Reshaping Samoan Relations
- A study on the increasing reports regarding violence against women in the rural and urban areas of Samoa

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Abstract

This is a sociological essay, named *Reshaping Samoan Relations – a study on the increasing reports and regarding violence against women in Samoa*, written by Shahab Mirbabaei. The aim of this study was to explain the reason, or reasons, for the increasing reports of violence against women to the police and help-organizations in Samoa.

The study was done in Samoa by conducting semi-structured interviews with women, from the rural and urban areas, and with workers from relevant organizations that are involved with questions regarding violence against women. The women were primarily asked for general Samoans changing views of gender, violence and trust for police and help-organizations. The workers were primarily asked for changes in the working process in their organization.

The main theoretical choices were *Outsiders*, by Howard S. Becker, and *Masculinities* by R.W. Connell. These theories allowed this study to capture all the important elements by offering a terminology that focuses on gender and deviance.

The main results show that different organizations have created a new set of rules for the Samoan society, which in the same time has weakened the *Fa’a Samoa* system. With the help of awareness, these organizations have criminalized domestic violence towards women in Samoa and offered solutions to women to combat violent occurrences. The awareness has extended the possibilities of women in Samoan society, and allowed them to challenge the authority that upholds the *hegemonic* rule of men. This challenge is partly seen by the increasing number of women that work in the public, and by women combating the violent occurrences by reporting the matter to outside parties.

**Key words:** Samoa, deviance, increasing reports, violence against women, hegemony
# Table of content

Acknowledgements..................................................................................................................1  
Abstract................................................................................................................................2  
1.0 Introduction..........................................................................................................................1  
  1.1 Defining the issue.................................................................1  
  1.2 Research question & Objective.................................................4  
  1.3 Past research........................................................................4  
  1.4 Samoan laws..........................................................................9  
  1.5 Development........................................................................10  
2.0 Theoretical framework.........................................................................................................12  
  2.1 Outsiders..............................................................................12  
  2.2 Masculinities.........................................................................14  
3.0 Method.................................................................................................................................17  
  3.1 Introduction...........................................................................17  
  3.2 Selection of interviewees.........................................................18  
  3.3 Ethical considerations & The role of the researcher...............19  
  3.4 Constructing the questions.......................................................20  
    3.4.1 The women.................................................................20  
    3.4.2 The help-organizations and the ministries..........................22  
  3.5 Constructing the interview........................................................22  
  3.6 Access to the field................................................................23  
  3.7 The environment...................................................................23  
  3.8 Method discussion.................................................................23  
4.0 Results................................................................................................................................26  
  4.1 Women in Samoa.................................................................26  
    4.1.1 The role of women.......................................................26  
    4.1.2 The violence in Samoa..................................................27  
    4.1.3 The trust for help-organizations and the police..............28  
    4.1.4 The increasing reports..................................................29  
  4.2 The help-organizations & The ministries...................................30  
    4.2.1 The changes in the working process.................................30  
    4.2.2 Changes in Samoa........................................................32  
    4.2.3 The increasing reports..................................................33
5.0 Analysis.................................................................................................................34
  5.1 Patriarchal Samoa..............................................................................................34
  5.2 Moral entrepreneurs..........................................................................................36
  5.3 Women entering the public sphere.................................................................37
  5.4 Criminalizing VAW.........................................................................................38
  5.5 Summarization.................................................................................................41
6.0 Conclusions............................................................................................................43
7.0 Discussion...............................................................................................................45
8.0 Reference list..........................................................................................................49
  8.1 Books and articles............................................................................................49
  8.2 Websites and pdf-files......................................................................................51
Appendix 1 – Consent Form.......................................................................................54
Appendix 2 – Questionnaire for the help-organizations and the Ministries............55
Appendix 3 – Questionnaire for women.....................................................................56
1.0 Introduction

1.1 Defining the issue

How come the reports of violence against women have increased in Samoa when it seems to contradict cultural aspects of high value for Samoans? Samoa is a Polynesian, developing country located in the pacific, northeast of Fiji. The culture is described to have a high value to the Samoan people – something that affects all social spheres in various ways. In this culture, called Fa’a Samoa (the Samoan way of life), men are considered the main decision makers and hold most of the chiefly titles called matai. The matai “is the supreme authority in any Samoan village. Its main role is to make rules and pass judgement on village members who may have violated the rules. These chiefs moreover act as mediators in family disputes” (Desmond 2012, p. 3). The families in Samoa are called Aiga and are the extended network of several smaller families. Most Samoans are part of these bigger families. Even if being a Matai is possible for women, they mainly adapt to the traditional female role as advisors in the village. Expectations of the sexes make certain professions more or less obtainable depending on the sex, but this order is legitimized since each member supposedly “knows their place” in society. The government itself considers inequality between men and women as non-existing. Although, work is still being done against gender inequality (a.a. pp. 32-33). Women are considered to have a respectable and needed place in society, and the family is obligated to protect the status and rights of their women. The ‘man of the household’ possesses the highest authority and is meant to lead the family, according to Fa’a Samoa. Abusing one’s partner is considered shameful and unaccepted. Still, several studies show that men’s violence towards women is legitimized by both men and women in Samoa. Men are in risk of being exiled from their village if violent behavior toward their women do not cease. Meanwhile, seeking help from law enforcement or help-organizations is avoided, and women that are suspected of reaching for aid outside the family can be punished (Cribb & Barnett 1999, p. 53-56).

In addition, the number of the reported cases of men’s domestic violence towards women has severely increased. One of the latest reports shows that the number of reported cases of domestic violence increased from 200 in 2012, 433 in 2013, 522 in 2014, to 753 in 2015 (Websites: VOA news 2017; Samoan observer 2016; University of Samoa 2016;
RadioNZ 2016). The numbers presented in these news reports is confirmed in the *Samoa’s Legislative Compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW). The data itself was collected by the Ministry of Police and was compiled by the number of matters received by the Police, Domestic Violence Unit (CEDAW 2016, p. 10). The CEDAW-report draws references to other studies; One study states that most cases of domestic violence that come through the Family Safety Act laws that the majority of the victims are women. Another study by the National University of Samoa shows that the frequencies of gender-based violence in Samoa has increased (NUS 2015, Vol 1, p. 47) Although, it is clear that the rise of reports does not solely concern violence towards women. Indeed, women are the majority of victims, but the reports also concern e.g. children. These reports have also been included in a release by the OHCHR’s CEDAW report. This shows the increasing reports to be internationally recognized, which increased the legitimacy of the phenomenon (CEDAW 2017, p. 16). It is though important to recognize that this CEDAW-report has not been commented in documents released by e.g. SIDA or WHO. The *State of Human Rights Report* refers to the Family Safety Act laws, made by the Samoan Government, where a definition of domestic violence can be derived (State of Human Rights Report 2015, p. 28). Domestic violence is in short defined as following; “physical and sexual abuse, emotional, verbal and psychological abuse. Intimidation, harassment and stalking”. And finally, “any other controlling or abusive behavior towards a complainant where such conduct harms, or may cause imminent harm to, the safety, health or wellbeing of the complainant” (Family Safety Act 2013 – Samoa, p. 3).

In the same time, the second *Samoa Family Safety Study* survey, released in 2017 by the Ministry of Women, revealed that violence against women, age 20-49, was increased from 46 % to 60 %, when comparing the results from the first survey in 2000 to the one from 2017. This information was based on answers that women gave regarding their personal experience. The study suggests that a common motive for the gender-based violence was women that had disobeyed or not satisfying their husband. Also, emotional abuse was the most normal abuse. Further on, there was a great number of women that did not report the violence to police or help-organizations when seen or experienced domestic violence, which meant that a lot of violence remains hidden (SFSS 2017, p. 16-17). This information about the increasing number of cases was also released by a new report from the UNWOMEN Asia & Pacific, which grants the information increased legitimacy (UNWOMEN – Asia & Pacific 2017). Another release by the local Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Samoa Victim
Support (SVSG), states that the reported cases of domestic violence increased by 15% when comparing 139 cases from January to June 2016 with the 160 cases from January to June 2017 (ENGAGE 2017, 3rd ed. p. 4).

The contradictory state of these findings created the base and interest of this study. How come the tendency to report violence towards women increase, and how does it possibly increase when it seems to contradict cultural aspects that are of high value to the Samoans? The contradiction lies in the fact that violence towards women and reports to outside parties are prohibited in the Fa’a Samoa system. This contradiction regarding the increase of reported cases of domestic violence made this an interesting phenomenon – and therefore, this study will focus on finding one or several potential explanations for this.

There are many ways of naming the issue of interest in this study. Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), Domestic Violence (DV), Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and Family violence are the most usual names. There seems to be a consensus regarding the focus of these studies mainly focuses on physical, emotional and sexual abuse. This study not only refers to violence towards women in the domestic sphere, but also outside-home crimes. The reason being that both these crimes are present in various data and is therefore highly relevant. This includes emotional, physical and sexual abuse. To simplify the use of terms in this study, the collective notion violence against women (VAW) will be used. This expression has been seen in other studies. Using VAW is a way for this study to state this issue to be of more than a domestic one.

The importance in conducting this study is due to the low amount of research released that truly aims to explain the epidemic of increasing reports by investigating cultural values and work ways of organizations (See: 1.3). This non-existing research was observed as an empty space in this field of research – space that this research could provide with information that could be of help in the ongoing work with violence against women by providing a greater understanding of the phenomenon in Samoa.

The main theoretical words that will be used are: Hegemony, to describe the social system where men dominate and women remain inferior, which past research (See: 1.3) shows is relevant to use in the Samoan context. Violence, to emphasize the means of which men’s dominance over women is apprehended (See: 2.2). Also, the use of the word violence is relevant to context of which the study focuses on. Finally deviance, which sheds light onto those that do not follow the social or legal structures and rules of society (See: 2.1). This word
was thought to be relevant, as it speaks of a criminal phenomenon where both the action (violence) and the identity of the group of perpetrators (men) is partly focused upon.

In addition, this study has been financially supported by SIDA organization in Sweden. The scholarship was applied through the Linnaeus University through a program called Minor Field Study (MFS). Samoa was chosen from a list that acknowledged a certain number of developing countries. The subject and country was picked by interest, though the subject needed to be relevant and contribute to the development of Samoa.

1.2 Research question & Objective

The research question is: How can the increase in reports of violence against women in Samoa be explained?

The purpose of this study is to find possible explanations for the increasing tendency to report violence against women in Samoa. This will be done through a theoretical analysis of interviews. Additionally, it is also the goal that the analysis of this study will contribute to increased sociological research regarding Samoa and changes in matters of reported crime, as well as presenting a nuanced study on social deviance.

1.3 Past research

Samoa:

There is a decent amount of research that have been conducted regarding violence towards women in Samoa. One of the found studies contributed with relevant information that concerns the Samoan culture in the context of Fa’a Samoa. This study shows that the extended family – Aiga – is where the women normally reaches out to when she is in need of support regarding violent occurrences. Further on, the women consider it shameful to be a victim of violence – and the damage to family honor that accusations could make, which explains the low amount of trust for the judiciary and local help-organizations. The same study also contributes with information regarding the motives for the VAW in Samoa. Examples are; Not obeying your husband leads to punishment, and drugs and alcohol increases the risk of violent occurrences towards women. The violence is shown through physically, as well as emotionally through verbal abuse (Magnussen, Shoultz, Hansen, Sapolu & Samifua 2008). Another study that focuses on Samoan culture mentions that the socioeconomic background of the interviewees is important to include when investigating
VAW. The authors concluded that VAW has even higher occurrences in areas that are poor (Paterson, Feehan, Butler, Williams & Cowley-Malcolm 2007). Moreover, another study wrote that spousal violence was not widely accepted or supported in Samoa. The husband is traditionally the authoritarian figure in the family and many participants in this survey believed that a good wife obeys her husband. In the same time, 56 % believed that a husband was legitimate to beat his wife if he found that that she was cheating. 33 % thought that violence was accepted if the husband even suspected that she was unfaithful. The same study describes that in cases where the family cannot stop the violence the village chief would gather all parties to discuss the issue, and it is not uncommonly that the church minister is included. If the violence would not stop the perpetrator would be asked to leave the village or the village council (Rankine et al. 2017). Another study by The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) searched for connectivity between occurrences of natural disasters and Gender-based Violence (GBV) in Samoa. One of these natural disasters, Cyclone Evan in 2012, displaced close to 5,000 Samoans. Results showed that persons that were displaced after a natural disaster were at a higher risk of GBV than those not in need to move from their community. Relocation of displaced people seemed to be a root cause for the risk of violence, including domestic violence, early marriage and sexual assault (IFRC 2017).

Firstly, these studies help to confirm that VAW in Samoa is a known and present phenomenon. VAW seem to be both tolerated and an unaccepted occurrence in Samoa. Collectively, these studies make us aware of the findings regarding social structures in Samoa that allow violent occurrences and that hinders reports to be made. Moreover, these studies show the character of violence in Samoa. This information helps us therefore to narrow down what we are looking for by shedding light on earlier results. Further on, the information mentioned above tells us that the increase in reports could be explained by women’s decreased trust for the extended family, changed view of the victim’s role, decreased acceptance of violence, but also an increased trust towards outside parties. Mainly, it shows that a change must have occurred in the views of women towards certain cultural aspects which then have affected the increase of reports. The information also tells us that the socioeconomical background of the women seem to be an important factor connected to the occurrences of reports. Finally, studies have showed that external factors – such as the occurrences of natural disasters – could also affect the number of reports.
Pacific and indigenous peoples:

A few other collected studies have investigated crimes of violence in other countries regarding indigenous and pacific peoples and explain the occurrences of these. This research contributes with updated information regarding explanations for how VAW can be explained. The first of these articles emphasizes the individual experience from being a child. The authors write that a child’s memory of observing violence in its home, or being victimized of this violence, increases the risk of this individual becoming aggressive when becoming an adult (Brownridge et al. 2016). One of the other studies made research of a similar issue. This study explained that experiences with violence affects women and men differently. In this case, men have an increasingly greater risk of expressing this violent behavior toward his partner when being an adult (Paterson, Fairbairn-Dunlop, Cowley-Malcolm & Schluter 2007).

A third study shed some light on the psychological issues of VAW, meaning that these experiences with violence increases the risk for suicidal attempts. One of the greater contributions from the same study was the information regarding violence towards women from others than the partner as a common phenomenon. The authors meant that the focus of research is usually on the domestic violence, which makes these studies miss a greater deal of the context (Devries et al. 2011). A fourth study regarding violence towards women describes that violence in households are not viewed as serious as outside-home crimes. The authors meant that violence in household are being normalized and therefore makes fewer reports on this matter. Another issue was that violence in households did not receive as heavy consequences as violent reports from outside-home (Jeffries & Bond 2015).

Above studies concerning pacific and indigenous people is presented to collect results from a context quite close to the one in Samoa. These studies present results from a different set of studies that show other nuances of VAW and sheds light on the importance of the domestic sphere in households, and briefs of the occurrences of outside-home crimes. These studies help us understand the complexity regarding reports that would either increase or decrease the chances for a report regarding violence to be made. One example is how the abuse of children affects male individuals to grow into violent adults which could increase chances for a report to be made. Also, the normalization of violence in the households that – unlike outside-home crimes – retracts reports to authorities, which naturally would decrease the chances for a report to be made. These points show that expectations of family affect the breeding of violent behavior and the chances for the occurrences to be reported.
Tove Petterson:

Tove Pettersson have in her dissertation, and in a smaller article, released points of interest in dealing with the subjects of violence and gender. Pettersson firstly points out that girls prone to be more controlled in patriarchal family structures than boys, which tends to contribute to boy’s failing of restricting their own personal and social limitations. Also, boys are motivated to show aggressive behavior, whilst girls are motivated to care for their looks (Pettersson 2012, p. 19 & 141). She also writes about ‘masculinities’, where being in charge over women, or at the top of chain of command, is important. In some moments, men might feel that it is necessary to confirm and consist this masculinity. In these cases, aggressive behavior might be acceptable. If masculinity if not achieved through a god job or higher education it might be expressed through criminal activity. This could in turn explain the many criminal cases involving men in poor neighborhoods (a.a. pp. 21-22).

Unlike other presented studies, Tove Pettersson offers a feminist analysis for how the violence of men and how masculinity is confirmed and accepted. This is meant to present a possible international analyzed explanation for masculine violent behavior. Partly, this grants us a theoretical response as to why VAW, and therefore the reports, are made. Also, this information opens for questions whether the increase in reports show women’s staggering intolerance towards the expressions of ‘masculinities’ in Samoa. In addition, an increase of reports could show signs of a ‘loosened grip’ of the power structures of the patriarchy, i.e. that men are unsuccessfully maintaining their dominant position by decreasing violent expressions.

Methodological approach:

Two studies where chosen with reason of the methodological advice that was received for when conducting a research about VAW. The first article mentions how the interviewees should choose the time and place that best fitted them to be interviewed. The interviewees also chose what questions that they were comfortable in answering (Schewe 2006). Further on, the other study gave advice on methodological approach mentioned that questions are to be asked openly and that supplementary questions are to be related to what had just been said (Sandberg 2016). These advices were given to create an as comfortable environment as possible for the interviewee. Though these studies interviewed women about their personal
experience with violence, which is not the case in this report, the advice will be taken in to consideration.

These modern studies of VAW create valuable suggestions when encountering interviewees regarding controversial subject as these, which helps the researcher when conducting this research. Presenting these studies shows what the norms and expectations have befallen researchers with subjects such as these in a time such as this. This was thought to be a relevant contribution, even though the studies themselves bring no contribution to the question of the increasing reports.

The increase:

As presented earlier a high number of studies have investigated gender violence statistically with surveys or with qualitative methods by interviewing Samoans in countries like Hawaii and New Zealand (Paterson et al. 2007, pp. 450-451). Studies have also been conducted on violence in Polynesian or indigenous groups, which have provided somewhat relevant information in understanding the issue (Brownridge et al. 2016). These studies have so far focused on how perpetrators legitimize violent behavior in different contexts, in what ways the violence takes form, how it is divided statistically among countries and cities, as well as explanations to how the phenomenon affects other social spheres. These findings have provided valuable information on how to address these issues and what the latest research findings have concluded. Despite this, few studies try to explain the reasons for the increase of the reports of VAW. Even fewer studies have analyzed these problems with sociological theory, or in a Samoan context. The last conducted study, by the research community, that had an interest in the same context, investigated how Samoan women in Samoa described their role in society and in violent situations. This study was published in 1999 (Cribb & Barnett 1999). Research of this sort in Samoa is therefore concluded to require an update. One of the few studies that mention a reason for the increase is the *Social Policies in Samoa*, released by the UNRISD in 2012 and written by Desmond U. Amosa. In this study the increase of violence towards woman, especially sex-related crimes, was explained as “a clear reflection of a serious erosion in the country”. Desmond means it seems this culturally homogenenous society is quite affected by the impact of the Lands and Titles court. This institution makes rulings on lands and titles, and many times its rulings have created disputes among families and villages. Wrong decisions, not favored by many, have caused violence among families (Desmond 2012, p. 36-37). Another study implies that increased western
influences has created a feeling of lessened connectivity by family members to Fa’a Samoa. This lessened connectivity did supposedly lead to increased stress, conflict and partner violence (Paterson et al. 2007, p. 700). Another study did also claim that the increase in violence towards women indicate that family systems in Samoa are becoming weaker (Stewart-Withers 2011).

The summarization of these studies was made to show the low amount of studies that offers explanations regarding an increase in reports of violence in Samoa. Also, it was purposefully pointed out that alike studies have not been conducted since 1999 and could arguably need an update. Further on, above-mentioned studies have shed light on certain factors that might have affected the increase in reports. Western influences and ill-favoured decisions by the government have possibly had an impact in the culturally homogenous society of Samoa and increased the reports of VAW. A decreasing importance of cultural values in the Samoan community could mean that women feel a lessened need to solve issues within the extended family. In the same time, women could have created an increasing need to contact outside parties for help.

Criminalization:

A final study researched the reason for the increase of safety crimes in certain occupations (Estrada, Flyghed, Nilsson, Bäckman 2013). By investigating the authorities, they found that certain definitions on crimes had been changed that affected the statistics. There had in fact not been more crime, but just the reports that increased due to this change. Other research regarding criminalization was found as well. Although, the focus seems to be on the uprising of certain violence-preventing groups in different countries (e.g. Haj-Yahia et. al 2012, Chao 2005). There seems to be a low amount of studies regarding the law-following (or not crime-convicted) people’s criminalization of certain behavior.

The author of this study assumed the possibility that the result show VAW becoming criminalized in Samoa. This assumption is the reason as to why the above-mentioned study was included. This final study is presented to exemplify what a study regarding the increase of crimes in a different scenario concluded. The above-mentioned study shows the importance of including a perspective which focuses on the changing views and definitions of certain aspects, i.e. criminalizing matters.
1.4 Samoan laws

An introduction to the presence of Samoan laws will give insights in the legislative presence in Samoa. This is explained with some of the laws being amended within, or only a few years before, the time of the increase of reports in the time of 2012-2015. The amendments of these laws are not a certain contribution to the increase in reports but have possibly influences and is therefore worth bearing in mind.

The Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act 2010 introduced domestic violence as legitimate ground for divorce. The Crimes Act, in effect since 2013, included: “Unlawful intimidation includes stalking, use of violence or words to intimidate, damage or threats of damage to property and the compelling of any person to do or to abstain from any act that person has a legal right to do or to abstain from doing.” Also, sexual violence within a marriage relationship could now be prosecuted. The Family Safety Act, a compilation of laws in effect since 2013, covers most of the offenses stated by the United Nations (UN) as acts of crime ever since they had widened the definition for family violence. Further on, that same year, a Family Violence court was formed by the judiciary to handle community concerns about domestic family offense. Another law in 2014, the Family Court Act, provides protection and recourse resources for victims of family violence (Family Court 2014 Act – Samoa, p. 3). Finally, two remaining legislative reforms have developed how matters such as these are encountered. The Evidence Act from 2015 states that hearsay evidence still is viable to use in court. The police would proceed with gathering of evidence even if the one who made the statement is unavailable. This was to aid when the victim felt afraid to testify, or had passed away. The Criminal Procedure Act 2016 was explained as following: “police have the power to enter premises without a warrant to arrest an offender or prevent an offence likely to cause immediate and serious injury to another person such as domestic violence” (CEDAW 2016, p. 11). Further on, there are two “fundamental rights” in the constitution of Samoa stated to partly prohibit VAW. Article 8 in the Constitution was adopted 1960 and amended in 2013. It includes the following description; “No person shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labor”. The second one, article 7, was also adopted at 1960 and amended in 2013, and includes the following description; “No person shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (Constitution of the Independent State of Samoa).
1.5 Development

One of the requirements when writing a MFS-study is to clearly express how this study contributes to the development of Samoa, which will be presented below.

This study mainly refers to the United Nation’s (UNs) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), but also the Strategy for the Development for Samoa (SDS) which the Ministry of Finance in Samoa created with the SDGs considered. Among the SDGs, this study mainly contributes to SDG number 5 – "gender" – where it is stated that VAW still is a major issue that needs to be addressed (United Nations 2016, HLPF-Goal 5). This study also works towards SDS Key outcome 8 – Social Institutions Strengthened – which states that there is a need for improving women's rights and addressing VAW through more socially and culturally acceptable approaches (Samoan Ministry of Finance 2016).
2.0 Theoretical framework

This study will not be able create a sociological answer to its research question by mainly using the answers that the interviewees give to questions. The theories will be used to analyze the collected statements and then help to create an answer to the research question. In this chapter the theoretical framework of this study will be introduced. This study will combine parts of the theories of Howards S. Becker from his book *Outsiders* and the theories of R.W. Connell in the book *Masculinities*. Combining Becker’s theory on social deviancy with the feminist and gendered focused theory of Connell allows this study to capture most of the important elements when to explain the increasing amount of reports. Becker’s theories put the spotlight on the criminal character of the study, as Connells theory explains what role gender has in the issue. Both theories are expected to help to explain the changing occurrences in Samoa.

2.1 Outsiders

Howard S. Becker’s book *Outsiders* is a study on the social deviancy of marijuana users and dance musicians. In this book he explains e.g. how marijuana users act, define themselves, and in what ways they keep to themselves. Becker also wrote about the rules e.g. laws against this behavior, how these rules are enforced and what sort of “moral entrepreneurs” that fight for these rules. This study – on the increasing amount of reports – will primarily use the part of the theory that speaks of the introduction and enforcement of these rules. The main points of Becker’s book are that he states that deviant behavior is not a personal quality in people. He argues that the reactions of other people are essential when pointing out a behavior as deviant. Becker meant that “social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance”. This labeling is related to the political power in society, which means that the ones with political power are the ones that dictate the vital conditions that determine who is to be labeled as an outsider (Becker 1997, p. 9). The reason that *Outsiders* is relevant to this study is that the phenomenon of interest regards a certain reactive action against deviant behavior, in this case the reports of VAW. Since this study aims to find explanations for the changes that increased these reports it is thought to be relevant to include this theory that speak of matters that become criminalized, i.e. increasingly disliked by the common folk, which VAW is thought to have become in Samoa since the reports against it have increased.
In *Outsiders* Becker speaks of different kinds of deviant behavior. One of them is *secret deviance*, which refers to an act that is considers improper but lacks being noticed by or reacted to by others as a violation of rules. In these cases, no one is quite sure about how much of this phenomenon exists, but that it usually is more common than we are apt to think. *Pure deviance* is when the behavior is not only seen as rule-breaking, but also perceived as deviant. This means that *pure deviance*, unlike *secret deviance*, is more reacted to and noticed by others. In some cases, the deviant justifies their actions even if not agreed upon by society at large or legal authorities. Some deviant groups even have “full-blown ideologies” that explains how their deviant acts are excusable, or even proper (a.a. pp. 3 & 20 & 28). Becker also mentions the different sanctions that could affect the individual and that try to control and stop certain actions, e.g. withdrawing affection. Also, one kind of control is through defining the act as immoral or keeping nonusers from discovering the use (a.a. pp. 60-61). This terminology of words sheds light on the changing views on a certain behavior. In this study, it is thought that a changing view of VAW have led to an increase in reports, which makes the terminology relevant.

Further on, in *Outsiders* it is mentioned that some rules that are defined as deviant do not get enforced, “because two competing power groups – management and workers – find mutual advantage in ignoring infractions”. Some rules that come from the general value might conflict with other rules (a.a. pp. 126 & 132). Speaking of enforcement of rules, it is generally expected that people try to gain support from different groups and to use the media to “develop a favorable climate of opinion” (a.a. pp. 145-146). Lastly, Becker describes so called *Moral entrepreneurs*, which are initiators of rules. When one of these *entrepreneurs* is successful in a so called “crusade”, then this will create a new set of rules. This in turn will gain support and enforcement by newly established “enforcement agencies and officials” (a.a. pp. 147 & 155). Lastly, the relevance in these examples and words lies in the context they reveal that act as a necessity for the initiation of rules in society. It is thought that less people would report these matters in Samoa if the phenomenon was not thought as a wrongdoing, or if the possibilities to report was limited e.g. no limiting laws. Therefore, the terminology presented above reveals certain actors as initiators to rules that help increase the reports.

In summarization, this chapter have described certain parts of Becker’s theory in *Outsiders* by explaining that social groups create deviant groups in society, i.e. “outsiders”. Additionally, “moral entrepreneurs”, usually individuals or groups with political power,
create the rules through “crusades” that dictate what behavior is deviant. Also, the extent of how a behavior is considered deviant that determines if it is a “pure deviance” or “secret deviance” have been explained. Using Becker’s book on social deviance is fitting as it sheds light on the procedures that are of importance when rules and enforcement are made for making an act unaccepted or prohibited. The terminology in using the acts of “moral entrepreneurs” helps to unveil what groups or individuals with power that have changed the rules. This theory also sheds light on the behavior of the culprit and the use of media to influence the values of the general population, and therefore helps us see how individuals get affected by these “crusades”. Additionally, bringing forth the terminology of “secret” and “pure” deviance creates an understanding for the reports that have not been made regarding VAW, as well as how the change in reports show a change of views regarding VAW. Finally, the theory brings out interesting points on the relation between the so called “managers” and “workers”, the ones with power of dictating right and wrong, and those who do the acts in focus. This study will aim to use this theory of deviance as its terminology is analytically exemplified above. Analytically, this study will look for “moral entrepreneurs” and show their “crusades”. Also, this study will aim to show how these “crusades” have affected the views of the general population and changed VAW from a “secret deviance” to a pure deviance. Finally, it is thought that this theory will help to unveil the creation of an additional group of “outsiders” in Samoa. The use of the major parts of the theory relies though on the hypothesis that the empirical findings show that this a process of criminalization in Samoa.

2.2 Masculinities

R.W. Connell’s book *Masculinities* firstly grants readers a short history on gender and feminism. She further on problematizes views on gender in different age groups and ethnicities. The roles of women are discussed in the domestic, political and social sphere. Power relations, authority, social structures, violence, economics are variables that Connell brings up and discusses. All the points above are then theorized and discussed in relation to a set of masculine behavior. *Masculinities* is based on feminist theory and describes society as patriarchal. This theory states that women are generally inferior, and the male dominance is what has named this structure as patriarchy. The relevance of using *Masculinities* lies in the fact that this book discusses and offers a terminology to explain the role of women in a patriarchal society and men’s use of violence towards women. The idea is to capture the gender structures of Samoan society by explaining it through Connells theory to clarify how the inferiority of women is explained and how the violence is a common phenomenon.
Finally, the theory will be used to explain how the increase of reports reflects on the changing role of women in Samoan society.

The main theoretical contribution that Connell makes is the theory of *Hegemonic Masculinities*. *Hegemony* refers to “the cultural dynamics that makes it possible for one group to claim and apprehend a leading position in society.” *Hegemonic masculinities* are defined as “that configuration of which the practices of gender shows the current acceptable answer to why the patriarchy is legitimate”. The masculinity apprehends the hegemonic positions with the use of certain patterns for gender behavior. This way, she argues, the men’s dominance towards women is guaranteed. Connell also states that the primary reason for the success of this hegemony is the expression of authority, rather than violence. This authority is though reinforced and supported by violence (a.a. pp. 111 & 114-115). *Hegemonic masculinities* offer an example of how a theoretical terminology can be used to explain the prevalence of patriarchal societies, no less for the one in Samoa. This helps to explain the mere occurrence of men’s dominance and VAW.

According to Connell, they are two main ways that violence is used. Firstly, the privileged group members use violence to apprehend their dominance. The abuses that Connell exemplifies are that of whistling to women in streets, harasses in work places, rape and domestic violence. Secondly, the violence is used in “gender politics” between men, meaning that men use sexual violence towards women to claim their masculinity to other men. also mentions that men who beat their wives often emphasize that they are expressing their right and that they are to apprehend order in the family. They punish their wives, especially when their wives do not “know their place”, as when they act in a way that their husband is not sound of, or say against his word (a.a. pp. 122 & 221). These examples show how the violence is used by men and in that way, extends the knowledge of how the hegemony prevails towards women.

This chapter explains a part of Connells theory that unveils how certain societies allow for men to dominate women in the public and domestic sphere. An important part of this theory explains that women are held inferior by men that exercise violence towards women. This violence is legitimized in different scenarios by men that express their masculinity and their “right”. This terminology helps us unveil the power structures where women are held inferior to men in both the public and domestic sphere. Additionally, this theory explains how this dominion of men is legitimized through violence. Connells theory
will be used to explain the role of women in the Samoan society and how a increase in reports reflects on the increased dislike towards VAW. Finally, this theory will help us analyze how this change affects how women are viewed at and how the possibilities for women has changed. One negative aspect is that this theorization is based of empirical findings from American-European societies, which means that the terminology not necessarily would be applicable to societies outside of west. The study remains to have a character of being gender focused and will find a use for some of the theoretical terminology to explain the role of women in relation to men in Samoa.
3.0 Method

3.1 Introduction

In this study, Samoan women have been interviewed regarding culturally expected behavior and how these have changed the last decade. The study also interviewed employees from relevant organizations in Samoa about their changing work with questions regarding violence and changes in Samoan culture. Both groups were asked about the increase in reports and cases. This was done by semi-constructed interviews in Samoa. With the help of the answers that the interviewees shared, an investigation was made to look for changes in Samoa that might have affected and increased the reports of violence against women. These changes were then analyzed with the chosen theories and presented as an answer to the research question. The selection of method, interviewees and questions will be explained in the remaining passages below.

Explaining a complicated process such as this requires that the providers of information can give insight in the matter. This information can best be accessed by allowing informants to freely formulate their thoughts, which is done easiest through interviews – semi-structured interviews in this case. Semi-structured interviews imply that the researcher carried a questionnaire with listed questions and allowed the interviewer to ask supplementary questions based on former answers, which allowed the study to collect extended information. Further on, by interviewing Samoans, the empirical findings were of highest value since they are the group with supposedly most experience and insight of Samoan culture (Creswell 2014, pp. 190 & 193). To understand whether something had changed in the Samoan cultural sphere, there was a need to explore how Samoans construct the social reality of accepted and unaccepted – expected and unexpected – behavior (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, pp. 8). Asking for cultural meanings to grasp how interviewees construct their social reality gave this study an ethnographic theme. This insinuates that the questions regarding culture were constructed to be on a general level with open questions and would not ask for personal experience with violence (Rennstam & Wästerfors 2015, pp. 17). Not asking for personal experience with violence means that the study primarily aimed to understand the increasing amount of reports indirectly by asking about cultural meanings. Except that it was deemed unnecessary, it was concluded that asking interviewees for personal experiences of violence might have seemed controversial, difficult and therefore avoided (See: 1.3).
3.2 Selection of interviewees

Ethnographic studies are partly identified by how the selection of interviewees are made. To understand the social construction of Samoans there is a need to include different groups in Samoa to receive a more wholesome picture of the changes. Many groups whose insights would be of help for this study were found. To receive enough spread of thoughts from each group, with the limit of time, the number of interviewees were limited to 13 individuals divided into four relevant groups – women in urban areas, women in rural areas, employees from help organizations for women, and employees from ministries in the government (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, pp. 3 & 106)

Women were chosen since they are the main victimized group in this matter of interest and were thought to have interesting insight in these matters. Interviewing e.g. men could also have shown some interesting insight in the matter. The researcher decided though to rather interview women in the urban and rural areas, instead of splitting the four interviews in each area between men and women. This was done to receive a greater spread of insight from women. The reason for dividing women in rural and urban areas was to see whether there was a connection between socioeconomic backgrounds and views and attitudes (Paterson, Feehan, Butler, Williams & Cowley-Malcolm 2007). In this study, individuals with the age of 25 to 60 were included. The reason for the minimum age of 25 was that anyone younger might receive more difficulty in remembering how certain cultural variables were viewed for ten years ago. Further on, it was concluded that individuals become less active in the community when they grow older, which is why the limit is at 60 years old. The mentioning’s above are nonetheless merely assumptions. A total of eight interviewees were women, divided between the rural and urban areas. The remaining five were employees (Ahrne & Svensson 2015, pp. 40-42). Finally, it was thought that men, as the main perpetrators in this phenomenon, would have little insight in the extent of reports in Samoa. Also, with the time-limit, they were to chosen not to be included. Interviewing the help-organizations and the government was partly an idea that was received from a past research study where it was shown that a change in definitions on crime could explain the increase in work-related crimes (Estrada, Flyghed, Nilsson, Bäckman 2013). The employees from the help organizations were chosen because of their experiences with cases, or questions, regarding VAW. The study included two interviews from different help-organizations. The first one from the Samoan Victim Support Group (SVSG), a NGO that partly work with violated women. The interview with the other NGO, called Faataua Le Ola (FLO), was a
group-interview. This organization offers free counseling for all people regarding a wide range of issues, but mainly to prevent suicide. Finally, the employees from the relevant ministries were mainly chosen since they work with the Samoan public regarding questions of violence. The judicial offices receive the reports and have valuable insights in how matters such as these are viewed and handled and how views have changed during these years. Based on the availability of employees, the study included one employee from the Ministry of Justice and Administration and one attorney that had insights in the works of CEDAW and handling of cases regarding domestic violence. In addition, a worker from the Ministry of Women – an organization that plays an important role for the community and promotes ending VAW in Samoa – was included. The different groups were chosen to receive a spread of thoughts and insight from different parts of the Samoan community to create a suggestive answer for the changes in Samoa.

3.3 Ethical Considerations & The Role of The Researcher

Below follow certain points of ethical considerations that were considered as demanded for a research such as this. Also, these ethical considerations were included to extend the comfort of the interviewee. All the interviewees were to be ensured that their identities and details were to remain confidential, which was important to ensure the comfort for the information they shared during interviews. Interviewees were also ensured that they may choose to only answer the questions that they felt comfortable with, which was done to lessen the pressure for answering supposedly uncomfortable questions. Further on, interviewees were reminded that participation was not mandatory. In addition, they were told that the information that was collected would only be used in this study, to clarify to interviewees how the information they shared would be used. Finally, they were informed that the information they shared would be deleted if they so wished, which was thought to grant a further relief for the stories they shared. The purpose of this study was explicated, and they were also informed that they may read the study when it is finished. Interviewees were finally asked to sign a letter of consent that included all the information above (See Appendix 1). The consent form also provided background information regarding the interviewer and the study. Finally, the consent form stated that the interviewer would use a recorder and take notes. The contact person helped to translate the form to Samoan for those who needed a translation (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014 pp. 105-109).
In addition, the researcher of this study had in mind the position he has as a foreigner that does not speak Samoan. To make the interviewees more comfortable with the researcher and the interview questions, advice was used that were received upon reading traveling stories in Samoa and former research. The reached upon advice was to spend time with the interviewees before the interview and bring a small gift as a token of gratitude for their participation. Souvenirs from Sweden were brought to Samoa, a piece for each interviewee. Also, the woman received a payment of 30 talas (about 100 SEK) for participating. A payment for the employees was not needed since they were interviewed during working hours (a.a. p. 184). Another important issue was that the researcher of this study needed to bear in mind the position he had as a researcher and male. The role of a researcher could have created a very formal atmosphere. This could in turn have affected whether the respondents felt comfortable in answering certain questions. It was also important to create an assuring environment when the interviewer, as a male, ask females about reports of violence towards women. In the beginning of the interviews the interviewer emphasized the great value of the interviewees knowledge as a contribution to the study, and that there truly was a curiosity to understand Samoan culture (Creswell 2014, p. 187).

3.4 Constructing the questions

Two different forms of questionnaires had been created. The same questionnaire was used for the groups of women since insights in culture from both these groups was requested (See: Appendix 3). Also, the same questionnaire was constructed for the two remaining groups, since both were primarily asked of how the work is being carried out with cases of violence towards women (See: Appendix 2). Below follows an explanation of the operationalization of the questionnaires, as well as what variables that were included.

3.4.1 The women

The included variables were the ones that affect the conditions of the social environment of Samoans, and therefore how they act. In this case, the Samoan perception of gender roles, acceptance and occurrences of the use of violence, and trust in the judiciary and help organizations were concluded to be important (these variables will from now on be mentioned as ‘gender’, ‘violence’ and ‘trust’). This choice is furtherly motivated by Kvales discussion claiming that a categorization of questions need to be made before the interviews (Rennstam & Wästerfors 2015, p. 31). Asking for the perception on these cultural variables meant asking interviewees for how they themselves and general Samoan people view expectations in
different matters. Since this study was looking for changes in culture, that might have affected the increase in reports, it was more appropriate to ask about meanings in the culture itself (a.a. p. 3). This study did firstly aim to grasp the Samoan views of gender, violence and trust. After that, descriptions of the past views of the same variables were needed. This was done by asking the women about the difference between past and present circumstances and how they perceived the reasons for these changes (if there were any changes). Further on, an independent comparison was made to look for notable events and changes that could have possibly affected the views on these variables and in some way affected the increase in reports. “The past” was in this study, as mentioned before, referred to a time span of approximately ten years, since the increase of reports on VAW during this period had been intensified. Finally, it was thought to help the study to also ask about the actual increase of reports. This was done to create an understanding of how much insight that exists, and what speculations there were, about this phenomenon. This final question was only to be asked if the interviewer perceived the interviewee as comfortable. The questions about the actual increase was another variable along with the three mentioned above (gender, violence and trust). The first three subjects were investigated in depth, by asking for past beliefs and expectations regarding these subjects, which helped the study find potential reasons for the increase in the changing circumstances through time. This method can further on be motivated by the teachings of Steinar Kvale who emphasized the focus on understanding the interviewees own perception of the world by asking ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ to reveal the dynamic aspects between different groups (a.a. p. 29).

The interviews started with questions regarding their occupation and education. This was done to get an idea of the interviewees socio-economic background, which was thought to be show importance in terms of differences in perspective (Paterson et al. p. 714). Questions relating to the ‘gender’ variable looked for women’s daily activities in the form of free time chores, jobs and opportunities in a political context. This was done to create an overview of what is available for the women, which jobs are dominated by different sexes, and finally which sexes that hold certain positions within the political order of Samoa. These explanations were also asked to be motivated. Finally, the interviewees were asked about previous assumptions and views regarding these topics – if something had changed and how this can be explained. Questions regarding violence asked if violent occurrences are frequent in Samoa, who the normal perpetrators and victims are and whether this has changed. The ‘trust’ variable explored confidence in the judiciary and help organizations by painting
different scenarios, such as the occurrence of conflicts. The questions would ask for how these situations are expected to be addressed. The intention was to spot the situations where it is acceptable to seek external help, unlike those that are expected to be solved within the community or not handled at all. The same questioning process used for the ‘gender’ variable was used for the variables ‘violence’ and ‘trust’. The interviewees were asked about current views and motivations for these. Further on, the questions regarding the variables ended with questions regarding the previous existing views – if something had changed and how this can be explained. Finally, the interviewees were asked about the increase in reported VAW. Questions related to this variable differs from the first three as it did not address a general view of cultural activities. Here, questions only regarded the increase itself, as well as the reasons for the answers given. The reason for asking about the increase itself was to see how widely these news reports had been noticed.

3.4.2 The help-organizations and the ministries

The employees from these groups were mainly asked for the main role of their organization and if this role had changed. Questions regarding how they receive and treat reports on VAW, how their organization view these issues and how this had changed was also asked. The employees were further on asked for their views of the changes in how Samoans view gender, violence and trust. Further on, they were asked about the increasing amount of reports and their thoughts about this. The reason for choosing these questions being their supposedly exclusive insight in reporting matters. The workers were then finally asked about past views regarding these questions, the changes and potential reasons for these changes. Worth to mention is the awareness that the researcher had for the difficulty in interviewing these employees. There was a risk that the worker would only answer within the limits of what they are allowed by their commanding officers (Kvale & Brinkmann 2014, p. 187).

3.5 Constructing the interview

Preparations were made by using a tape recorder together with a pen and paper. Several Samoans spoke English well and the questions were constructed to be clear and understandable. But if needed, the contact person acted as interpreter for the study. The shortest interview was with a employee and took 18 minutes. The longest interview took 1 h and 33 minutes with a woman. Most interviews took 40-50 minutes. The length of the interviews was dependent on how much the interviewees were to share.
3.6 Access to the field

The gatekeeper that contacted these interviewees was Andrew Taofi – a worker from “Nuanua O Le Alofa” (NOLA), the national advocacy organization of people with disabilities-in Samoa. When applying for the MFS scholarship it was required to find a contact person in the receiving country that would be ready to be of assistance while the researcher stayed in Samoa. NOLA was the only organization that offered to help. An email to the UNWOMAN was redirected several times until it reached NOLA who then appointed Andrew to act as the contact person during the study. Andrew has helped the researcher to gain contact with women from the rural areas where she contacted her village and made appointments with locals. She also translated the request of the study to women in the city of Apia personally. Being a former member of a program that works against domestic violence, Andrew is in close contact with other associations that work with the same issues. Furthermore, this contact person translated this request to the ministries and the help-organizations.

3.7 The environment

The interviewees choose what place that fitted them best for the interviews. Most informants were interviewed alone. In some cases, an interpreter or a family member participated. The researcher is fully aware of the possible effect that the presence of other parties could have had to the interview. The interpreter could in some cases had given the interviewees pressure on answering questions regarding cultural change. The same goes for the presence of family members. Some interviewees mentioned the difficulty in understanding some questions. Also, one of the help-organizations, FLO, found it easier to be interviewed as three at the same time. The interview with the FLO was therefore a group-interview.

3.8 Method discussion

Firstly, the choice of letting the interviewees choose the setting of the interview created a rather unfortunate environment for the researcher and the interviewee in certain moments. The interviewees in the rural areas insisted that the interviews would take place in the outside homes where the guests are held in Samoa, called Fales. In these places, there was often children that ran around nearby and made noise that effected the process of the interview by breaking the concentration of the interviewee and the researcher. Interviews outside also showed to bring many insects and animals which would disturbed the researcher. Further on, worth mentioning was that not all questions seemed to be understood by certain interviewees.
and the translator. This was shown when answers did not seem to connect with the question. In those cases, the researcher was needed to re-ask the question by using a different set of words. In addition, not all sound was received by the microphone. This was shown early in the transcription when interviewees seemed to speak with low voice or when speaking fast. The same issue was detected when some interviewees tried to express themselves in English. Also, noises from fans, animals and children left certain statements unheard. The researcher was therefore needed to repeatedly bring the microphone close to the interviewee and re-ask questions for answers that were supposedly not clearly received.

To further on clarify, this study merely sought, and collected, the women’s perception of how general Samoan people experience ‘gender’, ‘violence’ and ‘trust’. Their answers should not be perceived as the most primal collection of representative answers regarding all Samoans. The interpretation that this study makes put great trust in the perception of the interviewees. This method has obvious flaws but is still recognized as an important and useable method to collect information. Also, it is worth to mention the difficulty for some individuals to correctly recall past circumstances. This study puts great trust in the perception of the interviewees regarding happenings for the last ten years. It is therefore worth to recognize that some individuals might have forgotten or changed their perception of circumstances these last ten years.

No noticeable complications were received when using an interpreter in the interviews. The researcher did many times though wonder how the interpreter comprehended the questions that the researcher asked, and whether this comprehension effected the way that the translation was carried out, which could have affected how the interviewee understood the question. In turn, it is also interesting whether the interpreter understood the interviewees answers to the questions as the interviewees were meant to express themselves, which could have had an impact to the interpretation that was then made to the researcher. The complication lies in the interpreter’s language skills, but also in the researcher’s skill in formulating the question and the interviewees ability to comprehend the meaning of the question. These are issues that are always important to reflect upon when an interpreter is needed. Further on, it is worth to acknowledge the complications that could have arrived in this context where a payment to the interviewees was needed for their participation. According to this study’s contact person the interviewees needed to receive payment since they participated on their spare time. This was said to be the norm when Samoans were asked to participate in a research study. In most cases, a payment would be a bride which would
pressure the interviewees to participate and answering questions. If in fact payment is a norm in Samoa, then the researcher had next to no other options if the study was to be made.

Finally, the researcher is aware of the that the low number of interviewees do not create a representative picture of each group or for Samoans. To further support this choice, a passage of value for this ethnographic study will be presented. It states that a representative sample of informants is by no means always what is required when a study primarily aims to introduce extended knowledge to a field with a relatively low amount of insights (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, pp. 32 & 106). Although, the fact that the women in the urban and rural areas gave common answers shows that the views of these women could be generalized to how women in Samoa might generally experience and view these issues. Another fault of the study is not being able to include groups such as children, teens, the elderly, men, fa’afafine (the third gender in Samoa), and other organizations in Samoa that works with cases of violence against woman. Leaving these groups out might have resulted in a loss of valuable insights. Little is known of whether the views of the women in Samoa are shared with e.g. men and no assumed conclusions of other groups will therefore be made. Finally, the selection of employees from the organizations participating in this study was determined by the availability of these and the willingness to join this study.
4.0 Collected statements

In these passages information will be presented of the answer that the interviewees provided regarding the present circumstances and changes for each variable (‘gender’, ‘violence’ and ‘trust’), the working process and the increasing reports. In the texts below, “before” and “then” is to be understood as “about ten years ago”.

4.1 Women in Samoa

The answers that women in the urban and rural areas provided did not differentiate much and therefore the answers are collectively presented.

4.1.1 The role of women

All the interviewees agreed that the role of women outside of work had not been changed much at all these last ten years. Women are still responsibly for the main domestic duties, e.g. taking care of family members and cleaning. Seven out of eight women thought that there is more woman that work for money today than for ten years ago. In the past, women were expected to stay at home and be responsible of the child care. Men were expected to receive good education and work. As for the changes, several women mentioned that the women in Samoa had realized that they are in a poor situation and therefore in need to earn more money. Samoan women seem to do handicrafts, such as the weaving of mats, at home when not working which they then sell. The difference now was that they nowadays look for more formal employment. Several interviewees also mentioned the extended possibilities for women to receive education today which extended work-opportunities. These opportunities opened the door for women to work in the government and in men-dominated work areas e.g. outside-jobs, ferries, police, carpenters, plumbers and CEO-positions. The women that stay home are expected to provide for the falavelave, which are the expected duties that families do for the community, e.g. providing money for a funeral or a wedding for other families in the community. All women agreed that men were, and still are, the dominating group in political positions in Samoa. In the past, it seemed to have about one or two female parliament members – now there are five. Several interviewees stated though that the deputy in the government today is a female, as opposed to ten years ago. Interviewee 1 also mentioned that women now move more freely in the community and have extended their freedom. Nowadays, they can dress in tights and short-sleeved around their brothers, which was not the
case before. This was though a way of living in the capital Apia, as opposed to the rural villages.

4.1.2 The attitude towards violence

All interviewees claimed men to be the main perpetrators of violence in Samoa, and women and young girls to be the main victims, which had not changed. Verbal abuses and physical violence was the most common type of violence, but some women also mentioned sexual violence. The stated motives for the VAW was e.g. not enough money that easily gave men a temper, women giving bad advice, men drinking alcohol, disobedience with husband’s commandments, having “an attitude”, or men releasing anger to relief other emotional disturbed feelings.

One women thought that the violence, both generally and in the homes of Samoans, was increasing. This was motivated by the mentioning of the many cases of violence that she had seen on TV and in the newspapers. Another interviewee said the same thing and claimed that technology influenced the minds of people. Several women thought that the violence had in fact decreased. One rural women expressed an ambiguity in the matter. On the one hand, she perceived the violence as decreasing – a feeling she have gotten from her community. On the other hand, when watching TV, she sees the new reports every night regarding cases of violent act and then get the impression that the violence is increasing. This increase of violence was claimed to have been noticed on media by several other women. When asking how they noticed these cases, one of them mentioned that TV and Facebook report several news. Another rural woman thought that the ongoing awareness programs had decreased the violence. Also, the same woman felt that she is though increasingly hearing of serious cases of violent acts. An additional urban woman mentioned that a big difference now regarding violence is that the men now risk going to jail. She mentioned that many awareness programs are being carried out that are changing the views of Samoans on whether violence is accepted or not. Interviewee 2 thoughts regarding the changes was:

- Ten years ago, maybe there was something that was hiding the violence, but now you can see it everywhere, ...the changes ...at the moment, some people are well educated. In saying that, they understand their human rights. When they face that kind of violence, they know where to go to. Direct to the police, or to the counselors, or the help-organizations, or victim support.
“Well educated” in this case was an increasing awareness of violence brought by ministries and NGO’s through media. Interviewee 1 also stated the ongoing awareness programs in churches, schools and committees. She mentioned that it used to be okay for women to be violated. They needed to respect their husbands, whom they feared. The father violating the spouse and the children is explained with him acting as the head of the family, said one of the interviewees. If something were to be wrong, as when women were disobedient or when money was an issue, he’d use his right to violate the spouse. Interviewee 2 said the same thing and claimed that Samoans have an extended understanding of violence today, as opposed to ten years ago.

A couple of interviewees mentioned that the culture was much stronger ten years ago in comparison to now, and that is why the violence is increasing. One of them explained that it is due to the influences from other countries – mainly what culture teenagers that go overseas bring back to Samoa. One interviewee meant that in the past there was Malufalemanaiula, meaning a safety space for the family. Today, she claims that technology has broken the Fa’a Samoa system through Facebook and action movies. This was shown through certain Samoan traditions being decreasingly practiced. One of these traditions, called “family devotion”, is when the family share a small prayer as thanks for the day. Here they talk and the father hands out consultation. The father, as the head of the family, is the one who is expected to lead the evening devotion. When he misses the evening devotion, that’s when the violence starts, according to some interviewees. Several women also claimed that men are drinking more beer and therefore becoming more violent. This is explained by the fact that the two leading beer companies in Samoa are competing, which has lowered the price of beer.

4.1.3 The trust in help-organizations and the police

One urban woman claimed that people used to fear police, which is not the case anymore. The interaction between the police and the people had changed. The police now build relations with people and show more visibility in the homes of Samoans. Another interviewee mentioned that it used to be a lot of corruption back in the days with the management board of the police, but that people now trust the police. The reason being that the management of the police had changed as the head commissioner was replaced Unlike the past one, this head commissioner supposedly follows their policies. One urban interviewee mentioned that the number of polices has increased and received education from overseas. Another rural woman
noticed the increasing number of police and thought that police now, as opposed to before, respond more quickly to calls. Another rural woman said:

- Because nowadays we understand about what the police are doing, what their responsibilities and their securities are. So, we understand that police men are not murderers.

When it came to help-organizations, several interviewees had perceived that the people at first were unsure of the services that these organizations provided and did therefore not seek their help. People then started to be happy for the help that they were given, which meant that the attitude towards these organizations changed. Several interviewees believed that the awareness that these help-organizations carried out on TV and radio reached out to people regarding their services. Most of the rural women thought of these organizations, and people that use their services, as a new phenomenon. The interviewees were divided in how they perceived that other Samoan women would react to an abusive relationship. Most women recognized that acceptance towards violence was common in the past, and one claimed that women in the past did not want to separate from their spouses. One of the rural interviewees thought that silence still was the most common reaction that women had to violence. Another interviewee meant that the reason for the increasing number of people reaching for help was that these help-organizations display their services through awareness on medias such as TV and radio. Interviewee 3 also claimed that people now know that violence is not right in the community. Also, women are now keener to speak their minds against their husbands. Interviewee 4 claimed that most women would reach for help from the police or the SVSG. In the past, the couples would rely on the Fa’a Samoa solution called foefoe where the couple would not reach for outside help and instead rely on solutions from within the village.

4.1.4 The increasing reports

All women except one had heard of the increase of reports regarding VAW, mostly through media. Most women claimed that the explanation for this increase is that people are now talking about the issue more freely. One interviewee noticed that many of the cases of violence happened several years ago and that people suddenly started to speak about it. Another interviewee mentioned that most people now have their cellphones and can make calls to the police for free, which was not the case ten years ago. The other interviewees believed the increasing reports was explained either by what young people see on movies

29(53)
through technology, or that the evening devotion is forgotten. The others thought that men are increasing their drinking of alcohol and then go home to violate the spouse.

4.2 The help-organizations & The ministries

Several of these answers coincided with each other and will therefore be presented collectively.

4.2.1 The changes in the working process

The employee from the SVSG had worked at the organization for 13 years since the organization was founded. This person stated to have worked as a police officer in the past. When asked why the organization was founded, the worker claimed that crime seemed to escalate and there was always someone on the “bullies” side, but none for the victim. The awareness had helped increase the people’s trust for SVSG. The worker explained:

- ...the time we started it, it wasn’t easy, and that’s why we had to do a lot of awareness...So, we worked very hard to prove ourselves. How our concept, and how our thinking plan is better...So, up until now, I think that our services were not known...And they saw that the work were done promptly, and anyone that cries for help...we’re there. We try to be seen physically, like we’re out there helping.

The workers from the FLO explained that women seek help for domestic violence and sometimes call in a moment of distress, e.g. when they have just been violated and have hidden in the forest. These calls had increased every year from 2015. The interviewee from FLO explained that people now appreciate the services that they offer, which was not the case in the past. Back then, people did not understand what their organization offered. Through awareness programs on TV and radio, and programs where they visited e.g. schools and hospitals, people now know what the FLO can help them with. In these programs, they emphasize their services to be confidential. They also encourage people to speak up, reach out for help and take control of their own life.

The interviewee from The Ministry of Women in a division that develops programs and conduct training in the community on issues of e.g. family violence. Any ministry that wish to reach the communities need to go through the ministry of women. This worker believed that Samoans trust for their services had increased since their work became
more coordinated. Nowadays, every time a program is being implemented, they cooperate with partners e.g. The Ministry of Police and The Ministry of Justice. They also now, as opposed to the past, reach out to the villages further back on both islands. The section where the interviewee works also creates programs to prevent violent occurrences. This includes a family safety legislation, a gender equality policy, a family violence prevention guide and activity plans to change the attitudes of both men and women regarding the norms of violence. The worker mentioned that the number of programs had increased in the last ten years. The number of programs was explained to be dependent of the funding that they receive from international organizations e.g. UN WOMEN, UNFPA, UNDP. The Ministry of Women also receive an increasing number of cases where women walk in to the office and seeking help, whom which then could be referred to e.g. The Ministry of Police.

The “attorney” referred to her role as an Associated Public Solicitor working for the attorney general, the civil and international law division. Their role is to provide legal advice for the public, and to act as legal advisors for the government. The interviewee shared that her office did not get the chance to practice their usual exercise before the government signed the CEDAW – an exercise where they ensure that any article from the convention is in line with an existing law. This meant that the Samoan government needed to come up with new laws that were in line with the convention after the convention was ratified. The interviewee explained it as such:

- We did that after we signed the convention, after we ratified the convention. I don’t know why, but back then ten years ago the government made a decision to sign on to CEDAW because of the issues. They felt that this convention is moving forward, ‘all the other countries are moving forward with women’s rights, so why not’. So, we just signed on to CEDAW.

The worker from the Ministry of Justice was a policy and planning officer. The work consisted of create policies, to plan, and to evaluate the work of each division of the ministry. This ministry mainly collects the data regarding those that have been convicted for VAW. In the past, their main goal was the ‘Safety of Samoa’, which has been changed to instead provide quality services and increase access to justice for the people. This is done through the spreading of awareness regarding procedures, policies, conventions and laws that are in place, partly through a collaboration with the Ministry of Women. This is done in a greater extent today compared to ten years ago. The worker claimed that this work had in fact increased the people’s awareness of the work of the ministries, and what rights and obligations that the people have. The trust for the organization was also perceived to have
increased, which was partly due to the change of a new CEO that was more open-minded than the last one regarding changes in the working process. Finally, the worker perceived the issue of VAW to be a rather new issue in their organization which she claimed to have been introduced with the CEDAW.

4.2.2 Changes in Samoa

The worker from the SVSG claimed that family violence was not a matter to be reported in the past, and that domestic violence is a “new thing” in Samoa but that people now understand the law and can quickly report it. Although, the worker stated that some horrific cases nowadays get revealed, which the attorney mentioned as well. The worker from the FLO had seen a great deal of change in the Samoan society. One of them mainly referred to that women dress more freely and that an increasing number of women have their own businesses and work in government positions. The reason for this change was explained with the extended possibilities for education that the women had received – this was especially the case with women going overseas and returning to Samoa. Another FLO worker saw that the change was in greater extent and pointed out that women dress, cook food, and wash clothes as *palagis* (refers to white-skin people). One of the FLO employees were skeptical as to whether the violence had increased or not. She referred to that violence was common in the past as well but was not considered an issue to report. She thought that all the violence on TV nowadays made people think that violence is increasing. The remaining FLO interviewees believed that the violence was increasing and that weakening culture was the reason. The interviewee from the Ministry of Women had perceived that there was an increasing number of women that were departed from the domestic sphere to work for paid jobs and reaching for CEO- and government positions. This person also claimed that the violence was in fact increasing in Samoa, which she based on the daily reports from TV. In the same time, this person recognized the fact that the violence might have occurred in the past, but that it was hidden instead of reported. This worker believed that trust for help-organizations and authorities such as police had increased since these organizations made it clear what their responsibilities are. The attorney had mainly noticed the extended education that women receive, their inclusiveness in parliament and more women that own their own businesses. The same interviewee did not perceive any increase of violent occurrences in Samoa, which she stated was due to her not watching TV. VAW in the homes was a known matter since before, but violence occurrences in public was becoming increasingly common. The interviewee from the Ministry of Justice also mentioned that women now are starting to speak
up and seeing their potential. The worker claimed that women in the past were held up, but that the perspective of people are changing which have allowed women to expose themselves in the public. When asked whether the violent occurrences against women had changed, the interviewee answered:

- I’m not quite sure. I would say that... because most of the cases are reported now, because that’s the focus now, and that’s the priority now.

Further on, the worker mentioned the workshops that encourage women to speak about the issue and have the freedom to speak. These workshops aim to break the habit of accepting violence as something natural. Finally, the worker claimed that trust for police had increased since more women are receiving assistance when they report these matters today.

4.2.3 Reports in Samoa

Almost all workers had noticed the increasing number of reports. Most of the answers to why the number had increased referred to the increased awareness of people. The worker from the SVSG thought that the increase was a result of people becoming more aware that there is a law that prohibits VAW. One worker from the FLO did not believe these reports to be an increase of violence, but that the violence has always been there. The worker from the Ministry of Women claimed that Samoans did not perceive violence as a social issue in the past, but now the increase in prevention programs and the increase in awareness programs had affected how Samoans perceive violence. This person also claimed that her organization had contributed to this increase in reports through the programs, and social media like Facebook, where awareness is spread. The interviewee said:

- ...that has raised the awareness of the people that violence is a sin, it’s a crime and there are penalties in the law... people have now become aware that it’s not a norm, it’s not something that should be tolerated.

The worker from the Ministry of Justice believed that the reports were increasing because of the ongoing increase of awareness. A part of the increase was claimed to have been affected by their organization, which had made people increasingly alert. Now, people know that to violate, and to be violated, is not acceptable.
5.0 Social structures in change

In this chapter, the most coherent findings of the study have been combined with theory from the chapter regarding theoretical choices. The theories act as a lens to extend the ways to understand the results of this study. The analysis is introduced as a sequence and merely creating an example of how to interpret the changes in Samoa, through these sociological theories, that then has supposedly affected the rise in reports.

5.1 Patriarchal Samoa

In prior of analyzing the change in the present, it is of importance to first conclude what type of society there is, and was, in Samoa that prohibits the reporting of violence. The changes can then indicate how the reporting was affected. Also, this small chapter aims to show that the Samoan society were, and is, one where male dominance prevails.

Connell stated that *hegemonic masculinities* is when a group expresses, through practices of gender, their legitimate leading position as men in society. Connell claimed that men apprehend this leading position through the expression of authority. As we have seen in the answers of the interviewees, it seems that the expected duties of women have not seen any major change. Whether women have paid jobs or not, they are still expected to carry the main responsibility of the domestic duties in the house. Women are in some cases expected to provide an income through the selling of mats, but solely next to men that are considered main caretakers and decision makers in the house whilst women act as advisors to men. Men also seem to dominate most of outside home jobs, as well as most of the CEO positions and seats in the parliament. The interviewees claim that Samoan society was very alike in the past (See: 4.1.1). One of the interviewed women expressed the role of men as such:

- *So, being a father is not just being a father. Like, it’s being the leader of the family. So, he’s the one who should lead the family evening devotion. That’s the Fa’a Samoan way.*

The results show that the role of women is still seen as to mainly be in the domestic sphere. Men express their authority, and apprehend their *hegemonic* rule, by taking the expected role as main decisionmakers in the family. Also, men act as main decisionmakers by dominating the outside home-sphere, e.g. the political sphere and high-end jobs (See: 4.1.1). This goes to show that the Samoan society is in fact a patriarchy where, in the beliefs, women are still held inferior to the male dominance. Also, this shows that the
dominance of men is in fact legitimized by not only men, but also by most female interviewees that claimed this order to be normal, expected and therefore legitimized. This hierarchy was not necessarily accepted or favored by all the women, but was pointed out as the norm (Connell 2008, p. 111 & 114-115).

Further on, Connell claimed that the success of this hegemony is primarily created by men expressing authority in a way as has been described above – i.e. acting as main decisionmakers. This dominance is though reinforced and supported by violence. According to Connell, violence is partly used by men to express an apprehension of dominance towards women. This is done through e.g. domestic violence or rape. Connell also mentioned that men often emphasize their right to punish the wife when she displeases him to show them their place and to apprehend order in the family. The interviewees did in fact recognize that there were violent occurrences in the homes of Samoans. They also claimed that men were the main perpetrators, and women and girls were the main victims. Further on, the interviewees did note that violence often was shown through verbal, physical or sexual abuse. The reasons that the women explained that men used to legitimize the violence was, as before mentioned, that the spouse somehow displeased him by acting wrong or by not following his rule. (See: 4.1.2). This is partly reflected in this claim by one of the interviewees:

- ...that’s our culture. The women need to respect their husband. So, in that respect, if there is something wrong in the family, then the man uses his right to abuse the mother.

This shows that Connell’s description, of how men in a patriarchal society confirm and apprehend their hegemony, do fit to the Samoan society according to the results above that was gathered from the perceptions of women. Connell’s terminology and examples seem more than fitting even for a non-western context as the one in Samoa. Moreover, Becker wrote that deviant groups have “full-blown ideologies” that makes their behavior seem acceptable and proper. The men’s excuses for violating their spouse shows that there is a mentality of violent behavior that legitimizes their actions. This shows that these explanations that excuse the violence can also be understood through the theories of Becker. Now, an example has been made to show how Samoa can be interpreted as a patriarchal society (a.a. 114-115 & 122 & 221). Further on, the legitimization of men’s hegemonic rule by men, and women, can act as an explanation to why the violence occur and is being accepted. If all parties in a situation conclude the occurrences to be acceptable, then seeking help is not seen
as an option. In turn, this would explain the low number of reports to police and help-organizations in the past.

5.2 Moral entrepreneurs

The remaining passages consist of an analysis, regarding the increase of reported cases of VAW, which combines the theories of Becker and Connell.

Becker wrote about moral entrepreneurs, which are initiators of rules in society. In this study, a great deal of organizations is to be interpreted as these initiators. The most outstanding examples are those of the NGO’s SVSG and FLO. The founder of SVSG was a police officer who saw the need for an organization that gave aid to e.g. female victims of violence. The same goes for FLO, who’s founders saw a need for a help-line to the people that needed support. Not all moral entrepreneurs need though be founders of new organizations. The entrepreneur is also the new CEO of the Ministry of Justice, or the replacement of the police commissioner, who’s ideals and openness for changing goals for their work created a more direct approach when working against violence. Further on, the government’s rather quick decision to sign the CEDAW or the newly amended laws (See: 4.1.2) to assume a more “evolved” role in the global political climate was shown to be an entrepreneurial move in favor of the violated. Lastly, more well-established organizations such as the UN WOMEN whose influence is partly shown by their economical influences is another example. This can be seen through their funding of important organizations as e.g. the Ministry of Women (See: 4.1.3 & 4.2.1). All the above-mentioned organizations started either with an ideal or a goal with the aim of helping women, changing their ways of working or changing the mindsets of Samoan people. The organizations initiated a strive for a change of rules (Becker 1997, pp. 147 & 155).

The way these organizations have gone through with their plans of spreading the name of their organization and their services, their ideals, is interpreted as what Becker would call a crusade. A crusade is when these moral entrepreneurs work to create a new set of rules. Firstly, it seems that the starting crusade in this case was the decision by the Samoan government to sign the CEDAW back in 2005. The moral entrepreneur could in this case be the Samoan government, or possibly the influence by other countries or international organizations as the UN WOMEN (See: 4.2.1). In this enforcement of rules, Becker mentions that the moral entrepreneur might use the media and the help of other groups to “develop a favorable climate of opinion”. In this case, the media seemed to have neatly been focused to
spread the stories of the increase of reports and individual cases, which was shown by the fact that most of the interviewees seemed to have heard or read the news regarding VAW from media (See: 4.1.4 & 4.2.3). Most interviewees who perceived that violence had in fact increased often referred to these news stories, showing their opinions being affected by the spread of news. As one worker explained the reason as to why she had perceived an increase in violence:

- Because in the past we didn’t see any statistics, you would hardly see any increased data in the reports of the Ministry of Police. Compare that to nowadays...increase in the data every now and then...like it’s a daily occurrence on TV...

To further strengthen this claim, a reference is made to the attorney who mentioned to not have had any idea whether the reports of violence had increased, since watching TV was not a habit of this person. This shows that distance from media could partly have spared an individual from the influences of these organizations (a.a. pp., 145-147 & 155).

5.3 Women entering the public sphere

Further on, Becker claimed that a “successful crusade” will gain support and enforcement by newly established “enforcement agencies and officials”. In these findings, the newly established SVSG and the FLO, and the changes in CEO positions in ministries and ways of working, shows of this support and enforcement. These organizations had then initiated their own crusades by striving to change the norms in society, e.g. to spread what rights and possibilities women have. These crusades came in the form of awareness programs, policies and guides. The awareness was shown in different events such as when the Ministry of Justice, together with other ministries, spread awareness of their services and ideals to villages on both islands, Upolu and Savaii. It was also shown through SVSG’s strive to show themselves physically, or by FLO’s use of media such as radio or TV, and the Ministry of Women’s posts on their Facebook page. Further on, the crusade was shown by the governments choice of sending women to educate themselves overseas or in the nation to extend their possibility to receive paid jobs (a.a. pp. 147 & 155).

The successful results of these crusades are also shown in the several answers from the interviewees where they said to have noticed the change in the role and mindsets of women. Signs of this were the increasing number of female workers, and an increasing
number of women in men-dominated jobs, e.g. police or carpenters. It was shown by more women receiving education, filling seats in the parliament and reaching CEO-positions. Also, that more women own their own businesses. Finally, the success of these crusades was shown by women thinking higher of themselves and decreasingly viewing violence as acceptable (See: 4.1.1 & 4.2.2). As one urban woman expressed herself:

- The changes at the moment...some people are well educated. In saying that, they understand their human rights. When they face this kind of violence...they know where to go. Direct to the police, or to the counselors, or the help-organizations, or victim support...

This change shows that the norms of the role of women, that the patriarchal society had set in Samoa, has in fact been challenged. The challenge is partly shown by women intruding on men’s area of authority, which upholds the hegemony, by increasing numbers of women in the public sphere, e.g. the parliament and offices, where men have completely dominated for long. This increase is obvious from the fact that an increasing number of women are working, which challenges the men’s role as sole income providers to the family. Also, that women are increasing in numbers in both the parliament and men-dominated jobs, which grants them access to decision making positions. The women’s challenging of the male dominance, the hegemony, is finally shown through the resistance that women show against the VAW that men use to reinforce their leading position in society. Reporting and speaking more freely of the matter are examples of this resistance against the dominance of men. This shows that the violence towards women is becoming increasingly disliked and unaccepted (Connell 2008, pp. 114-115).

5.4 Criminalizing VAW

Both the occurrences of violence in the past and present could be interpreted as what Becker would call a secret deviance. It constitutes that an act is considered wrong but lacks being noticed and reacted by others, and therefore creates an uncertainty of the extent of which it occurs (a.a. p. 20). Most interviewees were uncertain of whether violence occurred in the past. Also, several women mentioned that violence is a matter that not all women wish to share with others. This was supposedly even more the case in the past, as one interviewee claimed:

- Whatever their fight is at, whatever their fight is up to, they just lived it there in their house, sort it in their house. But these times the law is more powerful and the people are well
educated with every solution, and they know that the law is more powerful, so they report every case.

Other interviewees mentioned similar issues and argued that women usually accepted the beating and saw it as an expectation of their role, as the worker from the ministry of justice also mentioned. The women seemed to have been uneducated of where to seek help or how to interpret the violence. This issue was also mentioned by the worker from the SVSG, saying that violence was not an issue to speak of in the past.

Regarding the past, several interviewees mentioned that violence was not an accepted occurrence in the context of Fa’a Samoa (See: 4.1.3 & 4.2.2). This shows that the violence in the past, if it was a common phenomenon, was a hidden occurrence. The inability of women to seek help, which was due to the poor selection of e.g. help-organizations, laws, low trust for police, and a mentality of accepting violent circumstances, prohibited the reporting. Even if the violence was officially unacceptable, i.e. in the public as shown by the rules of the Fa’a Samoa system (See: 1.1), it seemed to have been accepted in the domestic sphere where it somehow was made acceptable. The uncertainty of the extent of violence in the past is shown by the different interpretations that the interviewees had for whether violence occurred in the past or not. This uncertainty of the past, combined with past studies that in fact shows that violence occurred ten years ago, shows of the hidden character of this secret deviance. One way of trying to understand how the domestic violence was accepted is through a passage by Becker who mentioned that some rules that are defined as deviant do not get enforced. As to why, Becker mentions; “because two competing power groups – “management and workers” – find mutual advantage in ignoring infractions”. In this study, “management” could be interpreted as those with political power and “the workers” the ones that violate, i.e. men. As mentioned before, men seemingly dominated the public sphere in the past, which left women in the domestic sphere. Connecting this to Becker and Connell, the workers and the management, both being dominated by men, could have accepted the violence as beneficial for their hegemonic authority and did therefore not act to prohibit its occurrence. The benefits lie in the authority that is granted for men, both in the domestic and public sphere, e.g. being the decision maker in the home or working in high-end jobs. This would explain why there were hardly any laws, no help-organizations, and few reports in the past (Becker 1997, pp. 60-61).
The many interviewees who emphasized the increased gruesome character of violent occurrences shown on media today, show that the views and character of violence has changed. Also, people seemed to nowadays recognize VAW as an occurring phenomenon that is not accepted. This shows that the VAW have shifted from being considered a secret deviant behavior, to what Becker calls pure deviant. This means that the violence not only is officially considered rule-breaking, but considered deviant. In a way, it seems that violence has moved from the domestic to the public sphere. As the attorney described it:

- "...ten years ago, I knew that it happened in the homes, in the family home. But now it’s out in the public."

Officially being recognized as an active phenomenon in Samoan homes made VAW a pure deviant act. This was made possible by the limitation of VAW through the successful results of the crusades – e.g. reports and laws. This then removed the secrecy of its occurrence and made it a public matter. It is though important to emphasize that several interviewees recognized silence as a reaction to violence still common. This means that violence is still in some cases an act of secret deviance (a.a.).

Finally, Becker mentioned that “social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance”, which is partly decided by those who have the political power in society who then decide who is to be labeled an outsider. In this case, it is shown that the collaborative crusades of these organizations have created a new set of rules, shown through the preventive movements, programs, event and policies – i.e. the awareness. Theses crusades have been successful in the sense that laws that prevent violence, e.g. The Crimes Act and The Family Safety Act, have been in effect since 2013 (See: 1.4). This spread of awareness also shows to have had an effect when witnessing the responses of the female interviewees. These women had in fact noticed the awareness and the change of views towards police and help-organizations, from confusing or negative to a positive attitude today. Further on, the effect of the crusades is visible through the increasing possibilities that have been opened for women and the spreading of negative attitude towards VAW. These are, as Becker mentioned, ways that the Moral Entrepreneurs have used to sanction and prohibit the behaviors of a certain group by making it immoral and illegal. The most successful part of the crusade is in fact shown by the increasing number of reports to the police, cases to the SVSG, calls to the FLO and walking-in cases to the Ministry of Women. This shows that Samoan
women have adapted the ways which these organizations wanted women to speak up regarding their violent situation by seeking help – i.e. reporting the matter. Adapting these ideals and ways from these organizations can also be interpreted as a sign of weakened Fa’a Samoa culture, where it's prohibited to seek help outside the family (See: 1.3). The interviewees did express the weakening of Samoan culture (See: 4.1.1), which could have been affected by the crusades of these organizations. Finally, these institutionalized rules and organizations have also created a new and official deviant character to be recognized in society, i.e. a new outsider – the violating male. The behaviors of this group are, as explained earlier, prohibited by laws, reports and awareness that fights the ideal that legitimize the violence (Becker 1997, pp. 9 & 147 & 155).

5.5 A summarization

In 5.1 we showed how men assert their dominance towards women in Samoa by interpreting the collected statements of the interviewees through Connells theory of ‘hegemonic masculinities’. The chapter mainly states that men’s dominance is shown through authority. In this case, men still dominate the public sphere by obtaining most outside home jobs, CEO-positions and seats in the government. In the same time, women are expected to mainly care for domestic duties. Further on, men show authority through violent behaviors towards women. With the help of Becker’s theories, we have managed to show that men and women do in fact have ‘full-blown ideologies’ that legitimize this authoritarian violence towards women. This legitimization shows that Samoa is in fact a patriarchal society where this VAW is broadly normalized, which explains the low amount of reports to the authorities.

Chapter 5.2 shows some of the decisions that later would affect the mindsets of the Samoan people. In this case the establishment of new organizations, or change of leadership in already existing organizations, created moral entrepreneurs i.e. initiators of rules in society. Examples are the new NGO’s such as SVSG or the FLO, the new police commissioner and the new CEO of the Ministry of Justice. These organizations started crusades, i.e. work towards changing the moral rules in society. This was shown when the Samoan government signed the CEDAW or by moral entrepreneurs influencing Samoans through media by spreading news and statistics of VAW.

In 5.3 we theorized how the crusades of these moral entrepreneurs were shown successful. This establishment of rules and norms was shown through the implementation of programs, policies and guides. Organizations spread the message of these through media or
by showing themselves physically. The result was shown by the changing mindsets of Samoans regarding the possibilities and rights for women. Further on, the results were shown by the increasing number of women working in the public sphere, working in CEO-positions and taking seats in the government. In addition, the results were shown by the increasing intolerance that women showed against VAW. The analysis told us that women are challenging the hegemony of men, which is partly shown by an increasing number of women working. Mainly, this challenge is seen through the resistance that women show to the authoritarian violence that men use against women. This resistance is further on shown by the increasing amount of reports of VAW and that people speak more freely about the issue.

The final analyzations in chapter 5.4 theorized the shifting character and perception of VAW in Samoa. In this case, it seemed that VAW was firstly seen as a *secret deviance*, i.e. considered wrong but not noticed and reacted to by others. The normalization of VAW, the lack of restricting laws and help-organizations, hindered VAW from being noticed. The success of the *crusades* by *moral entrepreneurs* helped create restricting laws, help-organizations and an intolerant attitude towards VAW. Further on, these *crusades* helped to show the magnitude of these occurrences which shifted VAW into being considered *pure deviant* instead of *secret deviant*, i.e. not only officially considered rule-breaking behavior, but also considered deviant. In other words, the secrecy of VAW was revoked and the matter shifted from a domestic to a public matter. Finally, the restricting laws, the established help-organizations, the increased reports and negative attitude towards VAW etc. helped to create a new deviant character to be spotted in the Samoan society – the violating male.
6.0 Conclusions

The reason for the increase of reports is interpreted as a sequence of correlating events. In this case, the initiators of rules, the so called moral entrepreneurs, e.g. UN WOMEN, SVSG and government ministries, played a vital role. The starting point was when the government, that signed the CEDAW, made it a necessity that laws in Samoa were in line with the convention. This meant that new laws that prohibited VAW needed to be ratified. After that, new NGO’s as SVSG and FLO, and a change of CEO as in the Ministry of Justice were established. These local organizations then initiated crusades for new norms and laws through awareness which were shown through e.g. programs, policies or guides, with the help of media or physical events. These crusades aimed to give Samoan people information regarding newly established laws against violence – to not violate or tolerate to be violated – and the work of their organization. The success of these crusades is shown by the weakening Fa’a Samoan culture through established laws and the awareness that have affected the views of Samoans regarding violence. Now, women seem to be increasingly keen to share their stories with outside parties and seek help from police and help-organizations. To summarize, organization’s crusades – their work in changing norms and laws regarding VAW – have encouraged people to seek help outside their homes. Instead of turning to the extended family, reporting VAW is now an option.

In turn of events, the successful crusades have criminalized VAW in the domestic sphere and created a new group of outsiders – the violating male. The behaviors of this group are increasingly limited by laws and a societal mentality that does not support VAW and which sanctions this behavior. Further on, the success of the crusades can be seen in the changing role of women in the Samoan society – where women have received extended possibilities for paid work and education – as explained by interviewees. Also, women have been granted a set of different ideals regarding the acceptance of violence – no more is the exposure to violence normalized. Finally, women have been granted organizations that provide support in situations with VAW. These extended possibilities, the new ideals and the support of organizations have acted as tools of which women have used to challenge the patriarchal society and the hegemony of men. This challenge is reflected in the fact that women now obtain traditionally male dominated jobs, e.g. the parliament and outside-home jobs – jobs where men use their authority to legitimize their hegemony. Further on, the challenge is noticed by the fact that the practice of violence in the homes, which is used to
support the *hegemonic* rule, is made unacceptable through reporting the violence. By reporting the matter, the occurrences no longer become *secret deviance*. Instead, the matter is brought to the public and made to a so called *pure deviant* act. In other words, the character of how VAW is interpreted has shifted from rule-breaking to deviant.

To summarize with a different set of words, this increase of reports of VAW can be interpreted as a result from the change of views in society that have created a process of liberation for women in Samoa.
7.0 Discussion

When asking about the changes in Samoan culture, some interviewees claimed that there had been little or close to no change in the Samoan society regarding e.g. VAW. Several interviewees mentioned that the Fa’a Samoa culture had weakened, and that the violence therefore had increased and, in that way, affected the increase in reports. Yet again, others claimed that an increasing number of men were drinking which in turn caused an increase in violent behavior. When asked why they perceived the violence to have increased, the interviewees often interpreted the question as a need for them to motivate e.g. why men where drinking more. Only a few seemed to have understood the question as to how they had acquired the information that gave them the feeling that violence had increased. Missing out on these explanations made this study lose several answers regarding the perception of changes in violent occurrences over time. Moving on, several interviewees claimed that the reason for them to perceive violence to have increased was from the news on media. As shown, this was included in the analysis since it seemed as more coherent with the remaining information that was given. The researcher did therefore an independent choice of how to perceive and present the analysis by not primarily focusing on all the reasons that the interviewees explained. In addition, an interest was awakened of how interviewees create their perception of change in society. What information do one use as a base when claiming that something has gotten worse or better? How can we explain that some did perceive a change in the last decade, whilst some did not?

Further on, the result and analysis of this study created an evolved understanding for the changes in Samoa, and for the perception of employees and women regarding gender, violence, trust and changes in the working process. In certain cases, it felt as if the study relied too heavily on the correct perception of how things have changed in these last ten years. The study might have benefitted if a problematization of the interviewees perception of society in the past had been made. Without including those thoughts, the interviewer did many times ask questions that seemed to be interpreted wrong or gave answers that at first seemed unusable for my study. A problematization of one’s perception of past occurrences could have given an extended understanding of the constructed questionnaire. Although, it was a surprise how much the answers that did not seem to be of use until the analysis was made. This shows that patience for the conversation is of use, as well as a certain confidence for the constructed questionnaire. A question also was awakened
as to whether the differences in answers lies in the variety of interpretation of the question that was given. Might socioeconomic backgrounds, or other unknown variables, have contributed to a different interpretation of certain questions? Another question is whether the meaning of the question, or the answers of the interviewees, was changed by the translations that was made.

The choice of theories did seemingly fair for the result that was given. The theories together managed to set Samoan past, present and changes in context which has extended the analytical perception of the researcher regarding the views of violence, gender and trust for organizations. Becker and Connell had both created their theories from collected data in western societies, which did not seem to make a difference for the Samoan context. Does this indicate a possibility of international usage for these theories? Perhaps the writer of this study did luckily find one context where western sociological theories were of use in a pacific context. This also raised questions of how applicable sociological theories can be for non-western societies, such as the one is Samoa. It might have been naive to assume that the theories would be equally applicable without raising certain questions or problematize certain parts of non-western societies, which might not have been equally necessary in a Swedish context. Then again, raising certain questions might be equally important when investigating western societies. Even if Sweden might have more in common with another western country than a pacific one, then the difference in the European country might still have an equal impact for the specific focused phenomenon.

It is also worth mentioning that the identity of the researcher could have made an impact in the answers that were given. The sheer difference in backgrounds between the researcher and the interviewees might have created a difficulty for the comfort of the participants. In this case it was the researcher being male and from the west. This in turn might have put pressure on the interviewees to give answers to questions they never had thought about, which then could have just been speculations. In the same time, others might have felt too uncomfortable to share their opinion regarding the changes of the culture in Samoa. These are just mere speculations. Although, it is assumed that if the interviewee can somehow relate to the interviewer, then that would have created an easier flow for the conversation. If that were the case in Samoa, then the presence of the interpreter might have had positive effect for how comfortable the interviewees felt. Then again, the presence of a third part – such as the interpreter – might have had an opposite effect and instead made the interviewees uncomfortable to share their thoughts and feelings.
Another thought was the possibility to remake this study to a quantitative one, by sending out surveys to different groups of people in Samoa. This would lose the possibility to ask supplementary questions but would reach more people and collect more direct answers to the questions, which is not as easy in a qualitative study. Then again, the extended information that was shared by asking the supplementary question was one of the contributing parts for the making of the analysis. A quantitative study would instead aim to generalize the views of groups regarding the changes in Samoa.

In addition, the contribution that this study made to its research field could be interpreted in several ways. Firstly, the lack of studies regarding why an increased number of women have reported these matters (See: 1.3) made this research a nuanced study of the VAW in Samoa. This being that most other studies have collected statistics of the occurrences of violence or interviewed women regarding the motives for the VAW. Also, no other studies seem to have interviewed Samoans regarding the cultural changes over time. The studies that did express any suggestions to why the reports had increased made it seem natural that the causes were somehow connected to an increased violent behavior. Therefore, the results of this study show further reasons to be considered a nuanced contribution to this research field by providing a focus on the liberation process of women and the criminalization of VAW in Samoa.

Finally, the selection of interviewees did hardly create a representative sample of women in urban or rural areas, and neither did the workers for each of the organizations. Each interviewee gave an example of how the matters of which was asked could be viewed. Collectively, the answers did present a somewhat coherent view, which then was possible to create an analysis of. It is though too ambitious to say that this analysis shows a certainty regarding the changes in the Samoan society. The inability to include certain groups of interest, e.g. men or the police, might have made the study lose important insights. Interviewing police might have shed some light on the changes in the organizations that made reports possible in the first place. Altogether, the study seemingly accomplished its primary goal, which was to present one or several possible explanations for the increase in reports of VAW. Although, this small study only presents an example of how the answers from these participants can be interpreted. A study with a greater scale, meaning that it would include more interviewees from each group and from other groups as well, could indeed create a more representative result with a greater variation of answers. This could in turn create a further
understanding for the changes in the Samoan society and the increase of reports regarding VAW.
8.0 Reference list

8.1 Books and articles:


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8.2 Websites and pdf-files:


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http://www.samoaobserver.ws/en/14_09_2016/local/11287/Violence-against-women--and-girls-is-preventable.htm Found: 04/10/17. This article wrote about the increased violence against women in Samoa, as well as the work done by the UN to prevent it. Author: Not found.


http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/samoa Found: 05/10/17 The Commonwealth collects and releases information about countries that are members on their site.

http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/FA806696DBB45D71C1257A52002D3EC7/$file/SP%20Samoa.pdf – Social policies in Samoa 2012 06/10/17. This compound explains the social issues in Samoa. There are also some explanations of the culture of Fa’a Samoa. Author: Desmond U. Amosa.

https://www.voanews.com/a/un-investigate-violence-against-women-samoa/3972064.html Found: 04/10/17. This page, which stands for "Voice of America", is funded by the US state. They wrote this article about how the UN began to draw attention to violence against women in Samoa. Author: "Reuters".

http://www.who.int/gender/violence/who_multicountry_study/fact_sheets/Samoa2.pdf Found: 04/10/18. This was a study called “Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence against Women” conducted by the World Health Organization.
Appendix 1 – Consent form

Hello!

Thank you for accepting this invitation to participate in my study!

Below this text follows some information that would be good if you took part of:

Who am I?
My name is Shahab Mirbabaei. I am a 22-year-old sociology student from the Linnaeus university in southern Sweden. This study is my last assignment is my bachelor thesis, I need to complete this before I graduate and receive a degree in Sociology.

What kind of study is this?
I was granted a scholarship that allows me to conduct a study in any country of my choice. I choose Samoa since I, for a long time, have been interested in Polynesian culture. Samoa seemed to be rich with history and beautiful culture, so I chose Samoa.

What’s it about?
Every country has its issues. In Samoa I found that many Samoans are unhappy with how some people treat the women. I then found that violence towards women seemed to be an increasing problem according to a study released by the Ombudsman in Samoa.

This study wants to find explanation to why the reports on men’s violence towards women is increasing. This will be done by asking for general views on certain cultural aspects, and not ask for personal experience with violence.

What’s the aim?
My hope is that the information I gather will help me and others to understand what is increasing the reports on men’s violence toward women. Hopefully, the information will contribute with insight in the work against violence towards women.

…and the interview?
The interview will at least take 45 min, and at most take 1,5 h. (depending on answers given and discussions). My recommendation is that you make yourself available for 2 hours, so we won’t have to stress with anything. Your identity will not be revealed before, during, or after the interview to anyone. Participation is not mandatory, and you need only answer the questions that you feel comfortable with. The information that you share will primarily be used for this study. Anything you say can be removed from my records, if you so wish. I plan to record the interviews with my mobile phone and keep notes on things of interest. I am highly interested in anything you can tell me of value for my study or my stay in Samoa!

If you are okay with the information described above, then please fill your part below. This paper will then be treated as a consent form for the participation.

Interviewee (you):
Name__________________________________Name______________________________
Signature_______________________________Signature_____________________________
Date___________________________________Date_________________________________
Appendix 2 - Questionnaire for help-organizations and the Ministries

A semi-structured interview

Beginning:

1. Where are you from? Born and grown.
2. Where do live? (How long)
3. What do you work with? What is the primary goal you your role? How come you work as this? Have you always worked as this?

Main questions:

- What is the primary goal of your organization? Do you think that your organization succeeds in that goal? Last ten years?
- How do Samoans in general view your organization? Last ten years?
- Do Samoans trust what your organization does? Motivations? Last ten years?
- Do your organization ever work with questions regarding violence towards women? Last ten years?
- Do your organization ever receive reports/cases of violence towards women? If no, why not? If yes, how many times a week/month? What kind of cases is it normally? What isn’t quite as normal, but occurs? Last ten years?

Samoan culture:

- Do you perceive that the position of women in Samoa in Samoa has changed these last ten years?
- Do you perceive that violent occurrences have changed in any way these last ten years?
- Do you think that the trust that Samoan have to organizations and authorities has in any way changed these last ten years?

Straight to the point:

- Have you heard/read that there has been an increase in reported cases of violence towards women in Samoa? Whether no or yes, what is your thoughts on this? If yes, how did you find out? Does your organization have any views on this?
- What do you think the reason/reasons for this increase is?
- Do you think that the increase has anything to do with how your organization works in the public?

Thank you for participating!
Appendix 3 - Questionnaire for women

A semi-structured interview

Beginning:

4. Where are you from? Born and grown.
5. Where do live? (How long)
6. Do you work?
   - If yes: What do you work with?
   - If not working: How do you usually spend you days)
7. What kind of education have you received?

Main questions. Questions about views on current situation in Samoa and personal/general views. Questions about views the last ten years ago. What changed? Perceptions on why it changed or hasn’t changed?

Gender:

1. Is it more normal that women in Samoa work, or not?
2. What do you perceive that women normally work as? How come it looks like this?
   Last ten years?
3. Do women and men receive equal pay for their work? Last ten years?
4. When not working, what is the most normal occupation for women? How come it looks like this? Last ten years?
5. What group (men or women) are mostly active in politics? How come it looks like this? Last ten years?

Violence:

1. Do you think that Samoan people are generally violent? Why/Why not? Last ten years?
2. Do Samoans in general believe that there are moments where it’s is okay to be violent? Last ten years?
3. Does Violence occur in Samoa? Last ten years?
   - If yes: In what cases? Where in Samoa? Which groups is it mostly the perpetrators?
     Which are normally the victims Why these? Last ten years?
4. Does violence occur in the homes of Samoans?
   - If no, how come?
   - If yes, who is usually the perpetrator? Who is usually the victim? Why does it occur?
     Why these groups? Last ten years?

Trust:

1. What is your thoughts about the police in Samoa? Are they important? How do Samoans in general view the police? Last ten years?
2. What is your thought about the help-organizations (NGO’s) in Samoa for women? Are they important? How do Samoans in general view the help-organizations? Last ten years?
3. If you had an issue, with an abusive partner, would you contact reach for help?
   - If no, why not?
- If yes, who? And why this?
- Would you ever contact the police? If no, why not? If yes?
- Would you ever contact the help-organizations? If no, why not? If yes, why?
- How would other Samoan women act when encountering an abusive partner? Last ten years?
4. Would you ever contact someone if you know that another woman was in an abusive relationship? How would other Samoans react? Last ten years?

End questions:
- Have you ever heard/read that there has been an increase in reported violence towards women in Samoa? If yes, how did you find out?
- Why do you think that this increase in reports have occurred?

Thank you for participating!