

**MONETIZATION AND TRADITION:
CASH AND CONCILIATION IN CONTEMPORARY SAMOA**

Cluny Macpherson
Massey University, New Zealand

La'avasa Macpherson
Oceania Inc., New Zealand

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 *matatua* 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

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

Samoa 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 national³ and international⁴ 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 (Toleaofo 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 (Tuimaleaifano 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 scholars⁷ 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 property⁸ 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 fa'iga 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, *maopoo*, 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 fealoloa'i*. Elaborate speech (Milner 1961; Shore 1982) and behavioral codes exist to regulate the relationships between individuals and social entities¹³ in ways that minimize the probability of conflict arising. The social value of *fa'aaloalo*, or appropriate respect, and of *usiuisita'i*, or obedience, in both speech and interpersonal conduct is stressed in socialization and are the foundations of cooperation, *fai'fai'amea fa'atasi*, in Samoan social organization.¹⁴ Samoan culture is considered by many Samoans at least¹⁵ 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, *fuafale*, 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 instill 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 be 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'amalumu*, 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 toga²⁸ 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 considerations³² 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 side³³ 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 Samoan³⁷ 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 suddenly³⁹ 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 2,500⁴⁰ 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'avelave*, 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 lei 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. Luagatau 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.

REFERENCES

Aiono, Fana'afi le Tagaloa

1992 The Samoan culture and government. In *Democracy in the South Pacific culture and Suva*, ed. R. C. Crocombe, A. Ravuvu, and W. Vom Busch, 107–11. Suva, Fiji: Institute of the Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.

Anesi, T., and Auelua F. Enari

1988 The land and chiefly titles court of western Samoa. In *Pacific courts and legal systems*, ed. G. Powles and M. Pulca. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific.

Australian Agency for International Development

2008 *Making land work. Vol. 1. Reconciling customary land and development in the Pacific*. Canberra: Australian Agency for International Development.

Chan Mow, Ioana

2007 The Fa'amatai in the face of the winds of change. In *Changes in the Matai system. O Suiga i le Fa'amatai*, ed. A. So'o, 119–37. Apia: Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National Univ. of Sāmoa.

- Epati, Acau S.
 1988 Lawyers and the customary court. In *Pacific courts and legal systems*, ed. C. Powle and M. Pulea, 167–71. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific.
- Freeman, Derek
 1983 *Margaret Mead and Samoa. The making and unmaking of an anthropological myth*. Canberra: Australian National Univ. Press.
- Fuata'i, Lafita'i Iupati
 2007 E Sui Fa'iga, 'ae Tunan Fa'avae: Practices change but foundations remain. In *Changes in the Matai system. O Sui'ga i le Fa'amatai*, ed. A. So'o, 173–83. Apia: Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National Univ. of Sāmoa.
- Gratton, F. J. H.
 1985 *An introduction to Samoan society*. Auckland: R. McMillan Publishers.
- Macpherson, C.
 1999 Changing contours of kinship: The impacts of social and economic development. *Pacific Studies* 22 (2): 71–96.
- Macpherson, C., and L. Macpherson
 2000 Where theory meets practice: Implementing the “governance agenda” in Samoa. In *Governance in Samoa. Pulega i Samoa*, ed. E. Huffer and L. So'o, 17–40. Suva: Institute for Pacific Studies; Canberra: Asia Pacific Press.
 2005 The *Ifoga*: The exchange value of social honour in contemporary Samoa. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 114 (2): 109–34.
 2006 The nature and limits of traditional dispute resolution processes in contemporary Samoa. *Pacific Studies* 29 (1–2): 128–58.
 2009 *The warm winds of change: Globalisation in contemporary Samoa*. Auckland: Auckland Univ. Press.
- Meleisea, Malama
 1992 *Change and adaptations in Western Samoa*. Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies.
- Meleisea, Malama, and Penelope Schoeffel
 1983 Western Samoa: “like a slippery fish.” In *Politics in Polynesia*, ed. A. Ali and R. G. Crocombe, 81–112. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific.
- Milner, George B.
 1961 The Samoan vocabulary of respect. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 91 (2): 296–317.
 1976 *A dictionary of the Samoan language*. London: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Moyle, Richard
 1981 *Fagogo: Fables from Samoa in Samoan and English*. Auckland: Auckland Univ. Press.

O'Meara, J. T.

- 1990 *Samoan planters*. Fort Worth, TX: Holt Reinhardt and Winston.
- 1987 Samoa: Customary individualism. In *Land Tenure in the Pacific*, 3rd ed., ed. R. G. Crocombe, 74–113. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific.
- 1995 From corporate to individual land tenure in Western Samoa. In *Land, Custom and Practice in the South Pacific*, ed. R. G. Ward and E. Kingdon, 109–56. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute (PACLI)

- 2007 *Attorney General vs Matalavea [2007] WSCA8; CA 05 of 2006 (14 September 2007)*, PACLI Database. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific School of Law.

Pratt, George

- 1893 *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language, with English and Samoan vocabulary*. 3rd rev. ed. London: John Snow.

Sapolu, Falefatu

- 1988 Adjudicators in western Samoa. In *Pacific courts and legal systems*, ed. G. Powles and M. Pulea. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific.

Schoeffel, Penelope

- 1999 Samoan exchange and “fine mats”: An historical reconsideration. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 105 (2): 117–48

Schultz, Erich

- 1980 *Samoan proverbial expressions. Alaga'upu fa'a Samoa*. Trans. Brother Herman. Auckland: Polynesian Press; Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.

Shankman, Paul

- 1976 *Migration and underdevelopment: The case of western Samoa*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Shore, Bradd

- 1982 *Sala'ilua: A Samoan mystery*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

So'o, Asofou

- 1998 The price of election campaigning in Samoa. In *Governance and reform in the South Pacific*, ed. P. Larmour, 289–304. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National Univ., Pacific Policy Paper 23.
- 2000 Civil and political liberty: The case of Samoa. In *Governance in Samoa. Pulega i Samoa*, ed. E. Huffer and A. So'o, 133–50. Suva: Institute for Pacific Studies; Canberra: Asia Pacific Press.
- 2007 *Changes in the Matai system. O Suiga i le Fa'amatai*. Apia: Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National Univ. of Sāmoa.
- 2008 *Democracy and custom in Samoa: An uneasy alliance*. Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies Publications, Univ. Of South Pacific.

Teherkézoff, S.

- 2000 Are the matai 'out of time'? Tradition and democracy: contemporary ambiguities and historical transformations of the concept of the chief. In *Governance in Samoa: pulega i Samoa*, ed. E. Huffer and A. So'o, 113–32. Canberra, Australia: Asia Pacific Press.

Toleafa, Afamasaga F.

- 2007 A changing Fa'amatai and implications for governance. In *Changes in the Matai system. O Suiga i le Fa'amatai*, ed. A. So'o, 207–28. Apia: Centre for Sāmoan Studies, National University of Sāmoa.

Tuimalcali'ifano, M. A.

- 2006 Matai titles and corruption in modern Samoa: costs, expectations and consequences for families and society. In *Globalisation and governance in the Pacific Islands*, ed. S. Firth, 363–71. Canberra, Australia: ANU E Press, Australian National Univ.

Va'ai, Alaelua

- 1988 The Western Samoan legal profession. In *Pacific courts and legal systems*, ed. C. Powles and M. Pulea. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific.

Va'ai, Saleimoa

- 1999 *Samoa Faamatai and the rule of law*. Apia: National Univ. of Samoa.

Wendt, Albert

- 1973 *Sons for the return home*. Auckland: Longman Paul.
 1974 *Flying-Fox in a freedom tree*. Auckland: Longman Paul.
 1977 *Pouliuli*. Auckland: Longman Paul.
 1983 *Leaves of the Banyan tree*. Auckland: Longman Paul.
 1986 *The birth and death of the miracle man*. Auckland: Viking.

World Bank

- 1991 *Pacific Island economics: Toward higher growth in the 1990s*. Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.