A Samoan newspaper, Samoana, stated:

In fact indications are that this country is on the verge of a boom that in five or six years could transform its economy from that of subsistence to one of the most flourishing in the South Pacific (Quoted in Shankman, 1976:27).

A hurricane, the following week, "underscored the vulnerability of the economy that left few illusions" (Shankman, 1976:27). Another hurricane in 1968, and bunchy-top virus decimated the banana industry, and although copra production increased, world prices declined.

According to Shankman (1976:28):
Trade deficits persisted through this period and, by the mid-1970s, the trade and payments situation had reached the point of near fiscal crisis.

Throughout the 1970s the Western Samoa economy was buoyed by remittances sent by immigrants abroad. Again, Shankman points out that in 1974, "twenty percent of the Western Samoan population was living overseas and remitting more than fifty percent of the national income" (1976:28). Emigration to American Samoa and New Zealand continued at rapid pace into the 1980s, and although quality data on remittances, like that provided by Shankman, are unavailable for this current period, it is clear that migrant remittances form a crucial part of Western Samoa's village economy (see Connell, 1980).

Early in 1981, the Western Samoan government faced increasing deficits and worker demands, and a strike by Western Samoa government workers ensued. This strike, and its resolution, forced some difficult decisions, the implications of which will be examined in a later discussion of Samoan response to government work.

Before considering Samoan response to the work opportunities and constraints introduced by European contact and administration in Western Samoa, it is essential to consider the economic and political factors influencing work perceptions in eastern Samoa. American administration in the eastern islands of the archipelago brought significantly different colonial impacts.

AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION IN EASTERN SAMOA: 1899 TO 1985

In 1872, the United States government was granted permission by the Tutuila chiefs to build a naval station in the Pago Pago bay area. Political and economic ties were further strengthened by a treaty of
friendship and commerce signed in 1879. These two early agreements were bilateral in nature, Samoans and Americans accepting clearly defined and limited rights and obligations. In 1889 with the first Berlin agreement, and in 1899 with the Treaty of Berlin, American negotiators unilaterally established more general political control over Samoa east of 171 degrees west longitude.

Commander Benjamin F. Tilley of the U.S.S. Abarenda arrived at Pago Pago on August 13, 1899. The Abarenda was carrying 5,000 tons of coal, and 1,500 tons of steel for construction of a coal depot and wharf, and work on the naval station was underway when Tilley arrived. Tilley called the Pago Pago harbor, 

... One of the finest in the whole world. It is a perfect fortress and a refuge in the hurricane season. It is entirely surrounded by mountains 300 to 2000 feet high. The whole Navy could easily be moored inside the harbor which affords perfect protection and is stronger for defense than Gibraltar (Memorandum on the Samoan Islands, Feb. 6, 1900, General Records of Navy Department, GRND; Quoted in Olsen, 1976:9-10).

When, on December 6, 1899, Tilley learned of the tripartite Treaty between Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, he met with the Tutuila chiefs and requested their help in maintaining order. In Western Samoa, the death of Malietoa Laupepa in 1898 had set off "a singular outburst of Samoan nationalism" (Lewthwaite, 1962:140), and the civil strife centered on Upolu had involved some Tutuila chiefs. Tilley reported to the Secretary of the Navy (Quoted in Olsen, 1976:11):

When the warriors who had been arrayed against each other in battle and have been cutting off each other's heads when possible go home after the war and dwell in the same little village it is not strange that fights occur and it takes time for the fierce bitter feelings to die out.
In his negotiations with the Tutuila chiefs, Tilley assured them that their authority would be upheld "when properly exercised." Further, Tilley tried to impress upon the Samoans that the U.S. administration, while protecting them, would "punish them for their crimes" (Tilley, 1900; Quoted in Olsen, 1976:11). After a period of five months of painstaking negotiations, particularly with the chiefs of Manu'a, the American flag was raised at Pago Pago on April 17, 1900. Following that, a Deed of Cession was read by the Tutuila chiefs:

We now rightly appointed according to the customs of Samoa to be the representatives of all the different districts in Tutuila, we do confirm all the things done by the Great Powers for Tutuila, we also cede and transfer to the Government of the United States of America the Island of Tutuila there to rule and protect it (Quoted in Gray, 1960:114).

With the formal deed of Cession Tilley began to initiate some fundamental changes. He planned to disarm the Samoa natives and forbid the importation of liquor. E.W. Gurr, Tilley's chief advisor on native affairs, stated that the problem was that

... a systematic from of government had to be organized out of the chaos which existed at the time; laws had to be carefully framed without infringing unnecessarily on the customs and on the rights of the Samoan people (Quoted in Olsen, 1976:15).

Tilley proposed that each village nominate one matai to be their representative village chief. These chiefs would be given additional governing responsibilities, and would be closely supervised by the Naval Commandant, that is, Commander Tilley. Tilley would not accept talking chiefs (tulafale) as village representative chiefs, but other than this one restriction, "the village with its chiefs and fono
remained the basic political unit" (Olsen, 1976:18). The traditional political divisions of Falelima West, Falelima East, and Manu'a were retained and designated as "districts," while subdivisions of these districts were designated "counties."

Under Tilley's administration the chiefs were expected to cooperate, and if title or other disputes arose they were to be taken to court "instead of resorting to arms and bloodshed as formerly" (E.W. Gurr, 1901; Quoted in Olsen, 1976:19). Village- and district-level courts were established, and a High Court was given exclusive jurisdiction over major cases, and all offenses committed within the Naval Station proper.

To enforce judicial decisions, and generally to maintain order, Tilley formed the Fita Fita guard, which he hoped would attract "the elite young men and thus bring them under the influence of the government" (Olsen, 1976:21). The fact that it was not necessary to station marines on Tutuila until 1941 indicates that the Fita Fita were an effective police force.

Tilley created a government that included only two new institutions--the courts and the Fita Fita. He also took steps to avoid native exploitation by non-Samoan copra traders, using his government administration to market the crop. On December 18, 1900 the district and county chiefs of Tutuila sent a petition to the President of the United States:

He . . . has framed a government suitable for us. Our great fear at first was that we would be cast aside in our government; our customs, which we honor, would be changed or interfered with, we feared the rule of the soldier (military rule). But now our doubts are finished. We are satisfied because the good Governor you sent to us has been faithful and kind to us and has kept his promises.
He has made good laws, with wisdom, and according to our opinion, in days gone by, such laws as we had were indiscriminately broken, but now the wrong-doer fears the law. He knows he will be punished in the courts established by the Governor, and over which he has placed wise, impartial judges, who judge uprightly (Chiefs of the Colony of Tutuila to the President, Dec. 18, 1900; Quoted in Olsen, 1976:22-23).

Tilley had apparently won the confidence of the Samoans and had established a strong base for future Naval Administration.

In 1902, Governor Sebree, Tilley's successor, inherited an administration gaining strong acceptance on Tutuila. In Manu'a, however, the potential for disruptive conflict remained. The presence of the U.S. naval station at Pago Pago had elevated the status of the Tutuila chiefs, but the Manu'a chiefs still considered their traditional titles to be of much higher status. When district governor Mauga of East Tutuila visited Manu'a he was greeted with a kava ceremony. He requested that he be honored with a kava cup name reserved for the Tui Manu'a. As a compromise the Manu'a chiefs served him with a cup called "O le ipu o le Kovana," (The Governor's Cup). When Tui Manu'a heard that Mauga had been served with an "ipu" cup, he intended to punish all the Manu'a chiefs "as severely as Samoan custom would allow" (Olsen, 1976:26). E.W. Gurr, Chief Judge of the territory, arrived in Manu'a before the chiefs were punished and reminded the Tui Manu'a that he no longer had such punitive power. This set in motion a series of confrontations between the Tui Manu'a, the Tutuila chiefs, and the Naval Administration. Although Governor Sebree was able to enforce the legal decisions of the High Court regarding the "ipu" incident, he was unsuccessful in securing a cession from Manu'a.
After 1904, the Department of the Navy became increasingly concerned that the undefined status of the American Samoan territory would hamper attempts to develop governing policies, and financial support. In 1929, the anomalous status of American Samoa was clarified somewhat when Congress designated it an "unincorporated territory." Despite the new recognition of American Samoa federal funding remained a problem.

The question of federal appropriations for American Samoa development was shaped by the concern of Naval Governors for the maintenance of Samoan custom, and the pace of change. Public health improvements were initiated from the inception of American Naval rule, and the 1918 influenza quarantine represented a major administrative success. In 1914, the Bank of American Samoa was opened to stimulate Samoan involvement in a cash economy, and their saving of personal income. Achievements in education, agriculture, commerce, and infrastructural development were not so apparent, however. In 1931, Governor Lincoln, in his Annual Report to the Secretary of the Navy, emphasized just how little development had occurred in these areas:

After our thirty years occupation . . . the schools do not extend beyond the eighth grade, agriculture is little better than thirty years ago, roads are fair and the public buildings are inadequate and old.

Lincoln's successor, Governor Landenberger emphasized the need for improvements in the educational system, as did his successor Governor Dowling, who deplored the inability of Samoans to speak English after thirty-four years of American rule. Attempts at establishing a board of industry, agricultural schools, and experimental farms also failed, due primarily to a lack of federal financial support. The policy of
the Navy had been not to force "progress" on the Samoans, and in 1938, Governor Hanson, in his Annual Report, did not consider the lack of federal appropriations a problem:

In the absence of financial aid from the United States the Samoan people slowly but surely become more self-reliant and are beginning to realize that they can obtain most of the requirements of life and many luxuries through their own efforts.

In sum, the U.S. Naval Administration made major public health improvements, but the pace of other developments was uneven, depending on the personal perceptions of a number of different Governors. At the federal level, American Samoa remained an anomalous political entity for nearly thirty years, attaining the less than definitive status of an "unincorporated territory" in 1929.

The main challenges to the U.S. administration came from the Manu'a chiefs initially, and from the American Samoan Mau movement in the period 1926-1933. According to Olsen (1976:103):

- The Mau as a faction provided flexibility for Samoan society, allowing the Samoans to explore the possibilities of civil government and American citizenship while the established political hierarchy stayed on the good side of the Naval Administration.

In 1929, Mau pressures led to a series of Congressional Hearings in Hawaii. The visit of the Congressional Commission to American Samoa in September-October, 1930, and the later publication of the Commission's findings, were apparently enough to reduce much of the political dissatisfaction of the Mau (Governor Lincoln's Annual Report to the Secretary of the Navy, 1931; Quoted in Olsen, 1976:100). The Commission report had emphasized the economic benefits of Navy rule, and the financial costs of instituting a civil government, and when civil
government no longer looked like a viable option the Mau movement lost much of its incentive. One of the primary concerns of the Mau movement, and for Samoans in general, was land rights for part-Samoans, and this remained an issue through most of the first forty years of American rule in Samoa.

The policy orientation of the United States toward American Samoa changed radically in the 1940s. As Olsen comments (1976:175):

Whether Samoa ought to be developed or whether the Navy should continue to isolate Samoa from the disruptive consequences of modernization became an academic question after Pearl Harbor . . . As of 1940, Samoa was only a minor naval station that lacked the facilities to handle wartime logistical problems. Before the end of 1942, military personnel and facilities were dispersed throughout Tutuila, and all the able-bodied Samoans had left their copra plantations to work for the Island Government, the Base Depot, or the construction battalions.

During the war years public education came to a halt, and agricultural experimentation was discontinued. This period had a significant effect on the Samoan perception of work, and will be examined in greater detail in a later section.

World War II profoundly raised Samoan political as well as economic aspirations. As the post-war administration aimed at achieving a sound economy, Samoans, led by Chief Tuiasosopo of the Eastern District, made further demands for U.S. citizenship. Tuiasosopo argued that the Fita Fita guard, and Samoans who had fought as U.S. Marines, should definitely be given U.S. citizenship. However, after careful consideration of the citizenship issue, and its potential impact on the alienation of local land, Samoans discontinued their demands to become U.S.
citizens. In April, 1945, an assembly of American Samoan chiefs met and decided to push for the formation of a legislature to replace their purely consultive Fono.

In 1951, the Naval administration was replaced by the Department of Interior and its civilian administrators. Olsen (1976:270) concludes his assessment of the U.S. Naval rule in American Samoa:

The Navy was largely a caretaker regime that provided few of the amenities of modern civilization for the Samoans.

By 1953, considerable progress had been made in reorganizing the American Samoa legislature and judiciary, and secret balloting was implemented. In 1960, a Territorial Constitution was completed. This Constitution gave the legislature increased power and reduced the veto power of the American Governor. In the 1970s, efforts to convert the positions of Governor and Lt. Governor to elective offices dominated local political activity. The Samoans rejected proposals to elect their own Governor and Lt. Governor three different times. Finally, in August, 1976, the Fourth Referendum on this issued was passed, and in 1977, Peter Tali Coleman became the Territory's first elected Governor. In November, 1984, Coleman was not allowed to run for a third full term, and the honorable A.P. Lutali became the Territory's second Governor.

Since the mid-1940s, there has been a decline in agricultural cash cropping in American Samoa. Copra production yielded about 2000 tons annually in the period 1900-1919, increased to over 3000 tons in the years immediately following World War II, and then declined to only 720 tons in 1964 (Pirie, 1970:497). Perhaps even more indicative of the de-emphasis on agricultural production is the fact that American Samoa has been importing taro and other food crops from Tonga and Western Samoa since 1965.
The U.S. military buildup provided the first alternative to subsistence agriculture. In 1954, a second alternative developed with the opening of the Van Camp tuna cannery. In 1962, a huge increase in U.S. federal appropriations to the territory—from 2.1 million dollars in 1961 to 9.5 million dollars in 1962—signalled the beginning of a "major economic revolution" (Pirie, 1970:498). This "revolution" generated employment opportunities in the construction of a jet runway, a large auditorium, a power plant, and a new highway. A second tuna cannery, opened in 1963, also stimulated rapid economic development and wage labor opportunities.

Pirie (1970:500) presents a succinct and illuminating description of American Samoa's 20th century economic experience:

In the past, American Samoa was a classic example of retarded economic development compounded by remoteness and miniscule size . . . But a sudden and massive infusion of outside capital and technical assistance has propelled the territory toward prosperity, sustained economic growth, and eventual self-support at a high level.

In 1971, Department of Interior Grants-in-Aid, and other Federal Grants to American Samoa totalled nearly nine million dollars. In 1977, these federal appropriations peaked at 45.8 million dollars, and in 1982, similar federal appropriations declined to approximately 38.7 million dollars annually. In 1982, federal subsidies had, among other things, supported government sector employment for 3,705 individuals, or roughly 37.5 percent of American Samoa's total labor force (American Samoa Dept. of Economic Development and Planning Annual Report, 1983: 18, 24).
In addition to this public sector growth in capital and employment, tuna cannery exports totalled nearly 182 million dollars in 1982 and tuna cannery employment accounted for 2000 jobs (American Samoa Dept. of Economic Development and Planning Annual Report, 1983:24, 38). These economic developments have provided American Samoa with one of the highest per capita income levels in the South Pacific (South Pacific Commission, 1982). In turn, increased income levels have in part financed Samoan emigration to Hawaii and the United States mainland. Further, the resultant prosperity continues to attract large numbers of immigrants from Western Samoa and the Kingdom of Tonga (U.S. Census for the Outlying Territories, 1983).
CHAPTER X
SAMOAN RESPONSE TO COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE

ROOT CROP AND BREADFRUIT CULTIVATION

Although European attempts to develop commercial agriculture focused on coconut, cotton, banana, and cocoa, Samoans continued to produce root crops and breadfruit for their own consumption, and for sale in local markets. Root crop and breadfruit cultivation thus maintained meaning and value within an almost entirely subsistence-ceremonial context, with additional value ascribed to these crops due to their cash earning potential in Apia and Pago Pago.

Root crops and breadfruit provided the core of village food requirements, these being supplemented with other native foods, and with foods purchased using cash earnings from agriculture, wage labor, land sales, and land leases. After 1965, taro cultivators in Western Samoa were able to export their crop to American Samoa where agriculture was in decline, and to expanding Samoan communities overseas (Pirie, 1970).

The work activities of root crop and breadfruit cultivation have largely maintained their traditional meaning for Samoans, although local market sales, and the recent export of taro to Samoans in New Zealand, American Samoa, and the United States, gives these work activities additional value. Symbolically, taro may have become the crop which links the 'aiga overseas to the 'aiga at home. Traditionally, the banana shoot was symbolic of linkages between village resident 'aiga members and members in distant villages. Today, taro cultivation
may have gained additional value as Samoans realize that 'aiga overseas are purchasing, exchanging, and consuming their Samoan grown taro.

COCONUT AND COTTON CULTIVATION

After 1830, Samoan perceptions of agricultural work, and specifically coconut and cotton cultivation, were closely associated with changing land use patterns. According to Gilson (1970:163),

It was to help secure for themselves the services of the missions that Samoans first made land available to Europeans on secure tenure.

Chiefs of the villages of Apia, Pago Pago, and elsewhere gave the missions free use of tracts of land as long as the mission occupied it, and Samoan agricultural work on this land provided the minister (faifeau) and his family with the food and functional goods they needed. The incentive for the Samoan agriculturalist on mission land was to serve (tautua) his matai and 'aiga through service to his faifeau, and thus earn for his 'aiga additional "graces" and additional status within the church and village.

In the 1850s, Samoans were not supplying agricultural land to Europeans in sufficient quantities for real estate speculation, or large scale commercial plantation development. Gilson states (1970:271),

It was difficult . . . to purchase more than three or four acres at a single transaction, owing to the extensive subdivision of land among Samoans. To acquire a relatively large, unbroken section, suitable for development into a plantation, it was therefore necessary to negotiate for a number of adjoining but variously-owned parcels.

In addition to land problems the European planter also had labor concerns. Few Samoan laborers made themselves available for full time
plantation work, and those who did would work only on a casual basis, demanding wages equal to those paid to Europeans, that is, about one dollar a day. These wage levels were uneconomic for European planters. Samoans apparently perceived that they could work their own coconut lands, and other crops, and earn sufficient cash income, particularly through trade with visiting whaling ships.

In 1861, the London Missionary Society instituted new fund raising techniques aimed at the Samoan penchant for status rivalry. The size of monetary contributions made by various matai to weekly church collections were announced to the entire congregation. Gilson states (1970:254),

The Samoan tempo of production did quicken,

suddenly and very substantially . . . the

relative economic significance of fa'a Samoa rivalry seems to have made little

impression in commercial sectors however.

In the 1860s, the outbreak of the American Civil War led to a world shortage of cotton, and this shortage stimulated the development of new European "pocket-handkerchief" cotton plantations in Samoa. These plantations were no more than one hundred acres large and "produced a crop that one small gin and press could easily prepare for shipment" (Gilson, 1970:255). Samoan workers did not initially respond to European cotton cultivation work, and some planters brought in Niueans and Rarotongans on one year contracts. The Samoans, according to Gilson (1970:255),

could not be persuaded to take on something unfamiliar in addition to or in place of their production of coconut oil and foodstuffs which already satisfied trade demands.
In the latter half of 1864, Samoans changed their attitude toward cotton cultivation work. They demonstrated a keen interest in working in European plantations and increasingly took up cotton as a cash crop. Gilson (1970:256) delineates the numerous European explanations for this change in Samoan attitude:

European accounts . . . stress . . . the example of enterprise set by foreign planters; mission advice on agriculture and trade; the Samoan's anxiety to purchase copies of a revised edition of the complete Bible as translated by the London Missionary Society; the building of weatherboard houses by a few chiefs around Apia, taken as evidence of growing desire for a western living standard.

Gilson does not lend too much credence to these explanations, although they may have been contributing factors. Instead, he emphasizes that a series of natural disasters—a drought with accompanying brush fires, a hurricane, and a blight of coconut pests—depleted Samoan food and trade resources. Samoans then turned to working on plantations (for about one-half what Europeans were paid), cultivating cotton, and selling land in order to recoup their food, trade, and cash resources.

On Upolu, several thousand acres in northern Tuamasaga and A'ana were sold by the Samoans to Godeffroy and Son, and to other smallholders, and cotton production jumped significantly between 1865 and 1870. Gilson (1970:252) describes the success of the new crop:

With labor in oversupply, and with many Samoans engaging in cotton planting themselves, cultivation of the new crop jumped from 400 acres in 1865, to 1700 in 1866, and to 2400 in 1867, while at Apia, the processing and shipping centre of the industry, the number of horse and steam-driven gins increased during the same period, from four to about twenty.
Worldwide, the major cotton boom broke in 1866, by which time Europeans in Samoa had purchased large tracts of Samoan land. Some Europeans accumulated enough capital finances to begin expanding their agricultural production into outer districts. Cotton remained the chief plantation product, and a "principal wealth of the Samoan archipelago" into the 1880s (deJanniers, 1889; quoted in Lewthwaite, 1962:144).

In 1867, Theodore Weber introduced the idea of shipping copra rather than coconut oil, and profitability potential was increased for large and small European landholders. In 1868, the local price for cotton declined to two cents per pound (down from a peak of six to ten cents a pound in 1864). With this price decline, and the recovery of Samoan food and trade supplies, "Samoans fairly generally refused to pick cotton for European planters, and would not harvest their own" (Gilson, 1970:258).

In 1869, intense warfare between rival Malietoa factions began, and it raged until 1873. During this four year period, Samoans sold huge amounts of land for weapons, and Masterman (1934) and Stevenson (1885) have intimated that the Germans deliberately "let loose the dogs of war" to stimulate land sales (Lewthwaite, 1962:142).

Largescale European land-buying activity continued until the mid-1880s when the German plantation belt extended from Mulifanua to Vailele. This land buying activity had three important influences on Samoans' long-term perceptions of agricultural work. First, a new bitterness entered into Samoan attitudes toward European planters (Davidson, 1967:46). This bitterness further solidified Samoan unwillingness to labor for wages on European plantations. For Samoans it was more satisfying,
and potentially more profitable, to work their own village cultivations than to work for land-speculating foreigners. Second, the development of a large plantation economy on Upolu stimulated the growth of Apia as an urban commercial center. The alienation of village land displaced some village laborers who increasingly sought wage labor opportunities in Apia, rather than work for European planters. Third, the "plantation agriculture"-"village agriculture" distinction emerged, what Lewthwaite calls "Samoa's dichotomous economy" (1962:163). In 1926, the German plantations were designated the "New Zealand Reparation Estates," and in 1957, the Reparation Estates were transferred to the Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation. From the 1880s to 1980s then, there have been two distinct types of agricultural work in Samoa; one, for wages, outside of the village on plantation or estate property, and potentially outside the context of tautua (service) to 'aiga and matai and another, within the village where tautua to 'aiga and matai remains a strong primary incentive.

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s only copra outranked cotton in terms of "domestic output value" (Gilson, 1970:259). In 1888, the new director of D.H.P.G., Meyer-Delius, determined that due to a shortage of labor, cotton production should cease (Lewthwaite, 1962:147). Between 1888 and 1900, German plantations were static or contracting in area, and by 1902, the plantation economy, employing indentured labor and some casual Samoan workers, centered on coconut palms.

In 1900, German Governor Solf's "plant fifty coconuts" ordinances stimulated Samoan planting work which supplemented the more intensive production of German planters. According to Keesing (1934:300), between 1900 and 1913,
more than a million coconut trees were said to be planted in Savaii and a number in Upolu, yet by 1913 there was no great increase in the native copra output... The Upolu natives are said to have been less responsive than the Savaii people, especially where they received money on account of land leases or in casual labor around Apia.

Most explanations for the Samoans less than energetic response to European plantation agriculture have focused on the disincentives in the Samoan kinship system, and in particular, the individual's inability to accumulate wealth. Keesing (1934:315) presents a widely held European view of the relationship between Samoan copra work and the communal kinship system:

While again, the Savaii people proved more amenable than those of Upolu, it was said that their response is slow, that even adequate care to young coconuts that had been compulsorily planted, or the collection of beetles, would not be secured without great difficulty, that copra would be cut only for immediate needs and when prices were considered satisfactory, and that the communal system and general inertia were hard to counteract.

Llewela Churchill (1902:232-3) provides a more critical assessment of Samoan response to copra work:

The reason why the copra output represents only a part of the possible supply in Samoa is due to the lack of labor. It is not that there is need of special skill, that is not the cause of the deficiency; all that is needed is the power to use a knife and to bear burdens, absolutely unskilled labor. There is an abundance of Samoan men and boys, they are utterly idle and without occupation. But the Samoan will not engage himself to labor. He is unwearied in the ceremonies of his village life, he will make speeches all day long and half the night, but he will not work. His system of social existence is such that no matter how much he might labor, no matter how well paid he might be, despite a disposition toward thrift, he would be worse off for his employment than in his idleness. To his family would go all the results of his efforts, the family would spend it
with the utmost promptitude, and that would be the end. There are times when the individual Samoan will work a little. His town may be building a church or a boat, and an assessment may have been levied on him in payment; a fine may have been imposed on him which must be paid in coin; there may be some other and pressing emergency which may be tided over by currency. Then he will work...

As workers on European plantations Samoans gained a reputation for unreliability. Keesing indicates (1934:331) that "at any time a Samoan employee may choose to lay off or be required by his family to leave work." Churchill (1902:233) is again more scathing in her assessment of Samoan plantation work. She states that a Samoan will receive

one dollar for as much of a fair day's work as he is prevented from shirking. That is the standard rate, a dollar a day, which must never exceed ten hours, and will be shortened by as much as his ingenuity may prove facile enough to accomplish... He grows very tired of his job, whatever it might be; he knocks off when he is tired of it, and no consideration will cause him to resume, he lacks the essential quality of steadiness.

Colonial administrators in both Western Samoa and American Samoa considered Samoans seriously underworked. A German agricultural expert described the Samoan work-time pattern in the following way (Wohltmann, 1903; quoted in Keesing 1934:301):

On Fridays their plantations are scantily worked and provisions for a week are procured; the other six are days of rest and play, pleasantly relieved by hunting, fishing, and practising for church.

Numerous attempts by German, American and New Zealand administrators to limit inter-village traveling parties (malaga) were designed to reduce the amount of what they considered "wasted" time (Davidson, 1967:106). However, Western Samoans have always maintained close ties with their American Samoa ʻaiga members. Artificial political boundaries had
little effect on the traditional practice of frequent visiting to keep familial relations "warm." In 1903, and many times thereafter, the United States attempted to enforce "Malaga Regulations" in an effort to limit the size of parties traveling between the islands (Park, 1978:13). The following testimony from the "Congressional Hearings Concerning Conditions in American Samoa," indicate the fervent response of American Samoans to attempts to regulate malaga (1930:169):

In 1929, the Governor issued orders to stop the custom of visiting relatives which are distant from the naval station . . . Some of the people sent in a request to malaga to the Secretary of Native Affairs, but not the Governor . . . because they think the idea of the Governor was to force them to work. Samoans are greatly enraged by enforcement of malaga regulations.

A letter from one Samoan chief to the American Samoa Attorney General, dated July 19, 1939, indicates that Samoans continued to malaga despite official restrictions.

Your honorable, just to inform you regarding what we agree about on the present food shortage problem particularly in the Mauputasi County. I've seen two buses that went to Aua village with passengers about fifty people. The malaga that these people made that day was without my knowledge and according to your instructions about malaga making, this is a violation. I also saw in one of the buses, the County Chief of Itu'au County. With respect.

Colonial admirators viewed the Samoan malaga sharing system as a disincentive to efficient copra work, but any consideration of incentives to copra work should include a discussion of a general Samoan incentive to acquire cash. Keesing (1934:322) has fully delineated how cash was initially incorporated into the Samoan way of life:

A number of very definite methods of using such money have developed over the last century: a) to buy goods from the trader--essentials such as
kerosene, cloth, matches, knives, mosquito-netting, and soap, and luxuries such as *pisupo* (tinned meat), kegged beef, tea, biscuits, all for festival occasions, or crockery, utensils, belts, rope, and tools for family use; b) for church purposes in their home village and in other villages, as contributions to building funds, and for the general support of the missions both in Samoa and abroad; c) to pay obligations to the government--taxes, gun and dog licenses, marriage fees, court expenses, and sometimes fines; d) for transport in launches, buses and to indulge in entertainments around Apia--a taxi ride, motion pictures, theatricals, and the like; e) to carry on certain Samoan customs in which money has come to have a place, as in 'oloa, comprising the gift of the bridegroom's family where it has come to supersede pigs, to pay along with Samoan wealth for building a house, or to meet the traveling expenses incurred in a journey.

It is clear that Samoans saw cash incentives within the broader context of their social relations, and that they assessed these incentives in their own terms, according to their specific needs. A rich environment, providing most subsistence and ceremonial requirements, enabled Samoans to integrate cash incentives into the specific social situations and contexts they encountered daily.

German planters and administrators tried to induce more effective Samoan copra cultivation, initially optimistic that cash incentives would be sufficient. However, Samoans made careful assessments of these cash incentives relative to their own productive self-sufficiency, and often found the cash incentives of plantation work insufficient.

Lewthwaite argues (1962:150, 157-8) that there were factors other than Samoan communal disincentives influencing production levels in the period 1900-1913. Coconut trees, in comparison with other potential cash crops, were slow maturing, and by 1913, the trees planted during the Solf regime were just beginning to bear. Further, volcanic eruptions in eastern Savaii in 1902 and between 1905 and 1911, destroyed both
Samoan and European plantation land, causing population dislocation for the former, and considerable economic loss for the latter. Pests became increasingly problematic as larger areas were opened to cultivation. A "rat plague" began in 1905, and rhinoceros beetle "had spread around the shores of Upolu and invaded Savaii," by 1912 (Lewthwaite, 1962:158). To counteract the beetle infestation, Samoans were paid for the number of beetles brought to collecting stations until it became apparent that Samoans were "beetle-farming." Samoan response to copra work was thus affected not only by "communal inertia" but by environmental factors, and other preferred strategies of earning income.

When asked about the 19th and early 20th century response of Samoans to European plantation agriculture, present-day Samoan informants do not emphasize "communal inertia." In the opinion of these informants, other more subtle factors influenced the Samoan worker. They relate that the new pattern of work direction was particularly problematic for the Samoan worker on the European owned plantations. One leading political figure in American Samoa put it this way:

The Samoans did not understand the new agriculture. They were shy of working, and they don't trust translators. When something's new, you think twice. Before you're the boss, with your own knowledge, and your own heart. Taking instructions did not come easy. The Germans were move, move, move, they had a different way of directing.

An older Samoan teacher gives a more detailed account of employer-employee relations in plantation work:

Employers were not casual workers. They were insensitive men, mostly middle-class or lower-middle class people. Unimportant in Europe they became suddenly important in Samoa. Their own insignificant social status in Europe tended to push them to be dictatorial and high-handed here.
The Samoans immediately sensed that high-handedness. Europeans would say, 'You lazy savage, what are you doing sitting under that tree?' That was enough for the Samoan worker, he got up and walked away. There was no need for him to provide an explanation. He could have taken the time to explain that he is just as old as his employer, and that he had already climbed the coconut tree fifty times, and had already gotten down two hundred coconuts, and now he is taking a rest at 9:30 in the morning. The other thing of course is that Samoans do a lot of work before it gets hot. By ten o'clock in the morning, they've done a whole day's work, and then they came to the plantation already very tired. The employers didn't understand this. The main problem was primarily the attitude of the white man.

In the opinion of these two informants, the time dimension of work was a source of cross-cultural conflict. In the first informant's narrative, the "move, move, move" directing of the employer set a work pace with which the Samoan was unaccustomed. In the second informant's statement, the emphasis is on the employer's misunderstanding of the daily timing of Samoan work activities. Also both narratives indicate that communication barriers operated to increase misunderstanding. In the first statement, formal language and translating problems are highlighted, while in the second statement, an attitudinal factor, that is, perceived European high-handedness, is emphasized. That high-handedness caused the Samoan worker to walk away rather than try to explain.

The teacher felt that Samoans did not work on European plantations because they did not see any value in the work. He states:

You can't ask a people to do that kind of dedicated work, which is to them constant, daily work, at a certain time, for a certain length of time, without providing them some immediate result. These are after all a people for whom work was 'we plant that coconut tree so we can pick coconuts from it for years.' To plant one hundred coconuts, well that
was silly. Who would ever need one hundred coconut trees. The one tree I plant will drop a fertile nut and starts sprouting, and then bearing nuts before I even need them. They could not see where coconut planting ended, it was continuous work, it was not service to the family. The work was so vague, so why not stop at ten a.m. Ten was as good an hour as any, and he could make it up the next day. The next day he would work into the evening. Fifty nuts picked was enough for one day. He could pick 300 nuts the next day. They couldn't see a point to the whole thing. I don't think they could see any immediate value for themselves in the work.

Again, this statement emphasizes the different perceptions about time and work. The time of European plantation work was "constant" and specified, and this perception of work-time was extremely alien to Samoans. This is not to say that traditionally Samoans work was never constant. The teacher continued:

It was not their preference for short-span work that made plantation work unacceptable. They could work many continuous hours and days, for example, whey they went out bonito or shark fishing.

From his perspective it was not constancy per se that the Samoan worker disliked; it was the constancy combined with the specification of hours each day, and most importantly, the lack of recognizable value in the work that discouraged Samoan workers on European plantations. Also, the Samoans did not view this work as service (tautua). It was work without the social and cultural value of tautua. It was just work, it was value.

From the literature it is also apparent that Europeans provided disincentives to copra production in Samoan village agriculture. One of the social situations Samoans encountered in copra production was dealing with European traders, and these relations often produced
disincentives to work. Samoans, in the early decades of European contact, viewed the Apia-based merchants with suspicion. Keesing relates (1934:315) that

many Samoans seem to think that 'Samoa, Tonga, and a few others nearby islands produce all the copra in the world,' hence the fluctuations of price are considered as mere machinations of the trader.

He goes on to add (1934:317):

A general attitude that traders have held the Samoan helpless by maintaining a monopoly, instead of free competitions, hence 'have become wealthy at the expense of the Samoans,' was from the first not too closely veiled from the Samoans.

These Samoan attitudes toward European traders probably acted to discourage their maximal copra production. They also prompted Samoans to develop strategies for exploiting European traders. For example, Samoans took out large amounts of credit, soaked their copra before weighing, and combined greener nuts of poorer quality oil with copra of good quality (Lewthwaite, 1962:149).

In contrast to colonial administrative efforts, European planters often tried to limit Samoan productive enterprises largely because Samoans, in their opinion, did not carefully control pest infestations and diseases in their "ill-tended" plots (Lewthwaite, 1962:158). What the Europeans considered half-hearted copra production often resulted in major pest and disease problems.

By 1920, the coconut planting activity of 1900-1913 resulted in large quantities of coconut commanding a high price in the post World War I international economy. While the European planters were disgruntled with New Zealand labor policy, Samoans responded to the
favorable price situation, and copra production and profits were high. According to Lewthwaite (1962:163):

Goods could be bought so readily that the authorities campaigned to salvage fishing and native craftsmanship from threatening decline.

In late 1920, the post-war boom broke, and Samoans, misunderstanding the sudden drop in the price of copra, imposed a "costly and inappropriate boycott on the stores" (Lewthwaite, 1962:163). Thousands of coconuts were left on the ground to rot. In 1923, a New Zealand Commission, investigating the planters complaints about a labour shortage in Western Samoa reported:

the fact that with the present price of copra, a native and his wife can (if they are in want of money) by cutting 400 pounds of dry copra--an easy task--earn in one day more than the planters could afford to pay them in an entire month.
(Quoted in Shankman, 1976:103; Campbell, 1923: 218).

This quote probably depicts quite accurately the kind of economic calculating that went on when Western Samoans considered European plantation work.

In 1926, the New Zealand administration of Brigadier General (later Sir) George Richardson finally resolved the status of the large German coconut holdings on Upolu. The plantations at Vailele, Vaitele, Mulifanua, and Magia, had deteriorated badly since the demise of the German administration, and Richardson was determined to bring them back into full production. These lands were given a distinctive status as "dominion property" and named the New Zealand Reparation Estates (Lewthwaite, 1962:165). In association with the creation of the New Zealand Reparation Estates, Richardson initiated a copra buying scheme that provided Samoans with "liberal cash advances ... and full returns
undiminished by middlemen's profits" (Lewthwaite, 1962:167-8). Samoans responded favorably to these cash incentives. According to Lewthwaite (1962:168),

Copro production . . . reached 15,000 tons, 6,000 acres had been added to village coconut groves, and the plantation economy belt was rehabilitated.

Samoans demonstrated a willingness to work their plantation lands when they understood, when they could see that a profit could be made. Copra production was also conducted within the context of the village, tautua, 'aiga, and matai authority.

Richardson, riding a crest of rapid economic development, attempted to foist individual land ownership on the Samoan Fono. This, combined with his attempts at limiting matai authority and fine-mat malaga, and the dissatisfaction of a growing European and part-Samoan entrepreneurial class, lay at the heart of Mau discontents. By 1928, the apparent progress of the New Zealand Reparation Estates was completely undone. Lewthwaite states (1962:170),

Native agriculture was severely affected; beetles once more multiplied, coconuts rotted and rooted unharvested and planting regulations were ignored . . . The export of copra declined during a year when prices and weather were alike favorable.

Richardson had gone too far, too fast, and regardless of coconut profits, New Zealand intervention into the fa'a Samoa would not be tolerated by the Samoan political leadership.

To summarize Samoan response to price incentives during the first fifteen years of New Zealand administration, it can be shown that in the immediate post-war era, when copra prices were high, and again in 1926, when the New Zealand Reparation Estates were improving the copra price situation, Western Samoans responded to enhanced cash incentives by
producing and exporting more copra. With the sudden fall of copra prices in late 1920, and with the Mau disruptions of 1926-1929, cash incentives were not sufficient to stimulate Samoan copra production.

In American Samoa, in 1925, government officials attempted to stimulate copra production with the slogan "Keep the High Price in Mind." According to Keesing (1934:338-9), "if prices were high, less copra would be cut," and "officials calculated that existing plantations could yield twice to four times as much." The Samoans, according to one informant in the 1929 Congressional Hearings, considered increasing copra production to "favor done to the government and not a move advantageous to themselves" (Quoted in Keesing, 1934:338-9).

It is intriguing to note that Western Samoans, at least by the 1920s, were apparently responding to high price incentives by increasing production, while American Samoans responded to improved prices by decreasing production.

In the 1930s, the worldwide depression meant lower value for Samoan produced copra, and Keesing asserted (1934:311) that

Pessimists assert that copra will never again be a really paying commercial proposition, apart from the output of native plantations where there are no overhead costs involved.

In 1942 the New Zealand administration arranged to sell the entire copra output of the territory to the British Ministry of Food. In 1848, a Copra Board was established bringing together government officials, merchants and producers, and this board was given the sole right of export. The Board reached an agreement with the British Ministry of Food for a nine year term, and developed a stabilization fund which
in part reduced the problem of fluctuating prices and value for copra (Davidson, 1967:242).

In 1949, the Department of Agriculture was established with one of its main goals being the extension of village agricultural work through closer interaction with, and supervision of, Samoan agricultural inspectors (pulefa'atoaga), and village officers (pulenu'u). The pulefa'atoaga and pulenu'u positions were initially created, and successfully implemented during the German administration. Colonel Tate's administration, in 1923, also had some success with this village agricultural system. Where problems arose the pulefa'atoaga and pulenu'u were perceived to have overstepped their bounds, and to have infringed on the productive relations between village chiefs (matai) and untitled men (taulele'a).

In 1951-55, despite some restructuring of the Department of Agriculture and the creation of contractual relations between the Copra Board and the British Ministry of Food, the Samoan share of copra production tended to decline relative to the copra output of European owned plantations and the New Zealand Reparation Estates (NZRE).

The decade following World War II was a period of national prosperity, and confidence building. By 1956-57, however, trade deficits were looming on the horizon and the government was confronting "harsh facts well calculated to convince it--if anything could--of the urgency of the problems with which it was faced" (Davidson, 1967:256).

In Western Samoa, according to Pirie (1976:85):

Copra had resumed its traditional role as mainstay of the Samoan agricultural export industry by 1968, reversing a trend (operating since World War II, and before
in some areas) of diversification and the adoption of 'modern' crops, particularly cacao and banana. But even as a mainstay, the contribution of copra to the economy was diminished over the period 1956-68, with total yield, production per capita, production per unit area, and even price, all reduced in 1967-68, from the levels noted in 1955-56.

In the three districts Pirie studied--Safata in south Upolu, Aleipata in east Upolu, and Palauli in south Savaii--copra declines preceded the 1966 hurricane, and were occurring even in years of better price returns. The reasons for declining copra export production included inadequate replacement rates, and increasing consumption of coconuts locally.

Pitt (1970:36) also noted the increasing local consumption of coconut:

It is simply a convention that it is cheaper to eat coconuts than to sell them to buy food.

In American Samoa, in the 1950s, Samoans were continuing to work under plantation contracts for Mr. A.E. Jennings, "owner of Swains Island" (see Hooper, 1975:89-93 and Appendix B). Apparently, the Jennings family had been given Swains Islands by British Captain Turnbull in 1850 and "had been in continuous occupation since then" (Hooper, 1975:90). Little would be known of the Samoan work experience on Swains Island if it were not for a copy of the contract still available, and some testimony before the American Samoa Attorney General in August, 1953 (U.S. Federal Archives, San Francisco).

Testifying in 1953, Chief Tuilefano, discussed the Swains Island work contract.

Mr. Jennings plan is to have only 40 employees, and to take young people between 20-25, man and
wife and no children; leave them work for one year and go back.

Another Samoan witness criticized Mr. Jennings plantation management.

Mr. Jennings mistreated the people . . . people are treated somewhat like slaves . . . Mr. Jennings will not accept the word of the people . . . Mr. Jennings has the right to take away the private property of the people . . . He can come and take my pig . . . If a woman has a baby who is six months old, that woman is supposed to work for Mr. Jennings at that very moment. He also passed a regulation saying that in case you are excused from being working for one day or two, you are not allowed to leave your bed or go out to search something to eat.

Mr. Filipo testified,

Someday when I feel unable to work, Mr. Jennings orders me to go out to work and if not, I'll be punished with a five dollar fine.

By contract, each employee and his wife were supposed to gather, husk, cut, and dry four hundred coconuts daily. For this work the man and woman each were to receive one dollar per day, and wages were paid monthly. Mr. Jennings retained half of the employee's monthly wage and paid this to the employee at the end of his one-year stay. Jennings provided housing, in Samoan-style fale. In addition, each employee was given one-half acre for use as an individual plantation. Breadfruit and coconut on the island could be used by employees free of charge, and Jennings agreed to freely distribute three hundred pounds of pork to all his employees. Workers also received free chicken and eggs "but not to the extent of jeopardizing the reproduction of chicken" (Contract, p. 3).

The making of alcoholic beverages on Swains Island was forbidden contractually, and lights were to be out by ten p.m. each night, except for night-fishing parties. Employees could make 15 cents per hour
loading copra, and the foreman could arrange extra work if an employee wanted to earn additional money.

Samoans drove a hard bargain as "indentured laborers" for Mr. Jennings. However, in reading the testimony about their Swains' Island work experience it appears Samoans resented the liberties Mr. Jennings took in forcing them to work.

In general, copra production in American Samoa has stagnated between the period 1950 and the present, while Western Samoan copra production has fluctuated over the same period. In 1974, the price of copra increased due to a drought in the Philippines, the world's leading coconut oil producer. Currently, the Western Samoa Copra Board sets a price for the Samoan copra producer, and recently emphasis has been placed on "supplementing income through intercropping, even at the higher palm densities" (Burgess, 1981:56).

In 1975, the Western Samoa government began a vigorous replanting program, and 35,120 hectares were planted in coconut. The following year 259,000 seedlings were planted on 3,000 hectares, and results from these replantings were just beginning to be seen in 1984. A large proportion of coconut is still consumed locally, and when the price is low, people "don't bother" producing copra (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1984:511). Western Samoa is apparently moving away from the export of unprocessed copra, and is once more exporting coconut oil. It also seems to be diversifying its coconut exports, exporting copra meal and coconut cream (pe'epē'e) in increasing quantities.
CACAO CULTIVATION

In 1883 and 1884 cacao was introduced from Java and Ceylon respectively, and by 1890, D.H.P.G. was extending its cultivation in their plantation at Vailele. Lewthwaite (1962:145) indicates that the Germans trained Tamasese's troops in cacao cultivation, while Mata'afa's troops destroyed British cocoa plantings in 1989. These events foreshadowed a rather uneven Samoan response to cocoa cultivation, although the crop has been by far the most successful of the introduced cash crops.

By the turn of the century cocoa was well-established on European plantation lands, and in the last decade of German administration Samoans were growing cacao and participating on the German established cocoa commissions. Lealatele district on Savaii was producing cacao, and Va'ai Ropati Sale'imoa had been impressed with the prospects of cocoa and had begun to develop a plantation at Vaisala, the village in which he held his title, as far back as 1910 (Davidson, 1967:236).

Unfortunately, for Samoan and European growers alike, cacao cultivations were attacked by root fungus canker, and pink disease in the period 1904 to 1913.

After World War I, some experts held great hopes for cacao development, while others, Samoan and European, were discovering that Samoa had only a limited area of available land suitable for cacao expansion. Keesing (1934:311-12) reports that

Samoans have so far been loth to take the trouble involved in planting, caring for the trees, and preparing the beans for sale.
It should be noted that cacao cultivation, like cotton cultivation before it, was relatively tedious and exacting, and rather unlike any major crop exploitation pattern in aboriginal Samoa. Apparently, Samoan cacao cultivation was only locally and sporadically successful in the first twenty-five years of this century.

Village and plantation economics reached a peak in 1928, but the disruptions of the Mau followed soon after. Between 1930 and 1931, cacao exports declined from 1007 tons to 620 tons (Lewthwaite, 1962:171-2), and in 1933, cacao prices fell considerably with cacao surpluses building up overseas. The value of cacao was perceived by Samoans as fluctuating due to world market price factors beyond their control.

World War II sent prices soaring upward and more Samoans were encouraged to increase their commercial production. As part of the rapidly changing economic pattern of the 1940s, Lewthwaite states (1962:174):

> Even more encouraging was the development, for the first time, of a sustained Samoan interest in cacao. Simplified methods including sun-drying, were applied and a spectacular rise in prices from L60 to almost L200 a ton evoked an effective response. 'Samoan growers have gradually taken to the crop' reported the administration. By 1945 some forty-one percent of the cacao exported was Samoan grown, and within a few years the contribution amounted to three-fifths.

Davidson (1967:254) provides more detailed data on Samoan cacao production in the years after World War II.

> During 1947-50 Samoan producers had contributed an average of 1298 tons of cacao per year, or fifty percent of the total exported. For the years 1951-55 the figure was 1994 tons, or sixty-six percent of the total.
During the war years, 1941-45, European planters found labor in short supply due to the American military presence in Samoa. After the war, as prices for cacao soared, labor remained in short supply because Samoans could see profits to be made through village cash cropping. The increase in the total proportion of Samoan contribution to cacao exports is thus a product of two processes: increased Samoan production concurrent with declining plantation production due to labor shortfalls.

In 1953-57, the government's roadbuilding program stimulated continued increases in cacao production. It was in this period that Va'ai Kolone, son of Va'ai Ropati Sale'imoa of Vaisala, Savaii, began to rapidly expand his cacao plantations. In 1955, his plantations covered 140 acres, and they continued to grow to over 400 acres by 1960. In the extension of his cacao plantations, Kolone intercropped ta'amu and banana to assure short-term food and cash production until the cacao came into bearing. Roads were built through the plantation so that trucks could bring the crop to fermentaries and driers.

In Vaisala, and other parts of Western Samoa, "piecemeal and localized advances were being made in cacao cultivation (Davidson, 1967:238). Much of this advance occurred because of changes in the productive relations between matai and taulele'a. For example, Va'ai Kolone hired only wage labor, including supervisors, to work his plantation land. According to Davidson (1967:237) Kolone abandoned most of his traditional rights in respect of the taulele'a of his own 'aiga . . . This constituted a substantial incentive to them to develop plantations, since they gained both time in which to work for themselves, and an assurance that the fruits of their labour would be their own.
Similar kinds of adjustments in the village productive relations between matai and taulele'a were occurring throughout Samoa. In many cases these changes resulted in production increases. In other cases however matai, having viewed the large production output of individual tauleale'a, attempted to share inordinately in their wealth (Davidson, 1967:239). O'meara argues (1983) that this process of changing matai-taulele'a productive relations has resulted in a major shift in Samoan land tenure, with individualized tenure being much more accepted by the Land and Titles Court, and by Samoan society in general.

By 1970, Vaisala and the rest of northwest Savaii was producing much of Samoa's cacao. The Kolone plantations were successfully linked to the central market through 'Auala on Asau Bay, where small boats transported cacao beans to Apia. Tiffany (1975:88-89) presents a detailed discussion of Vaisala's cacao production in 1968 and 1969. She summarizes the Vaisala situation this way:

> Vaisala is located in one of the richest cocoa areas in all of Western Samoa, yet the income derived from cash cropping is very small--at least in regard to the commercial market potential of the region. This situation is primarily the result of small-scale household plantations, the fluctuating world price for cocoa, and the fact that the bulk of marketing in Western Samoa is handled by non-Samoan traders.

Pirie (1975:81) discusses the response of other villages to commercial agriculture in 1967-68, and emphasizes that disintensification has been the rule as many growers abandoned cocoa and banana, usually intercultivated, and reverted to more traditional coconut and taro-growing systems.

He goes on to add that for the three districts he studied (1975:85), the production of cocoa was increasingly dependent on aging trees. Disease problems, particularly
'black pod', the reluctance of most Samoan growers
to replant old, slow-bearing trees, and the practice
of interplanting with coconuts, causing excessive
shade and soil impoverishment, have depressed
yields. It has also become apparent that the rainy,
windward, coastal areas were not ideal for cocoa,
which did spectacularly better in the leeward areas.
Many Samoan growers abandoned this rather tempe­
mental, demanding, labor-intensive and erratically
priced crop. In Safata, the large areas planted
in cocoa during the banana boom (late 1950s, early
1960s) resulted in a continuation of relatively
large yields [paren mine].

It is interesting to note that Pirie's description of cocoa cash
cropping is very similar to descriptions of Samoan perceptions of
aboriginal yam cultivation. That is, both cocoa and yam cultivation
were viewed as perplexing and problematic.

For the 1960s then, two important points about cocoa cash cropping
need to be emphasized. First, even where environmental conditions were
optimal for profit-making in cocoa, other, largely marketing factors
reduced incomes to the "very small" level. Second, the sensitivity of
the crop to environmental conditions and external market factors led to
a Samoan perception of the crop as perplexing, problematic, and not
worth the time.

In the 1970s, the market situation for cocoa improved, prices
reaching record levels in 1974 and 1976 (Burgess, 1981:63). In an
intercropping system, cocoa's value increased significantly, so that
Burgess (1981:68) was able to conclude for his simulation that

Net revenue per man day in cocoa is considerably
more substantial than for copra . . . the net
revenue per man day is much greater than the
current minimum wage.

Thus, it appears that at least for some leeward villages the potential
for cocoa cash cropping profits improved during the 1970s, and that
this agricultural work could be perceived as preferable to some wage labor opportunities.

In 1979, 1,632 tons of cocoa were exported, while only two years later, because of a drop in price, less than 770 tons of cocoa were exported. Cocoa has become a crop to which Samoan small-holders look for cash earnings when prices are favorable, and total cocoa area planted is now greater than 5,000 acres. When the international market for cocoa is unfavorable, cocoa is increasingly consumed and exchanged locally (Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1984:512).

BANANA CULTIVATION

It was not until 1927 that both Europeans and Samoans were encouraged to produce banana for export (Lewthwaite, 1962:166). The Richardson administration established a direct banana trade with New Zealand, and a ship, the "Maui Pomare," was contracted specifically for this trade. The banana export trade made significant progress in its first year as it was an "easy extension of village agriculture" which "Made a great appeal to native growers" (Lewthwaite, 1962:167).

The Mau movement seriously disrupted banana production and development of this new export crop came to a halt. According to Lewthwaite (1962:170):

In 1928, the administration deploring 'the indifferent attitude of the people ... to their own interests' noted that 'banana groves may have become neglected and unproductive ... and many thousands of young palms and bananas have been choked with weeds.'

After the subsidence of Mau protests in 1929, the governemnt continued to buy bananas from local producers for export to New Zealand.
Because there were no established trading interests buying bananas, the government did not encounter the difficulties experienced when it tried to buy copra through the NZRE. In 1934, Keesing stated (p. 312):

In recent years the banana industry has shown great promise. As the fruit matures within a year it forms a 'catch crop' for planters during the four to five years required for cocoa to bear; on the other hand the plants have to be renewed every two or three years, and the rainy season is always an anxious time, as they are easily destroyed by a 'blow.' Yet here again there are uncertainties. The fruit requires delicate handling; bad weather may delay collecting and loading the cases; and the distance to New Zealand is far enough to cause anxiety regarding premature ripening. Also there is strong competition between Samoa and the other islands nearer to New Zealand--Fiji, Tonga, and the Cook Islands in the banana market. So serious had this become by 1932 that the New Zealand government introduced a quota system limiting the banana shipments from each island group to a specific amount.

In 1937, Europeans produced approximately forty-one percent of all bananas for export. A new refrigerated ship began service, and a dried banana industry developed in 1946. During the war years Samoans "monopolized" banana exporting, and in 1948 "Samoans were said to have produced all the bananas that were exported" (see Lewthwaite, 1962:174). Davidson (1967:254) states that for the period, 1947-55, "the rapidly growing banana trade was largely reserved for Samoan growers."

In the period 1953-57, direct government assistance in production, shipment, and management led to continued expansion of the banana industry. Pirie (1976:86) reports that in the period 1956-61, banana production in the district of Aleipata rose from 5,000 to 50,000 cases per year. He attributes this increase in production to the continuing
effectiveness of the banana exports program, and improved road access to the port of Apia (see also Lockwood, 1971).

Pirie reports (1976:85) that early in the 1960s banana production began to decline in most districts due to the spread of 'bunchy top' disease. In 1966, a powerful, destructive hurricane leveled banana stands, and another storm, in 1968, decimated the industry.

Further hurricane and wind damage during 1971 to 1974 discouraged many growers. In 1976, a report entitled "A Guide to the Revitalization of the Banana Industry in the Cook Islands, Tonga, and Western Samoa," was published by the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation. L. A. Walker, the author of the report, discusses some of the setbacks and problems confronting the banana industry and Samoan banana producers. Irregular shipping service, and what Walker (1976:1) calls "the punishing exercise of packing single fingers of banana in wooden crates," were particularly problematic.

In 1975, approximately 350 growers were providing banana for export from Western Samoa. Walker visited twenty-two farms in the Cook Islands and Western Samoa and concluded that only four farmers were practicing effective pruning techniques. In his report (1976:17) he emphasized the importance of "pre-harvest bunch care" including the work of

1. Removal of buds and false hands to reduce fruit maturation and increase finger length.
2. Sleeving or bagging with polyethylene bags to control leaf scarring and increase bunch weight.
3. Leaf pruning to control leaf scarring.
4. Controlling pests and diseases which cause blemishes on the fruit.

5. Propping or guying to prevent toppling of the plant.

In terms of post-harvest care, Walker (1976:17) discusses the need to

1. Protect the fruit from mechanical damage and other surface blemishes.

2. Prevent the development of post-harvest disease.

3. Maintain fruit freshness.

Clearly, banana cash cropping requires a great deal more work and attention than did subsistence banana growing in aboriginal Samoa. In ancient Samoa, banana produced large yields in relation to work inputs, while in modern Samoa, growers might get little or no yield after a great investment of time, if hurricanes or even a "big blow" occurred during the rainy season, or if shipping problems developed.

Walker (1976:25) discussed another important dimension in Samoan perceptions of banana cash cropping:

Time is a most important element in the harvesting and shipping of bananas. Bananas are a perishable commodity and the interval between cutting the fruit and placing the crates in refrigerated storage must be as short as possible. The '24 hour rule' under which bananas must be cut no earlier than twenty-four hours from the time of shipping is another problem confronting the farmer. This problem is further aggravated by the current packaging method of single fingers in wooden crates . . . Because of the rate of maturity of the hanging fruit in the field and the minimum and maximum tolerance limits for the caliper grade of export fruit, bananas destined for New Zealand must be harvested on a frequency of every ten days. During periods of peak production the frequency of harvesting should be weekly . . .
the absence of proper shipping schedules all efforts to improve fruit quality for export will be wasted.

In 1976, a price of $T3.50 per crate (53 pounds) was received by the Samoan grower. If fruit were of a specified quality the grower received another dollar per crate. Since the beginning of this bonus scheme in October 1976, only 1,962 of 155,667 crates qualified for the extra dollar. Thus only 1.3 percent of all banana crates contained bananas of the quality necessary for the bonus (Walker, 1976:26). Samoan banana growers apparently have not been taking all the required pre-harvest and post-harvest precautions, and even if they did, precarious transport and shipping conditions have probably reduced crop quality. So many factors are involved in getting a high quality banana crop to market that Samoan growers probably do not view the extra dollar as sufficient incentive to additional labor inputs.

Burgess (1981:108), in his multistage linear intercropping simulation, concluded that banana revenues

are constrained at present export price and net revenues are reduced by the high cost component . . . Net revenue per manday compares unfavorably with the other intercrops and is only slightly better than coconut.

The particular strength of banana cash-cropping is that it can "provide a regular flow of income over time" (Burgess, 1981:108).

The Pacific Islands Yearbook (1984:512) presents a summary account of the current state of the banana industry in Western Samoa:

Once the countries major export, bananas are no longer of major significance in the country's export industry. Disease, hurricane damage, intense competition from South America, and poor shipping put the industry into serious decline. A growing population and the popularity of
bananas as a staple food means that growers can obtain satisfactory prices at local markets without the fuss of exporting them, but some shipments are made to American Samoa. New Zealand was the biggest market for Samoan bananas but the market has been taken over by Ecuador.

In 1958, Western Samoa exported 884,000 cases of bananas. Twenty years later it exported 12,900 cases, while in 1982, 81,760 cases entered the export market. The Samoans, in 1982, were thus exporting approximately ten percent of the quantity of bananas they exported 24 years earlier. This in itself is a striking statement about the current Samoan response to banana cultivation work.

SAMOAN PERCEPTIONS OF VILLAGE AGRICULTURE

There is now a large body of data suggesting that most Samoans no longer look to agriculture as their major source of income. Pitt and Macpherson (1974:3) describe the position of agriculture in the 1960s:

'Cash cropping was a precarious source of income: the world market was an unknown and fluctuating arbiter; the Samoans found European merchants hard-bitten and demanding; and the hurricane, the rhinocerous beetle, and the bunchy-top virus often wiped out what the European did not get. Wage labour and entrepreneurial opportunities were rare. Some people had to depend on remittances from migrant members of their families for a substantial portion of their income.

In 1979, an Asian Development Bank study arrived at similar conclusions (Ward and Proctor, 1979:399):

emigration has continued, the population of Western Samoans residing overseas has increased quite rapidly . . . Very many of the migrants have come from rural areas and the benefits of sizable remittance incomes are now available very widely within the rural sector. This fact, which is borne out by high import levels, has probably been the basis for a significant reduction in motivation for production in the rural sector.
In discussing contemporary village agriculture, Samoans informants frequently mention that the work is difficult and dirty, and that their profits from the agricultural undertaking hardly warrant the effort. Often household heads mention that some 'aiga member should stay within the village and "make a go" of agriculture but the rest of the 'aiga can, and should, go find wage labor in town or overseas.

The older Samoan teacher discussed the current relationship between wage labor and village agriculture and fishing:

Money work in town is substituting for planting, and for fishing, so that these things become leisure time activities. Planting becomes a Saturday morning activity, and fishing is now a Saturday work.

The older matai discussed how he perceived both wage labor and cash cropping:

I carry my title to work but I come here as an employee. The money I earn here will not improve my title. I must supplement my work here with other work in the village. If you rely on money and don't plant many banana you are stupid.

This matai saw his role as "employee" as being distinct from his role as "matai." However, he viewed his employee role, when supported by his village agricultural work as a means to enhancing his title. Both these informants saw agricultural work as something that can provide important amounts of food and cash resources, and these resources supplement the income earned at a regular "Monday through Friday" job.

The shifting emphasis from cash cropping to urban wage labor has changed the chief's role in directing the day to day work activity of untitled men (taulele'a). The degree of this change varies greatly from
village to village, as the following statements indicate. The matai, who maintains a great deal of directive authority stated:

Before we had a lot of work opportunities in town, the taulele' a would go to the matai in the morning and get instructions for the agricultural work. Today, the matai give instructions after everyone has come home from work, at prayer time. On Sunday, too, all the household heads get together to talk about problems last week and the coming week, and the village work that needs to be done. I don't sleep well if there are not enough taro shoots (tiapula) in the ground. If I don't have twenty-five tiapula in the ground I'll kick their behinds to make sure the plantations are in good shape.

The older American Samoan teacher argued that chiefly directive power is declining rapidly:

Now the shift is into town, to a central market... the daily authority which dictated work is disappearing. The money which comes back to the village now becomes individual money, until a family problem requiring support (fa' alavelave) arises. And money now substitutes for taro and banana... Before the fisherman or the cultivator would have brought fish or crops for the chief and his 'āiga. Now he buys the fish, or the canned food, brings it home and eats it.

A Western Samoan matai indicated that there were still many villages where matai exercise strong authority, and this authority results in higher levels of agricultural production.

In some villages because of the good directions of the council of chiefs, they make asiasiga (visits, assessments) of how many taulele' a plant how many tiapula. They must plant like 3,000 tiapula a month. A committee goes around checking on the planting. A lot of villages don't have that good administration on their council of chiefs, and its left up to each chief to watch over their production. The taulele' a of these chiefs are very lazy, and they don't want to go to the plantation, they concentrate on the ocean.
It appears from this statement, and the previous statements, that current Samoan perceptions of agricultural work are fundamentally integrated with their perceptions of the changing role of chiefs and chiefly councils. Villagers are becoming more town-directed, and this is causing a decline in village agriculture and, at least in some villages, a decline in the daily directive authority of chiefs. However some chiefs still exercise enough authority to request all or part of the income earned by village resident taulele'a. The older Samoan teacher discussed this situation in the following way:

With the shift away into town and the money economy, and the fruit of that labor going directly into your pocket, at home you only serve (tautua) when there is a fa'afalelave and fa'afalelave is now being resented increasingly. People just don't like to give part of their check to the matai anymore. Some matai, in some tightly controlled families, simply collect the whole check, and then return some money, and that is causing a great deal of dissatisfaction.

When this informant was asked, "How many chiefs have that kind of control over people's paychecks?" he replied, "quite a lot." The following discussion ensued:

Question: The matai get the paychecks first?
Answer: Young people come right home and turn their paycheck right over.

Question: Do matai know when the paydays are?
Answer: Yes, the whole bit. He probably has an accountant. It goes into a savings account and computes interest. The chiefs are very clever financially. They are very sophisticated financially.

Question: And this is engendering a lot of dissatisfaction?
Answer: Much.

Question: What would you call the feeling these youth feel?
Answer: Anger. Because they don't see the point of it. More and more young people are coming home from being away and some of them are not so young anymore. They're in their forties. They have their retirement now. They come home retired and they feel they've earned their retirement money for their own pocket. After twenty years away in the service Samoans love to show they help out, but they want to do it voluntarily.

Other informants indicate that young Samoans continue to aspire for matai status, and they remain willing to serve (tautua) from town by sending remittances to the rural village. Those untitled men (taulele'a) who commute to Apia or Pago Pago to work daily, tautua by providing financial resources to the matai and 'aiga on payday, or at fa'alavelave time. Further, these commuting taulele'a still demonstrate their service (tautua) through village cash cropping, through the hard labor of planting, mulching, weeding, pruning, harvesting, packing, and transporting crops to market.

The church has become a powerful stimulus to all work activity, including village cash cropping. Untitled men work to produce cash crops, and increasingly the income they earn is directed through the matai to the minister (faifeau) and church. The powerful work incentives provided by the church are discussed in the following statements. The older Samoan teacher asserted:

It is now increasingly important to tautua for the Lord, for the lotu. The kind of voluntary giving across family lines that may have existed in the past, exists today in the auspices of the church.

A number of informants discussed the inter-village competitions in fund-raising for the minister's support, and the following statement indicates the enthusiasm with which Samoans approach this competition. The older teacher continued:
Some villages raise over $40,000 a year for their pastors. They may outdo another village by a thousand dollars or so one year, only to find that in the next year they are outdone by that village by two thousand dollars. The villages keep careful records of how much money they raise for their churches and pastors.

The Western Samoa matai related:

We tautua to chiefs and to the church. Each village takes care of their pastor within the Lamosa (London Missionary Society). For two years straight Salua (fictitious) has given the most money of all the villages in Western Samoa. The money comes from our cocoa lands. Can you imagine the town area, which is mostly Lamosa, with supposedly a lot of money from their galuega (work for money), but they don't give as much money as Salua.

Many European observers (see Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:50-51) have noted the extraordinary social influence Christianity exerts in Samoa. This is a direct result of the strong links between church leaders and matai at all levels of government. These links between minister and matai were initiated in 1830, with relations between John Williams and Malietoa Vaiinupo, and have strengthened over time.

All informants agreed that in contemporary Samoa, matai status is, in part, manifested in financial contributions to the church, and that service (tautua) to a matai means providing him with the financial means to contribute large amounts of money to the church. Some of this money is earned through village cash cropping, while much more money is derived from wage labor and remittances, that is, tautua from town.

The Western Samoan chief spoke optimistically about the future of village agriculture in Western Samoa:

The attitude currently from government is to start to promote the idea that the future of Samoa is in the land. Of course, this is the understanding of the people way in the past, then this understanding was
lost. Then there were famines, very bad famines, because of this laziness and the poor management of the village councils of chiefs. The national government started stepping in. When they had this laziness they had only a one party political system. With the two party system, the new party said, 'the future is here, let's concentrate with the village mayors (pulenu'u).' The national government pays him to push things within the village administration, to have assessments (asiasiga). Things are improving in the village ... A lot of people are sending their children to town for better schooling, now they can afford it. They are making better money than the guys working in Apia, by working the plantation, taro, banana, coconuts. They take it to the market, and they are going to market with fish. People in the country are making good enough money to support their children in town. Money you get from out in the country is seen as tautua to the family in town.

In sum, when Samoan informants were asked about their perceptions of village commercial agriculture, they emphasized that money earned from agriculture supplements other household income earning patterns. The relative productivity of different villages was seen as largely a function of the effective directive authority of chiefs—where chiefs and chiefly councils were still providing effective leadership, plantations were carefully tended and fully planted.

Most Samoan informants agreed on the powerful agricultural work incentives provided by the churches. Untitled men (taulele'a) now serve (tautua) through their matai to the ministers. Most matai are able to direct the daily work activities of village-based taulele'a, however, this is not always the case. Some village councils have apparently lost directive power, and in the situation where matai themselves are working in town it appears that their directive authority is declining. Effective matai are pictured as those men who can direct productive village agriculture, while at the same time command service (tautua)
from workers in town. In general taulele'a are pictured as either resentful of matai authority, or willing to serve (tautua) because of their interest in one day becoming matai. Whether resentful or respectful of matai authority, it appears that taulele'a remain willing to tautua when family problems (fa'alavelave) arise, though this service also seems to be a source of increasing discontent.
CHAPTER XI

SAMOAN RESPONSE TO MILITARY WORK

The current Samoan work pattern has evolved through a century and a half of contact with European missionaries, entrepreneurs, military and government officials, and since Apia's early development as a "port town," Samoans have increasingly taken advantage of urban work opportunities. The "disappointing" performance of commercial agriculture, due largely to world price factors, crop diseases and infestations, over which Samoans have had little control, and hurricanes, over which Samoans have had no control, continues to stimulate rural to urban wage labor movements.

These movements received a major stimulus with the arrival of the U.S. military in the 1940s, with the pullout of the U.S. Naval Administration from Tutuila in 1951, and with the continuing military enlistment of Samoans into the 1980s. Rural-urban movements have accelerated since the 1940s, and have taken on an increasingly international character. This international character is in large part due to the Samoan response to military work. While commercial agriculture is one of the economic strategies available to Samoans in Samoa, U.S. military work is an economic strategy that has fostered the development of international 'aiga networks.

Less than twenty years after the signing of the Cession of American Samoa, the United States was involved in the first World War. At this point it appears that many American Samoans saw themselves as loyal
Americans. According to one witness before the Congressional Hearings of 1930 (p. 128):

When America entered the World War, all able-bodied men of military age in the islands formally volunteered their services to the U.S., and when they were informed such services were not needed, many of them enlisted individually in the Navy or went to Hawaii or California and entered the service, some of them serving overseas. Those who remained at home sought in some way to show their loyalty to the U.S. and it was finally agreed that they should construct the somewhat elaborate concrete dam and waterworks plant for the Naval Station, donating their services freely in lieu of military service.

After the war, employment with the Navy continued to be prestigious, and members of the Fitafita guard were highly regarded. In 1927, there were 147 Navy personnel in Pago Pago, of these 76 were Samoan Fitafita guardsmen (U.S. Department of Labor, 1984:14). Darden (1952:13) states that the Fitafita were an important source of cash for their aiga, and that guardsmen were "accruing prestige vastly out of proportion to their traditional status" (See U.S. Department of Labor, 1984:15). Some Samoans were able to work at the Naval Station on construction projects, while others experienced wage employment as teachers, school bus drivers, and heavy equipment operators. The Naval Administration also paid salaries to Samoans who worked in official capacities. Previous to 1940 then, American Samoans were exposed to wage labor opportunities, and were taking advantage of them (U.S. Department of Labor, 1984:15).

In 1940, Pago Pago was only a minor Naval Station lacking "the facilities necessary to handle wartime logistical problems" (Olsen, 1976:175-6). In the spring of 1940, Captain A. R. Pefley went to American Samoa to draw up plans for the development of defense
capabilities on Tutuila. Pefley's development plan, with which the Naval Commandant was in accord, included the following points:

1. Additional quarters for officers and enlisted men must be constructed
2. Expand commissary, storage, and refrigeration
3. A new dispensary and additional generators needed
4. Increase light and heavy machinery and equipment
5. Purchase additional land at Fagotogo and Utulei
6. Build garage, machine shop, and recreation facilities
7. Improve sanitation in Pago Pago and other areas
8. Develop a thorough agricultural program to feed the men.

In November, 1940 expansion of the Naval Station began. Later, this expansion program was part of a contract, "The Pacific Air Bases Program," which included construction work at Pearl Harbor (Burke, 1972b:25).

Much of this initial expansion on Tutuila was conducted under the administration of Mr. G.K. Brodie, Director of the Public Works Department. From the Naval records there appears to have been a great urgency to this expansion, for example, the records refer to "war clouds brewing," and "the clouds of war descending." Brodie felt that the necessary speed of the work was unfortunate, and that there would be problems going from a "decrepit, minor Naval Station" to a "Pacific Air Base" (Burke, 1972b) in a short period of time. Brodie, in a memorandum to Lt. Commander W. L. Richards, wrote:

The labor situation is most unique . . . In general, the native labor will be sufficient and satisfactory. However, there are several points that require special mention: a) Native Food supplies have to be
maintained. The natives have one great fault; they have little foresight. As long as they have sufficient food in the ground for their needs, they are satisfied. They do not entirely grasp the fact that when we take most of their men for labor they will have to rely on the women, old men, and children for plantation work. We are making every attempt to encourage or force them to keep planting in excess so that there will always be adequate food to supply the men working. If their food supply fails, we will have to take over the task of feeding the island by the importation of rice and by fishing with dynamite. At regular intervals, native Public Works employees who have high standing with the natives, are being sent out to check the plantation and put pressure on the chiefs to keep the planting going. This is an odd and perhaps illegal expenditure, but it is almost mandatory under the circumstances. b) The natives can do a good 8 or 10 hours work a day, but when worked beyond that, they cannot keep up the pace. They desire to work as much as possible to get the money, but trials have proved that they cannot physically stand up under long working hours.

Brodie did not want to import laborers to work on the Naval Station. Instead he felt that Samoan workers could be more productive if their diet were improved. He was also concerned that debilitating worms were negatively affecting Samoan workers, and he expressed a need for a "sustained deworming." Brodie's memorandum continues:

The native diet consists almost entirely of taro, breadfruit, banana, and coconut . . . not enough fish . . . It is necessary to furnish transportation for the majority of the workmen living in outlying districts. If they were allowed to crowd into the already overcrowded villages adjacent to the station, the sanitation problem would be an active menace. Furthermore, by transporting them to their own localities, they are able to receive food from their own plantations and to some extent, work them in their off time. If forced to stay in the vicinity of the station, they would have to spend all their wages for food; this, of course would soon lead to dissatisfaction on a large scale.
In January, 1941 Samoans were employed on Naval defense projects, working on the construction of fuel storage facilities, an airfield and hangar, a dispensary, gun emplacements, shelters, and other facilities (Olsen, 1976:176). In February, 1941 the Governor requested that the native, insular defense force, the Fitafita guard, be expanded to about 500 men. Three months later, in May, the Commandant of the Marine Corps authorized the organization of the First Samoan Battalion, Marine Corps Reserves (Burke, 1972b), and this unit was not to exceed 500 men. Early in 1941, Fitafita guardsmen were trained in various defense situations, and later in that same year, they visited villages on Tutuila and Manu'a, training the native civilian population in military techniques.

March 1, 1941 saw the arrival of the 7th Marine Defense Battalion, comprised of 443 officers and men responsible for shore defense. When they arrived a few gun placements and a small power generating plant had been completed by a growing American civilian workforce and local Samoan labor.

When Pearl Harbor was attacked on December 7, 1941 nearly 1,300 American civilians were employed in Tutuila. With the beginning of hostilities, these civilian workers had to be evacuated from Tutuila, where they were replaced by Seabees and Samoan workers. After December 7, 1941 there was a "noticeable acceleration in the expansion taking place" on Tutuila (Burke, 1972b:40). Burke (1972b:41) goes on to add that:

When the Samoans heard that the U.S. was at war they came in from all sections of the island armed with bush knives volunteering to do anything necessary for the defense of Tutuila. There was no longer any time to worry about expense or approval. Time became the valuable factor and the race against the
Japanese was of prime importance... All able-bodied Samoans were called in to assist in building defenses. The women and children were encouraged to work on their land so that there would be no food shortage. At this time the Commandant was authorised by the Bureau of Yards and Docks to utilize all civilian personnel and equipment for any defense purpose he desired.

In January 1942, Brigadier General Henry Larsen, and the Second Marine Brigade Reinforced, arrived on Tutuila. With specific objectives in mind, Larsen took command of the Samoa Defense Group. The operational plan for the Samoa Defense Group, which also included Ellice Island, Fiji, Tonga, and all the Pacific south of the equator, and east of Tonga, excluding Easter Island was drawn up by the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Fleet. Burke (1972a:50) describes the general features of the operational plan:

The purpose of occupying these islands was to fill out the defense ring of Fiji, Samoa, and New Caledonia for protection of the essential sea and air communications between the U.S. and Australia, and to provide a base area for future operations against Japan.

Indeed, later in the war Samoa became a staging area for the Gilbert and Marshall Islands campaigns. Samoa thus played an integral role in the early stages of World War II, and as will become apparent when Samoan perceptions of wartime military work are discussed, Samoans sensed the urgency of the conflict, it was a war America needed to win.

On April 25, 1942, Major General Charles F. B. Price relieved General Larsen. When Price took command of the Defense Group he was concerned that "hostile raids... and strong land and air attacks were possible in the near future" (Burke, 1972a:55). In April, 1942 the first major Marine Forces landed on Tutuila, the 7th Construction
Batallion arrived in July, 1942, and the 3rd Marines Reinforced, comprising 4,316 men, sailed for Tutuila in August of the same year.

By October, 1942 the U.S. military was preparing for a possible attack on Tutuila and for a protracted engagement. The role of the Fitafita guard in any defensive action was clearly specified:

Fitafita section 1 - Take the enemy forces under fire approaching within the east sector of the Naval facility. Control the spread of fire during lulls in the battle.

Fitafita section 3 - Take enemy forces under fire approaching within the malae area. Control fire... safeguard essential material and records as directed. Be prepared to carry out Naval Station Logistic Plan One on order.

Fitafita section 4 - Take enemy forces under fire approaching within the west sector... control fire during lulls in the battle.

Fitafita section 5 - Take enemy forces under fire approaching within the malae area. Be prepared to man fire truck on order. Power house detail control damage to Naval Station power supply (Burke, 1972a).

Although the Fitafita never saw military action during the war years, they did perform a number of important duties, such as manning outposts, other defense positions and boats, and providing an interior defense force within defensive strategems.

Samoans were also active within the Supply Division at Pago Pago. This division was viewed as one of the most important because it was necessary to "keep the logistics train functioning smoothly" (Burke, 1972b:129). The Supply Division consisted of 2,500 Civilian employees, and it is assumed that most or all of these were Samoans.

After Pearl Harbor, many ships were directed to Pago Pago. According to Burke (1972b:135),

Ship arrivals jumped from three in December, 1941 to fifty-six in December, 1942. Shipping activity was
intensive throughout 1943. In March, 1943, 121 vessels passed through Pago Pago harbor. Shipping arrivals declined after February, 1944, from fifty per month, to less than twenty.

There was a great deal of military activity in Samoa between January 1942, and March, 1944. In October, 1942, there were 14,371 American servicemen on Tutuila and Upolu. During the following twelve months this military force decreased to 9,491, and by February of 1944, only 2,080 American servicemen remained in Samoa (Burke, 1972a:75). The "Marine Era" on Tutuila ended on March 1, 1944, at which point the base reverted to a Naval Station. The Naval Commandant was then responsible for the "rollup" of the base, that is, he made available a huge amount of supplies and building materials to be sent to the forward bases in the Northern and Central Pacific. The Naval Station was given a new, less urgent "Mission" (Burke, 1972a:7). The Station then provided:

1. Limited anchorage facility
2. Permanent fueling facilities
3. Minor Naval Repair depot
4. Supply facilities
5. Communication facilities
6. Weather Observation station
7. Limited aviation facilities
8. Hospital facilities
9. Internal security using any personnel available.

Even into 1945, more than 700 Samoans were working as stevedoring personnel using cargo handling equipment, cranes, trucks, and trailers, and reports from Tutuila remark (Burke, 1972a:13):

Ships are promptly discharged to full limit of labor and equipment available.
In general, the U.S. military presented positive assessments of the Samoan worker, especially during the period of intense military activity (1942-44). Burke (1972b:131) states:

Throughout the entire war period Samoan personnel were used wherever possible releasing the Navy personnel for more vital jobs. The Samoans performed very satisfactorily. Although the Samoan did not have the stamina of a Caucasian, he could work for about ten hours a day without losing efficiency.

The U.S. military was also present on Upolu and Savaii after March 27, 1942. The greatest concentration of American troops was on Upolu, as Savaii was considered too rough and mountainous for airfields, and there were no anchorages for larger ships. Through negotiations with A.C. Turnbull, Acting Administrator, in Western Samoa, and other representatives of the New Zealand government, the U.S. was able to secure tenure over 5,000 acres of land for the period of the war. The land was to be developed into an airstrip using U.S. military personnel and Samoan workers. The Samoans were paid five shillings per eight hour day if they were laborers, and eight to sixteen shillings per eight hour day if they were foremen or specialists. It appears that the Western Samoans were also eager to work, as one report states that "sufficient labor is available at all times" (Burke, 1972b:46). In addition to assisting military personnel with the construction of an airstrip, Western Samoans also worked in roadbuilding. As the war moved westward beyond Samoa, Western Samoans worked to maintain the airstrip as an emergency facility.

Olsen (1976:177-179), in his fine history of American Naval Administration in Samoa, summarizes some of the beneficial and disruptive effects of Samoan participation in World War II:
One of the most important benefits that Samoans would derive ... was the experience and training Samoan mechanics and craftsmen gained working alongside American civilian contract employees and the Seabees. As a result after the war, Samoans were competent to construct, maintain and operate the Island Government facilities. With the exception of the Public Works officer and his assistant ... all the employees of the Public Works Department were Samoan, including draftsmen, surveyors, foremen, machinists, heavy equipment operators, plumbers, electricians, refrigeration mechanics, welders, and clerks. Also, during and after the war, Samoans working for the naval station learned valuable trades that allowed them to open their own small businesses, such as small auto repair shops, paint shops, and carpentry services. Other Samoans who had enlisted received veteran's benefits allowing them to further their education.

However, Olsen goes on to argue (1976:179):

On the whole the impact of World War II was disruptive despite the benefits Samoa gained as a result of the war. The very foundation of Samoan society--the matai system--was threatened ... The replacement of Samoa's plantation economy by a wage economy gave the young men ... a feeling of independence gained from having money in their pockets rather than being dependent on their matai who controlled the family's lands.

During the war years the American Samoa educational system ground to a halt, and after the war, Governor Hungerford, thought a "complete rehabilitation" of the school system was necessary. Governor Hungerford in his Annual Report of 1945, states (Quoted in Olsen, 1976:180):

In many instances the school buildings were actually occupied by the Marines. Many of the competent teachers enrolled in the Samoan Marine Reserves, others went to work in the Government Offices at greatly increased salaries caused by war conditions. The school buildings fell into a state of disrepair and in several instances were actually demolished or removed. Many of the senior students accepted labor employments instead of attending school.
Also during the war years agricultural experimentation ceased and the work of the Public Health Department was interrupted. Governor Hauser, who succeeded Hungerford in 1945, addressed the American Samoan Fono in these words (Quoted in Olsen, 1979:186):

We have much to do, as native industry, agriculture, education, and the like suffered greatly when you made your all-out effort for the U.S. and our allies.

Governor Hauser warned the Fono that the wartime prosperity would soon be over. This prosperity is probably best reflected in the growth of the assets of the Bank of American Samoa during the period. Between June 30, 1941 and June 30, 1945, this Bank's assets grew from $309,768 to $1,804,281 (Olsen, 1976:178).

In the period 1945-50, the American Samoan Fono addressed three major issues to the Naval Administration. First, a request was made to give all Fitafita guardsmen and Samoan marines American citizenship. This request was withdrawn when questions about citizenship and land ownership were raised. Second, Chief Tuiasosopo complained from his position within the Fono that during the war years the military administration had inappropriately selected lower ranking chiefs for government positions. Third, in the discussion over a Constitution for American Samoa, it was decided to remove a clause prohibiting "involuntary servitude" because the Fono was afraid that such a clause might restrict the authority of matai. These issues show quite clearly that American Samoan political leaders, even after the disruptions of World War II, still placed great value in their matai system, and its prerogatives in work decision making. Further, the citizenship issue foreshadowed an ongoing concern over citizenship status and land tenure questions.
Lewthwaite (1973:135) describes the diaspora that accompanied the closing of the U.S. Naval Base in American Samoa:

The General R.L. Howze, the last scheduled naval transported sailed on 25 June, 1951. It carried many members of the disbanded Fitafita Guard north to Hawaii . . . and when, in 1952, the President Jackson called on short notice to pick up dependents, the authorities were faced with something of a rush. For many claimed relatives in Hawaii and seized the opportunity for free, or low cost naval transportation, and though the hastiness of the medical and financial screening was to provoke protest--almost 1,000 Samoans embarked for Honolulu.

SAMOAN PERCEPTIONS OF MILITARY WORK

The following discussion is based on interviews with ten Samoans, six of whom were members of either the Fitafita guards or the Samoan Marine Reserve during World War II. Four of these men retired from the U.S. military after thirty years of service so their statements will be used to elucidate the process of Samoan enlistment in military service to the present. Falani, a retired government worker from American Samoa, discussed his memories of the 1940s in Tutuila:

Most of the Samoans got jobs working with the Marines. The government hired local people to help the Marines. The people helped build houses for the Marines to stay in and barracks to store the equipment. There was more labor needed so the government had to bring people from Western Samoa before the war. The working hours were limited to eight hours a day, but some people worked for ten to twelve or even twenty-four hours a day. When the war began people were forced to work and most of them worked for two or three days in a row. The government told the people that if they don't work, the MP truck would take them to jail. In most of the families we seldom saw men. Most of them went to work except for break time during which time they could be at home. But within several hours they were called on duty again. The women were then in charge of the
families. The Samoans worked hand-in-hand with the Marines as if the Marines were Samoan. The Marines wanted the Samoans to work hard for them building bases for their own protection. The people were forced to work and if they didn't they would end up in jail. There was at that time a judge named Blake. If he found you during working hours doing nothing he would ask you what you're doing. If your answer was wrong then you would be punished. During night shifts, Blake would walk around with his civilian clothes to check on the workers... When the war came, money began to flow into the island. Beside the increased jobs in government, most of the women did laundry for the Marines and got money. The Navy and Marines made contact with the local people through the village mayor. They looked for skilled men in each village. The people who were chosen would have to sit a certain exam in order to get a better job. In those days there were no newspapers. Everything that the Marines wanted from the people would go through the village mayor. There was a blackout on the whole island and everything was controlled by the Marines. At night no one was allowed to walk around in the village, or make noise. If you were seen by the Marines, they just called you three times and if you don't show yourself, they shoot you. Most of the Samoans who sneaked around in the night were asked where they were going. When the Marines found them they took them to their destination. That was for the protection of the Samoans. The Samoans liked to work with the Marines unless they got mad and ruined everything... Regardless of the hard times, the Marines and the Samoans did work hand-in-hand. After the war there were many people who left the island. The Navy base was closed and the Marines were shipped to the United States to finish their service.

This account is in general agreement with the ones that will follow later, and with the historical material from the Department of the Navy. On one point, however, there was disagreement among Samoan informants. Falani was the only one who mentioned Samoans being forced to work under the U.S. military administration. There are indications in the historical accounts discussed earlier that some force might have been applied in getting maximum Samoan production from their agricultural
lands, but in general, it seems that Samoans were eager to earn income through work with the U.S. military. The older Samoan teacher, when asked "How did Samoans respond to the work activities introduced during World War II?" replied,

Like flies around carrion, magnificently. They built airports. Others said of Samoans 'they can't handle machinery, they are a farming people. We tried for years to tell them not to dig a hole with this foolish stick ('oso) and we showed them all these modern planting techniques, and after three months of training we go away and they pick up the stick and do the same damn thing they've been doing for hundreds of years' and much of what they said was perfectly true. And there were many who said Samoans were unteachable. Somebody showed up with great big tractors and overnight they were building airfields and putting up modern communications. Every piece of road on Tutuila, Samoans help build. They were ready, willing, a very capable workforce, very versatile.

This informant went on to discuss the incentives that drove the Samoan worker during the early 1940s.

Five million dollars went through here in a three year period, 1942-45. That's an awful lot of money. The place had never seen so much money. Samoans could see a point to the work, the money, and there was a war, there were the Japanese who we were fighting. It wasn't secular work, there was a holiness to the whole thing. There was a great big fa'alavelave, we all had to go to work. Samoans in World War II were willing to do more than they were asked to. Look at all these people coming to our islands, there must be a big fa'alavelave. We must help these people, this is our country, we are Americans. The money was wonderful. The Samoans were happy doing that kind of work. I think they were happy and they volunteered in droves for the Army and Navy.

The American Samoan matai agreed that there was no need to force the Samoans to work. He stated,

The Samoans saw the importance of the war work ... and saw the work as a big opportunity ...
It was all so new and fast. After the Samoans understand the new working conditions they worked enthusiastically for the Marines.

And finally, with respect to the issue of whether Samoans were forced to work, an older Samoan service veteran stated:

I loved the work I did for the Marines. I felt like Nathan Hale when he said 'I regret that I have only one life to give for my country.'

With the end of World War II, American Samoans faced the reality of limited employment opportunity, and with the departure of the Navy in 1951, another sudden change confronted the young Samoan worker. The older Samoan teacher provided an illuminating picture of the changes that confronted Samoans in the 1940s and 1950s:

Even before Pearl Harbor, the U.S. government sensed that there would be something. As early as the summer of 1941 there were already Marine contingents beginning to land. Already a road was being improved and people were hired all over the place. Before that the Navy only did as much work as was necessary to keep the Navy base functioning pleasantly and the rest was 'benign, kind, neglect.' In many ways that was wonderful, and in many ways it was absolutely terrible. So that there was almost no work and what there was was for the Navy and for the government. Pearl Harbor was the biggest sudden shift into a money economy psychology that could have happened to the place. The departure of the Navy, well, that was the Navy's move. When the Navy left, the two hundred Samoan families had to go. They had enlisted in the U.S. Navy, and when the Navy left, when the Navy base was closed here, those who enlisted had to be relocated. What made the later Samoan exodus so easy and so successful is that the U.S. government actually created—around naval bases—safe, intact Samoan communities to which other Samoans could go. Pearl Harbor, Long Beach, Los Angeles, San Francisco, the Samoans could move to these areas because there were Samoan military communities to meet them. From these places, the Samoans moved out and the mess began. Some Samoans wanted to leave here because they had work skills and nowhere to use them. If they were just people looking for jobs they might have turned
around defeated and come back home. What made the footholds was that the Navy made the transition a safe, workable, easy one. They gave these sailors communities around bases, with commissaries. Once firmly established other 'aiga members join them in search for work.

This informant clearly believes that the Navy pullout from Samoa led directly to the establishment of the Samoan movement network in the United States. Another informant who worked for the U.S. military immediately before, during, and after the war, also moved along this network, and his life and work history present an intriguing picture of the Samoan response to military work.

In 1937, the best jobs were bus driver, truck driver, school teacher, or the Fitafita. In 1940, I worked for the Public Works Department as a general laborer, for fifteen cents an hour. When the Navy contractor came down, I worked as roadman for the surveying of the Tafuna airstrip for twenty-eight cents an hour. Then I succeeded to heavy equipment operator for thirty-seven cents an hour. When I got my paycheck, I thought it was gonna kill me, it was so much money. I immediately turned it into liquid and did a little gambling. After 4-6 months of heavy equipment work for the Navy contractor, the Seabees arrived and we got a chance to work overtime. At that time the number of Marines on the island was so tremendous you could hardly move. The Fagotogo central area (malae) was in bad shape because it was a heavy storage area, things all over the place. The 6-8 weeks after Pearl there was tremendous activity. General Larsen and the Marines arrived and there was martial law. The Attorney General, Baracco, was very mean, he did not care about us. He said 'no more gambling' and if you were caught gambling you had to go before him in court. He would find out how much we had in the bank, and then he'd roll the dice. If he won, he would take some of the money from your bank account. If he lost he'd say 'You're lucky, no fine.' He got a lot of money from us but that money was used to build the governor's building and the hospital. All able-bodied Samoans were required to work, but all were motivated to work. The U.S. was making a big drive in the Pacific. We built a supplemental
airport at Leone. I was making sixty seven cents an hour. In 1944 I took a test to become a teacher because this was the best job then. I taught school from 1945-50. The pouring of American troops into Samoa is something I will never forget. The ships kept coming in, ships moving around the island, and ships anchored at the mouth and the harbor ready to come in. As soon as they finish unloading, they moved out, the next one came in, dropping off Marines and supplies.

There were many training areas between Leone and Vailoatai. Ten to twenty nets were hanging down and the Marines are climbing up. The Marines came and took over the island. When the Seabees arrived, everyone worked, even old ladies because they saw the value of the money. That's what makes things go. The time came in 1946 when the jobs became fewer and fewer. When I saw the Marines working on tanks, vehicles, tractors, and cars, I got interested in that kind of work. After 1946, we could go to school if we wanted to. The government would pay us and we'd go school. Go to school to get the paychecks. At that time I told myself to go to the U.S. and join the Armed Forces. Then the Navy came to pick up the dependents and the Americans here. My brother was in the Fitafita guard. I asked him if I could go with him. He said, "No, you shouldn't go, stay here with dad." "Wait a minute," I said, "We have four kids here, they can take care of the old man. We can go up there and look for a better job." My brother didn't like the idea because I asked him to pay my fare as a dependent on the ship, $10 for meals actually. I went to Hawaii in 1950. We arrived on a Saturday night. It wasn't much of a surprise, except the lights way up on the mountains, looked just like a Christmas tree. The following Monday, I went to look for a job. In the afternoon, I went to Shell Oil Company, and they hired me as a laborer. I made a good impression, and after a week they told me, "You can be a permanent employee." They gave me a truck to service the airplanes at the airport for three months. I still wanted to get into the Marine Corps but I didn't believe I could. I was thirty-two years old when I went to the U.S. I wanted to get into the Civil Service, so I went to fillout the application at Pearl Harbor. My first week at Shell, I cleared $134--I was about to fall over. But what I really wanted was to become retired with retirement from the government. In my life I've seen so many people
retire from the Navy and the Fitafita. I wanted to become retired. I was a very good asset to Shell, to their outdoor work. But I wanted to try Pearl Harbor. I'm not the kind of person who says "I'll stop here." I want to see if I can do better, like to see how high I can go with the small education I have. I went to Pearl Harbor and I had to make a choice. They gave me a job as a crane operator on the pier for preparing ships. As an apprentice I made three dollars an hour. I worked three weeks at Pearl Harbor, after two weeks I got a paycheck. I got into the Marine Corps Reserve and they sent us to San Diego for boot camp. Federal law said I'd get my job back. In December, 1950 I went to California and returned to Hawaii after ninety days. I noticed a big difference in California. In Samoa, you see a car accident you ask "anybody hurt?" In Hawaii, you see a car accident you ask "anybody killed?" In California, you see a car accident you ask "how many killed?"

The first week at San Diego, there was a big group of Samoans, an all Samoan platoon, 96 of us. They ask me to be the interpreter. The Samoans knew how to speak English, but they were scared. In San Diego, I got some ideas on how to manage life in the U.S. I had to pay respect to the Drill Instructor (DI). I didn't care about the language barrier. I'd talk to him. If I had to show the Samoans I was angry I'd do it. The DI told me to be the interpreter. I said, "Yes sir, I'll do it."

I returned to Hawaii, and right away I wrote a letter to the battalion CO in San Diego. I really wanted to serve as a regular Marine. It was all I could say, like a broken record. I left my heart in San Diego, not San Francisco, but San Diego. They made a man out of me in San Diego. I went from 240 pounds, what I weigh now, to 190 pounds. They really trimmed me down. I felt so young then, but I was 33. In the letter I praised the Marine Corps, they gave me a chance to serve. It was a handwritten letter, sort of a joke. Then one day Captain Matthew called me in at 9:00 a.m. I said "Yes, sir!" He said, "Do you know what a chain of command is? Why didn't you follow it?" I answered, "Sir, I felt if I did that my letter would go in your waste paper basket, sir." Captain Matthew said "Better sit down. I'm going to call Pearl Harbor, if you're one minute late, I'm going to hang you. But pray that you will never be in under any of my command." "Sir, is that a threat sir?" I replied.
He was so mad at me. But he had the sargeant fill out all the papers, and he said again that I should not be one minute late, but be at Pearl Harbor at 9:00 a.m. sharp the next day. I said "Ay, Ay sir," turned around and left.

I called Pearl Harbor, because I know the guy there. I told him "I was told never to be late one minute, but tonight I'm happy and I'm going to drink. I'm joining the Armed Forces." My friend asked, "What time you supposed to come in?" I said "9:00 o'clock." He said, "OK come in at 10:00." But I was scared, could be a bait. But next morning I came to work before 9:00 o'clock.

I went back to Camp Pendleton. I was in the Marines twenty-one years, enjoyed every minute of it. Fair treatment, you know it. Some Samoans don't have it. They think they're kings. That doesn't make it. I left the Marines in 1973. I went to Korea in 1952 but did not go ashore. At that time they called a cease fire. I know five Samoans who fought in Korea, but more than thirty fought there. In the 1950s and 1960s the military was the easiest way to get a job in the States. You could earn good money in the service, and get good jobs. I got twenty weeks of mechanical training at Camp Lejune. Sometimes the military is flexible with their entrance exam. Sometime they like to get the Samoans in and get the training from there. Now the Samoans have the idea of going in for two years and then coming right out, because they get educational benefits. This idea is new, its coming in, the people don't like it.

After Camp Lejune, I went to a base in Virginia. They picked me for training on a new grater, and for operations training. They sent us up to cut the mountains down, when I was back in California at Port Hueneme. There was no family for me in California, but other Samoans in the military had family, so we go over and they fed us. Maybe a nice looking young man would try to make ways with the man's wife or daughter, then the man would cut you off, and you had to leave. When I was in Southern California, I had family in San Francisco so I drove up. They asked for money, and said they were running short of everything. A Samoan would find 'aiga everywhere. Samoans flow to Samoans. If I need support I can go see my Samoan family. But if my parents can give me money I don't have to go to the 'aiga. This is what I will teach my children. I have money for them so they don't need to go to 'aiga if they want to go
the U.S. I went into the military because I wanted to become retired and see the benefits that come back to me. I didn't care too much for education. Now I know, I wish I could be young again so I could go back to school.

Three older Samoans, who have retired from the U.S. military and now reside in Hawaii, discussed their twenty or thirty year careers in the military and government work in similarly favorable terms. One of these men was a Fitafita guardsmen and band member from 1932 to 1948. In 1948, he came to Hawaii where he was stationed at Fort Shafter, in Upper Kalihi. Two years later he volunteered to be an individual weapons instructor and was transferred to Schofield Barracks in Wahiawa. From 1952 to 1954 he was in Germany where he rejoined the Division Band. In 1954, he returned to Hawaii, but there was no position for him as a Band Sargeant. Because he already had twenty-two years in the service, he could request where he wanted to be stationed, so he chose Hawaii, and was named an Infantry Sargeant. In 1962, after thirty years, he retired from the service. When asked what he got out of his military experience, he replied:

I improved my own leadership abilities. I learned courtesy and discipline. I was once the Governor's Orderly for Governor Milne in American Samoa. This Governor saluted everyone he met, even women and children. I remember that respect. A person must have that respect. I learned leadership. I know how to treat people, sometimes there were more than sixty people in the barracks. I gained alot of leadership in the Army. I've taken that leadership into the community. I respect the older people, because in their younger days they were somebody else. Sometimes I see the drunk people. I never drink, and I watch them, and I try to help them. I know how to handle drunks. When I volunereed to be a weapons instructor, they asked me what I knew about teaching. I said "I know the techniques and I know the discipline." I believe the more you put in, the more you get. I should have come out of the
military better than I did. I learned leadership and the discipline. In Samoa, discipline started in the family. Palagis (Europeans/Americans) aren't disciplined early so they don't like military discipline. In Samoa, if my child wanders off to a distant village and misbehaves, anyone can spank him. We call that discipline, here they call it child abuse. Palagis don't like all the courtesy in the military, Samoans don't find it so difficult.

Another of the older Samoan military retirees had joined the military in 1941 and stayed in until 1945. He entered the vocational school the Navy opened in American Samoa in 1946. In 1952, he went back into the Marines where he received Supply Training. In 1961 he retired from the military and went to work in the Civil Service in the Supply Division. He started working at $4.58 per hour, and by 1979, he was earning $11.58 an hour. He worked the night shift so he also received an hourly additional wage of forty three cents. He related that what he like about working nights was that he could check everything, and catch all the errors made during the day. He liked the "Monday through Friday" aspect of the work, and insisted that "as long as I could stand upon my own two feet, my wife won't have to work." He told his two sons the positive things about military service, and they both are now serving in the U.S. military. He speaks proudly of his sons:

My oldest boy is a certified Civil Engineer, First Class builder. He's been in sixteen years. My youngest boy is also an engineer. He's been in eight or nine years. They will both stay in more than twenty years. They are stationed in San Diego. I was stationed in San Diego in 1955-58, there weren't too many Samoans there then.

The third Samoan military retiree interviewed in Hawaii joined the regular Navy in 1945, and went to the Navy Training Center in San Diego
in 1946. After twenty years service he left the Navy with a disability retirement. He emphasized that the Navy gave him the time to study the Bible. He learned to respect his elders and those of higher rank. He also felt his gained leadership ability in the service, and said "my pension makes me happy."

The American Samoan matai, a service veteran of World War II, who has remained in Samoa for most of his life, discussed some of the practical benefits of his career in the service.

In the military, during the war, I was a General Supply Assistant. We used to take the P.B.Y. supply boats to Western Samoa each week, sometimes we'd take ice cream to the Americans on Upolu. Later, I was in charge of the mess hall. That work helped me in my job running this cafeteria. Also now when there is a big fa'alavelave or a big Sunday meal (to'onai) I know how much food will feed so many people.

One Samoan who had worked for the U.S. military during the war complained about how Samoan workers were later treated by the Department of Interior administration:

I had worked in Supply for the Marines and later the Navy. I continued working right until 1953. But then the Americans came down and after a couple of years working here they got a raise in pay. They told me because I was not an American citizen I wouldn't get a raise. Well that was enough for me. I quit and came back here, and now I have all these breadfruit trees and plenty of taro to sell in the market.

Older Samoans interviewed all speak favorably of their experiences in the military, the speaker just referred to had his experience of felt-discrimination during the Department of Interior administration. Older Samoans in general have probably communicated these positive experiences to their sons, and their sons' sons. But what of the
experience of these second and third generation Samoan American service-
men, what have been their incentives and experiences within the American
military?

When this same group of older Samoans were asked about the current
incentives for Samoans to join the military the strongest incentive
seemed to be the "retirement benefits." One Samoan who currently works
for the Veterans Liaison Office in American Samoa gave rough estimates
of the modern day incentives for military enlistment:

Of the 900 veterans in American Samoa today, 238
served either twenty or thirty years in the military.
After twenty years they have already picked up their
children and come right back to Samoa. Today, the
younger Samoans go in, about 20% go in because they
want the retirement benefits. Another 30% go in for
the educational benefits, but that's something new.
The rest go in for money or job training.

Increasingly it seems Samoans are joining the military for non-
retirement reasons. The older Samoan teacher stated that in the 1950s
and 1960s, many Samoans joined for retirement benefits and just "to get
away," "to travel." Now with so many Samoans overseas it is not
necessary to join "to get off the rock." The American Samoan matai
related that the "G.I. Bill educational benefits" now work as a powerful
incentive to join the Services. He too emphasized that this was a
recent development, as "parents can't afford to pay for education." Some Samoans see the military as a work opportunity, or as a means to
get job training. This matai also pointed out that many Samoans go in
for what they think will be a two year stint, but after their first
enlistment period, they change their minds and decide to stay in until
retirement. He concluded the discussion with the statement, "We are
real proud of our young men for serving the United States."
Younger Samoan servicemen in Hawaii seem to be comparing their military options with their employment opportunities in the wider community. Each new enlistment period brings at least potential salary increases, and brings them so much closer to retirement. They can assess their chances of using a military-learned job skill in the Honolulu labor market and weigh that income-earning potential against the military service options. As will be discussed in a later chapter, Samoans in Hawaii still see the military as a generally positive work opportunity.

Informants in American Samoa were asked about how the wider Samoan community views the returning Service Veteran. The answers to this question, not surprisingly, emphasized that it varies according to the individual veteran. Again, the informant with experience at the Veteran's Liaison Office presented some rough estimates:

Many of the vets are working for the government and this is seen as a good role, about 28% work for the government. These Samoans are making a contribution to the economy, and getting benefits for their families. About 26% retired from the service and are now working part-time or full-time. They are important men in their villages. About half the vets go back into the reserves, and combine that income with some farming. They give up one weekend a month. Some have a bad record of discharge and probably 10% are not interested in being useful to the government, to their families, or to their villages. Quite a few of them are running around looking for beer.

Military work, in and of itself, is not perceived as prestigious, but if an individual uses that military experience for the benefit of government, family, or village, he is viewed with respect, and he is positively identified as a Samoan veteran. A Western Samoan matai remarked:
Samoans see military work as faigaluega i le Malo (Work for the Government). This gives military work much more prestige.

Samoans seem to associate military work with the prestigious work of government. Later in Part II, Samoan perceptions of work for the Malo (Government) will be considered, but first Samoan response to, and perceptions of cannery work will be discussed.
CHAPTER XII
SAMOAN RESPONSE TO CANNERY WORK

In 1948, the Secretary of the Navy authorized the American Samoa government to allow the entry of commercial enterprises when those enterprises "would not be inimical" to the Samoan way of life (Wolf Management, 1969:234). The American Samoan government was aware that the only important export available was fish. In 1954, after Island Packers had constructed a cannery and then gone bankrupt, the government leased the cannery to the Van Camp Sea Food Company.

This lease included a provision to train Samoans in longline tuna fishing. In 1961, Van Camp purchased a tuna longliner and employed a crew of eight Japanese, and between 15-18 Samoan trainees. The Wolf Management Report (1969:236) provides the following assessment of the Samoan work experience on the longliner between 1961 and 1963:

Over a two year period, the vessel made ten fishing trips. One hundred and six Samoans were taken aboard, but sixty five sailed only once, twenty twice, ten three time, ten sailed from four to six times, and only one seaman (a native of the Tokelau Islands) went out nine times... Although Samoans have adapted rapidly to the needs of the shore-based operations of the cannery complex, they have as yet shown little of the inclination of Orientals to become high-seas tuna fishermen.

The Wolf Report explains the Samoan disinclination for high-seas fishing in terms of the long periods of time, thirty to sixty days, the fishermen had to spend on the boat, and the long hours of continuous manual labor. Samoans provide different explanations for their disinclination to high-seas fishing, and these will be presented shortly.
Star-Kist Samoa opened in 1963, and one year later, the American Can Company built a plant between the two tuna canneries. In 1954, the Van Camp operation employed approximately 160 people, slightly more than half of whom were women (Vancampen, 1954). By 1967, the two canneries and the can company employed one thousand shore-based workers, and still there remained a slight female majority. In June, 1957 the minimum wage for fish canning and processing was 38 cents per hour. By 1963, this wage had increased to $1.00 per hour, and by 1968, to $1.10 per hour. In 1967, the tuna cannery complex accounted for over twenty-seven million dollars in exports, and well over half of private sector employment. In 1967, approximately 75% of the employees were American Samoans, the remainder were Western Samoans and Tongans, with a few Americans mostly in management (Wolf Management Report, 1969:235).

In 1954, Samoan workers were reportedly "quick to learn their tasks and appeared reasonably efficient" (Vancampen, 1954:9). The Wolf Report details the work activities required in the tuna canning process (1969:244):

The principal steps in the canning, following the receipt and thawing of frozen fish, are butchering, precooking, cleaning, packing, adding oil or brine, exhausting and sealing cans, cleaning and resorting cans, and boxing and storing. Whole albacore and gilled and gutted yellow-fin are cleaned and go to the cookers for about three hours; both the cleaning and the packing (cutting the tuna, grading and filling cans) operations require large amounts of manual labor.

Some of these work activities would have been familiar to the Samoans of ancient times, and the more mechanical aspects were probably quite familiar to Samoans after their work experience with the U.S. military in the 1940s.
The cannery complex was also training carpenters, welders, electricians, and mechanics to maintain its infrastructure, and by 1969 the canneries had become "a major motive force behind" economic development in American Samoa (Wolf Management Report, 1969:245).

From 1970 to 1982, tuna exports steadily increased, and over the period, export totals nearly doubled. In 1970, 2.8 million cases were exported, and by 1982 that figure rose to 5.4 million cases. In terms of dollar values for tuna, 1970 export earnings equalled $33,018,237, while export earnings soared to over $181,781,762 in 1982. In 1970, canned tuna exports represented 91.6% of the territory's export earnings, while in 1982 tuna exports accounted for 97.3% of exports accounted for 97.3% of export earnings (American Samoa Economic Development and Planning Office Annual Report, 1983:41-42; U.S. Department of Labor, 1982:20).

In terms of labor force and employment trends at the canneries, an increasing number of jobs have become available as a result of the canneries' rapid economic growth. In 1973, the canneries employed 1,217 workers, and total employment increased to 2,100 in 1982. The 1973 figure represented approximately 15 percent of the total American Samoan labor force of 8,967, while the 1982 figure represented 22 percent of the total territorial labor force of 10,752. The canneries have, at least to some extent, been able to accommodate the rapidly growing territorial labor force (U.S. Department of Labor, 1982:50; 1984:10).

In November, 1981, there were 2,051 workers engaged in fish canning activities. Of these, 1,458, or 71 percent were being paid the minimum wage of $2.33 an hour. In November, 1983, of the 2,606 workers in the
canneries, 1,905, or 73 percent were being paid the minimum wage of $2.55 an hour. Further, only 193 workers, or seven percent were making more than $3.00 an hour (U.S. Department of Labor, 1982:50; 1984:H-2,3).

From 1979 to 1983, "despite an increase in average hourly earnings, there has been little change in the concentration of earnings at the legal minimum" (Ibid, 1982:50; 1984:47).

Income levels have increased slowly over the last five years. Between November, 1979 and November, 1981, average hourly earnings increased about 20 percent, from $2.04 to $2.45 an hour. In the two year period to November, 1983, average hourly incomes increased only nine percent, to $2.66 an hour.

In addition to income incentives, cannery employees receive clearly specified fringe benefits. At Star-Kist Samoa, workers receive six paid holidays, seven days paid vacation, a life insurance plan, pension plan and workmen's compensation. At Van Camp (now Samoa Packing Company) workers receive one paid holiday, and the length of annual holiday time is dependent on length of service. In addition, workers receive life insurance and a pension plan (U.S. Department of Labor, 1982:51; 1984:47, C-3).

Between 1977 and 1982, the percentage of U.S. tuna production attributable to the Samoa cannery complex increased from 6.4 percent to 15.2 percent. When Van Camp added a second shift in 1983, (Star-Kist added a second shift in 1978) the two canneries then employed 2,606 workers. This represented the highest level of cannery employment in American Samoa in recent years and "reflects the increased importance of this territory as a production site" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1984:46-7).
In June, 1984 the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) issued a "Stipulation for Certification Upon Consent Election" order. This order, after being signed by representatives of Star-Kist Samoa, and the National Maritime Union (NMU), authorized a vote by Star-Kist employees on the question of whether they wanted the NMU's representation. The NLRB's stipulation specified who could vote in the election. The election was to include all production and maintenance employees at the Star-Kist cannery. In addition, shipping and receiving employees, quality control and can plant employees could vote. Excluded from the voting were the main office clerical staff, professional employees, security guards and supervisors.

Tasi Mauga, a former personnel manager for Star-Kist, initiated the NMU attempt to unionize the Star-Kist workers. Mauga presented the pro-union argument (Samoa News, June 15, 1984:1):

If the workers decide on unionism, NMU will begin to represent them in negotiations with Star-Kist on matters pertaining to wages, hours of work, retirement, pension, life insurance, holidays, grievances, etc. The Union can help workers obtain job stability, decent salary, good working hours, better working conditions ... When you have obtained them via Union assistance, you and your family will be able to upgrade your living standards by affording better housing, food, clothing, education. Your basic needs will be met.

Several years earlier a similar attempt to unionize Star-Kist Samoa failed. The failure of the earlier movement was at least in part due to a territory-wide campaign against the union, spearheaded by certain government and traditional leaders who argued that Samoa was not ready for unionism. To counteract this type of campaigning in 1984 the NMU
conducted a "serious educational campaign" to inform workers of the
benefits of a union.

On July 13, 1984, less than one week before the unionism election, the Samoa News printed an editorial discussing the union question. It stated that Star-Kist employees were being "bombarded" by pro- and anti-union slogans and educational campaigns. The editorial asked the question, "Why bring a union in when it won't last long?" After presenting some of the general benefits to be derived from a union, much as was stated by Tasi Mauga above, the editorial presents an anti-union argument:

The closures of some big businesses have left millions of low paid workers without jobs and thousands of them are walking the soup lines in Chicago, Detroit, New York and other big cities in the US today. Samoans are a very different kind of people. They don't like to pay dues for too long a time. Just examine the records of all the organizations that require payment of dues in this country. Many of them, including the union at Van Camp (now Samoa Packing Company), have died, or are dying a slow death. Those which are still surviving are losing members left and right because of dues delinquency. But when Samoan union members begin to see union officials driving around in flashy cars and living luxuriously all out of their pocket-emptying dues, they will cut off the union in no time. Nothing makes a Samoan angrier than to see someone who does not seem to be doing any physical work, getting fat out of his money.... American Samoa's economy is dependent largely upon the two fish canneries--Star-Kist and Samoa Packing Company. The companies are presently fighting for survival because of stiff competition from processed tuna imported to the US from elsewhere.... To simplify the situation, one might lay out the Star-Kist employee's choice as follows: If you feel comfortable with the steady pay received now, and you intend to work for more than a few, short years, the Union is not for you. But if you would prefer higher wages for a risky,
probably limited period, maybe the union is for you. . . . If the cannery folds, as it easily could with the union, our islands will have to struggle desperately in search of a new economy.

On the Wednesday preceding the vote, Mr. Mauga, and Star-Kist General Manager, Gregory Deering, conducted a televised debate about union representation at Star-Kist. The next day, the Star-Kist voters went to the polls, and after eighteen hours of voting, 1085 workers were against the NMU union movement, while 366 workers voted for unionization. The Star-Kist Management reportedly called the election results, "tremendous" and a clear sign that "we (Star-Kist) do not want a union to interfere with our operations." Management urged all employees to forget their differences and to work together to "further strengthen the Star-Kist family for our benefit and the benefit of our families" (Samoa News, July 27, 1984:1).

Perhaps coincidentally, the future closing of Star-Kist's San Pedro, California plant was announced on July 27, 1984. In November, 1984 Star-Kist's Management reportedly announced the plans for future expansion in American Samoa, proposing to spend approximately $10 million on a new dock, freezer, packing room and more can making equipment. In this expansion, about 350 new jobs were to be created (Samoa News, November 30, 1984:1).

The canneries have succeeded in Samoa, and profited greatly in recent years, largely because of the effectiveness of their Samoan workers. At the same time, the threat of their closing, and leaving Samoa, has been an effective leverage tool in justifying their strategy of concentrating earnings at the legal minimum. The unionism election results would seem to indicate that Samoans may genuinely fear a
cannery pullout, and from an outsider's perspective, the American Samoan population appears to be highly dependent on the cannery complex. But what of the insider's perceptions of cannery work? This is the topic to which I now turn.

SAMOAN PERCEPTIONS OF CANNERY WORK

The following discussion is based on interviews with Samoans in both American Samoa and Hawaii. The Samoa-based informants all present a generally positive picture of the social transactions associated with work within the canneries. Two of the informants were in management positions within the cannery, while the other was knowledgeable about the long-range impact of the canneries in American Samoa. Informants in Hawaii were most informative when discussing differences between Western Samoan and American Samoan workers in the canneries, and when describing the role of the fa'a Samoa in cannery work. These Hawaii-based informants were also generally positive in their perceptions of cannery work in Samoa. No one emphasized negative aspects of cannery work itself, although pollution problems within the Pago Pago harbor were viewed as problematic by many Samoans.

One of the Samoa-based informants, who is not a cannery employee, emphasized that cannery work, although monotonous, is not demanding. He argued that Samoans are good at this kind of work because they are always working within the context of a group. The work, in his opinion, is slow enough to allow for casual conversation, and whatever boredom that might occur due to monotony is more than compensated for by the
interesting topics workers have the time to discuss. He also contrasted
cannery work with government work, stating that there is much less
status rivalry within the canneries.

One longtime cannery employee, currently in a management position,
is generally recognized as the person who knows most about the social
and cultural impact of the canneries in Samoa. He argues strongly that
these impacts have been almost totally positive:

The response of the government, community leaders, and workers to the canneries has been real good. It was said that Samoans would not do the fishing on the boats, that we missed our families while at sea, and that we could not do the hard labor on the boats. What the Samoans didn't like about fishing on the boats was they didn't speak Japanese or Korean. Also, the bunks were too small, and they didn't like the food. Now that more American boats are working these waters the Samoans, about 100, are fishing at sea. They can speak English and they know the food. The sleeping quarters are better also. The biggest problem the canneries have had is the electricity, and the water, from the beginning. The cannery policy is to hire from within if there are qualified people. When you apply for work, for example, in electrical, and then there is no position open, you are given a choice. You can start now as a laborer, or wait for an opening in electrical. But employees can move around within the cannery and they like that. We have more Western Samoans here now. The cannery has an agreement with the government to give American Samoan residents preferred access to employment. Western Samoans with an American Samoan parent also can get preferred consideration. Western Samoans who live here ten years, and who annually renew for alien status can become permanent residents. The most preferred job is in management, and probably Personnel Manager is seen as the best job within the cannery. The Personnel Manager is usually Samoan, and he works with upper management and the Samoan workers. People also look up to the machinists/engineers because if the machines stop there is no work. Samoans are good at the hand, manual jobs. They never attend any technical
school but they can fix things with their hands. For the women, the good jobs are the Floor Supervisors. They are given blue caps so everyone knows the Floor Supervisors. The women also have good jobs in quality control, in first aid, and clerical. Myself, I prefer the custodial jobs because there is no paperwork, when you are finished, you're finished. There are many good jobs within the cannery and people should be trained at many of them.

All informants indicated that the main incentive to cannery work was the regular paycheck. The regular paycheck has become the "recognizable goal" in one informant's opinion. This paycheck can be counted on within the family and village, and in some cases the regularity is counted on by matai and ministers in their economic decision making. The long term cannery employee discussed work incentives in the following terms:

Money is the main incentive. Workers know the longer they stay the better money they will make. Performance criteria, for attendance and for attitude also can determine if you get a raise. The cannery also provides cash awards after 5, 10, 15, or 20 years of service. The cannery provides Christmas gifts, things Samoans need, for each employee. Also, for safety precautions and safety record the cannery gives awards. When a person gets a higher level job, he or she is given a blue hat or something that shows they have a higher position.

The current Personnel Manager, also emphasizes the awards given for safety, and the "blue hats" which distinguish leaders from laborers. In addition, workers receive a cash award if they work so many hours in a year, as well as paid holidays and sick leave. In talking about the kinds of jobs within the cannery, the Personnel Manager said there are jobs for those who prefer a more leisurely pace, while other work activities are fast and require great manual dexterity, but he stressed, the cannery policy demands "equal work contribution from all employees."
In addition to the cash and performance awards within the cannery, cultural factors were mentioned in explaining Samoans' generally positive perceptions of cannery work. Again, from the long-time cannery employee the following statement was derived:

In the village women handle women, women supervise women. In the cannery women also handle or supervise women. The traditional work for women was cleaning fish, they do that here in the cannery. The work women did in the village, like fine mat making, the tapas, weaving mats, required great manual skills, so does the work in the canneries. In the village the 'aumaga was a work group of men, the aualuma was a working group of women. In the cannery men and women are still helping each other, and your own work group within the cannery will help you. In one group, the father works here, and his son died. The co-workers helped with the funeral expenses, with money. When an employee died, the whole company helped. They provide a coffin and helped with expenses. When a fa'alavelave occurs, when you need money you can get money in advance, you can get an advance of a full check for fa'alavelave. Two times when workers went back to Western Samoa and died, company representatives both palagi and Samoan, went to Western Samoa and took fine mats and money. If there is a fa'alavelave then the employee is granted the time off, for a week or two. As long as the fa'alavelave is true, then he or she will not be fired. If it is a genuine fa'alavelave then the worker can get as many leaves as needed. If the employee lies about fa'alavelave then he gets fired.

In this informant's opinion, the cannery had developed a flexible way of dealing with the irregular timing of fa'alavelave. He was a strong anti-union advocate primarily because he felt union regulations would be too rigid to accommodate the fa'a Samoa. He also felt that the union would not benefit Samoans, that the union leadership would take all the money, and that with a union "the hardworking people get the same as the lazy." He, like the Personnel Manager, placed a high
value on fair and equal treatment for workers, and demanded an "equal work contribution."

Informants discussed some of the difficult and stressful features of cannery work. The longtime cannery employee stated that the most difficult aspect was the long hours that cannery workers had to spend standing, and that Samoans were heavy people who would prefer sitting down. He felt that women generally preferred the night shift as it was sometimes difficult for them if children were not cared for during the day. The Personnel Manager said that he received few complaints about cannery jobs, that he had few requests for job changes, and more requests for changes in shifts. He went on to add that group relations were more important than the work task in determining whether a worker was satisfied in the workplace. Workers sometimes requested a shift change if a close co-worker was moving to another shift, but requests for changes in the type of work were relatively rare.

Younger Samoans, who were not cannery employees, did not view cannery work as a prestigious kind of work. However, the long-time cannery employee felt that Samoan cannery workers did view their work with pride, and that it was work that earned them prestige in the wider community:

People are proud to work here. They are making improvements in their homes, and they are able to send their children to better schools. They own things that bring prestige, cars, refrigerators, furniture, clothes, and food. They are better able to help their churches, particularly the Western Samoans and the Tongans. They are often able to find a wife working within the cannery, and if both are working they can do very well.
From this statement, it is not the work itself which is prestigious, but the money from work makes possible the purchase of commodities which are prestigious. Money from work also enhances an individual's position within the church and village.

In discussing whether cannery work was prestigious, three informants talked about the position of matai in the canneries. The long-time cannery worker said that matai work at the canneries as janitors and laborers, and that they are generally able to make the distinction between their laborer status within the cannery and their chiefly status within the village. Just as in traditional times, when chiefs recognized their status to be temporarily subordiant to the carpenters (tufuga fai fale) in the context of a house-building, they appear to recognize the temporary nature of their subordination within the cannery. The Personnel Manager, a younger man, discussed the difficulties of being a supervisor in the cannery:

It can be very difficult for a supervisor. Most or all matai know how to handle themselves here. I am not a matai but they respect me. I respect them because they are high chiefs. I use the chief's language when I talk with them. If you respect others before you respect yourself it will come back to you. I respect them so they respect me. If a shopfloor leader will use the high chief's language with the chiefs that is very smart. No matter how mad you might get you are respectful. You swallow your pride.

A Western Samoan chief, interviewed in Hawaii, felt that there was little or no fa'a Samoa in the canneries. He stated:

In the canneries, its mostly laborers, not much prestige. Some matai won't mingle with the laborers, or take their titles into a lower situation. Its degrading to a title to go to work with laborers at the canneries. Even if
he is short of money, the matai may not go to work, he'll stay home and "work" on a letter "send money" so that he can donate to the church.

These informants have different opinions on the ability of chiefs to recognize the context-specific position of their matai titles. The ability of chiefs to adapt their perceptions of self-esteem to the realities of the shopfloor probably varies with the status of the matai title. Also, this ability may be a very recent development, and the appropriate interpersonal relations between shopfloor supervisor and chiefs may be currently undetermined and in flux.

Another feature of cannery work undergoing change is the composition of the work force. Informants agree that over the last decade or so more Western Samoans have begun working in the canneries. According to informed sources at least half the workers in the canneries are now Western Samoans, although one must keep in mind such factors as American Samoan parentage, and American Samoan residency requirements. It appears that American Samoans are losing interest in cannery work, at least on Tutuila, while Western Samoans find even the minimum wage a powerful work incentive. The Western Samoan chief stated:

The people from Western Samoa know they have to do their best or they'll have to return to slaving fishing, or working the plantations day in and day out. Western Samoans call American Samoan "Cana"--the land of milk and honey. Perhaps that's one reason employers in canneries are hiring Western Samoans. They know they have to send dollars back to Western Samoa, they have responsibilities. The American Samoans don't give a damn, that's their home, they have their land. They don't have to go to work if they don't feel like it. Western Samoans will go that extra mile.

This informant, and others interviewed, felt strongly that work perceptions in general vary between American Samoans and Western Samoans.
For this informant, the prospect of returning to the rigidities, and relative poverty, of the village, operates as a powerful positive incentive for Western Samoan workers in any occupation.

To look more closely at work perception variation between American Samoans and Western Samoans, it will be useful to assess the literature on the Western Samoan worker in New Zealand. This assessment, conducted in Chapter XV, will also be useful if we view cannery/factory work as a means of external network building for Western Samoans. As will be shown, cannery/factory work has been a major component of external network building for Western Samoans in New Zealand and American Samoa. Just as military work has been crucial to the success of American Samoan external network building, so cannery/factory work has been essential in the establishment and development of communities of Western Samoans outside of Western Samoa.
CHAPTER XIII
SAMOAN RESPONSE TO GOVERNMENT WORK

This section will discuss government work (faigaluega i le Malo) in both American Samoa and Western Samoa. The analysis of American Samoan government work will rely largely on statistical data and informant statements, and will focus on contemporary Samoan work perceptions. The discussion of government work in Western Samoa will use similar statistical and informant sources but will also incorporate newspaper and published accounts of the government strike of 1981 to draw conclusions about the meaning of government work for Samoans.

In American Samoa, the government is by far the largest single employer. In 1973, the government employed 3,901 people, and this represented 47 percent of the total American Samoan labor force. In 1980, over 4,000 people were working for the American Samoan Government (ASG). In the period 1980 to 1982, government employment decreased to 3,705 workers, this being 39 percent of the total labor force. In 1982, fully 61 percent of the American Samoan labor force was employed at either the cannery complex or the government (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1984: 10).

Within the ASG, the Department of Education is the single largest employer. Of the 3,307 government employees listed in the Economic Development plan for 1979-84, 934 (28 percent) were either teachers or Department of Education staff within the territory. The Health Department employed 425 individuals (13 percent), while the Public Works
Department employed 420 workers (13 percent). The remaining workers are employed in twenty-five different government departments and agencies, ranging from the Governor's Office (198 workers) to the Office of Tourism (1 worker).

In discussing government work with an American Samoan matai, he emphasized that working for the government was the most prestigious occupation in American Samoa, and that it "was the best job on the rock." Government work, for American and Western Samoans, is a locally available employment opportunity. Within the broader Samoan movement system, village agriculture and government work represent home-based work strategies, while military and cannery/factory work are important factors in the establishment and development of external 'aiga networks.

This political leader made some other illuminating statements about government work in the territory:

Government work ruins the people. People in government don't care how hard you work, and the dependability is not there .... In government you're lucky if people work four hours a day. When I was in government work I was always clear with my workers. If there was a fa'alavelave they could go home early. But if there was a big job that needed completing, and it was after hours, I expected them to stay and finish it.

The older American Samoan teacher discussed the prestigious character of government work:

Government work is more prestigious in and of itself. The government is Malo, the Victor. This traditional connotation of the victorious chief and his followers cannot be completely erased. Hierarchy competitions are very Samoan. The government structure is an open invitation to status rivalry .... In government the options
for status rivalry are very clear. And government workers here are very highly paid. The Director of Public Works in American Samoa makes two times what the Prime Minister of Western Samoa makes.

An article in the Samoa News, September 25, 1981, presents the thoughts of one Samoan who had become dissatisfied with work within the Malo:

The greatest threat in government work is the weak middle-managers who lack self-confidence, feel insecure of their subordinates, and who are quick to blame others for their failures and problems. The solution is these people should be fired. They are all too involved with talking chief-type intrigues, and Machiavellian politics which discourage competent and hard working subordinates from being progressive in their work. Government is too slow in promoting because of a lack of documentation. So how can you fire or promote anyone without proper documentation to refer to.

The reference to talking chief-type intrigues not only supports the other informant's statement about prestige and status rivalry in government work, it gives this status rivalry within government a uniquely Samoan character. In aboriginal times, the tulafale were the articulate talking chiefs who did the "dirty work" of political, social, and economic manipulation for competing ali'i. Today, the work of the government (Malo), though encompassing a much broader set of political, social, and economic issues, is still conceptualized as involving status rivalry, and competition between leading political figures. The "lack of documentation" referred to above also illuminates something uniquely Samoan about government work. Traditionally, the work of the tulafale involved an in-depth understanding of the meaning of historical events and genealogical relationships. These events and relationships were remembered and passed on orally from one talking chief to another,
and were embellished and modified to fit the particular political circumstance confronting the tulafale and his ali'i. Political work was, and continues to be characterized by situational sensitivity, and oral communication, rather than by structural generalization, and paperwork decision-making.

Due to the fact that Western Samoa has been an independent nation since 1962, one would expect to find even greater continuities between traditional and contemporary government work. Informants also point to government work in Western Samoa being the most prestigious form of employment. They also characterize government work as secure and relatively high paying. One informant contrasted working for the government with working for a private company, "where one works for the minimum wage." The Western Samoan chief went on to add:

Government work offers security, good pay, and prestige. Also government work offers transferability, you can move between jobs . . . The prestige of working for government is very high in American Samoa and Western Samoa. There is an unwritten understanding that the most prestige goes to those who work in the Prime Minister's Office of course.

This informant also discussed some tulafale frictions in government work:

The modern system of government can ruin the traditional system because an ali'i of one village might have a boss who is a tulafale. There should be no fa'a Samoa at government work, and friction may be manifested outside the work situation, but this friction can not always be separated from work.

While government work may involve status rivalry and intrigue, it also involves service. As Mr. Ugapo, President of the Western Samoa Teacher's Association stated during the government strike of 1981 (Samoa Times, May 8:10):
Public servant's work was not for making profits, but for providing essential services.

In 1981, the Western Samoa government was rocked by a Public Service strike. An analysis of this strike, based largely on newspaper accounts, and one published journal article, provides a broader context for understanding Samoan perceptions of government work, and for understanding the social transactions involved in government work. With the shutdown of government, Samoans, disconnected from the monetary resources of government jobs and remittances, again turned to their village agricultural and fishing resources, and found them to be sufficient. This food sufficiency contributed to the Public Service Association's ability to remain strong and unified throughout the four months of the strike.

Early in 1980, the Public Service Association (PSA) reached an agreement with the Honorable Asi Eikene, Minister of the Public Service. In this agreement, public servants were to receive a ten percent increase payable from June, 1980, followed by a further increase of 12.5 percent from January 1, 1981. In December, 1980, the Parliament decided to grant only an eight percent increase. According to Pacific Islands Monthly (PIM) (1981:13):

No reasons were given for the scrapping of the agreement with Asi Eikene, and the PSA was given no official statement on the matter.

Early in 1981, the PSA and their supporters, a group larger than 4,000 people, marched on Parliament and petitioned for their salary increases. The committee which heard the petition was comprised of government supporters, and they rejected the petition in what the PSA
considered a "high-handed" manner (Samoa Times, March 6, 1981:1). The PSA met numerous times with Asi Eikene but relations worsened as Eikene apparently refused to speak with the PSA leadership because of their low political rank. From Samoa, The Observer reported (April 30, 1981:11):

Asi reportedly sent the PSA delegation away with the curt remark that the PSA delegation did not match up in rank to justify their sitting down to discuss . . .

On April 3, the PSA announced it would go on strike on April 6. By April 15, the strikers and government were fully entrenched into two opposing camps. According to The Observer (p. 16):

To most people the strike is no longer a conflict of principles. No more a test of endurance. It is simply a matter of pride that is uniquely Samoan. Perhaps it is the same pride that compels a young man to endure the tattooist's needle, rather than face the crueller fate of being forever branded a pe'a mutu (unmanly).

The PSA met again with Asi Eikene, who insisted that certain procedures had to be followed if the PSA petitions were to be reconsidered. This followed a statement from Prime Minister Tupuola Efi that the matter was out of Cabinet hands since the PSA had decided to take their original petition to the House and Parliament directly. The government swung the issue away from the basic salary concerns of the PSA. In April, 1981 the government tried to undermine the PSA by putting procedural issues in front of the substantive salary issues. Further, the government refused to recognize the right of the PSA to negotiate on behalf of its members (Samoa Times, April 17, 1981:1).

On April 23, The Observer reported (p. 3):
"'Strike' is a word which has no Samoan substitute," said the Prime Minister of Western Samoa, Tupuola Efi. Yet it is a word that although not of Samoan origin, has for the past two weeks firmly moulded itself into the vocabulary, minds, and mentality of all Samoans.

Kinloch (1982:163) goes on to add:

The PSA's strike action then, raised, more than legal and procedural issues . . . Whether their action was in the best interests of Samoan culture was an issue as fraught with uncertainty and as surrounded by emotive debate as the legal and procedural issues.

Over the course of April and May, new issues, for example, guarantees from government that no retributory actions would be taken against striking public servants, and the need to provide opportunities for workers to earn back the pay lost during the strike, surfaced to confound the basic debate about wage increases for public servants.

On April 29, Prime Minister Efi, reversed his position, and became actively involved in the negotiations with the PSA. One week later, an Executive Council, as one of three important decisions, issued an ultimatum to the PSA. The ultimatum was the frontpage lead story for the Samoa Times (May, 8:1):

Striking members of the PSA will have to return to work by 4 p.m. Monday, May 11, if they are not to lose the Public Service Commission's offer . . . of special leave. If they do not return by that time, they will lose their jobs and have to seek re-employment to get back into the service.

The Executive Council also decided that strikers would not be paid for the period they were on strike, and that a commission of inquiry should be established to consider public servant salaries. On May 22, the Samoa Times reported (p. 1) that nearly two out of three public servants were on strike.
Of the 4,223 salaried public servants only 1,468 are back at their desks with 2,755 still on strike. Of this total 1,617 are teachers. The number of casual workers in the government employment was 1,334 before the strike but according to head counts by the departments now reported to the Public Service Commission only 756 are back at work while 578 are still on strike. Some doubts have been expressed on these figures because according to the figures for the Department of Agriculture alone only 80 of the department's 658 casual labourers are back at work.

After another month of political debate, the commission of inquiry made its recommendations to government concerning wage increases, and on July 1, the Cabinet approved the commission recommendations. The new salaries proposed by the commission had the general effect of providing lower level employees with large salary increases while upper level public service workers received smaller incremental increases. The final salary increases and the number of workers affected were published in PIM (August, 1981:15), and the Samoa Times (July 3, 1981:1):

The basis of the strike settlement provided for:
- A 36 percent rise for workers on salaries of $WS788;
- a 27 percent increase for those on $930; 12.44 percent for those on $2010; and increases ranging from 6.25 percent to 7.32 percent for those receiving up to $3965. Those earning $4110-$6510 a year will get rises of 6 percent, and above the $6710 level, 5 percent.

Most of the public servants—4,252—are on the salary scale of $788-$2010; 653 are on $2120-$2675 a year; 356 are on $2795-$3285; 364 are on $3415-$3965; 456 are on $4110-$6510; and 75 are on $6710 and above . . . the increases are expected to cost more than $2,000,000.

There are two important points to be made about the Western Samoa government strike in terms of Samoan perceptions of work. First, the early miscommunication, perceived high-handedness, and the unwillingness of pro-government officials to recognize the legitimacy of PSA wage
claims, incensed the PSA leadership. Later statements from government regarding proper channels for PSA petitions, and the "return to work" ultimatum further solidified the resolve of PSA strikers and supporters. Early in the strike, Va'ai Kolone, the leader of the Opposition Party in Parliament, crystallized the issue from the PSA perspective (Samoa Times, April 24, 1981:16):

> government should have tried to mollify PSA's feelings by appealing to them to help government during this difficult financial period. Instead government representatives used very strong language denouncing the PSA demands and this has served as fuel to the anger already felt by public servants. A judicious use of words on government's part would have been most useful. In our country, the proper use of words can solve almost anything ... I really feel that the PSA request is reasonable because the cost of living has increased so drastically. After all, it has the example of parliamentarians to follow; they increased their own salaries by a big margin.

When comparing Kolone's statement about the power of words in Samoa, with the earlier statement about the need for documentation in government, it becomes apparent that modern Samoan government is grappling with the reality of contemporary political complexity and structure, while attempting to maintain some of the flexibility and capabilities of traditional, oral Samoan politics.

Second, underlying the strike was a question of fairness. The PSA argued that the cost of living in Western Samoa had increased between 24-30 percent yet they were supposed to accept an eight percent pay increase. Also, as Kolone points out, the parliamentarians got a large raise in income, why should not the PSA get a substantial raise as well. This point about fairness in employer-employee relations
seems to be crucial in the perception of Samoan workers in the canneries of American Samoa, in the factories of New Zealand, and in the Hawaii labor market, as will be discussed later.

When the PSA went on strike, the postal service was closed, and many Samoans were no longer able to collect remittances sent by 'aiga workers overseas. In addition, checks for government work were not forthcoming. In talking with Samoans who were in Western Samoa during the strike, they emphasized how people returned to agriculture and fishing to support themselves. Kinloch (1982:171) has also commented on this:

During the strike Samoan people demonstrated the strength of traditional economic "practices." There were no remittances arriving through the mail so the people went fishing, worked hard in their plantations, and gathered other foods. While a few consumer items were available most people had no money to spend, yet through the institution of the extended family they were able to subsist.

Government work is an "economic" practice to which Samoans attribute high levels of prestige, and government work and village agriculture are integral to the economic well-being of most Western Samoan villages. These two economic strategies were closely associated during the strike, and because of village productivity, PSA workers were fed for the duration of the strike and the strike was successful. Since July, 1981, Western Samoans have continued to articulate internal work strategies--village agriculture and government work--with external network building strategies--cannery and factory work.

Although there was no Samoan linguistic equivalent for the term "strike," traditionally the closest behavioral equivalent would have
been the carpenter's unwillingness to complete a house, taofi le galuega (stop the work). After 1981, Western Samoans better understood strikes, and after 1984, American Samoan cannery workers thought they better understood unions. "Strikes" and "unionization" are processes which, over time, may lend new meaning to Samoan concepts of group solidarity. Traditionally, group solidarity was expressed through kinship relations and tautua to one's matai. In the foreseeable future, group solidarity will continue to be expressed through kinship and tautua, but Samoans may also experience the solidarity of unions and strikes, a solidarity based not so much on kinship, but still centered around work relations.
CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION TO PART II: SAMOAN PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGING WORK TRANSACTIONS

In discussing general issues of cultural process and cultural change with younger, graduate-level students in American Samoa, one gains a unique perspective on the changing social transactions associated with work. Some of these perceptions are general, sweeping statements, while others show more concentrated thought, and general concern for the direction of change. As an example of the former, one student stated:

Fifteen years ago, no matter what the size of the job, the whole village would work together to complete it. This cooperation has begun to fade... Individualization contradicts the working togetherness of the Samoan people at home.

As a second example of the more general work change statement another student argued:

In olden times, children, parents, and community members worked together to serve the school by providing school houses, school supplies, and furniture, even security without any cost to the school. Today everything is provided by government. People do less work for the village schools. Nevertheless, to become pule (authority), an individual must first be a tautua.

One of the student papers dealt deeply and comprehensively with the changing meaning of work for Samoans and major excerpts are presented here. The paper entitled "The Re-Affirmation of Culture" opens with a lyric written during the Mau rebellions in Western Samoa:
There it was on the mountaintops, There it drifted with the fau load (into the ocean) the fa'a Samoa has fled Samoa, hold it tightly.

The paper goes on:

The Samoan of old led two lives--his everyday life and the life of fa'alavelave, or saofa'i (ceremonial installation of a chief), oti (funerals), fa'aulufalega (official commemoration, opening of a building), and taligamalo (feast for a party of visitors). His everyday life was simple. He ate, slept, sang songs, and slapped the mosquitoes away. But his everyday life was not an easy one. He carried heavy loads on his back, cooked over an open fire, wielded primitive tools. There were minor achievements in his everyday life. It was in his life of fa'alavelave that his achievements came to fore. Fa'alavelave means an interruption, something in the way, something bothersome. Fa'alavelave interrupts the everyday life of the Samoan. It puts demands on him that force him to call in his resources. Life becomes complex physically, intellectually, ethically, spiritually. He will have to provide taro, breadfruit, fish, pigs, and chicken to feed the many 'aiga who will come to the fa'alavelave. He must be able to speak with courtesy and respect and show a sound knowledge of the forms. He must be able to do what is right and wrong for the benefit of the entire family, sometimes at the expense of his own hard-earned wealth.

During the period of fa'alavelave the sa'o (high ranking chief) must call on his abilities, experience, knowledge, and courage to manage the family affairs as best he can for the name and well-being of the family. Is his faletalimalo (guest house) prepared? Does he have enough ie toga (fine mats) and how can he most fairly distribute them? The village is waiting to see how he and his family will respect them with gifts. The entire body of serving men (tautua) has been working hard in their supportive roles and must be considered. (There is the myth of the tautua who had not been properly considered by the sa'o and had cut off his finger and given it to the unappreciative sa'o). The sa'o might be concerned about other relatives who have not shown up, perhaps out of spite. If
It's a funeral, the family will be so busy they have no real time to think of the dead. It's as if the world looks on and the sa'o must perform. The Samoan is a different being during fa'alavelave. He works hard. He is uncompromising. He is committed and he strives to achieve.

This young Samoan author then goes on to describe a more westernized, urban Samoa:

As they switched from a simple but hard rural life to a more easy urban one their everyday lives become more complex. They pay bills now, get into car accidents, worry about whether their kids smoke marijuana, suffer from ulcers and cancer. Their everyday lives have become more demanding of their time, energy, and intelligence. They must strive to keep up with the pace of their everyday lives, and when they do, they achieve by becoming teachers, electricians, businessmen, lawyers, and cannery workers. In the contemporary culture their energies are divided between achieving in the old life of fa'alavelave and achieving in the contemporary life of progress. Their everyday lives have become so demanding that the life of fa'alavelave is being challenged. We cannot sacrifice the life of fa'alavelave, or less dramatically, we must not take it for granted. To do so would be cultural suicide.

This Samoan clearly focuses on transitions occurring within fa'alavelave. For him the fa'alavelave was the creative peak of the Samoan worker's performance. Today, there is not enough time, in addition to a forty hour work week, to devote to fa'alavelave, and either the quality of galue (work for money, just work), or tautua and fa'alavelave must suffer.

Another student was concerned about the changing social transactions between untitled men (taulele'a), chiefs (matai), and village work groups (aumaga). He delineates the major changes in this relationship:
1. There are many taulele'a who are not serving their matai. They are not providing daily suas (meals) for their matai. The idea of self-serving and free will have been exercised by many taulele'a.

2. Many taulele'a do not show respect to their matai and other taulele'a. Some taulele'a swear at their matai when they're drunk. Many taulele'a had fights with other matai.

3. A taule'ale'a decides for himself whether he wants to join the 'aumaga or not. Decision making is allowed to be done by each individual taule'ale'a.

4. The Sa'o 'Aumaga (leader of the men's work group) can be selected from any male figure in the family. The most selected ones are those with good education, good jobs, and plenty of money.

5. Taulele'a with good education try very hard to run the 'aumaga according to their knowledge. Others tend to listen and favor them and their ideas.

6. Many taulele'a in the 'aumaga can not perform their duties that they are supposed to perform because they have a very limited education in the Samoan culture. This is the result of learning English, and learning nothing or limited Samoan culture in the school.

In class discussions it was pointed out that participation in both men's and women's work groups was becoming increasingly optative, as younger Samoans spend longer periods of time outside the village at school, in extracurricular activities, or working.
Another student focused on current work roles and the importance of education to success in both an American and Samoan system.

Several educated Samoans have established themselves as successful inheritors of the American system. By this I mean they have landed better jobs and are inclined to live in American ways. However, a great number of them have utilized education and the American ways to improve traditional and customary Samoan culture. For instance, many of them have great economic success. Jobs are the primary source of income for these people. Income is a valuable asset in the Samoan culture because it is used in the matai system as a means of exchange in ceremonies.

Finally, Samoan students were concerned about what steps might be taken to upgrade Samoan vocational skills. One student who conducted a small survey of high school students on Tutuila summarized the survey results in the following way:

The aspiration level of these students was surprisingly low. I interviewed seventeen students and they said they would be janitors, cooks, waitresses, drivers ... The schools don't offer career centers to tell you what a certain career or job is, or show what kind of job you will be doing, what kind of pay to expect, what classes you'd have to take to get a particular job ... you'd have to figure that out on your own ... Most students take it for granted that they will enter the labor field with little or no trouble ... That they will find certain jobs that will put bread and butter on the table.

In general, these Samoan students were concerned about the direction of change in work transactions. They saw the educational system as part cause of, and cure to, the problems of current Samoan workers in the modern fa'a Samoa. They were aware of the work experiences of their kinsmen in Hawaii, and the mainland United States,
and they felt the educational system could more effectively prepare Samoan students for their adult work roles. They were genuinely concerned that although the educational system might provide better vocational, and "world of work" skills, the process of change in the fundamental work transactions of Samoan society had run a course that the school system could do little to alter.

In Part A, Samoan perceptions of traditional work activities were discussed. In Part B, Samoan response to, and perceptions of, work activities introduced by European colonial administrations were assessed. The discussion in Part A and Part B elucidates Samoan work perceptions which center on the key social transactions of tautua and fa'alavelave.

The Samoan immigrant brings unique work perceptions into Hawaii's labor market, and these perceptions have been poorly understood by manpower planners, social service personnel, employers, and the community at large. This is not to say that Samoan work perceptions are the problem. There are many strengths that Samoan workers bring to their jobs, and there are other work directive patterns that may better exploit Samoan "alternative competencies" in the workplace.
PART C - CONTEMPORARY SAHON WORK: INTRODUCTION

Part C describes Samoan overseas movement, labor force participation, and worker perceptions and patterns. In Chapter XV, Samoan international movement is viewed as a combination of permanent migration, and less permanent circular mobility. Through permanent migration, malaga, and other culturally-specific movement patterns, the Samoan 'aiga has become geographically extended, and as the 'aiga network, and its movement pattern are established, Samoans become increasingly aware of work opportunities in many overseas locales. Chapter XV also analyzes features of Samoan labor force participation in New Zealand and the United States.

Chapter XVI presents a demographic assessment of Samoan employment in Hawaii. The Samoan population in Hawaii is young and growing and quite probably will place increasing demands on the Hawaii labor market. Samoan perceptions of their work opportunities and experiences are articulated in Chapter XVII. These perceptions are discussed within the context of movement alternatives, and kinship obligations, in particular tautua and fa'alavelave. Finally, Chapter XVIII discusses how Samoan work perceptions lead to unique cultural competencies in the workplace, and speculates on the direction of change in Samoan work perceptions and patterns.
CHAPTER XV
SAMOAN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT AND EMPLOYMENT ABROAD

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I first assess the Samoan cultural response to contemporary movement patterns. Emigration takes Samoans to New Zealand, and the mainland United States, as well as Hawaii. The main cultural response to emigration has been the development of extensive kinship networks linked by distinctive Samoan movement patterns and remittance flows.

For Samoans entering New Zealand factories are the primary source of employment and factory work will be the focus of discussion. Samoans in the United States are distributed more evenly throughout the occupational structure, and with recent research conducted by the Department of Labor, a much clearer, general picture of Samoan workers in the U.S. is emerging. After a discussion of Samoan employment in the United States, and in particular in California and Washington, the Samoan employment situation in Hawaii will be discussed in much greater detail in the following two chapters.

THE CULTURAL RESPONSE TO CONTEMPORARY MOBILITY PATTERNS

Most social scientists are impressed with the strength and resilience of Samoan culture, the fa'af a Samoa. Numerous statements about Samoan conservatism have appeared in the literature from 1928 to the present. Mead characterized the Samoans as possessing, "... all the
strength of the tough willows, which bend and swing to every passing breeze, but do not break" (1928:495).

One of the most highly respected of early Polynesian ethnographers, Sir Peter Buck, also named Te Rangi Hiroa, stated (1930:5):

The Samoans are more conservative than other branches of their race and their satisfaction with themselves and their own institutions makes them less inclined to accept the change that foreign governments consider to be of benefit to them. Their viewpoint is bounded by their own immediate horizon. The Samoans are self-contained.

Douglas Oliver, in his important survey work, The Pacific Islands (1951:158), emphasizes that the Samoans,

provide a fascinating and almost unique example of Polynesians surviving the strong impact of westernization without changing their everyday lives and without losing their numbers, their strength, their dignity.

Another student of Samoan culture, the Reverend J.D. Copp suggested (1953:315):

The consequence of European contact was a conflict of choice of great poignancy and irresolubility. In such circumstances fa'a Samoa remained not only deeply right but also became a place of refuge. Fa'a Samoa was home.

Finally, Bradd Shore, in a more recent work (1977:preface), states that although the Samoan Islands have been politically separated for eighty years,

the entire Samoan archipelago reveals a remarkably unified identity and striking homogeneity ... There is a shared commitment to a large number of kinship and political institutions.

It is important to view modern Samoan mobility as a combination of unidirectional, permanent migration, and circular, temporary movements encompassing a wide geographic expanse from Australia and New Zealand,
through Samoa to the United States. There are three main aspects of the fa'ā Samoa responding to this mobility: the extended family ('aiga), the system of chiefs (matai), and the practice of intervillage and interisland visiting and resource sharing (malaga).

The 'aiga is more than a single extended family, it is a localized segment of widely dispersed descent groups. Numerous extended families may overlap in one localized village segment, and an individual always belongs to several different 'aiga through relations with both his mother's and father's family. As Tiffany notes (1974:36):

> Indeed, it would be most difficult, if not impossible, for an individual to meet the political, economic, and psychological obligations involved in maintaining active membership in all 'aiga to which he could conceivably claim consanguinity... The presence of multiple 'aiga in the Samoan system of nonunilineal descent means that some members of the 'aiga will be geographically dispersed, while other members who choose to reside on that 'aiga's land will constitute the localized core, or nucleus.

The 'au'aiga is a wider extension of kinship ties, covering great genealogical and geographic distance, and there is considerable movement between localized segments. Manpower requirements, ceremonial observances, and malaga, all work to reinforce family ties, keeping family relations "warm."

Children are highly valued by the 'aiga, they represent additional wealth for the matai, and they are expected to support and care for their parents and grandparents in later years (Keene, 1979:23). Adoption is a common practice in Samoa, children moving into households of different 'aiga where they help with the supervision of younger children, and take care of the elderly (Shore, 1977). This movement outside the
nuclear family household reinforces in the child the concept that an individual's family responsibilities extend far beyond nuclear family and immediate kin.

Some intervillage movement is directed at providing better supervision and care for younger children and the elderly, but a significant amount of mobility involves the movement of taulele'a (untitled men) to meet the needs of the 'aiga and the matai. Each 'aiga has a matai with titled status relative to other matai within related families, the 'au 'aiga. The most consistent indicators of the strength or status of a matai are the quality and quantity of the land he controls, and his position of precedent in the kava ceremony. Farrell (1965:325) states, "the land provides a special status to the matai who holds authority over it."

The matai controls the land, mobilizes, and supervises the manpower producing from the land, and allocates the resources of the land to the 'aiga. At special life-cycle events like births, weddings, and funerals, the matai demonstrates his ability to mobilize the entire 'aiga into a production unit. The product of men's labor--fish, taro, breadfruit, pigs, chickens, and kegged beef, and those of women's labor--fine mats, functional mats, tapa, and necklaces, are displayed at large gatherings where matai attempt to advance their status. These displays of wealth, which increasingly include money from both men's and women's work, will be munificent if a higher title to which the matai aspires is available.

The importance of the relationship between the fa'a Samoa and the land has been recognized by Europeans since the late 19th century when
land claim courts were established to return land to the Samoans, and to restrict any further expatriation of Samoan soil. However, after about a century of American influence in eastern Samoa, the Samoan population was deriving less and less from the land. Farrell discusses the relevant factors in this changing relationship to the land (1965:325-27):

The land provides reasonable sustenance, it performs a useful function in traditional custom . . . Prestige for most Samoans however, may be obtained more readily away from the land by nonagricultural pursuits and service, and by paid employment either on Tutuila, in Hawaii, or on the mainland. As a result, the lure of paid employment reduces the number of young farm workers and the people as a whole become considerably less dependent on their environment than one would normally expect . . . farmers receive little or no encouragement from the administration to plant crops . . . Development of the rural economy in American Samoa is a thorny problem and the territory is likely to develop education, health, transport, and commerce while land remains in comparison virtually undeveloped.

While the influence of American administration and wage labor was changing the Samoan relationship to the land, the population continued to grow at a high annual rate. As a cultural response to the population growth and wage labor opportunities, the tautele'a went to American cities instead of the plantations. By 1965, earlier Samoan migrants from eastern Samoa had established communities in Hawaii, and the west coast of the United States, while Western Samoans continued to emigrate to New Zealand. As a result, the 'aiga became geographically extended, and the remittances sent by kinsmen overseas became increasingly important resources to the localized 'aiga in the islands. As Douglas states (1979:12):
As time goes by migration becomes more widespread, more institutionalized. Young adults expect to get the opportunity to migrate and those left behind in the village expect to receive the monetary benefits that should accrue.

With the geographic spread of Samoan 'aiga, malaga movements have become more costly and complex, but they remain essential to the fa'a Samoa in that they activate intimate social and political communication between 'aiga members. In addition to movements which Samoans still conceptualize as kinship malaga, other forms of periodic group travel, in particular, church conferences, and church fundraisers, as well as Flag Day/Independence Day travel are also termed malaga by modern Samoans. Further, many Samoans in the U.S. military have taken advantage of very low cost military "standby" flights to American Samoa, and Mormon Samoans often travel between the U.S. and Samoa in their missionary work. Finally, with respect to culturally-contextualized international movement, many matai who reside overseas frequently return to make a firsthand appraisal of village developments, or to participate in politically sensitive debates. However widely dispersed, Samoans have remained committed to malaga movements despite nearly a century of European efforts to discourage them.

Today, as in the past, the Samoan practice of malaga is essential to the maintenance of warm 'aiga relations. Familial activities like births, weddings, chiefly installations and funerals, trigger malaga movements through New Zealand, Samoa, and the United States, activating kinship networks essential to the overall welfare of all Samoans. These malaga movements may involve short-term stays in numerous different communities, but they may also act as catalysts to more permanent relocation.
In general, modern Samoan mobility can be viewed as an expansion of traditional kinship, chieftainship, and visiting patterns. The contemporary 'aiga remains genealogically expansive while becoming extended geographically. The modern matai gleans resources from untitled men working in cities and plantations, and the malaga travels between nations as well as between islands and villages.

This interpretation of Samoan mobility emphasizes the impermanence of out-migration for many, if not most, Samoans. In addition to this fluid mobility, however, a large number of Samoans have settled in New Zealand and the United States, and second generation Samoans are now entering the labor markets of these two countries. It is to these more permanent Samoan settlers that analysis now turns.

SAMOANS IN NEW ZEALAND FACTORY WORK

Western Samoan immigration to New Zealand began to accelerate in the early 1950s. By 1976, approximately 28,000 Western Samoan immigrants were residing in New Zealand, and by 1981 the figure had risen to nearly 33,000 (Bellam, 1982:26). The literature on Samoan employment in New Zealand has clearly emphasized the importance of cash remittances sent to home villages in Western Samoa (See Pitt and MacPherson, 1974; Shankman, 1976; Bellam, 1982).

Altman (1978:41) reported that personal remittances to Western Samoa grew from WS$1,122,000 in 1965, to WS$3,873,000 in 1973. Bellam (1982:24), discussing remittances that passed through formal banking channels into Western Samoa from New Zealand only, indicates that personal remittances increased from WS$2,950,000 in 1975, to WS$5,213,000.

> In three out of four years 1975 to 1978 remittance income exceeded receipts from exports for Western Samoa.

The Fifth Western Samoa Development Plan, 1985-87, provides data on "private transfers," that is, money coming through formal banking channels, as well as through postal money orders, and other "informal" means, from all countries of emigrant destination. In 1980, private transfers totaled WS$17.2 million. Three years later, these transfers had nearly doubled to WS$31.5 million, and in 1984, transfers totaled approximately WS$41.0 million.

Personal transfers have contributed significantly to Western Samoa's balance of payments since 1965. However, since the mid-1970s, because of a change in New Zealand immigration policy, emigration from Western Samoa has been curtailed, and Bellam (1982:81) argues that currently "relatively few Western Samoan migrants to New Zealand are long-term immigrants."

Data from the 1981 census suggest that roughly three out of four non-Maori Polynesians in the workforce are employed in the "service workers," "primary industry" and "production, transport, and laborers," categories. Bellam states that the distribution of workers by occupational category is quite uniform for all the non-Maori Polynesian groups in New Zealand. Further, roughly half of the non-Maori Polynesians were working in "manufacturing." With respect to Samoans, he notes that they are slightly more likely to be found in "administrative" and "clerical" fields than other non-Maori Polynesians in New Zealand (1982:31-33).
According to the 1976 census, 14.1 percent of all Samoan males working full time were earning less than $2,999 annually. Less than half (47.7%) of these full time workers were earning incomes between $3,000 and $4,999 annually. Another 30.3 percent of these male workers were earning between $5,000 and $9,999, while only 1.1 percent were making more than $10,000 annually (Bellam, 1982:34).

Samoan income levels compare favorably with those of other Polynesian immigrant groups in New Zealand. They are well above Fujian, and slightly below the New Zealand Maori income levels.

In 1975, the Vocational Training Council (VTC) published a pamphlet entitled "Understanding Samoans," which provides a great deal of insight into the Samoan factory worker in New Zealand. According to this publication, nearly 60 percent of all Samoan workers in New Zealand were in manufacturing work. It should be kept in mind throughout much of the ensuing discussion that this publication was dealing with the Samoan work situation in the mid-1970s, and that Samoan work perceptions have probably changed for those workers who are permanent or long-term workers in New Zealand. For more recent first time arrivals in New Zealand this material is probably still quite relevant.

The VTC report delineates six main characteristics of the Samoan migrant worker. It states that the typical migrant worker from Samoa (VTC:4):

1. Has a strong obligation towards the members of his extended family;
2. Is a regular and devout church member;
3. Is unfamiliar with colloquial English and slang;
4. Has had little or no industrial experience;
5. Needs money urgently;
6. Is adaptable, capable, quick to learn.

In terms of the effect of extended family obligations on the performance of the Samoan worker, the VTC argues (1975:4):

A Samoan's status in the community depends to a large degree on his family's social standing. Conversely, his actions reflect on the family, so that honour or shame falls not only on the individual, but on the family as a group. For many Samoans, it is pride of family which spurs them to achievement and service.

The VTC also makes important points with respect to the Samoans' lack of industrial experience and his need for money (1975:5-6):

Many Samoan immigrants . . . have never worked in an office or a factory, and have no experience of the work routine taken for granted in New Zealand. Samoans from rural areas are used to working, and working hard, until a task is done--for example, fishing, clearing plantations, building a house or church. Working a fixed number of hours at a fixed pace, doing a job that never ends, as is the case in assembly line work, is something outside their experience. Much of the work in Samoa is done communally, with people sharing the burden as well as participating in the joking, laughter, and singing which accompany it. Work in New Zealand, with each person responsible for his individual output, appears lonely and cheerless by comparison . . . Some (Samoans) come to join their families, others to take advantage of job opportunities, either for themselves or in order to supplement the cash incomes for their families in Samoa . . . most migrant's have an urgent need for money. Many have to repay the money which relatives have advanced for their fares. Money is also needed to set up home and buy clothes. In addition, they immediately become involved in meeting the obligations which go with privileges of belonging to an extended family and to the Samoan community: contributions to family expenses, towards the fares of others wanting to immigrate, to community and church activities. Back home, their relatives usually expect the first of many cash remittances within a few weeks.
These kinship responsibilities are largely met through successful adjustment of Samoans to factory work in New Zealand. Through the efforts of the VTC, New Zealand factory management was encouraged to be sensitive to Samoan concepts of discipline and shame, and to the need for "anchormen," cultural brokers who can translate work directions to newly arrived workers.

The Auckland-based Productivity Centre, in a 1977 publication entitled "Understanding Our Multicultural Workforce," also advised employers on potential cultural miscommunications with Samoan employees in the workplace. Shore and Platt (1984:33-34), discuss aspects of the Productivity Centre report, and provide further analysis which illuminates Samoan perceptions of transactions with employers:

Employers should never assume that a complex order has been correctly understood the first time. Samoans will often aim to please by appearing as if they understand, when in fact they had not. There are polite responses and truthful ones ... Samoans ... will be looking for cues about the relative formality and informality of social contexts and social relations. In Samoa, such cues are commonly "built-into" the social setting in a clear way. Simply using English, for many Samoans, makes them shy and suggests distance rather than intimacy, at least until they feel more at home in the workplace. Initial encounters between Samoan workers and bosses are likely to provoke a formal and deferential demeanor for Samoans, who may leave a false impression of passivity and lack of drive. Such confusions have been reported for Polynesian workers in New Zealand.

The VTC has also stressed the importance of "multiplex" bonds in traditional and contemporary Samoan work patterns. By recognizing these multiplex bonds, factory management can induce effective Samoan production by fostering group-cooperative work ventures, and sponsoring leisure time activities that strengthen inter-employee social
relationships. Pitt and Macpherson (1974) have further emphasized that these multiplex bonds were of primary importance to the newly arrived immigrant in his search for initial employment. The job-search process, which is embedded in a context of urgency due to the Samoan worker's self-perception of shame, and his need to meet financial obligations to his kinsmen, is facilitated by kinship connections to workers in the factory. The money he earns while working in the factory will be used to meet his kin and church obligations, and to provide financial support to other newly-arriving, or soon-departing 'aiga. Multiplex bonds thus link kinsmen from the village to the city right onto the factory shopfloor. Further, the income earned on the factory shopfloor makes possible the maintenance and development of two crucial features of the urban fa'a Samoa, the 'aiga and the church.

Macpherson (1974:3-9), in his analysis of the applicability of human relations theory to Samoans in New Zealand factories, makes the following important points:

1. In Samoa a man is likely to work with a group to which he is bound by co-residence, kinship, and co-membership of religious and recreational groups.

2. In Samoa workers have a continuing voice in the selection and removal of leadership, while in the factory they have little or no say about effective leadership.

3. In modern Samoa, leadership is based on persuasion while New Zealand factory supervisors often have a great deal more power. They may have the power to dismiss or penalize workers, that is, they can enforce compliance.
4. In Samoa, the individual is economically involved because he is a co-owner of the resources which he works. In Samoa, individuals are active in decision-making through relations with their chiefs. In New Zealand, the Samoan worker has little impact in the decision-making of management. Macpherson (1974:8) states:

The Samoan migrant confronted with anonymity and powerlessness, in any very important phase of decision-making, experiences some considerable frustration. This is reflected in the movement of Samoans from large scale and highly automated factories to smaller non-automated enterprises.

5. Samoans are frequently frustrated by the complexity of communication within the factory. This is in part due to language difficulties (See VTC, 1975:4), and in part due to the complexity of factory bureaucratic structures.

In recent years, Western Samoans have increasingly entered the New Zealand labor market on a temporary basis. Kinship networks--from the rural village, to urban Auckland, and onto the shopfloor--become even more important as one must maximize the income earned per unit of the time per short-term visa. The kinship network for Western Samoans going to New Zealand is increasingly a work network, and that network most frequently lands Samoans in New Zealand factories. For Western Samoans entering American Samoa the kinship network is also a work network, and it frequently lands them in the tuna canneries. The 'aiga remains a source of both support and obligation wherever Western Samoans move, and cannery/factory work has been, at least to this point, the most effective means for providing this support and meeting these obligations.
SAMOAN WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

This section will concentrate on general features of Samoan movement and employment in the United States. Whereas the following chapters focus on Samoan employment and perceptions of work in Hawaii, this section provides information on Samoans in California, and Washington.

In the early 1950s, Samoans in the U.S. Armed Forces began to establish communities near military bases in California. During this period another flow of Samoans was initiated as they were brought to California as farm laborers. Little is known about this farm laborer population, but it appears that they, like Samoan military personnel were "recruited" for this work.

By 1960, small Samoan communities were springing up in South San Francisco, Carson, and Oceanside, and Samoans were beginning to disperse into surrounding cities and towns. In 1980, the U.S. census enumerated 20,098 Samoans in California, and major communities were identified. More than 8,000 Samoans were counted in the Los Angeles-Long Beach area, while another 4,239 Samoans were found in the San Francisco-Oakland area. Other major settlements of Samoans included San Diego with 2,807 Samoans, and Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove with 2,008 Samoans. Smaller Samoan settlements, San Jose and Riverside, ranged in size from 1,037 to 466, respectively (USDOL, 1984:16-19).

Samoan armed services personnel began to move into the Seattle-Tacoma, Washington area after World War II. Kotchek (1975) indicates that there were approximately ten to fifteen Samoan households in this area in the late 1950s, and by 1970, more than 125 Samoan households
were established in the Seattle area. The 1980 census enumerated just over 1,500 Samoans in the Seattle area, this being the only major settlement of Samoans in Washington (USDOL, 1984:16-19).


1. There is widespread concern among Samoan communities that the 1980 U.S. Census missed a large percentage of the population. Evaluation of the Census date suggests that ten to seventeen percent of the population may not have been enumerated.

2. Socioeconomic indicators show that Samoans are among the most disadvantaged of any ethnic group residing in the United States. They are experiencing extremely high rates of poverty and unemployment.

3. The existing array of services is not adequate to meet the current and anticipated future needs of Samoans in the United States.

4. Samoan youth are experiencing particular difficulties in school and in accessing the labor market. This problem is especially serious because of its long-term implications for the economic and educational status of the community in the future.

Samoans posited five main reasons why the Census underenumerated their population. Samoan community leaders felt that although they had made many attempts to get the Census Bureau to include Samoans in the census planning and implementation, the Bureau overlooked them completely. Samoan leaders also recognized that their community had difficulty understanding the purpose of the census, the English language used on the census, and the invasive nature of some of the census questions (e.g., the number of bathrooms in the house). The highly mobile nature of the Samoan population also resulted in underenumeration (USDOL, 1984:25).
According to the census report on Samoans in the United States, the average Samoan family, with 4.77 members, is fully twice as large as the average family in the United States which has 2.75 members. Samoans are one of the youngest populations in the United States, and with currently high fertility rates, and continued immigration there is strong potential for future population growth. Whether immigration of labor force age individuals will lead to a declining proportion of dependent children will depend on future trends in fertility (USDOL, 1984:36-37). On the following page, a population pyramid shows the relative youth of the Samoan population in the United States.

The U.S. Census provides a great deal of data to substantiate "socioeconomic disadvantage" in the Samoan population. The percentage of Samoan families living below the poverty level (27.5%) is nearly three times the total U.S. rate (9.6%). The incidence of "extreme poverty" is 1.4 times higher than the U.S. rate. The median household income of Samoans is only 82.2 percent of median income for all U.S. households, while per capita income for Samoans in the U.S. is only $3,573, which is less than half the U.S. per capita income figure (USDOL, 1984:39-44).

The USDOL report provides an employment profile of the Samoan community in the U.S. Samoans are experiencing higher rates of unemployment than the general U.S. population. According to the 1980 Census, 9.7 percent of all Samoans in the labor force were unemployed, while unemployment for Samoan females (10.3%) was slightly higher than for Samoan males (9.4%). The Samoan unemployment rate of 10.2 percent in California was fully 1.5 times greater than the statewide average.
Figure 1. Population pyramid for total U.S. and for Samoans in the U.S.: 1980
(Source: Hayes & Levin, 1983)
This unemployment rate for Samoans in California was higher than for any other Asian and Pacific Islander group, except for Asian Indian women (Hayes and Levin, 1983:26; USDOL, 1984:60).

Samoan workers, like the U.S. population in general, were concentrated in manufacturing, trade and services industries. In proportion to the total population, Samoans were more concentrated in manufacturing, transportation service, and public administration, and less concentrated in agriculture, mining, trade, and professional services. With the exception of managerial and professional occupations, Samoans were "reasonably distributed across most occupations" (USDOL, 1984:61).

Slightly more than one in every three Samoan male workers (34%) were employed as operators, fabricators, or laborers. Another one-third of Samoan male workers are in technical, sales, administrative support, and service occupations. Approximately 63 percent of employed Samoan women work in technical, sales, administrative support, and service occupations. Roughly half the women in service occupations (46%) are working in health and personal services, while another third (32%) work in food service, and one out of six (16%) are in cleaning services (USDOL, 1984:61-65).

One of the papers commissioned for the USDOL report dealt with communicative barriers to employment for Samoans (Shore and Platt, 1984). In this paper some of the Samoan communication problems reported in the literature are summarized:

1. Inability to write and speak English adequately is a main reason for the high unemployment and underemployment among Samoan immigrants. . . . Samoans are skilled carpenters, builders, and fishermen. Yet, because they speak only the Samoan language, they are doing unskilled or semi-skilled labor as janitors, dishwashers, night
watchmen, gardeners, and farm or factory workers (Chen, 1973:43).

2. Poor language skills deter Samoans from seeking and receiving adequate health care and neglect of health often leads to disruption or loss of employment and income. Low income, or loss of income, coupled with large family frequently necessitates dependence upon welfare assistance (Luce, 1979:334).

3. Because the islander is not articulate in English, he is unable to complain appropriately about the job or make demands for wages he believes commensurate with his skills (Munoz, 1974:20).

Shore and Platt (1984:32-33) go on to make some specific predictions about Samoan adaptation to the American workplace:

1. Samoan workers are likely to find confusing, at least initially, the structure of authority in the American workplace. Where authority is administered casually or with democratic style, Samoans are likely to infer its absence. Since relationships for Samoans can be highly contextualized with no sense of inconsistency, there is no problem with the boss being rather "chummy" with workers after hours, but within context authority relations are expected to be clear and consistent.

2. On the other hand, Samoans traditionally live in a world where they understand the larger context within which orders are given, and workers are not alienated from the broader contexts in which their work finds use. They may therefore find arbitrary orders or tasks, disconnected from a knowledge of the decision making process or the common goals of the enterprise, strange and alienating.

3. For Samoans with traditional upbringing, the relative casualness and openness of male-female relations within the workplace may at least initially, be a source of some confusion and embarassment. There are many possibilities for a Samoan man to misunderstand the intentions of a friendly co-worker, and read a sexual invitation where none was intended. A number of "rape" cases in the United States involving Samoan men probably involve such misunderstandings. In Samoa, only "loose" women would engage in public flirtations with men.
4. Samoans are apt to evince ambivalence about being placed in positions of authority over other Samoans, an ambivalence connected with that about speaking English in Samoa. Samoans are actually encouraged to be quite ambitious and such chances for personal and familial advancement are probably quite tempting. On the other hand, the fear of being considered pretentious (fia sili) or accused of aping the Europeans (fia palagi) are powerful controls for Samoans on economic ambition. Samoans are sensitive to peer pressure, and employers should be sensitive to their considerations by discussing with potential managers their own ambivalences and the repercussions for social relations within the workplace.

5. Samoans are likely to be extremely sensitive to nuances of social relations that Americans may not pick up. Samoans are likely to be quite careful, especially at first, to nourish good personal relations on the job, and they are equally sensitive to perceived slights to their dignity. Employers should see this as a virtue and be aware of its implications for worker relations.

6. Samoan men are apt to stick closely to "men's work" while Samoan women are apt to be more flexible in their choice of jobs, taking on tasks that are often assigned to men if the need or opportunity should arise.

7. A range of problems is linked to poor command over English in the workplace, especially the rapid and idiomatic English one would expect in such a setting. Employers and fellow workers are all too often insensitive to how difficult it is to get along in a situation where one only partially understands what is being said.

The USDOL report arrives at some significant conclusions about the Samoan workers in the U.S. labor market. The study points to dissimilarities in Samoan and American labor markets and employment opportunities, and the great difficulties young Samoans, with little or no appropriate job experience have in accessing the American labor market. The USDOL report also points to some of the problems inherent in relying on kinship networks for job information (1984:67):

Insufficient information about local labor markets is a problem for many Samoans living in the United States. Samoans' labor market information tends to
come through channels of kinship and church, information that is restricted to occupations known within the community in which they reside.

The strength of the Samoan kinship system in the mobility process is generally recognized. However, within the kinship network there may be limited knowledge of occupational alternatives, thus limiting employment choice and employment opportunity.

The final section of the USDOL finding focuses on the employment situation for Samoan youth. In California, the unemployment rate for Samoan youth, 16-19, was 30 percent, roughly twice the statewide rate. The report presents the following statements of young Samoans in the American labor market (1984:107-8):

A young Army veteran reported, "I can't find any good paying job. I am a veteran. I have applied for several jobs, but nothing comes through yet. I was in the Army for three years. Like many young Samoans, we are always in the artillery training. When we come out, we can't find work with that type of training."

An 18 year old high school drop-out stated, "It would be so nice to have some kind of training that would teach me skills. I dropped out of school and have no skills. I look for work, but no more jobs. They can not hire me.

Through the use of the 1980 U.S. Census data, the USDOL report identified many of the severe adaptive problems Samoans are encountering in the American labor market. The following chapter will assess the Samoan employment situation in Hawaii using similar data, and other Hawaii-specific data sources.
CHAPTER XVI

A DEMOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT OF SAMOAN EMPLOYMENT IN HAWAII

INTRODUCTION

With the increasing availability of the 1980 U.S. Census results a clearer demographic picture of the Samoan community in Hawaii is emerging. From the following census, state, and survey data it is apparent that Hawaii's Samoan population is young and growing, and that, over time an increasing number of Samoans will be entering the Hawaii labor market in search of viable employment. The research that provides the basis for this chapter was designed to quantify the relevant factors for consideration in planning for this increased Samoan labor force participation.

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF HAWAII'S SAMOAN COMMUNITY

Place of Birth

The 1980 U.S. Census is the primary source of birthplace data for the Samoan population in Hawaii, and these data are presented in Table 1. In 1980, the Samoan population in Hawaii was composed of almost equal numbers of individuals who were born in American Samoa, Western Samoa, or Hawaii, while only 5.2 percent of this population was born on the U.S. mainland.

The State Department of Health's Surveillance Program (HSP) also has relevant information on place of birth. Due to the small number of Samoans sampled annually, the Health Surveillance data were aggregated
Table 1. Nativity and place of birth, Samoans in Hawaii, 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural and Place of Birth</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Persons</td>
<td>14,349</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>10,316</td>
<td>71.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in State of Residence</td>
<td>4,752</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Different State</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born Abroad (American Samoa)</td>
<td>4,825</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born (Western Samoa)</td>
<td>4,033</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1983, Table 94.

into two multiple-year clusters, 1970-75 and 1976-80. Also, because of the small annual sample sizes data were aggregated into ten-year rather than five-year age groups. These aggregations produced sample sizes appropriate for assessing changes in various demographic indicators between the two periods 1970-75 and 1976-80. The place of birth data from the HSP indicates that roughly half of Hawaii's Samoans were born in Hawaii, while over 40 percent were American Samoa-born, and only 6-7 percent were Western Samoa-born. The discrepancy between the HSP and U.S. Census data is rather glaring, and explanations from state officials tend to emphasize a combination of small sample size and selective non-response by Western Samoans. Informal statements from Samoans suggest that Western Samoans may perceive Surveillance Program interviewers as representatives of State programs that are unavailable to them as non-citizens. Because of this perception, and more general suspicion, Western Samoans do not respond to these interviewers. These
perceptions and suspicions probably influenced the under-enumeration of Samoans in the 1980 census discussed in the previous chapter.

**Length of Residence in Hawaii**

The length of residence data from the census and HSP are in general agreement. The census found that of the 11,430 Samoans five years old and over, 8,164 (71.4%) were resident in Hawaii in 1975 (1983, Table 94). Although the census question on "place of residence five years ago" is designed to provide information on length of residence, it cannot be definitely concluded that these individuals resided in Hawaii for the entire period 1975-1980, as short-term moves to Samoa, or the U.S. mainland may have occurred in the period.

The HSP data present the following picture of Samoan length of residence in Hawaii. For all Samoans, five years old and over, 83 percent have resided in Hawaii for four years or more, 50 percent have resided in Hawaii for ten years or more, and 17 percent have resided in Hawaii for less than four years.

**Age and Sex Structure of the Population**

The Samoan population pyramid presented in Figure 2 is based on a total of 14,073 Samoans enumerated by the U.S. Census in Hawaii in 1980. Approximately 46 percent of the population was under 16 years of age, 45.4 percent were in the age group 15-44, and only 2.2 percent were 65 years old and over. The median age was 17.5 years, the lowest median age for any of the selected Asian/Pacific Islander groups in Hawaii, and was 4.5 years younger than the next youngest ethnic population, the Guamanians. The dependency ratio,
Figure 2. Population by age and sex, Samoans in Hawaii, 1980
(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982)
for the Samoan population in Hawaii is 1.05/1.00, which is quite high. Clearly this population is quite young, with a high potential for rapid population growth regardless of future in-migration patterns.

Fertility

Information on Samoan childbearing is derived primarily from the U.S. Census (1983), and can be found in Table 2. For the age groups 25-34 and 35-44, the figures for children ever born per 1,000 females are higher for Samoan females than for any other selected Asian/Pacific Islander group in Hawaii. For the youngest age group, 15-24, only Guamanian females have a higher number of children ever born per 1,000 females.

Table 2. Children ever born, Samoan females, 15-44, Hawaii, 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>15-24</th>
<th>23-34</th>
<th>35-44</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1,450</td>
<td>1,127</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children ever born</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>3,031</td>
<td>2,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per 1,000 women</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>2,689</td>
<td>4,237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1983, Table 93.

Table 3 presents the number of live births to Samoan mothers in the period 1970-1981. Over the period 1970-1974 there was an irregular increase in the number of Samoan live births. In 1975, the number of live births rose significantly and there followed a general pattern of
steady increase up to 1982, and a drop in the number of live births in 1983.

Table 3. Live births to Samoan mothers, Hawaii, 1970-1983.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Births</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These figures were taken from the "Live Births by Race of Mother and Race of Father" Tables.


Table 4 presents age-specific fertility rates for Samoan females, and Table 5 provides other measures of fertility. Every measure indicates that the Samoans have the highest fertility of any of the selected Asian/Pacific Islander groups in Hawaii.

Mortality

The department of Health Annual Reports also provide data on the number of Samoan deaths, 1970-1981 (Table 6). Using the figure of sixty-one deaths in 1980, and the U.S. census total Samoan population count for the same year, a crude death rate of 4.3/1000 persons can be generated. The low crude death rate is attributable to the very young age structure of the Samoan population in Hawaii. The sharp increase in the number of annual deaths, 1979-1981, may suggest an accelerated rate of in-migration in this more recent period.
Table 4. Age-specific fertility rates Samoan females in Hawaii, 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of births per thousand women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>283.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>269.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>147.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gardner, et al. (forthcoming).

Table 5. Crude birth rate, general fertility rate, total fertility rate, and gross reproduction rate, Samoan population in Hawaii, 1980.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crude birth rate</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General fertility rate</td>
<td>150.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total fertility rate</td>
<td>4123.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross reproduction rate</td>
<td>1991.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All figures are per 1,000 persons (crude birth rate) or per 1,000 women.

Source: Gardner, et al. (forthcoming).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Deaths</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These figures were taken from the "Resident Deaths by Age and Race" Tables.


The Geographic Distribution of Samoans on Oahu

Although Samoans constituted less than two percent of the population in 1980, more than 98 percent of the Samoan population in Hawaii resided on Oahu, and they were concentrated in particular areas. In January, 1982, the Hawaii State Department of Planning and Economic Development released figures which showed the major geographic concentrations of Samoans on Oahu. The census tracts where Samoan comprise a high percentage of the total population are:

(1) Kuhio Park Terrace (tract 62.02), where the 1,428 Samoans comprise 53.6 percent of the total tract population.

(2) Kalihi Valley Homes (tract 63.92), where the 1,285 Samoans comprise 43.6 percent of the total tract population.

(3) Mayor Wright Housing (tract 54), where the 519 Samoans comprise 30.2 percent of the total tract population.
Approximately 23 percent of the Samoan population in Hawaii resided in these three census tracts, which are public housing areas. Other areas of Samoan population concentration included Hauula/Laie (1,398), Makaha/Nanakuli/Waianae (1,327), Waipahu (1,289), Pearl City/Aiea (1,073), Schofield Barracks/Wahiawa (333), and Kaneohe (297). The remaining 5,400 Samoans were dispersed throughout the rest of Oahu, Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai counties.

EMPLOYMENT

Labor Force Status

The 1980 census was the first to provide information on Samoan employment in Hawaii, and thus it is not possible to conduct an analysis of employment change over time; however, some interethnic comparisons can be made. Table 7 presents the labor force status of Samoans in Hawaii, Table 8 presents comparative data on the percent in the labor force by selected ethnicity and sex, and Table 9 shows the percent of the civilian labor force unemployed by selected ethnicity.

The labor force participation rate of Samoan females in Hawaii was the lowest of any ethnic group, and this is probably due to two main factors—low level of educational attainment, and high fertility. The Samoan male labor force participation rate was second lowest, but it was more comparable to other ethnic groups than the Samoan female rate. Table 9 indicates that the percentage of Samoan civilian labor force unemployed was by far the highest of any of these ethnic groups. The unemployment rate for Samoan youth, 16-19 years of age, was 19.2
Table 7. Labor force status, Samoans in Hawaii, 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Persons 16 years and over</td>
<td>7673</td>
<td>3938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Force</td>
<td>4030</td>
<td>1485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of persons 16 and over</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilian Labor Force</td>
<td>3656</td>
<td>1476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>3283</td>
<td>1298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of civilian labor force</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in Labor Force</td>
<td>3643</td>
<td>2453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmate of Institution</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1983, Table 95.

---

Table 8. Percent in the labor force by selected ethnicity and sex, 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>Guamanian</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>Samoan</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Indian</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1983, Table 95.
Table 9. Percentage of the Hawaii civilian labor force unemployed by selected ethnicity: 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>% of civilian labor force unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Indian</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guamanian</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoan</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


percent, 1.5 times greater than the state youth unemployment rate (USDOL, 1984:60).

The percentages of Samoan females and males who usually worked 35 or more hours per week were the lowest of any ethnic group in Hawaii. Again, the male percentage rate (53.1%) was found to be closer to the average of the other selected groups than the Samoan female rate (30.4%).

The HSP provides data on "current activity" for 1970-1980. For Samoan males, between the periods 1970-1975 and 1976-1980, there was a decline in the percent working for every cohort except the 25-34 years old age group.

Between 1970-1975 and 1976-1980, there was an increase in percent unemployed and not looking for work in the 15-24 year old male population, suggesting that Samoan males may have experienced increased levels
of frustration in job-search activities over the decade of the 1970s. Between these same two five year periods there was a decrease in the percent not looking for work in the 25-34, and 35-44 year old male groups; however, there was a large increase in the percent not looking for work in the 45 year old and over male population. This relatively early departure from labor force suggests that Samoan males in Hawaii still have the notion that by age 45 or so they should be matai, and therefore have younger, untitled men supporting them.

Between the two time periods the data on Samoan female current activity indicates an increase in the percent working in the 15-24, 25-34, and 34-44 year old age groups, and a major decline in the percent working among Samoan females 45 years and over. As in the case of Samoan males, there was a large increase in the percent not looking for work in the 45 year old and over Samoan female population.

The Surveillance Program's "current activity" data suggest that there was little or no improvement in the employment situation for Samoan males throughout the decade of the 1970s. Samoan females, on the other hand, appear to have become more active in the work force towards the end of the decade.

Income

The census provides income data for Samoan individuals and families. In 1979, the Samoan per capita income of $2,729 was the lowest of any of the selected ethnic groups in Hawaii (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983). Further, this per capita income was only 35 percent of the Hawaii state average (USDOL, 1984:44). Of the 2,481 Samoan families enumerated in
the census, 931 (37.5%) were living below the poverty level as adjusted for family size. This percentage is nearly five times the rate for all Hawaii families (7.8%), and only the Vietnamese population has a higher percentage of families living below the poverty level (USDOL, 1984:40).

Data from the HSP on the periods 1970-1975 and 1976-1980 suggest a general pattern of increasing household income in the Samoan community. In both periods the most frequently reported income was in the $5,000-$9,999 range. However, in the latter period, there was a significant drop in the number of Samoans reporting an income of less than $5,000 annually. In the period, 1970-75 only 24.7 percent of the individuals reported incomes of greater than $10,000 per year. In the second half of the decade this percentage rose to 40.5 percent. One must be careful not to read too much into these income increases and recognize that the decade of the 1970s was characterized by a persistent inflationary spiral which drove up income levels but not purchasing power.

To summarize this section, income levels are extremely low, and although the HSP data suggest an increase in income levels over time, the Samoan community as a whole remains in a position of significant disadvantage.

**Occupation**

In comparison to the overall Hawaii State occupational structure, Samoan females were overrepresented in service occupations, Samoan men were overrepresented in service occupations, and the operator, fabricator, and laborer category, and both Samoan men and women were seriously
underrepresented in managerial, professional, and technical occupations (See Table 10).

Table 10. Occupations of employed persons, the Hawaii State, and Samoan Populations, by Sex, 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Hawaii State</th>
<th></th>
<th>Samoan</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Female</td>
<td>% Male</td>
<td>% Female</td>
<td>% Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof/Man/Tech</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales/Clerical</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Occupations</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Fishing</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen/Precision</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operators/Fabricator/</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A more detailed analysis of the Samoan occupational structure in Hawaii shows that men and women are equally represented in the professional/managerial category, with these occupations comprising a larger percentage of the female occupational structure. Within this category men are more frequently found in executive, administrative, and managerial positions, and local informants point out that some Samoans have gained administrative skills while serving as "20 year men" in the U.S. military (See Table 11).

Samoan females are found more frequently than males in professional specialty occupations, particularly in health assessment and treating occupations. The 24 women in this latter field were probably working as convalescent nurses, a field in which Samoan women have excelled on the
Table 11. Occupations of employed Samoans in Hawaii 16 years old and over, by sex: 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Total Employed</th>
<th>Females Employed</th>
<th>Males Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total employed persons 16 years old and over</td>
<td>3,283</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and managerial occupations</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive, administrative, and managerial</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials and administrators, public administrators</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management related</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional specialty occupations</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers and natural scientists</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health diagnosing occupations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health assessment and treating occupations</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers, librarians, and counselors</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers, elementary and secondary schools</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical, sales, and administrative support occupations</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health technologists and technicians</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technologists and technicians, except health</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales occupations</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors and proprietors, sales occupations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales representatives, commodities and finance</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sales occupations</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashiers</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative support occupations, including clerical</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer equipment operators</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretaries, stenographers, and typists</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial records processing occupations</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mail and message distributing occupations</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11. (continued) Occupations of employed Samoans in Hawaii 16 years old and over, by sex: 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Row %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private household</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective service</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police and firefighters</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service occupations, except private and protective</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food service</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning and building service</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm operators and managers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers and related occupations</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precision production, craft and repair occupations</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanics and repairers</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction trades</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precision production</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operator, fabricator, and laborer occupations</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine operators and tenders, except precision</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabricators, assemblers, inspectors, and samplers</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation occupations</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor vehicle operators</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material-moving equipment operators</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction laborers</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight, stock, and material handlers</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.S. mainland (see Ablon, 1970:33-34). Ablon observed that because of the traditional Samoan value of caring for the elderly these nurses bring special skills to their work.

The low number of male secondary school teachers suggests that a potential employment niche--teaching and the coaching of athletics--has yet to be exploited by Samoans in Hawaii. Since the 1976 Sports Illustrated article "Shaking Them Out of the Coconut Trees," Samoans have gained an international reputation as athletes. Although a large number of Samoans have played various sports in American universities, few apparently have graduated from these institutions and completed the qualifications necessary to acquire teaching positions. Many Samoans bemoan the fact that Samoan college athletes do not take full advantage of their athletic scholarships to complete their higher education. The extent to which college football is a "dead-end" for Samoan youth is a topic requiring further investigation.

More than one-third of Samoan female workers are represented in the technical, sales, and administrative support occupations, and although there are a large number of Samoan males in this occupational field, they make up only one-tenth of the Samoan male labor force. Many Samoans have apparently gained clerical skills working in the American Samoan or Western Samoan government, or through locally available job training programs.

One of the service occupations where Samoan males and females have experienced some success in finding employment is as security guards. However, relatively few Samoan males (12), and no Samoan females, have worked as Honolulu police officers. This is perhaps due to the
extensive qualifications and the rigorous examinations schedule one must complete in order to attain these positions.

The large number of Samoan males working as mechanics, repairers, machine operators, and tenders (201), contrasts with the much smaller number working in precision production occupations (23). Again these latter jobs have not been widely accessible to Samoans because of rigorous training, examination, and certification procedures. In general, better jobs--as policemen rather than as security guards, or as precision production workers rather than as machine tenders--elude Samoans because of the difficulties they encounter with complex written examinations.

EDUCATION, JOB TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

Education

Both the U.S. Census and the Health Surveillance Program provide information on the level of education attained by Samoans in Hawaii. Table 12 indicates that Samoan males have higher levels of educational attainment (11.2 years) than Samoan females (10.4 years). Samoan females have the lowest high school completion rate (44.3%) of any of the selected Asian/Pacific ethnic groups in Hawaii, and the Samoan male high school completion rate (58.4%) is the second lowest, with only Filipino males having a lower rate.

Health Surveillance Program data support the census finding that Samoan males have a higher rate of high school completion than Samoan females. The Surveillance Program data indicate that 62.1 percent of Samoan males complete high school compared to a 53.8 percent completion
Table 12. Years of school completed by sex, Samoans in Hawaii, 25 years old and over, 1980.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
<td>Percent of Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons, 25 years old and over</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary: 0 to 4 years</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 7 years</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School: 1 to 3 years</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College: 1 to 3 years</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 or more years</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent high school graduates</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1983, Table 93.

rate for Samoan females. Looking more closely at Samoan male education, and comparing males in the 20-29, and 30-39 year old age groups with the 40-49, 50-59, and 60 years and over cohorts, there is clearly a much higher graduation rate in the two younger age groups. This suggests a pattern of increasing educational attainment for the Samoan male population as a whole. The percentage of Samoan males, 20-29, who have attended some college is much higher than for any of the older groups. This is to be expected in a population where educational attainment is on the increase. Similar increases are evident for Samoan females. The youngest female cohort, 20-29, has a significantly higher rate of high school graduation than any of the older cohorts.

Improving educational attainment may be a more recent phenomena for Samoan females than Samoan males, as female high school graduation rates
increase only in the youngest cohort. For Samoan men, rates increased in the 20-29, and 30-39 year old age group, suggesting an earlier improvement in educational attainment. Regardless of the educational improvements suggested by the HSP data for 1970-1980, both the census and HSP materials indicate that Samoan educational levels as of 1980 were among the lowest of any ethnic group in Hawaii.

In the long term, more and better education is clearly the route to improved employment opportunities for Samoans in Hawaii. However, many Samoans have taken advantage of training programs like Job Corps, and the Comprehensive Employment Training Administration (CETA) to attain a more immediate increase in their skill levels and job marketability. The Samoan experience in these programs will now be discussed.

Job Corps--Hawaii

The Hawaii Job Corps Center at Koko Head on Oahu provided training to at least 206 Samoans--173 males and 33 females--in the period 1973-1982. All the Samoans in the Job Corps program were between 16 and 21 years of age. Samoan ethnicity in the Job corps Program was determined by checking the names on the records of all participants, and if the first or last name sounded Samoan the place of birth of the individual was checked. If place of birth indicated, Samoan, American Samoa, or Western Samoa, the individual was assumed to be ethnically Samoan. This method accurately identified most of the Samoans within the program but missed those with European first and last names. To the extent that this latter group is more highly represented in Hawaii than in Samoa, this method overrepresents Samoa-born individuals. However, one Job
Corps staff member stated that about 15-20 Samoan participated in the program annually and applying the above method, the annual count of Samoans was between 14 and 22 individuals. Thus, the method gives results in agreement with staff perceptions, and appears to have been reasonably accurate in counting Samoans at Job Corps.

More than 80 percent of the Samoans at Job Corps were Samoa-born, while only 12.6 percent were born in Hawaii. There are three termination statuses in the Job Corps records. A Category I termination indicates that the individual was able to complete the training program (of no more than 24 months). A Category II termination is assigned to an individual who stays in the program more than three months but does not complete the program, and a Category III termination is assigned to an individual who stays in Job Corps less than three months. The termination status data indicate that only 23 percent of the Samoan trainees completed the Job Corps training program. Nearly half the Samoan females (45%) completed the training, but only one Samoan male in five did so.

Of the 206 Samoans trained over the period 1973-1982, 77 found employment. Their occupations are shown in Table 13.

Comparing the occupational structure of this group with the census data, there are three observations to be made. First, sales worker/clerical occupations are underrepresented in the Job Corps group, reflecting the low number of Samoan females who received job training at Job Corps. Secondly, the percentage working in service and operative/laborer occupations after Job Corps is roughly equivalent to the census figure. Thirdly, and most significantly, there is a much
Table 13. Occupations of Samoans finding jobs after Job Corps; and U.S. Census occupational distributions, 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number of Samoans</th>
<th>Percent of Total Job Corps</th>
<th>U.S. Census 1980 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prof/Managerial/Teacher</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Work/Clerical</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Occupations</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Fishing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman/Artist</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives/Laborers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


higher percentage of Samoans in the craftsmen/artist occupations from the Job Corps program than in the census results.

It appears that Job Corps training has resulted in some improvement in the Samoan employment picture, and it is probable that with the inclusion of more Samoan females Job Corps could contribute even more to improving the Samoan employment situation in Hawaii. However, there is a real concern among Samoan parents for the welfare of their daughters in the residential Job Corps program. Some informants indicate that the participation of Samoan females in the Job Corps program would increase if women could reside at home rather than at the Koko Head Job Corps Center.

The C.E.T.A. Program

The national Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (C.E.T.A.) was administered locally by the City and County of Honolulu's Office of
Human Resources. In the period, October 1, 1980 to December 30, 1982, 1,016 Samoans participated in the wide range of C.E.T.A. programs. Most Samoans in C.E.T.A. programs were in the 16-22 year old age group, although the Summer Youth Employment Program worked with a large number (316) of 14-15 year olds, and the Private Sector Initiative Program worked mostly with Samoan individuals 22 years old and over. Well over half (562, 55%) of the Samoans in C.E.T.A. program participated in the Summer Youth Employment Program. This program is designed to provide increased youth awareness of career opportunities through work experience and career counseling. For nine weeks of the summer, individuals 14-21 years of age work in the public sector and in private non-profit organizations. The summer work experience is supplemented by career counseling when participants return to school. The goal of this program is to return individuals to school, not to provide them directly with employment.

Using data provided by the C.E.T.A. office it is possible to compare the pre- and post-training occupational structure of Samoan program participants. C.E.T.A. provided information on the most recent employment (previous to C.E.T.A. program entry) for 169 individuals, while post-program employment data was available for 119 of them (See Table 14).

The post-C.E.T.A. employment data shows an increase in the percent working as Craftsmen/Artists. These data, combined with the earlier Job Corps data, indicate that both training programs are increasing Samoan skill-levels in specific jobs like carpentry, masonry, roofing, welding and auto mechanics. The post-C.E.T.A. also show an increase
Table 14. Occupations pre- and post-CETA training, Samoans in the CETA Program: October 1, 1980 to December 31, 1982.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Most recent employment pre-CETA</th>
<th>Employment post-CETA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/managerial/teachers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales worker/clerical</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman/artist</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport operators</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/fishing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed services</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: City and County of Honolulu, Office of Human Resources (1980-1982).

in the percent working as Service Worker, further substantiating the importance of service occupations in the overall Samoan adaptation to the Hawaii labor market.

There was a decline in the percent working in the Sales/Clerical occupations after C.E.T.A. training. This should be viewed as problematic in light of other data indicating that it is an important sector of the Samoan occupational structure. Increasingly Samoans may occupy clerical positions as more individuals who have worked for the American and Western Samoan governments immigrate to Hawaii and enter the local labor force. It is also possible that individuals with
clerical experience in Hawaii become aware of employment opportunities in Samoa, and return there to work. This may partly explain the decline in the Sales/Clerical percentage in the Post-C.E.T.A. employment data. The clerical field is one occupational sector where Samoans have viable employment opportunities in Western Samoa, American Samoa, Hawaii, the U.S. mainland, and New Zealand. Clerical trainers within the C.E.T.A. program noted the success of Samoan women in training, in finding clerical employment, and in remaining on the job. Clerical work, as a subset of government work, may become increasingly important in providing economic resources to the Samoan kinship and movement network.

MILITARY EXPERIENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

Since the 1950s the U.S. military has been an "old friend" to the people of Samoa (Gray, 1960), and Samoans have served their old friend well. An article in U.S. News and World Report (1980:83-84) captures the fervor of Samoan patriotism:

Pago Pago, American Samoa. Soon after Governor Peter Tali Coleman went on the air to pledge American Samoa's support for the U.S. in the Iran crisis, his office was flooded with telephone calls.

"We're ready to go to war with Iran," declared one of the leading chiefs . . . said another chief: "You tell President Carter if he's short of soldiers, we'll give him a lot."

Samoans claim that there are more of their young men in the U.S. armed forces per capita (per thousand) than from any other American jurisdiction.

According to a recent U.S. Congressional Newsletter (July, 1983) fourteen American Samoans died serving their country in the Vietnam War. In Hawaii, there were 511 Samoan veterans (477 males and 34 females)
enumerated by the U.S. Census in 1980. From 1978 to January 1983, 453 Samoans enlisted in the active army and 125 enlisted in the army reserves in American Samoa (U.S. Army Statistics, 1983). If we assume that these latter enlistees were in the 15-24 year old cohort, and that 93 percent were males,\textsuperscript{1} then approximately 17.7 percent of this male cohort had enlisted in the U.S. Army or reserves over the five year period, 1978-1983. This high enlistment rate would tend to confirm the Samoan claim about "per capita" participation in the U.S. Armed Forces.\textsuperscript{2}

The Kalihi Valley Homes Survey asked if respondents had a Samoan relative or friend who had joined the U.S. military. Only two of the fifty interviewed said no; the other 48 respondents knew a total of 66 Samoans with military experience. Eight Samoan servicemen spent twenty years or more in the military, and the average length of enlistment was 8.6 years. The possibility of double-counting was considered, however an alternative methodology to avoid this problem arrived at a similar length of enlistment figure (8.3 years).

Respondents also provided information on the employment experience of the 66 servicemen. Of these, 48 were perceived as having improved their employment potential because of their military experience. For

\textsuperscript{1}This was derived from the percentage of Samoan male veterans enumerated in the 1980 Census in Hawaii. The source of the American Samoa demographic data was the U.S. Census Bureau, 1982a, Table 1.

\textsuperscript{2}Individuals may not enlist in the military service until age 18, so a large part of the 15-19 year old age group should be deleted from this calculation. Deleting approximately 60 percent of this age group from the calculation, and considering enlistment in all four branches of the service, not just the Army, would drive the military participation rate even higher.
ten of the servicemen respondents claimed not to know if their military experience had increased their employability. Seven of the former servicemen received training in the infantry and this was not perceived as useful in the labor market. One of the Samoans was disabled and could not work. Clearly though, these respondents perceived joining the military as a successful strategy for Samoans in entering the Hawaii labor market.

In summary, Samoans join the U.S. military both because they are patriotic, and because they perceive the military as a source of employment and employment training. One final point should be made. Since the 1952 voyage of the U.S.S. Jackson from American Samoa to Hawaii there has been a close relationship between military participation, migration and employment, and the close interaction of these three processes continues today.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The 1980 U.S. Census results have provided a clearer picture of the Samoan demographic situation in Hawaii. The current Samoan population in Hawaii is composed of an almost equal number of individuals who were born in American Samoa, Western Samoa, or Hawaii. The Samoan population is youthful with high fertility rates and a low mortality rate. Approximately 70 percent of this population has resided in Hawaii for five years or more, and more than 98 percent of the Samoan population resides on Oahu, concentrated in Kalihi/Palama, Pearl City, Waianae, and the North Shore.
Within this chapter data from many sources were used to elucidate the Samoan employment situation. The Samoan female labor force participation rate was relatively low, and the unemployment rate for Samoan youth, and for the entire Samoan civilian labor force was the highest of any of the selected Asian/Pacific Islander ethnic groups in Hawaii. Income levels for Samoan individuals and families were low but a slight increase in income was noted for the period, 1976-1980. Approximately 30 percent of employed Samoans were in professional/managerial and sales work/clerical occupations, the majority were employed as service workers and operatives/laborers.

The data presented on education indicate that Samoan educational levels appear to be on the rise, with female levels increasing at a slightly faster rate. Data on the Samoan experience in Job Corps and C.E.T.A. indicate that both these programs provided training leading to increased skill levels.

The data presented on Samoan participation in the U.S. military suggested that Samoans perceive the military experience as an opportunity to serve their country. In addition, Samoans see the military as a viable form of employment and as a valuable source of employment training.

All Samoan community leaders agree that Samoans need more and better economic opportunities. Divergence of opinion occurs when considering the means of achieving improved economic situation in Hawaii, and different Samoan political organizations place varying degrees of emphasis on education, citizenship, and the role of the churches in this community development process.
Most Samoan community leaders agree that over the long term, increases in educational levels are required for the sustained economic development of Hawaii's Samoan community, and that employment training has potentially more immediate beneficial economic outcomes.
CHAPTER XVII
SAMOAN PERCEPTIONS OF WORK IN HAWAII

INTRODUCTION

Accounts of Samoan workers in Hawaii tend to emphasize the negative and problematic aspects of their employment. After a brief discussion of the main points in the published literature, interview data concerning work in Hawaii will be presented. Following this, the Wallman work dimensions framework will be applied to the information provided by local Samoan respondents.

SAMOANS IN THE HAWAII WORKPLACE: LITERATURE ASSESSMENTS

Much of the existing literature on Samoans in the Hawaii labor force comes from the early 1970s and has shaped a deficiency perspective of Samoan workers within the wider community. For example, Alexander (1972:52-54) states:

There exists an impression among the many non-Samoans that they are lazy and undependable and in many cases this is true . . . They fail to report to work, they fail to report when they are not coming to work, they stay away from work for the death of a relative, no matter how distant . . . They come without skills or training, consequently they have to take more menial work . . . This is a great blow to their pride, and an unfortunate by-product in many instances for making them annoyed, frustrated, hostile, and helpless.

Most Samoans are newcomers and in the lower economic strata. Others are employed in menial jobs. Large numbers are on public assistance and every indication points to increased numbers seeking public assistance in the future.

Schmitt (1972:39) in a memorandum to the Hawaii State Census Tract Commission portrays the Samoan public welfare and housing situation in the early 1970s:

Samoans have contributed disproportionately to health and social welfare workloads. The Samoan population is between 1-2 percent of the total Hawaii population. A survey of welfare recipients in this state as of April, 1972 shows that 5.2% of these recipients were Samoans. In mid-1971, Samoans occupied 7.3% of all public housing units.

Other studies focus on Samoan problems on the job (Samoan Heritage Series, 1972:74). Samoans, it is claimed, lack motivation to attain higher salaries because they are required to hand over their paychecks to matai. The specific problematic sulking behavior (musu) of Samoan workers has received a great deal of attention, and so has the alleged Samoan preference to be on welfare rather than work.

The following discussion of Samoan work perceptions will present a view somewhat at variance with these stereotypes. Samoans remain committed to a number of culturally specific institutions and values, and a recognition of the interaction between these commitments and job performance will point to strengths that employers can build upon in their transactions with Samoan workers.

THE KALIHI VALLEY HOMES POPULATION AND THEIR WORK PERCEPTIONS

The focus of the Kalihi Valley Homes (KVH) survey was to derive the immigration and employment histories of fifty respondents, plus the
employment histories of other adults in the respondents' household. A total of fifty immigration histories, and seventy-five employment histories were obtained.

From the immigration histories it was apparent that forty of the fifty respondents had resided in Hawaii for four years or more, while thirty of the fifty has resided in Hawaii for nine years or more. These length of residence data closely approximate the HSP data presented in the previous chapter.

Respondents were asked an open-ended question about their motivation for coming to Hawaii. Nearly half the respondents (23) gave a kinship related reason such as "to visit a kinsmen," "to care for a relative," or "to visit parents." The second most frequently given reason for coming to Hawaii was to get a better education for their children (15) or themselves (2). Six respondents said they came to Hawaii to look for work or an improved lifestyle, while others mentioned medical problems or military enlistment as main motivating factors. Although the respondents provided one primary reason for their movement to Hawaii, it is highly probable that the migration decisions made by these individuals involved a complex of kinship, education, employment, and health considerations.

The age and sex structure of the KVH sample is presented in Table 15. Approximately two-thirds of the respondents (64%), and most of the males (79%), were over 35 years of age. The female bias in the sample is partly explained by the presence of a number of female-headed, single-parent families, qualifying more easily for public housing.
Table 15. Respondents by age and sex, 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sample survey data, 1983.

The educational attainment of the survey respondents at KVH was generally below that indicated in the census and the HSP, with the average number of years of education completed for males being 8.1, and for females 9.3. The lower educational level of the KVH respondents is explained largely by the fact that approximately two-thirds of the respondents were over 35 years of age, and educational attainment is less in the older generations.

Informants were asked about their perceptions of employment opportunities in Hawaii and these are summarized in Table 16. Two individuals felt that work opportunities were "very good" in Hawaii because they were able to find jobs, and as one younger female receptionist expressed it, "employers look at job skills rather than ethnicity." Those individuals who thought job opportunities were "good" in Hawaii were generally younger, averaging just over 34 years of age, and stated that they were qualified and optimistic about eventually
Table 16. Perceptions of Hawaii job opportunities, Samoans at KVH, 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceptions</th>
<th>Very Good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Not Good</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sample survey data, 1983.

finding work even if they were currently unemployed. Individuals who felt employment opportunities were only "fair" gave a wide range of explanations for their answers. A 33-year old unemployed woman from Western Samoa stated:

Reaganomics and the unavailability of jobs make it difficult to find work.

A 43-year old man, also from Western Samoa, and currently employed as a mechanic felt that "Samoans' had a bad attitude towards work" making it difficult for them to find employment in Hawaii. One woman, who had recently joined the National Guard, insisted that in Hawaii the public agencies responsible for employment development were not responsive to Samoan clients, and an older Samoan woman felt that employers and agencies were unresponsive to Samoans. She stated,

My children have been interviewed for so many jobs, but the employers never call back.

Finally, those who mentioned that opportunities were "poor" were generally older, averaging over 55 years of age, and usually mentioned language difficulties, "too many job requirements," "poor health," or job discrimination.
Thirty-five respondents felt that Samoans were seriously discriminated against, and this was the main reason given for negative perceptions of employment opportunities in Hawaii. These respondents felt that Samoans were discriminated against by certain groups, namely Japanese, Filipinos, and **palagis** (Caucasians).

Table 17. Perceptions of place of best job opportunities, Samoans at KVH, 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hawaii</th>
<th>California</th>
<th>American Samoa</th>
<th>Western Samoa</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>All Same</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents were asked where employment opportunities were best and their answers are presented in Table 17. The individuals who chose Hawaii as having the best opportunities stated simply "there's just more jobs here." It is interesting to note that of the twelve people who gave this reason, eight were currently unemployed, but apparently optimistic that they would find work. Those who named California as having the best employment opportunities were aware of the vastly larger labor market in that state, giving reasons such as "I've found California to have many more jobs," or "There are more jobs for unskilled workers in California," or "All my relatives in California have jobs." A forty year old Samoan man, born in New York, stated:
There is less prejudice against Samoans in California. We are categorized with other Polynesians.

Many Samoans in the KVH sample felt that job opportunities were best in American Samoa because "Samoans run their own government there," and "We are not discriminated against there." One respondent, a forty year old unemployed male, stated that

In American Samoa most of the work is carried out in Samoan and this makes it easier to hold onto a job.

A younger Western Samoan man felt that New Zealand had the best employment opportunity because "I've heard there are a lot of jobs there," while an older Western Samoan man, who may have been contemplating a return move, stated "Western Samoa has the best opportunity because there we are not discriminated against." Finally, a thirty year old Samoan service veteran felt that Germany had the best job opportunities because there he "worked with computers, while here I can't find a job."

In comparing employment opportunities in different locales, Samoans generally considered the number of jobs available, the degree of discrimination, and English language requirements. These latter two factors--discrimination and English language skills--will be discussed when incentives and disincentives to work are analyzed below.

In the KVH sample, 32 of the 50 respondents were aware of specific job training programs in Hawaii (Table 18). Of the 75 adults on whom employment histories were obtained, 16 had participated in Hawaii job training programs. Nine of the eleven respondents who received training stated that it was helpful in their finding employment. When asked for comments about job training programs in Hawaii, respondents expressed a
Table 18. Job training program awareness, Samoans at KVH, 32 respondents allowed multiple responses, 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>C.E.T.A.</th>
<th>Job Corps</th>
<th>Community College</th>
<th>Adult Education</th>
<th>WIN</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sample survey data, 1983.

need for more culturally-sensitive training programs, and improved communication between the agencies providing the job training and the Samoan community. Respondents also felt that both men and women should have equal access to job training.

THE DIMENSIONS OF WORK IN HAWAII

In the Wallman framework, as previously discussed, the value of work is in large part determined by the value of the resources produced. For Samoan workers in Hawaii jobs produce money which is used to meet their basic housing, health, food, and clothing requirements, as well as culturally specific needs within the 'aiga and church. To a large extent, it is these two sets of needs that shape Samoan perceptions of the value of their work. This is not to overlook the fact that in some occupations--entertainer, social worker, minister--intrinsic, non-monetary factors are considered in job evaluation. However in the discussion that follows it will be seen that Samoans, when talking about jobs, tend to emphasize practical considerations such as wages, raises, and benefits, and further, the importance of their income in meeting a wide range of kin and church responsibilities.
Table 19 presents the occupational and wage data for currently working Samoans at KVH, and Table 20 delineates the preferred jobs of unemployed Samoans and their minimum acceptable wages. Considering the household size of Samoan workers and prospective workers, these incomes would have to be supplemented by other worker incomes or by Department of Social Services and Housing (DSSH) benefits in order to meet basic needs. Only three of the fifty households sampled had two currently employed individuals in residence, thus it is more probable that low income levels are supplemented by DSSH benefits.

Table 19. Current occupation and wage per hour, Samoans at KVH, 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Wage - $/hour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipyard-Civil Service</td>
<td>9.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipping and Receiving (2)</td>
<td>8.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewardess</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber</td>
<td>7.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body &amp; Fender/Mechanic (3)</td>
<td>7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiotherapist</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionist/Clerical</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packer (2)</td>
<td>4.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Helper</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car Washer (3)</td>
<td>3.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custodian</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poi Maker</td>
<td>3.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sample survey data, 1983.
Table 20. Type of job sought, unemployed Samoans, acceptable wages, at Kalihi Valley Homes: 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of job sought</th>
<th>Number of individuals</th>
<th>Wages $/hour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pineapple trimming</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security guard</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast food service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashier</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any job with regular hours</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work requiring minimal skill</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any kind of job</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kalihi Valley Homes, sample survey data (1983).

Data from the DSSH for March 1983 indicate that statewide, 2,647 Samoans were receiving some form of DSSH support. The average monthly payment to Samoan recipients was $246.07. The average payment to working Samoans (428) was only $56.25 as compared to the non-working recipient (2,219) payment of $282.68.

In conducting interviews with Samoan workers outside the public housing context it became apparent that Samoans, depending on their age and place of origin, may have significantly different perceptions of the value of work. A Samoan Vietnam veteran emphasized that younger Samoan migrants view employment in Hawaii differently than older Samoans. He stated in the interview that:
Younger Samoans want to get into some kind of job training when they arrive in Hawaii, while older Samoans want to get into any kind of employment right away... I've never heard older people turn down jobs, because they need money to pay for the bills and food, but more so to pay for the fa'alavalave. Younger individuals who have any college experience are willing to stay unemployed and turn down some half-decent job to wait for something better.

Although older Samoans tend to be more willing to take any kind of employment, this informant related that they are also more likely to give up a job to care for elderly parents, or to become a matai in Samoa.

There also appear to be differences in the way American Samoans and Western Samoans view employment. The same veteran argued that American Samoans have become accustomed to the commodities and wealth provided by the American government, while Western Samoans know they need to work harder to attain economic goals. He stated:

Uncle Sam is there to provide for American Samoans. But a Western Samoan, even when he's given a janitorial job will strive to do his best. The Western Samoan has an embedded drive to do better. Western Samoans see the tautua aspect of the work, they see the job as moving toward something better. American Samoans maybe more happy for a short term with their jobs. The few Western Samoans in the military are now captains and majors in the Army and Air Force because of their persistently pursuing their goals to benefit themselves and their families. Tautua to the employer is a way of benefitting their families and there is a deep satisfaction in the long run. When a Western Samoan achieves being a captain in the Army, the family back home will feel that as well, because he sends them money, or he goes back and builds his parents a home. The military is one of the best employments for all Samoans, but I see Western Samoans moving up, they've really excelled given limited opportunity. They're not so commodities oriented as American Samoans.
A Western Samoan informant also differentiated Samoan work perceptions by place of origin. He discussed the shared understanding of American and Western Samoans in the following interview statement:

Western Samoan workers feel that they come from a poor place and must make it here. There is an understanding of these differences in American Samoa and Western Samoa. For example, American Samoa has American holidays, and Western Samoa has New Zealand holidays. On Western Samoan holidays the Western Samoans go to Tutuila for vacation and they are always very well treated by their American Samoan 'aiga. On American holidays, American Samoans go to Upolu and Savaii, but they must bring their own money and they will take care of themselves and help their Western Samoan 'aiga. The rural people look up to Apia, but when people come from Pago Pago, they look up more to the Pago Pago 'aiga. If an American Samoan boy comes over to a Western Samoan village, the word spreads like wildfire - 'Pago boy coming'. Even if that boy is ugly, the girls are going to go for that boy, because of the affluence and prestige of that boy. Western Samoans here do not want to return to the same old routine, where there is no opportunity. Here they will do any kind of work, I doubt if an American Samoan will. The Western Samoan will do it gladly, he is just looking for an opportunity to get a job, to make the money. They have responsibilities to send money home.

This Western Samoan informant definitely felt that economic factors--relative poverty and lack of opportunity--tended to make the Western Samoan immigrant more committed to "making it" in the Hawaii labor market. To further strengthen his point he related the experiences of his cousin:

My cousin was kicked out of a good high school in Western Samoa. He had to go back to the village and he went right into the group of untitled men and to the 'aumaga. For two years he salipopo (scooping coconut for copra), and worked the plantation. When he came home from the plantation with his load, and as the school bus came back from town bringing the students to the village, he would hide on the road, very shy. After two years of slavery in his village he made up his mind to go back to
school. He went to high school and he was top of his class because he knew exactly where he was going to end up if he failed. He came to Hawaii and married a local, non-Samoan girl and went into the Army. He went to Germany and worked with computers. Now all he talks about is business, business, business. There is no one in his village he can talk to. He talks to me because I am from a town family.

A Samoan minister insisted that there was no basic, "embedded" difference between American and Western Samoan perceptions of work. He argued that if there was any difference at all it was due to the immigration restrictions facing Western Samoans. Western Samoans often arrive in Hawaii with visas which limit the time period for making money, and the minister related:

They are hungry for some work to support themselves. They will take anything, preferably on a cash basis, to maximize their earnings in a short period.

Statements from these three informants indicate that due either to differences in opportunity in place of origin, or to immigration restrictions, Western Samoan perceptions of work in Hawaii may vary considerably from those of American Samoans.

When these and other informants were asked about the kinds of jobs Samoans prefer, there was general agreement that Samoans aspire to "white collar" employment. When asked about occupational preferences Samoans typically gave the following kinds of responses. The Samoan minister commented on Samoan job preferences, and again, differences in perceptions, depending on age, are emphasized:

The younger ones, 20-40 years of age, want to do office work. The ladies want to do secretarial work, while the men want to do office work as managers or administrators. It seems the trend is office/clerical. The older Samoans, and those who
lack the language, will do any job they can survive in and sustain themselves. The people educated here tend to want the more white collar jobs.

Alofi, a young receptionist stated:

The good jobs for Samoans are the white collar jobs. There are a few women working as typists and more and more work in banks. The Samoan men have had trouble getting into white collar jobs here, these jobs are the most prestigious jobs for men in Samoa.

The Vietnam veteran agreed that for Samoan women the best jobs were clerical and secretarial but he felt Samoan men preferred more manual skill occupations:

The women think the good jobs are the typing, receptionist, telephone operator, secretarial jobs. More Samoan women now are becoming either nurses or nurses aides. I think the Samoan men prefer working with their hands in carpentry, automotive, masonry, plumbing, electricity. Some of the younger Samoans want more office kind of work.

In any kind of work, the main incentive for Samoans to work hard and skillfully is money (tupe). The money that results from work circulates through the 'aiga network, especially when problems (fa'alavelave) occur, and brings prestige to individuals and families. The Samoan minister describes the importance of money as a source of prestige in the 'aiga, and provides a clear picture of the contemporary family dynamics surrounding fa'alavelave.

Prestige from a job comes not from a man's position but from the money he takes home. Outside the job, the money's use brings prestige. Samoans invest in the family, and family obligations may effect other financial capabilities, and family worries may affect job performance. The fa'alavelave is still very strong, but it discourages many young people. To them its ripping them off. It takes money away from their households. They are not working for their own, they are discouraged from work. Some are trying to run away from the fa'alavelave. If someone passed away or someone is getting married,
then all the money and food come in. Even when I was trying to get away they kept me in the fa'a Samoa by sending money to contribute to the funeral or to the wedding in my family's name. If there is a fa'alavelave in Samoa, and I don't have money or anything to send, they put money in for me, in my name, so it looks like I'm active in 'aiga affairs. The fa'alavelave creates temper in younger Samoans. A young man might say 'oh, that stupid fa'alavelave', when the father calls him in and says 'why don't you give $200 and 10 kegs of beef.' The young man might say, 'that is too much,' to which the father will reply you better watch what you say. If you don't like it then leave. I don't want you to be called my son anymore.' Fortunately fathers have forgiving hearts. It's tough to run away, wherever you go its the same fa'alavelave.

The Vietnam veteran views the money he sends back to Samoa as a form of service, tautua, or as a form of help, fesoasoani:

The monetary tautua has become a way of life for Samoans. Whenever I send money home to my matai or to my parents I think of it as tautua, or whenever I send money home for a project that will benefit the whole family. The tautua is a way I can remain active in family affairs. It's also the money that I send more regularly to Samoa. When I have a little money and I hear that one of my family needs some help, or is in a little trouble, I will send some money to him, but this is fesoasoani, a help, or a gift. I can send money home to a kin group where I haven't been too active, and that is fesoasoani. Fesoasoani does not have as much fa'amoni (heart, sincerity) as tautua.

A Samoan veteran of the Korean War also distinguished between tautua and fesoasoani.

If I'm contributing to something that all my 'aiga will use, it is tautua. When I send money to my matai it is tautua. Money not sent to my matai is more fesoasoani. I can send fesoasoani to kinsmen that I don't maintain active ties with.

The Samoan minister makes less of a distinction between tautua and fesoasoani, but there still remains a subtle difference:
Fesoasoani is more of a help. My money to Samoa is both tautua and fesoasoani. When something happens in Samoa—a church dedication, a funeral, a wedding, an accident—they call and ask for help, then I fesoasoani. If you regularly send money that's more like tautua. O le a la i le pule o le tautua. The road to authority is through service. If you tautua, you are a candidate.

The money Samoans earn at work serves to maintain strong links, and active membership in some 'aiga, and this money is conceptualized as tautua. Money used to reactivate dormant kin ties, or to meet more immediate financial and social goals is conceptualized as fesoasoani. Both these forms of monetary remittance occur in response to family problems of varying degrees of intensity. Whether Samoans think of these remittances as tautua or fesoasoani depends on whether the money is going to an 'aiga where ties are strong or weak. Whether remittances are tautua or fesoasoani also depends on the sender's perceptions of his potential candidacy for a matai title within the receiving 'aiga.

Although monetary resources sent to Samoa are an important means of maintaining and strengthening kin ties, another use of money, to bring kinsmen to Hawaii, also demonstrates one's solidarity with the 'aiga, and one's commitment to the fa'a Samoa. A Western Samoan, currently working as a translator, describes the process of change from being an active remitter, to being a financial supporter of a kinsman's relocation to Hawaii:

Samoans send money all the time to Samoa. My mother writes three times. I write to her one time when I can send $5. Its an identity thing to send money home. After a time I have been sending less money home, but that's because all the family is here. The best thing one brother here can do for a brother in Samoa is to bring his niece or nephew up here. That's the best. Bringing and supporting a relative is definitely better than sending money home.
The Samoan minister related that when his in-laws were in Samoa he would send $75 a month to them. Now that they are here in Hawaii he sends less money less frequently.

The money Samoans earn at work also gains them prestige and identity within the local community when they donate to the church. The Samoan translator discussed the importance of church contributions in the way the wider Samoan community views an individual and his work:

> Whatever employment a man has, money talks. In church it isn't the kind of job you hold, but how much you donate. They call out how much money you donate. Identity within the Samoan community is the church and that is where your name pops up. They don't care what job you do. You could be a laborer or the boss of a construction firm, who ever donates more gets more respect. The people will look up to you ... At the same time if someone can't donate alot of money because he does not make much at work, Samoans will say 'oh, that man has many sons,' and not criticize the man.

The Korean War veteran emphasized how important contributing to the church is for Samoans in Hawaii:

> Samoans here have to take care of the church. Whether they work or they are on welfare, they always take care of the church.

Money earned from work, as well as money gained through welfare, can bring recognition and status to Samoans if they are able to donate to the church.

The money Samoans earn at work intimately binds them into their kin groups, and their community. One informant, the Samoan working as a translator, discussed how Samoan work performance is affected by kin and community considerations:

> The relationship between the work place and the home is very close for Samoans. When a Samoan feels good he'll do more than expected. If he doesn't feel good,
he'll do nothing. If his personal experiences away from work are positive, he'll work productively. His personal experiences are uplifting. Responsibilities to kin and church weigh heavily on him. When a Samoan is not feeling good, a little thing at work ticks him off and he leaves the job. This is coupled with the cultural environment in Samoa. In Samoa you can't talk back to the chief. Over here he knows the employer is no chief, he's the same level or below, and if he's teed off from home, and then at work, with the freedom he has here, he thinks to himself 'no one can stop me,' and tells the boss off. I find myself now better able to control my relations with the boss. After I had my tattoo that makes it more complete for me. Everything that made me lose my temper at work before, well now I have my tattoo, and any problem at work is manini (a small thing) and I walk away.

This statement is illuminating in that it suggests Samoans do not distinguish their work identity from their total identity. Work for Samoans is an activity that intimately affects their personal identity, within the kin group and within the church, and this close association between work and nonwork roles powerfully affects worker performance. The translator who had experienced the pain of the tattooer's needle came to associate that pain with his relations to the boss. This clearly shows how Samoans integrate work and nonwork experiences.

At the same time Samoans do not use their occupational role to define themselves as persons. The Samoan minister discussed this aspect of work and self identification:

When a Samoan meets another person, Samoan or non-Samoan, for the first time, he wouldn't talk about work, or what he does for a living. If you ask him about his job he'll tell you, but he'll only give a specific answer. He won't go on and on about his work like a palagi (Caucasian) would. Its not in our culture to introduce one person to another. If you were with me and we met another Samoan, I wouldn't introduce you as Ropati who works at UH, I wouldn't introduce you at all. You would have to introduce yourself. You probably would tell him you
work at UH, and would want to know what he does for a living. This tells you who he is and you feel he knows who you are. But Samoans don't use work to tell people who we are. We use shared activities. If we do things together, we come to know one another. We don't use occupation as a shorthand for who we are. I think palagis do.

When the minister was asked if Samoans talk about their work at all, he replied:

If a job is exciting they will surely share. If a job is frustrating they usually will talk about that too. If they like the boss they'll say 'You know the job I got, I love the boss. I like the company and the benefits.' They always talk about the benefits. Or if they don't like the boss they'll say 'This guy got me so mad I almost whack him.' If you ask a Samoan about his job, and it's not exciting or frustrating he'll say 'It's good.'

The Samoan veteran recounted a number of cases where Samoans identified positively with the work they do.

I know a few tree-trimmers who think they are the best tree-trimmers in the world, but tree-trimming doesn't pay that much. They talk about the art of climbing the trees, the coconut trees, not everybody can do that. They talk about how you need to walk the tree to get in the right position for trimming. They talk about the balance involved and the cutting of a tall coconut tree. They take great pride in their work. I talked with a security guard, and that's a low-paying job, if not the minimum wage, then just above it. They get pumped up wearing the uniform, knowing their going to guard this part of the airport, or they're the boss man at a certain hotel, where the rules will be followed. They have the authority, 'You can go here, but this place is closed.' There are not many Samoans way up in professional fields, making a lot of money. But Samoans find prestige in their work. People speak proudly about carpentry work. When they're utilizing their know how from Samoa, measuring wood, cutting, being able to nail up certain parts of the house. One man, my wife's uncle, was an expert carpenter (tufuga) in Samoa, now he is a carpenter at Pearl Harbor. He's probably ready to retire. He's a supervisor of a carpentry shop there because of his prior skills in Samoa, he takes great
pride in his work. Knowing he's Samoan, being around other ethnic people, and being the boss. I've known tufuga who fly up here from Samoa to build a few houses and then fly back. A tufuga came up to build a house in Wahiawa. His son is an architect in Samoa and drew the plans for the house. The father brought up the house drawings and built the house. He got fine mats and money. The Wahiawa man was so proud to have his house built by a tufuga from Samoa, and his house is beautiful and didn't cost that much. The tufuga was proud that he came all the way to Hawaii, where there are many carpenters and built such a fine house. At Mililani, my mother's cousin, remodeled and added a room to her house. He brought up three tufuga from Samoa to do the work and gave them roundtrip airfare, kegged beef, and fine mats. Gave them pigs too. It makes the matai tufuga feel even more prestigious to come here to Hawaii, or to California. My brother-in-law is a mason in Samoa. He got good training here in Hawaii. Then he became a minister, but he still makes patios and rock walls for 'aiga in Hawaii and California. They pay him good money for a days work.

It is interesting to note that for the masonry work only money was provided in compensation, while the tufuga still receive the fine mats.

Samoans also seem to identify more strongly with a job if they are working with other Samoans. This kind of Samoan group work occurs within the context of the factory in New Zealand, while in Hawaii, groups of Samoan workers can be observed at the Pearl Harbor shipyard, the Dole pineapple cannery, and in small construction and masonry businesses. A Samoan who worked in construction discussed the benefits of working with other Samoans:

In construction, it really makes a job easier for Samoans to work with other Samoans. Sometimes when we're shovelling, we're running low on energy. Then the next thing you know, somebody starts singing a song from Samoa and the work becomes easy. In this kind of outside work environment, Samoans are very familiar, and the singing helps the work.
This informant also had some experience with working conditions, "indoors, out of the sun," at the Dole Pineapple cannery.

A lot of Samoan women work at the Dole cannery. It's so busy it doesn't matter who you are standing next to. The machines are too loud to rap or sing, but the Samoan women get together at the break time and talk about work and other things. A lot of the women try to stand and work next to one another and jab each other with their elbows. They yell across the shopfloor at one another. The women don't think working at the cannery is a high status job, so they don't talk about it much. But they do enjoy the company of other Samoans, and this makes the job a good one.

The grouping of Samoan workers seems to stimulate increased Samoan productivity in the New Zealand and Hawaii factory, and in a small construction business. Working in groups fosters a joint Samoan identification with a work activity and gives them additional incentive to be effective workers.

In addition to money and group work, one of the other incentives Samoans mentioned was "fair treatment by the boss." In many of the interviews conducted at Kalihi Valley Homes, workers talked about the impact of perceived unfairness at their work. The following two statements come from older Samoan men who had worked for years at local car wash operations.

I've been working at this job for more than six years and I never get a raise. There's no movement upward and I sometimes get discouraged.

A second car wash employee stated:

I applied for many jobs and they told me they would call back but they never did. Two years ago I began working washing cars. I feel like I should get a raise. I'm only making $3.35 an hour. But I don't get a raise even when I work overtime I don't make any more money. I'm only going to work this job until something better comes along.
A Samoan who was working as an auto mechanic also pointed to the fact that he did not receive any raise from his employer:

I enjoy being a mechanic, especially after it took me so long to find a job. But I've been working for the same company for more than five years and they pay me the same salary. The company recently hired a new employee and they pay him the same as me. I think they're prejudiced against Samoans.

These three informants express their dissatisfaction with unfairness in terms of pay, and more specifically in terms of not getting any pay increases, and not experiencing any job mobility. This upward job mobility was also emphasized by the Vietnam Veteran in a more intensive interview:

To make sure a Samoan likes what he is doing, the employer should give goals to pursue, some way of bettering himself, and moving up. Tautua for Samoans is way of moving up, and they need to see they are improving their situation if they are to work well. Work without moving up is just work (galue).

The Samoan minister also placed a lot of emphasis on "moving up" as an incentive to Samoan workers.

The number one motivating factor for a Samoan worker is monetary reward and promotion, at least slowly. Even 25 cents an hour, a Samoan worker will say 'Wow, that's great.' They need to be encouraged and reinforced. Even verbal encouragement will motivate him. The employer could say 'Maybe in six months we'll give you 50 cents more an hour.' The worker would say 'Hey, that's great.' A Samoan hired a month before another guy will do everything he is told, he will do his best. If the other guy gets a raise and the Samoan does not he'll quickly lose interest. They lose sight of moving up and take a day to day attitude about their jobs. The day to day routine gets into them and they lose enthusiasm. When they promote someone else, and the Samoan has seniority, hey, this is not fair. Then all of a sudden they start coming in late. The Samoan quits. Here he has done his daily job but when he loses his sight of promotion he loses enthusiasm and quits.
Incentives for Samoan workers in Hawaii are money, group work, and fairness in promotion, fairness in "moving up." The Samoan concept for work, tautua, is usually translated as "service," service to one's family and chief. But underlying this concept of service is the belief that service is the path to eventual authority. Samoan perceptions of work in Hawaii still strongly incorporate this idea that work involves moving up, that work for an employer, entails a steady improvement in his or her individual status. When a ceiling is placed on a Samoan's upward occupational mobility, and particularly in the context of perceived unfairness, the job loses its attraction, and becomes merely work (galue). The Samoan worker is likely to lose interest in the job and quit or carry out tasks in a disinterested manner.

A good job for Samoans is one where he or she is receiving salary increases more or less regularly. These salary increases give the worker a sense of moving up within the work context, and enable the worker to contribute more money as tautua within the kin context.

In addition to limiting "moving up" and perceived unfairness, there are two other disincentives to effective Samoan work. The first centers on language and communication problems. The Samoan translator sensitively describes how language problems lead to employment problems:

The basic work stress the Samoans face here is the language. When they want to communicate with the palagi they have to translate in their mind first. When they've said the sentence and they know its not right its very embarrassing and stressful to them. They go through this process of English to Samoan to English and that's why many Samoans do not talk at work. Suppose there is a little argument at work and one guy speaks very good English. The Samoan tries to stay with him but can't, he's talking too fast. The Samoan goes home at night and figures out he did not say the
right thing. For Samoans who value words and the subtleties of communication, this is very stressful. He goes back to work the next day and addresses the other man with, 'what I meant to say was this ...' and this initiates another argument. They may get frustrated and speak with their hands rather than their mouths. When they use their hands, they lose their jobs. Samoans are picking up pidgin very fast. Its easier for them to communicate. The kinds of jobs they have mostly pidgin is spoken.

Another disincentive to effective Samoan work is perceived discrimination. The Samoan minister goes around with younger Samoans from his congregation and tries to help them find jobs. He senses the negative attitudes of some of the employers he meets. His perception of discrimination, he argues, is shaped by actual discrimination he experienced in his working years before he became a minister.

At my first job here in Hawaii it was most stressful because although my English was good, people in the upper levels of the program would not listen to me. I still feel that they looked down on me, but I continued to do my best. I was working at an administrative assistant position, but there seemed to be this big wall and I was going against it. Finally I said I would go with the flow, but that was hard. I was so frustrated and I wanted to quit, but I had my faith in the Lord. They didn't want me to quit, but they wouldn't listen to my opinions either. One day when I was working a fight broke out between some Samoan students, and they called me and another Samoan to stop it. When we got to the fight all the other staff were just watching, waiting for us. We stopped the fight no problem. After, I realized that they wanted me to stay on just to be like a "police man," and not to do what the job actually called for. I was so hurt by that. I was well-trained for the job, but they wanted only a police man. The "macho" image the staff had of the Samoan students was applied to me, a co-worker. I felt very bad then and felt I had to quit. I got a second job as a school counselor but again I was only a "security guard." Even today when I meet with other non-Samoan ministers its like I am not there. They don't value my opinion.
He went on to discuss what he does to try to minimize employer discrimination against the young Samoans in his congregation.

I tell the young men to look clean and well-groomed, to say sir, and to be polite. I'm very conscious of projecting myself as a polite well-groomed Samoan. I want others to look at me and the young men in the congregation and say, 'Heh, there's a group of good Samoan guys.' There is a stereotype out there that we ministers must change if we can.

The perception of discrimination in the labor market and in the wider community is very strong among Samoans in Hawaii. In the KVH survey the following statements were typical:

Once I said I was Samoan he said he would call me back--he never did.

The reputation of other Samoans make it difficult to get a job.

The USDOL report (1984) also emphasizes the felt discrimination of Samoans in Hawaii. Clearly, this discrimination operates as a disincentive to effective work, especially when, as one Samoan worker stated, "Because I am Samoan I never get a raise."

The time dimension of Samoan work in Hawaii is manifested most frequently in the context of fa'alavelave. The Samoan Vietnam veteran argued that Samoans take advantage of the fa'alavelave, and they need to take their work responsibilities into consideration when evaluating whether to go to work, or to a funeral or wedding. He emphasized:

Samoans need to be continuously committed to their jobs, get to work on time, and don't let the fa'alavelave get in the way of what the mission is, what the work is. Samoans have a tendency to go to fa'alavelave, big or small, rather than go to work. If I was the employer I would be very clear with my Samoan workers what constitutes a valid fa'alavelave. If a death in the family, the close family, well of course they can take the day off. But I must be
fair to all my employees in regards to who gets what days off. I would treat everyone the same. Samoans must work their eight hour days just like everyone else. Definite guidelines regarding fa'alavelave need to be developed by employers. Employers should emphasize that the company and its employees are striving toward goals together.

The Korean War veteran discussed how he communicates and plans for his fa'alavelave time.

I have to take at least two trips a year to Samoa for the church and for fa'alavelave. I have to plan. I have to maintain a good attendance record, and then I have to make arrangements with my employer. Many other matai here also have to return to Samoa frequently for fa'alavelave. They have difficulty balancing the fa'a Samoa and the requirements of work here.

The Samoan translator was once an assistant manager of a hotel on the U.S. mainland. He describes how he perceived "vacation time" when working this management position:

Whenever I had a two week vacation I would go back to Samoa. It was so nice to be down there, it is a completely different environment. Rushing down there for a couple of weeks is not worth the money, especially when I was having so much fun. I will definitely postpone returning to work. I'll get someone to send a telegram saying I'm sick, just to continue the nice environment, the fun, the family life. I guess this is cultural.

After coming to Hawaii, he found a new job with vacation time, sick leave, and strict requirements about coming in late. He worked a few years at this job and then began to yearn for a longer vacation in Samoa. He describes his work-time pattern at this job:

If Samoans come to visit me in Hawaii I drink alot and wake up late for work. After I got a bad record for tardiness, I would just call in sick until I used up all my sick leave. I used up all my sick leave and started using my vacation time day by day. Then a fa'alavelave came up in Samoa, and because I am a matai I have to go. I have to make the job
work for me but I don't know how to do it. But I figure out maybe I can take a leave without pay. I make my own vacation and go to Samoa. I go down for one month but send a telegram saying I'm sick and stay one more week. I think if I do it other Samoans do too.

The Samoan minister expressed the idea that Samoans would prefer doing "task work" jobs, where they could go and energetically complete a set number of tasks and then go home:

Samoans have their own way of working, if it has a good result, encourage him. If a Samoan does his job, and does it effectively, he completes it, the employer should let him go home. Next time he comes in he will work very well. They love to work fast and finish and leave, to free up time for the kinship activities that make life worthwhile. It's an established attitude in Samoa. Samoans used to go farm at 4 a.m. and finish before the sun. We hate to work in the sun. When the sun hits the top of the coconut trees then it's time to quit.

In a study of Tahitian conceptions of work, Finney (1967:197) stressed a similar task orientation:

Wage work that is defined in terms of task is called "prize work". Though he may take his time in completing a task organized by "prize work," most often the Tahitian rushes to complete it as soon as possible. Employers who understand this Tahitian preference try to organize their jobs by "prize work." (Notably, these employers share a high regard for Tahitian work capabilities.) In some jobs, such as field clearing, this is easily arranged. The worker is told to clear a field, and is promised so much for its completion.

Finney goes on to show how "prize work" is successfully integrated into Tahitian factory work.

The Samoan minister was the only informant to mention task work as an incentive for Samoan workers. However, it seems likely, in view of traditional Samoan work patterns and the numerous time consuming
features of Samoan urban life, that task work might be prized work for Samoans in Hawaii.

The final time consideration in work involves long-term commitment to the job, and Samoan "loyalty" to an employer was mentioned frequently by informants. An older Samoan who works as a tour bus driver discussed his feelings about his job:

I work hard all year round, usually about 50 hours a week, and I might put these hours in in just three to four days. This job is my career and my caring for the company keeps me going. I never forget that my job is part of my being successful in my life.

A co-worker called this Samoan, "the superman of the company."

This Samoan had worked many years at the same job, and it provided him with great personal satisfaction. He saw his job as a "career." His job provided him with a path (ala) to his long term betterment. When Samoans perceive they are "moving up" or moving toward long range goals they are much more likely to commit themselves to their jobs and become loyal employees.
THEORIES OF IMMIGRATION AND ADAPTATION: THE SAMOAN CASE

In Chapter I, I argued that current theories of immigration and adaptation over-emphasize structural factors and do not give adequate attention to cross-cultural variation in immigrant work perceptions and patterns. Nevertheless, the Samoan case does inform this theoretical literature, and the purpose of the following discussion is to place Samoan movement and employment within this broader theoretical context (see Appendix I).

Push-pull models of migration do not seem to be particularly helpful in understanding the Samoan case. Samoan movements into the United States began with their recruitment into the military, the closing of the Naval Base at Pago Pago, and their relocation to Hawaii in 1951. This military movement led to the establishment of Samoan communities near military bases in Hawaii and the west coast of the United States, and set the stage for network building, and the larger Samoan movements that followed. Early Samoan movements to New Zealand are not easily described in push and pull terms either. Pitt (1977) discusses this initial movement in terms of a "rite of passage." Many younger Samoans perceived a period of work in New Zealand as part of their taulele'a (untitled) experience, after which they would return to Western Samoa. Western Samoa at that time was still a territory under New Zealand
administration, and Western Samoans apparently viewed their initial movements into New Zealand as movement within a single political and economic system.

Later Samoan movements into the United States and New Zealand may have involved some consideration of push and pull factors, particularly in more recent movements of Western Samoans into American Samoa, and the United States. However, Samoan movement is more accurately described using an 'aiga-malaga model placed within a global economic system.

There are three identifiable periods where developments in peripheral capitalism clearly influenced the Samoan movement pattern. First, in the 1940s, the introduction of numerous wage labor opportunities attracted Western Samoans into American Samoa, and began to create social, demographic, economic, and political imbalances which partially account for later Samoan movements. Second, in the 1960s, with a large infusion of capital, and the development of the canneries in American Samoa, American Samoans began to experience the significantly higher wages that attract Western Samoans today. Third, in the mid-1970s, as a worldwide recession gripped New Zealand, immigration and employment opportunities for Western Samoans declined and they began their eastward movements into American Samoa at a more accelerated pace.

Portes (1984) formulation of international migration within a single economic system is thus of some relevance to the Samoan case. However, I would argue that Samoans actually view and experience New Zealand, Samoa, and the United States as a single movement system connected by 'aiga networks and malaga movements. Samoans and their money circulate
at fa'alavelave time, and the money earned by Samoan workers in various locales circulates as tautua (service) and fesoasoani (help). These movements and remittances link the Samoan communities into a unique cultural and economic system.

In terms of the stability of the Samoan migration flow over time, the 'aiga-malaga model of Samoan movement is similar to the ebb and flow formulation of Piore (1979), and to the movement within a single economic system formulation of Portes (1984). For Samoan workers, however, I have found little evidence for the short-term target earning that Piore emphasizes, and a great deal of evidence that links earnings with tautua, and thus with the long range "target" of becoming a matai, or supporting the 'aiga. The ebb and flow analogy is also generally applied to guest-worker movements, and to movements representing a single completed circuit of migration, while, by contrast, Samoan malaga movements represent a series of circular moves.

Portes has argued (1984) that immigration needs to be viewed in its totality, that is, with origin and destination area considered as part of the same economic system. I have attempted to view Samoan movements in their totality and would again argue that Samoans see the total movement system as linked by 'aiga ties. Just as Portes (1984:13) argues that Mexicans are in contact with their ethnic communities in Chicago, Samoans in Moamoa, or any other village in Samoa, are in contact with kinsmen in Los Angeles, Auckland, and Honolulu.

The 'aiga-malaga model of Samoan movement shares with ebb and flow formulations, and single system formulations, an emphasis on social networks. As Portes has argued (1984) the establishment of these
networks makes possible a continuing flow of migrants even after the initial stimulus for emigration has disappeared.

In terms of the use of immigrant labor, it could be argued (After Bonacich, 1976; Galarza, 1977) that Samoans in Hawaii contribute to a labor surplus that drives down the wages paid to workers, and this may be occurring in laborer and service occupations. Samoans in Hawaii may be qualified for jobs that are "locked up" by local labor, and they have to settle for unskilled, high turnover occupations with little chance for advancement. Samoans place great value on their potential for advancement in work, and may perceive these secondary sector jobs as "just work" (ga'alue) rather than as a means of "moving up."

The distinctive Samoan movement pattern, and their unique perceptions and patterns of work, support a pluralistic rather than assimilationist interpretation of Samoan adaptation to urban life in Hawaii. Pluralistic interpretations of migrant adaptation have usually been proposed for ethnic communities with viable traditions of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs employ family labor, and create self-sufficient ethnic businesses which eventually come to attract customers from other ethnic backgrounds, and from outside the "ethnic enclave."

Samoans do not come to Hawaii with a tradition of entrepreneurship, but they do come with a cultural system of transaction and exchange. This system involves malaga, tautua, fa'alavelave, and fesoasoani, and these four closely related and integrated concepts link the 'aiga everywhere. These concepts, like Samoan culture in general, have been resistant to change, and continue to give Samoan urban adaptation its distinctive "non-assimilationist" character.
These concepts represent the strength of the fa'a Samoa, and the means of supporting the 'aiga everywhere. The Samoan network operates over a wide geographic area, and Samoans remain committed to a system of work based on tautua and fa'alavelave. The fact that Samoans are trying to improve the quality of life for their kinsmen in New Zealand and the United States should not be viewed in terms of cultural deficiency. Samoan service to the 'aiga and matai is an impressive cultural strength.

Similarly, rather than viewing the deficiencies of Samoan workers, distinctive "alternative competencies" (Howard and Scott, 1981) can now be identified. When employers show their Samoan employees that good work will result in steady, long-term improvements in income and benefits, Samoans perceive this potential "moving up" as an incentive for service, and become effective, loyal employees. Employers can do this by scheduling wage increases and providing health and even retirement benefits for the worker and his family.

Samoans are very productive when working in groups with other Samoan speakers, especially when tasks and goals are clearly identified. Finney (1967, 1973) has identified similar group- and task-orientations in Tahitian workers, and in New Zealand, the Vocational Training Council (1975) has emphasized the crucial role of the "anchorman" who effectively arbitrates between employers and groups of Samoan workers.

Employers can also get maximum productivity from Samoan workers by being sensitive to their fa'alavelave responsibilities at weddings and funerals, and by attempting to accommodate the irregularity of these events in their work scheduling. Informants indicate that explicit discussion between employer and employee on fa'alavelave matters gives
the Samoan worker the sense that the employer wants him or her for the long-term. Finally, signs of status, for example, badges, hats, or uniforms, will also act as an incentives to enhance worker performance.

The above-mentioned competencies are culturally based, however Samoans are also gaining skills within a wide range of occupations within the United States military, cannery work and management, and government service. Further, Samoans born in the United States and New Zealand are gaining new work skills and becoming increasingly competitive in the job market.

DIRECTIONS OF CHANGE IN SAMOAN PERCEPTIONS AND PATTERNS OF WORK

In this study I have taken a processual approach to the analysis of Samoan work. Traditional, transitional, and contemporary work perceptions and patterns have been discussed so that directions in cultural change might be more clearly identified. Underlying this cultural change has been an essential Samoan conservatism, a conservatism due in large part to a continuing commitment to tautua to 'aiga, minister, and matai.

In traditional Samoa tautua was demonstrated in agriculture and fishing, carpentry, tattooing, and fine mat making. In these work activities an individual moved up the path to authority at different rates of speed. Agriculture and fishing were constant forms of tautua that lead, over the course of the young adult life cycle, to positions of authority. More specialized work like carpentry and tattooing lead more rapidly to the accumulation of fine mats and political authority. Fine mat making was a continuous work activity that eventually resulted
in some women marrying powerful chiefs and gaining their own authority over village women's committees. In all these traditional work activities tautua was directed toward an individual's matai and 'aiga.

In the transitional period tautua was demonstrated through the acquisition and contribution of money earned in commercial agriculture, military, cannery, and government work. As subsistence and cash agriculture are conducted within the village, individuals demonstrate their tautua, and as a form of tautua, subsistence agriculture increases when agricultural cash earnings decline. The subsistence sector produces resources that are exchanged in a relatively limited geographic area, while cash agriculture produces a resource that circulates over a wider area. To some extent cash has become like fine mats, a commodity that weaves together many 'aiga over a large area. Money, like fine mats, and more than subsistence sector resources, is a key contemporary resource in political maneuver and mobility. Showing tautua through cash agriculture, or through any cash earning work, is thus more prestigious and politically efficacious than tautua in the subsistence sector.

Military work brought new meaning to the concept of tautua. In the period, 1939 to 1944, with the rapid defense buildup, Samoans quickly learned new skills that brought pay increases and a strong sense of improving individual status.

In the early years of military buildup Samoans began working for new authorities, and later with their enlistment in the U.S. Armed Forces, they began to aspire to moving up the ranks. At the same time, as evidenced by the number of twenty and thirty year men who have returned to Samoa, these servicemen may have viewed their careers as a path to
authority within the matai system. Many of these retirees have become matai. These servicemen thus performed their tautua in two contexts—the military and the traditional. Their "moving up" probably occurred more rapidly in the former than in the latter context.

Cannery work allows little possibility for American Samoans to move up as wages are concentrated at the legal minimum. For Western Samoans however cannery wages represent a major improvement in their wage earning potential. These wages are a large step up from wages available in Upolu and Savaii, and any small incremental increase is likely to be viewed as a significant improvement in status. For Western Samoans, cannery work quickly results in earnings that can be used as tautua at fa'alavelave time, or as fesoasoani (help). For American Samoans, cannery work may be perceived as minimum wage work, and other jobs in American Samoa, Hawaii, or the American mainland may provide more earnings for tautua, fa'alavelave, and fesoasoani.

Government work for American Samoans and Western Samoans alike has a hierarchy one can move up, and this probably explains the general Samoan preference for this kind of work. Government work also pays well so money earned can be used to tautua within the context of the titles hierarchy.

For Samoans in Hawaii, in a wide range of occupations, there are at least four possible directions of change in work perceptions and patterns. If work continues to be galue, that is, work without the potential for moving up the pay scale, money earned may continue to be directed toward Samoa, the matai, and the ministers. Tautua in this case continues to be manifested only in the context of the fa'a Samoa and its values. In
more theoretical terms, if Samoans remain in the secondary sector of the Hawaii economy, they may continue to sense their exploitation and discrimination, and become increasingly active politically, and this is a central element in what Portes (1984) calls "ethnic resilience."

If urban work begins to include more opportunities for Samoans to move up, they may turn more of their tautua toward local employers, just as they turn more of their tautua towards high ranking officers in the military when they perceive possibilities to improve their status. If more tautua is directed toward urban employers this may lead to a decline in the tautua directed toward the matai and ministers. For a Samoan worker to direct all his tautua toward local employer is probably a Samoan form of assimilation, perhaps leading to permanent settlement in Hawaii. However, he would also have more money to tautua his 'aiga, his matai, and his minister. This is probably the adaptive direction most Samoans prefer and would provide them with means to a more economically self-sufficient form of pluralism.

A final change in work perceptions and patterns would occur if 'aiga connections in Samoa became severely attenuated over time. Remittances would then become increasingly conceptualized as fesoasoani (help). They would become less regular, and increasingly directed at maintaining, or reviving, what have become dormant kinship ties. The increasing conceptualization of remittances as fesoasoani rather than tautua would represent a weakening 'aiga-malaga pattern of movement and adaptation. If fesoasoani comes to replace, rather than just supplement, tautua, then we might speak of the assimilation of Samoan urban communities, and perhaps the emergence of a Samoan proletariat.
This study of Samoan work clearly manifests the strength of the fa'a Samoa, and this leads to my final point. Ethnic resilience need not be a product of immigrant exploitation, it can be a product of traditional cultural values, such as the tradition of enterprise and entrepreneurship in Korean, Chinese, and Japanese communities. In the Samoan case, ethnic resilience is also a product of a traditional system of exchange, tautua and fa'alavelave, and Samoans generally feel their system of exchange has served them well over the 150 years of European contact. However, tautua and fa'alavelave are concepts in flux, waiting for definition from a new generation of Samoans born in Samoa, New Zealand, and the United States.

All cultural groups have systems of social transaction involving work, and many immigrant groups transfer these systems to urban areas in destination countries. The cross-cultural analysis of these critical work relationships would seem to be a fertile area for future anthropological research into immigration and adaptation processes.
APPENDIX A
STRUCTURAL THEORIES OF IMMIGRATION AND ADAPTATION

In a recent paper Portes (1984) discusses the current state of international immigration theory and specifies four theoretical foci in this research:

1. The origins of immigrant flows
2. The determinants of their stability over time
3. The use of immigrant labor
4. The adaptation of immigrants to the host society

Among theories concerned with the origins of migrant flows "push-pull" formulations are the most widely accepted. Such formulations delineate negatively evaluated economic, social, and political factors in the migrant's place of origin factors that compel people to leave their home village, region, or country for destinations where similar factors are evaluated more positively. Many of these formulations attempt to assess the relative strength of the push or pull in migrant decision making, and tend to emphasize differences in wage incentives between origin and destination area (Jerome, 1926, Wilson, 1969), or more recently between peripheral and advanced economies (Thomas, 1973; Piore, 1979). Push-pull formulations are particularly common in analyses of immigration to the United States (Portes, 1984:5).

Portes criticizes push-pull theories on two grounds. First, most push-pull models are developed post facto, that is, they have been successful in explaining existing flows, but unsuccessful in predicting
new flows. Second, they fail to explain why sizable migration occur from one country, while little or no migration occurs from countries in even worse social, economic, and political condition.

A second theory directed at the origin of migration finds deliberate labor recruitment to be the causal factor. According to Portes (1984:2), labor recruitment theorists argue that differentials of advantage determine only the potentiality for migration. Actual flows begin with planned recruitment by the labor-scarce (and generally more advanced) country. Recruiters inform prospective migrants of the opportunities and advantages to be gained by the movement and facilitate it by providing free transportation and other inducements. Thus the vaunted "pull" of U.S. wages had to be actualized in the early years of European migration by organized recruitment.

Lebergott (1964) has documented such labor recruitment in 19th century Europe, and Piore (1979) has documented the importance of labor recruitment in the origin of immigrant flows from Mexico and Puerto Rico.

Although labor recruitment has clearly been responsible for the initiation of some immigrant flows, Portes points out that migrations from several countries began without any apparent recruitment (1984:8). Portes is also critical of labor recruitment formulations for failing to incorporate those migrant flows originating through outright coercion, most significantly, the slave trade from Africa to the United States.

Portes presents an alternative theory to account for the origin of immigrant flows. Rather than viewing immigration as occurring between two distinct, autonomous, social entities, one which sends labor and one that receives it, he suggests that workers are moving within a single international economic system. As capitalism penetrates outlying regions it produces social, economic, and political imbalances
which lead to migratory pressures. Migration becomes a solution to problems that migrants see as internal to their own country, but that in reality are "induced by the expansion of a global economic system" (1984:9).

The second theoretical foci discussed by Portes involves the directionality and stability of immigrant flows. What he refers to as "orthodox" theory builds on push-pull formulations of the origin of migrant flows. This orthodox theory portrays immigrants as fleeing from want and deprivation, and establishing, over the course of years and generations, new, stable communities in destination societies. The classic studies of Handlin (1941), Thomas and Znaniecki (1951), Child (1943), and Wittke (1952), generally assume this process of unidirectional, permanent migration.

In the post World War II period, with the development of an increasing number of guestworker arrangements, considerable attention has been given to return migration, and to the importance of migrant remittances in maintaining links to home. This return, or "ebb and flow," migration theory has been applied with some success to contemporary Mexican and Dominican labor flows to the U.S. In this theoretical formulation the immigrant is viewed as a "target earner" entering an urban labor market in an advanced country, to earn the money needed to meet specific origin-area goals. Successful migrants are those who hit their "target" and then return home. From this perspective permanence in the city is not a sign of immigrant success, but rather of unmet economic goals (Piore, 1979; Cornelius, 1976; Dinerman 1978).

This "ebb and flow" characterization is a theoretical advance over earlier unidirectional theories of permanent migration. Portes, however,
is critical of both theories because they are based on the perspectives of the receiving country, and thus do not consider the immigration process in its totality. He again argues that immigration should be viewed as internal to the same economic system (1984:13):

Migration has a dual economic function: from the standpoint of capital, it is the means to fulfill labor demands at different points of the system; from the standpoint of labor, it is the means to take advantage of opportunities distributed unequally in space. The progressive articulation of a global economic order allows individuals and families in remote areas to gain access to a much broader range of economic opportunities and to "map" their use. Villages in the interior of Mexico maintain today regular contact with ethnic communities in Chicago. Remote towns in the mountains of the Dominican Republic are perfectly informed about labor conditions in Queens and the Bronx.

Ebb and flow theories, as well as Portes' single economic system formulation, place a great deal of emphasis on social networks, and their role in facilitating the movement of "target earners," labor, and information, across space (see Mayer, 1961; Epstein, 1973; Weisner and Ross, 1977; Kothari, 1980). The establishment of networks makes possible a continuing flow of migrants even after the initial stimulus for emigration has disappeared.

In discussing the third foci of international immigration theory, the use of immigrant labor, Portes again identifies "orthodox theory," that is, the theory developed from push-pull, and unidirectional migration formulations. In this orthodox theory immigrant labor is viewed as supplemental to scarce domestic labor. Further, immigrant workers are not viewed as qualitatively different from domestic workers, they are viewed only as newer, less experienced, and perhaps less
educated. As immigrant workers achieve better jobs, they leave lower positions in the occupational structure for new immigrants to occupy (Lebergott, 1964; Chiswick, 1980).

A second theoretical perspective on the use of immigrant labor develops the concept of "colonized minorities." Colonized minorities are those immigrant groups "who have either not come of their own free will, or have been made to work under conditions of slavery, servitude, or peonage" (Portes, 1984:17). Such workers are considered qualitatively different from domestic labor and come to occupy jobs that free domestic labor will not perform. The presence of a colonized minority benefits employers and laborers alike, eventually leading to what Hechter (1977) has called a "cultural division of labor," where the dominant, domestic population reserves the best occupations for its members.

A third perspective on the use of immigrant labor stresses that employers hire immigrant workers as a strategy against the organizations of domestic labor. Capitalist systems necessitate a large pool of unskilled laborers who will work for low pay, and thus depress the overall wage structure. Migrants fit into capitalist strategies because they are willing to work when unionized workers strike against management. Migrant strike breaking leads to conflicts between migrants and unions, and this distracts labor in its confrontation with management (Rosenblum, 1973; Galarza, 1977, Bonacich, 1976). In this view the labor market is split into domestic workers and immigrant laborers, and as Portes (1984:22) argues,

Ideology is employed less to legitimize the privileges of a race or cultural group over
another than to sustain the separation between two segments of the working-class and to fragment organizations based on class solidarity. The widespread existence of racism among domestic workers is thus, ultimately, an ideology directed against themselves.

The final perspective on the use of immigrant labor develops from dual labor market theory. Dual labor market theorists differentiate primary and secondary employment sectors in the economy, each sector providing different opportunities for earnings, upward mobility, and job security. Doeringer and Piore (1972:3-4) have succinctly described the primary sector of the labor market. It includes:

- jobs with relatively high wages, good working conditions, chances for advancement, equity and due process in the administration of work rules, and above all, employment stability.

The secondary labor market includes semiskilled and unskilled workers who are forced to work in unpleasant conditions for low wages. Secondary jobs are unstable, providing little opportunity for long term employment or career advancement. Dual labor market theorists argue that employers tend to discriminate on the basis of race, sex, and age, and this leads to immigrants being disproportionately represented in secondary sector occupations where they compete with other marginal laborers, women, teenagers, and semi-retired older workers. Dual labor markets theorists explicitly identify employer discrimination as a major structural constraint to migrant occupational choice.

These four theories on the use of immigrant labor are useful in focusing attention on the structural constraints which may influence individual migrant strategies, and limit the opportunities available to migrant workers. However, they do not adequately consider cultural
variation in the development of work strategies within particular immigrant groups.

The final foci of international migration theory deals with immigrant adaptation. Again, there is an orthodox theory of immigrant adaptation, and Portes identifies this theory with the assimilationist school (1984:29-30):

The assimilationist perspective defines the situation of immigrants as one involving a clash between conflicting cultural values and norms. The native majority represents the "core" while immigrants are peripheral groups. Assimilation occurs by the diffusion of values and norms from the core to periphery. By osmosis as it were, these new cultural forms are gradually absorbed by immigrants bringing them closer to the majority.

Within this assimilation process, Gordon (1964) has identified three alternative outcomes, "Anglo-conformity," "the melting pot," and "cultural pluralism." Anglo-conformity refers to the immigrants "complete surrender" of origin area cultural values. The "melting pot" thesis sees assimilation as a gradual blending of the cultural values, norms, and institutions of different groups, both core and peripheral. Cultural pluralism is the process wherein immigrants are able to maintain their distinct cultural factors while eventually attaining economic equality in the host society. According to Gordon, although cultural pluralism is the preferred outcome for immigrant groups, "it has never really existed in the United States" (Portes, 1984:31). Further, Gordon posits the view that "the acculturation process has led to outcomes best reflected in the Anglo-conformity thesis" (Portes, 1984:32). Sowell, on the other hand has argued that the "melting pot" outcome is more empirically accurate for the United States (1981:286).
The colonialist, split labor market, and dual labor market perspectives on the use of immigrant labor generate a different theory of immigrant adaptation. In this theory immigrants come to sense their exploitation within the host society, and recognize that only through "ethnic resilience" can they survive, and improve their status. Ethnicity becomes functionally advantageous as ethnic networks operate to enhance political power. According to Portes and Manning (1984:4):

Resilient ethnic communities formed as the result of a consistently disadvantageous economic position, and the consequent absence of a smooth path of assimilation. These situations, ranging from slave labor to permanent confinement to the secondary labor market, are not altered easily. They have given rise in time either to hopeless communities of unmeltable ethnics or to militant minorities.

The four theoretical foci discussed by Portes represent a great advance in our understanding of the potential impacts of structural factors on immigration patterns, the use of immigrant labor, and the adaptation of immigrant communities. However, this literature gives only minor consideration to the potentialities of cultural groups with different work perceptions and patterns.
APPENDIX B
SWAINS ISLAND LABOR CONTRACT

AGREEMENT

Articles of agreement made and entered into by and between
A. E. JENNINGS, owner of Swains Island, hereinafter referred to as
"Jennings," and ______________________ and ______________________
(his wife) hereinafter referred to as "Employee."

WITNESSETH:

That Jennings agrees to hire Employee and Employee agrees to work
for Jennings subject to the conditions in this agreement contained.

It is mutually agreed between parties as follows:

1. WORK DAYS: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday
with the exception of legal holidays shall be work days and for each
such day Employee agrees to perform a day's work as hereinafter defined.
The labor foreman employed by Jennings shall have the sole power to
determine whether work shall be discontinued or omitted during a
particular day because of inclement weather or other reasons. Upon the
determination of said foreman that no work shall be performed on such
day, the Employee's right to work and right to compensation therefor
shall ceases as to that particular day.

2. DAY'S WORK: For the purposes of establishing a day's work,
each Employee and his wife shall be considered as a unit. For each work
day, each man and his wife shall gather, husk, cut and dry four hundred
(400) coconuts. In the event that this quota is not maintained by each man and his wife, (a) Jennings reserves the right, if such failure or inability continues, to discharge the Employee, and (b) such Employee's pay for the day in which such quota is not maintained shall be determined on a pro-rata basis so that Employee will be paid on the basis of only the number of coconuts which he has cut.

3. **SALARY:** For each such day's work each man shall receive the sum of One Dollar ($1.00) and his wife shall receive an additional One Dollar ($1.00), making a total of Two Dollars ($2.00) per each man and wife. Both Jennings and Employee are to be considered to be required by this agreement to keep an accurate record of the days' work and the amount of money earned during each month. All wages shall be paid by Jennings monthly. Such payment may be made by means of chits, checks, or U.S. legal tender, at the option of the Employee. Employee shall have the right to demand payment in any form of tender mentioned above.

Jennings shall retain one-half of each Employee's monthly salary and shall pay the remaining one-half to the Employee as above noted. The total amounts retained by Jennings shall be paid to Employee annually; provided, however, that if an Employee is discharged or should leave the island prior to the expiration of any twelve-month period, then Jennings will pay the entire amount due to the Employee upon his departure.

4. **CREDIT:** Jennings, in his discretion, may grant to any Employee credit against the purchase of goods held for sale by Jennings. However, Jennings shall not extend credit to any individual or family in excess of an amount equal to 50 percent of their monthly earnings.
Such sums as may be given as credit to any Employee shall be promptly paid by the Employee at the end of the month in which credit is extended.

5. **HOUSING**: Housing, consisting of Samoan-type *fales*, will be supplied by Jennings free of charge to each Employee. Employee must maintain the cleanliness and repair of such housing.

6. **PLANTATIONS**: Jennings will provide free of charge approximately one-half acre of suitable land for each Employee for his own use as an individual plantation. Further, any Employee may plant banana plants anywhere on the island for his own use. Breadfruit from trees presently existing on the island, and coconuts, are available to all Employees for use as food, free of charge.

7. **IMPORTED GOODS**: Jennings agrees to obtain and deliver monthly if possible, any type of food or merchandise desired by Employee; provided that Jennings shall not be required to import any goods for any Employee who has not the financial means to pay for them. Jennings shall charge to the Employee for such goods only the actual cost price of such goods. Jennings shall keep receipts for all purchases so made, and shall, upon request, show such receipts to Employees at any time so that they may verify the charges made.

8. **LIVESTOCK**: All pigs and chickens on Swains Island are the property of Jennings and shall remain as such. Jennings agrees to distribute each month approximately three hundred (300) pounds of pork free of charge for the use of all the Employees chartered. Should Employee desire a pig for his own use, to be consumed on Swains Island, he shall pay to Jennings the sum of .25¢ per pound for all such pigs.
Sale of any pig to any Employee shall be left to the discretion of the foreman.

Chickens shall be furnished to Employee free of charge at the discretion of the foreman. Eggs may be used by Employee free of charge but not to the extent of jeopardizing the reproduction of chicken.

It shall be the further duty of the Employee under this contract to obey the foreman in the matter of feeding and care of livestock.

9. **ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE:** Any Employee or person who make or attempt to make any alcoholic beverages of any description shall be deported from Swains Island on the first available transportation.

10. **SPARE TIME:** Saturdays and Sundays and after work on other days shall be spare time and may be utilized by Employee in any manner he desires. Except for fishing parties or such occasions lights will be out at 10:00 p.m.

11. **LOADING COPRA:** Copra shipments will be made approximately once monthly and at such time all male employees may be required, at any time of the day or night, regardless of the number of hours of work involved to assist in loading the copra aboard the vessel. Employee shall be paid .15¢ per hour for each hour actually worked at loading copra.

12. **TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT:** The term of this agreement shall be for one year, subject to the following conditions: Transportation to and from Swains Island shall be furnished by Jennings free of charge to Employee, however, any Employee who is returned from Swains Island prior to the expiration of twelve months, by reason of his own default, shall be required to repay to Jennings the value of his transportation to and from Swains Island. This agreement is strictly subject to
satisfactory work and conduct on the part of the Employee, and should
his work or conduct be unsatisfactory to Jennings, or should his
services be no longer required, Employee may be discharged, and shall
forthwith leave the island. This contract may be renewed from year to
year under the terms hereof, by mutual agreement of the parties.

13. RIGHTS OF EMPLOYEE: Employee understands that he will
acquire no vested right to remain on Swains Island nor will he acquire
any property right on Swains Island, except as to those articles or
personal property which he may produce or purchase while on Swains
Island.

14. EXTRA INCOME: Any person desiring to earn extra income may
apply to the foreman, who may, in his discretion, designate extra work
to be done and the rate of pay for the performance of same.

In witness whereof, the parties hereto have affixed their
signatures at _______________________, on this _____ day of
______________________, 195__.

A. E. JENNINGS

by _________________________

______________________, EMPLOYEE

______________________, WIFE
GLOSSARY

'aiga
the extended family group of blood relations through mother and father, and others included by marriage and adoption, solidarity and service.

fa'alavelave
mutual kin support during crucial life events; a problematic situation requiring kin support; to provide this support is to fa'alavelave.

galue
just work; this concept does not carry the social value of tautua.

malaga
intervillage, interisland, international visiting groups; these traveling groups are important in maintaining solidarity between distant kinsmen.

matai
individuals with chiefly titles; there are two types of titles: high chiefs are ali'i, talking chiefs are tulafale, and these titles are sometimes combined and given to one individual.

taulele'a
untitled men; an untitled man (singular) is a taulele'a. Untitled men may also be referred to as tautua, servers of the chief and family.

tautua
concept of work involving service to chiefs and families. The degree and quality of service is an important consideration in discussions of title inheritance.
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