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FROM FAMINE TO FEAST: THE GIVE AND TAKE OF FOOD IN A GLOBAL SUBSISTENCE ENVIRONMENT

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Food is the primary transactional substance for Enewetak/Ujelang people [Republic of the Marshall Islands] and its production, preparation, consumption and exchange are central to how local people fashion and maintain social relationships and how they construct identities. At the same time, while the constitutive properties of food have remained culturally vigorous, the foods themselves have changed radically under colonialism. In particular, rehabilitation attempts in the post-nuclear testing era on Enewetak introduced extraordinary rapid dietary changes in the community and resulted in the onset of an epidemic of sedentary illnesses. The social practices that relate to food production and consumption are explored in this article providing a lens into the shifting ways in which viable and vibrant identities are managed. A close consideration of these food-related practices also highlights the impact of an emerging scenario of foreign food dependency on the everyday lives of members of this increasingly diverse atoll society.

THE FOOD PRACTICES OF THE ENEWETAK/UJELANG COMMUNITY have shifted in direct relation with changes in the social and environmental setting. Rather than bringing stability and a healthful life to the community as a whole and to its individual members, increasing colonial involvement has brought greater instability. In particular, the community's unfortunate involvement with U.S. nuclear testing following World War II not only increased people's anxieties about foods, it intensified the effects of globalization. At first, community isolation on Ujelang led to conditions of famine, with correlative shifts in food practices and ideas about communal identity. Then, with the return to Enewetak, conditions of near-total dependence on

outside foods radically transformed the very ways in which Enewetak/Ujelang bodies were fashioned and forced people to renegotiate the relationships they could embody through the use of food. These refashionings took place within people's bodies, in the community as a whole, and in the ways that the community related to others in a world that extended far beyond the outer reef of Enewetak. As a result of people's dissatisfaction with life on Enewetak, many of the atoll's residents have moved to Hawai'i, Hawai'i. Food practices on the Big Island, although patterned on long-standing designs and experiences from Ujelang and Enewetak, have also, of necessity, been transformed at the same time they have refashioned the way that Big Island Enewetak people have come to conceive of themselves and have redesigned the relationships that they have built with others through the sharing and exchange of food. Tracking these changes demonstrates the centrality of food in the construction and maintenance of the viable and vibrant identities negotiated in social relationships among past and current-day Marshallese.

Historical Background

Like most atolls, in precolonial times, Enewetak provided an ample supply of land and sea foods for its residents as long as the population remained within acceptable limits and as long as typhoons spared the atoll of their ravaging effects. These foods included a diverse array of fish and other marine foods along with coconut, breadfruit, pandanus, and arrowroot, the standard array of land foods that can be grown in the northern Marshall Islands. An outlier of the Marshall Islands in the central western Pacific, Enewetak benefits from a relatively large lagoon, abundant marine resources, and a land area of approximately 2.75 square miles divided among 48 islets. Several islets have brackish water available, and four sizable islets served as long-term residence locations in the historic past. As advantageous as these environmental circumstances may have been in precolonial times, they proved equally attractive to outsiders and, therefore, came to be counterproductive for local residents.

This section of the Pacific has experienced four sequential waves of colonialism prior to independence in the mid-1980s. The Spanish laid claim to the region following Savedra's brief visit in 1529, but significant colonial effects came with the shift from whale oil to coconut oil in the latter half of the nineteenth century and, concurrently, with the arrival of ABCFM missionaries in the 1850s. The German administrative era followed the Spanish, and late in the German era (1885–1914), a government-supported schema was developed that sought to purchase major segments of the

northern Marshall Islands to serve as copra plantations (Merz 1912). This scenario would have left Enewetak people living on three residential islets and nearly 100% dependent on German entrepreneurs. This schema was disrupted by German involvement in World War I, but by late Japanese times (1915–1944), claims to ownership of Enewetak Atoll again had been made by a resident trade-store owner, Ijimarisen. The case ended up in court in Pohnpei before lands were eventually returned to the community. Shortly thereafter, major segments of the atoll were simply appropriated by the Japanese military in preparation for World War II.

Following the Battle of Eniwetok in 1944, those residents who survived the battle were placed by American military officials on two small "Native Islands" along the northeastern fringe of the atoll. As if these sources of disruption were not enough, residents of Enewetak soon became victims of the U.S. nuclear testing following the war, and they suffered significantly as a result of the tests. Not only were they forced to live in exile for 33 years on a much smaller and environmentally less well-endowed atoll that subjected them to waves of starvation, their eventual return to their home atoll in 1980 left them dismayed at the radical changes that had transformed the land and sea into a "New Enewetak," a place where people found that they could not engage in their day-to-day subsistence pursuits. At the very moment that people spoke of their "return," the repatriation, in social, psychological, and physiological terms, was not a return at all because it required the formulation of a radical new set of social practices to adapt to the artificial conditions of near-total dependence imposed by the United States. Under these conditions many major food exchange events retained their familiar contours, but the altered content of the foods began to seriously affect the constitution of local residents' bodies. Cycles of starvation, once the source of fear in the 1950s and 1960s on Ujelang, were now replaced with an array of new "reservation-style" sedentary illnesses that consumed people's nutrient-deficient bodies in epidemics of diabetes and heart disease.

As a result of their disenfranchisement with life on the New Enewetak, people began to move to Hawai'i, Hawai'i in 1991. This move provided access to better health care and improved schools, but it also forced people into conditions of poverty. Therefore, although food on the Big Island remains central to the way in which Enewetak people and other Marshall Islanders perpetuate and fashion a meaningful sense of Marshallese identity, the economic constraints placed on Big Island Enewetak families have extended the nutritional inadequacies of dietary practices learned on Enewetak, even though the array of potential food options seems much broader in Hawai'i than in the outer Marshall Islands.

Food as an Index of the Social Condition

Food has long been recognized as a central component of human endeavors. In *Ancient Society*, Lewis Henry Morgan imagined that the "Arts of Subsistence" were an important part of the naturalized way that the earliest groups of humans foraged in their "restricted habitats" (1985, 20), attempting to show that human subsistence practices became more complex (marked by the transformation of edibles through fire or the transformation of natural gathering through pastoral or agricultural pursuits) as social relationships became more complex. In an analogous way, Malinowski didactically set food aside as a primary or "basic need," an essential part of metabolism that he considered an "interaction culturally framed" (Malinowski 1944, 91). Yet, the tautological idea that all societies must come up with some mechanism to sustain its members reveals nothing about the uniquely cultural contours of "need fulfillment." As Sahlins points out (1976, 170 et seq.), the environment may present broad constraints on the foods that people consume, but what is actually eaten and how, why, when, and where it is eaten are all ordered by conventions of culture rather than by the largess or stinginess of particular environments. The undeniable regime of structuration provided by a certain cultural logic is certainly a critical component of food-related social practices. Yet, formative as it may be, it leaves concerns of relative power, the contested and confluential elements of various social milieus, and a variety of other historical and contextual concerns underexplored. These factors are readily apparent in the choices and practices of Enewetak/Ujelang people.

Quite unlike Morgan or Malinowski, Marx recognized that "modes of subsistence" were inherently social forms rather than natural practices, even if, at their most formative historical levels, he thought they were necessarily communal (1964 ed.). Marx's insight, however, was rendered by theorists like Radcliffe-Brown (1952 [1940]: 190–91) and Fortes (1953) to mean that social structure provided the central driving force of the social order; and other practices, including food acquisition, exchange, preparation, and consumption, were secondary. Food, therefore, became a garnish that reflected, in the conceptual and gustatory domains, larger concerns in the society (Douglas 1984; Leach 2001). In a similar way, many scholars, including distinguished Pacific scholars, have viewed food as a core facilitator of social interaction (Marshall 1981). Although this is certainly not false, I argue that food not only facilitates social interaction, but that it is the primary symbolic domain through which Marshall Islanders, at least, give a certain embodied order to social practices. These distinctions may seem subtle, but like the shift from a geocentric to heliocentric universe, I believe

they help us move further from a Eurocentric view toward a view of Marshallese social action rooted in Ralik-Ratak and Enewetak/Ujelang sensibilities.[1] In this view, food serves as the central constitutional component of lived existence, not just as an amplifier of sounds that derive their resonant contours from another source.

Food as Constitutive of Human Materiality: The Primary Marshallese Transactional Material

In the Ujelang and Enewetak view, food provides far more than nourishment for the (preexistent) body. In the local conceptional view, newborns carry at their core the matriclan substance of their mothers, whereas they are linked to their fathers by blood.[2] A person's core is shaped by clan, whereas external features are linked to genitors, usually indexed by blood. Yet, at times, a woman, just by dreaming about a certain man, can birth an offspring whose external features are like those of the lover of her dreams. Growth processes, analogous to those of plants (both termed "*eddek*"), are promoted by consuming the products of the sea (these provided by men) and those of a certain parcel of land (provided by women and some by men). Through time, these products weave a person's core identity into the land, making them "one with" (or "the same as") that land. As they mature, and invest their own labor in the land, the land, reciprocally, becomes increasingly one with the person who has worked it. And since these same land parcels, on Enewetak, were worked by one's ancestors since the first moments of Enewetak time, one's sharedness with these ancestors is also made manifest through the working of land and through consuming the products of that land. As one becomes old and dies, their substance is then physically blended with that same land, further instantiating the ideas of oneness with that land. And products of the land, the "staples"—or what Marshallese call "real food"—are also at the core of what one eats. These foods, embodying an essence that links a person's core being with the land on which that person labors, and of which s/he is an integral part, provides the consubstantial base of a person's identity and of meals they consume. Indigenous staples included breadfruit, pandanus, coconut and arrowroot. When available, these staples remain important foods in contemporary times although their value has shifted.

It is also critical to eat fish and products of the sea or sky; yet these (like the men who fish or ensnare birds) shape the external features of the body. Eating large quantities of fish lends sheen and beauty to the body, but eaten alone, fish are not a true meal. They are more like "fast food" or "snacks" to be eaten on-the-fly. In some ways analogous to Trobriand

Islanders (Weiner 1976: Ch. V), Enewetak and Ujelang people certainly value the elements of youth and irresistible attractiveness. These qualities may be enhanced by consuming fish and other products of the sea, but such foods are truly complements to a meal and contribute to external beauty rather than to one's core essence.[3] A beautiful young man or woman has been well provided for by their fathers, but the sea products that make them externally attractive (and which come from a common fishing domain) do not ground their core identity. Rather they are expressions of rank: both rank controlled by chiefs (who once received all turtles, whales, and dolphins and then distributed them as they saw fit), and rank that is the manifestation of fishing (or bird-snaring) prowess or comes from sailing skill that frequently accompanies fishing.

A second, complementary set of social practices demonstrates the constitutive effects of food to Marshall Islands life. *Kajiriri* (caring for) and its related form *enajidik(i)* (to feed, fed, etc.) lie at the core of a large set of "relationship-making" practices (*kokajiriri*) that have long been viewed as distant analogues of American adoption. I have explored these practices in another location (Carucci 2008), but they provide an expansive domain in which food is actively employed to create relationships and transmit components of identity. If human bodies and core components of personal identities are made manifest through consuming foods with certain qualities, as noted above, it is equally true that relationship making is accomplished, in large part, through feeding. Indeed, relationships can be made with far greater facility through feeding than through birthing. Furthermore, even relationships made through birthing already incorporate food-sharing relations because newborns incorporate elemental characteristics from their parents that are themselves contoured by other feeding and consumption practices.

It is with this set of local ideas about food, feeding, and eating in mind that I believe we must rethink the primacy of food in Marshallese life. Food is far more than the need to eat that Malinowski envisioned because Enewetak and Ujelang people's ideas of primacy refer to the very constitution of human bodies and to the construction of certain types of identities. Equally, in exchange, food is far more than a facilitator of social relationships; it is the nurturing substance out of which social relationships are made.

From Famine to Feast: The Global Made Local

I would now like to move from this brief consideration of world view and social practices in the 1970s and early 1980s to a historical consideration of

the food practices of the Enewetak/Ujelang community both before and since that time. The rapid social changes forced onto the Enewetak/Ujelang community have proved traumatic in many ways, most particularly in their effects on subsistence, food use, and body form. Yet heart wrenching as these changes have been, they offer the analytic advantage of compressing the historical effects of global capitalism—processes often visible over long periods of time—into a short time frame, placing them in vivid relief.

Changes in dietary practice are long standing among northern Marshall Islanders. Petersen (2009) suggests that what he calls the "Breadfruit Revolution" substantially altered consumption patterns throughout Micronesia in precolonial times. Although the development of indigenous hybrid breadfruit varieties had less significant effects in the northern Marshalls than on more verdant atolls nearer the equator, they still contributed to a more diversified diet. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, colonially inspired shifts to plantation-style copra production had even larger effects on dietary practices and on social relationships. A fairly steady stream of imports had only just begun to have substantial effects on outer island consumption patterns during the era of Japanese Civil Administration when the Japanese military began to appropriate local foods for their own use, subjecting local people to periods of famine. These conditions intensified as the battles of World War II progressed along the "Northern Road to Tokyo."

Unfortunately, the end of the war did not bring an end to times of suffering for the inhabitants of the northern Marshall Islands. As is well known, Enewetak people along with Bikini people were both forced into exile by the United States after World War II to allow military forces to conduct nuclear tests on their home atolls. The effects of these moves on both groups was substantial, with Bikini people first facing starvation on Ronedik (Mason 1948) then, once moved to Kili, having to adjust their subsistence from fish-based subsistence practices on a northern atoll with a large lagoon to a more agriculturally focused approach to subsistence on a coral pinnacle, with a treacherous reef crossing and no lagoon resources (Kiste 1967). The immediate effects included shifts to cyclical periods of famine, when winter surf made the reef crossing virtually impossible, and to alterations in gender relations and the division of labor because men, the primary fishers on Bikini, were faced with considerable challenges to their standard forms of identity construction.

Enewetak people, moved from their homeland to the much smaller atoll of Ujelang in 1947, soon faced cycles of starvation in their new home. As with Kili residents, such traumatic alterations in daily food gathering and consumption practices forced a shift in mental orientation. Many years later

the fear of famine that arose from these historical experiences would contribute to the willingness of the community to accept any alterations to their current foodways with the rationale that "we will never again be hungry." In the short term, however, frequent famine forced Ujelang people to reinstate, or even elaborate on, many of the food practices that people had used in pre-Japanese times just to survive. *Pikukuk*, an unleavened arrowroot loaf moistened with immature coconuts and baked in an earth oven, was a food invented (or reinvented) during this era. Other starvation foods such as "leaf soup" or "baked pandanus runner roots," pushed the margins of "the edible" far beyond the recalled contours of historical consciousness.

If local people's recollections are accurate, social relations on Ujelang also moved toward a more radical separation of male and female roles during this period of time. Nevertheless, these conditions were not just the natural effects of environment operating to give a certain shape to social organization. Rather, at precisely the same moment that the United States focused world attention on Bikini and Enewetak as nuclear test sites and the center of technological development, U.S. policies toward the residents of the Marshall Islands rendered local people as marginal as possible in this internationalization process. These policies moved islanders *back* to traditionalist styles of subsistence and handicraft production that had been unknown for decades if not an entire century (U.S. Civil 1948). Some see this policy as one that fashioned Micronesians into visible specimens in a "human zoo," but this particular zoo was largely lacking in an audience of attentive observers. Certainly, populist images of island life in the postwar era depicted local people as quaint and amorous, if distant from the concerns of the modern world (Moore 1945, 1948; Markwith 1946). These depictions are particularly ironic, in that both the amorous and military/political concerns of the so-called modern world were highly dependent on the direct sacrifices of the same islanders (O'Rorke 1986; Teiawa 1994; Barker 2003).

With equal irony the Peace Corps volunteers, who were sent in the 1960s and 1970s to Micronesia on a self-help mission, became a principle inspirational force that led to greater dependence. Of course, the stated intent was quite different—to improve American-style educational competencies (Carucci 2005), to assist with small-scale agricultural enterprises, to set up purchasing cooperatives, and, in other similar ways, to encourage local people to dedicate themselves to development (Asselta 1971). Rather, as cycles of famine increased in frequency on Ujelang during the late 1960s, as rats overran this small, isolated atoll consuming many critical starvation foods, and as the health of the aged and youngest members of the

community became increasingly endangered, a Peace Corps volunteer on Ujelang convinced local people to stage a strike. Indeed, the strike proved salvational in that it brought some relief from abhorrent conditions, both financial and food related. But it also marked the beginning of what would become a standard U.S. response to food shortage: the provision of a menu of highly processed staples that would eventually lead people to near-total food dependence and epidemic levels of diabetes and heart disease (Carucci 2003, 2003b). Although these food supplies were intermittent between 1968 and 1979, with the return to Enewetak in 1980, they became a daily necessity. Without other options, consuming imported foods was absolutely imperative to the sustenance of human life.

From a foods perspective, what remained constant throughout the span of two generations that followed World War II was a focus on the underlying constitution of acceptable meals. The cultural pattern remained one in which a full meal had to have a food and a drink, and the food portion had to contain a staple and a complement (cf. Carucci 1980; Pollock 1992, 28 et seq.). As noted, the major changes during this time frame, culminating with the repatriation of the Ujelang/Enewetak community to Enewetak Atoll in 1980, involved the move from cycles of famine to an era of "plenty" and, simultaneously, a move from nutrient-dense local foods during the times of starvation to nutrient-hollow "faux foods" in relative abundance following local people's return to Enewetak.[4]

The changes had other substantial consequences as well. Obviously, long-standing cultural beliefs about the way that foods wove personal substance and identity together with the land from which the foods derived no longer fully aligned with the consumption of imported foods. Equally, through becoming nearly 100% dependent on U.S.-supplied foods (at first this seemed a fair exchange to Enewetak/Ujelang people given long-term U.S. use of Enewetak), the contours of day-to-day existence were radically transformed in the community. During the years I lived on Ujelang in the 1970s, most days of the week we had to fish and gather to survive; men focused on fishing and women on gathering (although, again, with men performing certain land-based tasks of provisioning and women certain forms of fishing or sea collecting within the exterior reef) (see Carucci 1980: Ch. IV). Throughout the 1980s, there were virtually no land foods to gather on Enewetak, and during the 1990s, supplies of local foods increased at a very gradual pace, with coconut leading the way, pandanus a distant second, and breadfruit and taro lagging far behind. Even today, local food trees are underproductive, and the produce cannot possibly meet the community's needs. Equally, although fish are available on Enewetak, trees to build and maintain canoes have been lacking for more than thirty years,

and fuel for the outboard motor boats that had come to replace canoes is always in short supply. Under these conditions, fishing has moved from a near-daily pursuit for men to an occasional venture in support of major festive events.

Therefore, during the past thirty years on Enewetak, the ways people became interconnected with the land of their ancestors through daily labor was made impossible at the same time that the contours of the social order were also transformed. With women's gathering at an end and men's fishing radically curtailed, only a few residual elements of daily subsistence practices could be maintained. Women cooked and cared for children, and men built onto their houses or worked on communal projects such as those focused on their church. But their fishing and collecting practices were substantially altered. Many young men and women played cards or bingo; others dedicated far too much time to drinking.

With the daily physical routines of gathering and fishing interrupted and with a plethora of high-fat complements and low-satiety staples, the physical structure of people's bodies changed at an appalling rate. These processes were exacerbated by a lack of firewood on the New Enewetak, which made people highly dependent on small kerosene cook stoves and upon boiling or frying rather than baking and brazing. Within a decade, diabetes and heart disease were rampant, diet-related diseases that were virtually unknown on Ujelang. Thus, by interweaving their bodies with a particular segment of the global marketplace—a segment that depended on the cheapest staple foods and complements—members of the Enewetak community began to fashion new parameters of psycho-physical identity into their bodies. No longer were they made part of particular local land parcels, extended families, and clans through consuming the products of those lands. Rather they have come to be woven into the global marketplace as part of an emergent underclass in relation to their American providers. Although they are active agents who work to differentiate themselves from other members of this class, and while they shape foods in unique ways that reference Enewetak/Ujelang and Marshallese identity in innovative new ways, they no longer control the full array of productive processes that formerly allowed local people to shape all components of their own lives, defining and manipulating an environment from the first moment of life through death.

The United States certainly initiated this exchange of inexpensive, surplus commodities beginning in the late 1960s. Nevertheless, Enewetak people also participated in the determination of its form. They begged for larger quantities of polished white rice, rather than demanding nutrient-dense brown varieties, precisely because they had become accustomed to

white rice during Japanese times and accepted inexpensive American substitutes after the war. They accepted tea and coffee, with plenty of granulated sugar, as a substitute for coconut that would take decades to grow on Enewetak, because these were the drinks they became accustomed to during earlier moments in their various colonial encounters. They welcomed white flour (rather than requesting whole wheat) and readily fashioned it into edible products because they were already familiar with the "clean" white variety and quite unfamiliar with its "dirty" brown (nutrient-rich) wheat sibling. And, lacking firewood to make earth ovens or bake bread, doughnuts, and other high-fat bakery items became the only staples that readily could be made from flour. Therefore, following repatriation on Enewetak in 1980, with few local products to consume, the effects of consuming faux foods provided by the United States struck Enewetak/Ujelang people with amazing rapidity. They continued to follow the long-standing practice of combining staples, complements, and drinks to produce "healthy" meals but with no understanding that the faux foods in every category lacked the nutrient density (*uurn*, "substance content") of local foods, they could resist neither conditions of total dependence nor the negative health effects of an imported diet.

What did not change with the repatriation on Enewetak was the way in which local people continue to rely on food as the central operator in relationship making. Relationships continue to be initiated and maintained through feeding. Foods no longer necessarily make a person part of the land through transmitting elemental components of the land that are embedded in each bite of food grown on a particular land parcel. Equally, labor on land no longer is the normative way of becoming one with the land (although it does continue to operate as one way to demonstrate this end). Nevertheless, participating in food provisioning, food preparation, and the consumption of foods that are thought of as "Marshallese foods" or "Ujelang foods" is still a core component of relationship making. If the rate of koka-jiriri relationships (so-called adoptions) has dropped, it is not because the feeding relationships at their core are no longer feasible. Rather, today's increasingly flexible residence arrangements are manifest as new feeding relationships that are more similar to American notions of fosterage (Carucci 2008). Indeed, over the past forty years, the exchanging of food has increased and feast events, in particular, have become inflated (in terms of quantity if not diversity of products) since the return to Enewetak. Similar trends, although with different constraints, apply to Enewetak/Ujelang people on the Big Island, where a sizeable segment of the community has chosen to migrate.

Food and Identity in a Wider World

If Enewetak people nibbled at the margins of global capitalism when they visited Majuro; and equally, if they fed on the spoils of capitalism on Enewetak (taking whatever set of foods and faux foods the United States would provide), once people moved to Hawai'i, a migration that began in 1991, they were surrounded by a much more elaborate display of capitalist merchandise, including foods. New constraints on consumption presented themselves, however, and the largest of these was limited income. Therefore, in spite of a wide array of goods available to them, much of this food is never purchased. In part, these food supply decisions are based on a lack of wealth relative to extended family size. In part, of course, such decisions are also based on familiarity. Therefore, on Enewetak, the narrow range of foods on which people came to depend continued to be purchased on the Big Island. Cheap staples—polished rice, granulated sugar, bleached flour—form the core of meals. In addition, the nutrient impoverishment that accompanies such a diet continues as well. When I asked several women about these continuities, their answers were all similar to this response:

> Well, as you say, we could purchase corn or green bean(s) here, but we are unable (to purchase) the amount we need to live. In this family (about 18–20 members), maybe we need seven or eight cans. But the amount of change required to buy seven tins will almost buy a (20-pound) bag of rice. With the rice, all of us eat for maybe two days. With the corn, it is gone right now.

Indeed, in some ways, the Big Island diet has become less healthy since another long-standing cultural practice, slightly transformed, continues in this setting. When men, the typical navigators, drive to town, they frequently return with treats for the young children. At times, these may be small toys but, more likely, the treats are candy, cookies, or cola. The old Ujelang pattern was similar: a voyager would return with small tokens from a voyage. But if it was a provisioning trip, perhaps the sailors would bring coconuts or sweet green coconut husk (*kanauei*) from a distant locale or perhaps coconut crabs, lobster, or, on Ujelang, papaya (where the only actively producing papaya were on Kalo, at the furthest end of the atoll). Any unusual item was a treat, but all of the food treats were highly nutritious. Current day food treats are all faux foods, typically "sweets," but many also high in saturated fats.

Because the array of staples has continued to be conditioned on the Big Island by practices routinized through nearly an entire generation on

Enewetak, and while sweet treats limited in supply only by their cost have made the diet less nutritious, the array of complements has actually improved in a nutritional sense on the Big Island. Here the array of canned complements like corned beef and spam available on Enewetak have been replaced with frozen chicken or with laying hens that can be purchased inexpensively after they have passed the time of maximum egg production. Moreover, baking in outer-island style earth ovens, in-home ovens, or in ovens made from 55-gallon drums (for those in less urban circumstances) has replaced much of the frying that was a required routine on Enewetak. Therefore, on balance, dietary practices have not improved in a nutritional sense, but neither have they regressed. Rather, sweet treats on the negative side are counterbalanced by a more nutritious array of complements (proteins) and cooking methods on the positive. Significant improvements in nutritional value, however, are not likely to occur until income levels increase (e.g., Tarasuk, Fitzpatrick, and Ward 2010). Until that point, life just above the poverty level, will keep Marshallese concerns about the costs of more nutritious foods at the front of their minds.

Clearly, Big Island residents are not able to weave their identities into the landscape in the same way that was once possible on prewar Enewetak. Nevertheless, they do engage in sets of practices that draw on the same toolkit of identity fashioning foods. First, as Enewetak/Ujelang people purchased land in Hawai'i, and as they traveled back and forth to the Marshall Islands, they brought sprigs of pandanus, breadfruit, and other favored trees from their home land parcels to plant on the Big Island. Using this mechanism, continuities of identity could be fashioned in this new land (Carucci 2002). Moreover, because of the greater richness of the Hawaiian landscape, Marshallese often bring home mangoes, breadfruit, coconut, and other land products that most residents of Hawai'i either purchase at the store or no longer eat. These products, as well, allow people to define themselves as "truly Marshallese." Fish is a common part of the diet as well, occasionally fished, but mostly purchased from other fishermen friends of an Enewetak/Ujelang community member. Getting rid of fish craving (*jolok batur*), remains, in Hawai'i, a very Marshallese act. Driven by a primary Marshallese "need," fresh fish are hard to refuse even if the price exceeds what a household head knows that s/he should pay for these items.

As Chase Hensel has noted for Yupik people in Bethel, Alaska, not only does food form a primary mechanism for identity construction, its contours shift systematically as people in Bethel move from rural to urban contexts (Hensel 1996: Ch. IV). Indeed, for members of the Enewetak/Ujelang community on the Big Island, food continues to be linked to identity, but rather than weaving one's person into an inextricable unity with the land

parcel on which one's extended family resides, food becomes a deictic marker for what it means to be Marshallese. On Ujelang, "ethnic"-type identities of this scale were used infrequently because there were few contexts in which one's distinctive identity as Marshallese stood in contrast to any "others" of significance. Certainly, one would occasionally hear people contrast themselves with Chuuk people through food practices, most frequently noting that Chuuk residents were enamored with rotten fish (unlike us [Marshallese]). More frequently, one would hear Ujelang people contrast themselves with Marshall Islanders through their food practices, noting that Marshallese ate sea cucumbers or shark.[5] In an inverse way, Ujelang residents noted that Marshall Islanders would not eat dog, whereas most Enewetak/Ujelang people considered it a delicious food. In spite of this occasional reliance on food as a marker of something like "ethnicity," there were a restricted number of occasions when self-definitions of this sort were relevant. In contrast, on the Big Island, where one's identity as an Enewetak/Ujelang person, or as a Marshall Islander, is confronted with the contradiction of not residing in (or on) those locations,[6] food becomes a much more critical deictic marker of something like an ethnic identity. Equally, on the Big Island, one's Marshall Island identity is continuously marked in opposition to a wide array of persons claiming *kama'aina* Hawaiian, *haole*, Japanese Hawaiian, Samoan, or a plethora of other identities. Being Marshallese becomes meaningful here because it supersedes the taken-for granted, and the use of certain genera of foods—gathering and eating breadfruit, for example—becomes a marker of that large-scale identity. On Enewetak, eating a certain type of breadfruit, *betōktōk*, from a certain land parcel, contributed to much more finely grained constructs of identity grounded in residence and interpersonal relationships including those of extended family and clan, but it had nothing to do with defining one's self as Marshallese.

Embedded in stories that circulated among Ujelang community members in the 1970s about starvation and hardship in the 1950s and 1960s were sentiments that demonstrated just how people had survived these times through communal effort and sharing. Indeed, the sentiment in the 1970s remained that "all the people of Ujelang are simply one" (i.e., one large extended family, who **shared** as family as well). Much of this weaving together of the community as "one only" rested on the sharing of food. Yet, looking closely at Jack Tobin's food records from the 1950s (Carucci and Maifeld 1999), or looking at my own records from the 1970s, it is clear that sharing practices were less than equal. The least well-nourished family in Tobin's 1952 survey consumed fewer than one-third of the calories of the best-fed family,[7] and the worst-fed families in the 1970s consumed just over

half of the calories of well-fed families. (Perhaps it is not surprising that there are continuities through time such that offspring of the worst-fed families in the 1950s are among the worst fed in the 1970s, the 1990s and even on the Big Island in 2003 and 2006.)

In spite of stories that suggest "we are all just one" and in spite of many documented occasions when food was shared among various extended families, the sharing may have ameliorated but did not eradicate subtle distinctions within the community that separated those who were well off from others who were not well versed in the skills of life (what Marshallese term *jetali*). Although everyone shares food, sometimes less eagerly than others, the sharing does not eliminate internal distinctions of value in the community. And such value has long been constructed, in part, out of differential food-collecting, fishing, and birding abilities. Because the most highly ranked foods, fish and other complements, contribute directly to external beauty, smoothing the skin and making it reflective and desirable to others, it is not surprising that the relative quantities of these highly valued foods separate those persons and families of highest value from others who have less access to such prime foods. Therefore, food creates distinction in its unequal distribution at the same time that the sharing of food is emblematic of community "oneness" and the eradication of distinction.

On the Big Island, much as on Enewetak, food-sharing events, such as first-birthday parties (*keemem*) and food-sharing events at *Kurijmoj* (Christmas), Easter, "Coming Out of the Holes Day," departures, homecomings, and other times of the year, have been increasingly elaborated. Many people now have "keemem-like" events for graduations and birthdays, and many of the listed events have been further elaborated in their forms. Thus, in every sense, food sharing continues to interweave at the same moment that it creates a frame that differentiates. As others have noted (e.g., Gershon 2007, 482), within diasporic communities, food-sharing events are frequently focused around the church because, unlike events that were "grounded" in place-based exchanges between islets, districts, atolls, or land-parcel units, the church setting has come to be a site continuous throughout the global scene through which recontoured constructions of identity can be expressed. On the Big Island, a shift has taken place in which exchanges that formerly took place solely among members of the Enewetak/Ujelang community are now shared among other Big Island Marshallese. The fact that the Enewetak/Ujelang community dominates this group, constituting perhaps 50% of its membership along the Kona Coast, has eased this transition for those who trace their ancestry to Enewetak. Indeed, the sharing of food, especially through

public exchange, continues to be the prime mode of "relationship making" on the Big Island.

At the same time that sharing creates unity, those who give with greatest largesse are set apart from others who are overwhelmed by the pace of food production in excess. The unlimited array of goods has certainly led to an elaboration of food sharing. Although the array of edibles has been elaborated in certain ways—through the addition of such feast foods as "potato salad," for example—it has also receded in a variety of other ways (the loss of earth-oven-baked unleavened bread, *nurbuton*, or unleavened baked arrowroot bread, *pikukuk*). Indeed, many foods once readily available on the outer islands of the Marshall Islands are less frequent. Yet, when they appear, as imports from the Marshall Islands, they are hyper-valued because of their scarcity on the Big Island. What has increased unabashedly has been the overall quantity of food given along with the frequency of food-sharing events.

In combination, these new events place great strain even on the most *pojak* (well-prepared, well-situated, or literally ready) of participating families. One well-positioned family on the Big Island sold their car to get enough money to begin to plan for their granddaughter's first birthday celebration. Then, after calculating the costs of such a celebration and weighing their options, they decided to send the mother and father of the child, along with the infant, back to the Marshall Islands to hold the keemem rather than face the extraordinary costs of such an event on the Big Island. In spite of the fact that they contributed considerable sums to the Marshallese keemem, the expensive trip proved a less costly way to approach a first-birthday celebration when compared to their attempt to stage a local event. In this case, five members of this large extended household were working full time but only one with an above minimum-wage job. The main household head and his wife had given up on their full-time jobs to reintegrate the various segments of their family who were spread out along the entire Kona Coast of Hawai'i. Even though this was a highly ranked family in the Marshallese community, without those sources of income, a local keemem of any scale was not an option.

On the other hand, in another case, two adult twins, members of the transnational Enewetak community, one from Majuro, the second from Honolulu, came from their homes to stage a special combined keemem for their children/grandchildren on the Big Island. This, too, was a costly event, but combining the keemems allowed for a more impressive event. Moreover, because one of the adult male twins was a candidate for Mayor and the second was planning to run for the Senate seat from Enewetak, the event proved to be a timely occasion to garner support for their candidacies

among Big Island Enewetak residents. Multifaceted in intent, identities could here be interwoven and distinguished through a single event.

From Famine to Feast

Food frequently forms one of the most meaningful and lasting markers of identity, even among people who retain no significant connections to a homeland or to ethnic group members outside of their own families. Rituals of lefse production and consumption are common among a number of my Norwegian friends in Montana who, in other respects, have only residual links to their Scandinavian heritage. Comparably, my own mother of British and French stock studiously studied under the tutelage of my half-Italian aunt to learn to cook sumptuous lasagna and other types of Italian cuisine that constitute my family's strongest link to any type of "Italian-ness." Similarly, for Enewetak/Ujelang people, Marshallese food (*mona in Majel*) is discussed as a central component of what it means to be Marshallese, no matter how radically the consumables that people ingest have been transformed during the colonial era. Given the formative position of foods in shaping the bodies and kin networks of Enewetak/Ujelang people, it should come as no surprise that the physical and social sources of food, the cultural contours and content of food as a consumable, and the ways it is shared with others make food a vastly richer symbolic medium for fashioning and flaunting identities than is the case with my mother's lasagna. From linkages that are produced by consuming the coconut toddy of a certain tree to the shared message, "we are all Marshallese," conveyed through eating rice and fish as finger food, the multidimensional ways that food produces and expresses the characteristics of persons and groups of Marshall Islanders is truly stupendous.

Food's identity-embedding significance has been maintained in spite of its massive transformation under colonialism. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, commodity capitalism has provided many working materials Marshall Islanders have used to transform their lives. The long-term outcome has been a loss of control over a large number of daily routines that allowed people to maintain food self-sufficiency (Carucci 1980: Ch IV). For Enewetak/Ujelang people, the newly adopted subsistence routines and practices has resulted, in a very short time frame, in the exchange of bodies that were exemplars of physical strength and healthfulness for bodies floundering in folds of fat, diseased with diabetes and arteriosclerosis.

Nevertheless, in spite of the radical shifts in food provisioning and the deleterious effects manifest in people's bodies, food remains a core transactional medium for Marshall Islanders. Indeed, the supply of food is no

longer limited by local environmental conditions but only by availability in local markets and the purchasing abilities of any extended family. If working a particular parcel of land and consuming the products of that place no longer provide a consistent primary practice that interweaves the identities that a people and landscape share (as di Enewetak and di Ujelang: the people of the place and the place brought into being by centuries of labor of its people), consuming foods secured by family or community members, preparing those foods in certain ways, and exchanging and consuming them with others in accord with culturally proscribed rules are as important as ever. Indeed, particularly at feasts, these communal practices have been intensified and elaborated. With migration to urban and transnational locales, the sharing and consumption of foods has become an even more iconic process that marks "who we are as Marshallese," as Enewetak/Ujelang people, or as a particular family claiming ongoing rights to a specific place on Enewetak, a place associated with certain foods.

There are numerous ambivalences in these processes, but those uncertainties are equally important markers of the contours of life in the contemporary worlds of Enewetak/Ujelang people today. Residents of the New Enewetak worry about a new era of starvation in a world where they are dependent on uncertain funding sources to maintain supply ships that provide them with their food. Enewetak/Ujelang people in Majuro now apologize to guests for not having prepared any food for a midday meal. Those apologies mark a recently emerging social practice in a place where jobs are in short supply and there is not enough money to purchase food for three meals each day. And on the Big Island, Enewetak/Ujelang people debate the importance of a properly elaborated first-birthday celebration in relation to the cost of fuel, telephone service, or the payment of a past-due notice on a parcel of land. These discussions are a means of negotiating the effects of default in any one domain on a family's ability to project and maintain a feasible and empowered identity in communities of varied contour and importance.

In the face of such diverse circumstances and in the context of a concomitant set of rapid and substantial changes, food retains its central symbolic place in relationship making and in the fashioning of meaningful social identities. These new identities are certainly less self-assured than in the past, precisely because the symbolic molecules out of which they are fashioned are no longer entirely of local provenience. Nevertheless, in daily practice, their principles of combination still allow Enewetak/Ujelang people in many different locales to see the products and operations as uniquely their own. This new set of practices—moving foods from place to place across an ever-expanding international landscape, combining staples and complements in innovative "Marshallese" ways, and exchanging and

consuming foods in accord with principles understood to be of primordial vintage—demonstrate the vitality and centrality of food in the construction and maintenance of the vibrant contours of living persona and of social relationships among Marshallese in the current day.

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NOTES

1. Ralik-Ratak are indigenous designations for the windward-facing and leeward- (or rear-) facing chains of the contemporary Marshall Islands.

2. This does not mean we should presume that "blood" ties are anything like what Americans mean by "blood," a symbol which has shifted its content significantly from the time of Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) through the investigations of David M. Schneider (1968). Schneider contends his American consultants meant something like "shared biogenetic substance" by blood, whereas consanguinity for Morgan was prebiogenetic, involving flows that linked beavers and humans in common pursuits of morality and industry (McKinnon 2001: 278–88).

3. Ujelang people certainly recognize that this is a cultural model with differential effects on different types of humans. They frequently laughed at me when I felt lethargic after not eating any fish or other complements during times of starvation. Indeed, they had already theorized that Americans were different constitutionally, because they simply surmised (correctly) that I was feeling weak and lethargic, I did not tell them. And they said that the cause was "because I was a dipalle 'white person/American,' not Marshallese." (As I have noted elsewhere, in many other circumstances, they would say I was Marshallese, but in this bodily constitution sense, they posited that I was different.) In their thinking, Americans needed complements (fish/meats) because they were differently woven into their core identity (which Ujelang people know has more components transmitted through males), than is true for themselves, where one's core identity comes from one's mother's clan and is vivified by staples: land foods, which themselves are associated with women.

4. I say in "relative abundance" because the U.S. promise to care for the nutritional needs of Enewetak people held fast for the first decade and a half after their return to

Enewetak. But in 1997, the first threats of a new wave of hunger periods struck the atoll when promised supply ships did not arrive on time. This left the community in greater panic than the times of starvation they had experienced on Ujelang in the 1970s because, if the community were to consume local foods on Enewetak, they would be forced to break the U.S.-imposed tabu against eating local foods, and yet, they would have no choice but to eat a radioactive diet that would lead them to a slow death rather than not eat foods from tabued locations, which would lead them to a more immediate end.

5. Enewetak/Ujelang people thought these foods were despicable, and shark, in particular, was prohibited to them because of the totemic tabu associated with the shark clan, di Pako. While this clan was dying out, many people carried "the blood of di Pako" (through male links with this doomed matriline), and these patrilateral links were strong enough to cause them to honor the tabu.

6. di Ujelang means first and foremost, "a person of Ujelang" although, of course, Ujelang is far more than just a physio-geographic location.

7. It is estimated that the worst-fed versus the best-fed family on Ujelang in 1952, during a time of food shortage (but not a severe famine), consumed the following percentages of an ideal U.S. RDA diet (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. **U.S. RDA ideal level.**

Nutrient	Worst-fed family	Best-fed family
Calories: (2,538 target)	31%	93%
Cholesterol	21%	67%
Sodium	5%	11%
Fiber	13%	63%
Iron	32%	115%
Vitamin A	3%	43%
Vitamin C	19%	93%
Calcium	11%	38%
Protein	25%	69%
Carbohydrate	37%	131%
Total fat	25%	42%
Saturated fat	101%	109%

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LATE-PLEISTOCENE AND HOLOCENE OBSIDIAN TRANSFER IN THE BISMARCK ARCHIPELAGO, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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Obsidian analysis allows for archaeologists to investigate notions of trade and exchange over vast areas of land and sea. Here we report the results of Particle Induced X-ray Emission–Particle Induced Gamma-Ray Emission analysis undertaken on obsidian excavated from Buang Merabak, a Pleistocene cave site in central New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. Although the dataset is relatively small, it provides new information reflecting cultural connectivity as early as 20,000 (uncalib) bp. Also, it provides a valuable opportunity to re-evaluate some pre-existing models of trade and exchange. The data support the notion that there may have been more than one trade/exchange network in operation during the Pleistocene and, also, broadly supports the Summerhayes spatio-temporal model for the mid- to late-Holocene.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF OBSIDIAN is particularly useful in modelling prehistoric trade/exchange networks. In the Bismarck Archipelago, much pioneering research was undertaken by Wal Ambrose and, subsequently, has been picked up by Summerhayes, Specht, Fullagar, White, Torrence, and others. Here we present and describe new data from obsidian artefacts recovered from stratified deposits at Buang Merabak, central New Ireland. Although the dataset is small, it provides additional information to that already published reflecting obsidian distribution patterns in the Bismarck Archipelago.

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Background

Obsidian is used widely by Pacific archaeologists to describe trade and exchange networks because it is relatively easy to identify its origin through chemical analysis. Here we compare obsidian artefacts excavated from central New Ireland with other artefacts recorded from across the Bismarck Archipelago. In this region, there are four identified obsidian source areas each containing a number of geochemically distinct obsidian deposits (Summerhayes 2003).

There are two models of obsidian distribution currently being discussed in the literature: one identified as occurring during the late-Pleistocene and the other during the mid-Holocene. Results of chemical analysis of the obsidian transferred during the Pleistocene from west New Britain into New Ireland is proposed to reflect two distinct obsidian distribution networks (Allen 2000, 152; Leavesley and Allen 1998: 71–73). The mid-Holocene distribution model, proposed by Summerhayes (2003), is specific to Lapita sites and suggests different sources of obsidian were used over time.

The combination of carbon dating and stratigraphy recorded from Matenbek and Buang Merabak, indicate that the first movement of west New Britain obsidian into New Ireland occurred at or immediately prior to the height of the Last Glacial Maximum (Summerhayes and Allen 1993; Rosenfeld 1997). To determine transfer routes, Summerhayes and Allen (1993) chemically analyzed a sample of the Matenbek obsidian assemblage using the Particle Induced X-ray Emission–Particle Induced Gamma-Ray Emission (PIXE–PIGME) technique. The results show obsidian deposited in the late-Pleistocene was sourced predominantly from Mopir but with some samples coming from Talasea sources.

Density analysis of fifteen of the sixteen obsidian artefacts previously excavated from Buang Merabak, SQ2B (see Table 1), suggests the majority of the artefacts came from Talasea (12), whereas a small number came

TABLE 1. **Summary of Obsidian Data From SQ2B (Rosenfeld 1997, 221).**

Period	Sample and source
Late-Holocene	3443, Talasea; 3444, Talasea; 3445, Talasea; 3446, Admiralty.
Early-Holocene	3447, Talasea; 3448, Unsourced; 3449, Talasea; 3450, Mopir; 3451, Talasea; 3452, Mopir; 3453, Talasea.
Pleistocene	3454, Talasea; 3455, Talasea; 3456, Talasea; 3457, Talasea; 3458, Talasea.

from the Mopir (2) and the Admiralty Islands (1) (Rosenfeld 1997, 221). Although the sample size from this low yielding excavation is small, the source trend is inconsistent with the Summerhayes and Allen (1993) Matenbek results. The proximity of the excavation sites (120 km distant), the relatively contemporaneous nature of the deposits (late-Pleistocene), and the distance between the obsidian sources (55 km apart) (Leavesley and Allen 1998; Allen 2000), suggest that there could be two different exchange networks reflected. Subsequently, Allen (2000, 154) has suggested that, if this pattern can be substantiated, then it might indicate "more direct" transfer possibly including direct voyaging from Talasea to central New Ireland.

The mid- to late-Holocene obsidian distribution model described by Summerhayes (2003) is summarized in Table 2. This model presents two spheres of obsidian distribution occurring over time. The first is a southern network out of west New Britain, and the second is a northern west to east network out of the Admiralty Islands. Although obsidian from both areas occurs throughout the sequence, Summerhayes demonstrates through chemical analysis that obsidian from the west New Britain dominates the early-Lapita assemblages, whereas the latter are dominated by the Admiralty Islands sources.

Buang Merabak Samples

The 18 obsidian artefacts described here were excavated from TPIA and TPIB during the years 2000 and 2001. All are small and highly reduced. They have an average length of 13.4 mm (range 9.5–15.25 mm) and weight of 0.656 gm (range 0.2–1.8 gm) as per Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 2. **Summary of Obsidian Source and Distributions Following Summerhayes (2003).**

Period	Years BP	Distribution
Early-Lapita	3300/3000 – 2900	WNB sources dominate across the entire BA.
Middle-Lapita	2900 – 2700/2600	Admiralty sources dominate the eastern BA (NI & ENB) and WNB sources dominate in WNB.
Late-Lapita	2700/2600 – 2200	Admiralty sources continue to dominate NI but WNB sources expand into ENB.
Post-Lapita transition	2200 – 1600	Admiralty sources continue to dominate in NI while WNB sources increase their dominance in ENB.

Abbreviations: WNB, west New Britain; BA, Bismarck Archipelago; NI, New Ireland; ENB, east New Britain.

TABLE 3. **Metric Data Obsidian Artefacts From TPIA and TPIB, Buang Merabak.**

Artefact #	TP	Spit	L	W	Th	Plat L	Plat W	Wt
BM#1	TPIB	6	9.5	15.75	2.75	1.1	1.9	0.3
BM#2	TPIA	8	12.6	16.7	5.5	3.85	12.8	0.9
BM#3	TPIB	12	11.4	18.3	4.5	2.7	2.5	0.9
BM#4	TPIB	12	11.5	15.3	2.7	0.01	0.01	0.3
BM#5	TPIB	4	14.8	10.7	3.4	1.55	5.05	0.4
BM#6	TPIB	14	20.7	17.05	6.65	7.8	6.6	1.5
BM#7	TPIB	18	11.95	15.95	13.05	detached	detached	1.8
BM#8	TPIB	28	10.2	6.15	2.85	0.05	1.0	0.1
BM#9	TPIA	13	12.2	14.4	2.3	3.5	5.5	0.5
BM#10	TPIB	10	15.2	14.2	5.1	4.05	10.55	1.2
BM#11	TPIB	9	15.05	11.1	3.55	1.95	5.1	0.5
BM#12	TPIA	15	16.15	14.95	3.5	2.45	7.25	0.8
BM#13	TPIB	16	16.25	7.95	1.85	1.7	4.2	0.3
BM#14	TPIB	16	10.45	7.3	2.27	0.995	2.35	0.2
BM#15	TPIB	15	10.4	13.4	2.25	2.2	6.45	0.2
BM#16	TPIB	15	13.45	6.2	5.1	N/A	N/A	0.3
BM#17	TPIB	15	13.40	4.2	5.05	4.15	1.85	0.2
BM#18	TPIB	21	15.25	11.15	5.65	1.65	1.2	1.4

Measurements are in millimeters or grams. Abbreviations: TP, test pit; L, percussion length; W, width at right angle at midlength; Th, thickness at midlength; Plat L, platform length; Plat W, platform width; Wt, weight; BM, Buang Merabak.

The Buang Merabak obsidian samples appear in stratigraphic contexts consistent with what is known from other sites in New Ireland (see Table 5). However, one sample (BM#8) appears to deviate from this having been excavated from unit 4. Elsewhere in the region, obsidian has never been recovered from 27,000+ bp levels. The occurrence of BM#8 in Unit 4 could reflect post-depositional downward movement given the lack of obsidian from layers of a similar age from other New Ireland sites and its location in the very top spit of Unit 4. Only a few millimeters of downward movement within the sediment column would be required to move this sample from Unit 3 to Unit 4. Given this, for the purposes of this study, sample BM#8 is considered to be from Unit 3 and, therefore, is considered to have been deposited with the other artefacts around 20,000 (uncalib) bp.

Chemical Analysis

Obsidian is a volcanic glass that forms during eruptive activity. The chemical composition of obsidian can range from "basaltic" to "rhyolitic," although

TABLE 4. **Morphological Features of the BM Obsidian Artefacts (TPIA and IB).**

Artefact #	Artefact designation	# dorsal scars	# ventral scars	# dorsal ridges	Termination
BM#1	ORF	6	0	1	Feather
BM#2	Flake	2	0	1	Feather
BM#3	Flake	4	0	4	Step
BM#4	Flake	7	0	3	Feather
BM#5	Flake	13	0	1	Feather
BM#6	Flake	9	1	2	Step
BM#7	Trapezoid	2	0	1	Snap
BM#8	Bipolar flake	4	0	2	Bipolar
BM#9	Flake	5	0	2	Step(?)
BM#10	Bifacial flake	12	15	4	Feather
BM#11	Flake	4	0	2	Feather
BM#12	Flake	6	0	4	Hinge
BM#13	Flake	2	0	2	Snap
BM#14	Flake	2	0	1	Snap
BM#15	Flake	2	0	1	Hinge
BM#16	AF	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
BM#17	Flake	3	0	1	Feather
BM#18	Flake	14	5	3	Step

Abbreviations: BM, Buang Merabak; ORF, Overhang removal flake; AF, Angular fragment.

predominantly it forms in more silicious (rhyolitic) volcanic events. This is because rhyolitic events are more explosive enabling the formation of pyroclastic glass. The chemical composition of obsidian reflects the composition of the molten magma from which it is formed and is typically consistent throughout individual flows, providing a chemical signature.

The very fine grainsize and homogenous nature of obsidian means the composition of the surface provides a representative approximation of the entire sample. This means nondestructive irradiation of the surface of artefacts and rock fragments is adequate to identify the chemical compositions and, thus, provides an effective means of tracing source characteristics of artefacts.

Melanesian obsidian artefacts have been successfully sourced to their original flows using PIXE–PIGME analysis (as discussed in Bird et al. 1997). Element ratio plots and principle component analyses have been used to compare artefact compositions with source compositions to identify source area characteristics.

Several identifying characteristics of Melanesian obsidian sources have been determined using PIGME analysis (www.ansto.gov.au/ansto/environment/iba/projects/archaeology.htm) including (1) Admiralty Islands

TABLE 5. **Samples Per Spit and Unit for Those Artefacts Subjected to PIXE–PIGME Analysis.**

Sample code	Spit	Unit spits	Unit	Unit age (Uncalib bp)	Unit age (BP)
BM #5	4	1–8	1	1,800–3,500	1,300–3,300
BM #2	8				
BM #3	12	9–17	2	7–12k	8,200–13,150
BM #4	12				
BM #6	14				
BM #7	18	18–27	3	17–20k	19,650–23,050
BM #18	21				
BM #8	28	28–40	4	27–39.5k	N/A

The Unit Designation and Ages are Discussed in Leavesley (2004). Abbreviation: BM, Buang Merabak.

obsidian has high fluorine content; (2) New Britain obsidian has low sodium and fluorine content; and (3) Vanuatu obsidian has high aluminium and low fluorine content. PIXE–PIGME analyses of the Buang Merabak artefacts were conducted at the Australian Nuclear and Science Technology Organisation (ANSTO) laboratory in Lucas Heights. PIXE was used to identify and quantify individual elements ranging from Al to U in the obsidian and artefacts. The artefacts were not damaged during this process. The artefacts were irradiated by 2–3MeV protons produced by 3Van de Graaff and 10 MV tandem accelerators. X-ray detection was done with energy dispersive semiconductor detectors. The elemental composition was calculated by DOIBA. PIGME is used to identify and quantify the elements with low Z-activities (light elements in the periodic table) including F and Na. The artefacts were analyzed using large volume Ge detectors that calibrated emitted gamma-rays produced by nuclear reaction of the sample following irradiation. The results are presented in Table 6.

Buang Merabak Obsidian PIXE–PIGME Results

Eight obsidian artefacts from Buang Merabak were analyzed using the PIXE–PIGME technique for chemical characterization. Figure 1 presents a bivariate plot of Strontium (Sr) and Flourine (F) compositions from the Buang Merabak artefacts and representative samples from seven known obsidian sources in Melanesia. Sr and F are known to be characteristic of source locations within Melanesia. The eight obsidian artefacts appear to plot in four ratio groups. Two clusters containing three artefacts with similar Sr : F ratios and two single outliers. The comparative source data presented on the graph are taken from Bird et al. (1997) and indicate that

TABLE 6. **PIXE–PIGME concentrations of 21 elements for obsidian artefacts from Buang Merabak (BM).**

Run	Sample	Spit	F	Na	Al	Si	K	Ca	Ti	Mn	Fe	Rb	Sr
			ppm	%	%	%	%	%	ppm	ppm	%	ppm	ppm
6	BM#5	4	1301.2	3.30	6.71	32.70	6.15	4.25	3907	797	2.52	149	93
2	BM#2	8	560.3	2.60	6.47	37.09	5.46	1.56	2679	670	1.18	56	221
5	BM#3	12	550.0	2.54	6.35	37.14	5.69	2.38	2739	714	1.22	58	218
4	BM#4	12	552.4	2.58	6.41	34.46	5.10	2.49	2530	669	1.18	54	220
11	BM#6	14	565.7	2.14	6.03	35.61	6.66	1.32	2428	493	1.09	64	168
8	BM#7	18	542.8	2.34	5.92	34.11	5.54	2.95	2454	513	1.11	61	162
9	BM#18	21	562.0	2.35	6.05	29.73	4.35	1.22	1964	439	0.96	64	163
7	BM#8	28	486.2	2.99	6.07	36.54	3.04	1.73	2145	846	1.21	36	206

Sample	Y	Zr	V	Cr	S	Cl	Co	Zn	Ga	Ba	Pbl	Source
	ppm	ppm	ppm	ppm	ppm	ppm	ppm	ppm	ppm	ppm	ppm	
BM#5	49	454	62	310	181	7770	63	98	35	543	23	Admiralty
BM#2	21	163	53	268	256	3174	35	52	21	295	15	Kutau
BM#3	19	165	39	289	283	3387	31	56	18	370	13	Kutau
BM#4	20	161	50	369	214	3007	33	58	20	285	18	Kutau
BM#6	20	159	26	172	225	4211	35	40	21	350	13	Gulu
BM#7	20	162	48	248	185	4125	35	51	18	403	15	Gulu
BM#18	25	150	26	350	133	2005	30	36	13	485	14	Gulu
BM#8	27	155	33	288	161	2494	28	69	17	162	20	Mopir

Results from files 09jan01Xa.csv & 09jan01Gc.csv. Presented in weight percentages and parts per million (ppm).

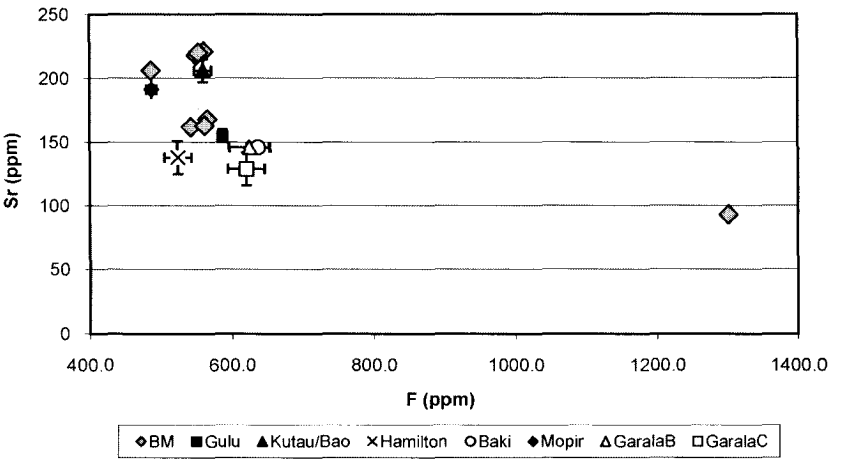

FIGURE 1. **A bivariate element plot of Fl and Sr for the obsidian artefacts collected at Buang Merabak (BM). Representative New Britain obsidian source data are also presented with error bars (data from Bird et al, 1997).**

three of the groups are likely to have been sourced from New Britain. Specifically the sources appear to be, Kutau and Gulu areas on Willaumez Peninsula and Mopir, all in west New Britain (locations shown in Bird et al. 1997: 63, fig. 2). The remaining sample (BM#5 from spit 4), has a Sr : F ratio inconsistent with the New Britain source samples. The high fluorine content is more typical of the Admiralty Islands obsidian; however, we have no data for comparison.

Previously Ambrose used density analysis to characterize and source the obsidian derived from Buang Merabak, SQ2B. This method, although indicative does not always have the capacity to differentiate between sources with similar geochemical characteristics. The analysis, undertaken using the PIXE–PIGME method, confirms what Ambrose proposed as the dominance of the Willaumez Peninsula sources during the Pleistocene in central New Ireland (Rosenfeld 1997). Also, the results are consistent with the overall pattern of transportation of obsidian indicated by Ambrose's density analysis results.

Discussion

The transportation of obsidian to New Ireland as early as ~20,000 (uncalib) bp was initially identified by members of the Lapita Homeland Project

(Allen, Gosden, and White 1989; Gosden and Robertson 1991, 42). Obsidian analyses carried out by Summerhayes and Allen (1993) indicates that Mopir was the dominant supplier of obsidian to the southern New Ireland sites at this time. This new data from the small sample collected from Buang Merabak, suggest that Willaumez Peninsula sources predominantly supplied central New Ireland. A possible consequence of this is that there may have been two separate linkages between New Ireland and New Britain. This is not to say that there was no overlap, because all three sites (including Matenkupkum) contain obsidian from both source areas.

It has been argued that obsidian made its way to southern New Ireland by way of "down-the-line" exchange via the Gazelle Peninsula and across the St. George's Channel. This is explained as the extraction of obsidian from the nearest available source (Summerhayes and Allen 1993, 147; Summerhayes 2009, 114). The different geochemical character of central and southern New Ireland assemblages allow for a number of possibilities to be considered about the processes of obsidian transfer to New Ireland. First, perhaps both sources were transferred by down-the-line exchange to New Ireland, and for some reason, perhaps social, the occupants of southern New Ireland preferred Mopir obsidian, whereas the central New Ireland occupants preferred the Willaumez Peninsula material. For this to be the case, the recipients may have been either very familiar with obsidian or exchange networks did not overlap in any major way. Given that these two sources are virtually inseparable to the naked eye, it is not immediately obvious how the consumers might have differentiated between sources. Alternatively, Allen (2000, 154) suggested a more direct transfer of obsidian to central New Ireland that bypassed southern New Ireland. Transfer by way of voyaging canoe directly from the Willaumez Peninsula to the central west coast of New Ireland, a sea crossing of ~300 km, requires greater technology than the land route but is consistent with Summerhayes and Allen (1993) and Summerhayes (2009) in that it reflects "extraction of obsidian from the closest available source" (Summerhayes and Allen 1993, 147). A sea crossing of this nature is entirely possible given the broadly comparable sea crossings required for the colonization of Manus by at least 26,000 (uncalib) bp (Minol 2000, 25).

Given the small sample size from central New Ireland, it is entirely possible that the current difference between the obsidian from central and southern New Ireland will narrow with a larger dataset. This can easily be tested as further central New Ireland data from stratified sites comes to light.

Moving to the mid- to late-Holocene, the spatio-temporal distribution of obsidian reported here is consistent with the obsidian distribution model presented by Summerhayes (2003, 2009). Although the west New Britain

sources are dominant during the early-Lapita, the Admiralty sources are also present in relatively lower quantities. The single fragment of Admiralty's obsidian from Buang Merabak is derived from a layer expected to include contributions from both west New Britain and Admiralty source areas.

Given the chemical composition of BM#8 and its precarious location in the stratigraphy of the site, further work is suggested to determine whether this holds any significance.

Conclusion

Although admittedly small, this dataset supports the accuracy of the initial density analyses undertaken by Ambrose in the mid-1980s. The data indicate that, unlike the southern New Ireland Pleistocene sites, a majority of obsidian excavated from Buang Merabak, located in central New Ireland, is from the Willaumez Peninsula sources. The Leavesley and Allen (1998; also see Allen 2000) hypothesis that two quite different source distributions might imply different linkages between New Britain and New Ireland remains a distinct possibility. Also, this might imply a more direct transfer of obsidian from the Willaumez Peninsula to central New Ireland that perhaps included a significant sea crossing (Allen 2000, 541). Given the potential significance of these results, further work is suggested to collect and analyze more obsidian from the central New Ireland sites to build up a statistically relevant sample.

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MONETIZATION AND TRADITION: CASH AND CONCILIATION IN CONTEMPORARY SAMOA

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CASH is finding its way into ceremonies at the center of Samoan tradition. In some cases, it replaces symbolic or real goods in exchanges, whereas in others, it is added to traditional media and incorporated into the ceremonies. This article argues that, although its incorporation in some ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, and *matai* selection has been straightforward, its introduction into other ceremonies has created problems, which result from the difficulty of linking the value of cash and other more complex measures of value such as social honor.

This paper outlines three ceremonies in which incorporation of cash appears unproblematic and then discusses a formal apology, the *ifoga,* in which the introduction of cash has proven problematical. The performance of an ifoga by one group, and its acceptance by another, prevents escalation of socially and economically disruptive intergroup conflicts. It has traditionally involved the presentation of symbolic gifts in quantities that reflected the estimated social damage caused by an offense. As new forms of social capital become relevant in Samoan society, the value of honor and of damage caused by an offense becomes increasingly difficult to establish with confidence.

This paper deals with factors that are complicating the social calculus involved in the apology. There is no readily available formula for estimating

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the cash value of social honor and relatively few transactions on which to base calculations of ways in which cash might be combined with other traditional gifts in a settlement.

Monetization and Tradition

Samoan culture has long been regarded as resilient. It was, as one senior colonial administrator noted in the 1940s,[1] like bamboo that bent and parted in the face of storms and resumed its original form when the storms had passed. The flexibility of Samoan culture, it has been argued, allowed it to maintain its substance throughout the early phases of its incorporation into the world economy. The introduction of Christianity in the early nineteenth century, for instance, represented a dramatic departure from traditional religion, and yet its complete and rapid adoption did little to change the substance of the traditional Samoan social organization. The introduction of markets for wage labor, land, and cash in the mid-nineteenth century represented a dramatic departure from the traditional economy but was grafted on it without radically transforming either traditional social or economic organization.[2]

However, circumstances are changing rapidly as a range of new factors impact Samoan society and the traditions that underpin them. As Ae'au Semi Epati, a former constitutional lawyer and now a judge, noted in a discussion of the resolution of disputes over lands and titles, "The task of interpretation, definition and implementation of these respected and time-honoured customs is becoming more difficult as external influences multiply" (1988, 168). These forces have gained momentum in Samoa since the Second World War and include, among others, the increasing national[3] and international[4] mobility of the Samoan population, the progressive transformation of the Samoan economy, rising levels of education (So'o 2006), transformation of the political system (So'o 2007, 2010), changes in the land tenure system (O'Meara 1987, 1995), the influence of external agencies' agendas for Samoa (Macpherson 2000), and the growing influence of a global communication media that expose Samoans to alternative models of social organization (Macpherson and Macpherson 2009). This article focuses on the consequences of one of these shifts: monetization.

Increasing commercial primary production for both the domestic and export markets, a growing domestic labor market generated by public and private investment and overseas development assistance, and the expansion of Samoan small and medium enterprises and remittances from Samoans who now work in industrial economies around the Pacific rim have increased the amount of cash in circulation in the Samoan economy and have contributed to the progressive monetization of Samoan social organization.

The increasing numbers of people who are either involved in wage work or are living outside the country, but who wish to be involved by proxy in ceremonial activities, means that more and more people are turning to cash as a substitute for direct personal involvement in ceremonial activity.

Also, increasing amounts of cash have found their way into a range of "traditional" activities in which they were not previously found. A range of commodities and services, once exchanged within kin groups on the basis of the genealogical and historical relationships between providers and users, now are bought and sold routinely in markets. In some areas, the expectation of future reciprocation that underlay traditional exchange has been replaced by a cash nexus. This trend is not unusual in rapidly monetizing economies: cash provides people with a convenient means of acquiring a range of goods and services without the emotional investment and commitment to reciprocate that was embodied in the traditional exchange relationships. Cash can replace, or stand for, other elements that were formerly considered indispensable in these exchanges. This is increasingly the case in contemporary Samoa.

In some cases, the cash has been relatively easily incorporated. Cash has become incorporated into the appointment and installation of family heads or matai (So'o 2007). Until the 1980s, the representatives of the branches of extended families met, often over an extended period, discussed eligible candidates, and eventually chose one whom the family considered had the appropriate genealogical linkages and embodied the ideal characteristics of a leader. The person chosen was typically one who had resided on and farmed family land; understood local history, kinship, and politics; and had rendered diligent and often unquestioning service, *tautua*, to the family titleholder or matai and family or *aiga*.

Now, many families that hold titles, and the right to appoint new titleholders, create multiple matai on a single occasion from among those who can afford to make large cash contributions to the leaders of the family (Tuimaleai'ifano 2006). Because cash has become an increasingly important consideration in appointments to titles, the criteria for an appointment have been interpreted more flexibly, and people who would not have been considered as candidates even twenty years ago are now becoming titleholders (Toleafoa 2007). In these cases, cash replaces, at least in part, attributes such as knowledge of family genealogy and history; a history of residence on family land and service, tautua, to the family's chiefly title; demonstration of leadership potential within the family and village; and competence in formal oratory. Because these transactions are increasingly common, it is relatively easy for those who wish to confer them to establish an appropriate cash value for the social honor that the titles embody. Furthermore,

in most cases, the would-be titleholder is offered an opportunity at a given cost such that there is little social risk of giving offense by underestimating the value of the title.

Once chosen, the installation, or *saofa'i*, of a new matai formerly involved the production, collection, and redistribution of significant amounts of food and fine mats, *'ie toga*, to chiefs from the village and, in some cases, the district, whose presence at the ceremony, signalled assent to the transmission of the title and conferred both legitimacy and prestige on the event. The installation ceremonies provided an opportunity for the sponsoring family to demonstrate its leadership and corporate solidarity and its capacity to produce and marshal significant quantities of traditional wealth, such as food and textiles. The series of related events in which the aiga introduced the titleholder to the family, the village, and, in some cases, the district, offered it an opportunity to acknowledge and re-affirm the connections between the title and the local polity.

Now, increasing amounts of the food presented on these occasions is purchased with cash, and the fine mats, which were once supplied by kin to kin as an expression of solidarity in times of crisis, can now be bought and sold in markets.[5] In the installation ceremonies, traditional gifts are supplemented with, and in some cases replaced by, cash distributed in envelopes, which recognizes and reflects both the sponsoring family's capacity to raise wealth and the relative statuses of those involved in the ceremony (Tuimaleai'ifano 2006). Some of the ceremonies, which followed the installation within the family, are managed by "sponsors": new holders are not required to demonstrate the abilities for which they have been chosen. On these occasions, there is no requirement to demonstrate competence in family knowledge or of oratory, which is possibly convenient because some of those being chosen live outside of the family center and have limited knowledge and the competencies that might once have been expected of them. Cash paid by the new titleholders can be used to "smooth out" these problems and to avoid some of the questions about their competence in tradition and oratory.

Also, cash has been incorporated increasingly in the election of politicians, *faipule*, to the national parliament. In the 1960s and 1970s, matai in constituencies met, conferred, and chose a candidate for the district on the basis of demonstrated service to family and community and knowledge of Samoan society. Then the candidate stood unopposed. There is now increasing competition for parliamentary seats, and very few constituencies are able to present a single candidate for elections any longer.[6] Rival candidates no longer compete solely on the basis of genealogy and history of service

to the family and district. Candidates routinely distribute cash and goods to families in electorates before parliamentary elections to secure their votes (So'o 1998).

Some scholars[7] have argued that, in each of these cases, the ceremonies have not changed in any fundamental way. The cash that now circulates has been added simply to other forms of gift and undertakings that have been traditionally made by candidates to potential supporters and reflects changing socio-economic and demographic realities. It is argued that candidates for both family titles and parliamentary seats are increasingly involved in the urban wage and salary sector and have neither time to engage in extended face-to-face campaigning nor extensive plantations or farms from which they can take food and animals for distribution. However, they are in a better position to raise cash from other members of their family, particularly those relatives working abroad in higher wage economies, and by using other forms of personal property[8] as security for cash loans. The argument is that neither the appointment nor the election process has changed fundamentally because both matai and faipule still render service to those whom they aspire to represent. Advocates of this position argue that, in contemporary Samoa, the ability to raise and distribute cash is as useful, if not more useful, as the ability to raise and distribute food.[9] Cash is a useful new index of candidates' suitability for a role that increasingly involves mobilizing resources on behalf of the extended family or of an electorate.

Also, cash has been used to acquire services that are not produced within the traditional sector but are thought to add value or prestige to traditional ceremonies. Cash adds to rather than substitutes for tradition. Although weddings, *fa'aipoipoga,* still involve traditional exchanges of goods, or *'oloa*, from the bridegroom's side, and fine mats, and 'ie toga from the bride's side, cash is increasingly used to secure limousines, marquees, bands, videographers, alcohol, and sound systems that add to the prestige of the occasion within which the traditional exchanges occur. In these cases, it is argued, the incorporation of cash produces no significant changes to the central rationale of the exchange or of the tradition within which it occurs. People still estimate each family's status and influence by calculating the value of both the traditional goods that are assembled and exchanged and of the nontraditional resources invested in the occasion. A family's ability to mobilize to raise this form of wealth, it is argued, is not significantly different from its ability to raise traditional forms of wealth.

The same is true of funeral ceremonies, *maliu* or *'oti*. The traditional exchange of fine mats and commodities between the families of the deceased and between those families and guests who pay their respects occur, but these are routinely augmented by gifts and distributions of cash. The

importance of those who attend and pay respects to the deceased is still acknowledged with symbolic gifts of mats and food, but these are increasingly augmented by cash in envelopes known as *pasese*, or fares. Samoans contend that, although the media of exchange may have changed on these occasions, the fundamental elements of the exchange remain constant. It is simply, people will argue, an example of how Samoans have adapted tradition to the realities of the twenty-first century (Chan Mow 2007). Now, more families employ funeral management companies, which can embalm and keep bodies in mortuaries and provide coffins and transportation. These funeral services allow families to hold bodies while increasingly dispersed families return to Samoa for funerals but also entail new categories of costs that were not incurred in traditional funerals. Funeral costs, which were formerly met in the form of food and fine mats by kin in the village, now include new services and items that must be settled in cash with the companies that provide them.

Some Samoans argue that, although the media have changed, the cultural logic and the substance of the traditions that are commemorated have not (Aiono 1992; Fuata'i 2007). The growing number of matai installations, weddings, and funerals, in which cash augments traditional presentations without producing any overt cultural dislocation or disjunction, give credence to the claim that, *e sui faiga ae le suia fa'avae*, performance elements may have changed but the cultural foundations remain intact.

The introduction and widespread use of cash in these ceremonies is not seen as inferior to the food and fine mats that were formerly exchanged on these occasions. In fact, a number of people pointed to the increased convenience that cash brings to the ceremonies, without fundamentally changing the social contract at their center. One civil servant noted that, as people increasingly went alone to these events in taxis, it was more convenient to receive cash because it was difficult to move large pieces of recently butchered meat by oneself in a taxi. Another noted that cash was convenient because it could be held more readily and recycled more easily when their turn to support the next such event arrived, as it inevitably did.

In other cases, however, the incorporation of cash into tradition has not been as simple. This paper focuses on one such event: the formal apology, or ifoga, made by one group to another to compensate for offense against their social honor, to restore stable intergroup relationships, and to mitigate the social and economic costs of unresolved social tension between groups that must co-exist within the same geographical and social spaces (Macpherson and Macpherson 2005, 2006). In this case, we argue, the challenges to incorporating cash in this ceremony stems from the difficulties of establishing the value of social honor in an increasingly complex

society and from the knowledge that exchange values of such commodities as social honor are established more readily and reliably when there are more transactions in a market.

Unity as an Ideal State

Samoans, when at all possible, prefer to avoid overt conflict.[10] Samoan culture enshrines peace and harmony as an ideal.[11] Ideally at least, social entities are united, *maopoopo*, and Samoan proverbs and passages of scripture are routinely invoked to explain the benefits of social solidarity.[12] This desired unity and social order is founded on a model of the ideal conduct between people in various named relationships: *va fealoaloa'i*. Elaborate speech (Milner 1961; Shore 1982) and behavioral codes exist to regulate the relationships between individuals and social entities[13] in ways that minimize the probability of conflict arising. The social value of *fa'aaloalo*, or appropriate respect, and of *usiusita'i*, or obedience, in both speech and interpersonal conduct is stressed in socialization and are the foundations of cooperation, *faifaimea fa'atasi*, in Samoan social organization.[14] Samoan culture is considered by many Samoans at least[15] to be synonymous with respect, an idea that is reflected in the following claim, *o le aganu'u o Samoa o le fa'aaloalo*: Samoan custom rests on decorum and politeness. Conversely, the disruptive consequences of disobedience and a lack of respect are spelled out in proverbs, or *alaga'upu* (Schultz 1985), and in fables, or *fagogo* (Moyle 1981: 45–47).

The Social and Economic Foundations of a Social Value

At one time, the more-or-less absolute power of the chieftaincy ensured that villages lived in an order that rested on fear of extreme and often arbitrary punishment by the all powerful *ali'i*, or high chiefs, who, as Meleisea (1992: 16–17) notes, controlled the spiritual, material, and physical resources. Control of natural and supernatural resources conferred power over human resources. Over time, the formerly absolute power of the chieftaincy has been constrained. The adoption of Christian religion, the creation of the nation state and a national constitution, courts, and an evolving jurisprudence have all constrained the formerly considerable power of chiefs in various ways and in various spheres of social organization. (Va'ai 1999).

One hundred eighty years of steadily intensifying contact with the west has brought about significant changes in Samoan social organization. Samoa's incorporation into the global political economy has produced

significant change (Macpherson and Macpherson 2009) in some of its central institutions including the matai system (Meleisea and Schoeffel 1983: 85–114; So'o 2007; Tcherkézoff 2000); the land tenure system (O'Meara 1987, 1995); the kinship system (Macpherson 1999); the justice system (Anesi and Enari 1988; Epati 1988; Sapolu 1988; Va'ai, 1988), economic organization (Shankman 1976; World Bank, 1991), and demography. Despite these changes, the value placed on order and unity remains central. Even in a mixed economy, the maintenance of social cohesion and the management of tension remains significant.[16]

The desirability of unity is stressed in many contexts and not simply for its own sake. United social entities are able to cooperate, to mobilize social and economic resources, and to compete effectively with other like units. Effective mobilization and management of groups' resources by competent leaders permit them to increase both their material and sociopolitical capital bases. In turn, this allows a group to increase sociopolitical prestige and its influence among other like units. A united group becomes the subject of positive public discussion and admiration not simply because it is united but because it becomes more politically and economically influential.

Unity and cooperation reflect well on the leadership of the group, and its members benefit indirectly by association with an effective group. When individuals have options, they will be more likely to align themselves with and contribute to stronger more effective groups because they stand to gain more from such associations. As a consequence, in the past and to some extent even now, strong, united groups generally became progressively stronger.[17]

Conversely, unresolved conflict can disrupt social, economic, and religious activity within the social entity within which it arises. Divided households, *fuaifale*, family groupings, aiga, villages, *nu'u*, and districts, *itumalo*, have difficulty maintaining routine social, economic, and religious activity. A group that is internally divided is described as *le pulea*, or unmanaged, and is unable to mobilize its resources effectively.[18] Without resources, even effective leaders are unable to increase the group's material and sociopolitical capital bases. A divided group risks losing ground to other like groups and its ability to influence the affairs of the larger groups of which it is part. Also, it may become the subject of critical public discussion of its affairs by others, which brings with it the possibility of escalating conflicts, as divided groups at the center of the matter are forced to respond to public criticism.

Protracted conflict reflects badly on the leadership of the social entity in which it exists, and its members may suffer indirectly by association with

it. Because individuals are able to opt to align themselves with one of a number of descent groups with which they have links, the size of groups will vary over time as individuals exercise their right to opt in and out of groups. When all other things are equal, people will generally choose to give their primary loyalty to stronger, more prestigious groups. As a consequence in precapitalist Samoa, and to some extent even now, weak groups generally became weaker.

The Promotion of Unity

The maintenance of collective unity or, more accurately, the management of tension within collectivities assumes considerable importance in Samoan social organization. Both Samoan proverbs and passages from scripture are invoked to explain the benefits of peace and the social value of those who make it.[19] Leaders are judged in part by their ability to promote and maintain unity and to manage intragroup conflict as it arises. Samoans are reminded of Samoan and biblical heroes who used their wisdom to promote unity and to manage tension.[20] Those who would endanger the unity of a group are likened to a poisonous fish, *le unavao*, which was said to poison the schools of fish with which it swam making them inedible (Schultz 1980, 22).

Throughout life, Samoans are taught the importance of respect for those entitled to it. In a gerontocracy, the entitlement to respect is relatively easily established: virtually everyone who is older is entitled to respect, deference, and obedience.[21] Those who fail to show appropriate respect are described variously as being *le mafaufau* (or unthinking), *valea* (or stupid), *fia sili* (or wanting to be better than others), and *fia maualuga* (or wanting to take a position to which one is not entitled). The term chosen to describe the failure and reaction to it varied with the significance of the act in which it was revealed.[22]

Entities have an incentive to instil these values in their members. The positive consequences of successful socialization of members are obvious. Groups whose members show respect and the capacity for appropriate judgment and conduct are well regarded by others. They are less likely to suffer internal conflicts or to become embroiled in disputes with other groups and are free to exploit available material and human resources without interruption and to prosper economically and sociopolitically.

Failure to instil these values has its costs. The failure of a member of a collectivity to show appropriate respect reflects not solely on the offender but on other members who have failed to instil this central value.[23] A person who is ignorant of the appropriate social conventions cannot, as Shore

(1982: 174–75) notes, be held responsible for their acts. Parents and guardians who fail in this are held responsible for the failure to instil the capacity for moral judgment.[24] In certain circumstances, the failure to show appropriate respect can lead to potentially disruptive conflict. In such cases, both the individual and his or her family are held responsible for the act, any resultant conflict, and the costs of its resolution.

Parents, guardians, and other members of households and extended kin groups become the primary agencies in the process of establishing the importance of both fa'aaloalo and usiusita'i. The importance of these attributes is learned, largely informally, in day-to-day interaction and from the observation of the speech and conduct of other more experienced members of the family. The recounting of fagogo, or fables, certain songs, and the public discussion of the failings of others and of their consequences helps the young to define and operationalize the values and to comprehend the relative importance of various types of breaches. The ready approval of this conduct and the equally swift punishment of violation of the norms become established relatively rapidly.

The importance of the value of respect, and its corollary obedience, also is promoted by Samoan Christian churches and more particularly the more established and usually more conservative denominations. Pastors regularly remind their adherents of the benefits of obedience and the costs of disobedience to those who are entitled to it. Congregations are regularly reminded of the need to honor and obey God, parents, leaders, and agencies of state.

The *fono a matai*, the councils of chiefs responsible for the management of the village and the maintenance of village order, pass judgment of conduct of members of the village and punish those whose activity breaches principles of respect and obedience and thereby threatens village order. The councils may punish not only offenders but also their families whom they hold indirectly responsible for the misconduct of members.[25] The *fono* establishes the facts of the matter, identifies the wronged party, and determines the seriousness of the breach and determines how it is to be righted. The fono's hearing, at which all village families are represented, takes place in public and is characterized by extended and often repetitive discussion of the facts and their significance. The accessibility of the proceedings and the high level of representation may explain why many wrongs are righted in these contexts with the support of all of those involved.

The Failure of Order

Despite these precautions, and the general commitment to the values of respect, obedience, and social unity and solidarity, tension is always

present. Tension may develop in the relationships between individuals who stand in particular relationships to one another when one party exceeds what the other considers to be the limits on rights prescribed for those in that role. Thus, an untitled man, who accepts that he must obey reasonable directions from his matai, may nonetheless resist when these directions are no longer considered reasonable or appropriate. This is a consequence of the democratization of Samoan society, which has resulted in the contestation of formerly absolute power of matai.

Similarly, tension within social entities may develop into overt conflict when sections become convinced that others have exceeded their rights within a relationship. Thus, the *tamatane*, or men's side, may accept that the *tamafafine*, or women's side, has important rights in the election of a new matai but will resist when these are exercised in ways that are considered unreasonable. Tensions, in both interpersonal and intergroup relationships, may escalate until a point at which the relationship is threatened.

These two sets of tensions are often connected. An individual's reaction to his neighbor's activity on a plantation may rapidly escalate into a conflict between their families. When this happens, the incident that provoked a particular episode may become relatively insignificant as the dispute assumes dimensions that reflect the history of the relationship between the families. When this occurs, disputes may escalate to a point at which the entire village is forced to take one side or another, and the village fono may no longer able to maintain internal order. When this has occurred in the recent past,[26] the state has, in the most public way, challenged the village's valued autonomy over its affairs.

Such challenges embody political risk for both village and state. The state risks placing itself in a position where its relative weakness in relation to large well-organized villages may be exposed if the latter chooses to resist the state. The village risks exposure to ridicule and condemnation of its inability to manage its own members and their affairs if the dispute becomes public knowledge as such events invariably do. Small wonder then that Samoans stress the management of the relationships between individuals in proverbs such as *teu le va* or maintain the relationship and celebrate good relationships in proverbs such as *va lelei* (Schultz 1980, 14).

Resolving Intergroup Conflict

Despite elaborate attempts to regulate relationships between individuals and groups in these ways, overt conflict periodically breaks out between individuals and groups, and wrongs have to be righted. These disputes must

be resolved. The right, and indeed the responsibility, to resolve disputes is one of four forms of authority,[27] *pule*, which are vested in the matai (Va'ai 1999). The form of authority that binds the matai to act in this case is known as the *pule fa'amalumalu*, or protective authority, and "is possessed by matai and more specifically the *sao* who is to protect family members and property from harm and usurpation by others" (Va'ai 1999, 50). The most serious of these disputes call for a very public and highly symbolic form of resolution in which representatives of the offending group make a formal and public apology to representatives of the offended group on behalf of their offending member.

The Ifoga

The ifoga is a public act of self-humiliation (Macpherson and Macpherson 2005) in which 'ie toga[28] are presented by one group, as a form of apology for the conduct of one of its members, to another. Once, ifoga were offered as a token gesture of submission by groups defeated in wars (Pratt 1893). Now, the term means, according to Milner, a "ceremonial request for forgiveness made by an offender and his kinsman to those injured" and comes from the word *ifo*, which literally means to bow down or to make a formal apology (Milner 1976: 82–83). Ifoga may be offered in circumstances ranging from extremely serious acts of violence against the person such as murder,[29] manslaughter, accidental wounding, to acts against an individual's honor such as adultery and public slander.

It is possible to represent the ifoga primarily as a social ceremony, to focus on its symbolic elements and social consequences, and to neglect the important economic dimensions of both the context and consequences of the ceremony. Unresolved intergroup conflict has the potential to disrupt social and economic life for protracted periods.[30] Conflict within a family can threaten its reputation and social honor, and all members suffer by association because resultant tension can disrupt the group's economic life by making certain forms of necessary cooperation or movement difficult or impossible.[31] The serious attempts made to control conflict early stem as much from economic as social considerations[32] and should properly be seen as part of the process of exchange that forms the center of an economic system. Within the ceremony, parties are attempting to establish a rate at which humiliation is exchanged for forgiveness.

The Form

The ifoga usually involves representatives of the side[33] that has accepted responsibility for an act of one or more of its members, collecting fine mats,

firewood, banana leaves, and cooking stones and going with these to the home of the matai of the aggrieved party as soon as is possible after the event, in silence and under cover of darkness. The offending party is led by one or more matai of the offender's family, which signifies both the acceptance by the aiga of collective responsibility for the act of an individual member and the seriousness of the offense. In presenting offerings, at least symbolically, to the matai, who symbolizes its dignity and prestige, the offending aiga gives its most valuable asset: the person in whom its honor and social reputation are symbolically embodied.

On arrival, the party piles their firewood, dried banana leaves, and stones, the basic elements of earth oven cooking, in front of the chief's house. The dried banana leaves are the material used to start the fire, and the firewood is used to heat the stones on which pigs are typically cooked. The stones symbolize both the cooking stones of the earth oven, or *umu*, and the stones that are placed inside the pig's abdominal cavity to ensure that it is cooked through. This element of the ifoga is a symbol of the acceptance by the offenders' representatives that the enormity of the crime of the offender is such that the aggrieved party is entitled to kill and cook the offender or his or her associates.

The offender's family and chiefs sit in front of the house of the chief of the victim's family, cover themselves with the 'ie toga and await the arrival of daylight. When the offense is considered extremely serious and potentially damaging, the supplicants have been known to lie rather than sit, which is the most complete abasement possible. Once the offender's representatives take their position on the ground, the ceremony must take its course, regardless of the level of anger within the aggrieved party. The silent, predawn approach reduces, but cannot preclude, the probability of a preemptive attack by members of the aggrieved side. In turn, this reduces the prospect of spontaneous and uncontrollable violence and increases the chance of reconciliation.

When dawn arrives, the injured family discovers the ifoga and must decide how to react. In fact, the visit and their presence may have been anticipated and even prepared for by the receiving party. Of course, there are two possible outcomes: the acceptance of the apology or its rejection. The possibility of rejection means that the ifoga is not without its dangers, and indeed, the exposure of a group's matai and others to the threat of danger may be necessary as a symbol of atonement. But few ifoga are apparently rejected even when the acts that gave rise to them are serious ones.[34]

After one to six hours, the matai of the aggrieved party will invite the supplicants into the house. The initial acceptance of the offering, signalled

by an invitation to end the most public phase of self-humiliation and enter the house, reduces, but does not end, the danger of exposure to attack. The discussions that occur within the house are intense encounters, which embody the possibility of sudden outbreaks of violence.[35] The facility of the matai representing the supplicants, in the language of respect, their willingness to continue to publicly accept responsibility for the act and to put up with taunts and accusations in the aggrieved party's representatives' speeches, are crucial to the successful conclusion of the reconciliation.

In the house, after speeches are made by representatives of both sides, food is shared. The focus of both of these activities is the creation of a public agreement on the terms of any settlement, and in fact, the matter is now formally closed. The repetition and confirmation by speakers of the terms of the agreement effectively binds both the speakers and those whom they represent to the terms and confirms that the exchange of deference for forgiveness has been accepted. This is essential to ensure that later retaliation is not considered.[36]

In some ifoga prayers, in which biblical injunctions on forgiveness, love, and respect are central themes are offered. In this process, the seal of a higher authority is sought, and God is bound as a witness to the agreement of the parties. Such an agreement, witnessed by God, may have a higher standing than a purely secular one might, and it is possible that this may make parties less likely to consider violating it later.

The Outcome

The success of ifoga has traditionally depended to a large extent on the calculation of the seriousness of the act by the offender's party and the acceptance of their calculation by the aggrieved. The exchange value of the foregone honor, which has been caused by the offense, is effectively negotiated in the conduct of the parties to the ifoga and is reflected in elements of the conduct of the ceremony.

The first indication of the seriousness comes from the offending party and is reflected in the composition of the party chosen to make the apology. The seriousness is reflected in size of the party and the social status of those within it. The second indication comes again from the offending party and is reflected in the number and quality of the fine mats and amount of food brought by that party. The third indication comes from the aggrieved party and is reflected in the length of time taken to make a decision to accept the ifoga and to invite the supplicants into the house. The fourth indication is reflected in the tone of speeches of apology made by representatives of the offending party. The fifth indication comes in the tenor of speeches of

the aggrieved party's representatives and in the length of time taken before they indicate formally that the ifoga will be accepted and that reconciliation is possible.

Cash and the Changing Social Context of the Ifoga

In the past, the resolution involved the symbolic abasement, passive acceptance of recriminations and insults, and gifts of fine mats and food by associates of the offender. Also, the resolution process allowed the associates of the aggrieved party to vent their anger on the offenders' associates and then to gain the moral high ground by extending forgiveness. The fine mats and food that they received reflected the magnitude of the insult that they had suffered as calculated by the offenders. Their acceptance of the mats and food and the abasement and of the speeches of apology confirmed the offenders' calculation.

The calculus was once relatively straightforward: the market in which values of social honor were established was relatively open. The value of the social honor was calculated on the basis of the status of the person to whom the offense had been offered and the seriousness of the offense itself to the community and focused on the sociopolitical costs and benefits of reconciliation to the groups involved. The range of values of social honor was constrained by the limited range of social positions within traditional society and by the relative status of the offender and victim, and the elements of reconciliation were defined by custom. Furthermore, offenses tended to occur and were resolved locally when relevant information was readily available. Ceremonies and settlements were widely observed; gifts were presented in public and could be seen and counted, and the value of settlements rapidly became public knowledge.

The Changing Calculus of Social Honor

In both Samoa and in diasporic Samoan[37] populations, cash is incorporated increasingly into ceremonial exchanges, including ifoga, as a convenient and highly portable substitute for certain classes of exchange goods known as 'oloa. Recently, cash sums, ranging between $SAT 500 and $SAT 40,000,[38] have been added to the gifts presented in an ifoga. This has been presented, usually in an envelope, after the presentation of fine mats and during the speech making.

We were told the incorporation of cash began to occur when some urban families, who did not have ready access to pigs, cattle, and *taro*, included a sum of cash to represent the amount of food that they might have been

expected to have presented. Cash could be gathered quickly, transported easily and without large numbers of people required to carry large quantities of food, and could represent a quantum food, which had known costs. In other words, the recipients could translate the quantum of cash into a given amount of food by a simple process of conversion using the known values of large and small pigs and quantities of taro at the time. In these circumstances, its meaning was considered clear: it represented a readily calculated amount of a traditional element of the ceremony.

Over time, the meaning of the cash included may have changed and, in the process, may have undermined the ceremony itself. The inclusion of a sum of cash in the gifts made at an ifoga may be seen by either or both the offender and victim to recognize the changing value of reputation and of life. It recognizes that, although the self-abasement and fine mats may resolve the issues of social honor that generate the intergroup tensions, it cannot fully compensate for the loss or damage of reputation, human social capital, or the earning potential. The inclusion of cash attempts to redress the costs of loss of social reputation or social capital, but also it introduces new elements of risk.

Cash is most likely to be effective in this role when the calculus of social honor is relatively transparent and widely understood. Calculation of the value of an affront is, like all values, most reliably established when there are many transactions in the market. The more numerous and varied the number of transactions, and the more open or public the market, the better the probability of accurately estimating the appropriate value and response for any given set of circumstances, and the higher the probability of successful performance of the ceremony. Unfortunately, the value of social honor is no longer as easily calculated because reputations and lives now have assumed somewhat different significance.

The relatively recent introduction of cash has coincided with three socio-economic factors that have made this calculus more complex and has increased the element of risk involved in the conciliation. Now, a person's reputation may have not only a local sociopolitical significance; it may be vitally connected with the ability to conduct a business or to continue to hold a civil service appointment or religious position. Similarly, a person's life will have not only a sociopolitical significance; also it may represent accumulated human capital, such as academic qualifications, which can be translated into earning potential over a given individual's life. These attachments create certain problems for a ceremony that evolved in a precapitalist gerontocracy that sought to exchange public deference for forgiveness and could not have anticipated the new bases of valuing life and reputation.

The Absence of Common History

In the past, when disputes typically arose between people who lived within a single village or locality, calculation of the value of social honor was relatively straightforward. In villages, which typically comprised 200–500 related people belonging to four or five extended kin groups that shared a common history, a degree of consensus about the relative seriousness of offenses existed. The social damage and the cost of its redress could be calculated by reference to the relative social statuses of the offending and offended families and the nature of the offense. The agreement arose, in part, because offenses were routinely tried in public by councils of chiefs or fono a matai. This body, comprised of the heads of all village families, routinely met in public, heard the cases, discussed the seriousness of offenses, determined punishments in public, and oversaw enforcement of their verdicts. Before people were increasingly involved in wage labor, much of the village population attended these council meetings, heard these discussions, and were familiar with the bases of decisions. The relative status of the various families was clearly indicated in the village's ceremonial order of precedence, or *fa'alupega*, and was well known and understood by all adults.

These local disputes still occur, but increasingly, incidents that give offense also occur in new circumstances and involve individuals who are unrelated, are not part of the same polity, and do not share common history. These typically arise between unrelated individuals and include disagreements on sports fields, motor vehicle accidents, workplace disputes, and nightclub brawls. Ifoga have resulted from disputes between sports people and on-lookers, drivers and passengers, drivers and pedestrians in road accidents, teachers and students, employers and employees, employees within a workplace, security personnel and patrons, and patrons in nightclubs, bars, and hotels. These disputes typically develop suddenly[39] and cannot be monitored and managed like disputes within families and villages, which involve protagonists who are known to one another and that unfold incrementally and over time. Although these incidents involve individuals in the first place, they too have the potential to escalate into disputes between aiga and, if not resolved, can become disputes between the villages from which the families come.

The Calculation of Social Value

In these new circumstances, the calculus becomes complicated by several factors. The offender and the offended parties may not share a local history, which might include knowledge of the values at which various offenses had

been settled. The protagonists and their associates may have no common interests or associations that mediators might invoke as the basis and reason for reconciliation. Those involved may not be bound to one another by such things as a village or district fa'alupega, or order of precedence, which might provide the basis for some starting calculation of the relative status of the parties involved. Those involved in planning compensation may know relatively little about the other party, which places them at a disadvantage in deciding how much cash compensation might be appropriate. When these are not available, prospects of resolution of conflict are apparently lower. Furthermore, as new forms of social and intellectual capital assume value in Samoan society, it becomes more difficult to estimate how their life might be valued and converted into a sum of cash. Finally, there may have been no comparable events to provide guidance to those involved, which is further complicated by the need to move quickly to resolve the conflict that precludes the investigation that could provide some guidance.

Thus, when in 2001, people sought to establish how much should be taken to recompense the family of a young man seriously injured by their son, they were able to agree relatively quickly on the number of fine mats, pigs, and on who should make up the party. However, calculation of the cash component created different problems: the victim had a university degree and an apparently promising career with the public service, but no one knew very much about the probable career trajectory of the injured party. This led to disagreement over how to calculate an appropriate amount of cash and whether the cash was intended to replace foregone income.

When the parties involved decided that a sum of $SAT 2,500[40] would be appropriate, it was on the basis of a recollection of a similar amount had been paid on another occasion in a nearby village. From the discussion, it was not entirely clear that the circumstances were similar, and there was no time to check them because the matai were keen to move early to avoid the build up of anger. There was some discussion of the danger of proceeding without more information. That focused mainly on the notion that the offended family also would have expectations of how much cash was required to compensate them for the injury to their son and that these might not coincide with their own. Two possible scenarios were canvassed.

If the amount of cash that they presented exceeded the expectations of the victim's family, there would be no problem and their generosity would reflect well on both themselves and the recipients. One pragmatist noted that, if they exceeded the other party's expectations, some part of their cash was effectively wasted, but even he conceded that it was impossible to know this in advance and that it was better to be seen to be generous and to bring a conclusive end to the dispute.

However, more discussion focused on the opposite possibility. If the amount offered was less than the victim's family expected, they risked offending the family further and increasing their anger over the incident. This had two possible outcomes. In the short term, the offering of an amount that was considered too small might be seen as an insult, and that would literally add insult to injury. This could lead to an attack on the group making the apology that, in turn, could create further injuries and ill feeling. A refusal of the apologies and gifts would be humiliating to the supplicants and could well turn their willingness to accept humiliation into anger. The possibility that someone might say something that could increase tension in these circumstances and provoke an attack on them was also raised. All of these possibilities could result in the rejection of the apology, heightened tension between the two parties, and the continuation of disruptive conflict.

The concern expressed in these discussions derived, not from the traditional elements of the ifoga, but from the problems that arose from the inclusion of cash. The chiefs were confident about the number and quality of fine mats and the sorts of food that they needed to present to meet the demands of custom. Also, they had a relatively clear idea of the other side's expectations in respect of these symbolic elements. The difficulty arose in establishing how one might equate a given amount of cash with a given amount of social offense and foregone income in the absence of precedents and of clear guidelines.

Postponed Revelation

There is a final element that has increased the risk involved in the ceremony. In traditional ifoga, the amounts of food that were presented were visible to those who had to make a judgment on accepting the gesture. In effect, cash is invisible to those who must decide whether to accept the gesture of forgiveness and to invite the supplicants into the house to complete the ceremony. The cash, and the amount of the social value that it represents, is only revealed inside the house and when the supplicants are surrounded by representatives of the victim's family. This entails an element of risk to the donors. If their gift is seen to under the value of the offense suffered, for reasons outlined earlier, the atmosphere inside the house may change rapidly, and it may take considerable effort on the part of the matai involved to allay anger and disappointment. O'Meara (1990) reports that supplicants in a ceremony he witnessed had armed themselves in case the anger in the house rose to uncontrollable levels and they were forced to defend themselves.

These sorts of dilemmas may be the reasons why people say that ifoga are not performed as frequently as it once was because of the emergence of new categories of dispute and the availability of new forms of dispute resolution. This presents certain practical problems for the ifoga. Exchanges are likely to be most successful when they are regularly transacted and when there are opportunities to observe these: to learn the language of the exchange, the respective values of the items that are exchanged, circumstances that might affect these, and factors that might need to be anticipated in performing a successful exchange.

Cash and Tradition

But the increasing monetization of the Samoan economy, new forms of social capital, and increasing levels of personal indebtedness may spell a new role for the ifoga. The cash that families are able to raise at short notice to perform an ifoga may not come close to meeting real losses suffered by a victim's family. If they accept an ifoga, they may feel compelled to suspend further action against the offenders, to close the matter. Highly indebted families may have reservations about taking a course of action that could prevent them from seeking compensation in civil courts to meet their real economic losses, to settle existing debts, or to maintain their standard of living.

Consider two increasingly likely hypothetical possibilities. A slander affects a business person's reputation and results in a major loss of profit. Would such a person be willing to settle for an exchange that might recover his reputation but not the loss of business and profits? Might such a person not prefer to take a civil action for damages against the offender? Similarly, if the death of a well-paid civil servant resulted in the loss of anticipated income, inability to make mortgage payments and loss of a house or repossession of property, would the widow or widower be prepared to settle for an ifoga that resulted in the public acknowledgment of the value of the lost person and culpability but that did nothing to replace the loss of income or to avoid the repossession of the survivors' property? Might they not prefer, or be compelled, to take a civil action for damages against the offender?

A New Role for the Ifoga

This is not to argue that the ifoga as an institution will disappear. In fact, in July 1999, when the Minister of Works was shot by a man apparently acting for two other cabinet ministers,[41] two ifoga were performed. The taking of the minister's life constituted an affront to the honor both of his

family and to the district that he represented. Although the representatives of the accused men's aiga were undoubtedly embarrassed by the actions of their members, they also were well aware of the possibility of retribution by either or both the minister's offended relatives and constituents. A family or village has little prospect of successfully defending itself on two fronts and has little option but to accept the necessity of the ultimate humiliation of simultaneous self-abasement to two entities.

In the first, the family of the convicted man immediately performed an ifoga at the house of the wife of the deceased. In the second, the village from which the murderer came performed an ifoga in the village from which the minister came. These ifoga were widely credited with defusing tensions that had built around the affront to the murdered man's immediate family and village of origin and with preventing the violence that had been anticipated when the killer had been identified. In that case, there was little doubt in anybody's mind that the ifoga was the appropriate means of preventing the escalation if not resolving the dispute. Indeed, it was arguably the only means of heading off a more serious dispute that the police might have had trouble controlling because of their size in relation to the combined size of the families and the villages involved.

As the ifoga was being performed, the police were arresting the culprits and charging them with murder and conspiracy to commit murder. They were subsequently tried and convicted in the criminal courts and sentenced to life imprisonment for murder. This is increasingly the case in Samoa. The ifoga, which resolves the questions of foregone honor and restores relationships between offenders and offended, is followed by various commercial and criminal proceedings that attempt to resolve questions of compensation and criminality. However, the two spheres can overlap: judges may take into account the performance of the ifoga in sentencing (Macpherson and Macpherson 2005). Judges have, in judgements, attempted to clarify the role of ifoga in the broader contexts of state law and justice. In the case *Attorney General vs Matalavea*, the judge noted that the ifoga performed after the death of his victim was only one of a number of penalties which the applicant, a respected civil servant, had suffered and listed the loss of employment, reputation, imprisonment, as others (Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute 2007). But neither the judges, nor the victims, are as willing to regard the ifoga as the appropriate place for full and final settlement of certain types of dispute.

Conclusion

The ifoga has provided a widely accepted, effective, and valuable means of delivering restorative justice, but its future is by no means assured.

The successful performance of the ifoga depends, to a large extent, on the correct estimation by the offender's supporters of the seriousness of the affront and of the appropriate type and level of response called for. Also, it depends on the recognition and acceptance by the aggrieved party that the apology offered is of an appropriate type and level to warrant forgiveness.

As calculation of the value of affront and cost of settlement becomes more complex, there is a prospect of miscalculation. When there is a perceived disparity between the value of the apology offered and that which is expected, the potential for dissatisfaction is heightened, and prospect of successful reconciliation is reduced. The consequences of miscalculation of value of social affront in an ifoga are dangerous if the aggrieved party is provoked into attacking the supplicants, humiliating if the offender's party's apology is rejected as inadequate and costly if the disruption of economic activity is not resolved.

It is probable that the ifoga will continue to be performed by offending groups to offended groups to resolve the social disjunction caused by particular offenses, but increasingly it will occur alongside related civil and criminal actions. This means that the role of the ifoga will have changed substantially. It will no longer be the sole form of dispute resolution in such cases. Instead, it will be an adjunct to a process played out at several places at different times. The parties to the dispute will calculate what is to be exchanged to restore intergroup relations, and later the offender and the courts of the state will determine what is to be exchanged to meet the state's requirements.

Self-humiliation and symbolic gifts will continue to be exchanged for forgiveness in the ifoga, to acknowledge a group's acceptance of responsibility of an offense committed by one of its members and will serve to resolve the intergroup tensions. But courts will increasingly determine what will be required from the individual offender to resolve tension between the individual and the state, victims, and debtors. However, the spheres will remain connected. Judges will continue to take the performance of ifoga into account in sentencing. They will consider the timing, conduct, and reception of the ifoga as mitigating elements in sentencing, but it will never be a substitute for sentencing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors wish to thank the reviewer whose careful reading and valuable suggestions improved this article significantly.

NOTES

1. F. J. H. Gratton, a Cambridge-trained anthropologist was Secretary for Samoan Affairs in the New Zealand administration that administered Western Samoa under a United Nations Trusteeship. For a summary of his work, see Gratton 1985.

2. Some 81 percent of Samoa's land remains under communal tenure and cannot be bought or sold. Its disposition and use is determined by traditional chiefs in whom it is vested. The balance comprises land confiscated from Germans and held by the state as a national estate (14 percent) and freehold land (4 percent; Australian Agency for International Development, 2008: 4).

3. Some 40 percent of the national population now lives in urban and peri-urban areas.

4. More people of Samoan descent now live outside of Samoa than in Samoa.

5. Now, there are stores that specialize in providing food, fine mats for these *fa'alavelave*, and, where necessary, the credit to purchase them.

6. Members of Parliament are relatively well paid and enjoy significant privileges, and every member of the ruling HRPP party is either a Minister or an Associate Minister, which confers higher salaries and better conditions.

7. For a fuller discussion of this argument, see the concluding chapters of Macpherson and Macpherson 2009.

8. Freehold land and homes, pension entitlements and contributions to the Samoa National Provident Fund are leveraged frequently by this group.

9. For a comprehensive discussion of this argument, see So'o (2007) *Changes in the Matai System, O Suiga i le Fa'amatai.*

10. Conflicts and disputes are likened in proverbs to head lice, which are to be sought out and crushed before they can become established. Head lice can infect the scalp and become a source of continuing irritation.

11. Proverbs, such as *ua leai se manu e olo* (a place where no pigeons call), are used to celebrate families and villages where social peace and harmony are found.

12. The biblical passages quoted in explaining the desirability of cooperation are drawn from the Psalms and the Beatitudes. The biblical injunctions are reinforced frequently with secular proverbs that also stress the importance of cooperation.

13. In this discussion, group, entity and unit are used to refer to generic collectivities. For the purposes of this discussion, group could refer equally to a household (*fua'ifale*), extended kin group (aiga), subvillage (*pitonu'u*), village (*nu'u*), or district (*itumalo*).

14. In fact, fa'aaloalo more correctly means to pay deference or to show appropriate respect to others. The consequence of showing either deference or appropriate respect to others is the maintenance of the existing sets of power relations.

15. This is ironic because, as a consequence of both academic writing (for instance Shore 1982; Freeman 1983) and popular fiction by Samoan authors (for instance Wendt 1973, 1974, 1977, 1980, 1986), Samoan society often is seen as relatively a violent one.

16. This is truer of those who remain in the villages and derive significant parts of their income from agriculture and fishing. The urban population, which derives significant parts of its income from salary or wage employment, is typically less involved in and directly dependent on the unity of the village or kin group.

17. It is possible that at some point the resources controlled by a unit become large enough to generate internal competition for control, which may lead in turn to the fragmentation of the unit. It is likely that these sorts of challenges have become more frequent as national law has restricted the range of means available to modern chiefs to head off challenges to their control.

18. It is significant that one of the proverbs used in urging reconciliation likens a disunited social entity to a collapsed fish trap, which is totally useless until it is rebuilt. The proverb, *e ta'ape a fatuati*, which means literally that the stone trap has collapsed, alludes to the notion that, although all the stones that make up the fish trap may be present, they cannot catch anything until they are rebuilt again into a trap and highlights the impotence of a divided group (Schultz 1980, 15).

19. Psalm 133, which begins, "Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in harmony," is a popularly cited proverb, as are passages in Matthew 5:5 and 5:9 that assert that the peacemakers shall become the children of God.

20. Also, it is true that Samoans are periodically reminded, in public contexts, of Samoan and biblical heroes who went to war to protect or restore the honor of the faith, family, or a people.

21. Of course, there are exceptions to this. For instance, when men of similar age meet, the untitled will give respect to the titled.

22. In a society that values individualism, promotes individuality, and accepts a principle of meritocracy, these terms may seem insignificant. In a society that values the opposite personal attributes, the weight of these terms assume very negative connotations.

23. Proverbs, such as *ua fa'aluma tupu i fale*, which means the disgrace had its origins at home (Schultz 1980, 133), are used to refer to people whose conduct has exposed their relatives to others' criticism.

24. This judgment is apparent in fines handed down in village fono or matai courts. Frequently, they are levied in taro and pigs and are so heavy that the offender could not possibly pay the fine from his or her own resources. Often, the family has to levy its members to raise the resources to pay the fine. The fono may state explicitly its belief that the family must share the responsibility for failing to teach its members. Even where the fono does not make this explicit, families are reminded of their collective responsibility for their members' conduct.

25. In August 2010, the village of Lufilufi determined that the Head of State should be stripped of the high title Tui Atua because he had failed to observe protocols that

governed the relationship between this high title and the village that had the right to bestow it by building a small structure on customary land associated with the title without its explicit permission.

26. At Lona in the Fagaloa District of Upolu, in September 1993, a conflict between the fono and a village matai escalated to a point where the former, increasingly frustrated by the latter's reluctance to accept its judgment, provoked a confrontation in which the latter was shot in front of his family. National and international publicity humiliated the village and the state's decision to remove, try, and convict a number of its matai was a further, and probably more humiliating, experience.

27. The others are *pule fa'avae* (or constitutive authority) *pule fa'asoa* (or distributive authority), and *pule fa'aaoga* (or exploitative authority). For an extended discussion of these forms, see Va'ai (1999) *Samoa Faamatai and the Rule of Law*.

28. Fine mats are the currency of Samoan ceremony and are exchanged and circulated in a number of events that mark various life crises (see Schoeffel 1999).

29. When in 1999, the Minister of Works, Luagalau Levaula Kamu, was assassinated, two ifoga were performed.

30. In the Lona village incident, where a conflict was not resolved early, a chief was shot and his home; vehicles and property were burned by untitled men (*taulele'a*) acting for the village chiefs. This incident has led to continuing conflict within the village, exposed the village to public discussion and some ridicule, and has led to the village council's authority being overridden by the state, in the form of its police and the court, which further humiliated its members by convicting them and imprisoning their agents.

31. When matters remain unresolved, even normally routine encounters between members of the parties involved are potentially dangerous because the aggrieved party may feel honor-bound to exact retribution. Movement of the offenders around their daily activity may constitute provocation and produce outbreaks of conflict for similar reasons.

32. Unresolved disputes may escalate quickly, and the absence of a mobile police force, which is able to intervene physically in enough numbers to guarantee a continued peace, places a premium on orderly resolution of intergroup conflicts.

33. From the Samoa terms *itu* or *pito*, which mean side or end in relation to another. This side might be one part of a family in relation to another, one family in relation to another, or a village in relation to another.

34. When, in 2009, the village of Vaimoso refused to accept an ifoga, an extended public discussion occurred around the rarity of refusal, whether this was a violation of custom, and circumstances in which ifoga might be refused.

35. O'Meara reports that after a successful ifoga, he saw members of the forgiven group removing concealed weapons from their clothes and expressing relief that the proceedings had gone well and that it had not been necessary to use the weapons they had taken.

36. This is generally a statement of intent and is not always entirely successful. People who are closely related to the victim may, in periods of acute psychological stress or under the influence of alcohol, engage in retaliation, but these acts occur without the sanction of the village and are individual acts.

37. Ifoga have been performed within Samoan diasporic populations and between Samoan and other populations as in Logan, N.S.W., between Samoans and Aboriginal communities in 2009 and between Micronesian and Samoan communities in Honolulu in 2008.

38. These figures were provided by people who had been a part of or who had witnessed ceremonies and may not represent the full range of gifts that have been presented on these occasions. The highest figure was cited in a 2007 case in the Court of Appeal (Attorney General vs Matalavea [2007]). A full discussion of this case can be found elsewhere (Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute 2007).

39. For instance the crew of an interisland vessel were playing cards and drinking beer when a dispute developed between two friends. In the ensuing struggle, one man was pushed into a rail and sustained a skull fracture from which he died. In another case, a truck driver collided with an unrelated motorcyclist who subsequently died from injuries. In still another incident, a husband killed a man while defending his wife from a disgruntled employee (Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute 2007).

40. In September 2010, SAT1 is equivalent to NZD0.58; USD0.33

41. Luagalau Levaula Kamu was shot by Leafa Vitale, who according to his confession, was acting on instructions of his father, Leafa Vitale, and fellow minister Toi Aukuso Kane. The son pleaded guilty and was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The others pleaded not guilty but were found guilty and sentenced to death. All sentences were subsequently commuted to life imprisonment.

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REVIEW

Manulani Aluli Meyer. *Ho'oulu: Our Time of Becoming: Hawaiian Epistemology and Early Writings*. 1st ed. Honolulu: 'Ai Pohaku Press; Native Books, 2003. Pp. 236. ISBN 1883528240. US$18.95 paper.

Reviewed by David W. Gegeo, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Epistemology, the theory of knowledge, is a branch of philosophy that is concerned with how knowledge is constructed and accordingly tries to answer questions such as: What is knowledge? Where does knowledge come from? What are the limits of knowledge? What is belief and what is truth? How is knowledge different from opinion? Western epistemology is said to have been founded by Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, and other early Greek scholars.

In recent decades, a perspective called indigenous epistemology is gaining popularity not only among Third World or indigenous academics but also among Western academics. However, as yet it is not clear where exactly indigenous epistemology sits in academic disciplines. Should it sit in philosophy? If so, which philosophy? Should it sit in anthropology? If so, which anthropology? Or should it sit in multicultural education? If so, whose cultural concerns are the focus of such education? All things considered, it is perhaps healthier that, as a perspective concerned with articulating the lived-experience of the world's most stigmatized people, indigenous epistemology does not sit in any other scholarly niche but indigenous studies and from there makes its contributions to human knowledge.

Because there are uncertainties about its proper epistemic niche, there are also questions about what indigenous epistemology is or means. Fundamentally, it is concerned with the social construction of knowledge,

just like western or any other epistemologies, but from the standpoint of the lived experience of indigenous peoples. Thus, it is concerned, for instance, with questions such as how do indigenous peoples define knowledge; how do they construct knowledge; or what is epistemic belief and truth in indigenous ways of knowing? Perhaps more than Western epistemology, indigenous epistemology employs a great variety of methods in constructing knowledge. This is because any body of knowledge is created in a specific context, in a specific time period and for a specific reason or reasons. Therefore, it follows that the greater cultural diversity is the greater is methodological diversity. And there is greater cultural diversity among indigenous populations in the world.

Because of its relative newness as an academic field of scientific inquiry, scholarly publications on indigenous epistemology have been mostly journal articles (see Royal 2005; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001, 2002; Meyer 2001). There are very few books published on it. *Ho'oulu: Our Time of Becoming, Hawaiian Epistemology and Early Writings* by Manulani Aluli Meyer is one of the very few books published on indigenous epistemology recently. As can be seen from the title, Meyer's book is on Hawaiian indigenous epistemology. It is based on her doctoral dissertation, which she completed at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. It is one of the most valuable books I have seen on Hawaiian and indigenous epistemologies. Meyer writes with great clarity, which, needless to say, is thankfully welcomed given that, by virtue of its theoretical nature, indigenous epistemology (like all epistemologies) tends to elude full comprehension even with the best of articulations.

Meyer studied at Harvard, which is one of the leading universities in the western world. Despite this, she remains a true native Hawaiian and Pacific philosopher, historian, educator, and social activist. This comes out clearly both in her depth of insights and the audacity with which she articulates the struggles of native Hawaiian people with colonization and, hence, the struggles of all indigenous peoples as well.

Meyer's epistemic audacity in using Hawaiian indigenous epistemology to counter Western conventional wisdom and hierarchy is seen and felt even in the organization of the book. For instance, instead of "chapters," the first seventy-five pages of the book are organized into parts. The "Introduction" and "chapters" appear much later on page 76. This might have been the publisher's decision rather than Meyer's; still it resonates with her political and epistemic activism. The same can be said of her choice of a local publisher. Readers more used to the conventional organization of a book, of course, might find this book not well organized. However, I would strongly advise that the reader should judge this book

not by its organization but by its contents. The knowledge contained in it is profound making this a wonderful introductory text on Hawaiian/Pasifika/indigenous epistemology. Adding to the book's value is Meyer's use of excellent examples from Hawaiian language to illustrate the depth and indigeneity of Hawaiian epistemology. For example, on page 96, she lists with English definitions twenty-eight types of *'ike*, "knowledge" in Hawaiian epistemology. There are, for instance, *'ike hana* (knowledge gained by experience), *'ike lau* (knowledge flowering), and *'ike 'uhane* (soul knowledge). Although on Hawaiian epistemology, hence indigenous epistemology, in terms of merit, this book ranks with introductory texts on Western epistemology such as *A Guide through the Theory of Knowledge* (1997) by Adam Morton and *Knowledge Puzzles: An Introduction to Epistemology* (1996) by Stephen Hetherington.

Meyer, indubitably, is among the few leading native scholars of Hawaiian as well as indigenous epistemologies. I highly recommend her book as an excellent starting point for anyone journeying to know about both native Hawaiian and indigenous epistemologies.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLAND PUBLICATIONS SELECTED ACQUISITIONS JANUARY 2010–JUNE 2010

THIS LIST OF SIGNIFICANT PUBLICATIONS relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University-Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East–West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian Studies Resource Center, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen, University of California San Diego, Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library, Center for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's Center for the Pacific Development Training. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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BOOKS NOTED

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THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University-Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian Studies Resource Center, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen, University of California San Diego, Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library, Center for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's Center for the Pacific Development Training. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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Erratum

The article by Hūfanga 'Okusitino Mahina, entitled Tā, Vā, and Manoa: Temporality, Spatiality, and Indigeneity, that appears in the August/December 2010 issue of *Pacific Studies* contained an error. On page 185, in the third paragraph, the third sentence should have read: "By intrinsic qualities, reference is made to such qualities as *tatau* (symmetry), potupotutatau (harmony), and malie (beauty) internal to art. On the other hand, the extrinsic qualities are *mafana* (warmth), *vela* (fieriness), and *tauelangi* (climaxed elation)."

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