3. Samoan Transnationalism: Cultivating 'Home' and 'Reach'

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Declaring the need to rethink conceptions of international migration, anthropologists Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc defined their understanding of transnationalism:

> We define 'transnationalism' as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated 'transmigrants.' Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations—familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously (1994, 1–2).

Issues which have dotted the field in recent years include arguments about the intensity and relevance of transnationalism in certain migrant communities, the significance of investigating the logic of transnationality, and the methodologies to be employed in transnational studies. Transnationalism has not come without its critics. Much transnational scholarship in geography has focused on economic globalisation, particularly the growing international flows of commodities, services, money, and information of the last two or three decades. In analysing the effects of political forces at both international and national scales, numerous geographers have focused in particular on the contemporary geopolitics of the nation-state (Baia 1999; Mitchell 1997; Vertovec 1999). Advances in technology have facilitated globalisation processes and further enabled the presence of global restructuring.

While this 'new vision' is welcome, analysis of the mobility of goods and services and the general capitalist expansion worldwide often relies on a homogeneous vision of global processes. As Mitchell points out:

> Assumptions and hegemonic narratives of modernity are assumed as standards—standards which are, of course, transformed in various ways upon contact with local regions, but which nevertheless contain a form and explanatory potential that is inviolate. The origin of these processes recedes from view, and their power and ability to expand and diffuse take on the characteristic of the self-evident (1997, 104).

The assumption that dominates these narratives is that of nation-states as places of containment with borders. So far, research on transnationalism has focused on documenting evidence of material exchanges between sending and receiving communities (Faist 2000; Gorges 1990; Grasmuck and Pessar 1997; Smith and Guarnizo 1998). Although earlier studies collected data on the transfer of money, goods and resources, scholars are beginning to move beyond this more tangible traffic to uncover ties, links and movements based on ideas, beliefs, and values.

In part, transnationalism began as a critique of globalisation, much of the discussion of which is theoretically rather opaque (Featherstone 1990). If there is ethnography, and there rarely is, it usually involves forays into secondary sources to embellish a particular point. Gardner (1995, 15) writes, 'Without analyzing local responses to wider global processes in far more detail, we are in danger of either recreating the generalisations of earlier, homogenising macro-theories, or simply substituting obsolete notions of modernisation with the more trendy 'globalisation', thus simply reducing it to a code for westernization.' The mechanisms of globalisation—and implicitly, transnationalism—are usually identified as world capitalism, so that in some versions, 'globalisation' becomes a modified version of world-system theory (Wallerstein 1990).

Reflecting on how globalisation is conceived, Amin (1997) argues that the dualistic thinking pervasive in academic discourse misses the point of globalisation. He writes against the bipolar boundaries of state and capitalism, emphasising the meaning of globalisation as an 'intermingling of 'in here'; and 'out there' processes resulting in heterogeneity, shifting identities and multipolarity consistent with contemporary urban reality' (Amin 1997, 123). Much of what Amin discusses is still framed in the context of 'globalisation from above', emanating from a city, or a core in the west. By talking in terms of 'in here' (as the centre) and 'out there' (backstage and invisible), his conception remains tied to the very structures he critiques.

So far, most literature on globalisation has only touched upon local interpretations of the flows of people, goods and meanings distilled in the idea of transnationalism. The ways in which diversity is created locally and how the homogenising tendencies of late 20th century capitalism are resisted, have yet to be integrated with these more general discussions of 'global flows' (Gardner 1995). Clearly, what is missing from these dominating macro-analyses are more grounded, cultural interpretations and a deeper understanding of the social, economic and political processes involved.

This paper brings a *fa`a-Samoa* (Samoan culture and way of life) perspective on transnationalism, examining how social, cultural, political and economic practices have changed over time, and the forms these transnational processes take. It draws on my doctoral research of more than 18 months in the village of Salelologa

on Savai`i, Samoa's big island, with members of villagers' `aiga (family, kin group) in Auckland, New Zealand and Santa Ana, California. I use the concept of transnationalism in examining how *fafo* (abroad, overseas) or 'reach' and *i`inei* (here, Samoa, local) or 'home' are linked in Salelologa, Auckland and Santa Ana (see also Lilomaiava-Doktor 2009). Emphasis is given to the interplay between 'home' and 'reach' a twin-metaphor used by the humanist geographer Anne Buttimer (1980) to apprehend the ongoing negotiations of meaning in places of origin and destination. In using these cultural metaphors *fafo* and *i`inei,* I make explicit how they engage power within and between spaces and places arrayed in opposition to each other.

Transnationalism and Social Remittances

How is transnationalism enacted in the Salelologa case? The transnational framework is especially useful in delineating the importance of linkages between home and host countries. Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc (1995, 48) write that many migrants are now transmigrants, 'whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state.' They describe post-World War II migratory patterns among migrants who can no longer be considered 'uprooted'. Because they neither cut the ties to their countries of origin nor fully absorb the new culture offered by host nation, these immigrants are considered transnational. This concept acknowledges that links to the home country are maintained from the host country as immigrants strengthen ties with frequent travel and the sending of goods, resources and funds (remittances, investments).

In a study of Brazilian immigrants in New York city, Margolis (1995, 29) expands the concept by noting that immigrants 'establish and maintain familial, economic, political, and cultural ties across international borders, in effect making the home and the host society a single arena of social action.' Scholars like Levitt have moved beyond this more tangible traffic to uncover ties based on ideas, beliefs and values. She calls this 'social remittance' recognising that transnationalism need not be limited to tangible exchanges but also can include ideational and attitudinal linkages (Levitt, 1999, 927).

Strong components of 'social remittance' found in Salelologa made it possible to explore this sense of transnationalism and in so doing, to move far beyond the dichotomy of receiving and sending countries still found in the literature. As important as those who move are, those who 'stay put' have just as much influence on diasporic processes and the two populations cannot be separated. The Salelologa case involves both tangible and intangible aspects of shared information, trust, contacts and values that members travelling back and forth absorb from and release into the process and dynamic of movement.

Salelologa has ceased to be the only core and centre for its `aiga`; there are now multiple centres, but this does not mean the `nu`u` (village) has been abandoned. Rather, the transformative force of movement `fafo` has been incorporated into local social and economic processes, forever altering them in the long run. While it is true that members of Salelologa are now physically dispersed from their households and village, such mobility does not deny the value of `i`inei`. Instead, mobility is involved in its reproduction; mobility strengthens rather than weakens the links between family and home.

Blurring Boundaries: *Matai* and *Tautua* Redefined

How is indigenous knowledge maintained and reproduced in the diaspora? If metaphors and metonyms define Salelologa movements and ongoing interactions in new contexts, what are the implications for *matai* (chiefly system) and *tautua* (service)? The discussion below is based on data collected in the field from 1999 to 2002.[1]

The *matai* system has been described in detail by many authors (Franco 1985; Freeman 1984; Holmes 1957; Liu 1991; Va`a 2001) but in recent decades, it has undergone many changes including a decline in authority over production by the extended family. As *matai* titles have proliferated and *matai* have lost their authority and former economic role, families have become smaller and the pool of potential servers limited. Young men can no longer be sure they will be able to command the service of the next generation in their old age (Maiava 2001; O'Meara 1990). Overseas movement and investment in formal education are some of the important ways in which `aiga` have dealt with these changes. In turn, parents rely more on their own children and the parent-child relationship has become increasingly emphasised. Similar conclusions have been reached about Fijian population movements, where nuclear family relationships are becoming more central (Young 1998).

Interviews and discussions carried out in Salelologa, Auckland and Santa Ana between 1999 and 2002 also indicate that sibling relationships are becoming more relevant to the orchestration of movement and remittances, although this shift is gradual and subtle, not abrupt. This is because the actual composition of individual households is but a superficial indicator of reciprocities that exist or may be potentially reactivated at some future time. Some families in Auckland have no surviving parents but an eldest cousin has become their *matai*. For example, despite living in Sydney, one *matai*, Mulitalo Sefo, has taken on the leadership role for all his cousins and siblings in times of crisis, and mobilises this extended family to collect resources for *fa`alavelave* (life-cycle events including weddings, births, funerals, graduations) whether they are held in Samoa or overseas.

One of the basic criteria for receiving a title is the imperative to provide *tautua* (service) as expressed in the proverb, `*O le ala `i le pule `o le tautua* (the way to authority is through service). Formerly, untitled men lived in the community and served their *matai* and village *fono* (council) until it was their turn to be *matai*, often upon the death of a senior titleholder. But with mobility, the bestowing of titles based on *tautua* has changed and *matai* conferment happens more often overseas. As already discussed, 'place' is an important factor in retaining Samoan values but change is also negotiated and contested in different places. It is possible to invest in the `*aiga* not only through movement abroad and educational achievements but also by conferring *matai* titles overseas. Despite the decline in the traditional economic role of *matai*, their social and political roles remain intact. The village *fono* retain the political power to sanction unacceptable behaviour. It is the *matai* who organises the pooling of resources from immediate and extended family members, combining their contributions to hold *fa`alavelave* and then redistributing the gifts. Skilful organisation of these institutionalised rituals enables *matai* to reposition their power base in society.

Traditionally, certain *matai* titles (chief or orator) came with the right to confer other titles (Meleisea 1987; Va`ai 1998). These can be conferred based on service to the *matai* and `*aiga* by those related by *toto* (blood), *tino* (by adoption) or service connections and usually assumes that the conferment is done in Samoa on the *malae* where *maota* (chiefly house site) and *laoa* (orator house site) are located, for this adds legitimacy and authenticity to titles. During investiture, the *matai* receives recognition through the presence/attendance of the village *fono*. Recently, however, *matai* titles have been conferred overseas, not only by the *matai* of Salelologa to other village members, but, sometimes by *matai* from other villages. Samoans express concern that this is making a 'chop suey' of *fa`a-Samoa* and some question the legitimacy of these new *matai* holders. Most, however, say legitimacy depends on context and describe the creation of new *matai* as pragmatic and sensible.

Samoans draw upon traditional cultural principles to justify the changes they are making to their own practices. On many occasions, *matai* titles conferred overseas are given as reward for family generosity to the resident *matai*. Conferring titles expands the circle of economic and political obligations of support. These are not limited to the untitled and those in Samoa, but also to *matai* living *fafo*. The power of *i`inei* (*matai* resident in Samoa) to bestow titles provides another avenue for receiving *tautua*. The size of Samoan communities and growing number of Samoan churches *fafo* have combined to push *matai* investiture overseas. Some people argue that a *matai* title adds depth, history and status to an individual's educational achievements or his or her economic wealth. Insofar as this conservative sentiment is shared by everyone in Salelologa,

it works to bond the community, for *matai* titles are intangible links which hold together the members of the group.

One of the most obvious forms of symbolic capital, a key sign of prestige and household advancement in Salelologa is modern education. Tutai, a woman in her mid-50s, has six children and with her husband, Luamanuvae Taylor, an entrepreneurial chief, owns a store at the wharf. When interviewed in September 2000, four of their children had obtained government scholarships, graduated from overseas universities and today work for the government in Apia. Tutai argues:

> I suppose people can live without doing *fa`a-Samoa* and that is because when you are economically independent you don't need the support of the *`aiga*, I guess. But in reality we have so many of our upwardly mobile Samoans both here and overseas who still participate, when in theory they don't need to. For example, a rich *`afakasi* [half-caste] or a highly educated Samoan could be the director of a department, but when he or she goes to the villages or their *`aiga* they are not readily recognised, that is, given full recognition of their education credentials or the economic wealth they might possess without a *matai* title. So many of them take up *matai* titles. It seems without a title your other attributes, like intelligence, strength, and wealth are insignificant.

The same argument is made by those overseas who have a role in the church. They say it is necessary to have a *matai* title because they need the recognition and respect that comes with it, in the process acknowledging that traditional status thus complements modern achievements. However, it also is a way for *matai* to reassert their authority in overseas contexts where the church minister's authority is becoming quite hegemonic. This illustrates how local idioms and international processes interrelate to shape the dynamics of modern Samoan chieftainship. Indigenous institutions have been assumed in development theory as barriers to modernisation, yet we see here that they have been adapted by Samoans to suit their needs.

Although Samoans think of Samoan chieftainship as timeless, it has changed to suit modern socioeconomic conditions. Since Samoa's independence in 1962, only *matai* could vote and campaign for a seat in the parliament. This means only a small fraction of the population could vote through *matai* suffrage. In the 1970s–80s, new titles that had been created for election purposes not only saw an increase in titles, but just about anybody was given a title, which resulted in what is known as *matai palota* (ballot *matai*). People saw the *matai palota* as rapidly eroding the integrity of chieftainship, which had been based upon *tautua* (service) and the selection of titleholders through consensus. The concern to preserve the integrity of *fa`a-Samoa* prompted universal adult suffrage in 1990,

allowing all men and women over 21 years of age to vote but have to be *matai* to run as candidates in the country's general elections.

Among overseas Samoans, family and community provide the social basis for the occupation of urban space and symbolic resources for cultural regeneration. This is not to deny that neither the material nor symbolic conditions for the regeneration of cultural practices are stable. The explanation for the renewed interest in *matai* and the conferment of *matai* on members *fafo*, I suggest is twofold. First, many overseas Samoans have accumulated 'real' power by virtue of their economic positions relative to those in Salelologa, therefore their desirability as potential *matai* has been enhanced. It is also a sign that indigenous Samoan institutions remain paramount, as Tutai said in her interview. The prestige that a *matai* title can bring constitutes, in Bourdieu's terms, 'symbolic capital'. It adds weight to status.

The reassertion of indigenous institutions also counters the secular power of *fafo* society. Senior *matai* conferring titles make some money while at the same time promote redemptive, emotional, perhaps nostalgic, ties with Samoans *fafo*. The institution of *matai* is being used by Samoans to maximise their accumulation of wealth and enhance personal and `*aiga* status. In so doing, they are redefining yet again the concept of *tautua*. Thus, the politics of the *matai* is inextricably linked to economic and social power. The ability to influence *matai* and events is often couched in terms of tradition and seniority, while cultural meanings are often renegotiated, and none too politely.

The process of conferring *matai* titles in Samoa has also changed. In the not so distant past, gifts given during *matai* ceremonies reflected the productive capacity of a family—in the form of pigs, taro, breadfruit, yams and fine mats. Most of the gifts during *matai* ceremonial events are now given as cash. While it appears that modernity is eclipsing tradition, this issue is not so simple. When I asked some *matai* the reason for this change, they responded that it was to lighten the burden of the provision of gifts by the hosts of *saofa`i* (investiture ceremonies), this way, family members are not burdened with the task of providing all the food and doing all the cooking for these events; it is a more efficient use of time.

Others question the integrity of the *matai* system when investitures are conducted through the medium of cash gifts. While village council members can benefit, certain individuals may take advantage of the Samoan propensity for conspicuous distribution. The traditional role of the *tulafale* (orator) prescribes that they act as negotiators speaking on behalf of the *ali`i* (chief). This usually justifies their share of food or money in the redistribution process, but discretion is advisable—the *va fealoa`i* (social space) of both the host and guest, *tulafale* and *ali`i*, must be considered. Excessive demands at a *saofa`i* by some *tulafale* during a matai investiture at the village council is a clear breach of tradition

(Tuimaleali`ifano 2002). Certain individuals have overstepped the mark by demanding more money for their *lafo* (gift from the host), which some call an abuse of the system. The 'commodification' of the *matai* system can be seen in a *saofa`i* which took place in early December 2002. While I was in Samoa, an older sister of a relative of mine had received a *matai* title in Salelavalu, a village near Salelologa. A few weeks later, the relative wrote in an email (8 January 2003):

> Well the saofa`i was alright except that we hardly got any rest with the work and preparations. We just stayed at the family house. There were no fine mats or fa`aaloaloga [i.e., *sua*, exchange of gifts] since Salelavalu was only after the money, so that was like thousands of tala [Samoan dollars]. There were in fact 39 matai altogether that had saofa`i on my dad's side, it made me sad to think that it was not the real way of getting titles.

This example gives a sense of the historical and sociopolitical transformations the *matai* system or chieftainship has been through in everyday life in Samoa. People are negotiating tradition and the modernising effects of a globalising politico-cultural economy. Tradition and modernity are not simple binary opposites, however. Resourceful individuals and collective opportunism interact, producing in some ways radically changing *fa`a-Samoa*.

For Samoans *fafo*, traditional ceremonies remain important and participating in them establishes their status within the `aiga. Returning home with gifts and attending ceremonies important to Samoan culture not only enhances personal status but also achieves a certain prestige for the `aiga. Those who travel to Samoa and back to their *fafo* communities return with their cultural values reaffirmed. Extensive circulation reinvigorates ethnic Samoan identity and its presence everywhere manifests a transnational Samoan social structure.

Increased mobility in the past 20 years between `aiga in Samoa, New Zealand and America has educated families about how to travel less expensively. Life cycle and cultural events sometimes shift overseas when that provides a common ground for dispersed members to meet more quickly, easily and at less cost. These kinds of decisions emphasise the embeddedness of family and `aiga relationships and indicate a strong sense of connectivity and shared goals, irrespective of location. The transnationality of kinship structures, activities, identities and subjectivities are clearly apparent. In short, social position and identity are constructed simultaneously within local and global contexts.[2]

As Koletty (2002, 146) reports in his study of Samoan movement in Southern California, 'For Samoans, migration and circulation are not the disparate processes that such categorisation implies. They are part of the dialectic and a different conception of place.' In short, a recognition of 'all reciprocal flows irrespective

of purpose or duration while still emphasizing the dialectic between the centrifugal attractions of wage employment, commercial and administrative forces and the centripetal power of village obligations, social relations and kin ties' (Chapman and Prothero 1985, 4). Today, with nearly half the population of Samoa living overseas, mobility continues to be necessary to fulfil social and economic functions that maintain status within the `aiga` and affirm Samoan culture. Chapman and Prothero (1985) point out that modernisation in developing countries has reinforced these customary circuits of mobility and added new ones. Circulation has taken on greater significance because despite the distances involved, it invigorates *fa`a-Samoa* by linking overseas Samoan communities with each other and the homeland. Although population mobility and remittances have caused fundamental social changes in Samoa, the direction, character and nuances of those changes have been culturally determined through family connections and the relationships among `aiga`.

Transactions between *I`inei* and *Fafo*

The sacred power of *i'inei* can be seen in the case of *fa`alavelave* (weddings, funerals, graduations) held *fafo*, at which someone coming from Samoa and bearing gifts is indispensable. The attendance of those *i`inei* at a wedding, funeral or graduation is a symbol of family pride and social identity. As sisters of a household now living in Auckland said, 'We had our uncles come for our weddings and one of them was the master of ceremony. He handled the `aiga`, guests, visitors, and all the protocols of *fa`a-Samoa*. They brought a special fine mat from Samoa.' The presence of Samoan relatives bringing traditional gifts to overseas *fa`alavelave* is seen as adding authenticity to the occasion. The exchange of gifts symbolises the importance of genealogical links to the past. As Howard and Rensel (1997, 147) put it, discussing status and power in Rotuma, 'Without chiefs ceremonies of all kinds—births, marriages, welcomings, village and district fetes—would lose their significance, for it is the presence of chiefs that lends dignity and historical depth to such occasions.' The Rotuman case highlights a comparable understanding of the importance of ritual status for Samoan communities. It remains integral to their ethnic identity in overseas communities, while at the same time it reproduces the power of Samoa as a place.

The importance of gift exchange and remittances in the maintenance of socioeconomic and sociocultural relations has also been described by Werbner (1989) in her study of Pakistanis in Great Britain. She argues that British earnings are always converted into inalienable gifts, bringing permanent debt and indelible reciprocity to those exchanging them. While gifts and exchange are key to the creation of social networks in Britain, they are also a 'metonymic exchange of substance between South Asia and Britain' (Werbner 1989, 204). Subedi's (1993) study of remittances and exchange in two rural communities in Nepal shows similar behaviours. Exchange between places does more than reproduce social

relationships and surpasses gifts of goods or money at *fa`alavelave*. Exchange carried from Samoa and members *fafo* seeking a Samoan healer and medicines to cure *ma`i* (Samoan illness) demonstrate the reproductive power of places, goods, and people.

Particular goods express notions about the places from which they come. Consumption of *i`inei* (here and local) produce is also a social statement of its spirituality and ability to sustain its inhabitants. In contrast, goods from abroad link their consumers with the economic and political force of *fafo*, the object of desire. Goods thus carry ideas about power which are exchanged between people in Salelologa and overseas. Beside the usual remittances, gifts sent by Samoans abroad tend to symbolise the essence of *fafo*: economic power, industrial production and popular Western culture. Electronic goods, videos, TV sets, DVDs, microwave, refrigerators and lawn mowers all feature in Salelologa households.

During my interviews, one `aiga member who had been given a lawn mower when visiting New Zealand transformed it from a personal use to an informal business, charging $20–30 Samoan tala to mow lawns in Salelologa. This demonstrates people's creativity, but such small subtle changes sometimes produce contradictory effects on the community. While the lawn mower effectively cuts the grass in less time and thereby frees young girls and boys of the `aiga for other responsibilities, it also means that families must find the money for this service. Furthermore, just as the European style houses have become ubiquitous, so `aiga members will put pressure on their children working locally or overseas to provide these kinds of goods. As home appliances have gradually found their way into Salelologa homes, so too will lawn mowers and other agricultural equipment.

Overseas relatives wish to share their wealth with those at home, because hard work and generosity are core social values by which one is evaluated. At times, the desire to provide such goods produces intra and inter-family competition that motivates heightened productivity. At other times, it sets off individualism, jealousy, and dissatisfaction. Part of the balancing act of being Samoan is the reconciliation between the implacable Euro-American demands of the individual with those of the often hegemonic and Island collective self. How can the seemingly irresistible be fused with the seemingly immovable? Indigenous Pacific Island scholars and writers such as Albert Wendt, Epeli Hau`ofa, Konai Thaman, and Sia Figiel explore and question this throughout their work. Ambivalence, the holding of two opposing views or emotions at the same time, is a way of dealing with these contradictions.[3] Ambivalence and ambiguity provide opportunities to explore the costs and benefits of moving, the decisions of what to keep and what to discard. Paradoxical as they appear, ambivalence and ambiguity are an essential part of the dynamic process of culture. In the mobility

process, these countervailing views or emotions are usually resolved by appropriating them into *fa`a-Samoa,* although many people are not always aware of this.

When migrants die overseas, their bodies are flown back to Salelologa for the funeral. This further represents the continuing primacy of the *'aiga* and its material roots in the land. While I was conducting the mobility survey and related interviews, a son described how his deceased father was brought back from California in 1991 and in 1997, a deceased aunt was accompanied back by relatives for burial in Samoa. Family is still attached to its community of origin, because the *nu'u* (village) defines one's identity and status overseas. There are also instances where a parent or child is buried overseas when family members recognise that those important to a particular individual are there. The interaction between *i'inei and fafo*, specifically the importance of *fafo* and *i'inei* to the group, shows the inappropriateness of theorising village-metropolitan dichotomies in an increasingly transnational world.

Conclusion

This paper has brought a *fa'a-Samoa* perspective on transnationalism examining how social, cultural, political, and economic practices have changed over time, and the forms these transnational processes take. *Fa`a-Samoa* frames work within local idioms, which in turn feed into and influence change. Local culture is not simply acted upon by external agents, as many accounts of change in Samoa suggest, for people are dynamic, proactive, and perpetually creative. As we have seen in previous accounts, while *i`inei* has been transformed through contact with *fafo* the relationship is reciprocal. Not only is *fafo* imagined and constructed through *i`inei* idioms, but more practically, it too is transformed through the ideological, economic, and physical exchanges which take place in movement. At times, the 'periphery' (*fafo*) becomes a central source of meaning and identity, as overseas *`aiga*, Samoan churches, and *matai* councils are established. *Fafo* (overseas, abroad) has become more like the 'core' Samoa (*i`inei*) over time. Places of the 'periphery' including Auckland, Los Angeles and Sydney are increasingly becoming 'cores'. Core and periphery are therefore always in flux. Home is not only multi-local but trans-local. In population movement, *fafo* and *i`inei* have become part of the inextricably transnational character of Samoan identity.

`Aiga need population movement for economic, social and cultural development; migrants need spiritual and emotional nourishment themselves. This replenishment of the soul is fulfilled in the exchange of gifts and especially by the deliverance of delicacies from home such as *umu* package (taro, breadfruit, and palusami), *fai`ai pusi* (eel in coconut cream) *fai`ai fe`e* (octopus in coconut cream), *fagu sea* (bottle of sea cucumber) or *koko* Samoa (Samoan cocoa). Salelologa people produce the essence of *i`inei* for kin in diasporic spaces and places to consume but themselves consume modernity through the goods sent back to

them from *fafo*. Gifts exchange is thus as much about social relationships and the respective power of givers and receivers as it is about the hegemony of places.

Through negotiations made possible by population movement, *`aiga* and *i`inei* have changed, become multi-local and trans-local. Households neither simply expect 'expatriates' to send remittances and receive partially symbolic gifts of taro, sea cucumber, *koko* Samoa or handicrafts in exchange; nor are these transactions purely bilateral between the island home and one or another rim country. Instead, Samoa, New Zealand, the United States and Australia are sites of transnational, triangular, and circular exchange. As Hau`ofa (1993, 11) emphasises, 'the resources of Samoans, Cook Islanders, Niueans, Tokelauans, Tuvaluans, Rotumans, I-Kiribati, Fijians, Indo-Fijians, and Tongans are no longer confined to their national boundaries. They are located wherever these people are living, permanently or otherwise.' In short, envisioning a 'world enlargement' and considering social and cultural meanings of transnationalism (Hauofa 1993). In Salelologa, multi-local families are becoming increasingly dominant. None of this dynamic is captured by the twin images of emigration and depopulation formerly theorised in the mobility literature.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Participant observation and interviews both at 'home' and 'reach' were done to understand these issues. Funding for this research was provided by the American Association of University Women, Honolulu and University of Hawaii Globalization Research Center.

[2] This is the 'transnational space' (Small 1997, 193), where personal and social identities are simultaneously constructed in a transnational social field by those in *fafo* and those *i`inei*.

[3] Helen Lee (2003) in her study of identity construction among diasporic Tongans shows similar attitudes with regard to *anga fakatonga* (the Tongan way).