MATAI TAMAITAI: "THE MISTRESS OF THE FAMILY"

Melani Anae
University of Auckland

This article examines faamatai (the Samoan chiefly system) and the impacts of globalization that have disempowered or reempowered women in new ways. The discourse of "women" in a transnational context is explored by perspectives from six life-story interviews of matai tamaitai in Hawai'i, Sydney and Oceanside and data from 88 women matai from a global online faamatai survey.[2] It explores the faamatai tenet of 'lima malosi ma loto alofa' (strong hands and a loving heart), experienced as the exertion of her pule (secular authority), malosi (economic strength), mana (spiritual power), and mamalu (reverence, dignity, and social power) free from 'traditional' village and male-dominated village councils,[3] and church male leadership.[4] In essence, the transnational space away from Samoa, which has been ravaged by the forces of colonialism, Christianity and capitalism, provides the opportunity for the revitalizing of the power of matai tamaitai which has been subsumed since 1830s.

Shore's Model: Symmetrical/Complementary Relational Sets

Nearly forty years ago, an anthropologist of island Samoa, Bradd Shore (1981), summed up his own and other scholars' perceptions of the Samoan symmetrical and complementary social levels of status among Samoan people by outlining three main status sets. The first is that statuses may be different from one another and not interdependent, for example, matai, father, and sub-village. The second possibility he outlines as different but interdependent are complementary sets, for example, parent/child and matai/taulealea. The final status he calls symmetrical sets, defined by more than one token of a single

Pacific Studies, Vol. 43, No. 1—Jun. 2020

status, for example, a set of several brothers, a body of matai, a collection of villages, or a collection of subvillages within a single village. He describes these statuses as "linked because they are logically or functionally identical or 'metaphorically linked'" (Shore 1981: 198). See Figure 1.

Symmetrical Status Levels

Being in some way identical to one another, symmetrical levels of status are hard to distinguish from one another. There is a tendency for boundaries to become fuzzy and for relations to be unstable. In Samoan thought, symmetrically related status levels that may replace or stand in for another are of great importance. For example, one village may stand in for another in district affairs or may represent its entire district (i.e., all other villages) on ceremonial occasions (Shore 1981: 199). A younger brother is normally expected to replace an older brother as matai on the death of the latter. The same equivalence holds among sisters.

Such symmetrical relationships are therefore inherently competitive and conflict ridden—there is much competition, rivalry, and often mutual aggression, such as sports or village competitions, competition for matai titles, and war. The proverb "Ua faafeagia sega'ula" (The red sega (vini) birds face each other) suggests that the people confronting each other are equals—the same

Complementary relations **(Interdependent)** ***"O le faafagatua e le tutusa'***	**Symmetrical relations** **(Functionally linked)** ***"Ua faafeagai sega 'ula"***
• Cross-sex relationship	• Same-sex relationship
• Different but interdependent e.g. parent/child; matai/taulealea (untitled male)	• Logically/functionally identical e.g. a set of brothers; a group of matai; a collection of villages
• Representing each other e.g. feagaiga (special covenant) between brother/sister; tamafafine[v]/tamatane[vi]; alii[vii]/tulafale[viii]; faifeau[ix]/congregation	• 'sui' - replacing' or 'displacing' as alternates e.g. uso (symmetrical sibling)
• impulse control	• Unrestrained impulse expression
• social order and stability	• Competition, aggression and conflict

FIGURE 1. **Complementary/Symmetrical Relational Sets**

(Shore 1981). When people are not equals or the same, then the proverb "O le faafagatua e le tutusa" (Those locked in wrestling combat are not the same) indicates the inappropriateness of the relationship, for example, an alii engaged in a contest with a tulafale. Symmetrical relations suggest competition, fission, and overt expressions of aggression are expected in such relationships, causing strain among brothers and sisters. Between brothers and their descendants, titles are normally split and competing itu paepae (title-division segments) and fuaifale (maximal descent group branches) originate (Shore 1981).

Complementary Status Levels

Complementary status levels are qualitatively different from one another. The paired functions are complementary to each other, suggesting significant interdependence (Shore 1981: 201). These relationships represent each other because of their functional interdependence. For example, a wife represents her husband's title in the village women's committee because of the complementary functional link between them, and in the same way, the tulafale speaks for his alii. Importantly, this link does not imply replacement or displacement but rather reinforces the interdependence between statuses. "It is the dissimilarity of the two statuses that allows the tulafale to represent the alii" (Shore 1981: 202). Thus, Samoans associate symmetrical relationships with competition, aggression, conflict, impulse expression, and fission and complementary relationships with deference, impulse control, alofa, and faaaloalo. Social order, rather than conflict and fission, characterizes these relationships.

Shore's analysis gained considerable interest from Simanu-Klutz (2011). In her PhD thesis *A malu i fale, 'e malu fo'i i fafo: Samoan women and power: Towards an historiography of changes and continuities in power relations in le Nu'u O Teine of Sāoluafata 1350–1998,* Simanu-Klutz summed up her and other scholars' perceptions of the dilemma of the Samoan power matrix of feagaiga and suli when women claim titles.

As the vast historiography literature on faamatai in Samoa reveals, ancient Samoan sociopolitical organization is ideologically ordered along genealogical and gendered lines. Samoans maintain that within this structure, men and women have shared a bilateral relationship that manifests itself as the feagaiga (sacred covenant) between tamatane (male relatives) and tamafafine (female relatives) in a family, and in the rights of suli (heirs) to family titles and lands (Simanu-Klutz 2011: 1). Within the va (space and time) of feagaiga, men and women share pule (secular authority) and complementarity of roles (Shore 1982). Simanu-Klutz (2011) points out that the women's claim to titles on the basis of their being

suli places them in direct opposition to what Shore has claimed in his power matrix: in that vying for matai titles within villages and competing against their brothers has forced a symmetrical cross-sex relationship in violation of feagaiga with their brothers—a relationship that is competitive, aggressive, and in direct opposition to the complementary nature of the feagaiga, which is mutually beneficial and peaceful (Shore 1982). From this standpoint, Simanu-Klutz (2011) contends that Samoan women have laid claims to positions of relative strength within their extended families and villages, exercising as much, and sometimes more, political and economic authority than their brothers.

Despite the numerous challenges posed by the forces of colonialism, neocolonialism, and neoliberalism, it is still the belief of many Samoan women that with feagaiga and suli as sources and mechanisms of power, they exercise their pule, invoke their mana (spiritual power), flaunt their malosi (economic power), and uphold their mamalu (reverence and dignity, or social power), even if they are not matai (chiefs) of the family (10).

Within the last twenty years, dynamics of power relations at both village and national levels, particularly where women are concerned, have produced significant transformations in economic and political realities in Samoa in several ways. Since the early 1990s, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of women who have become matai and who have mapped themselves into national politics and leadership positions in the village and the workforce (11), there has been mounting pressures from international women's organizations that focus on human rights (12) and that advocate the elimination of discrimination of women, and there are more women graduates employed in all tiers of the professional workforce (13). The establishment of the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development signifies the economic prowess of women, which has been exploited by the traditional and modern political systems of governance and the church (14), In addition, the Honorable Fiame Naomi Mata'afa was appointed as the inaugural female deputy prime minister of Samoa in March 2016.

Simanu-Klutz's seminal research on the women's power matrix in Samoa questions Shore's complementarity of roles and relationships as coded in the feagaiga. Moreover, her research is a significant watershed on the problems of symmetry of power relations of suli as constitutive of the body politics in Samoa. Her findings signify the emergence of the effects of women as matai on the dynamics of feagaiga on family and village affairs where these women are situated and on their involvement with their respective village organizations.

Her exegesis of her village's Teine's mana and mamalu confirms the significant contributions of Samoa's women to the maintenance of values and principles and traditional manifestations over centuries. What is clear, however, is the resilience of what she calls a certain spirit that despite the hegemony of the Christian faith, social engineering by colonial administrators, and postcolonial discourse,

has enabled the "pulse of Teine Samoa to beat steadily despite structural damage to the leadership and underdeveloped resources" (15). However, despite this and certain taboos that continue to be violated, their spirit has remained resilient:

> The Teine have kept their feet grounded and their heads high. There remain the lessons of the past such that when their men folk took off to war in all corners of Sāmoa, they, the Teine, were the ones who tended the fires of worship, tilled the fields, harvested the oceans for sustenance, and kept order in the village. Through it all, they have sustained a degree of mana and mamalu, of spiritual and social powers. With such, they have remained the "mistresses of their own favors." (Simanu-Klutz 2011: 294)

I contend that there is a similar power matrix for women matai in the "loto alofa ma lima malosi" paradox, especially in the transnational space where there is an absence of village and male-dominated village councils and churches. These matai qualities are characterized by lima malosi, which is competitive and aggressive in direct opposition to the complementary nature of loto alofa, which is beneficial and peaceful. My purpose in this article is to use this power matrix to examine women matai and their perceptions of faamatai in this transnational space (Figure 2).

My question is: How does Shore's power status matrix translate across time and space to transnational Samoan women matai in the twenty-first century?

Women and Power in Samoa

In 2015, a groundbreaking report on political representation and women's empowerment in Samoa by Meleisea et al. highlighted several disempowering

	COMPLEMENTARY	**SYMMETRICAL**
Bradd Shore	Social order and stability	Competition, aggression and conflict
Fata Simanu –Klutz	Feagaiga (mana, mamalu) ⟷	Suli (pule, malosi)
	Peaceful, beneficial	Competitive, aggressive
Transnational matai research	Loto alofa (mana, mamalu) ⟷	Lima Malosi (pule, malosi)

FIGURE 2. **Loto Alofa Ma Lima Malosi Power Matrix**

factors affecting women in Samoa in terms of achieving leadership roles within villages and in politics. Research findings highlighted that the system of traditional village government in Samoa presented significant barriers that limited not only women's access to and participation in decision-making forums in local government councils and church leadership but also their participation in school management and community-based organizations, thus making it difficult for women to become—or to be seen as—national leaders (Meleisea et al. 2015: 8). The most common obstacle to women's voice in local government is that few female matai live in villages, and even fewer sit on village councils. Their absence results from the perception that women feel uncomfortable participating in village meetings because of the customary concept of 'o le va tapiua (sacred space), in the feagaiga covenant of respect, and how this may be compromised during meeting discussions (Meleisea et al. 2015: 9). This perception then reinforces public perceptions and religious beliefs that decision making is a male prerogative, not only in village councils but also on village school committees and in national parliament. Another important finding was that justification for the exclusion of women from decision-making roles in villages also had religious grounds due to barriers erected by the male-dominated church leadership that prevent women from becoming ordained priests or ministers across all church denominations in Samoa (Meleisea et al. 2015: 10).

These obstacles to female empowerment in Samoa were reinforced in a report following the elections of 2016, which documented common themes emerging from interviews of 24 female candidates who stood for the election (Fiti-Sinclair, Schoeffel, and Meleisea 2017). Research findings reinforced Meleisea et al.'s (2015) previous research—that the "women" issue occurs because customary male leadership within village councils and churches has been so normalized that women voters did not support female candidates even following vigorous modern methods of campaigning using technology and media hype (Fiti-Sinclair, Schoeffel, and Meleisea 2017: iv). Some suggested in this report that this may be because of jealousy; others pointed out that women in Samoa are accustomed to men being the leaders and decision-makers. But the most alarming finding was the invidious disempowerment of the thousands of nofotane women living in the villages. Nofotane women are women living in their husband's villages with often exerted on them to serve the husband's family and to vote in elections according to his or his family's choice (Fiti-Sinclair, Schoeffel, and Meleisea 2017: 47).

The nofotane's vulnerability to violence was highlighted by the Samoa Victim Support Group (SVSG) in its submission to the 2015 state of human rights report, in which they noted that violence and abuse of nofotane made up much of their caseload. In 2017, SVSG launched the two-year Economic Empowerment of Nofotane Women in Rural Samoa project. Aimed at improving

women's economic positioning and participation in domestic and community matters, at the project's end in 2018, SVSG spoke of engaging 182 villages and gaining support of nofotane rights from more than 2,000 matai. Some villages are said to have implemented measures to stop discrimination against these often-marginalized women, such as bylaws and village council decisions to formally advance women's rights, for example, allowing nofotane women to attend community meetings and wear the same clothes as other women, as well as ensuring that a nofotane representative has a seat at every village council meeting (*Samoa Observer* October 11, 2018). However, the project has met opposition, especially from members of parliament. Comments such as "This is one project that our country does not support," "no stupid family in Samoa would treat the nofotane women any differently [than now]," and "the project will promote nofotane women to run the family when that is not their place" abound in the newspapers and social media (*Samoa Observer* June 23, 2017).

In her 2017 study of women's leadership in traditional villages in Samoa, Finau echoed the disempowering factors for women outlined above. She found that barriers were based on cultural values, religious beliefs, and social assumptions. Cultural values were the most influential in people's perception of a leader, as male leadership was, and still is, entrenched as the true cultural norm. Religious beliefs that emphasize the importance of the father as the leader and the head of the family reinforce these cultural restrictions on women accessing leadership positions. Social assumptions that associate women's work with household tasks further curb women's leadership aspirations. The participants in Finau's study believed that their rights to leadership were being disrupted by the structure of local government, as leadership for them has been restricted to the confinement of the women's committees. Women cannot participate fully in village councils because they do not hold matai titles, and even when they do, they are not recognized or acknowledged by male leaders (Finau 2017).

Thus, it is clear that the current status quo regarding the discriminatory practices of nofotane and dominance of male leadership locally, nationally, and at church and village levels will remain firmly in place as barriers to female empowerment and leadership in Samoa.

Women and Power in the Transnational Space

Faamatai may have been mediated by colonization, Christianity, and capitalism (Macpherson and Macpherson 2009), but global transformations of faamatai have been mediated by transnational matai. Transnational families and their kinship connections have produced not only new economic reliance on remittances and other cash flows, such as tourist visits (16), saofai (title bestowal ceremonies), funerals, and more recently family reunions (17), but also cultural

affective ties that have created new faamatai strategies for development from afar (Anae 2019; Anae and Tominiko 2019). Mobility for a family requires that some family members must leave. But as we have seen, some members must also stay. The transnational faamatai strategy depends on the contradictory principles of maintaining transnational realities and at the same time maintaining identity and tradition (18).

In Samoa, most leadership roles are held by middle-aged or elderly men. All village-based matai are older men, with 92.5 percent of them over 40 years old (Meleisea et al. 2015: 24). While the Samoan population in Samoa is reported to be 187,820 (19), it is estimated that there are approximately 384,007 Samoans living in New Zealand, Australia, and United States and among them thousands of matai (20). Given that the Samoan diaspora has more than doubled the population in Samoa, in the future, matai titles are increasingly likely to be bestowed on those born and raised in the transnational space. So there is a need for more information about who transnational matai are and how they experience and practice faamatai—their chiefly roles and obligations to aiga (family) and villages in their host nations and in Samoa.

This research looks particularly at the "affective ties" of transnational Samoa, the complex emotional and social ties between Samoan migrants and their communities of origin (Macpherson et al. 1994: 83). These affective ties underpin the faamatai as a system and framework for action that defines the relationships between people economically, politically, socially, and culturally (Iati 2000: 71–72). My work among New Zealand–born matai in my PhD Thesis '*Fofoaivaoese: Identity Journeys of NZ-born Samoans*' completed in 1998, describes matai affective ties as "to be tino malosi ma loto alofa," and it is this affective tie that encourages transnational Samoan women to take up the duties of a matai (pp. 183–193). But how is transnational life transforming the way they "do" everyday faamatai? And what are the challenges and possibilities for the persistence of women matai outside Samoa?

The qualitative component of the study focuses on six women matai in the three research nodes of Sydney, Hawai'i, and Oceanside and San Diego and explores themes from life-story interviews carried out with each matai over a three-year period from 2015–17. The matai tamaitai included two retirees, one housewife, and three professionals—a public servant and two teachers (four pioneer matai and two younger matai) (21). Four were pioneer-generation (first generation) migrants, and the others had lived for over 30 years in their host countries. All became matai while living in their host countries. Their matai titles included four alii titles and two tulafale titles. Titles were from the villages of Sapunaoa, Nuusatia, Solosolo, Falelatai, Saoluafata, Vaiusu, Puapua, and Sataua. They were aged between 50 and 94. The interviews took place in Sydney, Honolulu, and San Diego and were in English and Samoan.

Faamatai: "Loto Alofa ma Lima Malosi" Themes

These transnational women matai manifest overarching loto alofa and lima malosi characteristics. As lima malosi, it is pule (secular authority) and it is malosi (economic strength). As loto alofa, it is mana (spiritual power) and it is mamalu (reverence, dignity, and social power). It is what I call matai tamaitai, or Samoan womanist power (22). This power was energized by Salamasina, Nafanua, and our Samoan matriarchs. This power has been subsumed in Samoa since 1830s by the forces of colonialism, Christianity, and capitalism, but in transnational spaces, it has been liberated and reenergized by our matriarchs—in the context of this study, transnational women matai (Anae 2017).

The absence of male-dominated village matai councils, churches, and villages has driven or required new institutional settings for expression and teaching of faamatai. For example, the churches are sites where most Samoan oratory takes place apart from ritual occasions in the community. Hence, opportunities are created for the pioneer women matai to teach and mentor faasamoa and Samoan language. Similarly new institutions for passing on Samoan language and culture—schools and university classes—offer career and authority opportunities for women.

These women were all well educated with professional occupations, including the retiree. Three of them are heads of households. They were all (former) teachers bar two—one who is a government employee in the public sector and another who is a housewife—and are all strong personalities. They were noticeably more confident than the younger male matai we interviewed in the three nodes about their faamatai and faaSamoa and about stating publicly what they think is right or wrong culturally. Several of the younger male matai interviewed acknowledged and deferred to them, especially to the pioneer women we interviewed.

The matai tamaitai that these women practice are based on five characteristics in which they incorporate their pule, malosi, mana, and mamalu to affect change:

- It is aggressively opposed to oppression in any shape or form—by men, by the church, by matai in Samoa, by anyone who transgresses their understandings of faamatai protocols.
- It is based on everyday people and life devoid of status and position in unifying imbalances and indifferences in power and resources for Samoan people and communities. Thus, multilevel tautua was integral here—tautua to Samoa, the village, parents, their church and communities, and the need to teu le va of relationships (Anae 2016).
- It is based on inclusivity rather than divisiveness and uses dialogue to provoke action, especially the hosting of dignitaries, e.g., Samoa's head of state or the governor from American Samoa.

- It is completely and wholly based on the well-being of their aiga (in Samoa and abroad), their community in Hawai'i, and faasamoa.
- It is based on spiritualized politics—social justice activism and perspectives informed by spiritual beliefs and practices that undergird any political action (Phillips 2006: xxvi).

Faamatai Responses

These women had the following shared understandings of everyday faamatai (23):

> Over here, you have to belong to an aulotu, a church community. If you want to use your matai, that is where you will be acknowledged as a matai. But the sad thing is if you are not on the steering committee of the aulotu, e.g., president, vice president, secretary, then you just sit there. When an aulotu get together, it is the secretary that does the talking. When a faatau is held, even if I am not supposed to get up during a faatau, if I hold the position of secretary, I have to get up. In Samoa, there a certain people that do the faatau. You know where to sit, you know what to say, you know who you are. In here, as the old men say, "e sau a se tamaitiiti, se tama'i matai fia tautaliitiiti," "a child comes, or a small matai and they become cheeky"—meaning when they become a secretary they want to stand up. There are a lot of good ones, but there are also a lot of naughty ones. (pioneer matai, Sydney)

> Ia o o'u uiga, ga, e kolu a mea o la'u fausaga galue, ole loko kele, ole faamaoni, ole alofa e kolu a, ia kele a mea a le Akua ga aumai, ae kolu a mea ga ou kausisi iai, a?

> I had three things important to me in my work ethic, to have a big heart, to be honest, and love is the third one, God gave me heaps of things, but those three things is what I live by. (pioneer matai, Hawai'i)

Elite factionalism is scorned and illustrated in the phrase "If our Tama a Aiga comes . . . it is for the whole of Samoan communities in Hawaii to host him . . . not the elite few" (younger matai). The community must therefore have recognized and legitimate representation and a leader who is able to mobilize the Samoan community. Often in Hawai'i and elsewhere, this leadership role is given to a woman matai. Similarly. This leadership role is also mobilized

in times of crisis for aiga and people or communities in Samoa, for example, during cyclones and tsunami, when it is always the women matai and women's church committees who take the lead in mustering support in terms of financial and other resources to take to Samoa—container loads of money, clothing, and furniture donated from people all over Hawai'i:

> . . . all that is explained by the matai to the family back home that are doing tautua, you are overseas, you can't do much, all you can do is help where you can, that's what you call tautua mamao, different from tautua tuavae, when you are there to do everything for the matai, but tautua mamao, is another important one, so when you get to samoa, you are loved haha. (pioneer matai, Hawai'i)

Tautua to Family and Village

Tautua to parents, families, and Samoa dominated their considerations of the service and work they have gladly performed as matai, mothers, and heads of households:

> Ever since I became a matai, I've had my village over three times. The first taligamalo [hospitality] I had was my church choir. They came here to launch a CD and to raise funds for an organ in the church. I had 17 people live in my house and I had to feed them for 3 weeks. About 5 years before that, when I went to Samoa, they came and saw me with food and said they needed an organ for the church. So I came back and talked to the family and said we need to donate an organ to the church. It was $3,000.00 for the organ and $1,000.00 to ship it. But the funny thing is when I went back, they said thank you for the organ, but we also need a synthesizer. I said, what, that was just last week, I'm still paying for my credit card (laughs). (pioneer matai, Sydney)

> It is quite difficult when faalavelave (24) all come at the same time. It would be ok if the faalavelave happened at different times. One of my cousins, Peseta Luteru usually notifies me whenever there is a faalavelvae in Pu'apu'a. As for the Tiumalu title, yes I am actively still serving it because there is hardly any of my family members left in the village. Even though it is difficult when faalavelave all come at once, you still have to do them. You still have to do them because no one is from "one stomach." You are always from "two stomachs." I am just a servant

> but love is the foundation of everything. Since I had my Magele title bestowed this year, there has yet to be a faalavelave but I am always in contact with my extended Magele family. You have to do all that is expected of you as a matai because you said yes to the title. This is your duty, to give, to nurture, to love. You cannot be one sided. If you family thrives, so does your village. (pioneer matai, San Diego)

Their work is often unacknowledged and tireless, but all of them come together in the acknowledgment that education for the younger generation was pivotal for the continuation of the faasamoa and faamatai.

Regarding passing on esoteric knowledge to a younger generation:

> You need to write down the faamatai and share . . . everything is Americanised in this country . . . faamatai tarnished by matai from Samoa . . . they demolish everything that's happening here haha . . . it's like the power of Tutuila is more than the people here . . . (pioneer matai)

They are well aware that their everyday "job" is to teach faasamoa and faasinomaga (Samoan identity) in the diaspora. They also share an acute awareness that faasinomaga and faasamoa needed to be taught to new generations born outside of Samoa in secondary and tertiary classrooms.

Mobilizing the Church

One of the younger matai speaks at great length about the tautua she carries out for acknowledgment and hosting of Samoan dignitaries, as well as the lack of male matai leadership and the churches to be able to do much in this regard:

> The church . . . I think there is probably not one faifeau that doesn't know who I am, even the eldest of the faifeaus, I asked the leading faifeau, the last time that Kuilaepa came, maybe a year ago . . . he was here. I co-ordinated the programme. I was the one who invited all the faifeaus, the senior faifeau from Methodist to do the Church service for the Prime Minster. The week that just passed was the meeting between myself and the other faifeaus because I'm the leader of the committee for the Samoan Flag day in Hawaii. There were many people who wanted to do it but I did not agree because I know I am the only one whose heart is true and the only one that can do these things. The faifeau all support everything. Right now we holding meetings with faifeaus because of the flag day, I was the one that started the evagelias from 6am in the morning to 6pm. The focus of this occasion is to balance the spiritual and the

> physical well-being. So we've done it again this year . . . so we were doing preparations Friday past, so that was the time we had our meeting with the faifeaus. (pioneer matai, Hawai'i)

> When the Catholic church had their world youth day, I had the Deacon, the Fesoasoani and his youth group and the parents of the youth, I had them stay here with me for a week or two. So I had to feed them and look after them, and provide transport for them. (pioneer matai, Sydney)

> The last one were matai from my village, when we had the church built, they had to do renovations to the church. I had the matai come over and I took them to the community radio, so they can ask the Vaiusu people to come together so we can raise funds for the church. Every time we have a po siva, we have to give more than a $1,000.00. We had a tusigaigoa [fundraising pledges], and during that time we had to look after them and feed them, transport them, and on top of that, you have to look for money for you ipu at the tusigaigoa. After the tusigaigoa, you have to ta'i a sua [make a contribution] for them and their wives, give their wives' puletasi [dresses], and meaalofa [presents] because they are going. You also give them pocket money for when they go back. (matai, Sydney)

> The faasamoa is being practised inside of the church. I forgot to ask our President of our church, what is the relationship between church and the matai, because the Samoan minister of my church is from Siumu. Ever since becoming a matai, the minister hasn't really paid much attention to it. He seems to keep religion and culture separate, because he is a church minister and not a matai. However, I am the speaker of our church, which is kind of like being a matai. It's quite sad. In the way he runs things, it's like he thinks he is a matai and forgets that his main responsibility is the bible and the altar. (pioneer matai, San Diego)

Well-Being and Social Justice

Much of the talk around tautua, by the pioneer matai especially, contains graphic details on these women's ability to mobilize the Samoan community in times of

trouble and catastrophe, often resulting in expensive trips back to Samoa and extensive fundraising activities:

> When the tsunami hit Samoa, my husband's cousins were involved. My husband, my family, my sons, we spoke about helping out . . . so we put together load and loads of clothing to take and toys for all the kids. When Cyclone Evans hit Apia, Faatoia and all that area, I went and had a look at my husband's family. The whole house was flooded. Everything in the house was swept away, the fridge, the beds, everything. I looked at his sister who lives in the family, and I saw how sad she was, like a lost soul. I came back and spoke to my sons, and my husband said, we need to do something. We need to help. So we put together a container. We took furniture, kitchen utensils, clothing, toys etc. Our friends and colleagues at work donated a lot. It was more than a container. After the container was loaded, there was a lot of stuff left. So my son, who has passed now, took all the stuff left and distributed out to all our other relatives. In the second container, we took furniture for my side of the family, one of my brother's house, the roof was blown away and the furniture was damaged by the rain. After we looked after our relatives, there was still a lot. So we made extra boxes of food and clothing, and went to Faatoia, Leone, part of Apia, and a little village over there they call Uelegitone near Magiagi, and just gave them boxes of stuff. It was a joy to give . . . to feel you could help someone you don't know. (matai, Sydney)

> O matou foi o tatou aiga, e iai taimi ua na'o le tilotilo lava i luga i tagata maumea ae le se'i tilotilo i lalo i tatou tagata vaivai ma le matitiva. O se vaega o la'u galuega o le va'ai lea 'aemaise o tatou aiga Samoa ua leai ni mea e nonofo ai and one of the biggest issues in Hawaii at the moment.. . . E iai le alagaupu fa'asamoa, "E ā ulu tafega ae selefutia ai Vaisigano" E faapena foi tatou, a sese ona fai fuafuaaga a se aiga, o le 'a'afia ai le solosolo lelei ma le saogalemu o se aiga i le so'ona fai.

> Sometimes our family are more concerned about those who are wealthy and well off but forget those of our families who are poor and struggling. One of our duties as matai is to help our people in need as well as looking after our people who are homeless. This is one of the biggest issues in Hawaii at the moment. There is a Samoan saying, "E aulu tafega ae selefutia ai Vaisigano"—"Although the river starts inland, everything

gets swept down to Vaisigano." It is like us. If one person does something wrong, it affects the whole family. (pioneer matai, Hawai'i)

If the men are good leaders. I believe there are always leaders and followers. If the men are followers, how can we expect them to lead our family or our village? Some men are very lazy, some men don't have the motivation, they can't think, the women has to tell him to do this and that. It's the woman that is always doing the job, reminding of his duties, reminding him what to do, and in some cases, reminding him what to say. I think if a woman is a leader, by all means. It is for the betterment of the family and the betterment of the village . . . providing the husband is supportive. (matai, Sydney)

From what I see, there is no priority for the male side. A boy and a girl are nurtured together by their parents when they are little. The girl is also the feagaiga to her brother. But now the feagaiga role is given to the church minister since the arrival of the Christian church at Mataniu Feagai ma le ata. The feagaiga is cared for like the pupil of an eye of her brother. A boy can also be a feagaiga to another boy. We have a family Usupua, who has a feagaiga with the Head of State. (pioneer matai, San Diego)

It is good for a female to be a matai. It is more appropriate for then to be an alii rather than a tulafale. Some matai alii don't know how to handle problems within his family so by giving the title to a woman, they are much better at mediating and peacekeeping because it is what they naturally do. There is however the traditional role of taupou, but nowadays you hardly hear of taupou bestowals taking place. (pioneer matai, San Diego)

Back in the Village

These matai are also aware that "not much is happening in the villages back home":

Na ou taunuu atu i le matou nu'u i le isi vaitaimi sa ou faia ni polokalame e pei o fa'alelegapepe ma una'i le matou nu'u e toto laufala, ma fai ni fagu'u e faatau e maua ai tupe a le nu'u aua mea e fai a le nu'u. Ou te

> mana'o e toe fa'aolaola komiti a tina o le nu'u pei ona sa sau ai aso ia. O le a le taimi ta te foi atu ai i le matou nu'u, e na'o le nofonofo lava e leai ni mea fou o fa'atino.
>
> On one of my visits to my village, I encouraged them to do little projects like growing pineapples and making coconut oil to sell and to bring in money to do things that the village want to do. I want to revive the committee of the wives and mothers as it used to be in the old days. Sometimes I go back to my village and all that they are doing is sitting around and not doing anything useful. (pioneer matai, Hawai'i)

> Same as for Matai we always made decisions for our families. The new generation have their own views and own opinions. Whenever I go to Samoa I have to be well organised. When I returned back to my village of Safata, I noticed that the people there were also beginning to behave like palagi. When I returned to my village, I called a meeting with the matai of my family. I planned all the things for our New Year celebration. I was shocked that I was the one that had to make decisions as none of my family members in Samoa had even thought of organising something like this for our family. (younger matai, Hawai'i)

Samoan Transnational Matai Survey Data

This online survey commenced in 2016 and as of February 2019, there were a total of 550 completed surveys, 88 of them by Samoan women matai.

What Do You Think Are the Qualities of a Matai?

Top four priorities for women matai:	**Top four priorities for male matai:**
Be understanding	Be respectful
Be patient	Know Samoan traditional protocols
Be respectful	Know the family gafa
Be a good decision-maker	Be caring and loving

Female responses are depicted in Figure 3. Male responses are depicted in Figure 4.

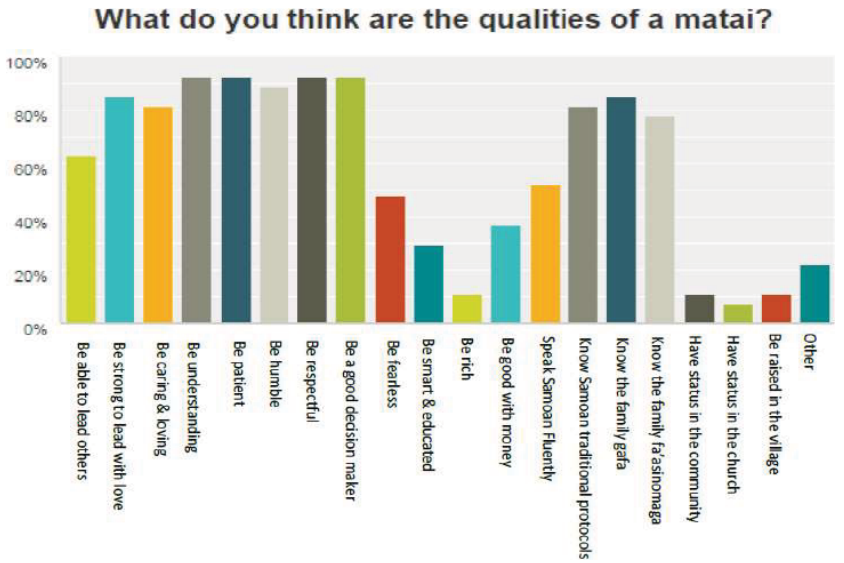


FIGURE 3. **Female Responses to the Question, What Do You Think Are the Qualities of a Matai?**

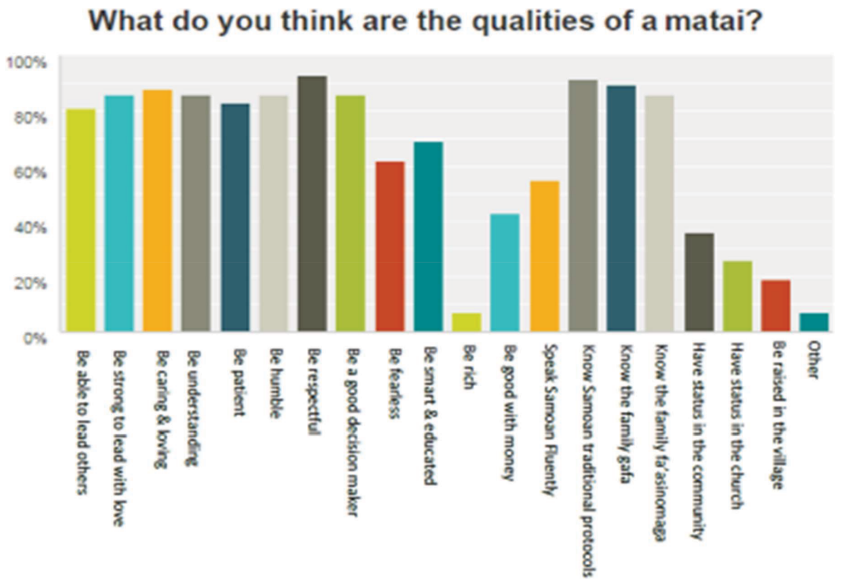


FIGURE 4. **Male Responses to the Question, What Do You Think Are the Qualities of a Matai?**

What Is Your Understanding of the Faamatai Chiefly System?

Top responses by respondents, which were shared by both men and women were "To serve the family." However, the men's next priorities (Figure 5) were "well-being" and then "serving the village," while the women's priorities (Figure 6) were the opposite—"serving the village" and then "well-being."

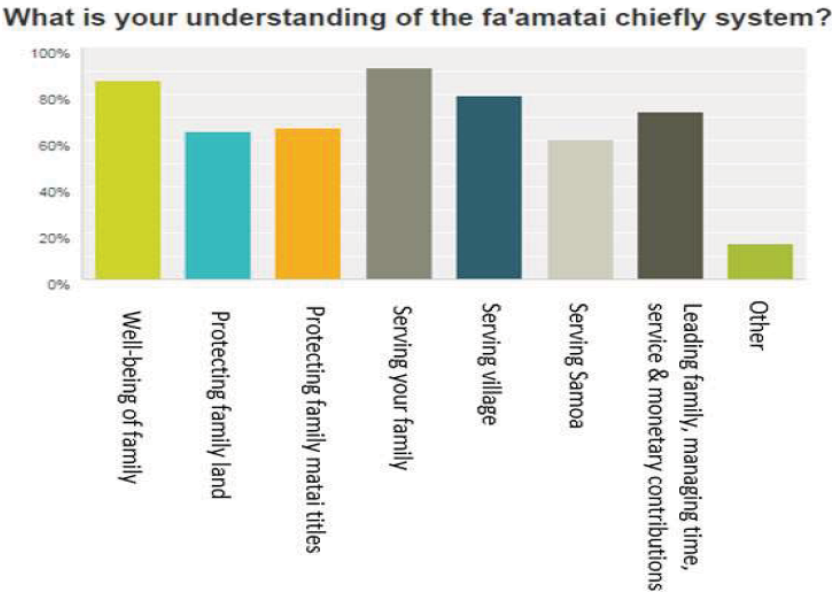


FIGURE 5. **Female Responses to the Question, What Is Your Understanding of the Faamatai Chiefly System?**

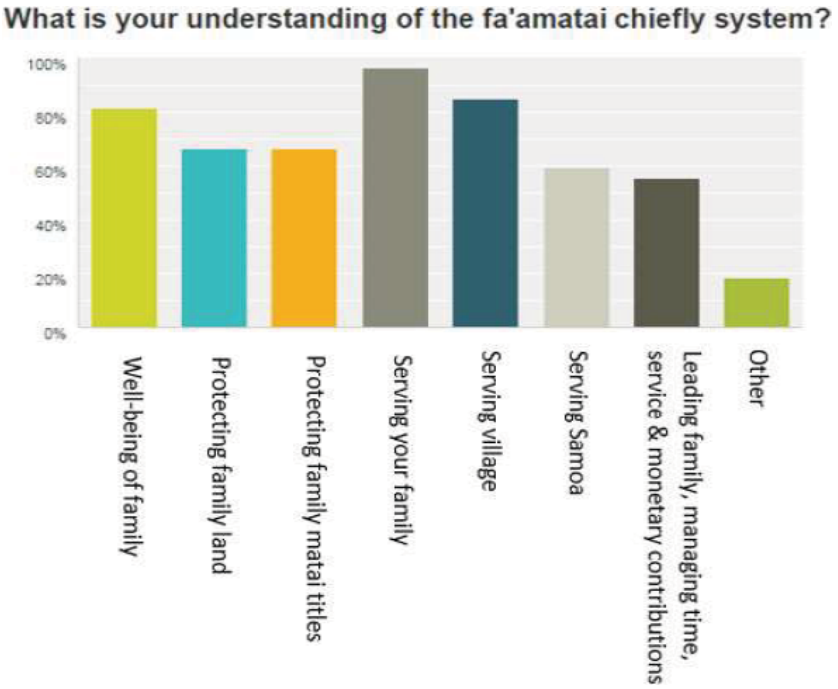


FIGURE 6. **Male Responses to the Question, What Is Your Understanding of the Faamatai Chiefly System?**

Why Did You Choose to Become a Matai?

Top four priorities for women matai:	**Top four priorities for male matai:**
To serve my family	My family wanted me to become a matai
My family wanted me to become a matai	To serve my family
For the love of my mother	For the love of my father
To keep the title in the family	For the love of my mother

Female responses are depicted in Figure 7. Male responses are depicted in Figure 8.

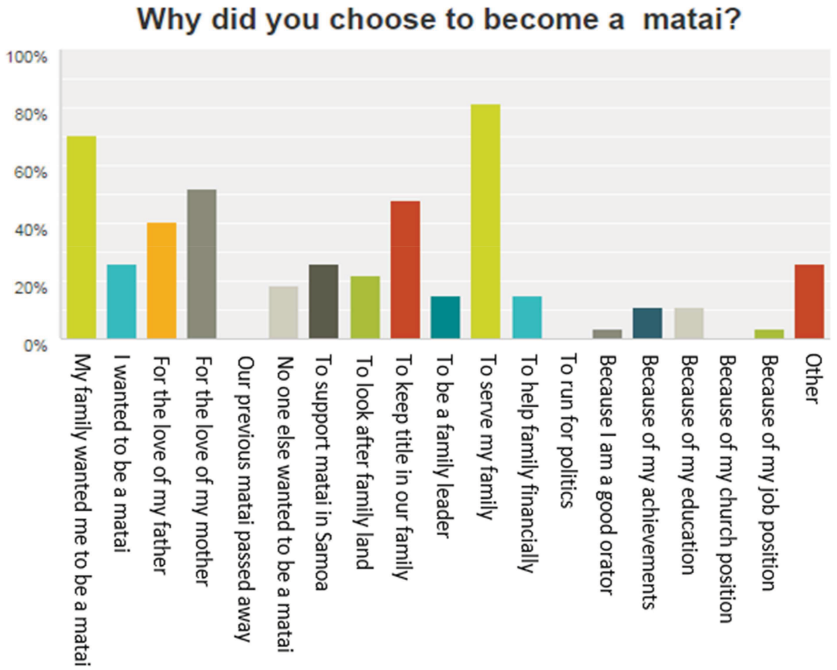


FIGURE 7. **Female Responses to the Question, Why Did You Choose to Become a Matai?**

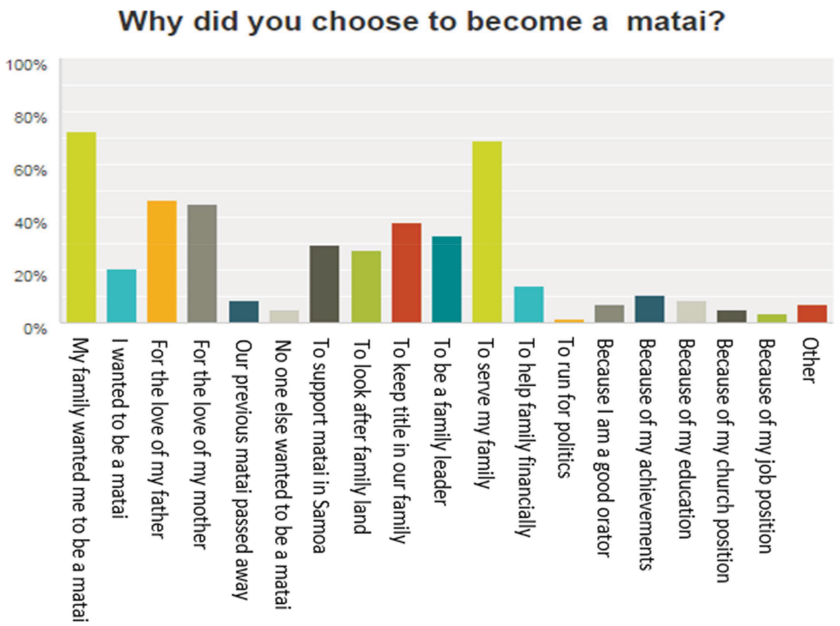
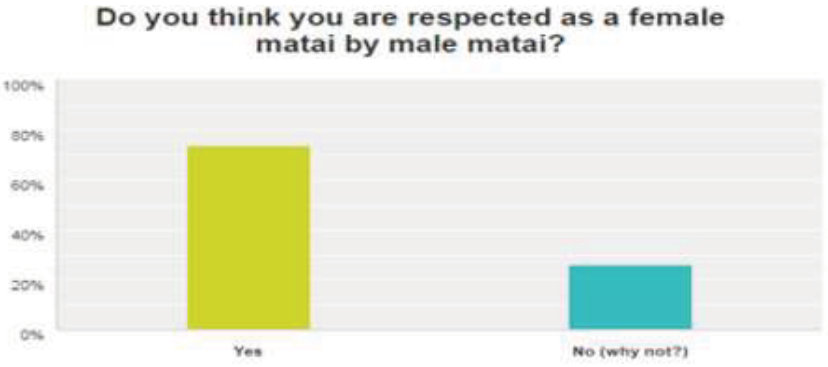


FIGURE 8. **Male Responses to the Question, Why Did You Choose to Become a Matai?**

Do You Think You Are Respected as a Female Matai by Male Matai?

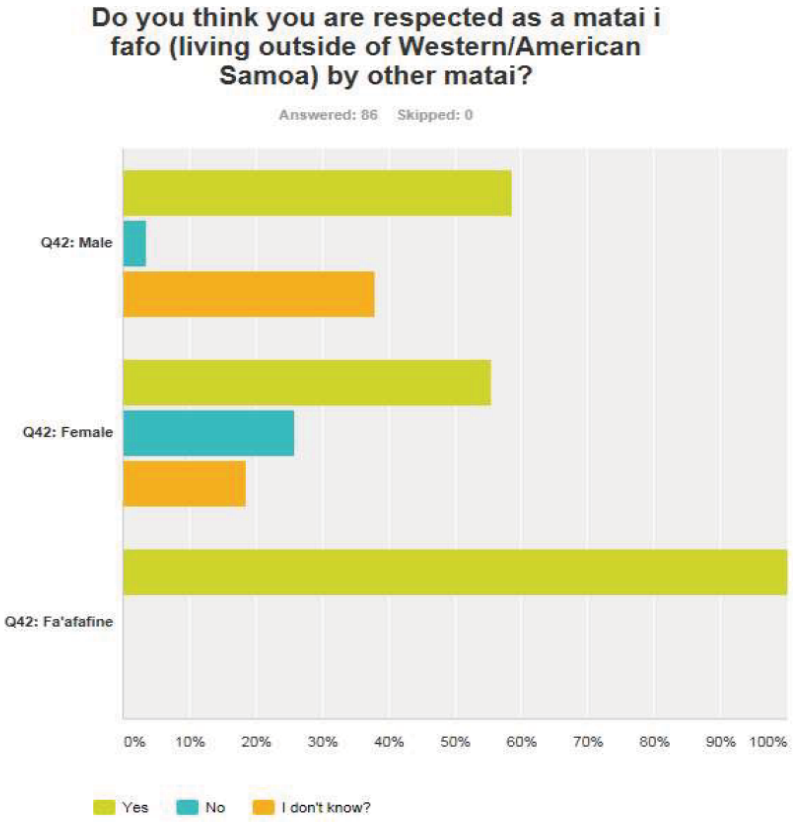
In answer to this question, 74.07 percent of the respondents said "Yes" and 25.93 percent said "No" (Figure 9).



Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	74.07%
No (why not?)	25.93%
Responses	

FIGURE 9. **Responses to the Question, Do You Think You Are Respected as a Female Matai by Male Matai?**

Of the "No" responses, reasons given were "I have a lot to learn," "Because men think they are superior in my experience," and "Men seem more dominant."



	Yes	No	I don't know?	Total
Q42: Male (A)	58.62% 34	3.45% 2	37.93% 22	67.44% 58
Q42: Female (B)	55.56% 15	25.93% 7	18.52% 5	31.40% 27
Q42: Fa'afafine	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	1.16% 1

FIGURE 10. **Responses to the Question, Do You Think You Are Respected as a Matai i Fafo by Other Matai?**

Social Transformation

From the survey above, comparative data between female and male responses are telling.

What Do You Think Are the Qualities of a Matai?

As mothers and sisters, for women matai, the main qualities are to be understanding, patient, respectful, and a good decision maker, while the men's priorities are to be respectful, know Samoan protocols, and family gafa (genealogy), with their fourth priority being caring and loving. Thus, women's responses are primarily nurturing, harmonizing, and coordinating, while the men's top priorities are more "technical," e.g., knowing Samoan traditional protocols and gafa.

What Is Your Understanding of the Faamatai Chiefly System?

Both women and men had similar understandings of faamatai, viz. "serving your family" and "serving the village."

Why Did You Choose to Become a Matai?

Women and men shared similar reasons for becoming matai. In their responses, the centrality of tautua to family and the centrality of obeying aiga wishes for them to take titles is paramount. However, the fourth priority for women was to keep the title in the family, which illustrates assertiveness and antioppressionist views of keeping the title at all costs within their own families, rather than it going to a male member of another related family.

Do You Think You Are Respected as a Female Matai by Male Matai?

An overwhelming majority of women felt they were disrespected by male matai "because men think they are superior." This mirrors the interview data by pioneer matai above. Their strong antioppressionist view, which drives these women matai in Hawai'i to assertively mediate and arbitrate in community settings, is overt and accepted by many of the male matai in the Hawaiian Samoan communities.

Do You Think You Are Respected as a Matai i Fafo by Other Matai?

The male responses (68.62 percent) and female responses (55.56 percent) attest to positive feelings of respect as matai i fafo. The interesting fact is that of the "No" responses, there was a comparatively higher percentage (25.93 percent) responses for women as opposed to only 3.45 percent of men who didn't feel respected as a matai i fafo, which reveals the continuing oppression of women as matai by others (Figure 10).

As evidenced by my research findings (interviews and surveys) above, the methods of social transformation and Samoan womanism that these women

matai (25) use in their everyday practice of faamatai are driven by the lima malosi ma loto alofa paradigm and cohere around the activities of harmonizing, coordinating, balancing, and healing. These overlapping methods work in and through the va of relationships, rejecting oppression, violence, and aggression but not assertiveness and include dialogue, arbitration, mediation, spiritual activities, hospitality, mutual aid, self-help, and "mothering" and "sistering" in the feagaiga.

Discussion

Shore's model is useful in this discussion of transnational matai because it allows for systematic consideration of local models of symmetrical or complementary social levels of status sets, in which symmetrical relationships are aggressive and conflict ridden, while complementary relationships are indicative of deference, alofa, and faaaloalo. Simanu-Klutz questions Shore's model to account for the symmetrical and complementary suli and feagaiga social levels within cross-gendered faamatai in Samoa, where symmetrical and complementary status sets are not as clear-cut and where sometimes there are aggressive complementary statuses and submissive symmetrical statuses. Both of these models have their limitations, but both are useful because they allow us to see the dynamism inherent in the lima malosi ma loto alofa paradigm.

My fieldwork data and the matai tamaitai tendencies among women matai in Hawai'i, Sydney, and Oceanside and San Diego suggest that although Shore's model goes some way in accounting for the lima malosi ma loto alofa transnational faamatai paradigm, lima malosi ma loto alofa is more than what this dichotomous model proposes. I concur with the problems pointed out by Simanu-Klutz (2011) in her research on suli and feagaiga research findings.

What is clear from this study is that while symmetrical relational status sets are not necessarily hierarchical, neither are complementary relational status sets. Shore's analysis is therefore problematic but useful, because it allows us to see the dynamism inherent in the lima malosi ma loto alofa paradigm.

Faamatai in Samoa and i fafo today have developed organically, resulting from forces acting i fafo, as well as from within. These developments need not be adversarial, they need not be in competition with each other, they need not be mutually exclusive, and they need not be opposed to each other—old faamatai versus new, traditional versus contemporary, right versus wrong. What is important is the faamatai, in whatever shape or form it is being practiced today wherever Samoans live, work, play, and breed and how it is constantly being reenergized.

Finally, Samoan women matai who were interviewed in this study are exemplary models of Samoan leadership in the transnational space. These matai tamaitai all had sound knowledge of planning, organizing, and implementing skills evident in the successful completion of community projects

and interactive activities. Their leadership and womanist qualities display interpersonal, communal, decisive, participatory, nonhierarchical, flexible, and group-oriented leadership styles. From this study, we glean that they have received their titles for their knowledge of faasamoa and their multilevel tautua that they are practicing in transnational spaces and for their Samoan kin elsewhere. At the same time, all have successful parallel careers in the western world in their professional and head of household capacities. What makes them such exceptional leaders is that the womanist qualities that led to them being honored with a matai title also make them successful in their careers, so that their career and matai title give authority to each other. Would such exceptional women be recognized as matai and leaders in the same way in Samoa?

Samoan womanist power is but one element of contemporary faamatai, which has been present in Samoan matriarchs since time immemorial—since Salamasina, Nafanua, and Fofoaivaoese and through our grandmothers and mothers (Efi 2016). Matai tamaitai have been refracted by the transnational experience to reclaim Samoan women matai once more as mistresses of the family and pillars of strength for Samoan aiga so central to faasamoa and faamatai i fafo.

The power of matai tamaitai currently weakened in Samoa is now active in the transnational space. In the context of this study, transnational women matai have been liberated from the shackles of male-dominated church and local and national political governance in Samoa, which as a place, as homeland, is suffering from the effects of colonialism, neocolonialism, Christianity, and the neoliberal rollercoaster world we live in. Samoan women matai are being reempowered by transnationalism and are free once more to breathe life into the faasamoa, the faamatai, and the future generations of suli, our matai-in-waiting. Soifua

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Association for Social Antropology in Oceania (ASAO) for its support for the publication of this Special Pacific Studies Journal Issue which emerged from ASAO sessions in 2017-2019. The author also wishes to thank the Marsden Fund, Royal Society of New Zealand for their assistance, without which we would not have been able to conduct our research. We also wish to thank our research participants who kindly agreed to be interviewed by the team—Lupematasila Misatauveve Dr Melani Anae, Seulupe Dr Falaniko Tominiko, Malepeai Dr Ieti Lima, Muliagatele Vavao Fetui, and Pacific Studies, Te Wānanga o Waipapa, University of Auckland for supporting this research project. We also thank Tiresa Poe for collating the data from our online Samoan

Transnational Matai survey questionnaire, and Seira Aukuso-Sue for help with formatting graphs. Faafetai lava!

NOTES

1. The online survey is part of the research project "Samoan transnational matai (titled chiefs): Ancestor god 'avatars' or merely title-holders?" which is funded by the Royal Society of New Zealand's Marsden Fund. Data here are taken from women matai (n = 88, February 5, 2019).

2. See Meleisea et al. (2015) for absence of women in village councils.

3. See Meleisea et al. (2015: 8). The system of traditional village government presents significant barriers that limit women's power in local government councils, church leadership, school management, and community-based organizations and thus remains an impediment for women to become national leaders.

4. 1893 English definition for matai tamaitai from Pratt (1893: 213).

5. Sister's descendants.

6. Brother's descendants.

7. Sacred chief.

8. Political chief: orator.

9. Church minister.

10. See Simanu-Klutz (2011). For extended discussion on faamatai, see Aiono Fanaafi Le Tagaloa 1992, 1997; Tanuvasa 1999; Vaai 1999: 29–55; So'o 2007, 2008: 17–19; Huffer and So'o 2000.

11. See the following sources: Meleisea et al. 2015; Simanu-Klutz 2011; *Samoa Observer* March 9, 2011; Tcherkézoff 2000: 9, 128.

12. See the following sources: Meleisea et al. 2015: 11–12; Simanu-Klutz 2011: 2.

13. See the following sources: Fairbairn-Dunlop 1991, 1998, 2000.

14. Simanu-Klutz points out that the hubris of church and government on the traditional body politics of the Nu'u o Teine has resulted in the marginalization of the Teine; both agencies have touted the desire to democratize and develop rural villages in order to face the challenges of the twenty-first century. Yet in the process, they have violated the sanctity of the space of feagaiga to the extent that Samoa's Teine and those of Saoluafata have had to scramble through a western education to reclaim their voice and their position in politics at the village and national levels (Simanu-Klutz 2011: 3).

15. During these trying times, the Teine's institution—Nu'u o Teine, or aualuma elsewhere—has suffered structural damage in that leadership has been missing and resources remain underdeveloped (Simanu-Klutz 2011: 302).

16. See the following sources: Anae 1998, 2001, 2002; Macpherson and Macpherson 2007, 2009; Lilomaiava-Doktor 2007.

17. We contend that the four major sources of remittances to Samoa are cash remittances, tourist dollars spent in Samoa by transnationals returning to Samoa for family visits, transnational saofai costs or donations to villages, and funerals and family reunions.

18. This paper presents some initial findings from a three-year study still under way into matai living, born, or raised outside the islands of Samoa. The transnational matai in the Marsden research are Samoan pioneer migrants and their first-generation descendants who have become matai while living outside Samoa.

19. Information taken from the Samoa Census 2011, available at http://www.sbs.gov.ws/index.php/population-demography-and-vital-statistics.

20. Samoa Census 2011 states that there were 16,787 matai residents in Samoa. Meleisea et al.'s study states that there 13,423 were living in traditional and nontraditional villages, so that of these, 3,000 lived in nontraditional villages in Apia (2015: 25). There are reported to be about 70,000 matai title registrations in the Land and Titles Court (Meleisea in Potogi 2016: 130).

21. Pioneer matai were those who were the migrant generation. The other participants were either first generation born in Sydney, Hawai'i, or Oceanside or San Diego or had been raised in the host country.

22. Womanism is an alternative to western feminism and manifests five overarching characteristics: it is antioppressionist, vernacular, nonideological, communitarian, and spritualized (Phillips 2006: xix).

23. "Everyday" in this sense means the everyday practice of faamatai, as opposed to ritual occasions.

24. All family occasions requiring service, money, and time roles and responsibilities.

25. Although this article is based on women matai in Hawai'i, the Marsden data, which span Sydney and Oceanside–San Diego research nodes, reveals that Samoan womanism and methods of social transformation are shared by most women matai interviewed across the nodes.

REFERENCES

Aiono, Dr. Fanaafi Le Tagaloa
1992 The Samoan culture and government. In *Culture and democracy in the South Pacific,* ed. Ron Crocombe et al., 117–39. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.

Aiono, Fanaafi Le Tagaloa
1997 *O le fa'asinomaga: O le tagata ma lona fa'asinomaga*. Apia: Lamepa Press.

Anae, M.
2001 The new Vikings of the sunrise: New Zealand–borns in the Information Age. In *Tangata o te Moana Nui: The evolving identities of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa, New Zealand,* ed. C. Macpherson, P. Spoonley, and M. Anae, 101–21. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
2016 Teu le va: A Samoan relational ethic. In Indigenous knowledge: Past, present, future, special issue, *Knowledge Cultures* 4 (3): 117–30. http://www.addletonacademicpublishers.com/contents-kc/859-volume-4-3-2016/2835-teu-le-va-samoan-relational-ethics (Password to view article is AddletonAP2009).
2017 Tama'ita'i toa: Samoan womanist agency and reflections on Nafanua. Paper presented at the New Horizons in Samoan Faamatai (chiefly System) in the 21st Century Symposium, Univ. of Auckland, November 23–24, 2017.
2019 Faamatai: A globalized Pacific identity. In *The Palgrave handbook of ethnicity,* ed. S. Ratuva, 1–25. Singapore: Palgrave, Macmillan. ISBN 978-981-13-0242-8.

Anae, M., and F. Tominiko
2019 Transnational faamatai: Decolonising and re-indigenising "development." In *Proceedings of the Samoa Conference IV: Our heritage, our future: Fostering sustainable development through leadership, innovation and collaboration,* 120–36. Apia: National Univ. of Samoa.

Efi, T. T. T.
2016 Piipii ama, vaevae manava: Pacific balance and empowerment. *Samoan Observer* April 10, 2016.

Fairbairn-Dunlop, P.
1991 E au pea le ina'ilau a tamaitai: Women, education and development Western Samoa, Unpublished PhD. diss., Macquarie Univ.

Fairbairn-Dunlop, P.
2000 Women's NGOs within the new governance agenda: Are they still based on alofa? In *Governance in Samoa: Pūlega I Sāmoa,* ed. E. Huffer and A. So'o. Suva: Asia Pacific Press (Australian National Univ.) and Institute of Pacific Studies (Univ. of the South Pacific).

Fairbairn-Dunlop, P., ed.
1998 *Tamaitai Samoa: Their stories*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.

Finau, S. P.
2017 Women's leadership in traditional villages in Samoa: The cultural, social, and religious challenges. Unpublished PhD thesis, Victoria Univ. of Wellington.

Fiti-Sinclair, R., P. Schoeffel, and M. Meleisea
2017 *Women and political participation: The 2016 election in Samoa*. Apia: Centre for Samoa Studies, National Univ. of Samoa.

Huffer, E., and A. So'o, eds.
2000 *Governance in Samoa: Pulega i Sāmoa*. Canberra and Suva: Asia Pacific Press (Australian National Univ.) and Institute of Pacific Studies (Univ. of the South Pacific).

Iati, I.
2000 The good governance agenda for civil society: Implications for the Fa'asamoa. In *Governance in Samoa: Pulega i Sāmoa,* ed. E. Huffer and A So'o. Canberra and Suva: Asia Pacific Press (Australian National Univ.) and Institute of Pacific Studies (Univ. of the South Pacific).

Lilomaiava-Doktor, S.
2007 Samoan transnationalism: Cultivating "home" and "reach." In *Migration and transnationalism: Pacific perspectives,* ed. H. Lee and S. T. Francis, 57–73. Canberra: Australian National Univ. E Press.

Macpherson, C.
1994 Changing patterns of commitment to island homelands: A case study of Western Samoa. *Pacific Studies* 17 (3): 83–116.

Macpherson, C., and L. Macpherson
2007 Kinship and transnationalism. In *Migration and transnationalism: Pacific perspectives,* ed. H. Lee and S. T. Francis, 73–91. Canberra: Australian National Univ. E Press.

Macpherson, C., and L. Macpherson
2009 *Warm winds of change: Globalisation in contemporary Samoa*. Auckland: Auckland Univ. Press.
Zealand. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Meleisea, L. M., M. Meredith, M. I. Chan Mow, et al.
2015 *Political representation and women's empowerment in Samoa*. Apia: Centre for Samoan Studies, National Univ. of Samoa.

Phillips, L., ed.
2006 *The womanist reader*. New York: Routledge Taylor Francis Group.

Potogi, T. K. T. T.
2016 *Aganu'u ma aga'ifanua o suafa matai ma fanua Samoa: The cost of the silence in the Land and Titles Act of 1981 and the court practices relating to matai titles and customary land*. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific.

Pratt, G.
1893 *A grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language, with English and Samoan vocabulary*. London Missionary Society.

Samoa Observer
June 23, 2017 MP queries nofotane project.

Samoa Observer
October 11, 2018 We are equal, we are important, say nofotane women of Samoa.

Shore, B.
1981 Sexuality and gender in Samoa: Conceptions and missed conceptions. In *Sexual meanings: The cultural construction of gender and sexuality,* ed. Sherry Ortner, 192–215. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Shore, Bradd
1982 *Sala'ilua: A Samoan mystery*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Simanu-Klutz, F.
2011 'A malu i fale,'e malu fo'i i fafo. Samoan women and power: Towards a historiography of changes and continuities in power relations in le Nu'u O Teine of Sāoluafata 1350–1998 C.E. Unpublished PhD thesis, History Department, Univ. of Hawai'i.

So'o, A., ed.
2007 *Changes in the matai system, o suiga i le fa'amatai*. Apia: Center for Samoan Studies, National Univ. of Samoa.

So'o, A.
2008 *Democracy and custom in Sāmoa: An uneasy alliance*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies (Univ. of the South Pacific).

Tanuvasa, T. T.
1999 *O le ala i le pule le tautua*. Auckland: Wordsell Press.

Tcherkézoff, S.
2000 Are the Samoan matai out of time? Tradition versus democracy: Contemporary ambiguities and historical transformations of the concept of chief. In *Governance in Samoa: Pūlega i Sāmoa,* ed. E. Huffer and A. So'o, 113–32. Melbourne and Suva: Asia Pacific Press (Australian National Univ.) and Institute of Pacific Studies (Univ. of the South Pacific).

Vaai, S.
1999 *Samoa fa'amatai and the rule of law*. Apia: National Univ. of Sāmoa.