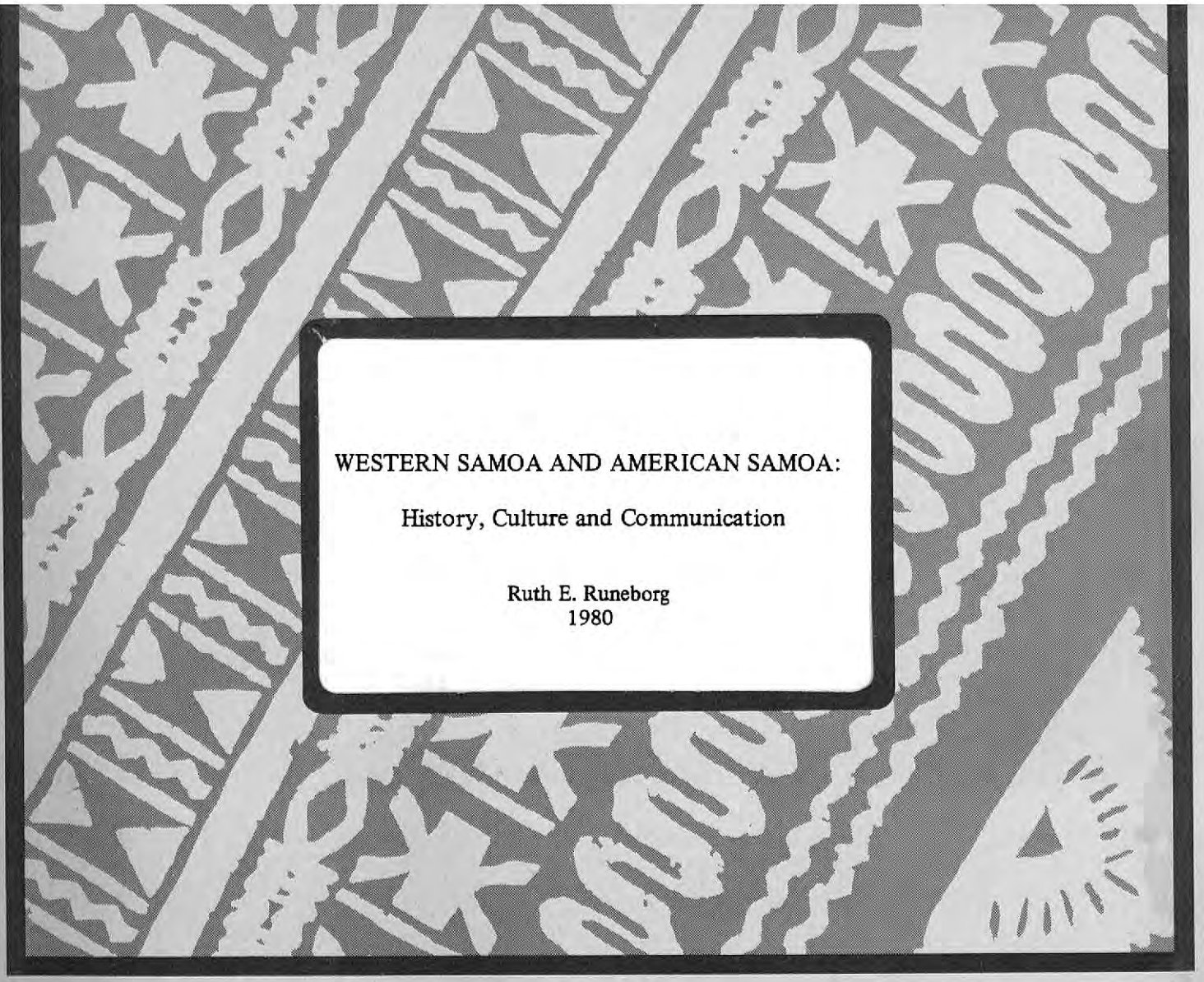

# WESTERN SAMOA AND AMERICAN SAMOA:

## History, Culture and Communication

Ruth E. Runeborg
1980

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Note

Many people have assisted me in producing this report. Among those whose efforts were invaluable are: (1) Matori Yamamoto, (2) Robert Shaffer, (3) Mr. Leulu Felise Va'a, (4) Dr. Andrew Arno, and (5) Ms. Renee Heyum. I am fully responsible for errors of fact, interpretation, or omission that remain despite these efforts.

In addition I wish to thank Dr. Godwin Chu, leader of the Social Effects of Communication Project and the East-West Communication Institute who made this study possible.

## Note

Today, Samoa is politically divided into Western Samoa and American Samoa. However, the traditional culture of the two Samoas is similar enough to consider these two political entities as one unit. Therefore, the Geography, History and External Communication section will cover Samoa as a single unit until the partition of 1899; thereafter, the history of Western Samoa and American Samoa will be dealt with separately. In the Ethnography, Symbolic Communication and Modern Communication sections, the two Samoas will be treated as one unit; post-1899 information will be noted accordingly.

# I. Introduction

Informed decisions on implementation of new communication systems are better made with a thorough understanding of the society's existing patterns of communication and their interrelationship with political, social and economic factors in historical context. This paper provides necessary background information for both Western Samoa and American Samoa based on the existing literature. It is a first step in providing essential information for future field research projects that will explore communication behavior.

The first section presents sources of information external to Samoa that had an impact on the society, as well as a general historical overview. The ethnographic section offers a holistic view of traditional and modern Samoan life and the limited amount of information available on traditional and modern interpersonal and group forms of communication. The section on symbolic communication specifically deals with the public communication of non-verbal or implicit messages. The final section describes existing forms of modern mass media in Western Samoa and American Samoa.

## II. Geography, History and External Communication

Western Samoa and American Samoa are located in the Pacific Ocean, south of the Equator. Western Samoa is situated between 71° and 173° West longitude and 13° and 14° South latitude. Western Samoa consists of two major, inhabited islands: Upolu (containing the nation's capital, Apia) and Savai'i. The large inhabited islets of Manono and Apolima, and the five uninhabited islets of Fanuatupu, Namua, Nu'utele, Nu'ulua (off the east coast of Upolu) and Nu'usafe'e (off the south coast of Upolu) are the other land masses comprising Western Samoa. The total land area of Western Samoa is 1090 square miles (Fox and Cumberland 1962:15). In 1974, the estimated population of Western Samoa was approximately 155,000 (Wood 1975:252), 90% of which are full-blooded Samoans (Haas 1977:103).

American Samoa is located between 14°10′ and 14°32′ South latitude at 171° West longitude. American Samoa consists of the islands Tutuila, (containing the territory's capital, Pago Pago), Aunu'u and Muliava (Rose Island), while the islands of Ofa, Olosega (Swain's Island) and Tau comprise the Manu'a archipelago. The total land area of American Samoa is approximately 76 square miles (Fox and Cumberland 1962:15). In 1974, the estimated population of American Samoa was 30,000 (Wood 1975:252).

Most of these islands are volcanic in origin. The islands have narrow coastal areas, high mountains and coral reefs; the land is covered with dense green vegetation. Samoa's climate is characteristic of a semi-tropical area. The average sea-level temperature is 79°F, and average rainfall varies regionally between 100 and 200 inches per year (Gray 1962:12). The dry season from April to November is characterized by strong trade winds, the wet season, from

December through March, by a slight increase in rainfall. Devastating hurricanes occur every few years, and tropical storms are common. Volcanic eruptions have also occurred since Western contact.

Samoan history can be divided into three time periods for our purposes: a pre-(Western)contact period until 1722; a period of political strife including inter-European conflict in Samoa from 1722 until 1899; and a post-partition period from 1899 to present. For Western Samoa, this latter period may be further divided into a period of German rule from 1899 to 1914, a period of rule by New Zealand from 1914 until 1962 and a period of self-rule from 1962 until present.

Two sources of information exist for the pre-contact period: archaeological information and oral tradition. According to archaeological evidence, occupation of Samoan lands extends back about 2500 years with no suggestion "that any major group of people other than Samoans or their ancestors lived there before the arrival of the Europeans" (Frost 1978:252). This data supports the Samoan belief in their autochthonous origin.[1] This broad time period is characterized by the appearance of Lapita pottery, earth mounds and star-shaped mounds. Similarities in the archaeological data between Western Samoa and American Samoa[2] support the concept of a common origin, but differences between the two lead the archaeologist to hypothesize the existence of a specialized function for the islands of American Samoa and the existence of social distinctions between the populations of the two Samoas.[3]

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[1] Anthropologist Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) reports an oft-quoted story: ". . . the reply of a talking chief to myself after I had sketched the migrations of the Polynesians from the mainland of Asia to the remote isles of the Pacific. 'We thank you for your address,' he said. 'The rest of the Polynesians may have come from Asia, but the Samoans--No. The Samoans originated in Samoa.'" (Buck 1930:5).

[2] American Samoa here excludes the Manu'a archipelago.

[3] This hypothesis is supported by ethnohistorical and ethnological data.

Samoan mythology and oral history dates back to approximately 0 A.D. The following events are significant: 850 A.D.--Pili divides the Samoan islands among his sons forming the traditional political districts of Samoa. 950 A.D.--Tonga conquers and rules Samoa (excluding Manu'a) until the Tongans are driven out in 1250 A.D., pledging peaceful relations with Samoa thereafter. 1550 A.D.--Queen Salamasina becomes the first person to hold all four high chiefly titles (tafa'ifa); her 40-year reign temporarily ends the strife over succession to this position. Samoa is supposed to have had extensive contact with other island groups due to numerous sea voyages Samoans made, which ended around 1500 A.D. However, the content of this contact must be left to conjecture.

Excluding the Manu'an archipelago, Samoa was traditionally divided into three large districts: Atua in eastern Upolu, Tuamasaga in central Upolu and A'ana in western Upolu.[1] Each of these districts had one "royal" title associated with it. Two primary lineages supported these three districts and three titles. Sā Tupuā lineage supported Atua district and the title, Tuiatua, as well as A'ana district and the title, Tuia'ana, while Sā Malietoa lineage supported Tuamasaga district and the Malietoa.

In sheer numbers, Malietoa appears outnumbered; however, Malietoa had influence on parts of Savai'i, in particular, Fa'asaleleaga, a district of eastern Savai'i with influential orators. Malietoa also had influence in parts of Atua and Manono, Apolima and Mulifanua, collectively called Aiga-i-le-Tai, which was formerly a sub-district of A'ana.

In addition, Tuamasaga was the repository of two of the four titles that together constitute the tafa'ifa: The title, Gatoaitele was bestowed by the Afega orator group and the title, Tamasoāli'i was bestowed by the Safata

[1]Tutuila was traditionally considered a sub-district of Atua.

orator group. The other two titles were Tuia'ana and Tuiatua. The person who acquired all four titles could obtain the position, tupu (King) of all of Samoa. The quest to obtain these four titles resulted in much warfare.

Each of the three districts was divided into subdistricts, which were further divided into villages, composed of descent groups called aiga. Each of these political districts and subdistricts had a political center or capital.

Each district, subdistrict, and village had a fono, a fa'alupega and ali'i and tulafale. However, the district and subdistrict only functioned as a group in times of war or on rare ceremonial occasions; an external force was needed to define and unite the district and subdistrict. The largest unit of central authority was the village; this fact complicated European attempts to colonize Samoa.

Samoa's initial communication with Europeans began in the 18th century with sporadic and sometimes hostile interactions with the following explorers: Roggeveen (Dutch) in 1722; Bougainville (French) in 1768, who named Samoa the Navigators' Islands because of the many canoes which approached his ship as he neared land; de La Perouse (French) in 1787, who lost some crew members at Massacre Bay; and Edwards (British) in 1791, who searched for the Bounty mutineers. Communication consisted of trading iron tools, cloth and other goods for food and fresh water.

In 1830, John Williams became the first European[1] missionary (London Missionary Society, hereafter LMS) to visit Samoa. His arrival coincided with a war of all the political districts of Samoa against the district Aana,

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[1] In the early 1820's, a Tahitian LMS convert preached on Tau Island of Manu'a; in 1828 a Tongan WMMS missionary preached on Samoa.

Note

## NATIONAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

| District | Location | Title | Lineage | Capital | Ally | Current Title or Highest Traditional Title |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Atua | Eastern Upolu & Tutuila | Tuiatua | Sā Tupuā | Lufilufi | A'ana | Mata'afa/Tamasese |
| Tuamasaga | Central Upolu | Malietoa | Sā Malietoa | Malie (Peace) Afega (War) | parts of Savai'i | Malietoa |
| A'ana | Western Upolu | Tuia'ana | Sā Tupuā | Leulumoega | Atua | Tuimalealiifane |
| Manu'a | Manu'a | Tui Manu'a | | Tau | | (Tui Manu'a) |

resulting in the decimation of the Aana people and the burning of their villages. The immediate cause of this war was the killing of Tamafaiga, the leading Samoan chief at that time, by the Aana district. Although Williams stayed only a short while, he returned in 1832, and between 1834 and 1836, ten more LMS missionaries and their families arrived.

With the 1835 arrival of Rev. Peter Turner of the Tongan Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (hereafter WMMS), the great missionary controversy started. The Methodists claimed the right to work in Samoa, because of the Tongan WMMS convert who preached in Samoa in 1828. The LMS missionaries claimed the existence of an oral agreement reached on July 4, 1830 between LMS and WMMS missionaries in Tonga. LMS was to have exclusive access to Samoa, while WMMS was to have access to Tonga and Fiji (Wood 1975: 263-265). In 1836, Turner was ordered by his London-based office to withdraw his mission from Samoa. In 1839, the WMMS finally left Samoa, but not before making many converts and encouraging religious factionalism. Between 1839 and 1849, the Methodist converts were strong in their requests to have England or Tonga send them WMMS missionaries. In 1845, a (French) Roman Catholic mission from Tahiti was started. From 1849 on, Methodism declined in Samoa, yet in 1857 WMMS missionaries returned to Samoa and Methodism was again revived.

Soon after the arrival of the first missionaries, commercial development began to flourish in Samoa. Whalers and trading ships used Apia and Pago Pago harbors. "These calls were . . . of great significance, both socially and economically. Samoans and Europeans were brought into day-to-day contact with one another; and the necessary conditions were created for the establishment of organized commerce" (Davidson 1967:38). The Conway

Code of 1839 formalized port regulations, while also trying to regulate the behavior of the many sailors (Gilson 1970:148). By 1860, over a hundred Europeans were operating stores and boarding-houses in the Apia area, and were permanently settled in this area, called "the Beach." The largest company in Samoa, established in 1857, was the German branch of the Hamburg trading firm, Johann Cesar Godeffroy und Sohn; this company was taken over in 1870 by Die Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln zu Hamburg (D.H. and P.G.) (Hart, Wright and Patterson 1971:58).

Concurrent with the arrival of the missionaries, many political events occurred. In 1839, British and American consular/commercial representatives were appointed; perhaps because of the lack of a Samoan central government, they dealt mostly with offenses of Samoans against Europeans, mediating between the two groups. In 1847, the Europeans of the Beach had organized forming the Foreign Residents' Society to provide "law and order" for Apia. In 1860, the Vaimauga Code was adopted; it contained 17 fundamental laws designed to protect property and enterprise and hopefully create "a political climate conducive to economic growth" (Gilson 1970:247). A latent objective of this legal code was the "gradual unification of the Samoans under a system of government that would stimulate industry among them" (Gilson 1970: 247). This attempt to unite Samoans and Europeans to govern a specific area failed in 1864, stimulating the reorganization of the Foreign Residents' Society which became the Association for the Mutual Protection of Life and Property.

In 1873, Colonel Steinberger visited Samoa as a special agent of the U.S. government. The Samoan central government being formed at Mulinu'u was headed by an elected group of seven high chiefs, Ta'imua, and

representatives of the local areas, the Faipule. Steinberger initially supported this government structure and reported that the U.S should annex Samoa, although the U.S. declined to do so. Steinberger acted as a counsellor to the Mulinu'u government, helping the Samoans revise this form of government, form district governments and settle numerous disputes. In 1875 he was appointed Premier of Samoa.

In 1879, the Apia area became a self-governing enclave and neutral territory in regard to inter-district Samoan conflict. The area was ruled jointly by the three European groups, the Germans, the British and the Americans, while the Samoans retained sovereignty over the area but refrained from exercising it. Meanwhile, several treaties had been made: in 1872 Meade's Treaty of Friendship with Tutuila gave the U.S. use rights to Pago Pago; Samoa made Treaties of Friendship and Protection with the U.S. in 1878, and Great Britain and Germany in 1879, all three of which promised virtually the same concessions.

Despite the missionary presence, inter-district conflict continued, though no doubt at a diminished intensity. These disputes concerned the succession of high chiefly titles and reactions ranged from heated discussions to full-fledged warfare. In 1875, Steinberger proposed a compromise for the position of head of state of the new central government: a four-year position which would alternate between the two primary high chiefly lineages; even this step did not end the succession disputes. These disputes were exacerbated by religious division and European influences. Occasionally the missionaries would demonstrate partisan support for one of the candidates, or for example, the potential titleholder who was Catholic would be backed by the Catholic Samoans. However, the more detrimental of these two external influences was the European

support of a particular candidate. The German support of Candidate A and the British/American support of Candidate B escalated to the manipulation of these candidates, placing them in power and removing them at will; this led to the 1889 confrontation of the three European powers.

Between 1880 and 1888, Germany's power in Samoa increased; in 1884, Malietoa Laupepa and Tamasese were firmly persuaded to sign an agreement which practically handed over control of the government to Germany. Meanwhile, pro-British and pro-American sentiment led to secret requests to Great Britain and the U.S. from the council of chiefs to annex Samoa.

An uprising escalated into a war between the British-and American-backed side of Mataafa and the German-supported side of Tamasese. Seven European warships with soldiers gathered in Apia harbor prepared to intercede in the battle on land. Only the infamous 1889 hurricane which lasted three days, destroying six ships and taking many lives, halted the war (Masterman 1958:36).

One month later, a meeting between the three European powers concluded agreement on the Berlin Act, which established the joint rule of the three powers in Samoa and reinstated Malietoa Laupepa as high chief. Also, Apia's separate and neutral status was continued, a Chief Justice was appointed and a Land Commission was organized. Samoa's famous European resident, Robert Louis Stevenson, arrived in Samoa in 1889 and took up the cause of the exiled Samoan chiefs as well as that of the Samoan people in general.

The Condominium Rule lasted until 1899. The three European powers remained united although armed conflicts occurred between the various Samoan districts.

Upon Malietoa Laupepa's death in 1898, the Europeans declared Malietoa Tanumafili king, but the uprising that followed placed Mataafa as head of a provisional government. As time went by, "the Germans firmly supported the provisional government, while the British and Americans became increasingly antagonistic to it" (Gilson 1970:428). The debate over succession continued and civil war broke out again. The arrival of a three-member, three-power commission halted the war, the Samoans were disarmed and the "kingship" was declared abolished. The commission established a provisional government headed by Dr. Wilhelm Solf, a German. Low-key negotiations resulted in Germany's exclusive access to western Samoa, the U.S. obtaining Tutuila and Manu'a, while Germany transferred their treaty rights in Tonga to Great Britain and made a number of other concessions. The tripartite agreement took effect the beginning of 1901 and the history of Western Samoa and Eastern (American) Samoa began.

Germany's rule of Western Samoa was uneventful. Dr. Wilhelm Solf became governor, a Land and Title Commission was established in 1903 to settle disputes, and peace and prosperity reigned. Solf abolished the Faipule and Ta'imua and appointed a new parliament. In 1908, a group of talking chiefs calling themselves Mau a Pule, who wanted more power, tried to voice serious complaints and impose their rule. They were exiled to the Marianas. Several events of economic significance occurred: in 1902 the volcano, Mauga o le Agi,

on Savai'i erupted and in 1905, the volcano, Matavanu on Savai'i also erupted, forcing the relocation of part of the population; 1903 saw the arrival of plantation workers from China, and from 1906 on, rubber plants were imported bringing with them the rhinocerous beetle in 1910, which attacks the coconut palm.

At the start of World War I in 1914, New Zealand warships, on orders from Great Britain, approached Western Samoa and demanded the German surrender. This transaction concluded peacefully, New Zealand administered Western Samoa on behalf of Great Britain until 1919. Western Samoa became a League of Nations mandated territory administered by New Zealand between 1920 and 1945.

Three significant occurrances took place during this era: the 1918 influenza epidemic, the organization of the New Zealand-run Samoan government formalized by the Samoan Constitution Order of 1920, and the Mau movement. The pneumonic influenza epidemic of 1918 decimated approximately 22% of the Western Samoan population. A ship with sick passengers was permitted to dock in Apia without observing quarantine restrictions, due to gross negligance on the part of the New Zealand colonial government. Further government errors, such as refusing medical aid from American Samoa and closing hospitals, compounded the problem. Among the dead were a disproportionately large number of older Samoans, including about two-thirds of the <u>matai</u> of the Fono of Faipule.

> This sudden loss of many of the older men appears to have precipitated a decline in traditional political activity . . . . the epidemic, while weakening the forces of an older traditionalism, had provided the people with a new reason for

> resentment of the administering authority (Davidson 1967:97).

In 1920 Western Samoa came under the authority of New Zealand's Department of External Affairs. The Samoa Constitutional Order of 1920 provided a legal foundation for Samoa based on English law as existing in New Zealand. In addition a civil administration was organized:

> executive power was vested in an Administrator and legislative power in the Administrator and a Legislative Council consisting of a majority of official members and a minority of nominated unofficial members . . . representative only of the European community. The Fono of Faipule was to remain in being; but it was not given legal recognition (Davidson 1967:100).

Both the Samoans and the resident Europeans were dissatisfied with this government structure that was formalized as the Samoa Act of 1921; yet it remained virtually unchanged until independence in 1962.

Dissatisfaction with many topics was eventually voiced in the Mau movement which lasted from 1926 to about 1946. Richardson, the New Zealand appointed Adminstrator of Western Samoa,

> wished to subject the Samoans to his will in order that he could impose on them a comprehensive policy of social and economic development. The actions of the government and its Samoan officials thus impinged upon the ordinary lives of the people far more extensively than ever before (Davidson 1967:112-113).

For example, the land tenure system was to be changed to a system of individual land holding and the process of election to <u>matai</u> title was to be

changed to nomination by the existing titleholder.

A formal petition of protest was drawn up by a large group of Samoans, but after hearing witnesses and reviewing the petition, the Parliament commission to which it was presented found most complaints to be without foundation, clearly contradicting the conclusions of a majority of Samoans. In 1927, the Mau organization was formalized as O le Mau, The League, or Mau. Richardson ordered the Mau to disband and threatened deportation for non-Samoans supporting the Mau; he deported several of the Mau leaders and then "pursued a policy of banishment and deprivation of matai titles" (Davidson 1967:121-122). The Fono of Faipule continued to be composed of Samoans appointed by Richardson, yet were treated as representatives of the Samoan people. The slogan, Samoa mo Samoa, or Samoa for Samoans, became popular as

> the Mau developed a broad campaign of non-cooperation with the Administration. Over a large part of the country, district councils, village committees and women's committees ceased to meet. Government officials, including the Administrator, were ignored by many villages when they went on tour. In some places the fono forbade any resort to courts of law. Children were withdrawn from government schools. Coconuts were left to rot on the ground, instead of being made into copra; and the banana plantations which had been established in response to the Administrator's successful efforts to open up a market in New Zealand became overgrown through neglect. Many births and deaths were not registered. And some taxes remained unpaid (Davidson 1967:122).

The Mau gradually began to exercise many of the functions of government, fulfilling its objective of self-government through Samoan traditionalism.

Several violent clashes occurred between police and Mau members, culminating in "Black Saturday," December 28, 1929, when eleven Samoans were killed; nearly all were high ranking matai, one of whom was Tamasese. "The three chiefs of highest rank in the Mau and its acknowledged leaders (were seriously injured) . . . they were dressed differently from the rank and file, and as they were shot they were appealing for the restoration of order" (Davidson 1967:138). A period of retaliation on the part of the New Zealand government followed, as Mau members went into hiding. From 1936 through 1946, concessions were made on both sides, as well as changes in the government structure which administered Samoa; "the New Zealand Labour government had, in its first ten years of office, restored to Samoa a fair measure of political quiescence" (Davidson 1967:160).

After World War II, New Zealand assumed Western Samoa's political status would continue as before; Western Samoa became a United Nations Trust Territory administered by New Zealand. However, in 1947, a UN delegation determined that Western Samoa wanted self-government. In the years that followed, Western Samoa gradually made the transition to self-government. In 1962, Western Samoa, or Samoa i Sisifo, became the first independent nation of the South Pacific, with New Zealand acting only as an assistant in external relations. The Western Samoan Constitution established a Cabinet, Judicial system and Legislative Assembly, and sufferage was limited to matais. Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole and Malietoa Tanumafili II became joint Head of State for life,[1] and Fiame Mata'afa became Prime Minister. Western Samoa became a member of the South Pacific Commission in 1965, of the British Commonwealth in 1971 and of the United Nations in 1976.

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[1]The office, Head of State, became an elective office after the initial office-holders' deaths.

American Samoa

American Samoa's history has differed greatly from that of Western Samoa. The 1899 tripartite negotiations actually did not award the United States title to eastern Samoa, but merely renounced British and German claims (Bishop 1977:4). In 1900, the chiefs of Tutuila ceded their land to the U.S.; in 1904, the chiefs of Manu'a signed a similar agreement. In 1925, Swains Island became incorporated as part of American Samoa by joint resolution of the U.S. Congress. These deeds of cession were finally recognized by the U.S. Congress in 1929. American Samoa remains an unincorporated,[1] unorganized[2] territory of the United States.

American Samoa's history until World War II was characterized by benign neglect. U.S. Navy Commander B.F. Tilley, who was Governor from 1899 through 1901, passed several timely regulations, forbidding the alienation of Samoan lands, dividing American Samoa into three districts for administrative purposes and imposing moderate taxes. His rule was firm but just; he tried to follow Samoan custom (fa'a Samoa) and was well liked by the Samoans. Since then, American Samoa has had 48 U.S. appointed governors, with "executive leadership . . . marked by indifference and ineptness" (Hannemann 1977:10).

American Samoa's Mau movement, between 1921 and 1930 was insignificant compared to that of Western Samoa. Spurred on primarily by some Californians who had visited American Samoa, it quickly lost momentum when grievances were rationally discussed between the Governor and the Mau leaders. A 1930 U.S. Congress Presidential Commission concerned with the future political status of

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[1]The U.S. Congress has neither incorporated American Samoa into the U.S. nor [2]made the U.S. Constitution applicable in its entirety.

[2]No organic act, such as that governing Guam, has been passed by the U.S. Congress.

American Samoa heard testimony and then recommended the passage of an organic act, dual citizenship and the continuation of the position of Governor.

World War II had a great impact on American Samoa as it became a front line station in the war. Young Samoan males enlisted in the U.S. armed forces and many opportunities for economic development were available. Also, "under the impact of war the Samoas were temporarily reunited" for the first time since 1900 (Gray 1960:242). The closing of the U.S. Naval Station in 1951 resulted in the mass migration of mainly U.S. government-employed Samoans to Hawaii and California.

In 1948, the Fono of American Samoa was reconstituted from an advisory council to a bicameral legislature of twelve high chiefs comprising the House of Ali'i and a House of Representatives of 54 elected, lower ranking matai. In 1952 the House of Ali'i became the Senate or Council of Paramount Chiefs, advisors to the executive branch of government; the House of Representatives was reduced in size to 18 members elected by universal sufferage and secret ballot, with non-matai also eligible to hold office. In 1951, American Samoa came under the control of the Department of the Interior, rather than remaining under Naval Administration. In 1956, Peter Tali Coleman became the first Samoan to be appointed Governor of American Samoa, and in 1960, American Samoa adopted a Constitution.

It was in the early 1960's that American neglect of American Samoa became apparent to the world. Popular articles such as "Samoa: America's Shame in the South Seas"[1] were written. American Samoa was scheduled to host the annual South Pacific Commission meetings in 1962. The combination of these two forces led to the rapid modernization and Americanization of the

[1]Reader's Digest, July 1961, pp. 111-116.

islands. U.S. Congress appropriations went from $1.3 million in 1959 to $13 million in 1963 (Bishop 1977:6) and modernization was seen in, for example, the health care, education and transportation systems. American Samoa's 1969 Future Political Status Study Commission reviewed all the possible political options, including independence, reunification with Western Samoa, statehood, commonwealth status, passage of an organic act and inclusion in Hawaii, and recommended no change in the status quo. They did propose, however, popular election of senators, representation in the U.S. Congress by a delegate-at-large and popular election of Samoa's governor. After three referendums and alleged election tampering by American Samoa's Governor John Haydon, Samoa elected their first Governor, Peter Tali Coleman, in 1977.

## III. Ethnography

The following section on traditional Samoan culture will encompass the economy, political and social organization, events of the life cycle, forms of communication, the religious and educational systems and urban Samoa. Each of these categories will be updated to the 1970's when possible, for both Western and American Samoa. The primary sources for these ethnographic data are Turner (1861, 1884), Stair (1897), Mead (1928, 1930), Keesing and Keesing (1956), Holmes (1957, 1974) Weston (1972) and Shore (1977). Throughout the text, the ethnographic present will be used, qualified in specific cases in the Notes.

### Traditional Economy

The traditional economy of Samoa is based on agriculture, and, to a lesser extent, fishing. The land is worked using slash-and-burn methods, clearing the brush from the land and then burning the remaining cover. Crops cultivated include taro, sweet potato, yam, arrowroot, breadfruit, coconut, banana, kava (the pepper tree, Piper methysticum), and the paper mulberry bush. Currently, cocoa, coffee, pineapple, rubber trees and vegetables may be grown as cash crops (Fox and Cumberland 1962:22). Papaya, oranges and mango also grow but are not consciously cultivated. Although everyone participates in agricultural chores, young men usually do the more strenuous labor, while women weed and help harvest the crops. No terracing or irrigation is practiced, fertilizer is not used and the principal tool is a wooden digging stick.

Over 100 different methods of fishing are practiced, using nets, spears, baskets, traps, nooses, knives, spear guns, hook and line and poisons (Stair 1897:201). Except for reef fishing which is done by women, fishing is a task done by men either singly or in groups. Especially noted in the literature is the entire community involvement in fishing for the palolo, a sea-worm which only appears a few times each year.

Siapo making, mat weaving, sinnet making and, since contact, copra processing, occupy the Samoan. Siapo or tapa is processed bark cloth of the paper mulberry bush which is made by the women. The bark must first be stripped from the tree, dried and soaked; then it is beaten to the desired width and decorated using stencils and on occasion, freeform designs. Siapo is used for bedding, clothing and as gifts. Siapo, and more importantly, fine mats or ie toga, play a significant role in ceremonial gift exchanges. Mats of pandanus leaf are plaited by women; the coarser ones are used for floor mats, the finer for bedding. Sinnet is made by the men into rope and house and canoe lashings from the outer husk of the coconut. Copra or dried coconut is processed by a laborious method of opening each coconut, allowing the meat to sun-dry and then removing it from the husk. The copra is then sold to be processed into coconut oil for use in soaps, and other products.

The division of labor in Samoan society is flexible in regard to agricultural and everyday cooking chores. However, only men build houses and canoes, make sinnet, go sea fishing, do heavy agricultural labor, make copra and cook feast foods.[1] Women occupy themselves with caring for the children, washing clothes, reef fishing, daily cooking, plaiting pandanus mats and making

[1]Formerly, all cooking was the men's responsibility.

siapo. Besides the sexual division of labor, work is divided by age and individual skill, with younger people assigned more strenuous tasks (Gilson 1970:16).

"Most work is a cooperative affair and people toil together in family groups . . . (and) in special association units" (Holmes 1974:40). The aumaga, an association of young untitled men do most of the heavy labor. The aualuma, the organization of young girls and wives of untitled men may occasionally do communal work; however, as individuals they are responsible for most of their household's chores.

There are few specialists in Samoan society. They are found in the following professions: carpenters who build houses and boats, tattooers,[1] and bonito fisherman. Carpenters have an informal sort of guild, which is complete with an inner hierarchy and apprenticeship system. A good deal of ritual surrounds the process of constructing a house, some boats, tattooing and bonito fishing.

## Modern Economy

"According to United Nations criteria, Western Samoa is one of the twenty-five least developed countries in the world" (Haas 1977:103). However, this is in comparison to the Western world; Samoa relies on agricultural production both for subsistence and export cash crops.

Recognition of the prestige value of wage labor jobs has led to expanding urban areas, especially Apia, even though such positions are scarce. This scarcity has resulted in emigration, both short-term and more permanent, to New Zealand, American Samoa and elsewhere. Remittances, money sent back

[1] In traditional Samoa, male youth were not considered adults until they were tattooed from their hips to their knees on all sides. Today, it is prestigious, fashionable, and a sign of manhood to have a tattoo.

from wage-earners abroad, are a very significant source of revenue. These monies are generally used for airfare so that others might emigrate for work, for providing children with higher education, and for raising the standard of living of one's relatives, e.g., by building Western-style houses.

Western Samoa's Third Five-Year Development Plan, 1975-1979, seeks to increase tourism and small private industry, to upgrade the general standard of living (education, health and public works) and to develop the livestock, fisheries and timber industries. Important factors in these plans are foreign aid and foreign investment. As of 1976, Western Samoa had a trade deficit of -18.0 T(M) with imports of 24.0 T(M) and exports of 6.0 T(M).

The economy of American Samoa is heavily dependent on U.S. aid (Meller 1975:59). In 1977, American Samoa's revenues were over $56 million, of which 82% was attributed directly to the U.S. Federal Government (U.S. General Accounting Office 1978:4). Star Kist and Van Camp tuna canneries offer industrial employment opportunities, as does tourism. The scarcity of available wage-labor jobs plus easy access to the U.S. has lead many American Samoans to migrate to the U.S., especially Hawaii and California; the remittances they send back to American Samoa play a significant role in the local economy.

Ineffective financial management and lack of a long-term plan and economic goals have contributed to American Samoa's economic problems, with no solution in sight in the near future (U.S. General Accounting Office 1978).

## Social Organization - The Matai System

The concept of matai, meaning the holder of a title of chief, is central to an understanding of Samoan social and political organization. The

matai is the elected head of the extended family, and as such, is "responsible for the behavior and for the welfare of all who live under his authority" (Holmes 1974:18). The matai has authority over the occupation and use of family lands and designates where a nuclear family will live and which portion of land they will cultivate. The matai can ask for contributions of goods and money for particular ceremonial events and he receives "service" (tautua) from those who occupy family lands, in the form of money, food or goods (Lutali and Stewart 1974:115). In return, the matai

> serves as a kind of family patriarch who must promote family unity and prestige, administer all family lands, settle disputes among kinsmen, promote religious participation, and represent the family as its political spokesman in the village council of chiefs (fono) (Holmes 1974:22).

The matai is generally a male member of the aiga by consanguineal, affinal or adoptive ties. Due to the many responsibilities, the authority and the great respect accorded the matai, potential titleholders are carefully considered in light of the following qualities: past service to the family, age (matais are usually over 40 years old), wisdom, knowledge of traditions and the mavaega or last wishes of the former matai. Recently such characteristics as amount of formal education, wealth, foreign experience and ability to deal with Europeans in economic and political affairs have been deemed important (Holmes 1974:20). In some cases, the judiciary of Western or American Samoa may be requested to appoint the matai. In Western Samoa, the court selects the matai on the basis of blood relationship, service, general fitness to hold title and mavaega.

> Close blood relations are usually the first to be considered for appointment to a title which has fallen vacant; but the mere fact of the blood tie

> gives them no pre-emptive right . . . . The . . . Samoan principle of 'Toe o le Uso'--the right of the surviving brother . . . (is considered) but confers no binding obligation (Marsack 1958:9).

The characteristic, general fitness to hold title, is described as the general character and acceptability of the potential matai to his family and to the village. In American Samoa, the court selects the matai on the basis of best hereditary right, the wish of the majority of the clans, the claimants' character, personality and knowledge of Samoan customs, and the value of the holder of the matai title to the family, the village and the country (Lutali and Stewart 1974:117).

The matai title is conferred upon an individual, usually for life.[1] The title is "owned" by the descent group; unanimous consensus of the aiga potopoto, the maximal kin group, is necessary before the title is bestowed. On the rare occasion that every attempt to reach a consensus fails, the title may be allowed to remain vacant or the title dispute may be taken to court. The court, after reviewing the qualifications of each claimant, may make an appointment to the position of matai or may split the title among two or more incumbents.

> The practice of splitting senior titles is done for four reasons: (1) to reward two or more equally worthy candidates for office, (2) to allow more than one faletama of an au 'aiga to be represented, thereby resolving succession disputes among two or more faletama, (3) to enable the responsibilities of office to be performed by a younger person, or (4) for electoral purposes (Weston 1972:204).

In some cases, title splitting to resolve succession conflict has the opposite effect and exacerbates factionalism instead of reducing it. Title

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[1] On rare occasions, the title may be revoked "for failing to conduct . . . responsibilities of office" (Tiffany 1974:50).

splitting also dilutes the authority of the matai. For both of these reasons, it is a practice which is discouraged. Title splitting, as well as title creating, for electoral purposes in Western Samoa has increased tremendously since 1962.[1] Sufferage and office-holding is restricted to matais; those matais seeking elective office with a larger number of supporters among their fellow matais are insured election. Thus, title creating, until limited recently by law, weakened the prestige and authority associated with possessing a matai title.

Each matai title within a village "is related to others and all are graded in rank" (Gilson 1970:19). The matai's authority and influence is directly related to his position in this village hierarchy. The village council or fono, composed of all the matai of the village, meets to settle disputes and determine punishments, to arrange communal work and contributions and to deal with village affairs in general. The fono also serves to regulate and validate status through the ritual surrounding the council meetings, a part of which is the fa'alupega, the courtesy titles of a village which are recited on occasions of inter-village interaction.

There are two categories of matai: ali'i, chiefs and tulāfale, talking chiefs. The tulāfale serve as spokesmen for the ali'i during public ceremonial gatherings and preside over the distribution of food and ceremonial exchange goods. The ali'i have a high personal status and a largely ceremonial function due to the great respect for the ali'i's personal sanctity. Shore (1976b) distinguishes between the formal power of the ali'i and the instrumental power of the tulāfale. In the common fono after the ceremonial parts are completed, "all chiefs participate in discussion and contribute to decisions in accordance with rank" (Gilson 1970:26).

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[1] This does not occur in American Samoa due to a 1969 law which closed the register of matai titles (Lutali and Stewart 1974:122).

Some "modern" Samoans believe the matai system to be an anachronism. As they establish themselves as wage earners and can fulfill their own material wants and needs, they begin to dislike turning over part or all of their paycheck to the matai. Increased education and improved transportation also facilitate the move away from the matai system. With a decreasing economic base, the matai's familial and moral authority may also decrease. The matai system, however, is flexible and has changed to some degree to adapt to Western ways (Pitt and MacPherson 1974). This may be one of the reasons that the matai system remains an integral part of fa'a Samoa.

## Social Organization - The 'Aiga

The basic social unit in Samoan society is the 'aiga, broadly translated as extended family. The 'aiga is defined as a cognatic descent group. However, it

> is the generic term for all kinship relations, close or distant, and refers to a distant consanguineal relative as well as to one's own sibling . . . . (it refers) to one's present residential group, one's own nuclear family . . . all of one's lineal relatives, whether matrilateral or patrilateral or most generally to one's entire bilateral personal kindred (Shore 1976b:277).

Ideally, all consanguineal descendants of the founding ancestor who are related through either male or female links are potential 'aiga members. To be recognized as an 'aiga member, active participation in the 'aiga's affairs is necessary; this requirement is fulfilled by residence on 'aiga lands, economic or political support, cultivation of 'aiga lands, or any combination of these four factors.

Each 'aiga is associated with a matai title. There are three different sized groups, which are related to the 'aiga: (1) the 'aiga potopoto or titular family, is composed of all consanguineal relatives, regardless of residence, who elect the 'aiga's matai; (2) the au 'aiga or residential family, is composed of members related through consanguineal, affinal or adoptive ties, who live in one village under the jurisdiction of one matai; and (3) the 'aiga tetele or political family, is composed of all 'aiga who are traditional supporters of one "royal" title.

Traditionally, 'aiga were divided into smaller, politically subordinate sub-units called faletama which had the option of becoming 'aiga if they grew large and politically important enough. Faletama traced their descent to the 'aiga's founder's siblings or children or their descendants (Tiffany 1975a:436). Although a faletama segment's members may reside on the same portion of the 'aiga's estate, faletama membership is

> not clearly differentiated in daily life . . . . Faletama memberships are most clearly delineated during the course of some important internal descent group issue, such as a disputed title succession (Tiffany 1975a:437).

'Aiga membership was traditionally divided into tama tane, (male children) and tama fafine, (female children). Due to exogamy and a tendency toward virilocal residence, the tama fafine were geographically dispersed, while the tama tane comprised the 'aiga atoa. Hence, 'aiga affairs as well as the title succession had a patrilineal emphasis. "Tama fafine exercised consultative and veto powers over proposed candidates and were influential in other 'aiga affairs as well" (Tiffany 1975:436). Today, 'aigas differ in the extent to which they honor the tama tane/tama fafine distinction (Tiffany 1975a:436).

Social Organization - Kinship

Individual kinship categories exist in Samoa, yet are not emphasized in the literature, perhaps due to the singular importance of the 'aiga and the matai. Mead lists the following kinship categories with their English equivalents:

1. Tamā; father or grandfather, much older brother, father-in-law.
2. Tinā; mother, grandmother, much older sister, mother-in-law.
3. tama; child or grandchild.
4. atali'i; son, son's son.
5. afafine; daughter or granddaughter.
6. uso; sibling of the same sex, direct or collateral descent, of the same age or generation to fifteen years older. Young members of parents' generation or older members of child's generation who come within this age group.
7. tua'ā; sibling of same sex (western Samoa usage—Pratt).
8. tausoga; sibling of opposite sex.
9. tuagane; sibling of opposite sex, direct and collateral, ignores generation if within ten to fifteen year age group older.
10. tuafafine; sibling of opposite sex, as above.
11. tei; younger sibling either sex used for all relatives younger than oneself, not young enough to be one's children. Primarily a woman's term.
12. toalua; spouse (either sex).
13. tane; husband.
14. avā; wife (used generically or of the wife of a tau le'ale'a).

(1930:127-128)

These terms are further modified when used to describe a particular individual and there may be more than one way of naming certain kinship categories. Some of these modified terms are only used during a particular event or as part of the chiefly language.

Beside the respect shown to the elderly and the matai, and the nuturance given to the very young, little can be said about specific behavior and attitudes between the members of different kinship categories. Only two kinship relationships are distinguished by specific behaviors: the brother-sister relationship which is characterized by avoidance, and the respect for the ilamutu and tuafafine.

Mead calls the feeling between brother and sister "perhaps the most dynamic single fact in the Samoan kinship scheme" (1930:41-42). This is because not only the brother and sister are involved, but also classificatory siblings and any members adopted into the 'aiga of ego's generation. Strict and total avoidance was the ideal. Shore lists five characteristics of modern brother-sister avoidance behavior:

> (1) the rendering of respectful service by the brother to the sister . . . (2) avoidance of casual or lighthearted conversation, particularly . . . bawdy banter . . . (3) rigid separation of sleeping quarters . . .(4) protection of the sister by the brother from the sexual aggressiveness of other boys . . . and severe disciplining of a sister . . . caught in a compromising situation . . . and (5) a mutual air of suspicion (1976b:283).

Between the onset of avoidance behavior (at 9 or 10 years of age) and marriage, the potential for incestuous behavior is a primary reason for avoidance (Mead 1930). After marriage, behavior between a brother and sister is marked by respect and formerly fear, (due to the sister's power to curse[1] those who offend her) (Mead 1930).

Formerly, Manu'a, the ilamutu, the father's sister, as well as the father's sister, and the father's sister's daughter, etc. are believed to have the power to curse the father and his descendants, and to make them barren.

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[1]Cursing is no longer common among Samoans as they are strongly Christian now.

They have the privilege of distributing toga when a dowry comes into the family and choosing the best goods for themselves.

> The ilamutu and the tuafafine share in their right to wash and dress the dead body of the brother or nephew, to fan away the flies while the corpse lies in state, and to keep the fan afterwards (Mead 1930:137).

Mead found an emphasis on the sister's son/mother's brother relationship in Western Samoa. The sister's son or tamasa was respected and allowed to take whatever goods he wanted from his mother's brother. This relationship was lacking in Manu'a.

> In western Samoa there was much greater emphasis upon the relationship between a woman's children and her brother; in Manua the stress is rather upon the man's children's relationship to his sister (Mead 1930:143).

In conclusion, the Samoan kinship system is similar to that of other Western Polynesian societies with three exceptions: (1) there is a lack of primogeniture, (2) "less emphasis upon relative age than upon differences in sex," and (3) "the extension of incest regulations to all relatives by marriage" (Mead 1930:146).

## Adoption

Adoption is an event which may have political as well as social aspects. Shore (1976a) delineates two types of adoption: domestic and political. Adoption involves the permanent transfer of jural rights and duties over the child and is usually marked by gift and food exchanges and a

name change. Domestic adoption occurs for the following reasons: the adopting couple is childless, the parents are sick or dead, the child is illegitimate or the parents are overseas. A lengthy fosterage relationship may be formalized by adoption. Grandparents may adopt a child to provide someone to care for them in their old age, a minister may adopt a child to have an "instant" kinship group or adoption may strengthen ties between close friends.

Fosterage or temporary care of a child is used to redistribute "little workers," to provide a home for schoolchildren and to allow the child to remove him or herself from disagreements in the natal household. Two differences may be noted between adoption and fosterage practices: adopted children are adopted at a younger age and many more males are adopted than females, while only slightly more males than females are foster children. Adopted children are almost always kinsmen, and there is a tendency toward adoption of matrilateral kin; among the few adoptions that occurred between patrilateral kin, over one-half involved the father's sister as the adopting parent (Shore 1976a:171).

Adoption may also occur in order to strengthen or form a political alliance. There are two types of "transferred children" or tama si'i: those who have genealogical links with the descent group already and those who do not. If a child of high rank is adopted (and for this reason primarily), the power he receives remains in the possession of his descendants.

> Where an adopted son gains a title only through his personal merit or service, it is common for a title to pass back to the heirs of its original owner after the adoptive holder dies or otherwise loses the title (Shore 1976a:192).

Village Organization

There are four social groups in the village: the organization of titled men which meet in the fono; the aumaga, the organization of untitled men; the aualuma, the organization of unmarried girls, wives of untitled men and widowed and divorced women; and the wives of titled men. The organization of titled men has already been discussed in the section on the matai system. The wives of titled men only gather to work on communal projects, such as siapo making, and are not a corporate entity in themselves.

The aumaga, often referred to as the "strength of the village," is comprised largely of young, untitled men, taule'ale'a. These young men do most of the heavy labor in the village and they cook and serve food for ceremonial occasions and fono meetings (Mead 1930). Their association is closely related to the fono of the matai which directs their work. The aumaga holds fono-like meetings presided over by the manaia, usually a close relative of the ali'i, complemented by the sons of the talking chiefs who act in the tulafale role. Currently, the aumaga also serves its members' recreational and friendship needs (Holmes 1974).

The role of the aualuma traditionally was to serve and chaperone the taupou, or village ceremonial virgin princess, usually the daughter of the ali'i (Holmes 1974). At the time of Margaret Mead's work (1930's), the aualuma worked for the wives of the titled men, preparing and serving them food, much as the aumaga did for the matai. The aualuma had little ceremonial importance and little existence as a group with the exception of inter-village ceremonies.

Currently the aualuma may be part of the larger Women's Committee that exists in almost every village. This women's group holds fono-like meetings in

which the rank of the women is directly related to their husband's rank in the fono. Women's Committees were formed in the 1920's to promote improved health and samitary conditions; now they also engage in church activities and communal work. The aualuma performs the heavier work of the Women's Committee, works on special projects and performs group dances on ceremonial occasions.

Land Tenure

In Samoa there is "an extremely close integration of the system of land tenure with the social and political systems" (Nayacakalou 1960:120). All land in a village is under the authority (pule) of the various 'aiga living in the village; the head of each 'aiga, the matai, has immediate control over the use of the land. To claim village land, the land must be cleared from brush and cultivated. As long as the land remains in constant use, the claim is recognized as valid;[1] thus, an individual may claim land for his own use. However, all people who live in a village are related to a particular matai and 'aiga, either through consanguinal, affinal or adoptive ties; the requirement that all render service to the matai allows the matai to say what is to be planted and to require a contribution from the harvest, if not all of the crop. "Every piece of land cleared from virgin bush becomes appurtenant to some matai title . . . whether cleared by aumaga, matai or taule'ale'a" (Nayacakalou 1960:115). Individual ownership of land existed when an untitled person received a gift of land as a reward or in the following case:

> Land which a matai clears with his own labor belongs to him and he may leave it, by a spoken will in the presence of his relatives usually made long enough before his death so that he can see it executed, to whomsoever he pleases (Mead 1930:72).

Land was not able to be sold because of the fact that it was "owned" by the group.

Currently, village land can be geographically divided by use into village house lots, plantation plots, family reserve sections and village land. Plantation plots are located along coastal areas outside the village itself and on the lower slopes of the hills; coconut groves, breadfruit trees and banana plants are grown there. Family reserve land lies further up the mountain slopes and taro, yams and bananas are planted there. Village land includes the bush land high in the mountains and reef and sea areas; the land is considered "public property" or may be used exclusively with the permission of the fono (Holmes 1974).

In Western Samoa, the Samoa Act of 1921 formalized the definition of types of land. European land or land held in fee simple[1] was distinguished from Native land, which was used according to Samoan customs and held in trust by the government. Crown land was land held in trust by the government. In 1960, the categories of land were renamed; freehold (European) land, customary (Native) land, which is no longer held in trust by the government, and public (Crown) land were the resulting labels (Weston 1972:85).

In American Samoa, similar classifications of the land exist. Freehold land[1] is that land held in fee simple and communal land is that land owned by the 'aiga potopoto. Individually "owned" land is land cleared from virgin bush "by a person acting in his individual capactiy"; the person must be of at least one-half Samoan blood and must have been born in American Samoa (Lutali and Stewart 1974:125). The amount of freehold and individually "owned" land in American Samoa is very small. Communal land and individually "owned" land may not be alienated and land types are not transmutable.

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[1]This land had been alienated during the nineteenth century primarily by European plantation owners.

Traditional and Modern Public Communication

There are two forms of traditional public communication in Samoa: the fono or council and the malaga or journey. The term, fono usually refers to the village-level meeting of matais to discuss matters of local significance. A fono may also be held among the members of the aumaga, aualuma, Women's Committee or residential household, as well as on the village, district and national levels. The fono is opened by a ceremonial address which serves to set the tone for the business which will be discussed later. Next, kava is prepared and served. Then, business is discussed until a consensus decision is reached. Precedence in speaking, the seating arrangement and the order in which the kava is served are indications of the rank of the participants. The fono may be closed by another kava ceremony or by a feast. The amount of ceremonial activity varies with the village; district and national fonos are accorded more formality than the other fono types. Fonos may also be held solely for a specific purpose, such as allotting chores, selecting a candidate for office and meting out punishment for those who have committed a crime.

The malaga or journey "facilitates interaction beyond the local setting" and its purpose is usually a combination of social, political, informative and recreational elements (Keesing and Keesing 1956:80). "The malaga is a form of newspaper, theater, sport, and lecture circuit, with political forum included" (Keesing and Keesing 1956:81). The malaga party, of a household or an entire village, may set out to visit a specific village or they may tour the entire island. At each place they stop, they are offered food, entertainment, a place to stay overnight and anything else they require. The ceremony in which the malaga party participates, upon their arrival is marked by an opening speech of welcome by the host tulafale which

is replied to in the acceptance speech performed by the visiting tulafale. After a kava ceremony which follows the speeches, a feast is held and then entertainment in the form of dancing and singing concluding with the presentation of ie toga to the visiting tulafale. An optional part of these events in Manu'a, is the talolo, a ceremonial threatening dance performed by the high chief and taupou with knives, clubs and much noise and confusion; the talolo may be performed before the kava ceremony or at a later time.

Both the fono and the malaga remain important communication institutions in both Western and American Samoa today. The fono remains the primary method of regulating village affairs and

> so essential is this malanga technique for doing business of any kind in Samoa that it is used constantly by the administration. The official malanga for purposes of health work, school inspection, radio survey, and the like, and the periodic malanga of the senior representative of the metropolitan country, are regular activities of the modern government (Keesing and Keesing 1956:82).

However, modern public communication is also facilitated by the church minister who may discuss local, national and international events from his pulpit every Sunday and by the modern, mass media, such as radio, newspaper, movies, and television.

## Events of the Life Cycle

The first event of the life cycle, birth, is assigned more social importance if the child is first-born. All births are celebrated by a feast, and depending on the family's rank, an exchange of gifts. The child is

weaned when it is about one or two years old and is entrusted to the care of a six or seven year old girl.

The next event for a male is supercision at approximately age 9 or 10. At age 15 or so, the boy prepares to enter the aumaga. His matai will present him to the aumaga when they are having their fono and will offer a gift of food or kava. A girl's admission to the aualuma is similarly marked by a gift of food, and then a feast of all aualuma members.

Courtship and marriage are the next events. Marriages are not arranged, but formerly the consent of the parents was essential. The potential bridegroom attempts to woo his bride-to-be through his soa, or friend and go-between, using gifts of food and romantic words. The marriage contract is validated by a gift exchange between the two families. Currently, the marriage is validated by a civil ceremony, a religious ceremony, feasting and a gift exchange. Traditionally, the courtship of a taupou involved much ceremony, a feast and gift exchange. The marriage ceremony was characterized by a public defloration ceremony (o le fa'a masei'au), a gift exchange, feasting and dancing.

The final event of the life cycle, death, is marked by those funeral practices that occur before the burial and the funeral ceremony which occurs sometime after the burial. Upon death, the corpse is prepared for burial, washed, oiled and dressed in white clothes. Relatives, associates and officials are notified and arrive, offering their condolences. The widow, children and other close relatives are kept awake through the night, by hymn singing, wailing and the visits of various village groups.and church choirs. Relatives of the family have brought gifts of food, ie toga, and money; the next day, most of these goods are redistributed after the burial and the food is prepared and eaten at the feast. The deceased is buried this second day on

the family's land, formerly, near the house. Next, food and goods are redistributed and the mourners disperse, returning home.

The funeral ceremony, which includes a redistribution of specific categories of fine mats, is usually held several years after the deceased's death, but may also be held while the matai is still alive. This time lapse permits the 'aiga to gather a larger number of fine mats for redistribution, and hence, increase their prestige. The 'aiga contribute certain fine mats called ie toga o le lagi and special fine mats called farewell mats or 'ie o le tōfā (Weston 1975:151). These mats are then divided among the various kin and people of political standing. Mead (1928) notes the lack of funeral ceremony for ordinary chiefs in Manu'a while Weston (1975) states that the funeral may be held immediately after the burial and feast. With this redistribution, the funeral ceremonies are officially concluded.

## Traditional and Modern Interpersonal Communication

Within the Samoan village, several other cycles are found, besides the life cycle. The daily cycle of events differs for men and women only to the extent that their chores according to the division of labor differ. Women spend time cooking, weaving and caring for the very young children, while men are engaged in heavy agricultural labor and fishing. In many villages, the fono has designated a weekly work schedule, assigning specific tasks to be done only on specific days. These economic activities occupy most of the daylight hours. Interpersonal communication centers around these economic activities. Work groups, such as the household or aumaga may form to complete the chores. Thus, interpersonal communication is primarily limited by economic

activity. Two other constraints are kinship tapu: e.g., a man avoiding his sister; and individual personality, e.g., a man's relationship with his fellow villagers.

This daily and weekly cycle is broken by Sundays, a day of rest, and Church activities. During the year, the weekly cycle may be broken by occasional holidays such as Christmas, or by visitors, perhaps passing through the village on malaga.

In a modern Samoan village the daily and weekly routine remains similar to that in traditional Samoa. However, social relationships are much more complex now, are based on a wider scale of values and occur more often. The church and school have served to broaden the channels of interpersonal communication, while external influences such as radio and newspapers have increased and diversified the content of interpersonal communication.

## Traditional Religion

Samoa has an extensive mythology too lengthy to be dealt with here. Subjects include a creation myth, myths about the origin of kava and sugarcane, the founding of lineages and royal titles and the acts of the Tagaloa family (Stuebel 1976). These Tagaloa gods were called atua, while local and family deities were named, aitu.[1] These deities were not worshipped and "the priesthood, if it can be called that, consisted of chiefs . . . who derived power more from their social and political status than from any supernatural sanction" (Holmes 1974:59). Tapus were used to restrict resource use and tapui, protective charms, protected property. Holmes (1974)

[1]The aitu are currently believed to be ghosts of ancestors who can cause illness.

notes the existence of vague totemic food observances and a weak concept of mana, usually associated with a chiefly title.

The emergence of a number of Christian-influenced cults during the nineteenth century is notable. Various sailor-led sects had small groups of followers in particular areas. The most well-known of these cults was the Sio Vili cult which incorporated the rites and doctrines of Christianity with prophecy, spirit possession, miracle-working and a future millennium (Freeman 1959:189).

## Religion in Samoa Today

Today, almost all of Western and American Samoa is Christian. The principal church is the former London Missionary Society Church, now called the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa. The Methodist Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church all claim a small percentage of the population as members; there are also many other churches and sects whose membership is small but increasing.

Christianity has become an important part of the Samoan's life. The villager supports his church by attending worship services, meetings and choir practices, by sending his children to the pastor's home for religious instruction and by building churches and supporting the pastor with gifts and food.

The church also serves as a source of prestige. Parents gain prestige through children who are good students in their religion classes and who perform well on White Sunday.[1] The position of lay preacher, as well as

[1] A Sunday in October in which children perform the worship service.

minister is prestigous and in some churches official church membership is limited to adults who follow Christian standards of moral behavior.[1] Church contributions are also a chance for public commendation and inter-village rivalry, especially during the dedication of a new church building, is expressed in choir performances and the financial contributions of each village.

## Traditional and Modern Education

The rise of Western-style education can be directly linked to the advent of Christianity in Samoa. Previously, children learned their role in Samoan society by watching and associating with those who were a bit older than them as well as their same-sex parent. Missionaries started schools to teach reading, primarily of the Bible, and other subjects. In 1844, the Maulua Institute was founded; its goal was to train Samoans to become ministers.

Since then, many changes have occurred in the educational system. According to Western Samoa's 1975-1979 Development Plan, 83% of the primary school children and 34% of the secondary school children are enrolled in government-operated schools. The remainder of the children attend private church-affiliated schools. A reorganization of Western Samoa's present school system is planned to make secondary education universal through ninth grade. A selective senior secondary school, covering grades 11 and 12 is planned, as well as the introduction of a "pro-vocational bias" in the junior secondary schools (Western Samoa. Department of Economic Development 1974:45). Western Samoa also has a Teachers' College, a Technical Institute,

[1] Membership allows the member to receive communion and participate fully in church functions.

and a branch of the University of the South Pacific (USP). For further education, Suva, Fiji houses the University of the South Pacific while other alternatives are colleges and universities in New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain, Canada, Papua New Guinea, Hawaii and mainland U.S.A. In addition, diploma and degree courses are available at the University Centre through the USP Extension Service. Technical training is also available in these countries; for example, the Central Medical School in Suva trains nurses and medical officers (M.O.'s).

In 1964, American Samoa began a massive overhaul of its educational system with the introducation of instructional television. This step was believed necessary for several reasons: many teachers lacked adequate educational backgrounds, and although English was supposed to be the language of instruction, many teachers were not able to speak it fluently. Also, in 1961, post-primary education became universal instead of selective, and Samoan students who attempted non-Samoan post-secondary education found their educational background seriously deficient.

Twenty-six consolidated elementary schools were planned and built, as well as three additional high schools (Berry 1965). Television programs covering many subjects were used to instruct the students, while the classroom teachers played an accessory role of supplementing and reinforcing the television lessons. Teachers also received instruction after school hours, in preparation for the next day's lessons. The television was used in the community and broadcast adult educational programs in the evenings.

A 1971 study whose recommendations were largely followed, drastically changed the philosophy on which the instructional television was based: television became a supplement to classroom instruction instead of the sole

method of instruction. The instructional role of the teacher was reinstated, emphasizing question and answer interaction, discussions and individual projects.[1]

Urban Samoa

Western and American Samoa's urban "problems," generally identified as overpopulation, inadequate facilities, etc., are similar to urban problems in other parts of the world. Children migrate to the urban area for the better educational facilities available there, parents follow to support the child and young educated adults do not want to return to the outer islands. Other reasons for migration include the availability of better medical facilities, the chance of wage-labor employment, shortage of land in the outer islands, and the excitement of city life.

The urban area is usually unprepared for the increase in population. Inadequate housing, substandard water and sanitation facilities and limited social services are only a few of the technical problems encountered. Financial problems, such as an increase in unemployment and an increase in personal indebtedness may also result in overpopulation. Among urban social problems, many associated with the large number of educated youth, especially those who are neither employed nor in school are juvenile delinquency, youth gangs, prostitution, youth suicide, alcoholism and drug abuse, neglected/abused children, family/maritial conflicts and increased psychosomatic disturbances and mental illness. Despite the improvement in educational standards, there remains a shortage of highly skilled personnel for professional, technical

[1]The pre-TV teaching method was primarily rote memorization and recitation.

and executive positions in industry and government, due to out-migration.

A recent report by M.G. Fox (1971a), United Nations Social Welfare Adviser, pointed out four areas which were affecting the social development of Western Samoa: increasing population, migration both for education and wage-labor jobs, tourism and higher educational standards. According to Fox (1971a:4), the lack of a national policy which would balance the desire for Western goods against retention of Samoan values has encouraged unguided social development.

American Samoa has similar if not identical problems to those of Western Samoa, plus a few uniquely her own. Due to American Samoa's status as a U.S. territory, migration to the U.S. for jobs or education is easily accomplished; American Samoa is also eligible for U.S. government welfare programs such as Social Security, Workman's Compensation, the School Lunch Program, etc. (Fox 1971b:11). The combination of primarily these two factors has led to American Samoa being a temporary home for about 10,000 Western Samoans and Tongans who work in American Samoan factories and stores, while residing in the urban areas. Also, about 3000 Chinese, Japanese and Korean fishermen are circulating residents of American Samoa. American Samoa's small size and hence, limited natural resources encourage the move to the urban areas.

## IV. Symbolic Communication

In Samoan society the fono, the kava ceremony, and the ifoga, a ritual apology, are all media through which various information about the rank, status, and prestige of group members is communicated. Such messages are transmitted through seating arrangements, serving order, behavior, and bodily ornaments.

### The Fono[1]

The village-level fono is usually held either in the guest house, or fale tele, "a circle of posts crowned with a high thatched roof" (Mead 1928: 56), or on the malae, a grassy area which is the village's ceremonial center. Ceremonial phrases and the order in which the kava is served reflect an individual's rank in the group, as does the seating arrangement.

There is considerable divergence in the literature as to what constitutes the correct seating arrangement in the fono. For example, Buck states that

> the two rounded ends are the places of honor: entering from the front, that on the right is occupied by the village chiefs; that on the left by (visiting chiefs or other guests). The middle end posts serve as back rests for the chiefs of highest rank on either side . . . The principal visiting talking chief sits by the middle (post) on the front side . . . About midway between his own high chief and the visiting talking chief sits the principal talking chief of the village . . . (A) stranger who is unheralded and unknown has the right to the stranger's post . . . If the stranger

[1]The fono's role in explicit communication has been considered under Traditional Public Communication in the Ethnography section.

> is of chief's rank, he takes the fourth post on the front (on the guest side), but if beneath that rank, he takes the corresponding fourth post at the back (1930:96-97).

Mead lists

> several definite points of importance: the kava bowl and those who serve the kava in the rear, the post of the high chief at the center of the right hand segment, the post of the chief orator in the left hand segment; the posts of the talking chiefs who distribute the food in the front of the house (1930:55-56).

In general,

> in the right sector sit the high chief and his special assistant chiefs; in the front of the house sit the talking chiefs . . . against the posts at the back of the house sit the matais of low rank and between the posts and centre sit those of so little importance that no place is reserved for them (Mead 1928:74).

## The Kava Ceremony

The kava ceremony is usually part of a larger event such as a fono. Even so, the kava ceremony communicates several different concepts: it demonstrates the current rank of the particular individuals and indicates the relative ranking of a village's matai titles (Weston 1972:228), it validates changes in political status and life cycle events and it serves to legitimize particular meetings.

Kava is made from the root of a pepper plant, Piper methysticum. The root is pounded (historically it was chewed) and then mixed with water and served. Kava is a mild tranquilizer, and prolonged and heavy use of kava is associated

with weight loss, constipation, ichthyosis (fishskin disease)[1] and irritated, bloodshot eyes.

To make kava, the root is broken into smaller pieces, it is scraped and pounded by the kava maker, (either the taupou or manaia); historically it was chewed by the aualuma or aumaga. The person to the right of the kava bowl adds the water while the kava is kneaded in the bowl. The fau (strainer of a fibrous material) is used to collect the undissolved material; the fau is wrung out with stylized motions to expel the kava infusion, passed to the outside of the fale where it is shaken clean. It is returned to the kava maker and the process is repeated until the kava is deemed of a proper strength. The cups of kava are then called in proper order and by proper name by the principal tulafale.[2] The kava maker fills the cup using the fau and an attendent distributes the kava to the person called to receive the cup. The bearer carries the cup toward the person holding it high with one hand, and then sweeping it down with a curving gesture. The person drinking usually pours a bit out, murmuring a blessing, drinks and empties the cup over his shoulder outside of the house; then the cup is handed back to the attendent.

"Generally, the first person to be served was the head chief of the district . . . and the other people were served in succession according to their relative ranks" (Williamson 1939:61). Thus, the kava ceremony communicates the rank of the participating individuals. A kava ceremony is held when a man receives a matai title and when a youth is admitted to the aumaga. Usually, visitors are not considered properly received without a kava

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[1] Perhaps more correctly attributed to nutritional deficiencies associated with heavy use of kava.

[2] Usually the different cups have names and the cups' names are called, not that of individuals.

ceremony and a fono is likewise incomplete without a kava ceremony. The kava[1] ceremony communicates the validity of events to the participants and observers.

## Ifoga

The ifoga is a public apology to the injured person and his family, performed by the offending individual and/or representatives of his family. Early in the morning the offending person will sit in front of the house of the matai of the injured person, bow his head and cover himself with a fine mat or ie toga. There he/they will wait, perhaps until sunset, while everyone who passes by the house sees them humiliating and debasing themselves. Presently this public demonstration of remorse ends when the offended matai, through his tulafale, invites the person or group into his house. There, a formal apology is offered, usually by a tulafale of the offending family and fine mats are presented to the aggrieved family.[2] The receiving family may then serve food to the offending group, thus concluding the ceremony.

The ifoga is performed for minor as well as serious offenses, from assault to murder. Traditionally it was possible that the ifoga might not be accepted; in this case, the receiving group would physically attack the group performing the ifoga, thus starting a cycle of retaliation. At present, an

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[1]There are several different names for kava prepared for various events. Kava pongipongi or early morning kava is prepared for people who are continuing their journey departing early in the morning. Kava mua'au is kava prepared for warriors before going to war. "The armed warriors lined up along each side of the road and the kava bowl was set up in the middle of it. Only the chiefs were served with 'ava mua au" (Buck 1930:163).

Different names are also given to kava which has various usages. Kava oso "is the kava root taken by people on a tour or journey to give to the chiefs of the villages they visit" (Buck 1930:162). Kava mata is green kava freshly dug up and is "a present of the highest respect to visitors" (Buck 1930:162). Kava uso is kava with long thin roots bound together and is presented to a visiting relative who has been away a long while.

[2]Presently, kegs of corned beef or money may also be offered.

ifoga is almost always accepted; refusing it is an insult to the offending group.

Ideally, the performance of an ifoga in essence, "wipes the slate clean" for the defendent. The offense is considered to have not taken place and all is forgiven.

> The purpose of an ifoga is to diminish the chance of bloodshed through acts of vengeance and to be a formal apology, given and accepted in public so that the families of the villages concerned are well aware that the wrongful act has been atoned (Stewart 1975:191).

The ifoga effectively settles disputes by communicating to the public, the resolution of the affair through the medium of a public apology.

## Clothing and Personal Adornment

Village groups such as the Women's Committee or a church choir will usually wear uniforms of cloth cut from the same bolt of material; this serves to distinguish one group from another and foster and communicate a sense of group identity. The Samoan males' equivalent of trousers is the lavalava, or cloth wraparound skirt. Wearing of a lavalava has become a symbol of being Samoan and of fa'a Samoa.

> In traditional ceremonies the chiefs and members of their retinues will still almost invariably wear garments of patterned 'tapa' bark cloth (siapo)or 'fine mats,' made of very finely plaited fiber, or shaggy hand-plaited garments of white, brown, red, or black, having high symbolic value (Keesing and Keesing 1956:75).

Other forms of personal adornment also communicate rank. Headdresses of human hair and shells might distinguish a taupou, and almost all titled men were formerly tattooed. During a fono, a high chief is permitted to carry a large fly whisk or fue as a symbol of his office. Lesser chiefs may carry small fue. The high tulafale has the right to carry "an enormous fue" which is thrown over the left shoulder before starting a speech; the tulafale may also stand, leaning on his orator's staff while reciting (Holmes 1974:28).

V. Modern Communication in Samoa

Newspapers

Samoa's history in regard to mass media extends to the early to mid-1800's with the annual printing of The Samoan Reporter, detailing the activities of the LMS missionaries. This newspaper was followed by the Samoa Times and then the Samoa Guardian, which upon its move to New Zealand became the New Zealand Samoa Guardian, and a mouthpiece for the Mau movement. The Samoa Times was taken over by the Samoa Herald, which was later included in the Western Samoa Mail. In 1949, the Samoa Bulletin was started and in 1960, the Samoana was first printed. The Samoana, the Samoa Bulletin, and the Pago Samoa Times merged in 1967 to become the Samoa Times. The Apia Advertiser was published from 1967 until 1969. In 1970, the Samoa Times was split into two semi-weekly issues, one dealing with American Samoan news and one with Western Samoan news. The Pacific Star started publishing in 1969.

By 1973, Western Samoa was served by four newspapers: the Apia Beach Press, a monthly in English with a circulation of 4000; the Samoa Times, a weekly in English (50%) and Samoan (50%) with a circulation of 5000; O Le Savali, a bi-weekly government publication in Samoan (75%) and English (25%) with a circulation of 6500; and the South Sea Star, a weekly in Samoan and English with a circulation of 3000 (Richstad, McMillan and Barney 1973:62-64). By 1980, there were 12 newspapers published in Apia (Va'a 1980).

Barney (1972) notes two unique characteristics of the Western Samoan newspapers: the Letters to the Editor columns which seem preoccupied with religious controversy and the proper use of the Samoan language, and the

translations of English literary classics to provide quality reading material. "A relatively small amount of news appears to be translated from English to Samoan for publication in both sections of the newspapers (the Samoa Times)" (Barney 1972:216).

In American Samoa, a number of government publications have existed since 1901. O Le Fa'atonu was the first, followed by the News Bulletin in 1953 until present; in 1973, the News Bulletin was a daily in English with a circulation of between 2000 and 3000 (Richstad, McMillan and Barney 1973:17). The Samoa News was started in 1969 and is a semi-weekly half in English and half in Samoan with a circulation of about 5000 (Richstad, McMillan and Barney 1973:18). American Samoa's third newspaper, the Pago Beach Press began printing in 1972 and was a monthly in English with a circulation of 4000 (Richstad, McMillan and Barney 1973:18). The Pago Times was started in August 1980 (Va'a 1980).

The usual problems with staffing a small newspaper and covering newsworthy events exist. Non-local news is limited to that heard on the radio broadcasts from the United States, New Zealand, Australia and elsewhere, and the PEACESAT news exchange; neither source permits in-depth coverage. Another source of non-local news is newspapers from other Pacific island countries; these articles are often out-of-date by the time they are reported in a Samoan newspaper.

Both Western and American Samoa are also served by PIM (Pacific Islands Monthly), an illustrated periodical, and by American Pacific.

## Radio

Western Samoa's radio station, 2AP (fromerly 1AP) was established in 1948. Since 1962, 2AP has been run directly by the Government's Ministry of Broadcasting. "The station claims to be able to reach 99% of the population with its 10-kw. medium-wave transmitter at Apia" (Barney 1978:302). About 70% of Western Samoa's households have radios, an estimated 15,000 receivers being in use. The station is supported by advertising, licensing fees levied on radio receivers, sponsored programs and government appropriations. The 12-1/2 hours of daily programming are broadcast in Samoan and English. The broadcasts cover news, educational programs, proceedings of the Legislative Assembly and entertainment.

American Samoa's radio station, WVUV, "is able to transmit to all areas of American Samoa, as well as send a strong signal to other Pacific areas" (Barney 1978:306). WVUV uses a 10-kw. transmitter, and approximately 1000 radio receivers are in use (UNESCO 1975:475). One-third of the 16-1/2 hours of daily programming is in Samoan, with the rest in English. The broadcasts cover news, entertainment and cultural programs. Until 1973, WVUV was operated by the government's Office of Samoan Information; since then, the radio station has become privately owned and operated by Radio Samoa, Inc. and is supported primarily by advertising.

## Television

Television was introduced to American Samoa in 1964 as part of the

education system.[1] Since then, the broadcasts have expanded to the evening hours, but the educational emphasis remains. News, current events, and childrens' and adults' educational programs are broadcast in the evenings. Daytime broadcasting on six channels is devoted solely to the school system's educational programs. Two channels are available evenings, one broadcasts in Samoan, the other in English. Six television transmitters are scattered throughout the islands to facilitate reception and the approximately 2000 television sets insure the availability of television to all interested.

Western Samoa does not have its own television station. Although "60% of the population is within receiving range of American Samoa television" (Barney 1978:304), only 75 sets are estimated in use (UNESCO 1975:503-504).

Cinema

Movies are popular in Samoa, especially among people under 30 years of age. Kung-fu, secret agent, Western and crime/police films are frequently shown. The large majority of these films are distributed by New Zealand companies; only Western Samoa receives some movies from Fiji (Takeuchi 1977). In Western Samoa, government censorship follows the New Zealand classification system; explicit sex is censored but violence is permitted. American Samoa is the only Pacific nation that has no official censorship program. However, due to the influence of the local church and community leaders and the fact that the movies are distributed by New Zealand firms (and hence rated by New Zealand standards), films shown fall within certain limits.

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[1]For more information, refer to the Education section of the Ethnography.

Western Samoa has four movie theaters in Apia with a total seating capacity of 3000 people; all four have balcony seats, while three have individual seats and one has bench seats. More than four 35mm projectors and more than four 16mm projectors are used. Movies are shown almost every day in these four theaters including Sundays. With the availability of American Samoan television, movie attendance dropped an estimated 15% (Takeuchi 1977: 205).

American Samoa has three movie theaters, but with a total seating capacity of 1530 people; all three theaters have individual seats, while two have balcony seating. Six 35mm projectors and two 16mm projectors are used. At one theater, movies are shown every day of the week, at another only weekends and at the third, only Tuesdays and Wednesdays. With the introduction of television, movie attendance has decreased an estimated 50% (Takeuchi 1977: 106).

Two-Way Communication

Western Samoa's telephone system has an automatic exchange in the Apia area, since 1977 and in the local districts, a manual exchange telephone system is being installed. "Overseas telephone, telex and telegram services are also available" (Haas 1976:113). In American Samoa, telephone service is available on Tutuila. Overseas telephone and telegraph services are also available.

## PEACESAT[1]

PEACESAT (Pan-Pacific Education and Communication Experiments by Satellite) has been in operation in American Samoa since 1972. Technical problems with the low-power terminal and staffing problems contributed to the cessation of transmitting between 1974 and 1976. In 1976, a new terminal was installed in conjunction with American Samoa's Community College. Since then, the satellite system has been used for two-way transmissions on such topics as health, education, news and agriculture. Two programs in particular may be noted: a course in nursing education taught by a faculty member of the University of Hawaii School of Nursing (Boyar-Naito and Misko O'Keefe 1979), and the use of PEACESAT for medical consultation between L.B.J. Tropical Medical Center and, for example, Tripler Army Hospital in Honolulu.

PEACESAT has been in operation in Western Samoa since 1976. The low-power terminal and staffing problems have limited the number and quality of transmissions. Western Samoa participates in programs on the South Pacific Youth Council, Girls' Brigade and Boys' Brigade, and health, agricultural and education programs. The terminal is part of the USP Extension Service, and is regulated by the Fijian Post, Telephone and Telegraph Department.

## External Interpersonal Communication in Modern Samoa

Aside from mass media, there are primarily five channels of external communication in modern Samoa: volunteer workers from the United States and other countries, expatriates, missionaries, Samoans educated abroad or

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[1]This section is primarily based on an interview with C. Misko O'Keefe (1979).

those who have worked abroad, and tourists. These five groups of people have varying impact on Samoan culture. Some of these groups serve to integrate Western values with Samoan culture; others tend to disregard or even destroy Samoan culture while promoting Western values.

In general, Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteer worker groups introduce technological knowledge into a village. This knowledge has been deemed desirable by the Western Samoan or American Samoan government and is introduced in accordance with their plans. The volunteers involved in such projects are generally supposed to live with the people, thus hopefully minimizing the introduction of Western technology and values not approved of by the government.

Expatriates occupy positions in government and also skilled technical positions (e.g., medical doctor). Although there are attempts to decrease the number of expatriates in both Western and American Samoa, they are still influential channels of communication between Samoa and the Western world, promoting both Western technology and Western values.

On the other hand, missionaries in Samoa, for example, Mormons introduce Western values and their own religious values; these values are introduced into Samoan culture through the medium of educational institutions and through churches, religious functions and proselytizing. Some of these values contradict traditional Samoan values while others uphold Samoan culture.

Samoans educated abroad or Samoans who have worked in other countries have a definite impact on Samoan culture. The character of the impact however, varies with the individual. Some Samoans with foreign experience may

consciously or unconsciously promote Western values, while others may try to integrate Western and Samoan values, choosing the "best of two worlds."

Tourists are a significant channel for external communication. They have primarily an economic and a social impact on a country. Tourism stimulates economic growth, adding a lot of money to the local economy in a very short period of time; at the same time, tourism necessitates the establishment and use of Western technology, i.e. airports, hotels, Western foodstuffs, etc. The chance to earn quick money in the tourist industry has increased the urban population and has led to the sale of "airport" art and handicrafts, the performance of ritual ceremonies for pay, begging and prostitution. Money gained is sometimes used not for the benefit of the citizens or for improving the quality of life, but for alcohol and drugs; the presence of large amounts of money also encourages theft and other crimes.

Tourism also has a social impact on a culture. New values are adopted, changing individual behavior, lifestyles and relationships within families. Creative expression, evident in, for example, art work, handicrafts, and dance, is altered for mass production and for fulfilling the expectations and desires of the tourist. Traditional ceremonies are routinely performed with little regard for their deeper meaning. The chance for tourists to view the "natives," at work and at play, in their natural settings, has given rise to the term, "cultural zoo." Tourism, especially "uncontrolled" tourism, has many negative aspects and few positive ones. Its economic potential, as a strictly regulated industry, still cannot completely counter the social impact of tourism.

Transportation

Transportation is a facilitator of communication in Samoa. Western and American Samoa are serviced by air, ship and motor vehicles. Western Samoa has 570 km. of roads, but many of these have deteriorated and need extensive repair work. Maintenance and servicing of motor vehicles is adequately provided by private concerns (Haas 1977:112). In American Samoa, Manu'a and many Tutuila villages lack a road system; in 1968 Tutuila had 35 miles of paved road, used by about 2000 motor vehicles of different types (Wolf 1969: 125). Public transportation consists of a few buses and numerous taxis. Maintenance and servicing of motor vehicles is hindered by a lack of spare parts and qualified mechanics.

Western Samoa has frequent overseas and inter-island shipping of both passengers and cargo. The international port is located at Apia; upgrading the Apia harbor or construction of a new harbor is currently being considered. Shipping service is available to New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Japan, the United States, Europe and most of the South Pacific ports (Haas 1977). American Samoa has shipping service to the U.S. and Hawaii, Australia, New Zealand, Europe, various Polynesian and Micronesian islands and the Far East. The port facilities at Pago Pago are inadequate for the large number of ships using the port and plans have been made for appropriate improvements (Wolf 1969:122). Inter-island shipping is also available in American Samoa.

Western Samoa's primary airport is in Faleolo, 22 miles west of Apia; it can service medium range jet aircraft (Haas 1977). Polynesian Airlines flies daily to American Samoa and regularly to Tonga, Niue, Cook Islands,

Tahiti, Fiji, and New Zealand. South Pacific Island Airways (SPIA) "operates daily flights between the two Samoas and Niue" (Haas 1977:112). Air Pacific, Air Nauru and Air New Zealand also service Western Samoa. Western Samoa's domestic airline, Polynesian Airlines, provides inter-island air transportation. American Samoa houses an international airport at Pago Pago. Continental Airlines has direct flights to Hawaii and U.S. West Coast cities, New Zealand, Australia, Tahiti, Fiji and New Caledonia. SPIA provides inter-island air transportation in American Samoa.

# Glossary of Samoan Terms

'aiga/au 'aiga: roughly defined as extended family.

'aiga atoa: 'aiga made up of the tama tane.

'aiga potopoto: maximal kinship group, the most inclusive type of 'aiga.

'aiga teletele: political family which support royal title.

aitu: family and local deities; currently, ghosts of ancestors.

ali'i: chief, a type of matai.

atua: Tagaloa deities, currently, God.

aualuma: organization of young girls and wvies of untitled men.

aumaga: association of young untitled men.

fa'a Samoa: Samoan custom.

fa'alupega: hereditary courtesy titles recited at beginning of fono.

Faipule: legislature.

fale: house.

fale tama: branch of the 'aiga, which may eventually form own 'aiga.

fale tele: guest house of village.

fau: strainer of fibrous material used for straining kava infusion.

fono: village council, also, larger-scale meeting.

fue: fly whisk used by ali'i and tulafale during fono.

ie toga/toga: fine mats used in gift exchange.

ie toga o le lagi: fine mats redistributed in funeral ceremony.

ie o le tofa: "farewell" mats redistributed in funeral ceremony.

ifoga: ceremony of ritual apology.

ilamutu: father's sister.

kava: ceremonial drink made from the pepper tree root.

lavalava: cloth wraparound skirt worn by males and females.

malae: grassy center of village, used for ceremonies.

malaga: journey.

mana: personal, spiritual power, usually associated with chiefly power.

manaia: head of the aumaga.

matai: chief, household head.

Mau/Mau a Pule: political movement toward self-government in the early-to-middle 1900's, primarily in Western Samoa.

mavaega: last wishes of a dying matai.

o le fa'a mesei'au: public defloration ceremony of the taupou; no longer occurs.

palolo: sea worm which only appears a few times a year; a delicacy.

pule: authority.

siapo/tapa: bark cloth.
soa: friend and go-between in romantic matters.
tafa'ifa: the four highest titles combined constitute this.
talolo: ceremonial threatening dance.
tamasa: sister's son.
tama fafine: female children.
tama si'i: adopted children.
tama tane: male children.
tapu: taboo.
tapui: protective charm, makes an object tapu.
taule'ale'a: young, untitled men.
taupou: ceremonial princess, head of aualuma.
tautua: service, rendered by 'aiga members to matai.
tuafafine: female sibling, male point of view.
tulafale: talking chief, type of matai.
tupu: king.
Toe o le Uso: the right (of inheritance) of the surviving brother.

Kinship terms listed on page 28 have been omitted, as have kava terms in note 1, p.48, Symbolic Communication section, because they only appear once in the respective section.

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