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**Fa'a-Samoa: Continuities and Change.
A Study of Samoan Migrants in Australia.**

By

Leulu Felise Va'a

**A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the Australian National University**

August 1995

DECLARATION

**Except where indicated otherwise this thesis
is my own work.**

**Leulu Felise Va'a
August 1995**

Foreword and Acknowledgments

An invitation from the Pacific Studies Centre, University of New South Wales, for papers to be presented at the Pacific Islander Migration Conference in Sydney, 1990, led to my current interest in islander migration. Up to that time, I had known very little about the extent of the work done on islander migration by a host of international scholars, particularly those from United States, Australia and New Zealand. At the conference, I was impressed with both the quantity and quality of research on islander migration and from then on immersed myself in such studies. A further paper followed in 1991 at the Pacific Science Congress in Hawaii and when I applied for and obtained a Commonwealth scholarship in 1991 it seemed natural to me to do research on Samoan migration, especially as I had come to realise the significance of migration for our small island state.

The choice of topic also arose out of the ongoing debate on Samoan migration. A number of scholars, for instance, had argued that one of the results of overseas migration, for Western Samoa, was the loss of its culture or **fa'a-Samoa**. I objected to this view in the paper I presented at the Pacific Science Congress arguing that in actual fact the practice of **fa'a-Samoa** is strong among migrant communities. Of course it was a generalisation that had to be demonstrated. In undertaking this Ph.D research in Australia, therefore, I wanted to discover if, in fact, the **fa'a-Samoa** is strong in Australia or not. This thesis is the outcome of that particular social interest. My personal feeling now is that the issue of who is right or wrong in this debate no longer matters and this because of the complexity of the nature of the problem. The **fa'a-Samoa**, for instance, is not just a system of beliefs, ideas, values and practices: it is also a process. It is not situated in one place but in many different places simultaneously especially among migrant communities. It is not immutable, for it is ever subject to change both in the home and receiving countries.

Those who have helped and encouraged me along the way are too numerous to mention by name. If I have omitted any name from my list please forgive me because, as the Samoans say, "**e poto le tautai ae se le atu i ama**", meaning, even the most expert fisherman makes a mistake. To begin from the beginning, let me thank the Government of Western Samoa for

awarding me a four-year Commonwealth scholarship to do a Ph.D research programme at the Australian National University, and the National University of Samoa for allowing me leave to do the same. In Australia, thanks to Emeritus Professor Derek Freeman for valuable suggestions on improving the draft at the early stages, to Professor James Fox of the Research School of Pacific Studies for the postgraduate tutorials from which I learned ever so much about anthropology and anthropologists but especially for his intellectual and personal "comradeship", Dr James Jupp of the Ethnic and Multicultural Centre and Dr Ian Keen of the Anthropology Department for acting as my advisers, and above all to my supervisor, Dr. Nicolas Peterson. "Nic", as we postgraduate students call him, has been a tower of strength for me, not only as intellectual guide but also as a personal friend at all times. No words can adequately describe my gratitude to him for the hours of patient work he has put into the checking of so many drafts.

In Sydney, I wish to thank the Samoan Advisory Council for the support they gave for my research. In particular, my thanks to Tofa Sei Ano, for introducing me to the Samoan public over the radio programme and for ever being so patient whenever I called at his office at the Migrant Resource Centre, Campsie, to ask a few questions. Thanks to High Chief Vui Masinamua for helping me to understand the nature of the politics of tradition within the community and to scores of other Samoans who gave so freely of their time and information. Thanks to all the pastors of the various congregations with whom I worked so closely, particularly Rev Toese Peleti, Rev Fosi Palaamo and Rev Litala Tuimaua of the **Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa**, Rev Sione Eli of the **So'ofa'atasi**, Rev Mautofu Fuimaono of the Samoan Uniting Church, Ashbury, Pastor Lio Paulo and Pastor Lotovale of **Fa'apotopotoga** and Rev Kalamelu Faavae of **Perepereane**. The assistance by the ministers facilitated my work considerably. Thanks to all the 137 households who took part in the survey for without their cooperation no data would have been possible. Above all, thanks to my wife Makerita and children for putting up with my prolonged absences while on my fieldtrips and for their valuable support during good and bad times. To all of these people, and others not mentioned but who have helped me one way or another, "**fa'amalo lava, fa'afetai**". Thank you.

ABSTRACT

The primary aim of this thesis is the study of the lifestyles of the Samoan migrant community in the two Sydney municipalities of Canterbury and Bankstown, with special emphasis on the nature of the continuities and social changes affecting the community, particularly those relating to the key social practices of **fa'a-Samoa**. These practices relate to various aspects of religious organisation, for example, the **feagalga** relationship between the pastors and their congregations; social exchange ceremonies which strengthen kinship affiliation; family practices particularly moral and economic support for relatives in the form of remittances and **fa'alavelave** contributions; and attempts at forming a distinctive Samoan ethnic community under the aegis of the Samoan Advisory Council. The data for this research were obtained through a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. I spent nine months in Sydney as a participant observer, living with Samoans and attending their redistributive feasts and ceremonies. During that time, I also conducted a household survey involving 137 households representing a wide range of Samoan churches and congregations. I focus attention on the nature of the relationships between pastors and their congregations, chiefs and commoners, parents and children and the Samoan Advisory Council and community in examining the continuities and social changes within the Samoan migrant community in Canterbury-Bankstown, and emphasise the importance of contextualising such a local study in a wider political-economic context.

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Samoaan Vocabulary

A

afakasi	half-caste
aga	natural behaviour
aganu'u	culture, customs and traditions
aiga	family, lineage, feast
aigalua (aiganalua)	two families
aitu	spirit, god, ghost
ala	way
'alia	double-decked sailing canoe
ali'i	(non talking) chief
ali'i sili	highest chief
alofa	love, charity, donation
amio	learned behaviour
ao	head, crown, district title
ao faalupega	highest honorific title
aoa'i	education, discipline, correction
apa masi	tin of biscuits
Aso Fitu	Seventh Day Adventists
aso noa	ordinary day, event
ata	form, shadow, picture
atunu'u	country, nation
auaiga	group of closely related families living on same area of land
aualuma	young women's village organisation
aufaigaluega	church workers, i.e. the pastors
au lotu	church congregation
aumaga	young men's village organisation
E	
ekalesia	church at village level
Ekalesia Faapotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa (EFKS)	Congregational Christian Church in Samoa
F	
fa'aaloalo	respect (behaviour)

fa'aaloaloga	reciprocal gifts
fa'afailelegatama	ceremony to formally acknowledge heirs
fa'afeagai	helpers
fa'afeagaiga	pastor, priest, minister, catechist
fa'aifo	to lower, cease, stop
fa'aipoipoga	wedding
fa'alavelave	urgent problem which needs attention
faalekuata	Methodist organisation at sub-district level
fa'aletonu	not right, inappropriate
fa'alifu fa'i ma lalo	boiled bananas and taro in coconut cream
fa'alogogata	disobedient, not paying attention, stubborn
fa'alupega	set of honorific titles of ranking chiefs in a village
fa'amanatuga	communion service
fa'a-matai	the way of the chiefs
fa'aoso	take-home gifts, usually food
fa'a-palagi	European way
Fa'apotopotoga a le Atua	Assembly of God
fa'a-Samoa	Samoan way of life, customs and traditions
fa'ata'ita'i	gift of basket of food
fa'a-tamali'i	like a noble
fa'atasi	together
fa'atau	debate to determine an orator
fa'a-tumua	for visitors
fa'a-tupu	for kings
fa'aulufalega	church dedication
fagu u'u	bottle of scented coconut oil
faia	social or kinship connection
fai ava	man who lives with wife's relatives
fai'ai fe'e	octopus in coconut cream

faife'au	pastor, minister, priest, servant
faife'au toea'ina	elder minister
failauga	orator
failautusi	secretary
faipule	orator, lawmaker
fala lili'i	sleeping mat
fale o tamaiti	subsidised housing
fale tama	descent group, lineage
Falealupo	westernmost village of Samoan group
faleupolu	orator
feagaiga	sister and her descendants, congregation's pastor, covenant meeting
feiloaiga	meeting
feoloolo	moderate, middle-ground
fetufaa'i	sharing, giving to one another
Fitafita	member of naval guard, Pago Pago
folafola	announce
fono	village council, a meeting, conference
fono au toea'ina	committee of elders
Fono Faufaatua	Samoan Advisory Council
Fono Tele	annual conference of EFKS
fusu	fighting
G	
Gato'aitele	papa title of northern Upolu
gau	edible molluscs
I	
ie avaga	fine mat on becoming a wife
ie fa'atupu	royal fine mat
ie faitaga	men's formal wear
ie o le sua	fine mat for gift
ie o le tofa	large ceremonial fine mat
ie se'e	fine mat to sit on
ie ta'ele	fine mat to bathe in
ie ta'i ai le sua	fine mat which accompanies food gifts
ie tetele	large fine mats

ie tu	fine mat to stand on
ili	fan
inati	share of first fruits, fine mat or food
ipu	cash contributions
itumalo	district
K	
Katoliko	Catholic
komiti fa'atonu	executive committee
Koniferenise	annual conference of Methodist church
L	
lafo	gift, usually fine mat
lafo tanoa	gift for young men preparing the kava
laga fa'atau	first orator to start a ceremonial debate
lagi	public presentation of toga at a funeral
lalaga	ordinary fine mat
lauava	funeral feast
lavalava	a wraparound
le fa'aaloalo	disrespect
le usita'i	disobedience
leo	wake at a funeral, choirs keeping watch
Leo'o	founding ancestor
loli	sea cucumber
lotu	church, religion, religious service
lupe	pigeon
M	
malaga	travel group
maliu	death, bereavement, funeral
malo	government, guests, fine mats
malologa	rest
Mamona	Latter Day Saints, Mormons
mana	power, efficacy
manu	success, prosperity
Manu Samoa	Western Samoan national rugby team

matafale	church membership unit, usually a family
matagaluega	EFKS organisation at district level
matagaluega	Methodist organisation at local level
matai	chief, both <i>ali'i</i> and <i>tulafale</i>
mea sina	treasured possession, such as fine mat, rights and privileges
Metotisi	Methodist
N	
Nasareta	Nazarene church
nofo tane	woman who lives with husband's relatives
nu'u	village
O	
oka	raw fish
oloa	wealth, money, manufactured goods
osi	to care for, to contract
osi aiga	giving regular support for extended family
osi nu'u	giving regular support for village affairs
osiga feagaiga	formal implementation of the covenant between pastor and congregation
P	
pa'a	crab
paelo	keg
palagi (papalagi, pl.)	white European or American
palusami	taro leaves in coconut cream
paolo	affines
papa	national title
pasese	taxi, bus, plane or boat fare
pepelo	lying
Perepereane	Presbyterian Church
pui'aiga	group of closely related families living on same area of land

pule	authority, power, right
pulega	EFKS organisation at subdistrict level
puletasi	special women's wear consisting of matching top and lavalava
S	
sa	prohibited, extended family group, clan
sa'asa'a	dance
saili matagi	looking for good fortune
sama	turmeric powder
saofa'i	ceremony for bestowal of chiefly title
sasa	to beat, punish
Saua	easternmost part of Samoan group
sea	raw entrails of yellow sea cucumber
sefulua'i	tithe
se'i toeitiiti	wait awhile
si'i	a prestation of fine mats, food and cash
si'i alofa	gifts given out of love or desire to help
sinoti	Methodist organisation at district level
Si'ulepa	traditional meeting place
siva	Samoan traditional dance
So'ofa'atasi	Uniting Church
sua	a gift (usually of food), water
sua-aso-noa	ordinary sua
sua fa'atamali'i	sua for chiefs
sua faatumua	sua for important visitors
sua fa'atupu	sua for kings
sua tupe	cash gift as substitute for food
suafa fa'avae	original title
T	
tafao	stroll about, to sightsee, to picnic
tafaoga	picnic, holiday
tagata nu'u	common people
talanoaga	discussion

tama fa'aipoipo	bridegroom
tama fafine	sister and her cognatic descendants
tama tane	brother and his cognatic descendants
Tamasoaali'i	national title of southern Upolu
tapu	prohibition, forbidden
tapua'iga	religion
tatalaga	opening (eg release from a contract).
taulaitu	anchor of the god, shaman, magician
taule'ale'a	untitled male
taupou	ceremonial virgin
tautala	speak
tautua	service
teine fa'aipoipo	bride
tofa	large ceremonial fine mat serving as an emblem, flag or ensign of a chief
tofa a le aiga	special fine mat for a family, gift of honour
toga	fine mat, female goods
Togamau	traditional meeting place
to'ona'i	Sunday feast
tovine	vine grower
tu	customs, ways of doing things
tualafo	addition to a gift already made
Tui A'ana	king of A'ana
Tui Atua	king of Atua
tuitui	edible sea urchin
tulafale	talking chief, orator
tusiga igoa	fund raising
tuto'atasi	independent
U	
ufi laulau	covering mat, cloth
ula	lobster, joke
ulavale	naughty, misbehaving
ulumoega	dowry
umusaga	house dedication

uo sili

best man or maid of honour

uo mamae

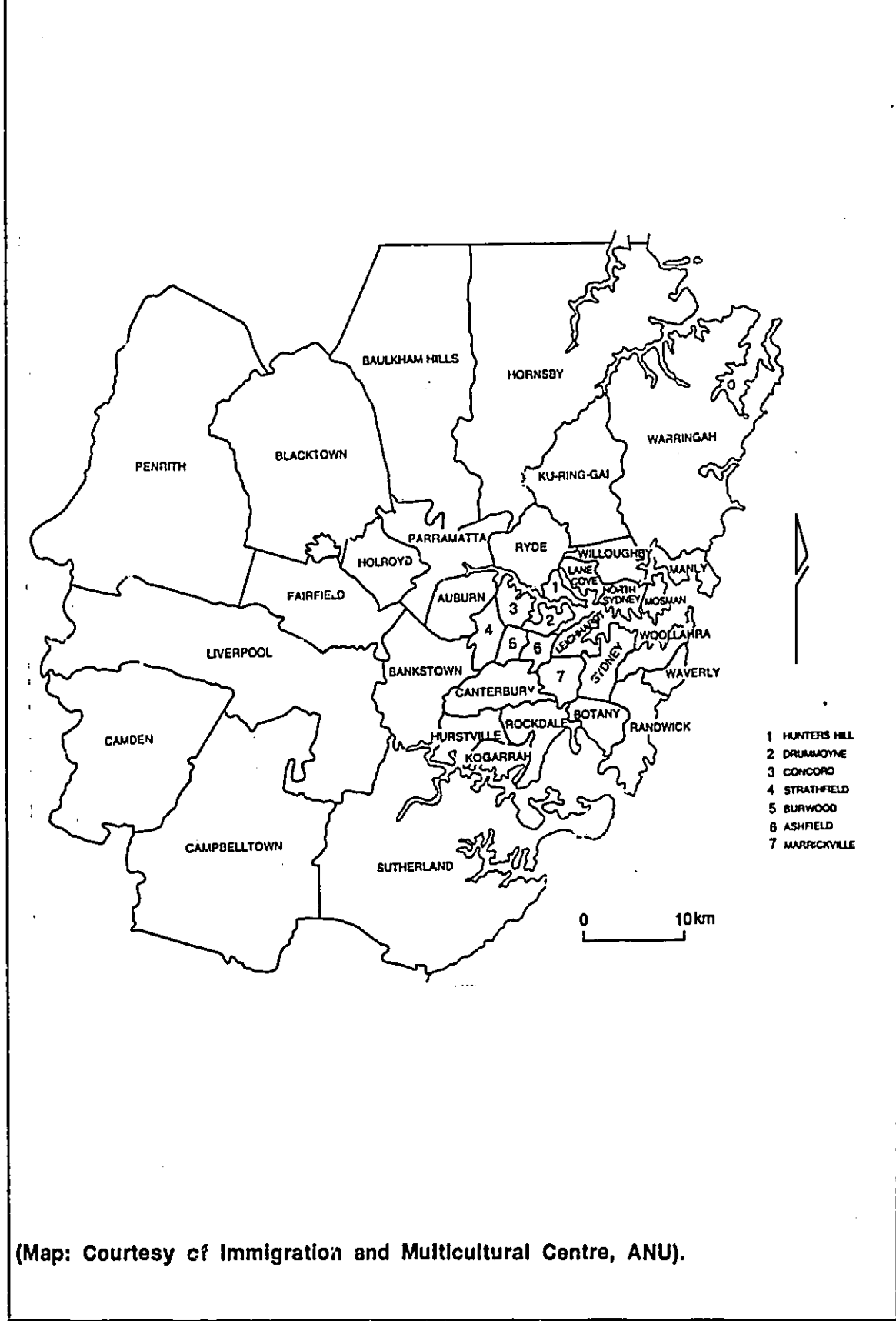
bridesmaid

V

vala

tapa cloth

Map of Local Government Areas, Sydney



(Map: Courtesy of Immigration and Multicultural Centre, ANU).

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is based on research among Samoan migrants living in the two adjoining suburbs of Canterbury-Bankstown in southwest Sydney, Australia. Through the use of an in-depth survey of 137 households and extended residence in the area the thesis documents central features of Samoan practices, beliefs and social organisation as they were in the fieldwork period from June, 1992, to April, 1993, and explores the question of cultural maintenance.

Samoan migration to Australia generally and the Canterbury-Bankstown area in particular began in a substantial way only within the last fifteen years. The majority of the migrants came not directly from Samoa itself but via New Zealand after an extended period of residence there. Almost uniformly the migrants place great emphasis on maintaining their Samoan way of life (*fa'a-Samoa*) and assert that Samoan culture is being faithfully maintained in Australia. Yet, of course, there are many striking differences between the way of life of Samoans in Canterbury-Bankstown and Samoa itself. Most obviously life is not based on the existence of villages ruled over by a hierarchy of chiefs, in which horticultural production and fishing have been the distinguishing features of the kinship-based, subsistence economy and where practically 100 percent of the population are Samoans interacting with each other, in familiar settings, in the Samoan language. Rather, the migrants are widely scattered across the city of Sydney and, indeed, the nation although they tend to cluster in particular areas such as Canterbury-Bankstown, Campbelltown and Blacktown. Many are unemployed and dependent on government social welfare payments and almost all live in rented accommodation. The patterns of co-residence, of land ownership and of economic controls that help underwrite the ranking system in Samoa do not exist in Sydney. The consequences are the undermining of chiefly authority giving, as will be shown, a new significance to the role of the Samoan Christian church and pastor. Nevertheless, despite these changes Samoans not only assert that they are maintaining their culture but do, in fact, form a tight-knit group in which membership ties, extensive gift-giving in the form of remittances to dependents in Samoa and extensive participation in social networks for the ritual observance of

life cycle events (*fa'alavelave*) are central.

In this thesis I examine contemporary Samoan life in the Canterbury-Bankstown area looking at the continuities and changes between life in Samoa and in Sydney to show the ways in which social arrangements, practices and lifestyles represented by the migrants as unchanging are, in fact, undergoing change in Australia. I do this by selecting some of the key social practices of the migrants, such as religious and social exchange practices, as a window (cf. Ohriuki-Tierney, 1990:8f) through which to observe and analyse the processes of social change. American scholars, such as Forster (1954), Kotchek (1975) and Rolff (1978), working with Samoan migrants in the United States, have addressed some of the issues involved in these processes but no such investigation has been made in connection with Samoan migrants in Australia. Forster (1954), for instance, sees social change as induced by social pressures from the dominant group on minorities such as the Samoans to conform. For Rolff (1978), change is the result of the processes of "consolidation" and "individuation" as migrants react differentially to the realities of life within the host society, whilst for Kotchek (1975) it is to be explained in terms of the freedom migrants enjoy as a result of their "invisibility", concepts which I discuss more fully later.

My thesis is that the causes of social change among Samoan migrants in Sydney are more complex than they appear to be and that a causal theory which is dependent on a single perspective cannot adequately account for the various migrant experiences. I try to show how the very act of migration, push factors in the home country and pull factors in the receiving country, as well as economic considerations, play significant roles in the radical transformation of migrant social organisation. The pressures placed on organisational structures, particularly social structure, result in the tensions and conflicts of social life and as migrants attempt to resolve them they formulate a variety of adaptive strategies (cf. Graves and Graves, 1974) which would enable them to survive in their new environment but also to maximise any opportunities they might have. Some of these tensions result from, in the area of culture, the conflicts between elements of Samoan culture (*fa'a-Samoa*) and European culture (*fa'a-palagi*)

and the conflicts between the chiefs (*matai*) and untitled young men (*taulele'a*)¹ over the questions of status and power within the Samoan communities; in the area of religion, the conflicts between the pastors (*falfeau*) and the congregations (*au lotu*) and between members of the congregations, especially between factions and between *matai* and *taulele'a*; in the area of the family, the conflicts between parents and children over questions of discipline and the degree of control parents have over their children's lives.

The attempt at resolving the tensions involved in these conflicts inevitably leads to gradual transformations in practices and action of which the people are not always aware or which they misrecognise. The *fa'a-Samoa*, represented as authentic and unchanging, is thereby altered with consequential results. Hierarchical relationships between chiefs and untitled persons break down, pastor and congregations assume the powers formerly exercised by villages and parents fear the loss of control over their children. It is as if for many first generation migrants, some values and relationships have been turned upside down. That certain aspects of Samoan culture will undergo change or be lost in the host society is inevitable. But new structures, new motivations, new dispositions and new ideologies take their place as migrants construct their new communities. In the process, new identities are forged as migrants do their utmost to both survive and maximise their social and economic capital.

In the rest of this Chapter 1, I provide a brief history of some of the main researches on Samoan migrants in the U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia. Chapter 2 provides a general background to Samoan history, culture and international migration including more recent mass migration to Australia from New Zealand in the 1980s. The turning point in this history, it will be argued, is the Second World War which brought an influx of thousands of United States marines to the Samoan islands for training and defence purposes. Their presence generated an intensive development of the cash economy, a process which has continued unabated and spurred, since the 1950s, the international movements of Samoan migrants to the United States, New Zealand and more recently Australia. Chapter 3 discusses the demographic dimensions including age and gender of Samoan migrants in Canterbury-Bankstown; history of individual or family

¹ The singular is *taule'ale'a*.

migration and residential movements; accommodation and rent; educational characteristics; household income and employment. This provides the context for the analysis of the social life of the Canterbury-Bankstown Samoan community. Thus Chapter 4 examines the histories of the establishment of the various Samoan churches in Sydney, administrative organisation and social role of the church in the lives of the migrants, and the patterning of church relationships on cultural models such as ascription of *nu'u* (village) status to the church and the treatment of the pastor as the *fa'afeagaiga* (sister's child). This theme is continued in Chapter 5 which evaluates the importance of *fa'alavelave* or life cycle events in promoting the social solidarity of the extended kin groups, support networks of the *alga* (relatives) and remittances. These two key chapters show that religious and social exchange practices strengthen the institutions such as the church and promote solidary ties between relatives and kinship groups. But they also provide the context for disagreement and conflict, in large measure, due to the different interpretations of rules, rights and obligations concerning the interpretation of custom and tradition. That is, social events are often the focus of contestations of meaning, in part motivated by the migrants' need to improvise rules and norms in keeping with their new social and physical circumstances. Chapter 6 provides an insight into some of the major social characteristics of the Samoan family; the wider ethnic Samoan migrant community; and the question of ethnic identity. Discussion focuses on lifestyle, languages spoken, types of clothing worn and food eaten at home, methods of child discipline, relations with friends and neighbours; attitudes towards the significance of the *fa'a-Samoa* especially whether it should be maintained in Australia, whether it should be taught to children, whether there are any positive or negative aspects; and the work of the Samoan Advisory Council in its dealings with both the wider Samoan community and local, state and federal government agencies. Chapter 7 draws out the insights obtained from the research focussing on the process of social change. The theoretical perspectives of the American scholars Forster, Kotchek and Rolff are discussed in relation to the Samoan migrants' experiences in Sydney and this is followed by further discussion of alternative ways of viewing social change particularly the forces which lead to social transformations.

Studies on Samoan Migration: Assimilation

To date, most of the studies on Samoan migrants have been done by

American academics. This is due largely to the fact that a part of the Samoan group of islands, American Samoa, is a United States territory and there have been mass movements of American Samoan nationals to the United States from the 1950s. Thus some two years after the first Samoan mass migration of July, 1952, when the U.S.S. President Jackson arrived in Hawaii with 958 Samoans, D.B. Eyde (1954) and J. Forster (1954) had completed what proved to be the first major studies of Samoan migrants in the United States.

Eyde's study was "to obtain information about [the Samoan migrants'] present standard of living, degree of acculturation, and other factors relevant to an analysis of the group's adjustment to the new environment" (Eyde, 1954:1). Forster's study concerned the question of assimilation or complete absorption of Samoan migrants into the wider American culture. B.F. Pierce's study of Samoan migrants in the Mormon village of Laie (1956), like Eyde's, also dealt with acculturation which, as used in the 1950s, was a euphemism for assimilation defined as "[o]ne of the outcomes of the ACCULTURATION process, in which the subordinate or smaller group is absorbed into the larger or dominant one and becomes indistinguishable from it in cultural terms" (Seymour-Smith, 1986:18).

Assimilation, R. E. Park (1950) said, is a product of relations between a cultural or racial minority and a dominant group. These relations go through a cycle of four processes: competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. The processes themselves occur on four independent levels: ecological, economic, political, and personal and cultural (in Yost, 1965: 1-2). According to M. M. Gordon (1961:279) assimilation refers to many subprocesses but two distinctions stand out, namely, behavioural assimilation of some of the cultural patterns of the host country and structural assimilation or involvement in social cliques, organisations, institutional activities and civic life of the host country (in Yost, 1965:2). These definitions both perceive assimilation as an all-inclusive dynamic process which absorbs the migrants, both individually and collectively into a postulated mainstream dominant cultural group sooner or later.

The notion of assimilation describes well not only the mainstream, American, academic perspectives of migrant studies at the time but also the American nationalistic ideology in general. Thus referring to the period before the

racial upheavals of the late sixties, Schermerhorn said,

"the dominant ideology was assimilationism. Popular opinion showed tolerance for European migrants only when they were willing to give up their language and foreign customs; self-effacement was the price of acceptance" (1976:8).

In Schermerhorn's view "the dominant ideology of Americanization regarded the process of change among minority groups as a simple, one-way movement toward a homogeneous set of beings called Americans. Anything short of that uniform goal would obviously be deficient, unfinished and incomplete" and migrants who failed to conform risked being labelled "un-American" (Ibid, p. 8-9).

Eyde set out to study the 958 migrants, mostly the dependents of Samoan paramilitary personnel (The *Fitafita* Guard) formerly employed by the United States Navy at its naval station at Pago Pago. Of this total, 30 later returned to American Samoa, 286 "joined some branch of the armed services" (Eyde, 1954:4), 119 went to the Mainland and 12 settled in the outer islands of the Hawaiian chain. These individuals totalled 447 and were not included in the study which focussed on the remaining 511 of whom 47 later either refused to be interviewed or could not be located (Ibid, p. 4). The emphasis in Eyde's study was the extent of social change (i.e. adaptation to American norms, values and behaviour) among the new Samoan migrants. For this, he sought data on (1) residence, occupation, age, sex, family status, income and standard of living, (2) changes in social-cultural behaviour patterns since the group's arrival and (3) interaction with other ethnic and social groups and degree of satisfaction in settling in Hawaii (Ibid, p. 26).

The main problem in his study, Eyde said, was the lack of data to form a comparison in the migrants' behaviour for the periods before and after migration. What was needed was a baseline which could be used to compare subsequent behaviour and this baseline "was preferably the period immediately preceding the emigration from Samoa" (Ibid, p. 26). Eyde, in the absence of appropriate life histories of the migrants and the communities from which they came, obtained his needed information by interviewing "informed persons in Hawaii" (Ibid, p. 27). He concluded that the adaptive process varied among the Samoan groups studied.

Thus the more conservative elements, represented by the *matal* (chiefs), steadfastly continued to promote the *fa'a-Samoa* (Samoa way) whilst the younger men "seem less interested and are inclined to ignore the *matal* system" (Ibid, p. 22-3). In between these two extreme groups were the Samoan inhabitants of the Mormon mission centre at Laie who were "the most content of all the migrants since it has been possible for them to maintain much of Samoan culture in their present environment" (Ibid, p. 22-3). While attitudes towards the *fa'a-Samoa* varied thus, socially the Samoan migrants had not integrated with the larger community nor adapted successfully in the economic sphere (with a few exceptions), Eyde concluded.

The study population of Forster's research was the same group of migrants as in Eyde's study but more specifically, those who settled in the Naval Housing Area, Pearl Harbour. Forster interviewed 30 of the 50 families in the area to determine their degree of adjustment to the wider American culture. This adjustment, Forster says tentatively, "might usefully be conceived as moving along a continuum from complete cultural differentiation at one extreme to complete assimilation at the other" (1954:2-5). He distinguishes between two levels of adjustment: the overt and the covert. The former applies "to those aspects of behavior which are readily observable, e.g., speech, dress, diet, housing, clothing, and so on" whilst the latter refers to "those aspects of behavior which are commonly referred to as values, beliefs, ideals, and the like, which are not susceptible of direct observation, but must be deduced from verbal behavior and verified by observation of the actual behavior of the individuals involved in the situation" (Ibid, p. 2-5).

In Forster's view, "those aspects of behavior which are most readily observed by members of the larger community" are the first to be changed and that once the migrants had "adopted the outward behavioral manifestations of the dominant group" they may be said to have "acculturated", at least publicly (Ibid, p. 5-6). From his fieldwork observations, Forster was able to conclude that overtly the Samoans had conformed to a large extent to American norms, as in language, diet and dress but covertly Samoans continued to behave as they had done in their original homeland.

This conclusion appears paradoxical and warrants explanation. Forster suggests that "in general, overt change will precede and induce change on the covert level." The reverse is also possible, namely, that "influences in the new environment may bring the migrants intellectually to consider changes in their behavior, and perhaps only later to alter overt behavior to conform with covert decision." The end result, as Forster sees it, is continuing tension imposed by the requirement to conform or resistance to it. Migrants, he suggested, will have to resolve these conflicts either by returning to Samoa, if they resist assimilation, or "by making more complete overt and covert adjustive responses to the new situation" (ibid, p. 80).

The social pressures towards conformity and, therefore, assimilation into the dominant culture and society emanate from the very nature of the social relationships in the new migrant environment, Foster argues. He postulates that in situations of culture contact, "adjustive responses will be demanded of participating individuals" from cultural groups represented and that where a group "is numerically much smaller, and both politically and economically weaker" social pressures will be exerted on that group to conform to the larger social and cultural configuration (Forster, 1954:2-5). However, he adds that the speed with which acculturation is effected is also dependent on the "relative strength of the in-group bonds and the size of the group..." (ibid, p. 6).

Academic researches into Samoan migration in the 1960s generally persisted along the lines established by the seminal works of both Eyde and Forster, that is to say, such studies were perceived as merely attempts to establish the degree of assimilation. There were clear indications that such a process was regarded as naturalistic and needed no explanation. Thus any inclination to analyse the premise or premises which justified such a doxa was practically non-existent. M. L. Yost's project is perhaps representative of this decade. Yost set out to (1) establish the number of Samoan migrants in the Nanakuli-Makaha area of Oahu, Hawaii, (2) acquire basic information on them, (3) analyse the group from a pre-industrial society in terms of the race relations cycle, (4) study the group in terms of the theoretical framework used by Forster in his Pearl Harbour study² (Yost, 1965:7-8).

² The so-called 'differentiation-assimilation continuum'.

Yost surveyed 64 households representing 425 persons. The areas he investigated were extensive and included the demographic, social, educational, economic and religious aspects of the migrants' lives. The overall objective of the study, however, as in previous ones, was the determination of the extent of acculturation/assimilation. Yost found that the Nanakuli Samoans "were not at the point on the continuum labeled as 'acculturated' because they had not wholly adopted the outward, or readily observable, patterns of the host society. For example, they were frequently seen in their neighborhood and sometimes on the main streets wearing lavalavas[!]" However, Yost added, "the fact remains that the Nanakuli Samoans were adopting the culture of the larger community. As they were moving toward assimilation on the behavioral level, they were also moving toward assimilation on the structural level" as indicated by increasing outmarriage, i.e., marriage between Samoans and haoles³ (1965:126-7). Yost pointed to two factors which had impeded assimilation: residential concentration and the establishment of all-Samoan churches with official ties to the L.M.S. Church in Samoa (Ibid, p. 127). Dominant group attitudes towards minority groups also affected the rate of assimilation. Thus the more accepting the dominant group, the faster the rate of assimilation and the reverse (emphasis mine) was also true.

Pluralism and Multiculturalism

The 1970s saw a flood of research on Samoan migration in the United States. Works which appeared included those by: J. Ablon (1970, 1971a, 1971b, 1971c), M. Bloombaum (1973), R. Lewthwaite, C. Mainzer and P.J. Holland (1973), R.C. Schmitt (1973), A. Ho, G. Fong, P. Oshiro and G. Omori (1974), L.R.D. Kotchek (1975), S.S. Emery (1976), D.S. Enesa (1977), R. L. Shu and A.S. Satele (1977), K. Rolff (1978) and M. Hoskinson, E. Pasalo, F. Shon and I. Tervola (1978). The study by Shu and Satele (1977) provides an excellent example of a demographic study of Samoan migrants in Southern California but from an ethnographic point of view the studies by Ablon (early 1970s), Kotchek (1975) and Rolff (1978) may be regarded as the outstanding studies of Samoan migration in the United States in the 1970s, if not for the fact that they are probably the most often-quoted in the literature.

³ Europeans.

The migrant studies of this period were done in a social environment radically different from that of the 1960s in the United States. The movement for equal rights and 'liberation' by the Afro-Americans culminated in the race riots and social upheavals of the late 1960s with consequential results on social and political perceptions of race and migration. However, after the disruptions, the current ran in the opposite direction as cultural pluralism and separatism captured the imagination of countless persons to whom a merger with faceless masses looked increasingly unpromising. Minorities of every kind were now "resonating to the claims of the right to be different, authenticity, independence, autonomy, self-determination and self-sufficiency" (Schermerhorn, 1976:8). In the 1970s, therefore, the aspect of assimilation which was a *sine qua non* of migration studies in the 1950s and 1960s was subtly swept under the carpet. In its place were 'new' concepts of social change and adaptation. Change and adaptation were still taking place but it could have been asked, towards what?

Anthropologist J. Ablon's study focussed on the question of social adaptation by Native Americans and Samoans in a mythical place called Pacific City in California. Fifty families in each group were surveyed and a further 25 families each were surveyed for 'less detailed materials' (Ablon, 1971:386). The surveyed families resided in either San Diego or San Francisco (Emery, 1976:2-3). She painted a rosy picture of life among the Samoan migrants. Thus:

"Samoans generally relate well to non-Samoans, despite some language barriers. They are relaxed, outgoing, and jovial, and exhibit characteristics that are generally attractive to Americans. They work hard for honor and good wages for themselves and their families. Samoans lead full and active lives centered about their families, their churches, and their jobs. Apart from their work, many live in a virtually Samoan world..." (Ablon, 1971:388).

Ablon's study is anthropologically significant because of the rich ethnographic details provided concerning Samoan migrant life in California. Especially noteworthy are her analyses of Samoan social organisation (especially church organisation) and traditional rituals such as Samoan funerals. In her findings, Ablon says the cultural characteristics of the Samoans facilitated their adaptation to American society whilst those of the Native Americans hindered theirs.

The 'structural-functionalist' or 'consensual' model of a migrant society portrayed by Ablon has been criticised by another researcher, S.S. Emery, who studied Samoan migrants in Southern California. According to Emery,

"... Ablon describes a holistic culture where members essentially have no problems; youths do not revolt; matais relinquish their hold easily; and everyone is employed and happy. She does not address the problems of cultural change, nor the influence of the tug and pull of Samoa..." (1976:2-3).

That may be so but it could be argued that a researcher's findings are ultimately dependent on the focus of inquiry which, in Ablon's work, was social adaptation, social organisation and community rituals. Deviance and conflict are not unknown to Ablon who does, in fact, refer to these aspects of urban life (see Ablon, 1971b:76). For instance, the diversity of political, social or religious factions in the cities, she says, discourages the development of "a stable constituency for any kind of leadership or consensus for concerted action". In fact, organisation for hostile confrontations focussed on loaded issues among such groups "has proved to be more successful and realistic than organization based on existing traditional social or political bonds" (Ibid, p. 76). The Samoan community, however, does not fit the usual pattern. As she explains,

"The members of this population have retained a modified-traditional set of social and religious linkages, roles, and activities that makes possible the subordination of existing heterogeneity, personal disputes, and religious factions. The result is an incredibly active and viable community, readily identifiable, yet little known to the surrounding non-Samoan population of the area" (1971b:76).

Emery's point about Ablon's 'failure' to address the process of social change, nevertheless, is a useful one because the migrant society described by Ablon appears to be, for most intents and purposes, a static one: a traditional form of Samoan social organisation exists in Pacific City; it works; it persists in the midst of a wider American community. Certainly questions could be asked as to why it exists, and if it changes, in which directions, how and to what extent. Also, gone is the traditional declaration of assimilation as being the explicit goal of social adaptation, that is to say, social adaptation and assimilation are synonymous terms. Instead, the Samoan ethnic community just is, it both influences and is

influenced by the wider American society. This "wedding of the traditional and the new, the affective and the instrumental, has resulted in a successful mode of urban adaptation" said Ablon (1971b:78). This is reflected in her statement that,

"Samoans lead full and active lives centered about their families, their churches, and their jobs. Apart from their work, many live in a virtually Samoan world. They are surrounded by extended family members. They speak Samoan, wear brightly colored Samoan attire and eat traditional foods. Yet many of their operational values are middle class" (Ablon, 1971c:388).

A second landmark study of Samoan migrants in the 1970s was that by L. R. D. Kotchek⁴ on Samoan migrants in Seattle, Washington state. The four-year study involving 126 households with a total population of 624 focussed on the adaptive strategies of Samoan migrants in the city. It goes further than Ablon's study of social adaptation in the sense that while Ablon deals with adaptation as a collective phenomenon,⁵ Kotchek analyses the dynamic processes of social change especially at the intra-group level. Adaptation is not a mass phenomenon but occurs at differentiated levels. Thus Kotchek distinguishes three main types of adaptive strategies, namely, (1) *fa'a-Samoa*, where the behaviour conforms closely to Samoan custom and tradition, (2) individual isolation, where the behaviour does not conform to the *fa'a-Samoa* and individualism is the main characteristic, and (3) pan-Samoa strategy, where the behaviour emphasises Samoan-ness but in *palagi* or European terms of ethnicity (Kotchek, 1975:118). The Samoan migrants of Seattle fall into one of these three categories in terms of their adaptive strategies which Bennett defines as

"... the patterns formed by the many separate adjustments that people devise in order to obtain and use resources and to solve the immediate problems confronting them" (Bennett, 1969:14 in Kotchek, 1975: 41-2).

The data, however, does not operate in linear fashion, Kotchek warns, and the same individual might, at different times, "participate in *fa'a-Samoa* activities, remain isolated, or use *fa'apalagi* resources" (1975:41-2).

⁴ Her study was for a Ph.D. in anthropology.

⁵ Compare reference by Emery (1976:2-3) to Ablon's "holistic approach".

The key premise of Kotchek's dissertation was that "Samoans in Seattle are an invisible ethnic group, and this invisibility is more of a factor in their elaboration of adaptive strategies than is the fact of their visible minority status" (Kotchek, 1975:153). What Kotchek meant by this was that due to the relative newness of the community in the area, there was a general lack of awareness in the greater population of the existence of a Samoan community. This invisibility led to the three main types of adaptive strategies and to a certain extent conflict between them. For instance, Kotchek said, the goals of pan-Samoa "are primarily those of assimilation in the intergroup arena" and the funds it obtains from the state and federal governments are used towards this end "to assist Samoans with the requirements for citizenship, with job training, and with learning English" (1975:148-9). And since these funds do not pass through the traditional channels of redistribution, that is to say, the *matai*, who are in charge of the *fa'a-Samoa*, conflict necessarily ensues. The pan-Samoa strategy thus poses a challenge to the authority and prestige of the traditional chiefs and orators who represent the informal strategy of *fa'a-Samoa*. But the *fa'a-Samoa* strategy is also not without its shortcomings, Kotchek reminds us. Because the *fa'a-Samoa* tends "to unite along kin groups in opposition to other kin groups" (1975:148-9) the result is division and factionalism within the traditional community setting. This poses a threat to the goals of the pan-Samoa movement because the Samoan community, in its dealings with the aid bureaucracy, must at least speak with a single voice and thus be able to command respect and to claim authenticity and legitimacy. In between these two strategies is the individual isolation strategy described as follows:

"Relatively aloof from the Samoan community, they may activate a kin tie, if it exists, or they may not. Occasionally, they visit a church service, a dance; but they give the impression that they are on the periphery of Samoan-ness and wish to stay at a distance..." (Kotchek, 1975:141).

In other words, these individuals are generally transients such as "service men, Western Samoans, and recent college students" (ibid, p. 141) or their children.

A third landmark study of Samoan migration in the 1970s was Rolif's Ph.D. research on "processes and patterns of culture change in culture contact

situations, from diachronic and synchronic perspectives..." (Rolff, 1978:vi-vii). For this research, Rolff surveyed 52 households with a total population of 215 Samoans, 78 part-Samoans and 23 non-Samoans in 'Shoretown', a pseudonym for a Samoan community in California. In a basic sense, Rolff's study resembles that of Kotchek because like Kotchek, she is also concerned with the question of how a small ethnic community adapts to a larger and dominant socio-cultural group. But there are also some differences in emphases.

In Kotchek's study "adaptive strategy" is the key word whilst for Rolff it is "social change". Where Kotchek postulates invisibility as a catalyst for the formation of her three adaptive strategies, Rolff postulates a different set of catalysts which she calls consolidation and individuation. Instead of Kotchek's three adaptive strategies, Rolff establishes her own three categories of cultural adaptation, namely, (1) *malosi/mamafa fa'a-Samoa* (strong in Samoan culture), (2) *feoloolo* (moderate in Samoan culture), (3) *fa'a-palagi* (European in culture). The three Samoan terms, Rolff explains, "are multi-dimensional, referring sometimes to knowledge of traditional customs, sometimes to the ability to orate well, or to attitudes, particularly about matters of authority and wealth" (1978:126).

Rolff's three categories also correspond to group classifications which she labels A, B and C. Thus Group A people demonstrate a strong sense of solidarity with their family, kinship and church groups. They "spend much of their labor, money and other material goods in the context of *ʻaiga* and church". Group B people do not affiliate with a Samoan church and thus "their contacts with Samoan kin and acquaintances are less frequent". They do not contribute as much as those in Group A to the extended family *fa'alavelave* being more concerned with the economic advancement of their more immediate families. Group C people are even less disposed to contribute to the *fa'alavelave* of their wider kinship groups than Group B people. They do contribute to *fa'alavelave*, of course, but they are the most selective of all in their choices. Off the three, said Rolff, Group C "is least conducive to the maintenance of social isolation between the migrants and non-Samoans and most conducive to the maintenance or enhancement of household affluence" (1978:141-3).

Rolff's thesis is based on her idea that cultural differentiation among Samoans, at home and abroad, is the result of two major processes of change, **consolidation** and **individuation**. As she describes them,

"Consolidation consists of increasing involvement in Samoan mutual aid and prestige networks, while the redistributive feasts, which validate network membership, grow in size and elaboration. **Consolidation** maintains and intensifies fa'asamoa, the Samoan way. It also increases the socio-economic boundaries between islanders and Americans.

"The second process of change, **individuation**, results in decreased involvement in Samoan social networks and ceremonies and in the devaluation of authority and prestige within them. Simultaneously, access to the social and economic rewards of American society increase" (Rolff, 1978:vi-vii).

Consolidation and individuation are not processes which are peculiar to the life experience of Samoan migrants in Shoretown. Rolff argues these processes have operated throughout Samoan history as Samoans reacted to contact with foreign powers. During the colonial period (including the Tongan occupation of Samoa in the 13th century), whenever there was "poverty, institutional racism, and exploitation" Samoans tended to consolidate (Rolff, 1978:vii). As wealth increased Samoans were able to withdraw "from mutual aid and prestige networks without risk to their economic security" as they resorted to individuation (Ibid, p. vii). Thus it would seem that Rolff's thesis is that the "processes and patterns of culture change" (Ibid, p. vi) are in the final analysis dependent on economic variables. On the one hand, poverty encourages consolidation, which is synonymous with full participation in the activities of the fa'a-Samoa; on the other hand, wealth promotes individuation, which is synonymous with the fa'apalagi way of life.

Perhaps it is not coincidental that Rolff's thesis is entitled "**Fa'a-Samoa: Tradition in Transition**". The fa'a-Samoa is seen as undergoing change and the nature of this change is explicable in terms of consolidation and individuation. The movement is not always from consolidation to individuation. It can operate both ways. For instance, when the first Samoan migrants settled in the U.S. West Coast, they adopted American values associated with independence, hard work, et cetera. Jobs were plentiful and families tended to be self-sufficient. But with the rapid increase of migrants and therefore the number of dependents and a decline

in the job market. standards of living fell and the initial process of individuation gave way to that of consolidation (Rolff, 1978:69). Change, however, is not a simple either/or phenomenon, *fa'a-Samoa* (as in consolidation) or *fa'apalagi* (as in individuation). There is also a middle ground called *feoloolo*, a state where the individual incorporates, as if in relative balance, the cultural elements of both *fa'a-Samoa* and *fa'apalagi*.

The studies by Ablon, Kotchek and Rolff are generally considered as among the most important studies done on Samoan migration in the United States, certainly for the 1970s. Major theoretical strides⁶ were achieved especially in the transition from the assimilationist studies of Eyde, Forster and Pierce in the 1950s to their own studies of social adaptation and change in the 1970s. In part, the change in perspective was induced by the social and political changes in the late 1960s in the U.S. as referred to earlier. In the 1970s, the social attitude towards migrants characterised by intolerance of foreign cultures had mellowed considerably so that Kotchek was able to say,

"In the past few years claims for cultural pluralism, separatism, and the right to be different have been allowed and even - to a limited extent - encouraged. The federal government has created funds both to help with assimilation (by providing education for training and for English) and to maintain ethnic heritages" (Kotchek, 1975:145).

Thus in the 1970s social events led to more tolerance for migrants, for the right to be different, to retain and practise their ethnic cultures. In the United States the assimilationist ideology was being supplanted by multiculturalism, the universalism of Americanism was giving way to particular movements and ideologies represented most eminently by the gay, feminist and ethnic lobbyists. The studies by Ablon, Kotchek and Rolff accorded the Samoan migrants a certain amount of much-needed visibility and recognition as a separate and distinct minority group in the United States. Perhaps it is uncoincidental that since the 1980 census, Samoans have been treated as a distinct ethnic group by the United States Census Bureau.

⁶ Gender issues were practically untouched by these studies which were more concerned with questions of social and cultural organisation and adaptive strategies.

Migrant Studies of the 1980s and 1990s

Samoa migrant studies of the 1980s included those by U.E. Sala on religion and identity (1980), S.C. Antilla on the role of the church minister (1980), W.M. Saleebey on educational problems of Samoan migrants (1980) and C.R. Janes on the health of Samoan migrants (1984). The sample here given is symptomatic of the academic trends of the times. Instead of the wide-ranging cultural, organisational and structural studies characteristic of those by Kotchek and Rolff in the 1970s, for instance, the newer studies tended to focus on specific themes in the lives of the migrants.

Sala's study (1980), for instance, concerned the role of the Samoan Christian church in the lives of the Samoan migrants in the United States. Sala saw the attempt by the Samoan Christian church to perpetuate an outdated Samoan Christian theology, influenced by old Samoan pagan beliefs and practices, as detrimental to the welfare of Samoan migrants in America. He argued, for instance, that "the old heathen fear was never replaced by Christian love, but the people transferred their fear to a new object and began to fear God with a pagan fear" and that Samoan ministers "found it to their advantage to be feared by the people" (1980:27f). This kind of Christianity, based on fear, had to be "burned and destroyed" because it was out of touch with the "new and different experience of the Samoan immigrants" in America. (Ibid, p. 27f). It had to be replaced by a theology which demonstrated equal concern for the physical side of the migrants' lives (not just the spiritual); and the church needed to spend more time on "[c]ommunity outreach and social needs of the people" and "[h]uman concern and human rights must be re-discovered" (Sala, 1980:64). Sala's main concern was the pressing need of Samoan migrants to acquire a new identity and the responsibility of the church in helping them achieve this. While Sala's objective to reform the Samoan church's theology as it is applied in the migrant context is commendable, it is fraught with problems especially the difficulty in separating the influences of the *fa'a-Samoa* from religion, not only with respect to attitudes and practices but also to church organisation. Then there is the additional problem of migrants' predilection for *fa'a-Samoa* influences in the practice of their religion.

Antilla's research was a comparative study of the role of the church

minister in the Samoan community in Hawai'i and in a Samoan village. Antilla found that the Samoan church in Hawai'i was "changing to adapt to the needs of the people". Additionally, the minister's role was also changing to the extent that in Hawai'i, he was "becoming more of a working man than he would be in the village" (1980:15). For instance, he was likely to participate in "volunteer or paid services" such as "counseling in schools, interpreting in court, serving on a board of some organization, or working with immigration services" (1980:26f). In the village context, said Antilla, such work was more likely to be performed by the chiefs and others. He concluded that both the church and minister had become "important facilitators in the assimilation process of their people into the dominant culture" (ibid, p. 15).

Saleebey's study focussed on the educational problems of Samoan migrants in the United States. Saleebey found a high failure rate among Samoan students in American institutions of learning and the reasons for this, he concluded, were:

"lack of preparation for higher education before leaving Samoa, inadequate study skills, lack of proficiency in English, no counselling in the United States specifically for Samoans..., lack of realistic or concrete ideas by the students about the colleges to be attended" (1980:3).

These handicaps had to be surmounted before Samoan students could reasonably aspire to improve their performances at American academic institutions, Saleebey argued (1980).

Janes (1984) investigated the relationship between the pressures of urban life and illness among Samoan migrants in California. He found that poverty was a significant stressor among Samoan migrants because (a) it "constrains and determines to a great extent a person's opportunities and choices" and (b) it is likely to result in a "shrinkage of social networks and corresponding blockage of access to positions of leadership in the community" (1984:165f). He established a firm relationship between social stresses and illness among Samoan migrants.

Similar studies in the U.S. in the 1990s are also heading in the same direction, namely, towards the investigation of more specific and narrower

themes. For example, Franco researched demographic patterns among Samoan migrants in Hawaii (1987), Samoan perceptions of work in Hawaii for his doctoral dissertation (published 1991), poverty and unemployment among Samoan migrants in Hawaii (1990), transformation in social status among Samoan migrants in Hawaii (1992c), Samoan community organisations in Hawaii (1992a) and Samoan international networks (1989, 1992b). A Japanese scholar, Yamamoto, has also studied aspects of Samoan migration in the U.S. (1992). These two scholars typify new trends in the study of Samoan migrants particularly their emphasis on international networks. There is a tendency now to study Samoan migrants not merely *In loco* (or their place of residence) but also as part of a larger picture or framework which encompasses the destination points in the U.S., New Zealand and Australia and the "homelands" in Western and American Samoa.

Franco's main concerns have been the socio-economic status of Samoan migrants in Hawaii and the effect this has on social status (Franco, 1990, 1992c) and Samoan international migration movements and networks (1987, 1989, 1992b). A major problem among the Samoan migrants in Hawaii is perceived to be the lack of education in the home islands to prepare them for the employment market in Hawaii. Franco attributes this to the inadequate educational systems in both Western and American Samoa (Franco, 1992c). The educational system in Western Samoa from 1900 until recently, for instance, has been "selective and elitist" (Franco, 1992c:304) and that in American Samoa has been "seriously disrupted by inconsistent policy formation" (*Ibid*, p. 304). The result, in both cases, has been that migrants tended to be poorly educated and lacking in job skills and encountered serious handicaps in finding employment. This was reflected in employment rates. Thus the 1980 U.S. census shows that the Samoan unemployment rate in Hawaii was 10.2 percent, "more than twice the overall rate for the state of Hawaii of 4.7 percent" (Franco, 1990:174). Among ethnic groups, only the Vietnamese had a higher unemployment rate for males. The situation was even worse for Samoan females: they had the highest rate of unemployment among female groups in the population.

The high unemployment rate among Samoan migrants in Hawaii and the resultant poverty this generated, argued Franco, had serious repercussions on

social status. Before 1900, social status for young Samoan males and females was closely associated with their various responsibilities as members of the **aumaga** and **aualuma** respectively, the gender-based village organisations responsible for carrying out collective work on behalf of the **matai** and the village council (**fono**) (Franco, 1992c:304ff). For young men such work included cultivation, fishing, cooking and carpentry whilst for women it included household and village maintenance, near-village cultivation and near-shore reef exploitation. But in terms of female status enhancement "the manufacture of fine mats was the quintessential women's work" (ibid, p. 306). According to Franco, overseas migration entailed the loss of these village roles and statuses but these were replaced by others associated with urban wage employment. Income generated by such employment enabled Samoans to continue to meet their obligations (**tautua**) by contributing to church and **aiga fa'aiavelave** and by regular remittances to kin in Samoa. The inability to accomplish this due to unemployment and, therefore, lack of economic resources, inevitably meant loss of social status. For women, the situation was even worse because in addition to being unemployed they no longer wove the fine mat, a social responsibility which in Samoa earned for them social esteem (Franco, 1992c:318-9). Education was thus seen as an important factor in improving the Samoan migrants' socio-economic situation.

A recurrent emphasis in Franco's work (e.g. 1987, 1992b) is the need to view Samoan international migratory movements "as occurring within a single movement system linking Australia, New Zealand, Samoa, Hawaii, and the U.S. mainland" (Franco, 1992b:1). The catalyst for overseas migration by American and Western Samoans had originally been their participation in wartime employment in Samoa as mechanics, drivers and labourers. When war ended, many of these Samoans decided to try their luck overseas and this resulted in the mass migration of American Samoans to Hawaii and the United States mainland, and Western Samoans to New Zealand in the early 1950s (Franco, 1989:373f; 393). These first migrations set in motion a chain process of migration in both Hawaii and the United States as later migrants joined their relatives to form enclaves near the military bases and naval stations where the majority of the

earlier migrants worked. New Zealand and Australia were similarly affected.⁷

The perception of Samoan international movements as a single system emanates from the social and cultural linkages based on kinship, Franco argues. Samoan migration is thus perceived as more a circulatory movement rather than a simple unidirectional one because of frequent travel associated with "economic exchange involving *tautua* and *fa'alavelave*" (Franco, 1990:171; 1992b:8). Thus, while admitting the possibility of "the potential for major cultural change" that the process of migration induces, Franco also sees the reality of cultural continuities associated with "modern Samoan movement and adaptation" (1990:171). It is the linkages, connections and associations in these movements that Franco desires to highlight. Thus understandably he favours a holistic approach to the study of contemporary Samoan movement. There has been too much emphasis in the past on variable aspects of migration, such as the impact of migration on economic development of sending societies. As he said,

"Certainly the question of economic impact on sending societies is important but it cannot be adequately answered until the individual 'home' communities and their interconnectedness are understood more thoroughly" (1992b:2).

A holistic approach calls for a particular methodology, he said. It "requires quality ethnographic research at each locale with a watchful eye to connections - people, ideas, money, goods - between locales" (Franco, 1992b:1). Ethnographic data, in turn, needs to be supplemented by "national and territorial censuses and surveys" (Ibid, p. 1). Ideally both kinds of data should be collected simultaneously. Franco is aware of the problems associated with implementing this research design, for instance, the fact that "data comes from different times and places, and is used for different purposes" (Ibid, p. 1). Still, he has pointed to the necessity of being aware of these social and kinship linkages which render possible a larger and more complete perspective of Samoan migration patterns and linkages. That is, Samoans need to be studied both at the uni-locale and multi-locale, micro and macro scales.

⁷ Whereas early mass migration from American Samoa to the United States was closely linked with employment in the U.S. armed forces, similar migration by Western Samoans to New Zealand and Australia lacked such links with the military.

Yamamoto's research on Western Samoan travellers deals with the significance of **malaga** (travel groups), ceremonial exchange and especially the role of these travellers in channelling wealth from the rich, industrialised countries to Samoa. **Malaga** are usually held for ceremonial exchanges involving **toga** (fine mats) and **oloa** (money, food, goods), cementing social and kinship relationships and also for fundraising for projects at home, for example, the construction of a village church (Yamamoto, 1992). The role of international travellers, that is to say, Samoans visiting their overseas relatives and migrants returning to Samoa for short-term visits, is crucial in the transfer of money from industrialised nations to less developed ones such as Western Samoa. Yamamoto maintains that the relationship is asymmetrical because money does not flow in the reverse direction though she does admit the flow of **toga** to the industrialised countries such as U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia. For her, the economic variables (eg ceremonial exchanges, gifts and remittances) in this transnational network of kin and fellow-ethnics of Western Samoan travellers are of paramount importance (1992).

Migrant Studies in New Zealand

Scholarly researches into the status of Samoan migration in New Zealand are not as extensive as those carried out in the United States in part because the mass migration of Samoans to New Zealand occurred much later than the corresponding movement to Hawaii and the United States in the early fifties. However, by the 1970s, with increased migration of Pacific islanders and the emergence of cultural pluralism in New Zealand society, Samoans "attracted considerable interest and were extensively studied by sociologists, social anthropologists, demographers, geographers, political scientists, economists and psychologists" (Macpherson, 1984:108). These studies tended to support the findings of D. Pitt and C. Macpherson (1974) that Samoans "consciously sought to retain their language, values and social institutions which reflected them" (Ibid, p. 108).

One of the earliest works on Samoan migration in New Zealand was Fairbairn's demographic analysis of pre-1961 Samoan migration to New Zealand. At that time, it had already become increasingly clear to Fairbairn that Samoans' concern with cultural identity led them to emphasise their relationships with **aiga**

and churches (1961), aspects of Samoan social organisation which were to be analysed in much more detail later by Pitt and Macpherson (1974). Areas for further study he recommended included the "problems of social integration, housing, family life, attitudes toward distant relatives, new motivations and interests, occupations and spending habits" (1961:18f).

The sociological study of Samoan migrants by Pitt and Macpherson (1974) remains a classic work of this type and contributed greatly to ushering in the age of multiculturalism in New Zealand. At the outset, the two authors expressed their disagreement with the standard official view that the "migrants' values and norms" were a "major cause of their socio-economic inferiority and assimilation or massive participation in the host society" offered "the basic solution" (1974:vii). Adopting an opposite view, they stated that

"... our research has revealed that the traditional social structure and culture of the Samoan community in New Zealand have done much to help their adjustment; that many problems have arisen when attempts have been made, internally or externally, to promote integration; and that the Samoans have achieved a measure of success in adjusting through their voluntary separation and reliance on their own resources" (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:vii).

For the study, Samoan migrants were surveyed over a three year period (1970-72) in three North Island cities: Tokoroa, Wellington and Auckland. The authors also engaged in participant observation and interviewed community leaders, government officials and others concerned with Samoan migrant welfare.

The study looks into many aspects of migrant life particularly the interplay between traditional institutions, such as the church, *matai* system and *alga* (family networks) and the new realities of urban living such as housing, employment, education and socialisation of the New Zealand-born generation. Essentially, therefore, it is a study in social adaptation but one where aspects of Samoan social organisation are seen as facilitating rather than hindering the social adjustments that need to be made in the life of the Samoan community. Thus, in their conclusions, Pitt and Macpherson said the most important point that emerged from their study was that "the Samoan community in New Zealand" had "coped with the problems of adjustment chiefly through their own social

resources" (1974:113). That the Samoan migrants had adjusted well "reflects the strength of the social institutions that the migrants brought with them to New Zealand, especially the 'aiga and the church" (Ibid, p. 113).

According to the authors, the "problems of adjustment" relate mainly to basic migrant needs such as accommodation and employment as well as to the pressures of living in a new physical, social and cultural environment. For most migrants, finding accommodation on arrival is usually unproblematic because this has already been secured for them by relatives in New Zealand. But they often encounter problems later on when they want to find their own accommodation. In New Zealand, for instance, Samoans can rent either state houses or private properties. The procedures, however, for obtaining a state house are "quite complex and the waiting lists are long" while the rents for private flats and houses "are often extortionate and/or the houses are often decayed or sub-standard ones awaiting demolition" (1974:32). To make matters worse, new migrants are often ignorant of the proper procedures and conditions for obtaining a state house. In this context, the assistance of their *aiga* (relatives) and churches becomes invaluable. As Pitt and Macpherson said, the *aiga* "has a wide range of overt functions -raising money, providing houses and jobs, coping with the crises of life" (1974:48). The church is also a "main source of practical assistance with housing, jobs, schools, officials - in short with the bewildering practical aspects of life which migrants encounter in the European world". These two institutions, the *aiga* and the church serve as the cornerstone of material and spiritual security, and identity, for Samoan migrants in New Zealand (Ibid, p.61f; see also Pitt, 1977).

The Samoan word, "*aiga*", refers to several things. It can mean an individual relative or a group of relatives, a single household or extended family, people of a village or a nation. It is thus contextual in meaning but the common bond, remains consanguineal or affinal relationship, however distant, real or putative. As used by Pitt and Macpherson, "*aiga*" has several meanings, namely, a nuclear household, extended family and a larger configuration of locally-based kin called a "segment". In terms of participation in migrant community events, the segment is "the unit most frequently involved" (1974:24f). The commonest type of segment is "composed of all children of siblings who live in the migrant community and of siblings who have migrated" and leadership is

usually provided by the "first members of the segment to have migrated..." (1974:26). The segment leader wields considerable authority due to his/her seniority status and social position as "parent" to other members. A fourth meaning of "aiga" refers to the collective kin or the sum of segments but this "complete 'aiga is involved as a unit only very infrequently" (Ibid, p. 27). It is the members of these groups of aiga who support each other in their fa'alavelave, the new migrants in their sponsorship of initial accommodation and in sending gifts and remittances to relatives in Samoa. The frequency and degree of assistance is proportionate to distance from the centre, which here means the nuclear household concerned with "day-to-day existence and the organisation of more ordinary events" (1974:27f). Thus most of the kinship activity occurs at the level of the nuclear household, and the least at the level of the "complete aiga". The aiga, in its various forms, is then "the basic unit of social organisation within the migrant community, and the most important focus for migrant identity". Moreover, it has become a "powerful force because there are no other institutions which can cope as well with the demands of the new environment..." (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:48f).

Equally important in administering to the needs of migrants are the churches. All churches assist the migrants in various ways but it is the role of the Pacific Islands Presbyterian Churches (PIPC) which is held as exemplary. PIPC caters for all Pacific islanders but it has a strong Samoan component. What distinguishes it, however, from other churches is its strong commitment to providing welfare and other services for migrants. Its success and rapid rate of growth, according to Pitt and Macpherson, "must be attributed to the ways in which it has adapted to new needs through a ministry whose members are fully conversant with both fa'asamoa and migrant problems and their solutions" (1974:53). PIPC's dedication to the welfare of migrants is illustrated by the fact that its members are on hand to welcome new migrants from Samoa, whenever they arrive, and provide for their needs from then on (Ibid, p. 53).

PIPC is involved in two major types of activities: youth work and social welfare. Among young Samoans, PIPC organises activities for two groups. The first comprises "youth who are knowledgeable in Samoan language and culture" and the second "youth knowledgeable in English and pakeha culture and little of

the other" (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:54). The rationale behind this equal but separate development is to allow young people to mix and integrate socially at their own pace. Youth work makes up one third of PIPC's secular activities, the remainder is spent on welfare work on behalf of migrants. Much of this work devolves on ministers who may find themselves doing any of these things: giving advice and making referrals for their members; help with translations or filling forms of one kind or another; purchase of a home or finding employment; take in a temporary boarder; address staff of some factories on matters arising from employment of Samoans; give briefings to management of companies that employ Samoans on Samoan values and culture; act as translators in court hearings; or organise School Certificate classes for young people (1974:59). Thus like the *aiga*, the churches are indispensable as a focal point for assistance given to Samoan migrants in need of help, especially those bereft of kinship support.

Macpherson himself has written extensively on Samoan migration in New Zealand. In his 1978 study on the Samoan family, he seeks to answer the question to what extent is Samoan migrant family structure and organisation "typical of Polynesian immigrant populations" (1978:120). His answer is that certain aspects of it may be regarded as "typical" but not others. He distinguishes between three types of Samoan families, namely, nuclear (two generational), domestic unit or household (*aiga*, *auaiga*) and extended kin group or "a federation of related households". It is necessary to study all these family types otherwise a study of the Samoan family system would be "incomplete", he says (1978:121). Household organisation is classified as autocratic (power is concentrated in few hands), democratic and egalitarian. In his conclusion, he says that the "future" of Samoan family structure and organisation "is much less certain" than his analysis suggests. This is mainly because "the migrants' children are coming of age in increasing numbers. This group, largely born and educated in New Zealand, will eventually make decisions about the utility and significance of kinship in their lives" (1978:135). And just what the shape of Samoan family structure and organisation will take "[o]nly the future will tell", Macpherson said (1978:135).

In his 1984 paper on the Samoan "community", Macpherson argues that "[i]t will soon be impossible to portray the Samoan population as a single, socially

homogeneous entity" because of the "existence of various Samoan 'communities' which are characterized by different attitudes to, and experiences of Samoan culture" (1984:107). According to Macpherson, the tendency in previous studies on migration "to focus on, and to emphasize central tendencies [e.g. retention of culture]" has resulted in the neglect of analysis on "variety" (1984:111-2). Subordinate groups were, therefore, "regarded as being more or less assimilated and their relationships regarded as examples of pluralism, accommodation, assimilation and so on. In fact intra-group variation was probably greater than those studies suggested..." (1984:112). This tendency to portray migrants in a particular way, for instance, as the passive victims of a dominant society obsessed with notions of hegemony and cultural pre-eminence is ideological in nature, Macpherson suggests. It has, however, failed to take into account the role played by migrants as actors in determining their own forms of community for

"close observation of minority groups shows that individual members can and do reflect critically on their own culture and its importance to them. Individuals within the same group arrive at quite different assessments of their culture's utility: some decide to cling to it, others to abandon it, and still others to cling to some parts and abandon others (emphasis mine)" (1984:112).

This ability of migrants to make choices about their goals and the relevance of culture to these leads them to create the necessary environment "which reflects these aspirations and which accords culture its appropriate role in them" (1984:112). And so with Samoan migrants.

Amongst Samoan migrants, Macpherson is able to identify three major social environments: (1) one "characterised by the deliberate and systematic promotion of Samoan values and institutions" (1984:114); (2) one characterised by the presence of Samoan values and institutions "but are neither deliberately and systematically promoted nor criticized" (Ibid, p. 114); (3) one characterised by the deliberate attempt to suppress Samoan values and institutions and replacing them with "non-Samoan culture" (Ibid, p. 114). The children born into these environments "reflect these environments" but "[w]hether or not the children continue to accept their parents' assessment... is another issue" (Ibid, pp. 123-4).

In his paper on the sustainability of remittances by Samoan migrants (1992a), Macpherson discusses the possibility of the gradual decline of remittances and the consequent ill-effects on the Samoan economy. This will occur, he says, if the level of migration drops off, or the family reunification programme succeeds in bringing to New Zealand most of the immediate relatives such as parents and siblings (1992a:126). He admits the potency of the operation of the Samoan *aiga* functioning in its capacity as a "transnational kin corporation", a term popularised by Bertram and Watters (1985). Such a kinship group operates at the international level to move underemployed and unemployed kin between different job markets to maximise opportunities for gainful employment and thereby "increase the rate of return" for investing kin (Macpherson, 1992a:130). There are several constraints, however, on the above strategy. Firstly, Macpherson points out, metropolitan economies are linked to each other and what happens in one country (e.g. U.S.A.) is likely to affect the others (e.g. New Zealand and Australia); and immigration restrictions tend to favour people with capital and skills. Secondly, the emphasis in industrialised countries on "automation, mechanization and computerization" and on service industries has necessarily reduced demand for labour. Thirdly, because of the "fiscal crises of late capitalism" industrialised countries are forced "to reduce the size and scope of social welfare programs" to minimise costs. This involves further restrictions on immigration (1992a:131). The overall effect of these economic trends at the international level has been a dramatic decrease in the demand for unskilled labour which, in the 1950s and 1960s, had served as a valuable asset for the so-called transnational kin corporation. Its corollary is the very real possibility that migrant remittances to relatives in Samoa for personal, family and village affairs will also experience a corresponding reduction. This in turn will lead to greater pressures on the Samoan government economy. As Macpherson says, if remittances are no longer available to meet recipients' costs of living and other needs, they "may look increasingly to the government to meet them. In the present circumstances the government would not be well placed to do this and its inability could contribute to further political volatility" (1992a:132).

For his views on whether Samoan migrants will eventually return home (1992b), Macpherson interviewed 54 Samoans in New Zealand, Hawaii and Western Samoa over the period 1970-1984. He found that migrants have a

"continuing commitment to an identification with families and villages of origin in Western Samoa" and that this is not necessarily motivated by "self-interest" but by other factors as well (1992b:242). For instance, migrants in their *tautua* to kin in Samoa may be doing any of these things: (1) protecting rights they have no intention to exercise; (2) protecting and even enhancing the reputation of their *alga*; (3) settling socio/political debts as a matter of honour (1992b:243). Thus, the nature of migrant *tautua* is not necessarily linked to the possibility of returning home later.

As for the actual decision to return to Samoa, this is extremely complicated for married couples, especially where there is disagreement between spouses (1992b:249). And where there is unanimity, the return home may be delayed indefinitely if children have not yet become "independent adults" or show a disinclination to accompany parents (*Ibid*, p. 250). Other complications involve financial, commercial and cultural considerations. An example of these is the relative lack of jobs and low salary scales in Western Samoa, the lack of capital for starting a business and the dominance of the elders and the pervasiveness of their influence. As long as there is a wide chasm in the social, political and economic realities of the sending and receiving societies, Samoan migrants will be encouraged to remain abroad, Macpherson concluded (1992b:261).

Meleisea has emphasised the importance of status in Samoan migration in the 1960s and 1970s (1989). Strangely, it was not individual status gained overseas but one acquired for one's *alga* in the village. As he puts it, "The sons and daughters of aspiring chiefs went willingly off to New Zealand to work as labourers in order to earn money to promote their family name and aspirations. Few migrants ever thought they were going for good, or even for very long" (Meleisea, 1989:69). These aspirations for social status at home were beginning to be realised in the 1970s when the cumulative effect of remittances resulted in basic changes at the village level. For instance, "whole villages changed their traditional form as new houses were built along the roadsides away from traditional *malaes*". These "rectangular structures of timber with corrugated iron roofs, louver glass windows and cement floors" served as status symbols for the owners (*Ibid*, p. 71).

Shankman's research largely concerns the impact of remittances on the process of economic development in Western Samoa (1976, 1978). As he puts it, the main concern of his study "is the relationship between migration, remittances, and underdevelopment, focusing on the kinds of economic ties that migrants maintain with the people who are left behind" (1976:1). Shankman consistently warns about the dangers of excessive migration and continuing dependence on remittances as this could lead to an inordinate dependency on external sources of financing. The dangers lie in the fact that curbs on migration and recessions in receiving countries can have a deleterious effect on development. It follows that more efforts should be directed towards promoting internal sources of development.

Migrant Studies in Australia

Compared to the United States and New Zealand, studies on Samoan migration in Australia are practically non-existent due, no doubt, to the fact that mass migration to Australia by Samoans began in earnest only in the 1980s. Two small studies were conducted by A. Burns and S. Morton on the Samoan migrants of Newcastle (1988) and by J. Connell and G. McCall on island migrants (including Samoans) in Blacktown, Sydney (1989).

The study by Burns and Morton was based on earlier research conducted by Morton as part of her course requirements for a post-graduate diploma in Multicultural Studies at the Newcastle College of Advanced Education. It was intended to obtain information to enable the Migrant Resource Centre for Newcastle and the Hunter region to improve its services to the Samoan migrant community in the area. At that time, it was estimated that some 50 Samoan families lived within the study area of which 32⁸, or just over two thirds, took part in the survey. The sample questionnaires, answered by 17 males and 15 females, sought information on length of residency, household size, age, religious affiliation and education.

According to Burns and Morton, Samoan migration to Newcastle might have been prompted originally by the coal boom in the area in the early 1980s. This is indicated by the fact that the first Samoan migrants in the area settled at

⁸ The sample was obtained by the snowball method.

the work camps in the coal boom project areas of the Hunter Valley. Later migrants settled outside these camp areas and in Newcastle city proper. With the collapse of the coal boom the migrants moved into local Newcastle industries and "continued to form and develop their families" (1988:9). And as more relatives joined the earlier migrants so did the size of the community increase. Most of the migrants came to Australia via New Zealand and have lived in Newcastle six years.⁹

Some of the major findings of the study by Burns and Morton were:

* Ninety percent of family members were under 36 years, 63 percent were under 18 years and the average number of children was three. Most migrants lived in an area that could be described as "low socio-economic in status" and which either "adjoins or contains within its boundaries both light and heavy industry and a source of employment for many new immigrants". Over 80 percent of them "live in either private rental or in their own homes..." (Burns and Morton, 1988:10f).

* Seventy-seven percent of the sample population belonged to Protestant churches. The high rate of church participation by the migrants "agrees with what has been experienced elsewhere¹⁰, particularly when it was observed that the Churches not only acted as supports but also as a major focus of the 'local' Samoan welfare system" (Ibid, p.13).

* Education-wise, all those surveyed received their education either in New Zealand or Western Samoa. Level of education was "reasonable...with most having completed seven years or more, and on the average nine years of school" (Burns and Morton, 1988:14). In this respect, they compared well with other migrants in Newcastle and Australia in general and perhaps better-educated than migrants from Southern Europe or war-torn countries (Ibid, p. 14f).

Four main features of the Samoan community were identified: the predominance of young people, language, housing and employment. There was a

⁹ The average for the total population, however, is 4.5 years.

¹⁰ Reference to New Zealand.

large number of children but little use of communal resources such as Baby Health services due mainly to lack of awareness about them; there was a positive response to the establishment of an ethnic school for the teaching of Samoan language and culture; there was a preference for continuing with the private rental market despite economic hardships related to high rates of unemployment and possibly support for overstayers (Ibid, pp.23f).

The study urged that family services should be made available to Samoan migrants; such services to be provided by a migrant centre at Mayfield; and that information on the "rights of the individual as a consumer, citizen, worker, and tenant be made available for the Samoan people" (Ibid, p. 26). Very important also was its recommendation for the establishment of a "formal community body" to look after the interests of the migrants. Migrants wanted this to be "non sectarian" and "non political". Said Burns and Morton:

"The benefits of such a structure are obvious. Information flow could be maximised, and as a legitimate organization with an appropriate constitution the Samoan Community would be in a far stronger position to generate or attract funding for community projects and activities" (1988:25f).

The study by Connell and McCall (1989) of Pacific islanders, including Samoans, in Blacktown, involved a survey but also relied on 1986 census data and the mini-studies by Siale (1985), Burns and Morton (1988) and the Samoan Advisory Council, Sydney (1988). The survey was conducted by Pacific island volunteers and covered 62 households with a total population of 295. The average household size was 4.8 persons. Of the households, 18 were Tongan, 16 Cook Islands, 14 Fijian, 12 Samoan and 2 were mixed origin. The study sought to identify issues of concern and importance to the Blacktown island community and to develop strategies to meet those needs (1989:1).

These Australian studies were generally of a demographic nature, that is to say, their focus was on population and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant population. For the most part, they were conducted with a view to gathering information for use by the migrant resource centres, immigration and welfare agencies in migrant assistance programmes, and depended heavily on

census data and mini-surveys. There has been a noticeable lack of intensive studies such as those carried out in fieldwork by anthropologists. The lack of such studies on Pacific islanders in general and Samoan migrants in particular has not gone unnoticed (see, for instance, Connell and McCall, 1989:7).

Overview

In the United States, major research on Samoan migrants began with the assimilationist studies of the 1950s. For instance, studies by Eyde (1954), Forster (1954) and Pierce (1956) were primarily concerned with the visible signs of acculturation (meaning assimilation). Socio-economic factors as well as value systems were evaluated on an evolutionary scale calculated to determine the degree of assimilation. Following the disruptive period of the late 1960s due to the Vietnam war and race riots in Los Angeles, assimilation became a thing of the past¹¹ and was replaced by multiculturalism. Difference was no longer regarded as abnormal but as an integral aspect of social life. Migrant studies now focussed on the more neutral perspectives of social change and adaptation but within the context of the legitimate existence of different cultures, lifestyles and value systems. These perspectives come out clearly in the studies by Ablon (1971b), Kotchek (1975) and Rolff (1978). Finally from 1980 to the present, scholars of Samoan migration have tended to specialise on one or a few related aspects of the migrants' lives.

In New Zealand, the major sociological and anthropological research was conducted in the early 1970s by Pitt and Macpherson (1974). This work reflects theoretical and methodological trends already employed in the United States in the study of Samoan migration particularly the emphasis on multiculturalism and the combined use of field observation and survey methods. Since then Macpherson has continued to regularly produce research articles on Samoan migration in New Zealand. In some of these he discusses Samoan family structure (1978), nature of the Samoan community (1984) and the choice to, or not to, return home (1992b). Other scholars have written on migrants and social status in Samoa (Meleisea, 1989) and remittances (Shankman, 1976, 1978; Macpherson, 1992a). In the area of demographic analyses, the work of R.

¹¹ Although occasionally it rears its head.

Bedford stands out (1983; Bedford and Larner, 1993). Again these individual works reflect similar trends in the United States.

Compared to the United States and New Zealand, there has been even less research done on Samoan migration and related topics in Australia. Most of the studies so far have been mini-studies to determine the demographic characteristics of local Samoan migrant populations, for instance, Burns and Morton in Newcastle (1988) and Connell and McCall at Blacktown (1989). Moreover, such information has been collected mainly for use by the migrant resource centres and government agencies involved in migrant welfare services. Other studies, also small-scale, are based on the analysis of census results, for instance, the review of Pacific islander migration to Australia in the 1980s by C. McMurray and D. Lucas (1989). In-depth researches like those of F.L. Jones and R. Huber's studies of Italian migrants (1962 and 1977 respectively), G. Bottomley's study of Greek migrants (1979) and M. de Lepervanche's study of Sikh Indian migrants (1984), in Australia, are completely lacking.

The scarcity of research on the Samoan community also applies to other Pacific island groups for, as Connell observed "[t]here have been no detailed socio-economic studies of Pacific island communities in Australia" and the few studies that exist "have all been conducted in Sydney where most islanders live and work....." (1991:2). There is, therefore, a patent need for a broad perspective on Samoan migrant culture, life and social organisation, such as that provided by Kotchek (1975) and Rolff (1978) for Samoan migrants in the United States and Pitt and Macpherson for Samoan migrants in New Zealand (1974). This would assist in providing a more appropriate framework for specialised studies later¹² and with this in mind, I have been led to attempt a broad-based study of Samoan migrant life in Australia. Thus I have deliberately sought to provide a wide range of data on demographic characteristics such as numbers, age, gender, education, income, employment and accommodation, as well as church affiliation and activities, family and community structure, and so on.

Methodological Issues

A wide variety of methods was used to gather information but the main

¹² Such as those on migrant women, education, health and remittances.

ones have been the fieldwork questionnaire, personal interviews, participant observation and library research. The questionnaire was an important method of obtaining socio-economic data as well as data on the values, feelings and attitudes of the Samoan migrants. It was partly modelled on questionnaires previously used in field researches on Samoan migrants in the United States and partly on my own felt needs. There were two main components, one for basic household data such as names and size of household, sex, age, date of migration; the other for more general data such as the history of migration, accommodation, education, employment history, income, religion, kinship relations, involvement in community affairs, views on culture, parent/children relations, leisure activities, marriage status and miscellaneous. The latter includes questions on sports family members participate in, types of food eaten and clothes worn and relations with neighbours and friends. Most of the tables in the thesis have been obtained from this source.

One of the basic problems associated with the use of the questionnaire is the method of sampling. In a small tribal community, say of 10 families, the method of sampling will usually pose no difficulty as the researcher could easily interview all 10 families. But in an urban context, when the researcher is dealing with hundreds and more often thousands of the target population, over a wide expanse of territory, the appropriate sampling strategy has to be determined and applied. This is often more difficult to accomplish than it seems. Originally, when I started fieldwork in Canterbury-Bankstown in June, 1992, I had intended to carry out a simple random sample which would have allowed me to generalise from the sampled group to the rest of the Samoan migrant population. Since the unit of analysis was the Samoan migrant family (and not individuals), I had intended to make a census of all such families in the Canterbury-Bankstown statistical area and then to select every *n*th family to constitute my sample. This involved selecting from the Sydney telephone directory the Samoan-sounding names of people who lived in the Canterbury/Bankstown area but after awhile I began to entertain some doubts about this approach. For one thing, it was presumptuous to suppose that all Samoan residents were registered in the directory because, firstly, not all Samoans had telephones, secondly, some probably had unlisted telephone numbers and, thirdly, there was no way of recognising Samoans with European surnames. This meant that the telephone directory could not be used

effectively as a source for selecting names for a random sample as originally planned. Other avenues for obtaining a sample population were also closed. For example, the state and federal agencies kept no registry of Samoan migrants and their addresses as they did with all migrants during the early sixties when F. L. Jones (1962), for instance, did a demographic study of Italian migrants in Carlton, Melbourne¹³ and investigative work involving door-to-door, street by street inquiries to locate houses and flats occupied by Samoan migrants was simply out of the question not just on methodological grounds but also on practical realities such as limited Commonwealth scholarship funds and time. And even if any of the above was possible, the demographic picture kept changing as old migrants left the area and were replaced by new ones. In short, it did not take me long to realise that a random sample strategy would be impossible given the overall situation.

The alternative method would have been to forego breadth in favour of depth. This would have allowed me to concentrate on a smaller section of the migrant community such as a church congregation, a sporting club or Samoan families living on a single street. Again this was rejected in part because it did not satisfy my primary aim of focussing on the wider migrant community. The study of a small section of the community would have been ideal but I entertained grave doubts that the findings could be extrapolated successfully onto the bigger Samoan community. And it was this bigger community that I wanted to know more about. This finally led me to countenance a compromise solution which was, to sample as many Samoan families as I could find in Canterbury-Bankstown. The sampling method adopted was the "snowball" or "chain referral" method in which I rely heavily on informants to supply me with the names of Samoan families (cf. Bailey, 1987:95; Patton, 1990:176). One starts with one family and ends up with many, in my case, 137 families in ten months. Strictly speaking, from a scientific methodological point of view, it is not as effective as the probability sampling methods which feature unit of analysis, population size and sampling elements. However in certain circumstances, for example, where the study population is relatively homogeneous in terms of origin, ethnicity and social class the snowball method may be just as useful. Certainly, as Patton has pointed

¹³ Jones obtained the names of the migrants from the District Index of Aliens kept by the Department of Immigration, Melbourne. These records are no longer kept.

out (1990:176) it has been employed successfully before. Moreover, what I was looking for basically was not mathematical certainties but general characteristics, patterns, developments and trends. And I felt that I could obtain the needed information if my sample was large and representative enough by selecting households from different sections of the community which in Sydney meant different church congregations.

Let me say something about the way I handled the field research. The first day in the field is an unforgettable experience. For me it was definitely a question of putting out to sea in uncharted waters. The drive from Canberra to Sydney was a nightmare especially as I was unfamiliar with Sydney's busy roads and I was under pressure to locate the RSL Club in Blacktown where the Samoan community was celebrating Western Samoa's Independence Day, 1962. I got lost several times but finally made it with the help of petrol station attendants. When I got there, I hardly knew anybody. In short not only was I cold, lonely and hungry, but I was lost, literally and metaphorically speaking as I did not even know where I was going to spend the night. Fortunately, a member of the Samoan Advisory Council came to my assistance and arranged for me to board with a young Samoan whom I shall call Lapa. Finding accommodation at least was a first step and whatever Lapa lacked by way of material facilities, such as a refrigerator, he made up for it by his friendship. For me, the highest expression of his friendship was the introductions he made which enabled me to meet many Samoans in the community, especially the members of his *aiga* or extended family and his church group. These were the people that I surveyed first and from there, using the snowball method, I was finally able to interview 137 families, usually in the presence of both spouses.

The usual method was for me to call up the family first to tell them who I was and to request an appointment. Sometimes, of course, I would just appear at the door and make the necessary introductions. Shortly after these rituals, I would initiate the interviews which, with very few exceptions, were always conducted in Samoan. In this way I was able to complete 100 surveys from July to November, a period of five months. With a few families, complying with my requests was more a trauma than anything else. Thus they seriously challenged my right to interview. Realising that there was absolutely no way I could justify my prying into

their private affairs I usually acted as if it was in their best interests, which in fact it was from a scientific point of view, to divulge their secrets to me. Success was more likely, when approaching people for interviews, if one demonstrated a sound knowledge both of one's point of view and others'. The emphasis was on empathy rather than on confrontation. Of course, my experience as a former journalist also helped considerably. Each interview would last about two hours and I would normally do two surveys a day, sometimes three. In practically every instance, I was treated with the utmost courtesy and I reciprocated accordingly. Knowing the strict religious views of my own people, I never did any interviews on Sunday's.

Every good thing, however, had to come to an end, so the saying goes. Rumours started to circulate that I was dobbing overstayers to the Immigration Department. And even one Assembly of God pastor had fulminated against me on the pulpit saying that under no circumstance was any member of his congregation to be interviewed by me. As if that was not enough, he sent a notice for broadcast in the Samoan ethnic radio programme, Radio 2NBC, repeating the same message. That had a disastrous effect on my interviews because apparently the word had got around that I was an "informer" for the Immigration Department. Why else was I asking all these personal questions in my interviews, such as where people came from, how often they travelled to Samoa, and so on? Moreover, the reason I was playing Judas in the Samoan community was because I was getting paid by the Immigration Department for every overstayler deported.¹⁴ Why this particular pastor, whom I know well, should stab me in the back I still don't know. According to an informant, a member of his congregation had been deported for overstaying and I was suspected of having informed on her because I had interviewed her family a few weeks before she was caught. But there were also lingering suspicions that a certain political faction in the community did not like what I was up to and was determined to stop me and that the pastor had been merely an instrument. By that time, however, I had

¹⁴ Interestingly enough, one of the favourite topics of conversation in the migrant community was speculation on the latest rate allegedly paid by the Immigration Department to informers on overstayers. I was never able to find out if the department actually paid informers. For to have contacted the department during the fieldwork period would have been interpreted by my detractors as *prima facie* evidence of guilt on my part (for allegedly informing on overstayers) so I kept as far away as possible from the department and its officials. In my view, however, the Samoans' belief in the payments was the crucial factor because of its effect on their social discourse. An informer, real or not, was also a social outcast.

completed enough interviews. I was to do another 25 at least, from January to May, 1993, a period of five months. Compare this with the 100 interviews for the same period the previous year. But then in 1993 I was also doing research on other aspects of the project. I was collecting church and other histories and helping to found the Samoan community's first commercial newspaper in Australia called "Le Foafoa" as part of my fieldwork enterprise.

Participant observation enabled me to mingle and interact socially with members of the community at church services, Sunday *to'ona'i* (feasts), church socials, sports meetings, functions of the Samoan Advisory Council and, above all, at Samoan *fa'alavelave*, those important life-cycle events such as funerals, weddings, birthdays and *tusiga Igoa* (fundraisers). It involved two main phases. Firstly, it involved living with a Samoan family for at least part, most or all of the time during fieldwork. Sixty per cent of my time in the field involved living with a Samoan family and interacting with extended family members. Secondly, it involved participation in community activities such as attending church services on Sunday's as well as community *fa'alavelave*. Fieldwork data is obtained as a result of personal observations made during processes of interaction and participation as well as by personal interviews using both notepad and taperecorders. The interview is an integral tool of the fieldworker. Thus, most of my information concerning the histories and activities of the various churches and the precise amounts of wealth expended or received by families in their *fa'alavelave* was obtained by means of scheduled interviews. For it is not sufficient merely to observe, listen and record. Information gathered in this way is often incomplete or tentative, such as the totals of monetary gifts received in fundraisers by the churches (because money continues to pour in even after the event). One has to resort to formal interviews to obtain the most detailed information possible especially where precision in the quantity (as in amounts of cash donations) and quality (as in the types of fine mats) is required.

Participation and observation place the experience in context through the subtle interplay of the senses, for example, in seeing the performance of ritual, hearing the speech of the orator (*tulafale*), smelling, tasting and eating the Samoan food; feeling the delicate texture of the gifts of *toga*. But not just the context is important. Equally so is the observed symbolic action of the social

participants, the significance of their body language as signs of inner feelings and dispositions and their interactions with others as constitutive of social action in the Weberian sense. In other words, participant observation allows for a more effective reading of the social text in its dualism as both process and product. The search for written sources took me to New Orleans, Louisiana, and Washington D.C. in the United States in early 1992, twice to New Zealand in 1992 and 1993 and three times to Western Samoa in 1993 and valuable materials were located, including hard-to-find copies of the post-graduate researches by American scholars. These have helped to fill in the gaps in the history of research on Samoan migration.

Samoan Migration: A Historical Background

Overseas migration by Samoans is best viewed first from an historical perspective because as a general phenomenon it is not new. For as the historical record bears witness, Samoans like their Tongan cousins (cf. Tongamoa, 1987), are the descendants of seafaring Austronesian peoples who settled the Samoan archipelago, probably from Fiji, by about 1,200 B.C. From the time of initial settlement to the period of intensified contact with Europeans in the 1830s, Samoans often travelled to neighbouring Fiji and Tonga for a variety of purposes. Trade was often the reason for travel: Fiji, for instance, was the main source of red paroquet feathers which Samoans needed for their fine mats. Another was the export of Samoan women, together with their retainers and relatives, as wives of Fijian and Tongan nobles. Another was the export of skilled Samoan tradesmen, such as expert boat and housebuilders. Yet another was political exile or escape from a fate of death at the hands of a conquering war party or vengeful kin. All these reasons were frequent causes of overseas travel for Samoans of old. In the modern period, however, the focus has changed as Samoans migrate to improve both their economic position and that of their relatives at home.¹ This thesis is about the modern Samoan migrants, why they left Samoa, what they hoped to achieve and above all what they are actually accomplishing. It is about continuities, such as the use of migration as an adjustive response to a situation of relative deprivation at home (cf. Tongamoa, 1987) and change, such as that which results when the *fa'a-Samoa* itself undergoes transformation as migrants contest and renegotiate their social status thereby redefining and reinforcing their notions of person, place and identity.

In this chapter I provide a general background to Samoan international migration. I begin by giving a brief history of the Samoan islands, the people and their contemporary culture and then discuss the causes, directions and trends of Samoan migration to the United States, New Zealand and Australia. Though

¹ Indeed, the Samoan inclination to travel to other countries has not changed much over the centuries. What has changed are the destination points and nature of goods involved in social exchanges which result from such movements (cf. Thomas, 1991, and Kaeppler, 1989).

Samoa is divided into Western and American Samoa, Samoans all share a common origin, culture and history. World War II enabled more to share in the benefits of the cash economy. When it ended and the sources of wealth faded they resorted to migration so as to obtain more of this wealth for themselves and their relatives. Migration is thus a product of the colonial encounter and paradoxically provides continuity in the links between the "colonised" and metropolitan powers.

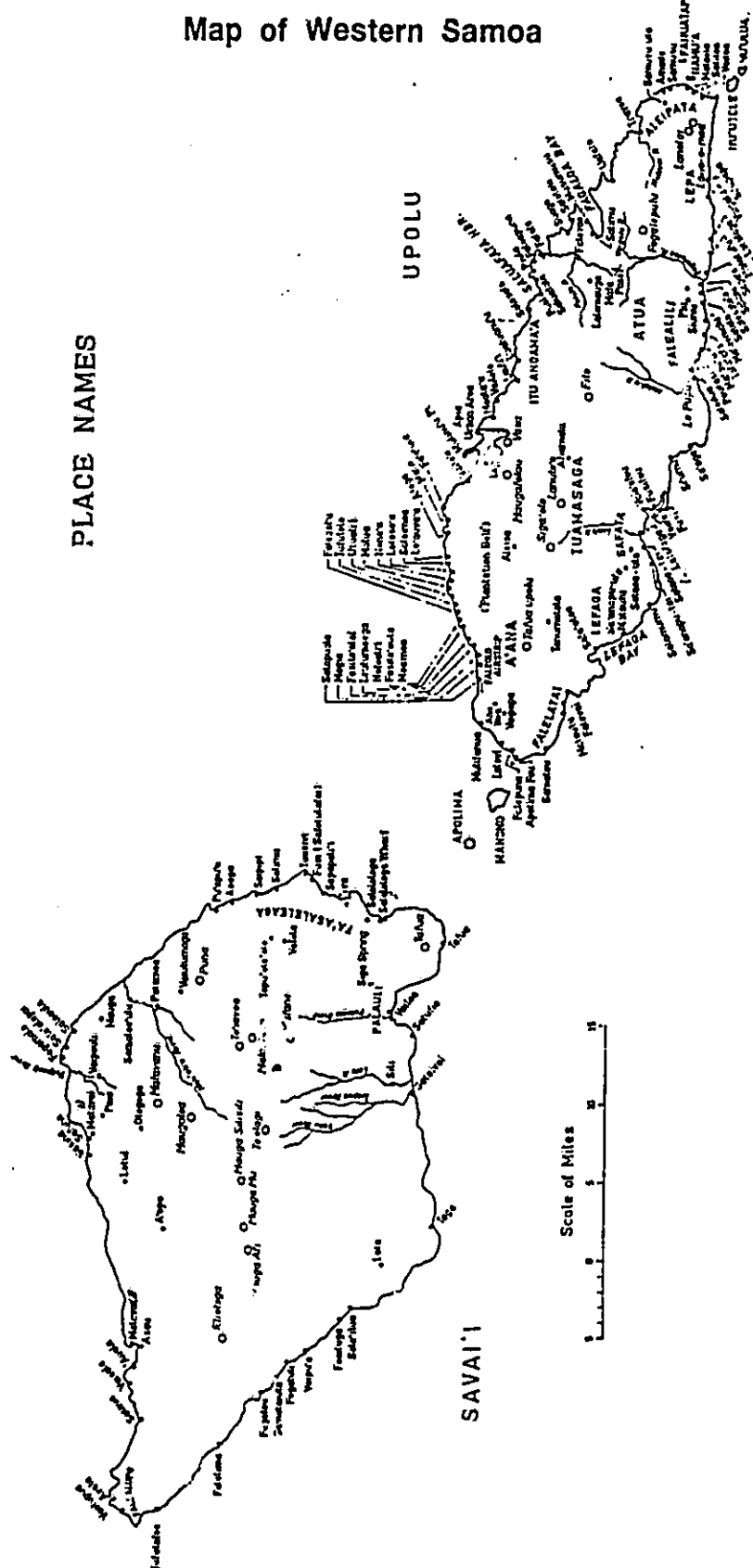
History

The Samoan islands lie on an east-west axis in the South Pacific ocean between latitude 13 and 15 degrees south and longitude 168 and 173 degrees west. The eastern part of the group, comprising Ta'u, Olosega, Ofu, Tutuila and Aunu'u, with a total land area of 70 square miles, forms the United States territory of American Samoa. The western part, comprising the islands of Savai'i (700 square miles), Upolu (430 square miles), Manono and Apolima (1.5 square miles) forms the political entity of Western Samoa which became an independent state in 1962. In a physical sense, Samoans are Polynesians.

It is widely agreed that the ancestors of the Polynesians, known as Austronesians, originated in Southeast Asia (Kirch, 1984:41). Bellwood traces the earliest homeland of the Polynesians "among the later Neolithic cultures of the Philippines and eastern Indonesia, in the period between 1,500 and 100 B.C." (1978a:45). These early people were of Mongoloid origin, though different in appearance from Mongoloid peoples of the Asian mainland, due to intermarriage with Australoid populations "especially in Melanesia" (Bellwood, 1979:9). They spoke Austronesian languages related to those of Indonesia and the Philippines. Their culture was characterised by, among other things, the making of lapita pottery (see Green, 1979:27; Kirch and Hunt, 1988) the discovery of which enabled archaeologists to trace the general directions of their migrations from the top of Papua New Guinea into the South Pacific. About 1,300 A.D. they spread very quickly over the 5,000 kilometres from New Guinea to Tonga and Samoa (Bellwood, 1978b: 254). This migration pattern suggests, however, that the movement might not have been a single movement but a series. As Kirch says, "Man's progression into Oceania must be viewed as a gradual process of dominantly west-to-east movements (but with significant

Map of Western Samoa

PLACE NAMES



(Map: Courtesy of Government of Western Samoa)

counter movements and 'eddies')" (1984:41).

The Polynesian ancestors who went beyond Fiji to Tonga and Samoa in the late second millennium B.C. were the first people to settle in the area and were responsible for founding a distinctively Polynesian culture during the following centuries (Kirch, 1989:14; Bellwood, 1978a:53). Both the Tongans and the Samoans continued to use lapita pottery (see J.M. Davidson, 1979) until about 500 B.C. when it was replaced by plain pottery and it finally disappeared by about 1 A.D. due possibly to the use of the "underground earth-oven for baking and pressure-steaming" (Bellwood, 1978a:53). By at least 1,000 B.C. the Samoan islands had been settled and the Samoans had begun to evolve a distinctive culture called today the 'fa'a-Samoa' (the Samoan way). Almost 3,000 years elapsed between initial settlement and the first arrival of Europeans.

The first European to arrive in the Samoan islands was the Dutch navigator, Jacob Roggeveen, sent on a voyage of discovery and commercial expansion by the Dutch West India Co. His fleet arrived off the Manu'a islands² on the 14 June, 1722 (Masterman, 1934:23) and after several days departed again without landing. He was followed by the French navigator, Bougainville, who arrived at the Manu'a group on the 3 May, 1768. Bougainville was so impressed by the skills exhibited by the Samoans in handling their canoes that he gave the group the name 'Navigators' Islands', by which Samoa was known to the rest of the world for most of the nineteenth century. La Perouse, the French explorer who arrived, again off Manu'a, on the 9 December, 1787, achieved the distinction of being the first European to effect a landing on Samoan soil. The landing at the village of Asu, Tutuila, however, culminated in a bloody fight between a watering party from La Perouse's ships and a party of Samoan warriors, apparently from nearby Western Samoa. As a result Commander de Langle, the philosopher and naturalist De Lamanon and ten others in the French party were killed as well as a number of Samoans. This event gave the Samoans a bad name in European countries and indirectly led to the isolation of the group for another 42 years (cf. Gilson, 1970:67) except for occasional visits mostly by American and British whalers. Subsequently, Captain Edwards of the

² The collective name for the islands of Ta'u, Ofu and Olosega.

H.M.S. Pandora visited in 1791 while searching for the Bounty mutineers. Captain Bass, the Australian trader and explorer, visited in 1802 to obtain food supplies (mostly salted pork) for the penal colony in New South Wales; the Russian navigator Kotzebue visited in April, 1824; and the French explorer Dumont d'Urville in 1837.

At the time of Bass's visit in 1802, there was at least one European resident in Samoa thought to be an escaped convict from the New South Wales penal settlement. More escaped convicts and beachcombers found their way to the Samoan islands in the late 1820s and by 1830, there were about 12 escaped convicts and beachcombers living in Samoa as members of the households of certain chiefs. These people were mainly "of the refugee classes" who came from "the poor and illiterate, and often dissolute and violent classes" (Gilson, 1970:68). However, because their value as technical experts and warriors was very high, according to Samoan standards of the time, "they were amply rewarded by being accorded the best food, women and a life of comparative ease" (Va'a, 1987:20).

In 1830, John Williams and Charles Barff of the London Missionary Society began their missionary activities in the Samoan islands, the first stage in an ambitious missionary programme that was eventually to extend to the rest of Polynesia and Melanesia. The arrival of the missionaries was timely because the new "leader" of the *malo* (ruling political faction), Malietoa Vaiinupo, desired to adopt the *Iotu* (Christianity) for both personal and political reasons (cf. J.W. Davidson, 1967:33). The attraction of European goods was also a compelling factor in Samoan conversion to Christianity and the effects of this were far-reaching (cf. Gilson, 1970:69ff; Va'a, 1987:45ff). As F. Young said, "Williams' foothold opened the door to European cultures in the context of religion, mores, and language. The acceptance of these aspects of European cultures.... was predicated on the hope ... that such knowledge would provide the key to the material power which the Europeans enjoyed" (1972:67). Malietoa's acceptance of Christianity, possibly an inevitable one since knowledge of the Europeans and the power of their material goods was already available to the Samoans before 1830, opened the door to further European influences. Visits by missionary vessels, whalers and warships became more frequent and the

expansion of trade and commerce by European residents led to the appointment of British, German and American consuls to represent the interests of their nationals (cf. Gilson, 1970:162ff; Masterman, 1934). The conjunction of Samoan and European cultures led not only to Christianisation and development of trade and commerce (and thus the introduction of the cash economy) but also the need for stable government. This was a difficult objective to achieve given the differences between the Samoans and the Europeans, the conflicting mercantile and territorial interests of the Europeans and the factionalism in Samoan politics both within and between the main contending parties represented by the Sa Tupua and Sa Malietoa lineages. The result of these contradictory relations was social and political instability as civil war ravaged the Samoan group (mainly Western Samoa) for most of the nineteenth century. To make matters worse, each of the aspirants for political leadership was invariably supported by one or other of the three main powers involved in Samoan affairs namely Britain, Germany and the United States (see Kennedy, 1974). This meant that there was no easy military solution because of the military resources, such as men, arms and gunboats, made available by European allies. Much Samoan land was alienated³ and worse, taking matters into their own hands, the powers partitioned the Samoan islands under the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin 1899. American Samoa was given the islands of Manu'a, Tutuila and Aunu'u (American Samoa)⁴ whilst Germany obtained the rest of the group (Western Samoa). Britain withdrew its claims in return for recognition of its rights in Tonga and parts of Africa (see Gray, 1960:101; also J.W. Davidson, 1967; Gilson, 1970; Masterman, 1934).

Today, American Samoa is still administered by the United States though it enjoys a substantial degree of internal self-government. Its government is based on the U.S. model with an independent legislature (House of Representatives and Senate), executive and judiciary and an elected governor and lieutenant governor. The territory also has a non-voting Member of Congress, presently Faleomavaega E. Hunkin. Final authority, however, is still vested in the Secretary of the Interior who in turn is subject to the authority of the President and the U.S. Congress. The latter is the ultimate constitutional

³ Samoans sold land in order to obtain money to purchase guns (see Gilson, 1970).

⁴ The United States was primarily interested in the acquisition of Pago Pago harbour as a refuelling station for its merchant ships.

authority for unincorporated U.S. territories such as American Samoa.

Western Samoa was a German colony from 1900 to 1914. However, at the outbreak of war in 1914, it was seized by British colonial troops from New Zealand in a joint expedition with the Australian Navy. And from 1914 to 1961, it was administered by New Zealand on behalf first of the League of Nations after World War I and then of the United Nations following World War II. Authoritarian aspects of colonial rule led to a civil disobedience movement in the 1920s and 1930s and ultimately to a decision by a majority of Western Samoa's leaders to be independent of New Zealand. The independence movement, whose slogan was **Samoa mo Samoa** (or Samoa for Samoa), realised its goal when Western Samoa became the first colonial territory in the South Pacific to become independent on 1 January, 1962. A written constitution guarantees basic human rights and provides for a system of government and administration based partly on **fa'a-Samoa** and partly on the British Westminster system. There is a 49-seat Legislative Assembly, a cabinet of 12 members headed by a Prime Minister and an independent judiciary. At the highest state level is the non-political position of Head of State and an advisory body called the Council of Deputies. When Western Samoa became independent in 1962 there were fears, particularly in British official circles, about its ability to manage its own affairs. However these fears proved unfounded and Western Samoa became a model of success for newly emergent Third World nations (J.W. Davidson, 1967: 415).

Social Organisation

The rights and duties inherent in the Samoan social system are a function of kinship and descent. Such descent may be real (i.e. consanguineal) or putative (fictitious) but primacy is normally given to consanguineal descent. There is general agreement among scholars that the Samoan descent system is bilateral or cognatic meaning that affiliation in a group can be claimed either through the male or female line (cf. Gilson, 1970:29; Shore, 1982:307; Schoeffel, 1979). Weston (1972) uses the term 'ambilineal' which has connotations similar to cognatic and bilateral. Sahlins refers to the Samoan descent system as agnatic. However, Freeman (1971) rejects the view of Sahlins (1958:181ff) arguing that the Samoan descent system is patrilineal and cites in support the opinions of former chief justices of Samoa, E. Schultz and C.C. Marsack. He

similarly rejects Ember's (1958:61) reference to the Samoan descent system as bilateral or nonunilinear on the grounds that whilst there is no "prescriptive rule of patrilineal succession" in Samoa, yet there is a "pronounced de facto emphasis on patriliney" (1971:94). He agrees with the distinction made by R. Firth (1957:5) between 'definitive' and 'optative' descent groups in Polynesia and concludes that the Samoan descent system is an optative one with a clear emphasis on patriliney. For Samoa, says Freeman, "the anthropologists' task is to study options as they actually happen, so that the predominant emphasis upon descent in the male line may be accurately gauged and exceptions to it analyzed to reveal the nature of the situations in which they occur" (1971:94). Thus, as Freeman and others maintain, descent group affiliation is a matter of choice (or optation) among Samoans and depends on many factors, for example, availability of land and resources and a chance to succeed to family chiefly titles. In theory, Samoans can belong to many descent groups (ramages) but in practice their membership is at any time active in only a few of them due to limitations in time and resources, for one does not merely gain from membership in a descent group in terms of rights and privileges, one must also contribute wealth and services towards the *fa'alavelave* (life cycle events) of one's group.

Descent groups (or ramage) in Samoa have an apical ancestor from whom descent is reckoned in both the male and female lines. Keeping in mind the patrilineal bias of the rules of descent, males are generally preferred when it comes to rights over land and titles. This is made clear, for instance, by High Chief Ma'ilo Pio of Fagatogo, American Samoa, a former Samoan judge of the American Samoan High Court. He says, for instance, that the sons of the founding ancestor and their cognatic descendants, collectively called the *tama tane*, succeed, as a rule, to the *matal* title but if the founder also had a daughter then she and her descendants, collectively called the *tama fafine*, succeed, as a rule, to the group's *taupou* (ceremonial maiden) title (Ma'ilo, 1972 II-B:18).⁵ This process is repeated through the ages but, as Firth and

⁵ In practice, descent from the children of the founder of a family descent group is cognatic. Thus *tama fafine* or *tama tane* status can be inherited through either the father or the mother. The *taupou* refers to a ceremonial position of high status in the village usually occupied by the unmarried daughter of a high chief. She is the leader of the *aualuma*, the village women's organisation, and presides over the reception of visitors to the village and the performance of the chief's kava ceremony.

Freeman have noted, there are exceptions to the rule. The female line, as Mailo said, can, and does, also succeed to the family title but with the agreement of the **tama tane** heirs. The expression "as a rule" used above, therefore, means nothing less than the expression of an important principle in Samoan social organisation, a principle nevertheless to which exceptions can be made, especially where an active **tama tane** lineage dies out. In this situation, a **tama fafine** group may actually take over the rights and privileges of the **tama tane**. It follows that no descent group can be simultaneously both **tama tane** and **tama fafine**; it must be one or the other in relation to another group of descendants. Mailo's explanation, therefore, agrees with the optative approach by Freeman and Firth. The Samoan descent system is illustrated in the following diagram:

Figure 1: Fale tama descent

Leo'o

Pai (m) Lafai (m) Sina (f)

The founding ancestor, Leo'o, has three children, two males, Pai and Lafai, and one female, Sina. They are said to form three **fale tama** (literally, houses of the offspring, hence descent groups) of Leo'o.⁶ The two male **fale tama** succeed to the title more or less 'ad infinitum'. In normal circumstances, there is only one major title in contention and this is conferred on the basis of seniority. Thus as eldest son, Pai will become **matai** on the death of the father or previous titleholder. Lafai will continue to serve his older brother. When Pai dies, Lafai succeeds and when he dies, Pai's eldest son becomes the next in succession. This is the rule but again, there are exceptions. The female **fale tama** succeeds to the **taupou** title and privileges (more or less ad infinitum). These are the prescriptive rules of succession to the rights and privileges based on gender differences. However, the rules are not rigid and are, as stated before, subject to a considerable degree of flexibility when the circumstances warrant it, for instance, where there are no male heirs or the male heirs are incapacitated or

⁶ Gilson also uses the term *Itu 'alga* for **fale tama** (1970:29).

unqualified for whatever reason. In such a situation, a **tama fafine** heir can, and often does, succeed to a family title. If the **tama fafine** want to share the political and economic power with the **tama tane** then they must negotiate with the **tama tane** for a change in status, that is, for them to become a **tama tane** group. This pattern applies not just to the already well-established descent groups in the villages but also generally in Samoan society. A common ancestor must be established first and then descent reckoned according to male and female lines of descent. But it is the older descent groups of the founders of the **matal** titles (**suafa fa'avae**) which have the most importance because these are the groups which own land, title and other prerogatives of Samoan custom and tradition. Generally speaking, therefore, when it comes to the **fa'a-Samoa** the Samoan perspective is one that attunes to the past, to one's ancestors and to personal family history for these are the realities (in the Samoan's mind, at least) that form an integral part of social identity (cf. Sahlins, 1985).

The arrangement by which the roles and statuses of Samoan children are differentiated is called the **feagaiga**, a word meaning agreement or contract (cf. Keesing, 1956:51; Gilson, 1970:37). The relationships between the **tama tane** and the **tama fafine** in a **feagaiga** relationship, formalised or not, involve distinct ascribed statuses and roles, oppositional (different) yet complementary. Since these statuses and roles relate to social conventions, they are regarded as products of a quasi contract whereby the rights, privileges and obligations of each party are clearly specified according to customary usage. Hence, there is a general expectation by each party that the other will fulfil its part of the bargain when required to do so. The different statuses are evident in the context of ceremony and ritual where, due to the sacredness of their persons, the **tama fafine** occupy the place of honour while the **tama tane** are relegated to inferior positions (cf. Schoeffel, 1980). When the **tama fafine** eat, the **tama tane** are not permitted to look on, in fact, they are required to turn their backs to their **feagaiga** (Penisimani, 1860). However, while the **tama fafine** enjoy precedence in such contexts through their elevated status and social position as arbiters of moral questions and standards (cf. Schoeffel, 1979; Brown, 1910:41f), the **tama tane** monopolise rights to land and **matal** titles, that is to say, to political power. At a more informal level, extreme care is

exercised in the behaviour of siblings of different sex. Thus brothers must avoid any talk or behaviour with sexual connotations in the presence of their sisters and vice versa. To a large extent, therefore, the pattern of behaviour obtaining between a brother and sister is largely one of avoidance, partly to minimise the possibility of violating a prohibition (**tapu**) associated with the sacredness of the sister's social position (or her descendants). The roles and statuses of the **feagaiga**, different yet complementary, contribute greatly to the strengthening of the social system. For according to the Samoans, the ideal social system is one where there is a balance between the political power of the **tama tane** and the moral authority of the **tama fafine** (cf. Va'a, 1987:24). This balance is achieved when the **tama tane** and the **tama fafine** work jointly for the common good. Where this is lacking, divisiveness and conflict are the result. In Gilson's words:

"The two sides can maintain a delicate balance if they adhere to what are, ideally, their separate roles in their descent group meetings and exchange obligations; even in these spheres there may arise tension and exploitation. Only too frequently, though, one side tries to usurp or ignore the rights of the other. The ensuing breach of relations, involving people of a non-localized group, may have far-reaching effects, threatening the stability and security of several villages and perhaps even endangering the general political order" (1970:37).

For the **palagi** (non-Samoan) an understanding of the **feagaiga** system is vital to an understanding of Samoan culture because of its centrality in brother/sister, pastor/congregation and chief/orator relationships. It is the model on which these and other social relationships are based.

This system of descent relations permeates Samoan society because it extends from the immediate family (**alga**), to the village polity (**nu'u**), district (**itumalo**) and nation (**atunu'u**). The **alga** denotes many things in the Samoan language. For instance, it can mean simply a kinship relationship whether consanguineal or affinal, real or putative, close or distant. If one desires to be more specific about a kinship relationship, then one must use the word **fala**, meaning the exact kinship connection. Thus, "What is your **fala** with so-and-so?" The specific answer could be, "Oh, he is my sister's son." The conversation could be continued further. Thus, "Is he really your sister's son?" To

which the other could reply, "Not really, he is my sister's adopted son". Thus it can be seen that one has to ask repeatedly to get the exact kinship connection right. In part, this is because classificatory kin terms based on adoption and generational levels are common in Samoan culture. **Alga** can also mean family, from the simplest to the most complex level. Thus **alga** can refer to a nuclear family but also to an extended family. It can refer to a descent group of three generations or to one of more than 30 generations. When the descent group involves only a few generations, the prefixes **au** and **pul** are used. Thus in her Samoan research, Weston (1972) uses the term "**au alga**" to refer to a group of genealogically connected families living together in the same village. When the descent group involves many generations, the prefix **sa** is usually employed. Hence, **Sa Tupua** and **Sa Malletoa** means the family (clan) of Tupua and Malietoa respectively. **Alga** is thus a general term whose precise meaning can only be established contextually.

The **nu'u** is a localised concentration of **alga** which are headed by **matai**. It is traditionally an independent organisation responsible for its own system of government and administration, hence it is often referred to as a polity, a mini-state within a state. The main governing body is the **fono a le nu'u** which possesses legislative, executive and judicial functions. The **fono** is supported by the unmarried women's organisation called the **aualuma** and the young men's organisation called the **aumaga** (cf. M. & P. Meleisea, 1987:28; Grattan, 1985:12). These subsidiary organisations are often called upon by the **fono** to perform certain tasks for the village, for example, village clean-up for the women, plantation work and fishing for the young men and reception of visitors for both. The village is governed by a constitution, unwritten but sanctioned by time and usage, called the **faalupega**, and which consists of the public recitation of the titles and traditional history of the **matai** and families represented in the village. As Gilson explains, "the **faalupega** put in the form of greetings to the chiefs" refer to "descent groups, titles, place names, famous events, and traditional privileges and relationships; and they again symbolize rank" (1970:21). According to Meleisea, a **faalupega** "is a set of ceremonial greetings which are recited when the **fono** (council) meets. It serves as a constitution and encapsulates, in a few phrases, the origin and rank of each constituent title of the **nu'u** (village) and the order of precedence and ranking in

the fono..." (1987:2).

The **itumalo** refers to a sub-district or district. Thus several **nu'u** form a sub-district (**itumalo laititi**) and several sub-districts constitute a district (**Itumalo tele**). **Itumalo** thus are made up essentially of related descent groups. Just as there is a **fono a le nu'u** (village council) so there is also a **fono a le Itumalo** (district council). Where the **fono a le nu'u** is concerned mainly with village, domestic affairs, the **fono a le Itumalo** is concerned mainly with district affairs which usually translate into disputes over village boundaries and political representation in national affairs. In the old days, the making of peace or war was essentially a district prerogative and this was the one main area where the **nu'u** surrendered its autonomy. Just as **nu'u** form alliances, so do the **Itumalo**. Thus in Western Samoa, the large districts of Atua and A'ana are traditionally allied and usually combined in war against the other allied bloc consisting of Tuamasaga and Savai'i. There are also other kinds of district alliances.

All the **Itumalo** of Samoa combined form the **atunu'u** (country, nation) of Samoa and there is also a **fono a le atunu'u** (council of all Samoa). There is only one **atunu'u** of Samoa recognised in the **fa'a-Samoa** and that is the traditional homeland of the Samoans stretching from Saua in Manu'a, where the sun rises in the east, to Falealupo in Savai'i, where the sun sets in the west.⁷ In the **fa'a-Samoa**, there is no real distinction between the U.S.-administered American Samoa and independent Western Samoa because all Samoans are racially and culturally homogeneous (apart, of course, from minor localised differences and idiosyncracies). According to mythology all Samoans originate from a common ancestor, the god **Tagaloalagi**, and the kinship links have been maintained through endogamous marriages through the centuries.⁸ Thus the Samoan people are often referred to by orators as the **aiga Sa Tagaloa** (family of Tagaloa). From this it can be seen that the concept of **aiga** in the **fa'a-Samoa** is both multi-referential and hierarchical. The first and foremost loyalty of a Samoan, generally speaking, is to his or her immediate **aiga** and only then to the **nu'u**, **Itumalo** and **atunu'u** (cf. Keesing, 1956:61). Thus the

⁷ An expression often heard over the government-owned radio station in Samoa.

⁸ "Endogamous" refers here to marriage between Samoans where there is no known connection of kinship as normally marriage between kin is tapu.

Samoa's loyalties tend to dissipate the further they are removed from the centre which is occupied by the individual and the *alga* (household).

The *matai* are the heads of households and descent groups. There are two main classes of *matai*: *ali'i* and *tulafale*. The *ali'i* are endowed with sacred status whilst the *tulafale*, also called *fallauga*, *faleupolu* and *fai'pule* are executive chiefs, who act as spokespersons for the *ali'i* and who perform most of the administrative work for the village *fono*. In part, the responsibilities of the *tulafale* are in keeping with their secular status vis-a-vis the sacred status of the *ali'i* whose *mana* (power) prevents them from speaking or doing any work in a formal sense. Thus, the *ali'i* titles are those which trace their genealogical links back to the Polynesian god, *Tagaloa-a-lagi*, and in this respect are considered sacred and carry with them "the *mana* of the gods" and *tulafale* titles "did not depend upon *mana* or sacred ancestry" (M. and P. McLeisea, 1987:27). There were also *matai* titles for *Itumalo* which were generally known as *ao* (such as *Le Tagaloa*, *Lilomaiava*, *Tonumaife'a*) and titles for the *atunu'u* which were called the *papa* (such as *Tui Atua*, *Tui A'ana*, *Gatoaltele*, *Tamasoali'i*). The holder of the four *papa* titles became king of the whole of Samoa but during the last 800 years, only a few leaders held all four *papa*⁹.

Because of the patrilineal bias in Samoan social organisation, males usually exercise the rights to the family's *matai* titles and occupy its lands in the village. The women usually stay with their husbands' families after marriage. But whilst, in a traditional sense, post-marital virilocal residence is prescribed, in reality other forms of post-marital residence are practised especially in recent times. Thus Freeman, who studied social structure at the village of Sa'anapu, Safata, Western Samoa, in the early 1940s, observed that "[i]n Samoa patrilocal marriage is the norm both preferred and actual, but matrilocal marriage is practised to a limited extent" (1948:94). Of the 72 affinal relatives resident in Sa'anapu in January, 1943, 44 were female spouses and 15 male spouses. Of the 22 *matai* in the village, one was practising uxorilocal residence. However, among the *taulele'a* (untitled young men) the rate of uxorilocal residence was

⁹ Since the death of Malietoa Vainupo in 1839, no Samoan leader has held the four *papa* titles. Both the *ao* and *papa* titles today are mostly ceremonial.

much higher, 14 out of 42 *taulele'a* (Ibid, 94-97). The trend towards uxori-local residence, in Freeman's view, was the perception by husbands that from the point of view of increased wealth and status they would be better off staying in the villages of their wives. Wives also preferred to be with their kin during the difficult times of pregnancy and child-rearing (Ibid, p. 100). Structural changes in the Samoan economy since World War II also contributed towards alternative forms of post-marital residence and other social changes as an increasing number of Samoans gained their economic independence by working for wages in the urban centres of Apia and Pago Pago or by migrating to the United States, New Zealand and Australia.

International Migration

The cash economy had spread to the Samoan islands by the 1830s with the arrival of the London Missionary Society missionaries, European traders and settlers. But up to World War II the Samoan economy still remained largely subsistence. The subsistence economy was identical to the household economy which revolved around the productive, collaborative efforts of kin engaged in plantation work, fishing, arts and crafts (cf. Sahlins, 1972). Surpluses were earmarked for traditional forms of prestations and exchanges. World War II, however, revolutionised all of that. After Pearl Harbour, the Samoan islands formed one of the most important defensive links for the allied cause in the South Pacific and thousands of U.S. marines, G.I.'s and Seabees were poured into the area. The economic opportunities generated by wartime activities allowed more Samoans to participate in the cash economy through wage employment as translators, supervisors or labourers in the construction of gun emplacements, roads, airports, docks, medical and other facilities. In addition, the presence of thousands of G.I.'s and marines encouraged local entrepreneurs to set up business as laundresses and sellers of local produce including exotic foods like American hamburgers. In Western Samoa, for instance, "there was a seemingly unlimited market, at inflated prices, for foodstuffs and locally manufactured liquor" (J.W. Davidson, 1967:157). Entertaining the marines and Seabees was also a top priority. As Pierce relates, "[i]n the Mormon village of Mapusaga [American Samoa] there were some Samoans who made a lucrative income by managing the orchestras that were hired to play for the American troops as well as for Samoans. It became possible

for almost any Samoan to make large sums of money...." (1956:24f).

Economically, the war years were boom years in both Samoas. The money spent by the U.S. military in the two Samoas whetted the Samoans' appetite for more Western goods, increased their expectations and established once and for all the dominance of the cash economy. As Gray observed, while cutting of copra (till then American Samoa's main source of cash income) had ceased, "an unprecedented amount of money from other sources was infused into the islands"; further that the "the war brought a money economy into American Samoa and left it relatively rich" transforming it into "one of the few governments in the world which was more prosperous in 1945 than it had been in 1941" (1960:244). A similar situation was reported for Western Samoa where, as a result of unprecedented wartime prosperity, government finances were in a much better position at the end of the war with revenues more than doubled and the public debt wholly repaid (J.W. Davidson, 1967:157). Thus, World War II had radically transformed the economic structure of the Samoan islands with consequential repercussions on social structure. The lack of economic opportunities in the islands encouraged the trend towards external migration and the historical relationships with the colonial governments facilitated this process. I now deal with each of these movements in turn.

Migration to the U.S.A.

Compared to the war years, the 1950s saw a reversal of economic fortunes for American Samoa, the result, Park says, of "drought, the declining job market, the cost-price squeeze and other unfavorable conditions..." (1979:24-5). The economic impetus generated by the wartime projects of the U.S. military had dwindled by the early 1950s and a deep recession gradually took over. According to Pierce, in late 1951 and early 1952, a combination of events made the situation worse. These were "a long dry period accompanied by high winds" which "ruined many Samoan crops" and a crippling shipping strike in the U.S. which "cut off imports and exports" (1956:26). There had also been a 46.7 percent increase in population in 1940-1950, due to the influx of Western Samoans seeking employment in the territory, with the result that "a serious land shortage had developed" (ibid, p. 26; cf. Forster, 1954:23-5). It is widely agreed, however, that the United States decision to transfer the administration of

the territory from the Navy to the Interior Department, which became effective 1 July, 1951, was the most significant factor in the ailing American Samoan economy. Since American Samoans were so dependent on Navy jobs, the loss of these had a devastating effect on the economy. Thus, as Pierce explains,

“Because the Department of the Interior was not concerned with military installations it operated on a smaller scale than the Navy, which meant fewer civilian employees in government positions. Thus, the greatest single source of money income for Samoans had disappeared, with no adequate substitute” (1956:26).

The departure of the Navy also meant the unavailability of “regular and inexpensive transportation” that the Navy provided for travel between Tutuila and the Manu'a islands (Ibid, p. 26).

Eyde had also described the Navy's withdrawal as “sudden and disastrous. Without the income from the naval station the economy of American Samoa reverted to a nearly subsistence level” (1954:3-4). As a result of the loss of income, many Samoans could no longer afford the cost of imported goods. Other effects of the withdrawal were: serious disruption in travel between the islands, and between the territory and the United States; widespread unemployment in the Pago Pago Bay Area; skilled and semi-skilled persons found no market for their talents; and civil service employment was terminated before eligibility for retirement and a pension (Eyde, 1954:3-4). It was, therefore, not surprising that when the Navy offered to transport would-be migrants to the United States in 1952 that the response could be better described as a stampede.

Of course, Samoans as individuals have been migrating to the United States since the nineteenth century though certainly not in any significant numbers. The earliest of these were mostly sailors, entertainers and adventurers. In the 1920s most of the Samoan population in Hawaii came from three groups (Levin, 1990:3). Firstly, there were the Samoan families based in the Mormon settlement in Laie; secondly, there were an “unknown number of entertainers” who stayed in Hawaii after touring the United States (Ibid, p.3); thirdly there were between 50 and 60 Samoan prisoners who decided to remain in Hawaii after serving their time in Hawaii jails (Alailima, 1982:105 and Born,

1968:456, in Levin 1990:3). The first stage of anything approaching a mass migration occurred in 1919 when a group of Samoan Mormons travelled to Laie, Hawaii, to attend the dedication of the Hawaiian Temple and some of them remained (Stanton, 1993:26; Pierce, 1956:19).¹⁰ By 1925, 33 Samoans (from six families) were living there, by 1929, 125 and by 1955, 300 (Pearce, 1956:20). The second stage began in 1947 when the Navy allowed a contingent of Samoans to migrate to Hawaii but only 150 of them stayed; the rest, 102, went on to San Francisco, mostly to seek a better education (Emery, 1976:10). And between November, 1947, and March, 1950, "some 474 Samoans purchased letters of identity - which served in lieu of passports for American Samoans travelling to United States territory - and either settled abroad or joined the armed forces there" (Lewthwaite et al, 1973:134). The third stage began on the 25 June, 1951, when the last scheduled Navy transport, the General R.L. Howze, left Pago Pago for Hawaii with the remnant of the Fitafita Guard¹¹ and other former Navy personnel of Samoan ancestry, 100 of them, plus a few dependents (Forster, 1954; Eyde, 1954; Pierce, 1956; Yost, 1965; Lewthwaite et al, 1973). This movement was in preparation for the administrative take-over by the Interior Department on the 1 July, 1951. Because demographic and socio-economic information on Samoan "migrants" in the United States is generally unavailable, due to the fact that Samoans as an ethnic group were enumerated in the United States decennial census for the first time only in 1980,¹² little is known about exact numbers, age and gender of these early migrants. But the majority would have been young unmarried males who were either already in the U.S. armed forces or planning to enlist in what has now become a "traditional" form of occupation for Samoan males. Levin has described the problem in a nutshell when he said that "most counts of Samoans during this century are estimates" based in part on the work of researchers (1990:1).

In response to pressures from its Samoan personnel for their families to join them in Hawaii, the Navy in 1952 dispatched the USS President

¹⁰ The Mormon mission was established in Samoa in 1888. By 1919 the number of adherents was approximately 3,500 (Stanton, 1993:26).

¹¹ The Fitafita Guard were Samoan members of the para-military force responsible for maintaining security of the U.S. naval base in Pago Pago. It was established by the territory's first governor, Commander B.F. Tilley, in 1900. The Fitafita increased from 58 in 1900 to a peak of 250 during World War II (Gray, 1970:127f; Lewthwaite et al, 1973:135).

¹² In pre-1980 censuses, only birthplace statistics were available but not those on ethnicity.

Jackson to American Samoa to take these dependents to Hawaii. Since there was room on the ship for more people, the Navy agreed to take non-dependents of Samoan servicemen provided, however, they intended to join the armed forces "or be able to guarantee a sponsor in Hawaii" (Pierce, 1956:20-21). They also had "to undergo a physical examination in Samoa, and to produce evidence of birth in American Samoa and lack of a criminal record" (Forster, 1954:23-25). In addition, non-dependents had to pay their own fares at \$30 each (Pierce, 1956:20-21). In view of the economic circumstances of the time, the response was overwhelming. Almost 1,000 applied for passage. "Still others were taken aboard by yachts, accepted the limited space afforded by the coast-guard vessel on its annual visit, or sailed on the Matson lines" (Lewthwaite et al, 1973:135). Other researchers (e.g. Forster, 1954; Pierce, 1956; Yost, 1965) put the total number of passengers at 958 made up of 458 naval dependents, 218 recruits for the armed services and 282 civilians with no naval connections. The Navy provided accommodation for the naval dependents at Pearl Harbour but the rest of the new arrivals relied on the hospitality of the Samoan community in downtown Honolulu but especially at Laie (Yost, 1965; Pierce, 1956). Several hundred more were hired by farm labour contractors and taken in several plane loads to work in California in 1953 (Lewthwaite et al, 1973:135-6). These also brought their families to join them.

The transfer of 958 migrants to Hawaii by the USS President Jackson has been described as "the climax of all Samoan migration to Hawaii" (Pierce, 1956:20-21). And Lewthwaite et al said of it that "...once initiated, the outflow was hard to check..." (1973:135). Clearly it set the pattern for waves of future migration from American Samoa. According to Navy Department reports, between 2 November, 1947, and 30 June, 1956, 2,461 Samoans had migrated to Hawaii and the Mainland and of this total 1,987 had left American Samoa after 3 May, 1950 (Ibid, p. 136-7). Furthermore, between the censuses of 25 September, 1956, and 1 April, 1960, over 4,000 had migrated to the U.S. If the 2,000 who migrated in the 1950-1956 period are added, then over 6,000 Samoans had migrated to the U.S. for the decade 1950-1960 (Ibid, p. 138). For the same period, another researcher, Koenig (1961), had estimated the net loss of population through migration at 5,306 when return migrants were accounted for, but Doumenge (1966) arrived at a figure of at least 6,000 when the

overseas-born children of Samoan migrants were included. Such wholesale migration, moreover, had a significant impact on the census population of American Samoa which dropped from 20,154 in 1956 to 20,051 in 1960, at a time of high Polynesian birth rates (Lewthwaite et al, 1973:138). The movement from American Samoa to the United States continues today but at a more leisurely pace. The hectic mass movements of the early 1950s can no longer be replicated because the socio-economic realities of that period no longer apply. There is more evidence today of circulatory movements made easier by the fact that as U.S. nationals, American Samoans have free entry into the United States and enjoy all the benefits of U.S. citizenship except the right to vote in presidential elections. In the 1950-1960 decade many Samoans moved from Hawaii to the coastal cities of North America, principally San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle, and there founded thriving Samoan communities. That Hawaii continues to lose population to the Mainland, particularly California, is suggested by census data. Thus in 1980 there were 18,087 Samoans in California as compared with 14,349 in Hawaii. Ten years later (1990) the corresponding total for California was 31,917 compared with 15,034 for Hawaii.

According to the United States census for 1990, the Samoans formed the second biggest ethnic group from the Pacific islands with 62,964. The biggest ethnic group were the Hawaiians with 211,014 as shown in Table 1. The

Table 1: Pacific Islanders in the United States, 1990

Hawaiians	211,014
Samoans	62,964
Guamanians	49,345
Tongans	17,606
Fijians	7,036
Palauans	1,439
Northern Mariana Islanders	960
Tahitians	944
Other	13,716
Total	365,024

(Source: U.S. Census, 1990).

Samoan ethnic population of 62,964 represents a 50.1 percent increase from the 1980 total of 41,948. The vast majority of Samoans live in two states, namely, Hawaii and California but the latter is increasingly becoming a popular Samoan destination. Thus in the 1980 census, California had a Samoan population of 18,087 and Hawaii 14,349. In the 1990 census, California's Samoan population had jumped to 31,917 and Hawaii's to 15,034, an increase of 76.46 percent and 4.77 percent respectively. In the 1990 census, Samoans in California and Hawaii made up 74.56 percent of the total Samoan ethnic population in the United States. Of the 41,948 ethnic Samoans in the 1980 census almost 12,582 persons (30 percent) were born in Western Samoa compared to 9,361 (22.32 percent) born in American Samoa. This means the balance, 20,005 or 47.68 percent, were born in the United States. The large number of Western Samoans in the United States is the result of the utilisation of kinship networks in both American Samoa and the United States. The strength of these networks is indicated by the fact that of a total 1980 census population of 32,297 persons in American Samoa, 9,686 or 30 percent were born in Western Samoa (cf. Levin and Ahlburg, 1993:96). In 1990 the Western Samoan-born persons totaled 14,714 or 31.45 percent of the total population of 46,773. However, it represents a 51.91 percent increase in the number of Western Samoan-born (US Census, 1990).

Migration to New Zealand

In some respects, Samoan migration to New Zealand resembles the mass migration movement to the United States from American Samoa in the early 1950s. In Western Samoa, the onset of national independence in 1962 signalled the start of mass movements to New Zealand, a trend which actually began several years before independence but on a smaller scale. The one thing common in both movements, however, was economic insecurity.

Samoan migration to New Zealand probably dates back to World War I when New Zealand militiamen seized control of Western Samoa from Germany in 1914. Intermarriage between Samoan women and New Zealand soldiers and public servants since then led to a progressive movement of children, wives and their relatives to New Zealand. Samoans who served in the British colonial forces during World War I might also have settled in New Zealand at the end of

the war. Later, wealthy European and part-European businessmen and planters from Western Samoa sent their children to be educated in New Zealand schools. Their numbers, however, were few as Table 2 shows. Fairbairn noted that

Table 2: Census Figures for Samoans Resident in New Zealand

Year	No	Year	No
1916	12	1951	1,336
1921	164	1956	3,740
1936	362	1961	6,481
1945	716		

Note: Figures include those born in New Zealand.

(Source: Immigration Office, New Zealand High Commission, Apla).

during and after World War II, the rate of Samoan migration to New Zealand increased significantly and also that the movement "previously a predominantly 'Mixed-blood' one, became dominated by the Samoan or 'Full-blood' element" (1961:19). Thus in 1945 there were 656 Samoans in the 'Mixed-blood' group and 60 in the 'Full-blood' group. By 1956 there were 2,304 in the former group and 1,436 in the latter group (ibid, p. 19). These trends indicate that before 1945, most of the Samoan migrants were *afakasi* (literally "half-castes", the product of marriages between Samoans and *papalagi* or their descendants) who enjoyed well-developed socio-cultural ties with New Zealand. After 1945, migration was motivated almost exclusively by economic considerations. The classification of Samoans into "Full-blood" and "Mixed-blood" Samoans or into Samoan or European status was a legacy of European colonialism and was continued by the New Zealand Administration which replaced the Germans in 1914. The classification ceased when Western Samoa became independent in 1962.¹³

Before 1955, New Zealand policy towards Samoan migration was a relaxed one. As long as the migrants behaved themselves they were left alone even if they went on temporary permits (Fairbairn, 1961:21). But in 1955, the New Zealand government revised its immigration policy towards Samoans. Two classes of visitors were identified: one, those who went to New Zealand for visits

¹³ Ironically, even the Samoan government has failed to remove the distinction because under the present electoral system, those formerly of European status now vote in the general elections as Individual Voters and are guaranteed two seats in the Legislative Assembly.

of three months or less and two, those who were potential migrants. Permits were given "on a most liberal basis" to short-term visitors but the potential permanent residents were "subjected to rigorous screening before being admitted" (Ibid, pp. 20f). The latter had to be of good health and character and had guarantees of accommodation and employment. If they passed the screening process, they were given a six months visa, renewable, with permanent residence after five years (Ibid, p.21).¹⁴ This policy is often referred to as the Continuing Residence Scheme and its implementation in 1955 witnessed a drastic jump in the rate of Samoan migration to New Zealand. For

Table 3: Samoans Granted Permanent Visas

1955	171	1958	431
1956	287	1959	475
1957	341	1960	360

(Source: Immigration Office, New Zealand High Commission, Apia).

instance, from 1939 to 1954, a period of 16 years, 24.3 Samoans on average were granted permanent visas. In 1955 alone, 171 Samoans were granted similar privileges. And numbers continued to increase as Table 3 indicates. From 1939 to 1960, a total of 2,454 Samoans were granted permanent resident visas to New Zealand. In 1960, the total Samoan population in New Zealand was approximately 6,000¹⁵ (Va'a, 1991:3). By comparison, the total population of Western Samoa in the 1961 census was 114,427 of which 113,101 or 98.8 percent were classified as "Samoan" (Western Samoan Census, 1991:5).

Western Samoa's version of mass migration, comparable to American Samoa's in the early 1950s, occurred in the period just prior to and following independence in 1962. For Western Samoans at that time, migration to New Zealand was motivated mainly by economic considerations and encouraged by the corresponding need in New Zealand for unskilled labour. As long as the

¹⁴ The visa is an instrument which allows a person to travel to New Zealand. Upon arrival, if the papers are in order, a permit to stay in New Zealand is stamped on the passport. This permit, in the case of Samoan migrants, has to be renewed every six months until the five years are up and they can apply for permanent residence.

¹⁵ Including New Zealand-born Samoans.

demand for such labour in New Zealand was strong, Samoan migrants were welcomed. With economic recessions, however, as in 1975, migrant numbers were severely limited. Thus, Samoan migration to New Zealand has been largely governed by economic factors both in the sending and receiving societies. Prior to independence, the first drastic increase in the number of Samoan migrants to New Zealand became noticeable in 1955 when the number of Samoan migrants granted permanent residence visas jumped from 39 in 1954 to 171 in 1955.¹⁶ The next major increase took place in the period April, 1961, to March, 1962, when 819 Samoans travelled to New Zealand under the Continuing Residence Scheme, compared with 360 in 1960. Thereafter migrant numbers remained steady with alternating periods of increase and decrease. For instance, from a previous high of 1,308 in 1966/67, the total dropped to 650 in 1968/69. In the seventies, permanent migrant numbers dropped from a high of 1,597 in 1972/73 to a low of 502 in 1977/78. In the eighties the numbers increased from 747 permanent migrants in 1980/81 to 4,082 in 1988/89. The sudden reductions and increases in the number of permanent migrants over the years are, to a certain extent, indicative of attempts by the New Zealand immigration authorities to compensate for shortfalls or oversupplies of Samoan migrants according to mutually-agreed upon quota levels established between the New Zealand and Western Samoan governments (Va'a, 1991:3). If the figures in Table 4 are added, it will show that from April, 1961, to March, 1991, a period of 30 years, a total of 38,832 Western Samoans had migrated to New Zealand on a permanent basis. This can be compared with the total Samoan population of New Zealand of 6,481 in 1961, 11,842 in 1966, 19,540 in 1971 and 27,876 in 1976.¹⁷ There were 35,895 full-descent and 8,910 mixed-descent Samoans in the 1981 census, and 50,199 full-descent and 11,064 mixed-descent Samoans in the 1986 census. Thus if ethnicity is to be defined according to descent, however small, then the total Samoan population of New Zealand in 1981 was 44,805, and in 1986 61,263. The present Samoan population in New Zealand is estimated at 80,000, the majority of whom continue to maintain close ties with relatives in Samoa and to

¹⁶ This was the year when the Continuing Residence Scheme was introduced. The steep increase in the number of migrants might have been due to the participation of short-term visitors in the scheme. That is to say, those who went on a temporary basis probably decided they wanted to stay for good, applied and managed to change their status to that of permanent residents.

¹⁷ New Zealand census figures.

contribute by far the biggest share of Western Samoa's total remittances every year.

Table 4: Western Samoans Granted Visas and Permits for Permanent Residence In New Zealand

Year	No	Year	No
1961-62	819	1976-77	992
1962-63	863	1977-78	502
1963-64	661	1978-79	799
1964-65	584	1979-80	934
1965-66	868	1980-81	747
1966-67	1,308	1981-82	1,260
1967-68	799	1982-83	1,470
1968-69	650	1983-84	1,041
1969-70	1,497	1984-85	1,706
1970-71	1,462	1985-86	1,560
1971-72	1,429	1986-87	2,096
1972-73	1,597	1987-88	1,753
1973-74	1,498	1988-89	4,082
1974-75	1,454	1989-90	1,215
1975-76	1,356	1990-91	1,820

Notes: (1) An immigration year extends from April of one year to March of the next.

Source: Immigration Office, New Zealand High Commission, Apia.

The number of migrants over the years probably would not have been large but for the Treaty of Friendship between New Zealand and Western Samoa signed 1 August, 1962. The treaty, amongst other things, guarantees that New Zealand would give Western Samoa preferential treatment with regard to immigration matters. The result was a major revision in New Zealand immigration policy in 1967 with the establishment of a migrant quota.¹⁸ Under this arrangement, up to 1,000 Western Samoans could migrate to New Zealand every year but subject to certain conditions, namely, ability to speak English, lack of a criminal record and guarantees of employment and accommodation in New

¹⁸ Only two countries in the world have been given immigration quotas by New Zealand: Netherlands and Western Samoa.

Zealand.¹⁹ In many respects, these were similar to the conditions applicable for the Continuing Residence Scheme except that since 1967, Western Samoans were able to migrate to New Zealand under the quota, which was later increased to 1,500 per annum in 1970 and reduced to 1,100 per annum by the Muldoon government in 1976, where it is now. The quota system does not imply that New Zealand is constrained to admit the full quota of migrants in any given year; it merely sets the ceiling on numbers who could migrate under the quota category. Thus the quota is not always filled due to insufficient numbers of people who meet selection criteria. At the same time, Samoans are also entitled to migrate to New Zealand under the other categories apart from the quota (Va'a, 1991:12). For instance, they can qualify under the categories of family reunion and humanitarian reasons. Thus, theoretically the quota can be exceeded in any given year due to these other categories. New Zealand authorities claim that where there are shortfalls in the quota intake, attempts are always made in subsequent years to compensate. Thus the numbers eligible to migrate under the quota and the actual number of migrants generally tend to balance out. In

Table 5: Quota and Actual Migrant Numbers Compared

Year	Quota	Actual
1967-68 to 1969-70	3,000	2,946
1970-71 to 1975-76	9,000	8,796
1976-77 to 1990-91	16,500	21,987
Total	28,500	33,729

(Source: Va'a, 1991).

Table 5, there is a close correlation between the authorised quota intakes and the actual number of migrants (for all categories including quota system) for the periods 1967-1970 and 1970-1976. However, in the 1976/77-1990/91 period the number of actual migrants exceeds the authorised quota intake by 5,487. The excess reflects a significant increase in other categories, particularly family reunion, and this does represent a new trend in Samoan migration. This is especially evident from the fact that the number of people migrating under the quota system has dropped drastically since 1990 due largely to the scarcity of jobs in New Zealand (New Zealand Immigration, Apia, personal

¹⁹ The common practice was for relatives in New Zealand to look for jobs for would-be migrants and to guarantee their accommodation needs, at least for the initial period of adjustment.

communication). Whereas most of the Samoan migrants to New Zealand went under the quota system in the first twenty years of the scheme, recent trends indicate that the early migrants have settled comfortably enough to enable them to bring over their parents and other close relatives to join them (Va'a, 1991:13). Indeed, this view is shared by a senior New Zealand Immigration official in Apia who claims that more and more parents are being encouraged by their children to remain in New Zealand. In addition to Samoans legally in New Zealand, there is also a substantial population of overstayers. In 1965 there were just over 100 Pacific island overstayers in New Zealand.²⁰ By 2 November, 1990, according to New Zealand Immigration Office figures, there were 8,288 registered Samoan overstayers compared with 5,714 on 25 January, 1989. Whilst a senior Western Samoan Immigration official has challenged the accuracy of the New Zealand figures, a serious problem does exist with regard to Samoan overstayers and the Samoan government is cooperating with the New Zealand government to try to resolve this problem (Va'a, 1991:14).

Since 1990, the system for applying for an immigrant visa under the quota system has been streamlined. Whereas in the past such applications were accepted from early April every year until the number of applicants equalled the quota (which could take only two days), the new system calls for all applications to be made during the month of June. This means that all necessary documents, for instance, proofs of guaranteed accommodation and employment, must be available at the time of applying and to ease congestion at the New Zealand High Commission at Apia, the applications must be posted. The new system has greatly simplified immigration procedures at the New Zealand High Commission but one noticeable outcome has been a significant reduction in the number of Samoans applying under the quota. In 1989, for instance, there were 1,002 main applications covering 1,400 people under the quota system. When the new system was introduced in 1990 only 205 main applications covering 410 individuals were made. A New Zealand immigration official said the drop in the number of applications was due mainly to the scarcity of jobs in New Zealand. Thus economic conditions in New Zealand had a direct impact on the levels of migration under the quota system and in that respect, the official added, the quota was "self-regulating". The drop was also due to more stringent checks on

²⁰ The Samoa Bulletin, 10 September, 1965, Apia.

matters raised in the applications, such as job guarantees, many of which were found to be fraudulent (Va'a, 1991:15).

New Zealand's immigration policy towards Western Samoa is unlikely to alter at least in the immediate future, especially if recent policy statements by New Zealand diplomats and politicians are to be believed. Western Samoans, it seems, will continue to qualify for migration to New Zealand under the categories already mentioned (quota, family reunion, humanitarian) plus new categories such as the points system.²¹

Migration to Australia

Mass migration by Western Samoans to Australia is primarily a 1930s phenomenon and is attributable mainly to the economic recession in New Zealand dating from the mid-seventies and the existence of the Trans Tasman Agreement of 1975 which enables New Zealand citizens to travel freely to Australia and vice versa. Most of the Samoans now resident in Australia entered the country in their capacity as New Zealand citizens and some have since assumed Australian citizenship.

The earliest Samoans to have visited Australia were probably Samoan deck-hands who worked on whalers and trading vessels in the 1820s (Deacon, 1988:758). Further contacts occurred as a result of the establishment of the London Missionary Society (LMS), Wesleyan and Catholic missions in Samoa in 1830, 1835 and 1845 respectively and "[e]ven more frequent contact arose in the 1840s and 1850s, when Samoan missionaries on board vessels of the London Missionary Society periodically visited Sydney on their way to the Melanesian islands to the north and northeast of Australia" (Deacon, 1988:758). Many Samoans entered Australia through LMS missionary work in the Torres Strait islands and Papua New Guinea and LMS missionaries, such as Mills even adopted Samoan children, one of whom, James Mills, became a prominent businessman in the Torres Straits in the early 1900s.²² With the resumption of

²¹ Personal interview with New Zealand High Commissioner to Western Samoa, His Excellency, Mr. Adrian Simcock, in Apia, 27 May, 1993. See also the booklet, *New Zealand's Immigration Policy*, New Zealand Immigration Service, Wellington, 1991.

²² Dr N. Peterson, an anthropologist at the Australian National University, is currently researching the life of James Mills and his descendants.

the Wesleyan mission in Samoa in 1857, Samoan pastors came to Australia for training and work. And the Catholics sent some of their converts and students for the same purpose. Thus in 1863, according to Deacon, 14 Samoans were studying for the priesthood at a Catholic seminary near Richmond, New South Wales. About this time, too, Samoan children of mixed marriages were being sent to Australia for their education.²³ Thus by 1901, there were 85 Samoans in Australia, 124 in 1911 and 109 in 1921 (Deacon, 1988:758). Demographic statistics on the Western Samoan-born residents of Australia from 1921 to 1976 are scarce (as yet) but it appears that the migration patterns prevalent at the turn of the century had persisted during that time. That is to say, migration patterns generally reflected the religious and mercantile connections between the two countries. At any rate, there could not have been much Samoan migration because the 1976 Australian census shows that the Western Samoan-born population of Australia was only 259 (Trimboli, 1988:2).

Trans-Tasman Agreement

In Australia, the White Australia policy was designed to build "a white British Australia from which all others would be excluded, whether recent Chinese immigrants or the original Aboriginal inhabitants" (Jupp, 1991:46). The non-British migrants who were allowed to migrate to Australia were expected to assimilate. The end of the Second World War, however, ushered in a new political era characterised by mass migrations of populations and decolonisation and the Australian state was forced to reconsider its options, partly as a result of external pressures. Gradually, the White Australia policy began to be modified, initially in favour of "Europeanised minorities and the highly qualified" (Ibid, p. 85). According to Jupp, "the erosion and abolition of the policy took only six years after the retirement of Sir Robert Menzies [in 1966]" but it was not until the Whitlam government came to power six years later that the policy was finally, publicly abolished (Ibid, p. 86). The Whitlam government declared in early 1973 that "future admissions would be universal in the sense of ignoring race, ethnicity, religion or cultural background" and later "moved against racial

²³ For example, the famous "Queen Emma" from Samoa was educated in Sydney. For an account of Emma's life, see Robson, R.W. 1994 [1965] *Queen Emma: the Samoan American Girl Who Founded An Empire in 19th Century New Guinea*. Robert Brown & Associates, Brisbane; also Dutton, G. 1976. *Queen Emma of the South Seas*. Macmillan, Melbourne.

discrimination in setting up a Commissioner for Community Relations and passing the Racial Discrimination Act 1975" (Ibid, p. 86).

For Samoans, the turning point of migration to Australia was the implementation of the Trans Tasman Agreement of 1975. It appears, not only from statistics but from the stories of informants, that early in the process settlement in Australia was more the result of chance circumstances. The 1975 recession in New Zealand hit the Samoan community hard and some Samoans, attempting to escape the debilitating effects of the recession, found their way to Australia where jobs were plentiful. As their numbers grew these first settlers began to set in motion the chain migration process intended to reunite relatives and church members, a process which shows no sign of ending. The great

Table 6: Number and Year of Arrival of W. Samoan-born Migrants to Australia

Year	No.	Year	No.
1975-76	11	1984-85	202
1976-77	16	1985-86	340
1977-78	34	1986-87	430
1978-79	41	1987-88	465
1979-80	60	1988-89	551
1980-81	141	1989-90	478
1981-82	94	1990-91	234
1982-83	98	1991-92	255
1983-84	89	1992-93	436

Sources: Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration and Population Research and Department of Migration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs.

majority of Samoan migrants enter Australia in their capacity as New Zealand citizens; most of the rest enter as relatives of those already here, that is, as part of a chain migration process. Very few enter under other categories such as **Independent, Concessional or Preferential**.²⁴ Thus, from 1981-82 to

²⁴ **Independent** refers to an unsponsored applicant who has skills to contribute to Australia; **concessional** refers to non-dependent child, brother or sister, niece or nephew; and parent of working age not meeting balance of family test; **preferential** refers to aged dependent relative; last remaining brother, sister or non-dependent child; orphaned, unmarried relative under 18 years; special need relative (Migration Update, March Quarter, 1991. Bureau of Immigration Research, Statistics Section.)

1992-93, a total of 3,672 Western Samoan-born migrants came to Australia. Of that number 2,890 or 78.7 percent were New Zealand citizens. The high period of migration occurred in the 1985-90 period and then dropped off again for two years from the second half of 1990 to the first half of 1992 before going up again from the second half of 1992. It appears from the figures, however, especially from 1984-85 to the present, that the chain migration process will continue indefinitely as Samoan migrants encourage their relatives to join them in Australia.

At the national level, census figures show that the Samoan-born population of Australia is among the fastest-growing populations of new migrant groups (see Table 7). The Samoan-born population has not grown as fast as the Fijian-born population which grew by 107.3 percent from 14,744 in 1986 to 30,558 in 1991,²⁵ but faster than the Tongan-born population which increased by only 38 percent from 4,470 in 1986 to 6,168 in 1991.

Table 7: Western Samoan-born Population of Australia

Year	Total	% Increase
1976	259	
1981	781	201.5
1986	2,994	283.4
1991	5,742	91.8

Source: Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration Research; Trimboli (1988).

Well over 50 percent of the Western Samoan-born population live in the state of New South Wales. Thus in the 1986 census, 1,695 or 56.6 percent of the Western Samoan-born out of a total population of 2,994 lived in New South Wales. The corresponding figure for 1991 was 3,192 or 55.6 percent out of a total population of 5,742.²⁶ The rest of the Western Samoan-born were distributed among the other states and territories. In 1986 there were 488 of them in Victoria, 433 in Queensland, 130 in Western Australia, 119 in South Australia, 68 in Canberra, 36 in Tasmania and 25 in Northern Territory. The corresponding figures for 1991 were: Queensland 1,136; Victoria 1,131;

²⁵ The high increase rate in Fiji migration resulted from the military coups in Fiji.

²⁶ *Statistical Focus*, September, 1993. Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration Research.

Western Australia 96; ACT 82; South Australia 65; Tasmania 20; Northern Territory 20.²⁷ In the inter-censal period (1986-1991) the biggest increases in the Western Samoan-born population were registered for Queensland with 162.4 percent, Victoria 131.8 percent, New South Wales 88.3 percent and ACT 20.6 percent. States and territories which lost population were South Australia -45.4 percent, Tasmania -44.4 percent, Western Australia -26.2 percent and Northern Territory -20 percent.²⁸ The large increases in population registered for New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria and ACT and the loss of population in the other states and territories suggest changing demographic patterns in keeping with the formation of strong Samoan communities in the cities of Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne and Canberra.

The great majority of Western Samoan-born persons in New South Wales live in the Sydney metropolitan area in a Y-shaped corridor which stretches from inner Sydney to Canterbury-Bankstown, Liverpool and Campbelltown in one direction and to Blacktown in the other. The statistical region of Canterbury-Bankstown, in fact, has the largest concentration of Western Samoan-born persons in Sydney since the early 1980s. In 1986, for instance, Canterbury-Bankstown had a Western Samoan-born population of 326, compared with 227 for Inner Sydney (mainly Marrickville), 156 for Hunter, 123 for Fairfield/Liverpool, 106 for Lower Northern Sydney and 99 for Central Western Sydney. By 1991 Canterbury Local Government Area (LGA) had the biggest population of Western Samoan-born residents with 254 males and 259 females for a total population of 513. Bankstown LGA was fifth in place with 93 males and 100 females for a total population of 193 persons. Thus the combined population of Western Samoan-born residents of the two LGAs forming the statistical region of Canterbury-Bankstown in the 1991 census was 706. This was the area chosen for my research because it has the biggest concentration of Samoan migrants and I felt that any findings generated by the study would contribute to our general understanding of Samoan migrant communities especially in relation to the process of migration, social adaptation, community formation and ethnic

²⁷ In the 1991 census, the American Samoan-born population was as follows: New South Wales 32; Queensland 13; Western Australia 8; Victoria 7; ACT 6.

²⁸ Western Samoan-born population figures in the states and territories were obtained from *Settler Arrivals 1992-93, Statistical Report No 10*, Bureau of Immigration and Population Research.

identity in Australia.

Conclusion

Samoaan culture and social organisation, of course, have undergone changes since contact with Europeans in the 1830s. In the area of religion, for instance, the old pagan gods (**aitu**) have been replaced by the Christian god though some of the basic beliefs and practices of the old religion continue to persist and to form part of the new religion. Politically, the Western powers such as Germany, Britain and the United States became deeply embroiled in the Samoan civil wars of the nineteenth century but in turn contributed significantly to introducing Western forms of political control into the indigenous political system. While it is true that the cash economy was introduced by the European missionaries and traders to Samoa in the 1830s, its extent was minimal, cash in large part being used for church donations and much later for the basic needs of small urbanised communities in Pago Pago and Apia. For the majority of the population the economy remained largely a subsistence one with surplus productions being set aside for ceremonial exchanges. In the social sphere, Samoans continued to live as they have always done. Their daily lives, even in the more urbanised areas, were organised around their extended families, the churches and the village polity with its **fono**, **aumaga** and **aualuma**. The principles of social organisation relating to descent, **tama tane** and **tama fafine**, and so on, remained largely intact although some changes were to be seen in certain areas of culture, such as post-marital residence. This was basically the situation until the advent of World War II changed many aspects of social life especially the economy. The trends towards the establishment of a stronger cash economy became evident as the wartime projects enabled many Samoans to earn incomes. With these came an increased desire for European and American goods. When these desires could not be satisfied locally, migrants in their thousands left the Samoas for Hawaii and the U.S. Mainland, New Zealand and Australia. The experience was, for most migrants, dramatic if not traumatic. Cut off from kin and familiar environment, they were compelled to adjust to new values and lifestyles. In the process, culture was reconstructed and new identities formed.

Chapter 3

Population, Socio-economic Characteristics

Samoan migrants to Australia are unique in a sense because most of those enumerated in the household census, 68 percent, migrated directly to Australia after an extended period of residence in New Zealand; 17 percent came directly from Western Samoa; 14 percent were Australian-born and one percent came from other countries. Thus most were experienced in urban lifestyles and in dealings with government bureaucracies, a factor which has facilitated their adaptation to Australian society. Many came initially as individuals, leaving their wives and children behind, in order to seek a chance to rebuild their lives after experiencing financial difficulties in New Zealand. Once settled, their families joined them. When news of better economic opportunities in Australia reached other Samoans in New Zealand, whole families began to join the exodus, settling mainly in inner Sydney. From there they moved outwards towards working class areas such as Canterbury and Bankstown. In this chapter, I provide a brief background to these municipalities, an account of the experiences of some of these early migrants and a summary of the survey population characteristics according to age, numbers, gender, education, employment and other features.

The Municipalities of Canterbury and Bankstown

The Canterbury local government area covers an area of 34 square kilometres. It had a population of 128,502 in the 1986 census and approximately 129,252 in 1991, an increase of 0.6 percent.¹ In the 1986 census, Canterbury had a population density of 3,847.4 persons per square mile, 14 times the population density of the Sydney Statistical Region (276.9 sq. km.). It easily had the highest population density for municipalities with populations of over 100,000 with over 800 persons per square kilometre more than its nearest rival, Randwick,² and is not expected to change greatly by the year 2001.³ It contains 12 main suburban areas, namely, Lakemba, Campsie, Punchbowl, Earlwood,

¹ Estimate by Australian Bureau of Statistics.

² *Social Profile of Canterbury*, 1992.

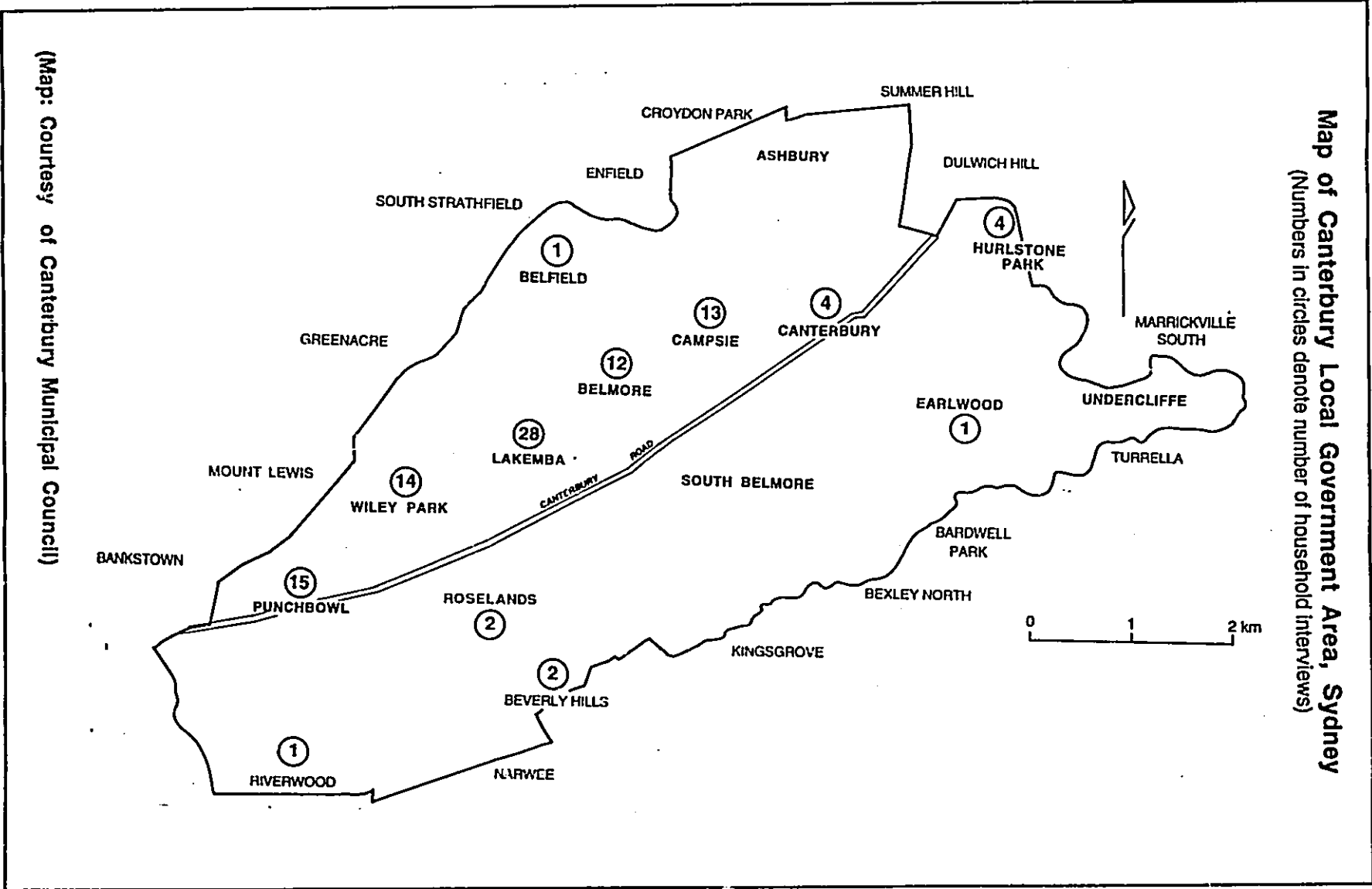
³ *Canterbury Municipality. A Demographic Profile*, 1991, p.3.

Belmore, Canterbury, Riverwood, Kingsgrove, Croydon Park, Beverly Hills, Belfield and Ashbury. Six of these suburbs, Punchbowl, Riverwood, Kingsgrove, Croydon Park, Beverly Hills and Ashbury, are shared with other municipalities. These are Bankstown, Hurstville, Rockdale, Burwood, Hurstville and Ashfield respectively.

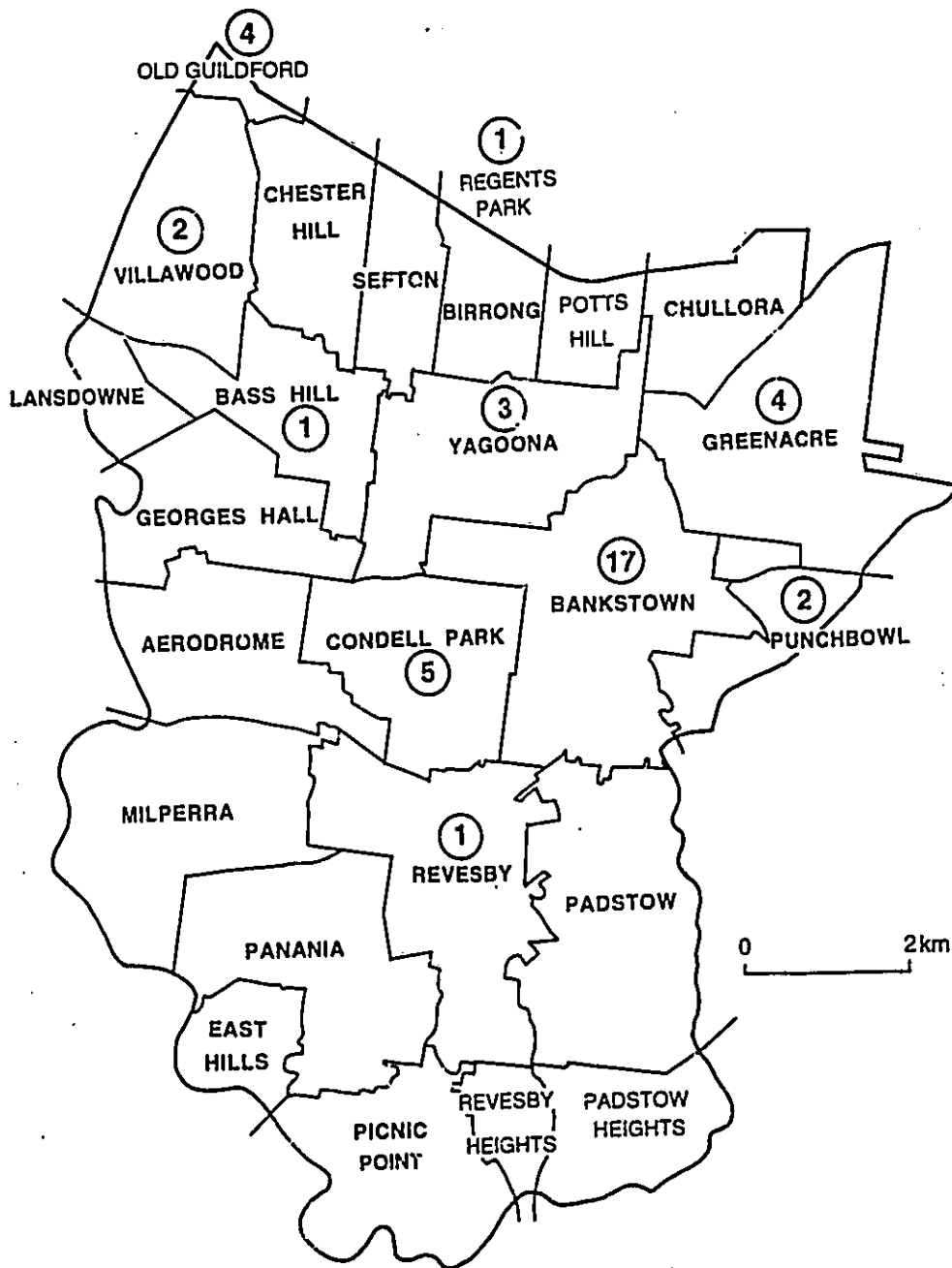
The municipality is located 17 kilometres south-west of the city centre and 14 kilometres from Parramatta, the geographic centre of Sydney. It is largely a residential area with at least 60 percent of households living in single dwellings (1986 census) and the remainder mostly in flats. It is an attractive location for very young families and the elderly, due to the availability of medium density units and less than average rental levels as compared to the Sydney Statistical Region.⁴ The municipality has pockets of small scale manufacturing, commercial industries and retail development with its main business centre in the suburb of Campsie. Canterbury Road, which runs from one end of the municipality to the other, provides one of the main transportation links between Sydney and the south-western suburbs and the Bankstown and East Hills railway lines.

The municipality of Bankstown, which adjoins Canterbury mainly in the south-west, has a total area of 78 square kilometres. Whilst not as dense as Canterbury, it has one of the biggest populations of any LGA in New South Wales with 157,200 persons in 1986 and 159,250 in 1991. In 1901 its population was only 1,247, a mere 30 percent of its neighbour. Its 18 suburbs include Bankstown, Padstow, Revesby, Panania, East Hills, Milperra, Georges Hall and Georges River, Landsdowne, Bass Hill, Condell Park, Chester Hill, Sefton Park, Regents Part, Birrong, Yagoona, Chullora, Greenacre and Punchbowl. Bankstown, like Canterbury, is a centre for small-scale manufacturing, commercial and retail industries, but it is mainly a residential area. Thus of its total land area, 4,476 hectares are used for residential purposes, 1,275 hectares for parks and recreation, 1,109 hectares for special uses (e.g. schools, churches, airport and railways) and 871 hectares for industrial, business and commercial purposes.

⁴ Canterbury Municipality. A Demographic Profile, 1991, p. 4.



Map of Bankstown Local Government Area, Sydney
 (Numbers in circles denote number of household interviews)



(Map: Courtesy of Bankstown Municipal Council)

Since World War II, the Canterbury/Bankstown region attracted many migrants due to its central position. According to the 1991 census, Canterbury is second only to Fairfield LGA in terms of the number of residents born in Non-English Speaking (NES) countries with a total of 54,583 (42.3% of a total population of 129,235), up from 45,065 or 35 percent in the 1986 census.⁵ In Bankstown, the corresponding figures were 47,078 residents (30.6% of a total population of 153,904), up from 39,989 or 26.4 percent in the 1986 census.⁶ If the children of these residents were added, the percentages of people from NES communities would increase further. In all 36 ethnic communities are represented in the region, the Western Samoan community being among the most recent (Kirillik, 1991). With the possible exception of Fairfield with its great influx of Vietnamese migrants, Canterbury/Bankstown has a strong claim to being classified as the ethnic centre of Sydney.

Early Samoan Migrants

The availability of low-cost housing and accessibility to public forms of transport and hence to places of employment were factors which attracted migrants to the Canterbury/Bankstown area after the war. The migrant population increased even further with the onset of chain migration processes. Bankstown, relatively isolated before the Second World War, increased in prosperity largely because of the establishment of war-related industries there (e.g. manufacture of Mosquito bombers). In 1954, Bankstown's population was 102,384, still short of Canterbury's 109,871. By 1961, however, Bankstown had shot ahead with a population of 151,246 compared with Canterbury's 113,820. By 1976, when Samoan migrants began to arrive in Sydney from New Zealand, Bankstown's population was 159,500 and Canterbury 128,669. Since then, Bankstown's population has been 156,750 in 1981, 157,200 in 1986 and 153,904 in 1991 and Canterbury's 128,622 in 1986 and 129,235 in 1991.

The first Samoan migrants to Sydney appear to have settled in the inner parts of Sydney first (e.g. Marrickville and Arncliffe), before moving further out to Canterbury/Bankstown. By 1975, there were already several hundred Samoans in Australia but they were scattered between and within the large metropolitan

⁵ Canterbury Demographic Profile, 1993.

⁶ Bankstown Community Profile, 1994.

centres. They were perhaps, for the most part, the product of marriages between Samoans and Europeans and many were probably born in Australia. Evidence for this in part comes from the 1991 census which shows that prior to 1971 only 99 Western Samoan-born persons (40 males and 49 females) had arrived in Australia. In that early period of settlement (the 1970s), there was no sense of community, Samoans were individuals dependent on their own resources and struggling to survive in an alien land and culture. This feeling of alienation, according to informants, heightened their sense of individual loneliness and in turn generated an intense desire to meet one's own kind. Again and again, this was the gist of the experience of these early Samoan migrants to Sydney. Fale, for example, who migrated to Australia in 1967, said:

"There were very few Samoans in Sydney in 1967. Most of the Samoans were daughters of *afakasi*,⁷ about 20 of them, many married to *papalagi*. I was then attending boarding school and one day two of these *afakasi* girls, total strangers to me, came and introduced themselves. In time I met other *afakasi* girls married to Europeans, including Telesia, who was from my village. There were seven people in our ethnic network as there were so few Samoans in Sydney, then, perhaps only 20. The girls would pick me up and take me to their homes for *to'ona'i*⁸ [Sunday lunch]. In those days in Samoa, the full-blood and mixed-blood Samoans kept their social distance. But that was not true in Australia. People did not care whether you were part-European, part-Chinese or full-blood Samoan. We mixed freely and happily.

"Another important aspect of those days was that when we heard, from whatever source, that a *malaga*⁹ was coming to Australia, we would all meet to discuss plans for a reception. When the *malaga* did arrive we would welcome them, talk, sing Samoan songs, discuss custom and tradition and learn the latest about social, economic and political trends in Australia.

"Above all, these ethnic gatherings became a source of great joy and encouragement for myself and a group of government scholarship students who were then attending university or short-term inservice training courses in Sydney."

Iona first came to Australia in 1974 to, as he put it, "*sa'ili matagi*". This means, in its literal sense, and as used by Samoan mariners of old, to search for a suitable wind for sailing. Used metaphorically, it means to search for

⁷ Literally, half-caste Samoans or Samoans of mixed blood.

⁸ A *to'ona'i* among Samoans is the equivalent of a 'traditional' feast.

⁹ A visiting party.

[economic] opportunities wherever these may be found. Upon arrival in Sydney, Iona did not know where to go so he just told the driver to take him somewhere to sleep. The driver took him to King's Cross, a place he knew nothing about at that time. After awhile, however, he became more familiar with his surroundings. He said:

"When I first came to Australia, I was very lonely as I did not meet any Samoans. I did not drink or smoke so going to the pub was out of the question. When not working I just kept to bed and slept. Often I would cry because I was lonely. There was no Samoan church then, so I went to the palagi church."

Leva came to Australia in 1980 to escape domestic problems (a broken marriage) and the New Zealand cold as well as to seek better economic opportunities. He remembered that there were very few Samoans in Sydney at the time. When he became a bus driver in 1980, there were only three Samoan male drivers and one Samoan female driver in his depot. Now, there are many more. In his view, Samoans became noticeable in large numbers only from 1987 onwards.

Sefo, who arrived in 1981, said he did not know anyone when he first arrived in Australia. He asked around for accommodation and finally settled for a boarding house. The rent was \$43 weekly including three daily meals served at specific times in the morning, afternoon and evening. "If you missed them, too bad," he said. Jobs were plentiful those days. Thus two days after his arrival, on a Monday, he had obtained a job at a kangaroo meat processing plant where he worked from 6 a.m. to 1 p.m. On Thursday, three days later, he got a second job at Kellogs where he worked from 3 p.m. to 11 p.m. Later, he got a part-time job as a taxi driver. It was a lonely time, however:

"In telephone conversations with my family in New Zealand, my son would ask me when I was coming home from work. Little did he know that I was in Australia. Tears would roll down my eyes as I told him I would be home soon."

By the time his family arrived a month later, Sefo had \$1,800 in savings but it had been tough in the beginning:

"We all slept on the floor. From time to time I would arrive home carrying a used chair, sofa, table, bed, even refrigerator - things left on the roadside for collection by charitable organisations. That was how we first obtained our furniture."

The statements of these informants emphasise the difficulties associated with early Samoan settlement in Sydney. Basically, while jobs were plentiful, the lack of links with one's cultural group accentuated feelings of personal loneliness and general anomie to such an extent that as elsewhere, Samoans began to seek each other's company. However, as Samoans began to increase in numbers in Sydney from the mid-1980s onwards, so did the degree of ethnic self-consciousness as expressed in the establishment of Samoan social networks, organisations and churches. But before I examine these in greater detail I now describe the social, economic and other characteristics of the Samoan migrant population of Canterbury/Bankstown.

Survey Population: Numbers, Age, Sex

The sample survey of the Samoan migrant population in Canterbury/Bankstown extended from 6 July, 1992, when the first household was surveyed, to 30 March, 1993, with the last household survey. Because of the impossibility of making a random survey proper, encompassing both local government areas, my main effort was concentrated on obtaining samples from as many Samoan church congregations as possible. Thus sometimes numbers were deliberately sacrificed in favour of a wider representativeness and, therefore, of quality. The end result was, in my view, a balanced representative sample of Samoan households in terms of both church and suburban representation. Church affiliation statistics will be given in the next chapter. Suburban representation is provided for in Table 8. Ninety-seven households were interviewed in the suburbs of Canterbury and 40 in Bankstown. All the households were located well within the geographical boundaries of the two local government areas except for three households situated more or less on the borders between Regents Park and Berala and Villawood and Fairfield in Bankstown and Hurstone Park and Marrickville in Canterbury. The table shows that the main areas of concentration by Samoans in Canterbury are Lakemba, Punchbowl, Wiley Park, Campsie and Belmore. In Bankstown, it is the inner city area and its immediate surroundings, and to a certain extent Condell Park

Table 8: Number of Samoan Households by Suburb

Canterbury		Bankstown	
Suburb	Number	Suburb	Number
Lakemba	28	Bankstown	17
Punchbowl	15	Condell Park	5
Wiley Park	14	Greenacre	4
Campsie	13	Old Guildford	4
Belmore	12	Yagoona	3
Canterbury	4	Punchbowl	2
Hurlstone Park	4	Villawood	2
Beverly Hills	2	Revesby	1
Roselands	2	Bass Hill	1
Riverwood	1	Regents Park	1
Earlwood	1		
Belfield	1		
Total	97		40

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

nearby. On a proportional level, 71 percent of the households lived in Canterbury and 29 percent in Bankstown. This is roughly similar to the proportions of Western Samoan-born persons in the two local government areas according to the 1991 census. Then, Canterbury had a Western Samoan-born population of 513 persons and Bankstown of 193. Thus of the combined total of 706 persons, Canterbury had 73 percent and Bankstown 27 percent (71% and 29% respectively in the household sample).

As used here, the term "household" has wider connotations than the limited meaning of a married couple and their children, with or without relatives. That is, it is more than just a nuclear or extended family. Basically, it means a group of people living and sleeping together under one roof or who have common living arrangements at least one of whom must be a Samoan either by birth or descent.¹⁰ Of the 137 households surveyed, 124 were headed by couples, 122 of whom were married and two lived in de facto relationships. The remaining 13 households were headed by a solo parent or adult. Of the 122

¹⁰ This has had the unfortunate effect of excluding single person households due to the emphasis in this study on the collectivity. These could be included in a later or separate study. In terms of numbers these single member households would perhaps account for 10 per cent of all households. For the Australian census, a household is defined in terms of having common eating arrangements and may have one or more members.

married couples, nine involved marriage between a Samoan and a "foreigner". These "foreign" spouses included two Lebanese, a Pole, an Indian, a Maori, a Niuean, a Tongan, a Falkland Islander and an Australian. One of the two de facto relationships involved a Samoan student living with an Australian woman. Of the 13 households headed by a solo parent or adult, nine were headed by females and four by males. Eight of the females were single mothers and one was an adult female. Of the males, one was a married man whose wife had not yet arrived from New Zealand, one a solo parent, one an uncle and one a son looking after his mother. Of the 137 households, 70 or 51 percent were nuclear families (parents and children only) and 67 or 49 percent were extended families (parents, children, relatives, friends). The total population of the 137 households was 735 persons of whom more information later. The high mean ages for parents and household heads suggest that most of them are first generation migrants from Samoa as will be explained in due course. The mean household size of 5.4 is much higher than the corresponding one of 2.92 persons for Canterbury and 2.90 for the Sydney region. This can be explained by the prevalence of extended families in the Samoan community and of single and two-person households in Canterbury and Sydney. In Canterbury, for instance, single person households comprise 20.4 percent of all households, and in Sydney 20.1 percent. Two-member households make up 28.3 percent

Table 9: More Household Statistics

Description	Number
Number of males	370
Number of females	365
Total population	735
Number of sons	177
Number of daughters.	151
Mean age: father (years)	39.70
Mean age: mother (years)	36.05
Mean age: household head (years)	43.07
Mean size: nuclear household (persons)	4.5
Mean size: extended household (persons)	6.2
Mean household size	5.4

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

of Canterbury households, and 29.9 percent of Sydney households. Thus these two categories comprise 48.7 percent of all Canterbury households, and 50 percent of all Sydney households.¹¹

The status of the 67 extended families, made up of nuclear families, relatives and friends, need further comment at this stage. Of the 57 headed by married couples, the kinship or other relationship and number of extended families involved in parentheses were: wife's sister (12); wife's cousin (11); husband's sister (9); wife's brother (9); husband's brother (7); friend (6); wife's brother (4); wife's niece (4); grandson (4); adopted daughter (4); husband's nephew (3); daughter-in-law (3); husband's mother, wife's father, wife's nephew and adopted son (two each); husband's father, son-in-law and husband's niece (one each); and other relatives (11). Thus the most common relatives to be found in these extended families were wife's sister, wife's cousin, husband's sister, husband's cousin, wife's brother and husband's brother, in other words, sisters, cousins and brothers more or less in that order. The relatives in the 10 extended families headed by a single parent or adult were the household head's: (a) two granddaughters; (b) mother, father, sister and a relative; (c) grandson; (d) adopted son; (e) granddaughter and a family friend; (f) grandson; (g) mother; (h) nephew; (i) friend; (j) two nieces. In addition, at least seven nuclear families¹² were staying temporarily with friends or relatives whilst awaiting jobs or accommodation. These included: (a) a man, his wife, son and daughter; (b) a man, his wife, two sons and two daughters; (c) a man, his wife, a son and a daughter; (d) a man, his wife and a daughter; (e) a brother, his wife, two daughters and a son; (f) the husband's cousin, his wife and two sons; (g) husband's sister-in-law and her Pakistani husband. Staying with friends for extended periods of time seems to be a new trend in the Samoan community due mainly to recent government regulations which require, for New Zealand migrants, a continuous residency of at least six months before eligibility for social welfare benefits. Thus, generally speaking, new Samoan migrants with New Zealand passports, must rely on friends and relatives for their basic needs, especially accommodation, for their first six months in Australia especially if they are unemployed. This practice is facilitated, if not encouraged, by church

¹¹ See *Canterbury Demographic Profile*, 1993, p. 106.

¹² These seven nuclear families must be distinguished from the main sample of 137 households though they are counted as members of those households.

networks such as those of the Assembly of God congregations which are keen to have more of their church members from New Zealand.

Of the 735 persons in the sample population (see Table 10), 200 males and 196 females or 396 persons (54 percent) were born in Western Samoa; 112 males and 111 females or 223 persons (30 percent) were born in New Zealand; 51 males and 51 females or 102 persons (14 percent) were born in Australia; and 8 males and 6 females or 14 persons (2 percent) were born elsewhere. "Elsewhere" includes 8 males from Pakistan, Lebanon, India, Falklands, Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, Tonga and American Samoa - and 8 females from Brazil, Lebanon, Cook Islands, Tokelau and American Samoa (2). According to the 1991 census the Western Samoan-born population for Canterbury/Bankstown consisted of 347 males or 49.2 percent and 359 females or 50.8 percent making up a total of 706 persons. In comparison, the Western Samoan-born population of Canterbury/Bankstown in the sample consists of 200 males or 50.5 percent

Table 10: Age, Sex and Number

	Age	Male	Female	Number
Under	1	10	6	16
	1	11	11	22
	2	12	10	22
	3	13	13	26
	4	10	11	21
Total	0-4	56	51	107
	5	9	9	18
	6	5	8	13
	7	9	5	14
	8	5	2	7
Total	5-9	38	33	71
	10	11	3	14
	11	4	6	10
	12	9	11	20
	13	8	7	15
Total	10-14	39	33	72
	15	6	6	12
	16	7	8	15

	17	9	10	19
	18	12	5	17
	19	4	10	14
Total	15-19	38	39	77
	20-24	39	46	85
	25-29	31	45	76
	30-34	31	39	70
	35-39	27	17	44
	40-44	23	22	45
	45-49	19	17	36
	50-54	11	8	19
	55-59	10	4	14
	60-64	4	3	7
	65-69	0	3	3
	70-74	0	1	1
	75+	2	2	4
Total		197	207	404

Summary

Age Group	Number
0-4	107
5-9	71
10-14	72
15-19	77
20 plus	404
Total	731
No. males	368
No. females	363
Total	731

Note: Two males and two females were also counted in the census but their ages are unknown. If they are included the total census is 735 persons.

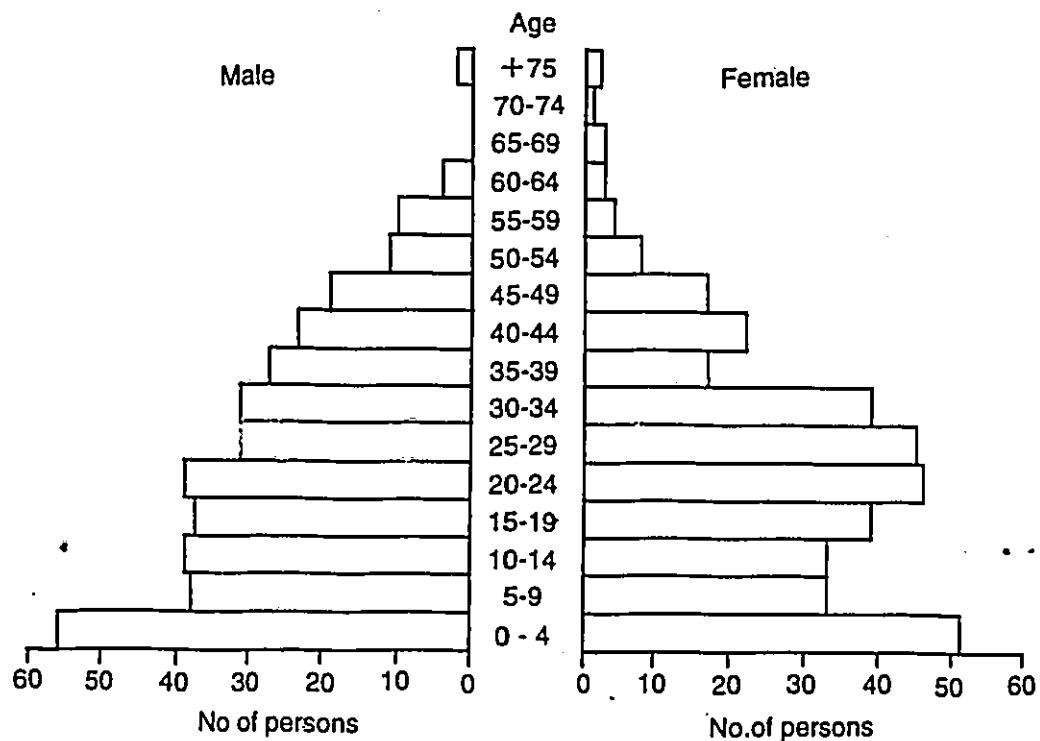
Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Table 11: Sex Ratios in W. Samoan-born Population: Comparison with Census

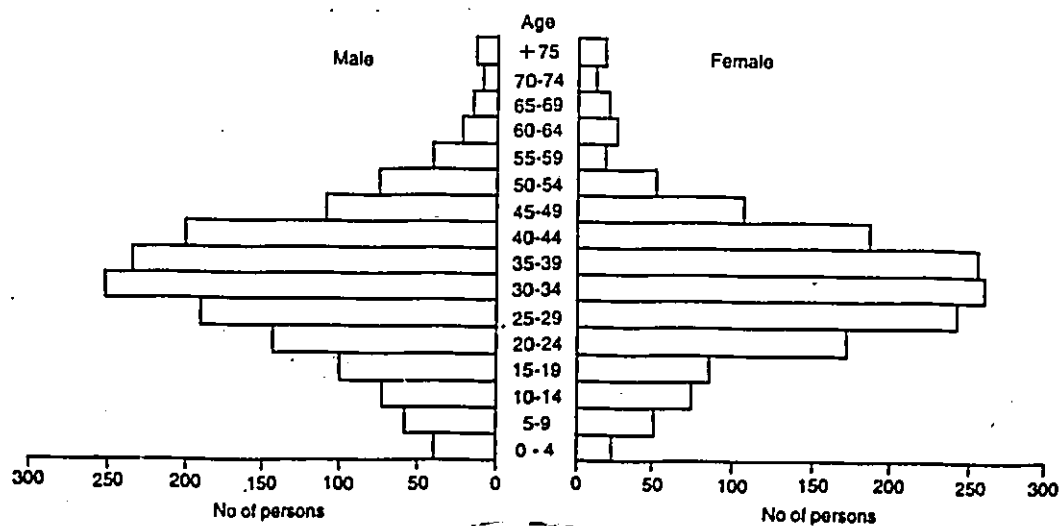
Description	% Male	% Female
Sample	50.5	49.5
Canterbury/Bankstown (1991 Census)	49.2	50.8
New South Wales (1991 Census)	49.5	50.5

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93; Australian Census, 1991.

Figure 2
Population pyramid for 1992/93 household sample involving 735 persons living in 137 households in Canterbury-Bankstown.



Population pyramid for 1991 Australian Census involving a Western Samoan-born population only of 3196 persons (1,585 males, 1611 females) in New South Wales.



Note: The discrepancy in the two pyramids can be explained by the fact that the sample pyramid includes not just the Western Samoan-born but also all other family members, whereas the census pyramid includes only the migrant population, who are mainly adult. Their overseas-born children are excluded.

and 196 females or 49.5 percent making up a total of 396 persons (56.09 percent of 1991 census). Again, when the Western Samoan-born population in the Canterbury/Bankstown sample is compared with the Western Samoan-born population of New South Wales in the 1991 census, there is a close correlation. For instance, 50.5 percent of the Western Samoan-born population in the sample are male, 49.5 percent female. In the 1991 census 49.5 percent (1,585 persons) are male and 50.5 percent (1,611 persons) are female for a total of 3,196 Western Samoan-born persons in the state of New South Wales. When the sex ratios between the sample and census figures are compared the difference is only 1.2 percent on average (Table 11).

Samoan migration to Australia is essentially a secondary phenomenon. That is to say, the move by Samoan migrants to Australia usually followed a lengthy period of residence in New Zealand during which the migrants obtained New Zealand citizenship which eased the transition to Australia.¹³ Thus of the sample population of 735, a total of 255 males and 245 females or 68 percent came to Australia from New Zealand; 60 males and 65 females or 17 percent came from Western Samoa. The rest came from other countries (7 persons or 1 percent) or were born in Australia (102 or 14 percent). In practically every instance, Samoans who migrated to Australia were New Zealand citizens. It can be expected, therefore, that their life and work experiences in New Zealand would have facilitated their socio/cultural adaptation to Australian life. My data shows that there was one Samoan migrant (female) in 1969, one in 1975 (male), one in 1978 (female) and three males and three females in 1979. Numbers then began to increase steadily especially from 1983 and there appears to be no end in sight for this diaspora from New Zealand. The data demonstrates clearly that there were very few Samoan migrants before the 1980s as some of the informants have already recounted. Further, they are supported by Australian census statistics which show, for instance, that prior to 1971 only 99 Western Samoan-born persons had arrived in Australia.

Family Migration

The Samoan migration pattern suggests that the decision to migrate to Australia was based on a careful consideration of the pros and cons of migration

¹³ Other Samoan migrants, of course, were born in New Zealand.

among the individuals and families concerned. Once the decision was made to migrate, whole families made the move. Thus of the 137 households in the study, as Table 12 shows, 91 migrated partly or wholly as family units. The

Table 12: Family Migration to Australia

Description	From N.Z.	From W. Samoa	Total
Mother + 1 child	7	0	7
Mother + 2 children	5	1	6
Mother + 3 children	6	0	6
Mother + 4 children	6	0	6
Mother + 5 children	0	1	1
Mother + 6 children	1	0	1
Father + 1 child	2	0	2
Father + 2 children	1	0	1
Sub-total	28	2	30
Couple	7	1	8
Couple + 1 child	14	1	15
Couple + 2 children	13	2	15
Couple + 3 children	9	1	10
Couple + 4 children	9	0	9
Couple + 5 children	2	0	2
Couple + 6 children	1	0	1
Couple + 2 grandchildren	1	0	1
Sub-total	56	5	61
Grand Total			91

Source: Sample survey, 1991/92.

91 households do not include the seven nuclear families staying temporarily with some of the core sample households, or siblings who migrated together either before or after their parents' own arrival in Australia. Of the seven nuclear families referred to above six arrived in Australia as whole family units. They include: a couple and daughter who arrived 1990; a couple, son and daughter who arrived from Western Samoa in 1992; three couples with a combined total of 5 sons and 3 daughters who arrived in 1992; and a couple, two daughters and a son who arrived in 1993. Apart from the family who came from Western Samoa,¹⁴ all family units came from New Zealand. The connection between them and their hosts is mostly one of friendship. Thus four of the guest families

¹⁴ This family belongs to a mature age theological student doing an advanced course at a Catholic seminary in Sydney.

were connected with the host families through friendship originating in a common religious allegiance. Three were connected through consanguineal ties. The guests, for instance, included a brother, a cousin and sister-in-law of the husband. In the single parent migration category,¹⁵ one father preceded his family to Australia by six months, 14 by one year, three by two years and two by three years. This was to enable the father to find a job and suitable accommodation for the later arrivals, almost invariably his own wife and children. In only one instance did a father arrive in Australia later than his wife (by one year). Solo parents accounted for seven of the cases and in the remaining two cases (Table 12) one mother arrived in Australia a year later and the other had arrived four years earlier.

Reasons for Migration

The main reason for Samoan migration to New Zealand and Australia is economic and the process of migration tends to reinforce itself in the long term as a result of chain migration. Thus, among the main respondents in the sample (i.e. husband and wife, solo parents and adult heads of main households) 93 persons or 45 percent of those who migrated first to New Zealand said employment was the main reason for migration; for 29 or 14 percent it was education and training; for 19 or 9 percent it was to help their families; for 17 or 8 percent it was a result of family migration; for 14 or 7 percent it was to accompany a spouse. Since education and training and helping families are essentially economic in nature, it can be effectively argued that at least 141 of the main respondents or 68 percent migrated to New Zealand primarily for economic reasons.

By the time these Samoans had migrated to Australia many of the female migrants had already married and had left the work force to raise families. Thus of the Samoan wives who came to Australia from New Zealand, 78 out of 124 or 63 percent came to accompany or join their husbands. Fifteen came to work, 5 to visit (and ended up staying), 5 for family reunion, 4 for education and training, 3 due to family migration, 2 for a better life, 2 for a holiday and one each for the following reasons: better future, marriage, help family, family tragedy, health,

¹⁵ That is to say, where initially one of the parents migrates on his/her own without the other members of the family; involves the first 30 cases in Table 12.

care for relatives, see Australia, good reports about Australia, self-improvement and see new places. The 15 who came to work comprise 12 percent of the 124 respondents (representing 124 survey households). This can be compared with the 38 females comprising 37 percent of the 102 respondents (representing 102 households) who originally migrated to New Zealand for employment purposes.

Among the 120 male respondents (representing 120 survey households) 47 or 39 percent came to Australia for employment purposes; 20 or 17 percent came to seek a better future and 7 or 6 percent came for a holiday. Other main reasons for migration to Australia with numbers in brackets were: accompany or join wife (6); family reunion (6); education/training (5); better life (5); visit (4); see new places (3); heard good reports about Australia (3); religion (3); health (2); occupation (2); likes Australia (2); and marriage, better weather than New Zealand, family migration and self-improvement (one each). These respondents show that, as in the example of females, the number of males who came to Australia for employment purposes dropped by 14 percentage points from the 53 percent who originally migrated to New Zealand for employment purposes to 39 percent who came to Australia for the same reason. However, if seeking a better future can also be construed to mean employment, then there would actually be an increase in the number of those who migrated to Australia for employment purposes, 67 males or 56 percent.

In addition to the pull factors which made migration to Australia attractive in the first place, informants also articulated push factors which can be defined as those aspects of life which were perceived as negative by the migrants during their sojourn in New Zealand. Those who did so included 43 male adults (representing 43 sample households). Table 13 shows that the push factors are essentially economic. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 13 have economic implications and together constitute 49 or 83 percent of the 59 responses.

While it is possible to identify one major reason for an individual's decision to migrate, in practice, the decision to migrate is generally the outcome of a complex of reasons and of push and pull factors. When, therefore, one factor is given as the major reason for migration this should not be interpreted to mean there are no other secondary reasons. It helps, however, in analysis to deal

Table 13: Push Factors in New Zealand

	Description	No. Households
1.	Scarcity of jobs	13
2.	Worsening economy	12
3.	High cost of living	10
4.	Unemployment	6
5.	Cold climate	6
6.	Too much fa'a-Samoa	3
7.	Health problems	2
8.	Low wages	2
9.	Youth gang problems	1
10.	Restrictions on housing loans	1
11.	Domestic problems	1
12.	Difficulty in saving money	1
13.	Cut in children's benefits	1
	Total responses	59

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

with one major aspect of the decision to migrate. The following observations by informants relate to some of the major aspects of their decisions to migrate to Australia:

Economic prospects

"We were attracted to Australia because of work and money. At that time in New Zealand, work was very scarce, we could not save, but we can do so in Australia"¹⁶ - a young couple.

"Our family came here because economic prospects were better in Australia. Things were too dear in New Zealand" - a young matai.

"We came to Australia for employment and the future welfare of the children. At that time, the New Zealand economy was bad, no jobs, children's benefits were stopped" - a married woman.

Good Reports of Australia

"My brother was already in Australia. He wrote saying Australia was better than New Zealand because things were cheaper and that jobs were plentiful

¹⁶ This and subsequent comments are translations from the Samoan.

and readily available. I came in 1980 and decided to stay" - a married woman.

"We went to Wellington. We thought milk and honey flowed there. We heard they flowed in abundance in Australia. That's why we came here in 1988..."- a married couple.

In addition, three brothers came to Australia in 1981 as a result of glowing reports about the country sent to them by another brother who came to Australia in 1980. He told the others there were plenty of jobs and good pay in Australia.

Like Australia

Some of the Samoans came to Australia on a visit and liked the country so much they decided to stay. Thus:

"We came to Australia in 1989 to attend a wedding. We liked it here because employment was available and things were cheaper than in Auckland. We decided to stay" - a young couple.

A pensioner said his decision to move to Australia was due to a visit he made to Australia in early 1986. He liked the place, especially the warm weather and the availability of Samoan food such as taro and green bananas, and decided to stay. "It was not so much a question of money as I was already earning enough money as a bus driver in New Zealand," he said.

Curiosity

There were also those who came to Australia out of curiosity, who were interested in the opportunities and potentialities of the island continent. The Samoan expression for this is "sa'ili matagi" (see p. 73).

Thus, a couple said: "We came to Australia to find out what it was like. It's just like New Zealand. However, we found that in Australia, not only could we save but we could eat better, travel to Samoa more and there were fewer fa'alavelave.¹⁷ No doubt, life in Australia is better than in New Zealand."

¹⁷ Samoan traditional obligations usually in the form of prestations of food, money and fine mats.

And a male musician said: "I came to Australia to find out possibilities because my friends said there was plenty of money here. I liked the place and then brought over the rest of my family."

Holiday

Some came to Australia originally for a holiday and decided to stay. Thus: "In 1985 I came to Australia to tafao¹⁸ and to look at the life here. I was impressed and then returned to New Zealand to sell the house I was living in with my sisters. I returned in 1986 to live permanently in Australia returning only once a month to visit my wife and children until they joined me in 1988" - Malo.

Two women who came to Australia for a holiday decided to stay, one because of the warm weather and lower cost of living, the other because of the depressed economy and unemployment in New Zealand.

Family reunion

For some migrants, reunion with other family members played a key role in the decision to migrate. Thus: "We came here because of our children. Our fourth daughter was the first to come to Australia. She wanted to move to a flat in 1985 and Upu [the mother] came to stay with her. She brought a second daughter with her. A third daughter followed soon after. By the time I arrived in November, 1985, my wife and three daughters were already here. We then decided to make Australia our home" - a father.

Another couple decided to stay in Australia for the same reason. All their children were here and it was inconvenient for their children to be constantly travelling to New Zealand to visit them. The parents, therefore, decided to settle in Australia even though they had good jobs in New Zealand.

Finally, Tupu decided to join his elder brother in Australia because there were already too many other relatives in New Zealand, and Faavae and his wife came to Australia because Faavae's wife's brother, who was married to an Australian, wanted more of his Samoan relatives to join him in Australia.

¹⁸ To sightsee, have a holiday, relax.

Personal

The personal reasons for migration offer an interesting contrast to the usual ones. Thus a former Catholic seminarian came to Australia to give himself time and quietness to reconsider his decision to enter the priesthood. By that time he had already finished a university degree and was on the verge of being ordained. But the death of his father had a profound effect on his previous plans. He said:

"I told my mother I planned to leave the seminary for one year to reconsider my vocation. I did not want to hang around in New Zealand because Samoans did not look at the 'positive' side of things; they looked only at the negative side. Hence the need to go away to reconsider my decision and to be away from my aiga to avoid undue pressures."

In Sydney, he finally decided against the continuation of his theological studies, married a Samoan girl and settled there. Still a devout Catholic, he is a leader in the Catholic community.

Tragedy drove some to Australia. Thus Fa and Lila came to Australia because of a family tragedy, the death of their 11-year old son. They were so overcome by grief (especially the wife) that they felt compelled to travel to some other place to divert attention from the trauma of their son's death. Another migrant, Eli, came to Australia to try to forget the breakup of his marriage.

New Zealand recession

Some came to Australia because of a severe recession in New Zealand. Thus Lau said:

"As early as 1981 I realised that something was wrong with the New Zealand economy. As things got worse, I decided to move to Australia. Well, I was right. Soon after there was a lot of unemployment and suffering in New Zealand."

Namu came to Australia because the factory he worked in had been closed and he had heard that there were plenty of jobs with good pay in

Table 14
Year of Arrival in Australia

Year arrival	MALES	Year arrival	FEMALES	Total
	Persons		Persons	
1969	0	1969	1	1
1975	1	1975	0	1
1978	0	1978	1	1
1979	3	1979	3	6
1980	8	1980	9	17
1981	26	1981	12	38
1982	6	1982	6	12
1983	13	1983	13	26
1984	10	1984	11	21
1985	22	1985	25	47
1986	31	1986	36	67
1987	25	1987	20	45
1988	38	1988	34	72
1989	29	1989	36	65
1990	42	1990	46	88
1991	32	1991	25	57
1992	31	1992	34	65
Total	317		312	629
Born in Australia	48		47	95
<u>Unstated</u>	<u>5</u>		<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>
Grand Total	370		365	735

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Australia. And Lape migrated to Australia because "the cost of living in New Zealand was too high, there was no future job-wise, and the pace of life was too fast." Finally, Pela and her family moved to Australia in 1988 because the cost of living in New Zealand was getting expensive ("even though we had good jobs there").

Other reasons

Some came to Australia for a variety of other reasons. Thus, one large extended family migrated because it was thought that Sydney's warm climate would be beneficial to the health of the household head's mother. Foa and Tai migrated to give their children the opportunities for a good education as well as to further their own educational and professional aspirations. Moa and Tapu migrated because there was too much *fa'a-Samoa* in New Zealand. Finally, Nise and Pele said:

"We came to Australia to seek a better future for the children. It began when following a training course one of our daughters could not get a job in New Zealand. Urged on by some of our relatives in Australia she came to look for a

job in Australia. Soon her other siblings followed her example and in the end we all came. And it was all due to the fact that our children could not get jobs in New Zealand after they left school."

Table 14 shows when the respondents arrived in Australia as migrants.¹⁹

Movements, Accommodation, Rents

As used here "movement" refers to the number of times a family/household or individuals moved, in terms of shifting accommodation, before settling down at the address at the time of the survey. At the time of the survey, migrant families, on the average, had already moved 2.02 times. To be included in the family category, husband and wife must have arrived in Australia together otherwise they are treated as individuals. Table 15 shows the pre-survey movements of family groups in Australia. Total movements by male individuals representing 33 sample households come to 96 for an average of 2.9 and a mode of 2. Whilst total movements by female individuals representing 34 sample households amount to 62 for an average of 1.82 movements and a mode of 1. Most of the residential movements, 142 or 41.04 percent [out of

Table 15: Residential Movements Of Family Groups

No. Movements	No. Households	Total Movements
Nil	6	0
1	42	42
2	17	34
3	12	36
4	8	32
5	7	35
9	1	9
Total	93	188

Mean: 2.02

Mode: 1

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93

the combined movements of family groups 188, male individuals 96 and female individuals 62 (346)) occurred within the Canterbury/Bankstown area. The suburbs most affected were: Lakemba, 24 movements; Punchbowl 24;

¹⁹ For corresponding census figures, see Table 4.5 in the Appendices.

Belmore 21; Campsie 18; Wiley Park 13; Greenacre 9; Hurlstone Park 9; and Bankstown 8. These are also the suburbs where there is the highest density of the Samoan migrant population in Sydney. When asked why they preferred to live in Canterbury/Bankstown, informants generally cited three main reasons: lower-priced accommodation, accessibility to places of employment and availability of Samoan places of worship.

Of the 123 males²⁰ (representing 123 sample households) asked how their first accommodation was obtained in Australia, most said it was through the help of their relatives. These relatives and the number of responses in parentheses include: in-laws (19); brother (18); sister (14); wives (9); cousin (9); and others. A high proportion, 18, sought their own accommodation (rent) after arrival, and 14 stayed with friends.

Among the female individuals representing 128 sample households, 48 accompanied their husbands and 32 joined their husbands. Collectively they constitute 63 percent. Nine stayed with their brothers, 7 with their sisters and most of the rest with relatives. Only two, as compared with 18 for males, rented their accommodation after first arrival.

The data shows that kinship networks continue to play a major role in providing initial accommodation (and other support services) for Samoan migrants to Australia. For instance, 88 male respondents (72 percent) stayed with relatives when they first arrived in Australia; 18 (15 percent) stayed in rented accommodation; 14 (11 percent) stayed with friends; and three stayed in church accommodation. Among female respondents, 120 or 94 percent stayed with relatives, four stayed with friends, two rented, one stayed in a college residence and one stayed in a church house.

Of the 137 households, 76 or 56 percent lived in rented houses, 52 (38 percent) in rented flats, six in their own houses and three in church houses. Thus 128 households or 93 percent lived in rented accommodation, compared with 33.5 percent for Canterbury, 35 percent for Bankstown and 27.2 percent for

²⁰ From New Zealand and Western Samoa.

Table 16: Types of Accommodation Compared

	House	Flats	Other
	%	%	%
Sample	59.9	38.0	2.1
Canterbury	64.6	29.8	5.6
Sydney	75.7	15.1	9.2

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93; Canterbury Demographic Profile, 1993; Australian Census, 1991.

Sydney.²¹ Only 4.38 percent owned their own dwellings, compared with 39 percent for Canterbury and 38.9 percent for Sydney.²² Of the 85 houses (including the nine houses owned by churches and Samoan migrants) 55 or 65 percent have three bedrooms, 15 (18 percent) four bedrooms, 7 two bedrooms and 4 have five bedrooms. Fifty of the 52 flats (96 percent) have two bedrooms.

Of 50 households which rented flats, fourteen paid \$140 weekly in rentals, eight \$125 weekly, seven \$135 weekly, seven \$130 weekly, three \$145 weekly and three \$120 weekly.²³ Of 70 households which rented houses, twelve paid \$200 weekly in rentals, nine \$180 weekly, five \$190 weekly, five \$160 weekly and four \$185 weekly.²⁴ Ten of the households surveyed lived in state-subsidised housing, eight in houses and two in flats. The subsidised flat rentals averaged \$58.50 weekly, and houses at \$99 weekly. In comparison average rentals for non-subsidised accommodation averaged \$133.04 weekly for flats and \$180.29 weekly for houses, compared with the median rent of \$119 weekly in Bankstown²⁵. Thus the weekly rentals for subsidised accommodation²⁶ were much lower than those of non-subsidised ones. Samoans have a name for state-subsidised flats and houses: *fale o tamaiti*, which literally means "houses for children". It is the eligibility of many Samoan migrants for such accommodation that has led many of them to move to distant

²¹ Canterbury Demographic Profile, 1993:107; Bankstown Community Profile, 1994:54.

²² Ibid.

²³ The rest (8) paid varied amounts.

²⁴ The remaining (35) also paid varied amounts.

²⁵ Bankstown Community Profile, 1994:56.

²⁶ The rentals for subsidised flats and houses were 44 percent and 55 percent of non-subsidised flats and houses respectively.

Table 17: Weekly Rent Payments For All Rented Premises Compared

Amount	Sample %	Canterbury %	Sydney %
Under \$107	12.31	20.0	28.1
\$108-\$197	66.15	66.1	45.6
\$198-\$307	21.54	10.0	18.8

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93; Canterbury Demographic Profile, 1993; Australian Census, 1991.

Campbelltown. Among Samoans, rented premises totalled 130; six houses were privately owned; and one house belonged to a church denomination: 137 dwellings in all.

Educational Characteristics

In terms of formal education, Samoan migrants rate highly. In a sample of 120 husbands and 119 wives (Table 18) 40 husbands and 28 wives have had primary school education, and 80 husbands and 91 wives have had secondary school education. Thus 33.3 percent of the husbands and 23.5 percent of the wives have had primary-level education, and 66.7 percent of the husbands and 76.5 percent of the wives have had secondary-level education. In sum, 28.5 percent of the husbands and wives have had primary-level education and 71.5 percent secondary level education. In addition, of the husband and wife sample (239 persons), 13 husbands and 10 wives have had vocational training and 6 husbands and 4 wives have had tertiary-level education. The sample of single parent or single adult household heads (13 persons) shows that four female and one male household heads have had primary-level education and five female and three male household heads have had secondary-level education. Of the 13 persons in this sample only one has had vocational training and one university-level education. Table 18 demonstrates that in the total sample representing both spouses and household heads (252 persons made up of 128 females and 124 males) 32 females or 25 percent have had primary-level education and 96 or 75 percent secondary-level education. Among the males 41 or 33.1 percent have had primary-level education and 83 or 66.9 percent secondary-level education. Overall, 29 percent of the migrants have had primary-level education and 71 percent secondary-level education. The numbers, however, are very much under-represented in the fields of vocational

and tertiary education. Only 24 migrants (14 males and 10 females) or 9.5 percent of the total sample of 252 have had vocational training and only 10 persons or 4 percent have attended a tertiary-level institution. Of the 252 persons in the sample, 16 persons or 6.4 percent received their education in a country other than Samoa. Thus eight wives and four husbands received their education in New Zealand, three wives in Australia and one husband in Tonga. Of the New Zealand-educated wives, one finished Form 7 (Upper 6), two Form 6 and five Form 5. Of the husbands, three finished Form 5 and one Form 4 and

Table 18: Formal Educational Levels of Samoan Migrants

	Married Couples									
	Std 1-4	F.1-2	Form 3	Form 4	Form 5	Up. 5	Form 6	Up. 6	Voc.	Ter.
M.	11	29	14	11	37	10	7	1	13	6
F.	3	25	15	15	42	11	5	3	10	4
Total	14	54	29	26	79	21	12	4	23	10
	Household Heads									
M.	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
F.	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0
Total	2	3	2	2	3	0	0	1	1	0

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

one of them did vocational training. Two of the Australian-educated wives completed Year 10 (Form 5) and one Form 3. The Tongan husband finished Form 3. The overseas educated included four non-Samoans (Niuean, Maori, Lebanese and Australian) and one male (a Tongan). If these are excluded from the sample, then only 4.8 percent of the persons in the sample were educated overseas, the other 95.2 percent being educated in Samoa before migration. Two of the wives completed Year 12 (Form 7) at Samoana High School and one female household head completed Year 10 (Form 5) at Leone High School, both in American Samoa but these are not counted among the overseas-educated for obvious reasons.

Of the 13 husbands who did vocational training, one was trained in New Zealand and 12 in Samoa. Of those trained in Samoa, six studied for trade certificates at the Vaivase Technical Institute, one in aircraft engineering at the Polynesian Airlines maintenance facility at Faleolo Airport and one in motor mechanics at the American Samoan Community College. Of the women, eight

trained as teachers at the Teacher Training College, one as a nurse at the Health Department and one as a secretary. Out of the 22 who trained in Samoa, only two failed to complete their courses due to unavoidable circumstances.

Six males completed university courses before migration to Australia. Their qualifications include a B.D. from the Pacific Theological College, Fiji; Bachelor of Theology from Otago University (N.Z.); diploma in Tropical Agriculture from U.S.P. Campus, College of Tropical Agriculture (W.S.); diploma in theology from the Piula Theological College, Piula (W.S.); Bachelor of Commerce from Waikato University (N.Z.); B.A. from Baylor University (U.S.A.). In addition a seventh male was one year short of completing a diploma in theology from the Methodist-run Piula Theological College. Of the four females with tertiary education, two attended the American Samoan Community College, one the *univesite o Samoa* and one the National University of Samoa.²⁷

A number of husbands and wives continued their secondary education and vocational training in New Zealand and Australia. Thus 16 husbands and 15 wives continued their secondary education in New Zealand; and 18 husbands and 18 wives continued their vocational training in New Zealand while 7 husbands and 12 wives continued their vocational training in Australia. Vocational courses for men included: motor mechanics, accounting, insurance, welding, police work, biblical and theological studies, security, management, aircraft engineering and adult education. Those for women included: teacher training, welfare work, nursing, first aid, midwifery, computer and office skills, secretarial work, dressmaking, tailoring, accounting, police training, theology, music, business skills and general education.

Table 18 demonstrates that in terms of formal education, Samoan migrants to Australia are well-educated by European standards with 71 percent having had secondary-level education and 29 percent with only primary-level education. Moreover, 82 (out of 252 respondents) or 32.5 percent had completed Form 5 (Year 10). However, only 9.5 percent had any vocational training before first migration to either New Zealand or Australia and only 4

²⁷ The *univesite* (1978-1985) belonged to the Congregational Christian Church and the National University (1984-) is owned by the Government of Western Samoa.

percent had had tertiary education in similar circumstances. After migration, 18 males and 18 females (36 out of 252) or 14 percent undertook vocational training in New Zealand and 7 males and 12 females (19 out of 252) or 7.5 percent did the same in Australia. Thus approximately 31 percent or close to one third of the 252 respondents have had formal vocational training and only 4 percent have had tertiary education. The other 65 percent, it can be assumed, have been left to the fate of the employment market. This means that since they lack vocational training, they take up semi-skilled and unskilled jobs.

Household Income and Employment

Household income refers to the total income of the members of a household and includes not only wages and salaries but also welfare payments and remittances from overseas relatives, for instance, from parents in Western Samoa, as in the example of one young married couple in Bankstown. For most households (112), the primary source of income is earnings from employment and for a few (25) it is welfare payments. There is very little income in the way of remittances if this is understood to mean monetary and other gifts from relatives in Samoa or New Zealand and very few Samoans would be receiving remittances from other sources, for example, house rentals in New Zealand. The income of some families, of course, may be a combination of salary and some form of welfare payment. This aspect of the survey was a most sensitive one and great care was taken to ensure that the level of intrusion into private financial matters was kept to a minimum. The respondents, however, were told that household income included all sources but they were not required to show how much came from which source. Table 19 shows the income levels of the 137 households covered in the survey. Only three families (two on \$8,001-\$12,000 and one on \$12,001-\$16,000 p.a.) are at the lowest end of the income scale and, therefore, presumably would have extreme difficulty in coping with the cost of living in Canterbury/Bankstown. It is, of course, possible, as I had suspected in one or two instances, that the declaration of household income had not included welfare payments of different kinds, for example, child allowance, unemployment, solo parent and utility subsidies. In most cases, however, I feel the replies to the income question were open and above-board. When the sample household incomes are compared with those of Canterbury (43,059 households), Bankstown (49,069 households) and Sydney, the results are

Table 19: Household Income

Income Range	No. H/holds	Percentage
\$8,001 - \$12,000 p.a.	2	1
\$12,001 - \$16,000 p.a.	1	1
\$16,001 - \$20,000 p.a.	15	11
\$20,001 - \$25,000 p.a.	17	12
\$25,001 - \$30,000 p.a.	20	15
\$30,001 - \$35,000 p.a.	17	12
\$35,001 - \$40,000 p.a.	13	10
\$40,001 - \$50,000 p.a.	17	12
\$50,001 - \$60,000 p.a.	11	8
\$60,001 - \$70,000 p.a.	8	6
More than \$70,000 p.a.	16	12
Total	137	100

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

shown in Table 20. This shows clearly that more Samoan sample households are in the higher income groups than their counterparts in Canterbury, Bankstown and Sydney (except for the \$50,001 and over). This is perhaps due to the larger sizes of the Samoan migrant households. Table 21 shows that of the 112 working households, most had one or two workers who were bringing the money in. Thus 44 had one worker and 43 two workers, 39 percent and 38 percent respectively for a total of 77 percent. The number of households with two or more workers, however, was 68 or 61 percent. Of the 25 welfare-dependent families, 16 relied on welfare because their male members could not find employment, five belonged to solo parents, three to old age pensioners and one to an invalid pensioner. The ages of the 16 unemployed were: 23, 25, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 47, 58. The mean age was 38.5 years.

At the level of individual male unemployment, from the 128 husbands and single male adult heads (representing 128 households), 99 were employed, 20 unemployed, five were pensioners, two were students and information was unavailable on two males. The 128 households exclude nine headed by single female adult household heads. Among the wives and single female adult household heads representing 133 households (remaining four being headed by single male adults), 63 were housewives, 59 were working,

Table 20: Household Annual Incomes Compared

	Sample	Canterbury	Bankstown	Sydney
	%	%	%	%
Less than \$12,000	1	12.8	12.6	11.2
\$12,001-\$25,000	24	22.1	20.7	18.2
\$25,001-\$50,000	49	28.1	26.9	27.5
\$50,001 and over	26	17.2	21.3	26.2
Partially stated	-	16.7	15.9	14.3
Not stated	-	3.1	2.6	2.6
Total percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Sample survey, 1992/93; Canterbury Demographic Profile, 1993; Bankstown Community Profile, 1994; Australian Census, 1991.

Table 21: Number of Workers

Income Range	No. Workers						No. H/holds
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
\$16,001-\$20,000 p.a.	4	1	0	0	0	0	5
\$20,001-\$25,000 p.a.	9	2	0	0	0	0	11
\$25,001-\$30,000 p.a.	13	3	0	0	0	0	16
\$30,001-\$35,000 p.a.	10	5	0	0	0	0	15
\$35,001-\$40,000 p.a.	5	8	0	0	0	0	13
\$40,001-\$50,000 p.a.	3	12	2	0	0	0	17
\$50,001-\$60,000 p.a.	0	6	4	1	0	0	11
\$60,001-\$70,000 p.a.	0	5	3	0	0	0	8
More than \$70,000 p.a.	0	1	3	9	2	1	16
Total households	44	43	12	10	2	1	112
Non-working households							25
Grand Total							137

Note: Numbers in parentheses represent number of workers.

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

three were unemployed,²⁸ seven were pensioners and one was a student. Thus among men, 77 percent were fully employed while 16 percent were unemployed. Among the women, 44 percent worked while 2 percent were unemployed. The low unemployment rate for women is explained by the fact that most, 47 percent, were housewives, and Samoan cultural values encouraged

²⁸ They wanted to work but could not find employment.

women to stay at home after marriage. It is, therefore, among the men that the problem of unemployment becomes crucial especially in their capacity as breadwinners. Table 22 shows that the unemployment rate among male respondents is exceptionally high compared with others.

Table 22: Comparison of Unemployment Rates

	Sample	Canterbury	Bankstown	Sydney
	%	%	%	%
Male	16	9.7	13.5	8.3
Female	2	8.2	11.3	4.1

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93; Canterbury Demographic Profile, 1993; Bankstown Community Profile, 1994; Australian Census, 1991.

Of the 99 employed males, 12 were bus drivers, 11 machinists, 9 storemen and 6 process workers. Other occupations and numbers in parentheses were: security guard (5), business owner/operator (5), business manager (5), church minister (4), taxi driver (4), labourer (4), welder (4), printer (3), binder (3), truck driver (2), forklift driver (2) and packer (2). The following occupations had one worker each: butcher, translator, plant mechanic, dye setter, detailer, wire tester, machine setter, ticket inspector, shunter, biscuit mixer, clerk, spray painter, finance/insurance consultant, musician, cleaner, machine feeder, aircraft engineer and key operator.

Among the employed females, 7 were process workers, 7 machinists, 7 nurse aides and four nurses. Occupations with two workers each were: barperson, travel consultant, computer operator, clerk, labourer, data operator, binder and business owner/operator. Occupations with one worker each were: bus driver, salesperson, chef, telephone operator, accountant, fast foods manager, special constable, finance officer, typist/receptionist, tailor, administrative officer, secretary, sales supervisor, kitchen hand and packer.

Most of the males work in occupations which may be described as skilled or semi-skilled. Very few (including 6 process workers, 4 labourers and 2 packers) work in unskilled jobs. The same holds true for females. Out of 59 female workers, only 11 may be regarded as working in unskilled jobs. They

include 7 process workers, 2 labourers, 1 kitchen hand and 1 packer. Most of the male and female workers brought with them skills acquired, often in long years of employment, in New Zealand and some, no doubt, were acquired in Australia.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief background on the two local government areas, Canterbury and Bankstown, which collectively form the largest concentration of Samoan migrants in Sydney. The Samoan migrants moved gradually into the area from the 1970s onwards for much the same reasons as the other migrants following World War II. These were mainly the availability of low-cost housing and accessibility to public forms of transport. Most of the Samoans who came to Australia from the 1970s onwards came here largely for economic reasons (56 percent of the males in the sample) and entered the country mainly as New Zealand citizens. The majority of the migrants, 66.7 percent of the husbands and 76.5 percent of the wives in the sample, have had secondary schooling but it appears from the survey that relatively few have had any vocational or tertiary education. Thus most of the skills possessed by the migrants would appear to have been acquired through on-the-job training mostly in New Zealand, but also in Australia. Because of cultural values which encourage women to stay at home after marriage, unemployment does not appear to be a problem among married women in the sample. Amongst men, however, 77 percent were fully employed and 16 percent unemployed. If the five pensioners, two students and two males about whom information is unavailable are excluded from the equation, then the employment rate in the sample would be 83 percent and the unemployment rate would be 17 percent for males. Most of the households have one or two workers (64 percent of the sample of 137 households) and the higher the income the more the workers in a household. For example, there are nine households earning over \$70,000 per annum which have four workers each. The occupations are fairly evenly distributed but amongst males the most common jobs appear to be bus driver, machinist, storeman and process worker. Among females, they are process worker, machinist, nurse aide and nurse in that order. As Samoan migrant numbers accelerated in the 1980s, and Canterbury/Bankstown was transformed into a core settlement, the migrants

learned to adapt to their new environment but at the same time building up a strong Samoan community united by religious, cultural and ethnic bonds. Their previous experiences of social life in New Zealand helped to accelerate the process of adaptation yet at the same time they were forming a Samoan community with unique features of its own.

The Christian Church and the Fa'a-Samoa

Religion or *tapuaiga* has always played an integral part in Samoan society from time immemorial and still does. Because of its centrality in mediating the relationships between Samoans and their gods, it forms one of the most important institutions of the **fa'a-Samoa**. As a result of the missionary efforts of the Evangelical missionaries from England in the 1830s, such as Williams and Earff, Samoans today are largely Christian. But this has not prevented the Samoan religious ethos from expressing itself in various ways in the migrant enclaves of Australia. This expression has taken the form of appropriating the religious models based on the **fa'a-Samoa** and simultaneously transforming them in ways which conform more with the social realities encountered by migrants in Australia. The consequence has largely been a shift from a more rigid religious practice to one that is more tolerant and flexible yet in some ways more problematic.

In this chapter I examine the role of the Christian church in the lives of the Samoan migrants, the relationship between the church and culture (**fa'a-Samoa**), and how this relationship is being redefined in the context of conflicts between *falifeau* and their congregations and between *matal* and *taulele'a*. I begin by tracing the history of the various Samoan churches including brief biographies of some of the founding pastors. This sets the stage for a discussion of church affiliation and financial support in Canterbury/Bankstown. Finally, I show how church and culture interact and support each other and provide a sense of security and ethnic identity for the migrants. This process, however, as will be seen, is not a uniform one being contested at practically every level and standardised sets of rules and procedures, which govern religious affairs in Samoa, undergo transformation as migrants redefine them to more properly reflect the existing power relations of the migrant community.

That the *lotu* is an integral part of the *aganu'u* (culture) is a general belief among Samoans. And it is not just a matter of belief because church affiliation and participation are widespread practices in the lives of the Samoan people whether in the Samoan islands or as migrants in overseas countries. The 1986 census report for Western Samoa, for instance, says: "Western Samoa is a christian (sic) country where religion has a pervasive influence on the way of life and customs of the people. Thus in all recent censuses religion has been included" (p. 26). The report went on to say that "[t]he figures recorded in 1986 show little change in their structure to those for 1981 and earlier census" (p. 26) and even by the time of the 1991 census (Table 23). In terms of percentages, the 1991 figures were approximately the same as in 1986 with the difference that Congregationalist and Catholic numbers had dropped from 47 percent and 22 percent to 43 percent and 21 percent respectively. Methodist, Mormon and Adventist numbers increased from 15 percent, 9 percent and 2 percent to 17 percent, 10 percent and 3 percent respectively. In 1986, out of a total population of 157,158, at least 150,052 or 96 percent belonged to the five main religious groups mentioned. Out of a total population of 161,298 in the 1991 census, 150,468 or 93 percent belonged to the same, a drop of 3 per cent from 1986 but

Table 23: Population By Religion in Western Samoa

Religion	1991			
	Male	Female	Total	%
Congregationalist	36,061	32,590	68,651	42
Catholic	17,426	16,122	33,548	21
Methodist	14,360	12,830	27,190	17
Latter Day Saint	8,539	7,855	16,394	10
Seventh Day Adventist	2,428	2,257	4,685	3
Other religions	4,992	4,468	9,460	6
Not stated	795	575	1,370	1
Total	84,601	76,697	161,298	100

Note: "Other religions" include the smaller denominations such as Assembly of God, Church of Christ, Nazarene, Baptist and Anglican.

Source: Population Census, 1991, Department of Statistics, Government of Western Samoa, Apia.

still substantial. These figures show that almost the entire Samoan population are Christian and this is true not merely in the sense of belonging but also in a practical sense. One has only to live in the Samoan islands to observe the

diligence with which Samoans attend Sunday services.

When they leave home to settle in other countries, Samoans continue to practise their religion in their new environment. Perhaps, in a sense, the church becomes even more important in the lives of the migrants not merely as a source of spiritual comfort and guidance but also as a source of material help in times of financial difficulties, problems with the law and social conflicts both within the home and outside. Cut off from most of their kin and friends and the stability offered by their customary village life in Samoa, migrants tend to see in the church the embodiment of those relationships they have been alienated from and hence the strong desire to join a Samoan congregation after arrival in a new country and to treat that church group as one's own *nu'u* (village). In fact, one often hears in church sermons and the conversations of everyday life the expression that the church is one's village and the two terms *lotu* and *nu'u* are often synonymous. Thus Tiata says, "the church community is the village of the Samoan migrants, it is the centre of their mutual support system, of their very existence". And according to Savea, "true Samoanness means the *aganu'u* and the *lotu*". Canterbury/Bankstown is no different in this respect from other Samoan migrant communities in New Zealand and the United States (see, for instance, Pitt and Macpherson, 1974; Antilla, 1980; Rolff, 1978). Here religion is a dynamic force in organising the lives of the migrants, as I hope to show in due course. As Fale, one of the earliest Samoan migrants to Sydney, told me:

"If you want anything to be done in the Samoan community, it is best to do it through the churches. They represent the pillars of the Samoan community and they are the institutions the Samoans are most involved with in their daily activities. For instance, if you want people to attend a meeting the usual methods of advertising won't work. You might get only one or two persons. But if you solicit the help of the pastors, your meeting will be packed with people."

The history of church development in Australia is inseparable from that of the migrants. Centuries of social conditioning, both pre- and post-contact, have resulted in the general acceptance of religion as an integral part of the Samoan way of life and without which life would be unbearable and full of dangers. The institutions of religion and the religious life have always been with the Samoans since time immemorial and, therefore, it might be argued, as Leenhardt (1979)

did for the Kanaks, that the Christian missionaries did not introduce religion (though obviously they thought so) but merely another version of religion, another god to supplant the old ones. When they migrated to other countries, Samoans took with them the cultural forms and norms associated with religion and tried, often successfully, to put these into practice. This meant that one of the first things they sought to do, upon arrival in a new country was, generally speaking, to find a place of worship and to affiliate with a religious congregation. In the absence of a Samoan congregation, Samoans would initially affiliate with a **palagi** church until they were able to join a Samoan church or to found one of their own. This is the pattern that we see prevail wherever Samoans settle in foreign countries including Australia. Thus, according to Fale, the onset of mass migration by Samoans to Australia is closely connected with religion. The first stage consists of the migration of one or two families of a particular religious denomination. This, in turn, leads to the migration of other members of the same denomination who join the first migrants. Thus, by a process of chain migration extending over several years, a new church group is formed. In Australia, he said, the mass migration of Samoans was spearheaded by a group of Seventh Day Adventists who took advantage of the Trans Tasman agreement enabling New Zealand citizens to enter Australia freely. Initially, there were only two Seventh Day Adventist families (Savada and Nu'uali'itia) but soon they were joined by others. Next to arrive in large numbers, Fale said, were the members of the **Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa (EFKS)**¹ who, like the Adventists before them, also began to organise a Samoan church. In the next few pages I provide brief histories of the main Samoan churches in Sydney. They include: **EFKS, Fa'apotopotoga a le Atua (Assembly of God), Lotu Mamona (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints), Metotisi (Methodist), Aso Fitu (Seventh Day Adventist), Katoliko (Catholic)** and others.

Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa (EFKS)

Ilimaleota arrived in Australia in 1976 at a time when, as he said, there were hardly any Samoans in Sydney, just a couple of families, children of Samoan pastors who served in Papua New Guinea² and several scholarship students from Western Samoa. Thinking back to those days, he said: "We used

¹ Congregational Christian Church of Western Samoa (Congregationalist).

² These children were born in Papua New Guinea during the Australian administration and, therefore, were entitled to Australian citizenship.

to meet at the home of Sava and Luisa and in time we began to see ourselves as one big family." On Sundays, they attended European services at the Anglican church at Marrickville because there was no Samoan *faifeau* (pastor, minister, priest) to conduct services for them. Finally a *faifeau* arrived in the form of Rev Pouesi, and his wife, Mataileupu, and they were able to hold Samoan-language services in the same church on Sunday evenings. This continued until the arrival of Rev Tapa Faletose, the man usually cited as the real founder of the **EFKS** church in Australia.

Born 3 March, 1926, Tapa was educated at Misi Uaita School, Leifiifi Primary, Avele and Maluafou colleges, Western Samoa. He then attended Malua Theological College, the Congregationalist institution that had, since 1845, provided graduates for village churches in Samoa and for missionary work in New Caledonia, Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea. Upon graduation in 1955, Tapa and his wife Mei were assigned as *faifeau* of a village at Fagaloa and in 1959 was appointed by the **EFKS** to be director of the Boys' Brigade, a position he held for 10 years. In 1970, he became the pastor of a Pacific Islands Church (PIC) congregation in Christchurch, New Zealand. During 1974 he did a refresher course at a theological college at Dunedin and on his return to Christchurch in 1975 he became the *faifeau* of a Samoan church remaining there until his coming to Australia in 1980.

Tapa's vast experience as a church minister and as head of the Boys' Brigade undoubtedly equipped him well for the missionary effort that was to follow in Australia. His involvement with the Australian church began with the migration of his own children to Australia, the first of whom, his eldest daughter, came in 1979 to work as a nurse. The other daughters soon followed and before long, the girls had founded a prayer group at Strathfield. They used to go around the Sydney pubs to distribute their father's business cards and to spread the word of a religious service to be held at Strathfield. While in Australia on a three week holiday, Tapa conducted this service at the Uniting Church, Strathfield, during the second week of July, 1980. At that service, the question was put to the Samoans present whether they wanted to have their own church. The general opinion was no. The following Sunday many of those who attended the first service did not turn up but those present, who had not spoken up at the

first meeting, expressed their desire for the establishment of a Samoan church. And so it was agreed to. The members of the new congregation included a visiting *falfeau*, Ketu Magalo, Tapa's three daughters Faapi'o, Alu and So'o, the children of Samoan pastors who had served in Papua New Guinea and Isa'ako. Ketu became secretary, Faapi'o as treasurer and Sagato as chairman of the development committee. Before Tapa and his wife Mei left for Samoa to attend the celebrations marking the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the first European missionaries in Samoa,³ arrangements were made for another pastor, Rev Talalelei Poasa Te'o, to look after the new congregation in the interim period. By this time, church services had been shifted to the historic church of St. Andrews,⁴ owned by the Independent Congregational Church, at Balmain. The choice of St. Andrews was largely due to the availability of the site and was unconnected with the geographical patterns of migrant accommodation. Many migrants, in fact, lived far from Balmain. There were 15 members in the congregation and the first service was held there on 27 July, 1980.

Trouble, however, soon struck the congregation when the new *falfeau* left, apparently, so Tapa explained, after he learnt that the EFKS in Samoa had not approved the establishment of a church in Sydney. Tapa believes that the initial opposition of the Samoan church was largely due to pressure from the Uniting Church of Australia. The Uniting Church at that time was trying to bring all Samoan Congregationalists under its jurisdiction as part of the trend towards church unification. Another reason suggested by Mei was that the Samoan church probably did not like Tapa's practice of making anybody a deacon without first undergoing the usual preparations. Yet a third explanation was offered by another informant. He suggested that the Samoan church was displeased with Tapa's alleged failure to first resign his post as pastor of an EFKS church in Christchurch before assuming pastoral duties in Australia. Whatever the real reason, Tapa returned from Samoa to take charge of the new congregation and remained with it until 1986, when he took up a highly

³ These were John Williams and Charles Barff of the London Missionary Society, an Evangelical group dedicated to spreading the gospel and civilising the "natives" of Africa and Oceania.

⁴ London Missionary Society missionaries on their way to Samoa and Samoan missionaries on their way to the mission fields in Papua New Guinea are said to have stayed at a hall next to the church.

remunerative post as **falfeau** of the **EFKS** church at Aoloau, American Samoa.⁵

The establishment of the **EFKS** church at Balmain was soon to be followed by the establishment of other branches of the **EFKS** not only in Sydney, but also in Newcastle, Brisbane and Melbourne. In Sydney, the Balmain church continued to grow so that by 1982 there were over 300 persons, including deacons, in the congregation. The decision was made that year to expand and to form a second congregation under Rev Keti Magalo and six deacons that had been assigned to assist him in the new venture. The new congregation was established and held its first services at Canterbury Road, Marrickville. It became known as the **EFKS** church, Canterbury, or Marrickville.

Since Tapa's departure for American Samoa in 1986, Rev Keti Magalo had become the most powerful figure in the **EFKS** church in Australia in his capacity as **Falfeau Toealna** (Elder Pastor) and head of the **EFKS** in Australia. He was born at Toarnua village, Western Samoa, 12 December, 1922. He attended primary school at Malifa, Marist and Misi Uaita and secondary school at Leulumoega Fou College. He entered Malua Theological College in 1947 graduating in 1951. He volunteered to serve in the church mission, Papua New Guinea, and after his ordination in 1952 left Samoa for Papua on the mission ship, John Williams IV. It was a most difficult trip, recalled Keti, and his destination was finally reached after four weeks of travel, including station visits along the coast of the big country. Keti and his wife served in Papua New Guinea for almost seven years and then returned to Samoa where they served at Aleisa Sasa'e for a further 12 years. This was followed by another stint as **falfeau** at Taelefaga, Fagaloa, for another 12 years. At the end of this period, Keti and his wife visited their children in Australia in 1980 and have lived here since.

In 1985, factionalism⁶ within the Canterbury congregation led to a serious split in the ranks and when Keti and his wife returned from a church conference in Western Samoa, part of his congregation had broken away and started a new

⁵ This post was worth US\$72,000 per annum in salary alone.

⁶ More on factionalism within Samoan churches later.

church at Carlton. The split, an informant told me, was over the question as to whether the congregation should grant a private loan allegedly requested by the pastor to pay off some outstanding debts in Samoa. Perhaps there were other reasons too but in the end, one faction decided to go its own way and invited Rev Fosi Palaamo, former pastor of the **EFKS** church at Vailoa, Western Samoa, as its *fai'feau*. This new church became known as Marrickville/Carlton. Keti's congregation meanwhile had moved from Marrickville to Bexley, Kingsgrove and most recently to Ashfield becoming known as **EFKS** Sydney.

The development of the **EFKS** church at Fairfield was due largely to the efforts of five **EFKS** families living in Fairfield. Because they lived at some distance from inner Sydney, they wanted their own church and so in 1983 they approached the **EFKS** in Samoa to allow the Rev Toese Toailoa to be their pastor. Toese, in his early fifties, had been educated at Malua'afu and Leulumoega before entering Malua Theological College whence he graduated in 1968. He had already served for 16 years as pastor at Satuimalufilufi village and had retired when he was invited by the Fairfield group to become their pastor. Permission was granted and in May, 1984, Toese and his family came to Australia. The Fairfield church was established with five *matafale* (member units which could be an individual, a family or collection of families). Soon after, two of these families left but by 1986 the number of *matafale* had grown to 12. The church shifted to its present site at Cabramatta West 10 January, 1987.

The next **EFKS** church to be set up was the church known under the name of Campsie though in fact, its services are held at the Catholic Church hall at Rossmore Avenue, Punchbowl.⁷ Again, as in Fairfield, this church owes its origins to **EFKS** members who were resident in Belmore and Campsie, Canterbury, in the early 1980s. Among the prominent members of this group were Manuele Ah Yek, his wife Sieni and their children, Pomare Time and Faaniniva Puni. From 1982 this group cultivated close ties with the Balmain church and Tapa came regularly to conduct the Communion service for the group. In 1984, however, serious disagreement had arisen between the group and the parent church at Balmain. The disagreement, an informant told me,

⁷ The custom seems to be that the name given to an **EFKS** church commemorates the place where it was first founded. Thus, the Campsie church was the church founded in Campsie though it is now based at the Punchbowl, at the other end of Canterbury.

arose from two events, namely, a combined *malaga* (visiting party) by Campsie and Balmain church members to a church dedication at Henderson, Auckland, New Zealand, in 1982, and the dedication of the six-storey John Williams building⁸ in Apia, 1983. It is alleged that after the *malaga* returned to Sydney the pastor's wife redistributed the fine mats, a gift from the Henderson church, without consulting the Campsie members. The bitterness over this incident lasted a long time but eventually there was a reconciliation. The second event, however, led to a more permanent split. According to the informant, the Campsie and Balmain members had given AUD\$3,000 to the pastor as their contribution to the dedication of the new **EFKS** headquarters in Apia. After the dedication, however, when it was learned that the money was never presented, the Campsie members made the split permanent. They formed their own church, called it **EFKS** Campsie and invited Rev Litala Tuimauluga to be its first pastor in 1986. Litala received his early education in Western Samoa and is a graduate of both the Malua Theological College and the Pacific Theological College, Suva. From Fiji, he went to Malua where he taught for three years. But desirous of gaining further practical experience overseas, he applied and got a job as a pastor of a Uniting Church parish in Tasmania where he served for three years. A two-year stint with another parish in Tasmania followed, after which he and his family prepared to return to Samoa. They stopped over in Sydney and while there, Litala was approached by the Campsie members to become their pastor. He accepted and now heads what is arguably the largest **EFKS** congregation in Sydney.

There was another split from the **EFKS** Sydney when in 1986, Samoan migrants from Wellington, New Zealand, decided to form their own church congregation which subsequently became known as the **EFKS** Ashbury. These migrants, however, did not leave because of disaffection, an informant said, but due to a commonality of interests. They invited Rev Malua Keilani, recently graduated from Malua Theological College, to be their first *falfeau*. He was formally installed in this position 30 July, 1988.

The last **EFKS** church to be set up in Sydney was the **EFKS** church at Mt. Drutt with Rev Simeona Taefu as its first pastor. The main reason behind

⁸ Owned by the **EFKS**.

the establishment of this church was to cater to the spiritual needs of EFKS church members who lived far from the other church centres. Like Rev Malua, the new pastor was also a recent graduate of Malua Theological College.

When Tapa left for American Samoa in 1986, the Balmain congregation invited Rev Luteru Vaifale to be their new pastor. He graduated from the Teachers' Training College, Malifa, and the Malua Theological College in 1957 and 1970 respectively. He served as pastor at Salelologa village, Western Samoa, for six years and at Wainuiomata, New Zealand, also for six years and was on a holiday in Australia in 1986 when he was approached by the Balmain congregation to be their *faiifeau*. Luteru accepted, not a difficult decision for Luteru because he had already made up his mind to settle in Australia to further his teenage children's education. When I interviewed him in February, 1993, the EFKS Balmain had 17 *matafale*⁹ and a total membership of 100 persons. The congregation had already bought a house for the pastor at a cost of \$115,000. Only \$6,594 remained in the loan balance for the house. Funds for loan repayments came from church donations and from birthday anniversaries of which three were held in 1990, 1991 and 1992 and which raised \$36,000 in all.

In terms of seniority then, the Balmain church came first, followed by Sydney, Fairfield, Marrickville/Carlton, Campsie, Ashbury and Mt Druitt, seven churches in all. Each has a uniform organisation with the pastor as both spiritual teacher and chief executive at the top and under him the *deacons*¹⁰ and the *matafale* (member units). The sizes of the congregations vary from 50 to 100 individuals for Sydney, Marrickville/Carlton and Mt Druitt, and from 100 to 250 for Fairfield, Campsie and Ashbury. Congregationalist pastors are supported by their own congregations through the monthly, sometimes fortnightly contributions called the *alofa* (literally "love"). Naturally the bigger the congregation the bigger the *alofa*. The *alofa* of one such big congregation for 12 July, 1992, came to \$1,650 or \$412.50 weekly for the *faiifeau* while the contribution for development purposes came to \$1,000. In this same congregation, the biggest *alofa* contribution made 14 June, 1992, by a *matafale* was \$200; the next biggest contributions were around \$100 each. Since the *alofa* is generally

⁹ Membership units conceived usually in terms of households but can include individuals. The *matafale* are the backbone of any church.

¹⁰ These deacons are not paid salaries but enjoy high status in the church community.

monthly event, contributions made on the other three Sundays are usually set aside for church administrative, maintenance and development costs. In short, **EFKS** churches are largely dependent on their members for their continued existence, especially in an economic sense. Administratively, they are called **ekalesia**. They are under the state organisation called the **pulega**. The **pulega**, of which there are three at the moment (Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney), come under the all-embracing organisation called the **matagaluega**. The **matagaluega**, in turn, come under the international organisation based in Western Samoa, the **Fono Tele** (General Assembly).¹¹ So, although based in Australia, the **EFKS** in Australia is subordinate in its teachings, rules, regulations and organisation to the **EFKS** in Western Samoa. Every year the **EFKS** in Australia sends delegates to the annual conference of the church in Western Samoa.

Co-existing with the development of the new **EFKS** branches in Australia was the drive by the **EFKS** churches in Australia to be officially recognised by the parent body in Western Samoa. Such recognition is not automatically given and had to be officially sought and this was one of the main policy objectives of the **EFKS** church in Australia under the Rev Tapa Faletoese. When Tapa first broached the question of recognition of the Australian church with the **EFKS** Samoa in 1960 he was told "**se'i toeliliti**" ("wait awhile") presumably until a more detailed feasibility study had been made. In 1982, **EFKS** Samoa decided to act by dispatching a delegation to Australia to make a first-hand report. The delegation consisted of Rev Filemoni Tuigamala, chairman of the **Fono Au Toeaina** (committee of Elders), Rev Sili Perelini, secretary of the **Fono Au Toeaina**, Rev Galuefa Aseta, secretary of the **EFKS** Samoa and Rev Siasoi, a New Zealand-based representative of the **Komiti Faatonu** (the Executive Committee of the **EFKS** Samoa). After consultations, the delegation gave its provisional approval for the establishment of the **EFKS** in Australia but subject to the condition that formal application for membership had to be made to the 1984 General Assembly in Samoa. Accordingly, in 1984, Australia sent a delegation to Samoa to make the necessary application. Members included Rev Tapa Faletoese and his wife Mei, Rev Toese Toailoa, Leota Wilson, Mefi

¹¹ The Congregational Church of American Samoa broke away in the 1980s and is now independent of its counterpart in Western Samoa.

Perelini and Faulalo. The conference, as expected, gave its approval for **EFKS** Australia to become a **matagaluega** but again subject to the condition that its formal participation at the annual conference would begin only in 1986. By then, Tapa had resigned to take up a new post in American Samoa but delegates from Australia were able to formally represent Australia at the annual conference in Samoa for the first time. They included Rev Fosi Palaamo, Rev Luteru Vaifale, Rev Litala Tuimauluga, Leota Wilson and Faulalo.

EFKS in Newcastle, Brisbane and Melbourne

The first attempt to expand outside of Sydney occurred in 1984 when a congregation was organised in Newcastle. Due to the scarcity of ordained pastors, the **EFKS** Sydney appointed a deacon to conduct prayer services for the Newcastle congregation. The deacon appointed, Fuafiva, was in charge of a very small congregation which included his wife, their children and one adult. A pastor from Sydney, usually Ketu himself, visited once a month to conduct the **fa'amanatuga** (communion service). When, however, Fuafiva died, the congregation was dissolved and former members joined the **Perepereane** (Samoan branch of the Presbyterian Church) under Rev Setu Amosa. At the time of this research, **Perepereane** was the only active Samoan church in the area.

In 1987, **EFKS** Australia, which at that time meant the **EFKS** churches in Sydney, submitted to the **Fono Tele** a proposal for the establishment of **pulegā** (sub-districts) in Brisbane, Melbourne and Sydney. The **Fono** approved the proposal and appointed three **falfeau toeaina** (elder ministers) to take charge of the **pulega**: Rev Samuelu Tulai for Brisbane, Rev Urika for Melbourne and Rev Ketu Magalo for Sydney. In December, 1993, Ketu stepped down as **falfeau toeaina** due to his mandatory retirement at the age of 70 and Rev Toese Toailoa, the next most senior pastor, was appointed in his place. Ketu's position as a member of the **Komiti Faatonu**, the highest administrative body within the church, has gone to Rev Urika, who will hold it for five years. Presently, the composition of the **matagaluega** of the **EFKS** in Australia is as follows: Sydney has seven congregations, Melbourne four and Brisbane three. The number of ordained ministers is approximately the same (14) with allowances made for retirements and resignations.

EFKS Samoa's two most important committees are the **Komiti Fa'atonu** and the **Fono Au Toeaina**. The **Komiti Fa'atonu** is made up of 13 members each representing one of the church's 13 **matagaluega** and has supreme jurisdiction over all church affairs, both doctrinal and administrative. It is responsible for church discipline, the welfare of the **au faigaluega** (pastors, deacons and other church workers) and for the work of the various church committees including those for education, finance, development and **Au Toeaina**. The **Fono Au Toeaina** is second only to the **Komiti Fa'atonu** in power and prestige. Its immense influence emanates from the charisma of its individual members (usually 45 at any one time) who, because of their many years of service both at home and abroad, are widely known and respected. While its functions are primarily advisory and consultative, the **Fono Au Toeaina** has the capability of vetoing any decisions of the **Komiti Fa'atonu** it does not like. Its cooperation, therefore, is vital in any major innovation that needs to be introduced in the church's life. The decision-making process in the church begins at the top level, that of the **Komiti Fa'atonu**, then through the **Fono Au Toeaina** and finally the annual church conference which, in effect, either "rubber-stamps" what has already been approved by the church's committees or votes against it. Of course, agendas could be initiated at the grass roots level of ordinary members but these need to be filtered up and down again through the appropriate channels which invariably means working through and manipulating the essentially theocratic hierarchies. In my view, it is this strongly hierarchical structure in the **EFKS** church which provides the church with its conservative image and associates it closely with **fa'a-Samoa** in the minds of most Samoans.

EFKS Tuto'atasi

The **EFKS Tuto'atasi** (Independent Samoan Congregationalist Church) was founded in Sydney, 1992, by Rev Tepa Faletoese after he had retired as pastor of the American Samoan Congregationalist congregation at Aoloau village. As Tepa told me, his church has the same doctrines, rituals and rules as the **EFKS** Samoa with the notable exception that it is not subject to the church in Western Samoa. In his view, the **EFKS** Samoa is too rigid, has too many rules and lacks the flexibility required to operate successfully in European countries "which have their own unique problems". He is determined that the

Tuto'atasi church will be more responsive to the needs of Samoan migrants both in Australia and New Zealand, especially those of the younger generation, but the objectives and methods of this new policy have yet to be worked out in more detail. There is only one **Tuto'atasi** congregation in Sydney and that meets for regular services at a **palagi** church at Mascot. Another branch was scheduled for opening in Christchurch, New Zealand, on 28 February, 1993, with Rev Tuiataga Siataga as pastor.¹² Commendable as the objectives of the new church may be, it is unlikely to pose a serious threat to the better organised and more powerful **EFKS** Samoa.

Fa'apotopotoga a le Atua

As with the establishment of the **EFKS** in Australia under the direction of Rev Tēpā Faletoese, the history of the **Fa'apotopotoga** (Samoan-speaking Assembly of God church) in Australia is closely linked with that of the founding pastor, Rev Lio Paulo. Born and raised as a Catholic, Lio said he experienced a profound religious experience in 1965 and became a born-again Christian. He attended the Assemblies of God Bible College in Auckland and in 1967 volunteered "to work for the people in Christchurch". In 1980, as he put it, he heard the call from God to bring the church to Samoan migrants in Australia. He did precisely that when in the same year he organised a **Fa'apotopotoga** group in Sydney comprising two couples. In 1981 he left Christchurch for good and formed the first Samoan-speaking **Fa'apotopotoga** congregation in Sydney and, as it turned out, the first such in Australia. The first service was held at the Baptist Church, Punchbowl, on 2 June, 1981. By this time, the first two couples had been joined by another four couples from New Zealand. Soon, with the financial support of the European branch, Lio was able to expand his missionary activities to other states spending considerable time travelling between Sydney, Newcastle, Brisbane and Melbourne. A **Fa'apotopotoga** church was established in Newcastle in 1982, followed by Brisbane and Melbourne in 1985. As these churches were being set up, pastors were appointed to look after them. Today, there are 17 **Fa'apotopotoga** churches in Sydney each under the care of a pastor and two more were in the process of being established. According to Lio's estimate, the church has 3,000 members in

¹² At the time of the inter-branch meeting with Tēpā, he was preparing to go to Christchurch for the formal opening of this branch a few days later.

Sydney. While this figure is debatable, the **Fa'apotopotoga** church appears to be one of the biggest Samoan-speaking churches in Sydney.

As of 31 July, 1992, there were 23 **Fa'apotopotoga** churches in Australia. Sydney had the most with 17, followed by Brisbane 3, Melbourne 2 and Newcastle 1. These **Fa'apotopotoga** churches all come under the jurisdiction of the main Assembly of God church in Australia. Each is required to pay an annual levy amounting to one percent of its total income to the main body. This money is used to cover church expenses at the district, state and national levels. For instance, subsidies for new church acquisitions come from this fund. Apart from this financial responsibility to the parent body, the Samoan churches enjoy a large degree of autonomy. They run their own day-to-day administrative affairs at both local and national levels. Their national administration is managed by a National Executive Committee whose members consist of a superintendent, a position Lio has held since 1983, a treasurer and a trustee. Every two years, the Samoan churches in Australia hold a general conference to which each church sends a delegation comprising the minister and his wife and two church members. The World Samoan Assemblies of God Conference is also held every two years and is attended by delegates from Western and American Samoa, Australia, New Zealand, United States, Hawaii, Alaska and even Germany.

One of the main features of the **Fa'apotopotoga** churches in Sydney is the fact that for their Sunday services and other religious gatherings they generally use school halls. These are rented for specific days of the week at costs which vary widely. For instance, the **Fa'apotopotoga** church at Croydon Park pays \$120 monthly for the rent of a school hall and the church at Leichardt pays \$200 monthly. But the church at Greenacre (Lio's parish) pays \$300 monthly and that at Wiley Park \$600 monthly. The use of school halls by the **Fa'apotopotoga** reduces their overhead costs considerably without seriously affecting the effectiveness of their ministry.

Assembly of God, Church of Samoa, Australia

The Assembly of God, Church of Samoa, Australia, which I shall call **Fa'apotopotoga** Samoa, is an offshoot of the Assembly of God churches. The

main difference between it and the other **Fa'apotopotoga** churches under Rev Lio Paulo is that it is not under the jurisdiction of the English-speaking Assembly, having broken off connections with the main body in New Zealand under the leadership of a pastor by the name of Mesako. Hence it is sometimes called the church of Mesako, as contrasted with the faction headed by Samani which remained with the orthodox group. It is, therefore, run by Samoans for Samoans. In Sydney, this church was organised by Nick Meyer and his wife Ena in 1988. It now has two congregations at Moorebank and Brisbane and one each at Bankstown, Lagoon, Blacktown, St. Mary's and Mt. Druitt in Sydney and one in Newcastle.

Aso Fitu (Seventh Day Adventists)

As Fale recalled, the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) comprised probably the first major group of Samoan migrants to Australia. Their migration, according to an SDA informant, occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s when Australia relaxed its "White Australia policy". The very first Adventist families to migrate to Australia, mainly from Christchurch, New Zealand, did so because some of their young members were attending Adventist College in Avondale or living in Australia. These young people provided the link for migration but the main reason was economic: availability of jobs, good wages and low prices. Some of these early migrants included the families of Savada, Nu'uailitia and Gaia. As with the Samoan Congregationalists and Pentecostals (**Fa'apotopotoga**), they formed their own prayer groups and held Sunday services in their homes before they expanded to school halls and churches. Formal church organisation began only on 30 May, 1982, when Samoan Adventists of the English-speaking church at Drumoyne formed a company with Gaia Sapena as leader and Willie Roberts as assistant. Exactly five months later, the first Samoan SDA church was formed in a ceremony conducted by Sydney SDA president, Pastor Robert Parr, at the Uniting Church, Auburn. Luteru Tauati Fanene was made Chief Elder of the church under the care of Pastor Kingston. By the end of 1984, the first Samoan pastor had taken over the control of the church. He was Pastor Aleni Fepulea'i, who had just completed his theological studies at the University of Loma Linda, California. When Aleni, his wife Sepela and children returned to the United States for further studies, Pastor Neone Okesene took over as pastor. Neone and his wife Susana had previously served at the SDA mission in

Auckland, New Zealand. In 1992, church membership comprised 170 baptised persons compared with 65 in 1982; there were 61 **matafale** compared with 19 in 1982. When unbaptised persons and children were added, the total church membership was about 250. Before 1993, the church conducted religious services at the Rooty Hill Public School on Sundays and at the Uniting Church, Bidwill, on Wednesdays. Since 1993, however, it has been using its own temple facilities, constructed on an acre of land, donated by the SDA Sydney Conference, at Mt Druitt. The temple, funded mostly from monthly church donations, cost over \$700,000.

Aso Fitu Tuto'atasi

The orthodox Samoan Seventh Day Adventist church is under the English-speaking church, its members are Samoan and all its religious services and instructions are in Samoan. The Seventh Day Adventist church, Independent (**Aso Fitu Tuto'atasi**), is similar to the orthodox Samoan church in every respect save jurisdiction. It is an independent Samoan church, separate from the main body, and has four congregations in Sydney, at Auburn, Bankstown, Campbelltown and Fairfield. All four congregations had been served by the one pastor, Rev Kitiona Sione, who is also head of the national organisation.¹³ Recently, however, a second pastor, Rev Lagolago, arrived to take charge of the Fairfield and Campbelltown congregations while Kitiona continued to look after the Auburn and Bankstown congregations. At this stage church membership in Sydney remains small, with average membership at less than 50 persons (at a Bankstown service I counted 30 persons).

Perepereane

The **Ekalesia Perepereane Samoa** (Samoan Presbyterian church) was founded in Sydney in 1982 by Rev Kalamelu Fa'avae Leaupepe. Kalamelu, a graduate of Knox Theological College, Dunedin, had served as pastor of St. Stephen's church, also at Dunedin, for two years before coming to Australia towards the end of 1982 for a "**malologa poo se tafaoga fo'i**" ("a rest or a holiday"). While here he felt the need to establish a place of worship for the Samoan migrants who were beginning to arrive in Sydney. True, he said, he

¹³ The national organisation comprises the four congregations in Sydney and one each in Brisbane and Melbourne.

was aware that Tapa had already established an **EFKS** church in Sydney but at the same time there was a need for more Samoan churches as Australia was a big place and the Samoan population was accordingly dispersed. He thereupon approached the Presbyterian church of Australia for help in the establishment of a Samoan congregation. The church promised its support on condition that he find enough Samoans to form a congregation. Elated at the decision, he visited shopping centres and other public places such as railway stations in Sydney in the hope of meeting Samoans. He found two couples and some single males and females, just under 20 persons in all. They had a meeting at which they agreed to form a church to be called **Perepereane Samoa** under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian church of Australia.

The first service of the new church was held at the Presbyterian church at Burwood, 31 October, 1982. Towards the end of 1983, the congregation moved to the Presbyterian church at Annandale and in 1985 it moved to the Uniting church at Leichardt. In 1987, it moved again this time to the Presbyterian church at Five Dock, formerly used by a Korean congregation. In 1989, the **Perepereane** bought the church building and land from the main Presbyterian body at a total cost of \$240,000. The purchase price had been provided by the church in the form of a loan to the Samoan congregation. When the congregation offered a deposit of \$100,000 for the loan, the church had invested it instead arguing that the interest from it could be better used by the Samoan church to meet its operational expenses. According to Kalamelu, loan repayments are now about \$12,000 per six months and over \$70,000 has so far been repaid. At the time of Kalamelu's retirement early 1993, there were 17 active **matafale** and 7 inactive ones in the church. Kalamelu has presided at over 70 baptisms, 35 weddings and 4 funerals. The church remains under the wing of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, it being a Samoan parish of the main church. As such it sends delegates to the meetings of the Sydney presbytery as well as to the annual general assembly of the whole church. When Kalamelu left, the main church appointed a moderator to conduct religious services at Five Dock pending further action.

So'ofa'atasi

The **So'ofa'atasi** church is the name generally given to the three

Samoan-speaking congregations under the pastoral care of Rev Sione Eli. These congregations are located at Lidcombe, Riverwood and Bidwill in Sydney and form a parish of the Paramatta Presbytery, Uniting Church of Australia. Members of this church originally belonged to the Pacific Islands Church (PIC), a multicultural church for Pacific islanders operated by the Uniting Church in Pitt St., Sydney. This is the same church that had played an important part in assisting Pacific island migrants adapt to urban life in New Zealand and many of the Samoan migrants to Australia had been PIC members in New Zealand (cf. Pitt and Macpherson, 1974). In Australia, however, relations between the Samoans and PIC turned sour as a result of certain practices considered discriminatory by the Samoans. First, as one informant put it, the Samoan congregation (at Pitt St.) had to pay \$170 weekly for the services of a worker who opened and closed the halls used for Samoan-language services while, it is alleged, no such payments were made by the other congregations. Second, it is alleged that Samoans had to pay \$5 each for parking space whereas *palagi* were exempted. Third, it is alleged that Samoan children were allocated a dirty part of the hall for their Sunday schools while the *palagi* kept the clean part for their morning teas. It appears that general dissatisfaction, whatever might have been the reason, was not restricted to the Samoans because the Fijians were the first to leave the City Church followed by the Tongans. Finally the Samoans also decided to leave, partly because of their grievances and partly, as another informant explained, "due to their own desire to live their own culture and use their own language". They formed their own congregation at Lidcombe, still under the umbrella organisation of the Uniting Church. Soon congregations were also established at Riverwood and Bidwill. The congregation's funds are obtained from quotas: \$12,000 p.a. each for Riverwood and Bidwill and \$16,000 p.a. for Lidcombe. From these funds, the pastor's salary is deducted and other expenses, such as rent for halls, are met. The pastor is not given an *alofa* (cash gift) as EFKS churches provide for their *falfeau* - he is paid a regular salary instead. *So'ofa'atasi* has no direct connections with the churches in Samoa except through the Uniting Church which regularly sends money to the EFKS and Methodist churches in Samoa. Rev Sione Eli, who served as minister of several Uniting churches in Western Australia for many years, assumed responsibility for the new parish in 1989. Each Sunday he conducts services for each congregation in turn.

Sydney Samoan Uniting Church

Unlike the **So'ofa'atasi** which is the direct offshoot of the Sydney Uniting Church, the Sydney Samoan Uniting Church began as a branch of the **EFKS**. It was founded in Ashfield in 1989 by a group of Samoans under the leadership of Fiu Samuela and his wife Faiupu. The couple are household names in **EFKS** circles due to their past services for the church which included the establishment of the first **EFKS** churches in Wellington and Porirua, New Zealand, in 1965 and 1968 respectively. The family migrated to Australia in 1986 and three years later combined forces with other migrants to form the **EFKS** Ashfield. The new congregation, however, had a disagreement with **EFKS** Australia because of the latter's opposition to its choice of Rev Mautofu Fuimaono as pastor. Mautofu was educated at Knox College, Dunedin, Victoria University, Wellington, and University of New South Wales, Sydney, where he obtained a B.A. in politics, science and technology. He served many years as a minister in New Zealand before migrating with his wife Tifitifi to Australia. But the **matagaluega**, however, was against his appointment because he was Presbyterian-trained. The **matagaluega** had insisted that the pastor should be a graduate of the Malua Theological College, run by the Samoan Congregationalists. When Ashfield appealed to the **Fono Tele** in Western Samoa, the **Fono** upheld the **matagaluega's** decision and Ashfield thereupon decided to secede from the **EFKS** and to join the Uniting Church. At that time Mautofu was serving as pastor of a Uniting parish at Wagga Wagga. The application for affiliation was accepted in 1989 and Fiu served as pastor until Mautofu was able to take over on a full time basis in April, 1992. The Ashfield Samoan congregation was part of the **palagi** Uniting parish, Ashfield, under the care of Rev Mautofu. The English-speaking congregation was the responsibility of Rev Bill Crews of Exodus fame.¹⁴ Uniting provided a house for Mautofu and also paid his salary in his capacity as an employee of the Uniting Church.

In early 1993, however, as a result of differences between the two ministers and their respective congregations, the Uniting Church Presbytery made a decision effective 22 March, 1993, to the effect that the Ashfield Uniting

¹⁴ Rev Crews founded Exodus, a humanitarian programme which provides places of refuge for street kids at King's Cross and Ashfield. Its funds come from voluntary donations of the public.

Church would be the responsibility of Rev Crews and his English-speaking congregation whilst Mautofu and his Samoan congregation would be responsible for the Uniting Church facilities and property at Ashbury. The Samoan congregation was made a parish and is officially called the Sydney Samoan Uniting Church.

Metotisi (Methodist)

Samoan Methodism in Australia began with the arrival of several migrants such as Paulo Leleisi'uao in 1985. With five persons already in Sydney they formed a small congregation at Marrickville consisting of only three **matafale**. When Tuuau Tiatia came to Australia for a "holiday"¹⁵ in 1986 he was asked to form a second congregation in Bankstown and this was accomplished March, 1986. A year later Tanuvasa Siaosi founded the third congregation at Liverpool and Salamumu Fiu, from Sydney, founded the fourth congregation in Melbourne. But it was not until 1988, when the Methodist Church in Samoa formally appointed Tuuau to take charge of the Samoan Methodist Church in Australia, that these congregations were finally recognised. In 1989 Tuuau founded a fifth congregation in Brisbane and in 1990 both Melbourne and Brisbane acquired additional congregations. In Sydney meanwhile, another congregation had been formed at Mt Druitt under Rev Evile Evile.

The Samoan Methodist Church in Australia now has five **matagaluega** in Australia: two in Sydney (Bankstown and Liverpool, the latter including Mt Druitt and Marrickville), two in Melbourne and one in Brisbane. In Sydney, the **matagaluega** of Bankstown is under Rev Tuuau, the other is under Rev Tulimanu. The two **matagaluega** of Melbourne are under Rev Setu Fa'aniniva and Rev Salamumu Fiu whilst Brisbane is under Rev Fa'ai'u Su'a. The Australian church is under the jurisdiction of the main body in Western Samoa, follows the same doctrines and observes the same rules and regulations as the church in Samoa. It is organised into (1) **faalekuata** (parish), (2) **sinoti** (synod) and (3) **koniferenise** (annual conference). Any recommendations for church

¹⁵ Going on holiday is part of the mythology about Samoan pastors' social life. It is usually a time of reflection for pastors concerned about whether to continue work with their current parishes or to move on. Certainly when pastors came to Australia on holiday, they were also looking for economic opportunities for themselves and their children as one informant said.

improvement follow a step procedure, i.e. from **faalekuata** to **sinoti** to **koniferenise**, held in Samoa every July. Samoan Methodist ministers are trained for five years at Piula Theological College, Western Samoa, and serve a minimum of seven years before being reassigned to a new post by the **koniferenise**. Rev Tuuau has already served as minister of Bankstown for seven years. During that time he has officiated at five weddings and 12 baptisms. His church membership has grown from 9 **matafale** in 1986 to 14 in 1992.

Katoliko (Catholic)

Samoan Catholics in Sydney attend the English-speaking churches and are not organised in the same way as the **EFKS** and **Fa'apotopotoga** churches which own or rent their own church facilities and are looked after by their own ministers and pastors. In the migrant context, Samoan Catholics generally use the host countries' facilities but rely on their own Samoan priests to conduct religious services in Samoan and perform other pastoral work as has been done in Wellington and Auckland, New Zealand, for many years. In Australia at the time of the fieldwork, no Samoan Catholic priest was working with the Samoan Catholic communities most probably, as an informant said, the result of the small size of these communities. The Samoan Catholic communities function independently, play an active role in the social and economic development of their parishes and schools, provide mutual support networks for its members and engage in social activities, which include sporting and cultural performances. Their choirs also perform regularly at church services. Though small in numbers, their presence is felt both within the Catholic church and the migrant community. Presently there are seven Catholic communities in Arncliffe, Bankstown, Fairfield, Doonside, Mt Druitt, Paramatta and Riverwood, each with a president, secretary, treasurer and their deputies.¹⁶

Mamona (Latter Day Saints, LDS)

At the time of the fieldwork, most of the Samoan members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in Sydney belong to two Samoan wards, at Bankstown and Liverpool, and a branch at Mt Druitt. Since then more wards

¹⁶ Since my fieldwork in 1992/93, a full-time Samoan priest, Rev Joe Stowers, had been assigned to look after the Samoan Catholic congregations in Sydney.

have been added. According to Bishop Aiolupotea, Bankstown was first founded in 1986 and when numbers increased, a second ward was established at Liverpool in 1988. Today, there are about 200 members in Bankstown and 400 at Liverpool. Bankstown has 76 matafale made up of 15 individuals and 61 families.

Nasareta (Nazarene Church)

This church, already well established in Western Samoa, is part of the English-speaking church in Australia but conducts religious services and instruction in Samoan at the Nazarene church, Birrong, Bankstown. Samoan Nazarenes from Western Samoa and New Zealand founded the church, originally as a prayer group in 1990 but in 1992 Pastor Filipino Robertson from Samoa organised it as a church. Small in numbers it stands out due to the fact that its pastor is a woman, Mrs Talilotu T. Ofo, a graduate of the Nazarene Theological College at Thornley, Sydney, where she studied from 1972 to 1975.

Tovine Fellowship

The Tovine Fellowship is the newest Samoan church established in Sydney. It is a sect of the Pentecostal movement and was founded by Rev Taulai Tuiletufuga at the "Jesus Is Alive" bookstore, Fairfield, 7 February, 1993. Taulai trained as a pastor at the Singapore Bible School in 1989 and at the International School of Ministry at Christchurch, New Zealand, from 1990 to 1992. Whilst the church has a Pentecostalist emphasis, it differs from the **Fa'apotopotoga** church basically because, as Taulai explained, **Fa'apotopotoga** has adopted an exclusivist philosophy; it sees itself as a select group and others as outsiders. Tovine (meaning vine grower), however, welcomes everyone to church membership, "not just believers but also non-believers, social failures, outcasts and sinners". It currently has 20 regular members.

The Samoan Church

The characteristics of the "Samoan church" at last become clearer. They are mainly: membership is almost exclusively Samoan, use of the Samoan language not only in religious services and instruction but also in the social interaction of members, belief in Samoan values and cultural practices as

Table 24: Characteristics of Samoan Churches in Sydney (a)

Denomination	Membership	Language	Affiliation	Culture
EFKS	Samoan	Samoan	EFKS Samoa	V. strong
EFKS Tutoatasi	Samoan	Samoan	Independent	V. strong
Faapotopotoga	Samoan	Samoan	AOG Aust.	Strong
Faapotopotoga Sam.	Samoan	Samoan	Independent	Strong
Lotu Mamona	Samoan	Samoan	LDS Aust.	Strong
Metotisi Koniferenise	Samoan	Samoan	Metotisi Sam.	V. strong
Perepereane	Samoan	Samoan	Presb. Aust.	V. strong
So'ofa'atasi	Samoan	Samoan	Uniting Aust.	V. strong
Katoliko	Samoan	Eng/Sam.	Catholic Aust.	Strong
Samoan Uniting	Samoan	Samoan	Uniting Aust.	V. strong
Aso Fitu Koniferenise	Samoan	Samoan	SDA Aust.	Strong
Aso Fitu Tuto'atasi	Samoan	Samoan	Independent	Strong
Nasareta	Samoan	Samoan	Nazarene Aust.	Strong

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Table 25: Characteristics of Samoan Churches in Sydney (b)

Denomination	No. Congregations	No. Ministers	No. Persons
Fa'apotopotoga	17	17	850
EFKS	7	7	650
Lotu Mamona	2	2	450
Aso Fitu Koniferenise	1	1	375
Metotisi Koniferenise	4	4	350
Katoliko	7	1	300
Fa'apotopotoga Samoa	7	7	230
Aso Fitu Tuto'atasi	4	2	200
So'ofa'atasi	3	1	175
Samoan Uniting	1	1	150
Perepereane	1	1	130
EFKS Tuto'atasi	1	1	75
Nasareta	1	1	50

Note: "Minister" also denotes pastor, the term preferred by some churches, and the Catholic *fesoasoani*. Assistant or acting ministers are not included. The numbers of adherents are estimates only. Since 1992, new congregations have come into existence. These are not included.

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

shown in Tables 24 and 25. "Language" refers primarily to the language used

for religious services, "affiliation" to whether the church is independent or a member of a larger church organisation and "culture" to the extent of commitment, generally speaking, to the **fa'a-Samoa**. Evaluation of cultural commitment is inevitably subjective but is based on the concrete evidence provided by church members in the questionnaire interviews, informal discussions and social interactions. Catholics do not have their own churches in which to conduct Samoan language services and perforce must attend European services. Thus, until 1993, they attended church services conducted in the English language but religious services performed by their **fesoasoani** (Catholic equivalent of lay preacher) in private homes are always in Samoan. Ten churches (77%) are affiliated with larger organisations either in Samoa, New Zealand or Australia and the three independent churches (23%) have relatively small numbers. All churches are strongly committed to the values and practices of Samoan culture in a general sense but six, in my opinion, more so than the others. The churches classified as "very strong" tend to regard the **fa'a-Samoa** as a total package that has to be accepted in its entirety. Those classified as "strong", generally speaking, tend to make subtle distinctions between customary values and practices. They accept many of the Samoan family values such as respect, obedience, loyalty, service but tend to reject practices such as ceremonial debates, speeches, exchanges and others. Their rejection of these practices is motivated mainly by an ethos which calls for the elevation of religion above them in their scheme of social values and goods. In terms of numbers, Table 25 represents a fair estimate as well as a realistic picture of the rankings in the political standings of the churches in the community. Thus the **Fa'apotopotoga, EFKS, Lotu Mamona, Aso Fitu Konfærenise, Metotisi Konfærenise** and **Katoliko** denominations play a leading role in Samoan migrant community affairs. Although lower down the scale, **So'ofa'atasi, Samoan Uniting** and **Perepereane** are also prominent. The rest, perhaps because of their small numbers, are scarcely visible. Membership estimates refer to all categories of active members of these churches.¹⁷

Church Membership in Canterbury/Bankstown

The Samoan migrants in Canterbury/Bankstown attend churches not only

¹⁷ For total numbers, see 1991 census figures in Table 4.3.

within their own municipalities but also in other parts of Sydney. Because most migrants own motor vehicles, travel is both frequent and easy between church and home. Table 26 shows the religious composition of the migrant families in Canterbury/Bankstown. The totals refer only to the married couples and heads of households and excludes other members of the 137 households in the main sample.¹⁸ The table indicates that 94 percent of the households are active members of a church, 5.5 percent are inactive members and 0.5 percent have

Table 26: Church Membership

	Denomination	No. Households
A. Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Kerisiano Samoa (EFKS)		
i.	Campsie at Punchbowl	24.5
ii.	Balmain	2.0
iii.	Marrickville at Carlton	3.0
iv.	Sydney at Ashfield	1.0
v.	Ashbury at Croydon Park	3.0
	Total	33.5
B. Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga A Le Atua (Assembly of God)		
i.	Greenacre	2.0
ii.	Marrickville	3.0
iii.	Belmore	9.0
iv.	Earlwood	2.0
v.	Croydon Park	4.0
vi.	Yagoona	1.0
	Total	21.0
C. Katoliko (Catholic)		
i.	Bankstown	8.0
ii.	Amcliffe	1.0
iii.	Punchbowl	1.0
iv.	(Not specified)	0.5
v.	Fairfield	0.5
vi.	Dulwich Hill	1.0
	Total	12.0
D. Lotu Mamona (Latter Day Saints)		
i.	Punchbowl	14.0
E. Perepereane (Presbyterian)		
i.	Five Dock	9.0

¹⁸ In some households, spouses belong to different religions and where this is so, 0.5 refers to a single spouse, whole numbers to households. Thus 24.5 in A.i. means 24 and a half households; 2.0 in A.ii. means two households and 0.5 in C.v. means one spouse or half a household. They all total 137 households.

F. So'ofa'atasi (Samoan Uniting Church)		
i.	Riverwood	3.0
G. Palagi (European) Uniting Church		
i.	Greenacre	1.0
ii.	Ashfield	1.0
iii.	Newtown	1.0
iv.	Croydon Park (Samoan congregation)	5.0
	Total	8.0
H. Metotisi (Methodist)		
i.	Punchbowl	3.0
ii.	Guildford	1.5
	Total	4.5
I. Aso Fitu (Seventh Day Adventist, Conference)		
i.	Mt Druitt	5.0
J. Aso Fitu Samoa Tuto'atasi (Seventh Day Adventist, Independent)		
i.	Punchbowl	3.0
ii.	Auburn	1.0
	Total	4.0
K. Ekalesia Fa'apopotoga Samoa i Ausetalia (EFKS Tutoatasi)		
i.	Mascot	2.0
L. Moselemi (Islam)		
i.	Lakemba	1.0
M. Mollmau a leova (Jehovah's Witnesses)		
i.	Bankstown	3.0
N. Fa'apopotoga a le Atua, Ekalesia a Samoa i Ausetalia (Assembly of God, Church of Samoa in Australia)		
i.	Bankstown	2.0
O. Church of England		0.5
P. Nasareta (Church of Nazarene)		
i.	Birrong	3.0
Q. Tovine Christian Fellowship		
i.	Fairfield	1.0
R. Four Square Church (Pentecostal)		
i.	Georges Hall	1.0
S. EFKS (Balmain)/Catholic		1.0
T. Inactive		
i.	Samoan Congregationalists	5.5
ii.	Catholic	1.0
iii.	Seventh Day Adventist	1.0
	Total	7.5
U. No Religion		1.0
	Total Households	137

Note: "S" denotes a Samoan family which considers itself a member of two churches.

Source: Sample survey 1992/93.

no religion. The fact that one person did not follow a religion shows that such persons represent a very slim minority. Such people are, from my fieldwork observations, those who live in a small world confined to their most immediate relatives and who avoid contact with the wider Samoan community. Not all Samoans, of course, attend Samoan churches; some attend *palagi* churches and like it but these again are a very small minority. A young Samoan woman married to a Lebanese has adopted Islam, the religion of her husband, and I have also come across two other Samoan women married to Moslems. Marriage between Samoans and Moslems, perhaps, is not surprising given the fact that Lakemba in Canterbury is a centre of Islamic religion and culture in Australia. The inactive members in many instances had been very active in church activities before but, due to one reason or another, had subsequently withdrawn from active membership. The reasons vary and might have included money problems, but perhaps more often it was the result of factional quarrels within their churches.

One of the most surprising things about Samoans is the enthusiasm they demonstrate in making financial contributions towards the support of their ministers and church development. Samoan migrants are no exception as Table 27 demonstrates. The other EFKS churches include Balmain, Marrickville, Sydney and Ashbury; other Fa'apotopotoga churches include Marrickville, Croydon Park, Earlwood and Yagoona; and other Catholic congregations include Arncliffe, Fairfield, Dulwich Hill and Punchbowl. The grand total figures refer to all 121 households that declared their weekly donations to their churches. Fifteen households said they did not contribute to their churches for various reasons, mainly because of inactivity¹⁹ and poverty. One household refused to divulge its donations on religious grounds.²⁰

Table 28 shows that the members of the Latter Day Saints, Methodist and Seventh Day Adventist (Conference) churches are the largest weekly church contributors. Allowance, however, should be made for the few persons in the

¹⁹ The congregations represented among the inactive were: EFKS Campsie, Methodist, LDS Bankstown, Seventh Day Adventist (Mt Druitt), EFKS Balmain, Catholic, EFKS Ashbury, EFKS Carlton, a good cross-section of the churches.

²⁰ "Donations should come from the heart and only God should know about them," a Jehovah's Witness said.

Table 27: Weekly Church Donations By Religious Denomination

Church	Household	Total Value	Mean
EFKS			
Campsie (Punchbowl)	24	1,325.00	55.20
Others	8	372.50	46.56
Combined	32	1,697.50	53.05
Fa'apotopotoga			
Belmore	9	500.00	55.55
Others	10	700.00	70.00
Combined	19	1,200.00	63.16
Lotu Mamona (LDS)			
Bankstown (Punchbowl)	12	1,319.80	109.9
Katoliko			
Bankstown	8	68.00	8.50
Others	4	35.00	8.75
Combined	12	103.00	8.58
Perepereane			
Five Dock	9	610.00	67.70
Aso Fitu (SDA)			
Mt Druitt	5	530.00	106.00
Uniting Church (Samoa)			
Croydon Park	5	250.00	50.00
Metotisi			
Bankstown	3	322.50	107.5
Grand Total	121	\$7,497.80	\$61.91

(Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.)

Table 28: Largest Weekly Church Donors

Denomination	Households	Mean
Lotu Mamona (LDS)	12	109.90
Metotisi	3	107.50
Aso Fitu (Conference)	5	106.00
Perepereane	9	67.70
Fa'apotopotoga	19	63.16
EFKS Samoa	32	53.05
Samoa Uniting Church (Croydon Park)	5	50.00

(Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.)

Methodist data (3) and also for the fact that the three members include the

falfeau and the **fallautusi** (secretary). These people are usually among the biggest donors in any Samoan church. Still even if the Methodist data is excluded from consideration, the high mean contributions of the Latter Day Saints members and Adventists need comment. Perhaps one reason for it is the custom of the **sefulua'i** (tithing) in these churches by which members are expected to contribute 10 percent of their earnings to the church. This means the higher the income of a **matafale**, the higher the contributions. By contrast, **EFKS** and Uniting Church contributions are not subjected to any particular formula. But the fact that all their church donations (e.g. missionary, development, **alofa** contributions) are publicly announced in the Sunday services does sometimes encourage an informal competition to contribute the most and a simple religious duty is thereby transformed into a contest for social status, as in Samoa (cf. Meleisea, 1989).

Churches, Migrants and Culture

The brief history of the Samoan churches shows that to a great extent there is a close correlation between the migration of church members, principally from New Zealand, and the formal establishment of their church denominations in Australia. And that the arrival of the religious ministers, whether by chance, according to plan or the result of divine inspiration, was by and large contemporaneous with those early stages of migration. The success in the establishment of these Samoan churches, in part, must be attributed to the strong personalities, wide experience and administrative skills of the founding ministers, men like Tapa Faletoese, Keti Magalo, Toese Toailoa, Luteru Vaifale and Litala Tuimauauga of the **EFKS**, Lio Paulo of the **Fa'apotopotoga**, Kalamelu Faavae of **Perepereane**, Sione Eli of **So'ofa'atasi**, Mautofu Fuimaono of Samoan Uniting Church, Tuuau Tiatia of **Metotisi** and others. That there was a conscious, deliberate effort to establish Samoan churches is quite evident from the statements of ministers like Tapa, Lio and Kalamelu as well as from lay members of the churches.

The inescapable fact is that the church ministers involved in the saga of church development in Australia must have seen quite early the patterns of increased migration to Australia by Samoans from New Zealand. And that their decisive action in anticipating the religious needs of their followers, was both

timely and effective. Effective in the sense that the Samoan churches in Sydney are not only well organised as physical entities, but also as centres of social interaction and culture. For Samoan churches, in the social scheme of things, do not stand alone (i.e. restricted to their own members): they are an integral part of an overall network system which not only cuts across church boundaries, mainly through kinship ties, but also links all church groups into one primary Christian network through the medium of religion and culture. This networking aspect of Samoan churches in Sydney (and Australia) is the reason it is extremely difficult to study any particular church or group of churches without relating them to the others.

The relationship between the church and Samoan culture cannot, in my view, be adequately understood without regard to history and to the role that Samoan society has bestowed on the church. This relationship dates back to 1830 when the first European missionaries, John Williams and Charles Barff,²¹ arrived in the Samoan islands. The leader of the *malo* (ruling faction) at the time, Malietoa Vainupo, became one of the first converts to the *Iotu*. The missionaries had brought with them in 1830 (and again in 1832) religious teachers from the Society and Cook Islands. The task of these teachers was to dismantle the last vestiges of the pagan religion and to prepare the new converts for the arrival of the first group of Evangelical missionaries in 1836. When they did arrive, one of the first tasks that confronted the *malo* (ruling faction) was to come to some sort of agreement with the missionaries concerning the question of roles and responsibilities for the missionaries, on the one hand, and the converts, on the other (see Va'a, 1987). The outcome of the discussions between the *malo* and the missionaries was, among other things, the creation of a position of honour within the social system for the ministers of the new religion, namely, the honorific position of the *feagaiga*.

The *feagaiga*, as explained in Chapter 2, is a social position of high honour occupied by a sister or the descendant of a female *fale tama*. It is called a covenant insofar as there is an implicit agreement as to the roles and statuses to be observed by each of the parties, the brother and his descendants, on the one hand, and the sister and hers, on the other. This position has now

²¹ Of the London Missionary Society, an Evangelical group.

been extended to the church ministers and to remain with them as long as the covenant continues. Of course the **feagaiga** relationship applies only to that between a minister and his congregation and does not extend to others although all church ministers are accorded high honour within Samoan society. As a **feagaiga** (one to whom certain rights, privileges and obligations are owed), a religious minister is entitled to both the moral and material support of a congregation in the form, for instance, of free services, food, monetary and other contributions. The **feagaiga's** rights also extend to the security and protection of his person and property as well as of his immediate family.

Since the word "**feagaiga**" implies an agreement between two parties (e.g. brother and sister, minister and congregation, chief and orator) the minister also owes certain duties to the congregation. Thus he must conduct religious services and attend to the pastoral needs of the congregation; he must not actively take part in the political affairs of the congregation, village, district or nation; and above all he and members of his family must be shining examples of the gospel to the general community. Failure to observe or perform any of the above could result in the cancellation (**tatalaga**) of the **feagaiga**. When the **feagaiga** is made (**osi**) between a minister and a congregation, gifts of food, fine mats and money are exchanged between the parties to seal the agreement. No documents are signed but the conditions of the agreement for both parties are clearly understood. When for one reason or another the **feagaiga** is cancelled, as when Rev Kalamelu Fa'avae and Rev Malua Keilani resigned from their congregations in 1993 and 1994 respectively, the same ritual is performed.

The **feagaiga** is thus the honorific position given to church ministers in Samoan society and explains why such deep respect and honour is given them. For instance, they are called the **ao faalupega**, meaning, that in the traditional hierarchy of the village, they represent the crown (**ao**) of all the most important titles. In that sense, they stand above everybody else, **ali'i** (chiefs) and **tulafale** (talking chiefs) included, in terms of status-ranking within the traditional polity of the village. As if to compensate, the ministers, for their part, refer to themselves as the **au faigaluega**, the workers in the Lord's vineyard. Of course, both minister and congregation are aware of the limits to their power and are most solicitous not to transcend the boundaries of appropriate behaviour. On the

maintenance of this balance of power through the appropriate observance of prescribed roles, statuses and obligations rests the security and stability of the relationships between a minister and his congregation and by extension, society at large. As in Samoa, so in New Zealand and Australia. The **feagaiga** relationship is alive and well in Canterbury/Bankstown but as I shall show, it is increasingly coming under pressure.

Church As Nu'u

Another important aspect of the social system that has permeated the Samoan church is the concept of the **nu'u** (village), which is largely an autonomous socio-political entity, solely responsible for the daily administration of its own affairs. The **fono** (village council) exercises legislative, executive and judicial functions and is the court of last resort for village administrative matters. It often acts as the secular arm of the church and where there are several churches in a village, each church is represented in the **fono** by its own member chiefs. As Rev Toese explained it, in Samoa, the role of the **fono** is clear-cut: the minister is responsible for religious matters, the **fono** for secular matters. They do not transgress on each other's domains. If the pastor wants something done, he merely refers it to several influential chiefs in the **fono** who take up the cudgels on his behalf. In some villages, said Rev Nove, a number of families are assigned as the **faafeagai** (helpers) of the **falfeau**. Their responsibility is to take the lead in performing services for the **falfeau** "without being asked". Though there are recognised spheres of influence, village life unites all in a social hierarchy which consists of the **falfeau** (**ao faalupega**) at the top and then the **ali'i**, **tulafale** and **tagata nu'u** (common people) below them and all belong to different religious denominations.

The ministers are agreed, however, that the circumstances are different in Australia. Here, there are no villages and the powers and privileges that have hitherto belonged to the villages are now exercised, as if through default, by the churches. Thus, it is axiomatic among Samoan migrants in Sydney to refer to the church congregation as their **nu'u** or village. In Rev Toese's view, the congregation has replaced the village polity as a centre of socio-economic and political activities. Rev Neone compares the church to a village, a central place where young people can spend time with their friends, a community where they

find identity and purpose through shared fun and activity. And Fale said "our churches have become our nu'u".

Concomitant with this change in emphasis is a notable shift in the nature of social roles and statuses. For instance, the **au lotu** (congregation) is no longer dominated by the **matai** as in Samoa with positions of leadership being contested more evenly by both **matai** and **taulele'a**. A **taule'ale'a** is able to claim a **matafale** even if non-matai or unmarried and to possess thereby the same rights as a **matai** or married person. In fact, each Samoan householder, **matai** or **taule'ale'a**, young or old, male or female, is entitled to his/her say in both church and community affairs because as migrants Samoans now live in a more egalitarian society.

Further, the **falfeau** is no longer limited to a passive religious role circumscribed by the conditions of the **feagaiga**. Since 1830, the **falfeau**, as **feagaiga**, was supposed to be neutral in political matters, the proper sphere of activity of the **fono**. But in the migrant context, the **falfeau's** role has widened considerably. He is no longer just the pastor of the flock, he is also the consultant on housing and employment, welfare benefits, legal issues and a host of other matters which affect members of his congregation. In effect, he has assumed, whether he likes it or not, a leadership role, by which his effectiveness as pastor is also judged (cf. Pitt and Macpherson, 1974). But this leads inevitably to a blurring of the "traditional" distinctions between the pastoral and political dimensions of behaviour.

Ironically, therefore, the increased power of the **falfeau** has been achieved at a price. He can no longer depend on the security offered by the village but must constantly rely on the goodwill of his congregation. As Rev Toese said, a **falfeau** needs to watch his step not to appear to favour any particular family or faction as this could lead to jealousy and anger on the part of others. If people want to leave a congregation, there is no way of forcing them to stay; they would just cease coming to church "and empty pews would be the result". Clearly if many members leave their congregations, there will be dire consequences as church income drops and the **falfeau** will probably not get paid.

For the *aufaigaluega* who had laboured long and hard in church congregations in Samoa, such as Ketu and Toese, there is a certain nostalgia for the past, especially for the power that the *fono* was able to employ in enforcing discipline relating to church matters at the village level. At the same time, they have also demonstrated a pragmatism in keeping with the new realities of migrant life. Thus Ketu said:

"Australia is not like Samoa. *Mataf* and the *fono* do not have any authority. If a person rejects one church he goes to another, or even cease going to church altogether.²² This is why there are many churches today. It is due to these differences. Each person goes to the church where each finds peace."

In Australia today the stated objective of the Samoan churches, the **EFKS** in particular, is cooperation rather than confrontation, between the *fai'afeau* and the *au lotu*, church and society or religion and culture. The goal is, of course, modelled on the balanced relationships of the *feagaiga* system but with certain modifications peculiar to the Australian context as I shall describe later. But it is a goal which, in some respects, is a chimera. I am referring here to the constant political infighting which has plagued most of the Samoan religious congregations in Sydney.

Factionalism

The history of the Samoan churches in Sydney is often characterised by a dual process of fusion and fission. Congregations are formed to meet specific cultural and spiritual needs of Samoan migrants but only to split up again, for one reason or another, to form disparate units but which continue to remain under the jurisdiction of the larger church organisations. The process of fission is due to three main causes: first, the inadequacy of church facilities and staff to cater to the needs of a rapidly increasing church membership as in the example of the **EFKS** Balmain under Rev Faletoese; second, the need to look after the religious needs of members who live far from the main churches near the city centre, as in the example of the establishment of **EFKS** Fairfield; third, factionalism. Of the three factionalism has had the deepest impact, if the

²² In Western Samoa in some villages failure to attend Sunday services could lead to a fine or even expulsion from a village.

examples of EFKS Marrickville/Carlton and EFKS Campsie are to be considered. Factional strife usually involves problems relating to church finance, administration, rights of the pastor versus rights of the congregation and personalities, individually or collectively. Sometimes, factional conflict concerns disagreement between members of the congregation and the pastor is caught in the middle. More often, it involves a power struggle between pastor and congregation. In the course of these disputes, church members align themselves with different factions and if unresolved, may lead to severing of church ties. Several examples of such factional disputes are reproduced here.

The first example involves the members of the Riverwood congregation of the **So'ofa'atasi** church. A quarrel between members of this congregation had developed to such serious proportions that it threatened to destroy its very existence. The pastor, Rev Sione Eli, attempted a reconciliation by inviting all affected parties to a church service held at Lidcombe on 1 October, 1992. His sermon concerned the biblical theme of reconciliation as exemplified in the story of Joseph's forgiveness for the 11 brothers who sold him into slavery in Egypt and of the short man, "**Sakalo**", who climbed up the sycamore tree in order to see Jesus better. Both the repentant brothers and **Sakalo** were rewarded for their efforts but this came about only because of their "humility, sincerity and purity of heart". Sione then invited the parties involved, two couples and three individuals, to the front and again appealed to them for a reconciliation failing which he threatened to resign as minister. The parties could not prevent the tears that flowed freely as, swallowing their pride, they shook each other's hands and hugged, and then the rest of the congregation joined in the process of reconciliation.

The second example, concerning conflict between pastor and congregation, is both more common and more complicated. It is more common because, as stated before, the rigid guidelines which govern pastor-congregation relations in Samoa are largely unenforceable in Australia. This results in a considerable overlap in the authority of the pastor and congregation over questions of finance and administration and, therefore, more disputes are likely to ensue. It is more complicated because human motivation is complex. Take the example of the Campsie breakaway from the parent church at Balmain.

There were three basic ingredients in the Campsie complaint. First, it was alleged that the pastor's wife had redistributed the fine mats from a church dedication in Henderson, New Zealand, without consulting the Campsie branch. Second, it was alleged that the pastor had not presented the Balmain church gift of AUD\$3,000 to the church authorities in Apia. Third, it was alleged that the pastor had "lied" in 1983 when he said that the national EFKS church in Western Samoa had approved the Australian EFKS churches' application for membership. The accusations, as they stand, appear clear-cut and indisputable and place the pastor and his wife in a negative light.

But the social drama takes a different turn when seen from the viewpoint of the pastor and his wife. They also occupy positions of trust and leadership in the church and community. The wife, in her capacity as a "leader" of the *malaga* and as the *ialetua* (wife) of the *falfeau* (minister), could claim the power to redistribute the fine mats from the church dedication to which the Campsie members had also contributed. And the *falfeau* could have argued that yes, the church did give him AUD\$3,000 as a gift for the John Williams dedication in Apia, but because the national body had deferred recognition of the Australian church he had decided to also delay the presentation of the gift. He could have argued that, as *falfeau*, he had the right to do this. As to the allegation that he lied concerning the Australian church's formal admission into the General Assembly of the EFKS, he could have replied that approval had in fact been given in principle subject to the implementation of certain bureaucratic procedures.²³ In short, this type of conflict always concerns power in which the primary contestants are the *falfeau*, on the one hand, and *au lotu* (congregation), on the other. Such power contests, where each side experiments with how far the limits of power can be stretched, are not characteristic of pastor/congregation relationships in Samoa where customs and mores provide clearly defined boundaries for social action. In the migrant context, however, they tend to proliferate due to the vast potential for redefinitions of social status and leadership, a social condition characteristic of migrant enclavement. However, whatever the rights or wrongs of the church

²³ This was in fact what happened. At the 1984 annual conference in Apia, approval was given for the establishment of a *matagaluega* (district church of Australia) with the proviso that formal participation at the annual conference would commence only in 1986.

quarrels, some of which may eventually reach the courts, as has often happened in New Zealand, the fact remains that factionalism has also often resulted in the expansion of the EFKS network. In this respect, factionalism is positive and serves a useful purpose. As Rev Ketu sardonically remarked, "o le ulga lea o le ekalesia"²⁴.

Question of Balance

The balanced relationship between the church and culture, implicit in the unwritten provisions of the feagaiga, is part of the Samoan doxa (Bourdieu 1977). According to Rev Malua, Samoan culture plays a vital role in strengthening the church. However aganu'u should not dominate the church, and vice versa, both should support each other. As Rev Luteru explains, church and culture are separate entities but they go together ("e o fa'atasi mea ia e lua"). He emphasises the point that wherever there are Samoans there also is their aganu'u and their tapua'iga (religion). These cannot be separated. He said:

"I believe that religion and culture support each other. For instance, culture can go only so far. When disaster threatens and culture is helpless, the gospel comes to the rescue. It Christianises our way of life and averts social disaster. People will kill, for instance, in disputes over titles and lands but the church can help bring peace by preaching the spirit of forgiveness. The mere presence of a faifeau at the scene of danger also helps to diffuse tension. The aganu'u helps the church through the values it supports, for example, respect for the elders and authority as well as the moral and material support for the faifeau and the church. Both church and culture need each other."

Rev Malua, however, adds an extra dimension and this is that while the basis for cooperation between church and culture, in Samoa, lies in the authority of the matai (chiefs), the situation in Australia is radically different: here, Malua continues, villages with their appropriate power structures do not exist and church members of both sexes, young and old, matai and taulele'a, come from different villages. In the absence of the solidary bonds of kinship and of prescribed status and power relations which typify a Samoan village, such persons have even more need for cooperation. In Malua's view, this is best

²⁴ "This is the nature of the church".

achieved on the basis of a political philosophy of equality for all, regardless of social class background. Thus, an elderly *matai* and an untitled deacon should be treated equally and this will lead to mutual respect and friendship.

The perspective of balanced cooperation between church and culture is not, however, subscribed to by the **Fa'apotopotoga** and other fundamentalist churches, whose general viewpoint is that the **fa'a-Samoa** should be subordinated to the authority of the church. Thus Rev Talilotu and Faamanu of the Nazarene Church hold that "aganu'u should be subordinated to religion" and that "religion can never be subordinated to aganu'u". There is certainly a place in the divine scheme of things for aganu'u especially its ethical and moral components, including *fa'aaloalo* (respect behaviour), they argued, but the other basic ingredients of a more materialistic nature, such as ceremonial exchanges, involving prestations (*si'i*) of kava, food, fine mats, money, should be discouraged. The **Fa'apotopotoga faifeau** are also strongly supportive of the ethical and moral values of the **fa'a-Samoa** and place little value on the more materialistic aspects of Samoan culture. Some churches, such as the **Lotu Mamona** and **Katoliko**, discourage only particular cultural practices, such as the exchanges of fine mats by their members. In most cases, however, church **tapu** against specific practices are intended primarily to serve as guidelines to be followed by church members. They are motivated, in part, by the need to minimise or prevent altogether the excessive burden imposed on church members by the demands of ceremonial exchange. Thus there are both religious and practical considerations behind these church **tapu**.

The existence of a balanced relationship between the Samoan churches in Sydney and the **fa'a-Samoa** is thus very much an ideal, one that is often realised but at the same time beset with innumerable difficulties at both the conceptual and practical levels. For the conceptualisation of the **feagaiga** relationship according to the standards of the **fa'a-Samoa** has been challenged by the rise of a new migrant elite whose power base is not some ancient *matai* title but money and what it can buy. Their demand for equal treatment with the *matai* has been recognised as legitimate by the **fa'afeagaiga** (cf. the remarks by Rev Malua and Rev Litala above). This is a revolutionary step and will remain irreversible. Its main effect will be the

empowerment of the **taulele'a** but will scarcely affect the **feagaiga** system as such in its essentials.

At the practical level, difficulties abound because the dynamics involved in the implementation of any system is always fraught with unresolved problems, such as the collection and payments of money. In the attempt to deal with these problems, questions of power assume great importance. For example; does the minister have the right to pledge or spend church money without consulting his executive or congregation? Or to make other decisions, even of a social nature, which bind his congregation? Often individuals and factions within congregations contest the right of pastors to act without consulting them and unsurprisingly, therefore, the struggle for power has become a major cause of conflict within Samoan church organisations. The Congregationalist form of church government is based on the supremacy of the power of the congregation which means that both in theory and in practice, the pastor and other office-bearers must first consult the congregation on any major undertaking, whether this be of money or hosting of overseas visitors. But what if the pastor, in an emergency, acted on his own authority on a major issue without first consulting his congregation?

Dissatisfaction with the performance of a pastor has usually resulted in one or two families leaving the congregation. A mass exodus could be disastrous for the **falfeau** because his salary usually comes from a regular contribution by members. Among Congregationalists, this contribution comprises the **falfeau's** salary, which could amount to from \$1,000 to \$3,000 monthly. Obviously the more the members the more the income and for this reason, church politics demand that the **falfeau** not only hold on to current members but to seek ways of increasing his church membership. Because of this dependency on members' contributions for his salary and church projects, members exercise a genuine power within their organisations. One might say then that while the **feagaiga** system continues to be observed in principle in Canterbury-Bankstown, major changes are to be observed in the relationships between the **matal** and **taulele'a** and between the **falfeau** and **au lotu**. The rigidity which characterised these relationships in Samoa has been replaced by a greater openness and flexibility.

Conclusion

The extent to which cultural continuities and change have affected Samoan migrant life in Australia can be observed in the life of the Samoan church in Australia. For instance, to the high social status accorded the role of the **falfeau** in Samoa has been added the extra dimension of power. In the village context, the pastor is prevented from participating in village or national politics under the customary provisions of the **feagaiga**, except when this is directly related to the exercise of his religious functions. In Australia, the pastor's role is expanded due to the demands made on him as counsellor and problem-solver for migrants. He thereby becomes actively involved in politics. And the **taulele'a** are gaining in the struggle for power with the **matai** due mainly to their new-found wealth and have at least achieved a position of equality with them in the holding of important church offices. The **falfeau**, however, continues to depend on both **matai** and **taulele'a** for both his salary and financing of church projects. He realises that his effectiveness in forging strong ties with his congregation determines to a significant degree the success of his church as an organisation and as a **nu'u**. Where there is inadequate communication between them, as often happens, disgruntled members tend to leave the church for another or become inactive.

As to the question whether the Samoan church in Australia enjoys more autonomy than in Samoa, the answer is "yes" and "no". The **falfeau** have more freedom of action in Australia but they lament the loss of the security provided by the village **fono**. In Australia migrants can change religious affiliation every Sunday, if they so wish, but this is scarcely possible in the village context under the iron rule of the **fono** and the **fa'afeagai**. In the long term, however, because of the egalitarian nature of Australian society, I expect that fragmentation will become an important method of resolving conflicts in Samoan migrant organisations, including the church. Such fragmentation, in turn, will have important consequences on other migrant groups because of the tendency of migrants to emphasise church connections in their social activities.

Chapter 5

Exchange, Support Networks, Remittances

In this chapter, I examine some of the main cultural practices of the Samoan migrants, their kinship and community support networks and the general question of remittances. Exchange, networks and remittances are closely interrelated in the daily lives of the migrants in Canterbury/Bankstown. They constitute elements of social praxis that are closely linked to cultural maintenance and the search for both individual and social identity. At the same time, I show how the fact of being uprooted from village life in Samoa has led migrants to redefine many aspects of the **fa'a-Samoa**. In particular wealth has served as a means of acquiring social status within the migrant community and has led the **taulele'a** to challenge the dominance of the **matali** in many areas of social life: family, church and community. The content of gift presentations has also altered in some respects.

Among the practices I discuss in this chapter are: **malu** (funeral), **fa'alpologa** (wedding), **osiga feagaiga** (formalisation of a covenant between a **faleau** (pastor) and **au lotu** (congregation)), **tusiga Igoa** (fundraising), **umusaga** (house dedication) and others. "Ceremonial exchange" refers to the formal exchange of wealth and ceremonial valuables within these contexts. Such exchanges are often, if not always, an indispensable aspect of such activities. Further they are not merely economic transactions because they also have other effects such as the maintenance and development of ties of kinship and friendship and enhancement or otherwise of social status. I shall return to these points later.

Terminology

To gain a better grasp of Samoan notions of ceremonial exchange, several key words associated directly with this phenomenon need to be clarified first. These words are **fa'alavelave**, **oloa** and **toga**, **si'i** and **sua**. American anthropologists (e.g. Ablon, 1971c; Kotchek, 1975; Rolff, 1978) have generally

used the terms "redistributive feasts" and "ceremonial exchanges" to refer to what Samoans usually call **fa'alavelave**. The terms are technically correct because ceremonial exchanges do involve redistributive feasts and vice versa. But they are inadequate to describe the total activity because they emphasise only one major aspect and exclude others. The Samoan term "**fa'alavelave**", on the other hand, has the advantage of being general and thus capable of including all the qualities that contribute towards an adequate definition of a cultural practice involving resource redistribution or some form of reciprocity. The word is used by Samoans to refer to a social event in one's family, church group or village which requires one's urgent attention and participation. A **fa'alavelave** usually requires that one stop whatever one is doing, seek money, fine mats and sometimes food and take a **si'i** (ceremonial gift) to the place where the **fa'alavelave** is taking place. When a Samoan takes a **si'i** to a **fa'alavelave** (such as a funeral, wedding or church dedication) the primary intention is to render assistance, both economic and moral, to one's kin or friends. In the process a Samoan's membership in an **aiga** (kin group) or primary group is reinforced and social status enhanced. The relatives or friends for their part reciprocate the supportive gesture not merely by their goodwill but also by a return presentation of gifts. **Fa'alavelave**, therefore, connotes the existence of a very close relationship (usually but not always consanguineal), a sense of duty to attend and gift exchange.

Shore (1989:164) has associated the term "**fa'alavelave**" with the more well-known Polynesian word "**tapu**" characterised by rites involving "binding, tying, and containing". He says, for instance, that the "tangling or binding idiom associated with the **tapu** concept turns up in modern Samoa as the concept of **fa'alavelave**, literally 'to tangle' or 'to make complicated'. By this term Samoans mean any weighty occasion or event, such as a funeral, a title-dispute or the arrival of a distinguished visitor..." (Ibid, p. 164). According to Janes, the term "**fa'alavelave**" literally means a difficulty or a problem but in actuality "refers to any event which upsets the normal course of daily activities [and which] necessitates or attracts the attention of others, or requires their involvement..." (1984:230). Certainly, as Shore suggests, a **fa'alavelave** may oblige a Samoan, from a sense of religious duty, to go to the assistance of a relative. But ordinarily other motives may also be present, for instance, repayment of an old

debt, seeking the goodwill of or even material benefits from one's relatives.

The dualism inherent in Samoan social organisation gives rise to the two opposite yet complementary descent groups, the **tama tane** (bilateral group descended from a male ancestor) and **tama fafine** (bilateral group descended from a female ancestor) as explained in Chapter 2. It also helps to explain the meanings of the terms "**oloa**" and "**toga**" which are, as it were, the two sides of a coin. They both refer to gifts, **oloa** being the gifts presented by the male side of the family (this would include the husband and his extended family, or the brother and his affines), the **toga** being the gifts presented by the female side of the family (such as the wife and her extended family, or the sister and her affines). By custom, the gifts are of a specific character, the **oloa** consists of money, boats, houses, lands; the **toga** includes **fagu u'u** (scented coconut oil), **ili** (fans), **fala ilili** (sleeping mats) but especially **toga** (fine mats) (cf. Yamamoto, 1992). Mauss described **toga** as "indestructible property, especially the marriage mats inherited by the daughters of a marriage, and the trinkets and talismans which, on condition of repayment, come through the wife into the newly founded family" whereas the **oloa** "designates all the things which are particularly the husband's personal property" as well as the "things obtained from Europeans" (1970:7). What is significant is that the goods exchanged represent the products of gendered labour, the **oloa** being typically the products of male labour, **toga** of female labour within the context of traditional Samoan society. Ceremonial exchange, therefore, is largely the exchange of **toga** for **oloa** and vice versa and there are many versions of gift exchange in between, possibly the result of new life-styles.

The word "**si'i**" literally means to raise, to lift. It could refer to the lifting up of the fine mats and other gifts in order to proceed to the **fa'alavelave**. It could also refer to spatial rearrangement, the moving, for example, from point A to point B, in geographical terms, or in terms of social priorities. A **si'i** is not undertaken lightly due partly to the fact that enormous expense in fine mats, cash and other goods is usually entailed and, in the modern context, it could also mean loss of income during the period of the **fa'alavelave**. Almost invariably much time is spent by relatives in discussions on whether to take a **si'i** to a **fa'alavelave** and if so what should be taken. Thus while I was

interviewing a Samoan family in Canterbury one evening, Tuna and his wife arrived with a batch of fine mats to discuss a *si'i* to a funeral. I tried to excuse myself while the family conducted its *talanoaga* (discussion) but the family insisted I stay. Tuna's wife opened the batch for display, as is customary. There were 10 *lalaga* (ordinary fine mats) and one large one. Tuna's mother-in-law, in her eighties, was pleased. Tuna, in his desire to save valuable time (because he was going to take the *si'i* that very night to Leichardt), wanted to dispense with the need to display the *toga* but this only earned him a sharp rebuke from the old lady. She said that such a display was customary, however few or insignificant the fine mats. She thanked Tuna and his wife, however, for their *osi alga* (loyal support of the family) and called on another brother-in-law to donate money for the *si'i*. This came to \$200, I was told. Ironically, Tuna had only just returned from attending another funeral in Western Samoa where he had also made a *si'i*.

The word "*sua*" literally means liquid or water. "*Sua*", however, is used metaphorically in the ceremonial context (cf. Penisimani, 1860) to mean a gift of food, money and fine mats, or a portion of these, made in exchange for the *si'i*, in whole or in part. *Sua* vary in both quantity and quality. The standard *sua*, however, comprises the items in Fig. 3. Mailo has identified four kinds of

Figure 3: Standard *Sua* Items¹

Samoan name	Translation
Vailolo	Green coconut
Ta'apaepae	Cooked chicken
Afi talo/ta'isi	Steamed taro
Ufilaulau o le vala	Tapa material
Manufata	Cooked pig
le o le malo	Fine mat

sua presented to visitors, guests or dignitaries (Vol. 1, 1972:20). These are: (1) *sua-aso-noa* (ordinary *sua*), (2) *sua fa'a-tumua* (*sua* for visitors), (3) *sua fa'a-tamall'i* (*sua* for chiefs) and (4) *sua fa'a-tupu* (*sua* for kings). No. 1 contains all the items mentioned above except for pig and *toga*. No. 2 consists of only (a) kava root (b) pig. No. 3 has all the items of the standard *sua* plus a

¹ Common fine mats cost about \$10-20 each; large fine mats from \$50 to \$2,500 each. Cooked pigs cost from \$100 to \$500 each. Tapa has more of a sentimental value than economic one.

kava root. No. 4 is similar to No. 3 except that a green kava root is used and the presentation is preceded by young men carrying burning torches. **Sua** thus form a hierarchy from the most common one (No. 1) to the most prestigious (No. 4). In the migrant ambience, No. 3, or its variant forms, is perhaps the most common. The words "fa'alavelave", "oloa", "toga", "si'i" and "sua" form a family of words which are closely associated with the cultural practices mentioned earlier and are, from a cognitive point of view, indispensable to a sound comprehension of Samoan society.

Another word that needs clarification at this stage is "fa'atau". This refers to the custom whereby the Samoan **tulafale** (orators) debate between themselves the question of who will deliver the official speech usually on behalf of the guests at a ceremonial function. There is a set procedure for the **fa'atau** which begins with the **laga fa'atau**, the first **tulafale** to take the field, so to speak, and whose responsibility is to challenge the other **tulafale**, one by one, for the right to speak. If he is "defeated" in the verbal war, his "conqueror" takes over and continues the challenge until there is only one **tulafale** left who becomes the official orator for the group. If there are two parties in a social transaction, there may also be two **fa'atau** proceedings but in a migrant setting, there is usually only one **fa'atau**, and that is the one by the guests.

When it is a **fa'atau** by a village or even a congregation, the ritual is usually straightforward because the power and status rankings in both are clear-cut. The choice of speaker is often a foregone conclusion: in the village, the highest-ranked orator will usually speak; at the level of the congregation, it is usually the secretary. In this situation, the participants in the **fa'atau** will merely go through the motions of the debate, the conclusion is predetermined. Grave difficulties, however, are often encountered with the **fa'atau** at a wider level, that is, in ceremonies attended by people from various parts of Samoa. There are three main reasons for this. First, differences can and do often arise over questions of precedence and hierarchy at the wider level. Second, churches often believe that the **fa'atau** should be based not on social but on church hierarchy. After all, they would argue convincingly, the churches have replaced the villages in Australia. Third, untitled persons often participate in the **fa'atau** under fictitious **matal** titles. For these reasons, **fa'atau** in Sydney are long

drawn-out affairs which often fail to reach a satisfactory conclusion. **Falfeau**, from time to time, have to intervene boldly to terminate prolonged debates. The **fa'atau**, however, remains an important ingredient of any Samoan ceremony, and a profitable one too because it is a custom among migrants to present a gift of a fine mat or money to everyone who participates in a **fa'atau**, an elaborate ritual which, at a more serious level, requires a thorough knowledge of Samoan culture.

Oslga Feagaiga

The formal functions of the Samoan community are generally open to all persons in the community provided there is a connection of one sort or another called **fala** between the sponsors and others. Thus when the **EFKS** opened a new branch at Mt. Druitt, 8 August, 1992, the event was attended not just by **EFKS** members but also by relatives, friends and guests from other churches. The occasion also served to formally initiate the new relationship between the pastor and his congregation in a customary ritual called **oslga feagaiga**. The ritual establishes, as it were, a formal contract between the new pastor and his congregation by which each agrees to observe certain duties towards the other. Generally speaking, the conditions of the contract are not spelt out either in writing or verbally for they are essentially based on the conditions laid down originally by the Malietoa political faction in 1836 and which have gained respect through continuity and observance over the years.

The inauguration of the new church began with a religious ceremony in which both the new pastor, church secretary and treasurer were blessed and sworn into their religious duties. Then followed words of advice to the new pastor, Simeona, by the other **EFKS** pastors. Rev Litala, for instance, said:

"Firstly, you must remember always that you are a pastor of Christ to the community. Remember this always especially in times when there is conflict between the community and you, that your duty to Christ comes first. Secondly, remember that you are a leader and that both the congregation and the community look to you for guidance. You should accept the fact that people have differences of opinion but forget not that all look up to you for your views. But you should also be practical. Today, people are looking for leaders who do not merely point things out ("**fa'asino**") but who also take

control at the helm. Thirdly, cultivate the virtue of patience, daily, weekly. Take your example from the elders. Fourthly, be sure you have clear-cut goals. Know where you and your church are heading. Take stock of your progress every two, three or five years. Your clearness of purpose and vision will also make the congregation happy."

After the service, refreshments were served at the Police Youth Club for the guests followed by *siva* (traditional dance) and presentation of *sua*. The purpose of the *siva* was simply to raise funds for the new congregation. The Master of Ceremonies would dedicate each to a particular individual, family or group. The leader of each group would then approach the microphone and make an urgent appeal to relatives, friends and guests for support meaning, monetary contributions. The band would play a Samoan tune and as the group members perform the *siva*, people from the audience would go to the front to make their donations and join in the dancing. In this particular *siva*, the call for performances fell mainly on the shoulders of the pastors and congregations present. Contributions from all sources, including the *siva*, came to \$5,550. The *sua* presentations were directed mainly at the pastors and their congregations. The average *sua* consisted of: (1) *le toga* (fine mat), (2) *le o le tofa* (large ceremonial mat) and (3) two kegs of salted beef. Only two of the *sua* had a roast pig instead of kegs, one to Rev Keti Magalo, the most senior EFKS official present, and one to his congregation. The exception was a due acknowledgment of church hierarchy.

The *osiga feagaiga* represented the last activity of the day. I have already referred to the significance of this ceremony so I will now explain the gift exchanges between the pastor and his family, on the one hand, and the congregation, on the other. The exchange, in symbolic terms, seals the contract of service between pastor and congregation. The basic elements in this transaction involve: (1) two parties, (2) formal exchange of gifts between them and (3) the mediation of traditional spokespersons called *tulafale*. Figure 4 lists the gifts the new pastor and his *aiga* gave to the congregation.

In Samoan exchange, both the quantity and quality of the exchange items ideally should be of an approximate equal value. This does not always happen,

of course, and the party that gives more is regarded as having gained the upper hand in the exchange and, therefore, has enhanced its status at the expense of the other. In relationships of a more enduring character, debts may be carried forward for payment later. Whether this does actually take place is another matter though it is often remembered. In the exchange between the new pastor and his congregation, the same principle of the equivalence in the value of the gifts exchanged holds but whether such equivalence has been achieved is largely a matter of opinion by the parties involved. The ceremony ended with a speech of thanks, given in Samoan oratorical style by a **tulafale** (orator). The **osiga feagaiga** was complete and could be cancelled only by another similar ceremony called **tatalaga o le feagaiga**. This also involves the exchange of ceremonial gifts and the formal finewelling of a pastor and his family.

Figure 4: Sua Exchange

PASTOR'S RELATIVES TO CONGREGATION

1. **vala**² (long piece of calico)
 2. **le o le sua** (fine mat for sua)
 3. **tofa** (large ceremonial fine mat)
 4. 100 **lalaga** (100 ordinary fine mats)
 5. two **le tetele** (large fine mats)
 6. two cows duly prepared
 7. fifteen kegs of salted beef
 8. five large cartons of biscuits
 9. \$1,000 in cash
 10. two large fine mats and \$100 to "stop"³
- (fa'algo) the speech by the congregation's orator

CONGREGATION TO PASTOR'S RELATIVES

1. **vala** (two long pieces of calico)
2. **le o le sua**
3. **tofa**
4. **fa'aoso** (take-home gift) consisting of two cows, 20 kegs of salted beef and one large cooked pig
5. ten **le tetele**
6. 100 **lalaga**

² **Vala** refers to a piece of tapa cloth. Calico is, however, used as a substitute.

³ In Samoan custom, a gift of a fine mat or cash is presented to an orator to induce him/her to finish a speech for Samoans believe that the longer a speech continues the more expensive it becomes. Therefore, shortening a speech may be regarded as a cost-saving measure.

7. large fine mat to mark the covenant
 8. *lafo* (gift) for Muli'au, the pastor's orator, consisting of two *le tetele* and 20 *lalaga*
 9. ten *lalaga* to be distributed by Muli'au
 10. *sua* for Rev Toese, the pastor's adoptive father, consisting of calico, fine mat, *tofa* and cooked pig
 11. *Pasese* (fare) of \$1,000 brought by 10 young men each with a \$100 note
 12. Large fine mat to stop Muli'au's speech
-

Umusaga

The **umusaga** or dedication ceremony for a new house is an ancient practice amongst Samoans. It served as a means of celebrating the event, namely the use of the new house, as well as to solicit gifts from relatives, friends and others to help defray the construction costs. Such a ceremony was held at Punchbowl, 27 June, 1992, to dedicate a new house for the pastor of **EFKS Campsie**, Rev Litala Tuimauluga. It began with a church service followed by **siva**, feast and **fa'aalologa** (presentation of **sua** and gifts), all at the church hall at Punchbowl. Being primarily an **EFKS** church affair most of those present were members of **EFKS Campsie** and their relatives, and the pastors and their wives from the other **EFKS** churches. Recounting the history of the project, the church secretary said that the congregation had decided 18 March, 1990, to purchase a new house for the pastor. Funds were subsequently raised through voluntary contributions⁴ and through the fundraising projects of the Sunday schools, choir, mothers' organisation and youth group. The target sought was \$196,687.53 for the house and \$11,248.37 for legal costs, a total of \$207,935.90. By 13 December, 1991, the target had been reached and the debts duly repaid, the secretary said.

The donations by the **matafale**, visitors and guests totalled \$14,632.65 made up as follows: **matafale** \$11,760; visiting pastors and deacons \$720; **siva** \$2,152.65. The largest donations by **matafale** were: Litala and family \$2000; Tiata and family, Ameko and family, Se'emu and family, Lolua and

⁴ These contributions, as with all other types of church contributions in the **EFKS** congregations, are meticulously recorded by the church treasurer and announced publicly after church services. Among the **Fa'apotopotoga** churches, however, donations are not announced. They believe it is a matter only between God and the individual.

family all \$1,000 each. Biggest donations for family *siva* went to: Litala \$293, Tui and Fatiau \$162.50, Urima \$135, Tai'i \$116.60 and Tue \$116. Because the pastor's house has already been paid for, the \$14,632.65 raised would be added to the development fund of \$20,000 already in the bank for use in the church's next big project, a church building of its own. A sumptuous feast, featuring many Samoan dishes such as *fa'alifu fa'i ma talo* (boiled bananas and taro in coconut cream), *palusami* (taro leaves in coconut cream), *oka* (raw fish), *fai'al fe'e* (octopus in coconut cream), *pa'a* and *ula* (crabs and lobster), followed the *siva*.

One of the main purposes of the *umusaga* is to raise funds to offset the costs of the project and, therefore, on such occasions the donors usually do not receive the equivalent of what they give, nor do they expect such. But they can feel confident that similar generosity will be shown to them when it is their turn to dedicate a house or involved in another *fa'alavelave*. However, if the absence of large gifts is conspicuous, the *fa'aaloaloga* still have to be made. Again these are in the form of *sua*. There were six *sua* presented, each to a *fai'feau*. The first was for Rev Keti Magalo and was presented in the sequence as in Figure 5. The contents of the other five *sua* were practically

Figure 5: Contents of Sua

1. A bottle of coca cola with a \$5 note on top.
 2. A brightly coloured length of calico.
 3. A silver plate on which were a 1 lb. tin of corned beef and packet of cookies.
 4. The *sua* proper: a large plastic keg of salted beef with fine mat.
 5. The *toga*, a very large ceremonial fine mat, very finely woven and undoubtedly extremely expensive.
 6. Finally, a *pasese* of \$100.
-

identical and as they were being presented, a *taule'ale'a* announced (*folafola*) the gifts in a very loud voice in the hall. Other visitors including six women also received gifts in the form of fine mats. And as if the *sua* were not enough, each of the *fai'feau* was given a *fa'ata'ita'i*, a basket of food to take home. After a public *fa'atau*, Elder Deacon Tapulolo'u gave a speech of thanks on behalf of the guests and visitors to the hosts. In his happiness Litala was

visibly moved but managed to call on Rev Toese for a concluding prayer and hymn. Then someone called for three cheers for Litala and his congregation which we all gladly gave and so ended the day's activities. But it was not to be the end of everything for the next day at church, after his speech thanking the congregation for their largesse at the **umusaga**, Litala said that someone had absconded with a large pot of boiled pork and that would the person responsible please help himself to the pork but return only the pot to the owner. A woman was then heard to cry. She was crying only for her pot, she explained.

Tusiga Igoa

Tusiga Igoa are fundraising events. Samoan communities resort to **tusiga Igoa** to raise money for a wide variety of purposes including the purchase of a house for the pastor or a new church building. I recorded two **tusiga Igoa** during my field work both involving churches, **EFKS** Sydney and **So'ofa'atasi**. Samoan community participation in **tusiga Igoa** are generally more extensive than the **osiga feagaiga** and **umusaga** already mentioned because since the objective is to raise as much money as possible invitations are sent to all one's relatives, friends and acquaintances. When guests arrive, they make a donation by cash or cheque at the door and the name of the donor and the amount are entered in a book. When all the guests are assembled inside the hall, a religious service takes place and this is followed by **siva**, feast and presentation of **sua** and prizes.

The **EFKS tusiga Igoa** was held at the Canterbury District Police Youth Club at Belmore, 11 July, 1992. Its purpose was to raise funds for a new residence for the pastor. The religious service was conducted by the **So'ofa'atasi** minister, Sione Eli, a huge man, jovial and a good salesman. His sermon was built around the theme of emptying one's wallet for the cause and emphasised his appeal by referring to a Samoan proverb which says, "If I know you at **Togamau**, I will also know you at **Si'uilepa**." This means a favour is returned by a favour.

The donations were recorded according to three basic categories. First and most important were the contributions by the congregation's **matafale**, their relatives and friends, and donations to their **siva**. These came to \$15,777.49.

Second were the gifts from the church ministers present and these totalled \$622.62. Third were the contributions from other church congregations plus money obtained from their *siva* and these amounted to \$2,505.71. When added up, a grand total of \$18,905.82 was raised in one Saturday afternoon. Expenses were minimal and consisted mainly of the cash prizes totalling \$2,300 (for those who donated the most) and about \$250 for the rent of the hall. Fine mats, food and drinks were mostly donated by members of the congregation. But if cash value is to be given to the *toga*, this could be estimated at \$1,710 for *lalaga* (171 x \$10) and \$5,600 for *le tetele* (14 x \$400). If a further \$1,000 is allowed for the purchase of food and drinks for the *sua* and guests, the total expenses would be at least \$10,860. As a result of the ceremony, this particular church has boosted its building fund but at considerable sacrifice and the loss of its stock of valuable fine mats. Members will try to win back some of these in other exchange transactions.

Whilst the ultimate goal was to raise funds for the pastor's house, still the etiquette of the moment required that *fa'aaloaloga* be made. These were of two kinds. First, the *sua* given to the six church ministers present. Second, the gifts made to those guests who donated the most money. The *sua* was delivered among the recipients in the following manner:

- (1). A woman comes forward with a piece of calico wrapped around the waist. Both hands, pointing forward, clasp a soda bottle with a \$5 note on top. Value: \$35.
- (2). A second woman brings a 12 oz. corned beef (or camp pie) and a packet of SAO biscuits. Value: \$4.
- (3). A young man brings a *paelo* (keg of salted beef). Value: \$30.
- (4). A third woman brings the fine mat for the *sua*. Value: \$20.
- (5). One or more people bring a large ceremonial fine mat called the *tofa*. Value: \$400.

All the *sua* were the same except that towards the end of the ceremony there were more camp pies in them than corned beef products.⁵ The prize for the

⁵ The cash value of each *sua* is estimated at \$489.

guest with the biggest alofa (donation) was 50 toga, a tofa and \$500. Second prize was 25 toga, a tofa and \$300. Third prize was shared by six people each of whom received 15 toga, a tofa and \$250.

The **So'ofa'atasi tusiga igoa** was held at the Scottish Hall, Bankstown, 26 September, 1992, again to raise funds for a new house for the pastor. The proceedings were similar to those of the **EFKS tusiga igoa** in July. Perhaps the only major difference was that a lot more money was raised at the **So'ofa'atasi** function. The total collected on the 26 September from contributions by **matafale (ipu)**, invitations and **siva** came to \$28,090.31 which, at that time, was a Samoan record for **tusiga igoa** in Sydney. The figures finalised in October showed that with late donations, the **tusiga igoa** earned \$30,183.55. The breakdown is as follows: **matafale** contributions (**ipu**) \$16,312.19; invitations \$9,124.50; donations from other churches \$2,853.69; donations by individuals \$1,777.17; children's donations \$116.00. The guests who donated the most were duly rewarded. First prize of six large **toga** and a bundle of smaller ones went to Tavu'i Anesone who gave away a total of \$1,371.47 from door donations and **siva**; second prize of four large **toga** and a bundle of smaller ones went to Eli Fa'avae with a total contribution of \$1,291.10; and third prize of three large fine mats and a bundle of smaller ones went to Kalamelu and his congregation for a total contribution of \$547.20. At the minister's order, the seven remaining of the large **toga** were distributed to the rest of the highest contributors. Other **toga** were then distributed to the church ministers and other dignitaries present. For his action in giving away the best **toga** to the biggest contributors, Rev Sione was accused of not showing proper respect to the ministers and dignitaries present because they received only ordinary **toga**. But Sione told me, why should these people get something for nothing? Why should those who gave so generously be penalised? In Sydney, the distribution of **toga** can often be a major source of friction between a pastor and his congregation, as the Campsie example in the previous chapter illustrates.

One of the features of **tusiga igoa** which amazed me was the ingenuity of Samoan migrants in devising strategies to induce people to part with their money. Upon entering the hall where the event is taking place, one makes a

donation at the door either in one's own name or someone else's. But if one thinks that that is the end of it, one will be extremely disappointed. When the *siva* takes place, for instance, the combined effect of the speeches and the music prompts one to give more until one's wallet is practically empty. The MC dedicates each performance to an individual, family or group. The individual or group representative then goes to the microphone and launches into an eloquent appeal for support in cash donations. For instance at the **EFKS tusiga igoa**, such a spokesperson gave a brief account of his life, where he was born and raised, where his parents came from, his wife and where she was from, the villages of his grandparents, and so on. The idea was to urge all those related to him, however distant, and people connected to the villages mentioned, to donate to the *siva*. Anybody who could help, including friends and acquaintances, was called upon. Appeals based on reason were supplemented by those based on emotion. Thus one lady referred to herself as "an orphan", her parents were both dead and people should, therefore, help her. A man sought the audience's pity and support by claiming he did not have many relatives, or if he did he did not know of them. He also said he was part Tokelauan and that if any Tokelauans were present to please come forward and donate. (See Figure 6 for other appeal strategies made at another fundraising event sponsored by **EFKS** Fairfield, September, 1992). The people in the audience are generally moved by these appeals and give generously. The **EFKS** Sydney *siva*, for instance, fetched \$4,580 and the **EFKS** Fairfield one \$5,256. These impromptu appeals at the microphone have become an art form in the hands

Figure 6: Kinds of Appeal Strategies

1. "A *palagi* and a relative of mine in Manono went deep-sea diving. The *palagi* was impressed by the fact the Samoan was able to stay under water for so long and wanted to know the reason. The Samoan explained he could stay under water for indefinite periods because he was able to breathe through his toes. The moral is, let us give through our toes!"
2. "My parents are from village A. As for me, I am from Samoa. As you are all from Samoa, come and support me."
3. "I have no relatives in the audience. All my relatives are Christians. You are

Christians, come and help me

4. "All those who support my *siva* will have their air fares reduced"- airline manager.

of Samoan migrants and a delight to experience. At the end of these *siva*, most people in the audience would probably have no money left in their wallets. Today, *tusiga lgoa* are rare in Samoa but frequent in the U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia, the new centres of Samoan wealth. They are closely associated with migrant culture, serving as a means of raising funds both for the migrants' own local community projects and their *aiga*, churches and villages in Samoa.

Fa'alpoipoga

There were about six weddings (*fa'alpoipoga*) in the Samoan community during the time of my fieldwork of which I attended two. From a cultural point of view, Samoan weddings provide an excellent example of the operation of the system of ceremonial exchange. The *fa'alpoipoga* is not merely the result of a romantic association between two persons. It is also pre-eminently a form of enduring political union between two sets of kin groups, a union which is sealed not merely by a religious or legal ceremony but also by the appropriate exchange of gifts. The bridegroom and his *aiga* give *oloa*, as explained, to the bride and her *aiga*. The latter reciprocate with gifts of *toga*.⁶ The exchanges are not limited to the occasion of the wedding but persist throughout the period of the marriage, especially if there are children. Ideally, the gifts should be of equal value and this is the goal which the parties aspire to. It is, therefore, of importance for each side to know beforehand what the other side plans to give so as to be better prepared to make a reciprocal gift. Values placed on the gifts are translatable to cash. For example, an ordinary fine mat (*lalaga*) is valued at about \$10 on the market while a large ceremonial *toga* (*le tele*) could fetch from \$100 to \$2,500 each, depending on the quality of the pandanus material, fineness of craftsmanship and the age of the *toga*. The value of these *toga* should approximate the cost of the food, goods and other forms of wealth provided by the bridegroom's family. When one side gives more

⁶ *Toga* are made only in Samoa.

than the other, the exchange is considered imbalanced and this may produce bad feelings between the parties. The gift exchange is the chief characteristic of a Samoan wedding and other characteristics more closely resemble **palagi** weddings, for example, the ceremony itself, groomsmen and bridesmaids, receptions, wedding cakes and limousine rides. In the wedding examples I provide, I try to look at the total ceremony but with emphasis on gift exchange.

Michael Ale and Fetu Fa'anunu were married at the Mormon Temple, Sydney, 31 October, 1992. Following the religious ceremony, a wedding reception, attended by over 300 relatives and guests, was held at the Police Youth Club, Rockdale. Fetu's relatives included her parents, brother and paternal aunt from Samoa, paternal grandmother, paternal uncle, paternal aunt and family **matai** from New Zealand. Of Michael's overseas relatives, only his father came from Western Samoa. A wide variety of Samoan dishes was served at the feast and guests helped themselves to the large amounts of food left over. Since no **fa'a-Samoa** was permitted at the reception, no **sua** were presented but the guests engaged in a **fa'atau** to determine a speaker to present the guests' thanks to the hosts. The exchange ceremony took place four days later at the house of the Samoan bishop for the **Lotu Mamona**, Bankstown. There were two main parts in the presentation of gifts by the bride's family: gifts for the **Lotu Mamona** of Bankstown, to which the bride belonged, and gifts for the bridegroom's family. As in such presentations, the most important **sua** were given to the highest church officials such as the bishop and assistant bishops. For his **sua**, Bishop Aiolupotea received (1) a large baked pig (2) **le ta'i ai le sua** (a large **toga** valued at \$1,000) (3) **Inati** (another **toga** valued at \$1,000) (4) 10 **lalaga** and (5) **pasese** of \$200. The same **sua** was given to Rev Ketu Magalo, the highest-ranked official of the **EFKS** present at the wedding. The two assistant bishops each received a **fa'aoso** (take-home gifts) consisting of (1) **Inati** (gift) (2) five **lalaga** and (3) a pig. Finally, the **Lotu Mamona** congregation was presented a **sua** as follows: (1) large pig (2) **le ta'i ai le sua** (3) **tofa** (4) two cows and four pigs⁷ (5) 200 **lalaga**.

In addition, gifts were also made to persons who helped with the wedding

⁷ Pigs are either roasted or baked whole while cows or parts of cows, because of their large sizes, are merely cleaned, prepared, subdivided further and then ready for cooking.

activities. Thus, Lavea Seve, the orator who represented the guests at the wedding reception, received (1) a large *toga* (2) five *tualafo* and (3) five *lafo tanoa*. The *tualafo* fine mats, I was told, were intended for Lavea's junior chiefs, the *lafo tanoa* fine mats were for the young men of his family. Another 20 fine mats were distributed to all those who took part in the *fa'atau*. The Maid of Honour (*uo sili*) received one large fine mat and five *lalaga* whilst the eight bridesmaids (*uo mamae*) each received a large fine mat and a *lalaga*.

The prestation by the bride's family, the equivalent of the *toga* or bridal dowry, was as follows: (1) five large fine mats each worth over \$2,000 (2) one large fine mat as '*tofa a le alga*' (3) one large fine mat for the *sua*⁸ (4) 50 *lalaga*.⁹ In addition, another prestation accompanied the bride on her first taking up residence at her new husband's home (*ulumoega*) and this consisted of 30 *fala lili'i* (sleeping mats), two large *toga* and 20 *lalaga*. These fine mats become the exclusive property of the new couple and will enable them to take part in the family and communal *fa'alavelave* ("*o mea na ave mo le ulugali'i fou e teu ai lo la moega ma fai ai o la fa'alavelave*").

In terms of Samoan wealth, the expenditure by the bride's family was enormous considering the amount of large fine mats distributed. Other costs included a 29 tier wedding cake costing \$1,800; a \$1,200 wedding dress excluding the cost of dresses for Maid of Honour and bridesmaids, and food and drinks for the reception. These 'other' costs, a spokesperson for the bride's family said, came to about \$13,000. When the monetary value of the traditional items (e.g. fine mats) was added, the total cost of the wedding probably exceeded \$50,000. Prior to the wedding, both family groups had stipulated that there would be no *fa'a-Samoa* at all levels but it turned out differently. Some *alga* of the bride still turned up with their *si'i* which included fine mats and a *fa'atau* still took place at the reception. Most of the fine mats in the *si'i* were returned but cash gifts were retained. These amounted to \$3,600.

The groom's father, Ulugia, was angry when the bride's family delivered the customary gift of *toga* to him in Sydney because of the previous agreement

⁸ This consisted of a pig and other accompanying items.

⁹ Coconut oil and *sama* (turmeric powder) will be given to the groom's family when the time comes to formally acknowledge any children born in a ritual called "*fa'afallelegatama*".

that there would be no *fa'a-Samoa*. However, he had accepted the gift and told the *paolo* (bride's family) that he would make a return gift later in Samoa. On that occasion, Ulugia made a cash gift of \$100 each for the five orators present as well as a large fine mat for the *paolo*. That done, he made gifts to two pastors who were his guests. Each received a quarter of a cow and a large fine mat; others of his *alga* who helped each got a portion of a cow plus five *lalaga*. When the bride's parents returned to Apia, Ulugia and an orator visited them and presented a formal cash gift of \$2,000.

In this wedding, the gift from the bride's family was mainly *toga*, from the groom's family, mainly cash (*oloa*). It appears that both family groups had agreed beforehand that there would be no customary exchanges but for one reason or another, the agreement failed to hold. Whether this was the result of pressures from other family members or deliberate deception (to score a point at the other party's expense) is difficult to say. The groom's father was angry when he was confronted by a *fait accompli* on the part of the bride's family. But he still made good the exchange later on. Both family groups looked after their own guests and helpers separately but the bride's family was entrusted with the task of making the appropriate prestations to the bishops and congregation of the *Lotu Mamona*.

Pasefika and Tala were married in an **EFKS** ceremony held at the Catholic church, Punchbowl, 19 December, 1992. This was followed by a wedding reception at the RSL, Kingsgrove, attended by about 150 persons. Unlike the previous wedding, both family groups did not prohibit the *fa'a-Samoa*. As a result both *alga* received donations of fine mats and cash at their homes. The groom's family reported that there were plenty of *si'i alofa* of *toga* and cash. The *toga* could not be counted as most were returned anyway¹⁰ but the cash alone totalled \$3,800. One of the biggest *si'i* was that of Rev Litala, whose adopted son was Best Man. This consisted of several large *toga*, 30 *lalaga* and \$400. Another large *si'i* was that of the affines of the groom's

¹⁰ It is a common practice among Samoans to return most of the fine mats given as a prestation. For instance, if a *si'i* included 10 *lalaga* and one *le tele*, the hosts might retain only two *lalaga* and return eight to the giver, and at least the *le tele*. In other words, the gift becomes a counter gift. The alternative would be to make a counter gift of a different item/s but of approximate equal value. Because the latter is sometimes difficult, gifts are often merely returned after due acknowledgment, to the chagrin of the giver.

brother. This consisted of four large **toga**, 20 **lalaga** and \$1,000. Most of the donations were in the form of cash ranging from \$50 to \$200. On the expenditure level, the wedding reception cost \$10,000 and the **aigalua** (two families) shared evenly in this. The groom's family also had to present **sua** to those who brought **si'i** and besides **toga** that were returned, 30 kegs of salted beef costing \$38 each were distributed. The bride's family also incurred similar expenses in relation to the **si'i**.

After the wedding reception, the **aigalua** exchanged gifts in accordance with custom. The bride's family presented a **sua** and **ulumoega** which consisted of 120 **lalaga** and sleeping mats as well as five large **toga** called by these respective names: (a) **le avaga** (mat on becoming a wife); (b) **le tu** (standing mat); (c) **le se'e** (sitting mat); (d) **le fa'atupu** (royal mat); (e) **le ta'ele** (bathing mat). The groom's family reciprocated with a **sua tupe** (cash gift) of \$500, \$500 for the **ulumoega** and \$500 for the five large **toga**. In addition each member of the bride's family present received a gift of \$50 and others \$10 each. The groom's family spent close to \$3,000 in the **felloalga** (meating) with the bride's family and about \$17,000 on other costs. Twenty of the groom's relatives came from Western Samoa, five from New Zealand and included Pasefika's mother, brothers and sisters. Overseas relatives of the bride were also present at the wedding. Again, the significant exchange in this wedding was one involving **toga** and **oloa**.

Mallu

Samoa funerals, commonly called "**mallu**", range in elaborateness from simple to complex depending on the social status of the deceased. Thus if the deceased is a **falfeau** or a **matua** of high rank, the funeral ceremony can be an elaborate affair. The two funerals I attended and recorded during the field trip were both of young, untitled Samoans and, therefore, were comparatively simple affairs. However, they did contain the basic elements of a typical Samoan funeral which are: **si'i** by relatives and friends, religious services, the wakes, the burial, funeral feast and presentation of **sua**. The ceremonial exchange is not so marked as in weddings but more subtle. The people who bring their **si'i** are also given a return gift which usually consists of a **sua** plus a portion of what they brought. Gifts are also presented to visiting dignitaries such as **falfeau** and

visiting **matal** in the form of **sua**, fine mats or cash at the end of the funeral feast.

The first funeral was that of a young married woman who had died at the prime of life as a result of an illness. She left behind grieving parents and siblings, a young husband and several young children. About 350 Samoans attended a family service for her conducted by **Fa'apotopotoga** pastors at the Lewisham Catholic church 28 August, 1992. The service was followed by the **leo** (wake), the custom by which choirs from different church congregations take turns in maintaining a vigil by the coffin of the deceased. In this manner each congregation will spend about 30 minutes singing religious hymns until replaced by another. Most of the choirs who performed that night were those of **Fa'apotopotoga** congregations. From the **EFKS** only the Fairfield choir took part. The reason for the few choirs, I was told, was that most people in the Samoan community did not know about the **fa'alavelave**. The final service was conducted the next day and then the long drive to the Rookwood Cemetery. After the burial ceremony, guests were invited to the church hall at Lewisham for a lavish Samoan feast. **Sua** were presented to the dignitaries present. They consisted of (1) fine mats (2) **pasese** (3) a portion of meat, either beef, pork or salted beef. Other pastors got only two fine mats each and a **pasese**. The **matal** present received a fine mat each.

There were 25 **si'i alofa** by relatives, friends and sympathisers plus numerous individuals who donated money gifts in envelopes. These ranged from \$20 to \$500 with many in the \$50, \$100 and \$200 ranges. Among them was a US\$300 cheque from the deceased's uncle in the United States. Fine mats received totalled 145 and total cash donations came to A\$10,370. As against the gifts, main expenses are provided in Figure 7. The deceased and her family were members of the **Fa'apotopotoga** denomination, a group which discourages the use of fine mats in principle. But they were not able to prevent their relatives and friends from bringing their customary **si'i**. The fine mats, however, were all redistributed after the funeral feast as stated. Without the **si'i**, the bereaved family would have been even more severely burdened economically.

Figure 7: Expenses

1. Lauava (food for funeral participants). Includes kegs of salted beef for sua, vermicelli, cartons of canned fish, tins of biscuits, pig and two cows. Cost: \$6,000.		
2. Grave site, funeral parlour, casket, death duty, death certificate and transport. Cost: \$6,500.		
3. Money for sua (\$30 for each pastor present and \$100 for Assembly of God Superintendent). Cost: \$550.		
4. Gift for deceased's husband. His mother came from Samoa with 50 lalaga and several large mats. Cost: \$2,000.		
Grand Total	\$15,050.00

The second funeral was that of two young brothers killed in a traffic accident as they were returning home from a party in the early morning hours, October, 1992. In its main aspects, their funeral was similar to that just mentioned. The relatives and friends came with their *si'i* and were given *sua* and *pasese*, a family service (at home), a wake,¹¹ a funeral service at a Catholic church, Bankstown, funeral feast and distribution of gifts. There was one notable exception, however: fine mats were all returned, as I shall presently explain. The funeral activities were supervised by the deceased's father, Leatuavao, who first heard the tragic news about his sons' fatal accident while in Samoa on family business. Leatuavao confirmed that the *toga* presented in the *si'i* were all returned due to a rule established in the Samoan Catholic community, Bankstown, 1990. Following guidelines established by Cardinal Pio Taofinu'u for Catholics in Western Samoa, the use of *toga* in ceremonial exchanges was prohibited because many Catholic families, especially those of young couples, lacked resources in both fine mats and food for funeral ceremonies. The scarcity of these resources led many families to dissociate themselves from the community and sometimes even from the church. Thus, Leatuavao said:

"When people came with their *toga*, we told them *toga* were forbidden. Still they set them out as usual, plus their cash donations. We prepared their *sua* consisting of *paelo*, *apa masi* (tin of biscuits), *pasese* and *toga*. The *toga* were all returned. Still,

¹¹ The choirs which sang hymns during the wake were those from the Catholic congregations at Bankstown, Riverwood and Mt Druitt, and the Mormon congregations at Bankstown and Liverpool.

even after they were returned, some were given back to us as **lafo**. About 30 **toga** were obtained this way."

In addition to the 30 **toga** given as **lafo**, cash donations came to about \$15,000. The main expenses were the funeral parlour, \$7,500, and food, \$12,000, for a total of \$19,500. Foodstuffs included three cows, three large pigs, 60 **paelo**, 80 **apa masi** plus provisions for visitors to the family home at Greenacre and the funeral feast at the Scottish Hall, Bankstown.

At the funeral service, 23 October, Leon, a brother of the deceased said that "Mark and Cyril were loving people", that they were "never scared to ask their other brothers for help and advice" and that they would "thank their parents for bringing them into this world and would rejoice in seeing all of you here". The father of the deceased thanked all those present for making the time available to attend the service and for assistance given in various ways. The important point he wished to stress was to remind young people of the lesson to be learned from the death of his sons. At the conclusion of the service, the two brothers were taken for burial in a single grave at Rookwood Cemetery. Family and guests then returned to the Scottish Hall for the last part of the ceremonies, namely, a feast, presentation of **sua** and cash gifts to the guests. Because of the **tapu** placed on fine mats, prestations were in the form of food and cash gifts. The biggest share went to the Bankstown Catholic Association which received two cows, 10 cartons of biscuits and \$2,000. Other congregations involved in the funeral received two parts of a cow each. Several **sua** consisting of **paelo**, cartons of biscuits and cooked pig were also made but most gifts were in the form of cash. Thus the **fallauga** who spoke on behalf of the guests received \$100 and eight **fallauga** who took part in the **fa'atau** each received \$30. Not one **toga** was presented.

The Samoan customs that I have just described, namely, **osiga feagaiga**, **tusiga igoa**, **fa'aipoipoga** and **mallu** are some of the main ones observed and practised by the Samoan community in Sydney. There are others I have not mentioned, including **fa'aulufalega** (church dedication) and **saofa'i** (matai title investiture). These also involve ceremonial exchanges involving **toga**, cash and food. They are also referred to as **fa'alavelave**, problems of a

kind that need one's urgent attention, and lead inevitably to the taking of a *si'i*. For when Samoans go to render assistance to the *fa'alavelave* of their kin and friends, they describe this action as "taking a *si'i*" and a *si'i* being essentially a gift package of the sort described above.

Table 29: Monthly Contributions to Sydney Fa'alavelave

Contributions	No. Households
\$1 - 50	61
51 - 100	35
101 - 150	7
151 - 200	12
201 - 250	3
251 - 300	4
301 - 350	1
351 - 400	1
400+	1
Total	125

\$1 - 50 Monthly Contributions

Contributions	No. Households
4.17	1
8.33	5
10.00	1
12.50	4
16.67	3
20.00	1
20.83	1
25.00	3
30.00	2
33.33	4
40.00	1
41.67	11
50.00	24
Total	61

Note: Monthly average is \$91.08.

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Samoans And Fa'alavelave

The sample survey revealed that of the 137 households, 125 were regular contributors to community *fa'alavelave* in Sydney. Community *fa'alavelave*

means not just the *fa'alavelave* of one's relatives but also those of members of one's church or friends though probably for migrants, participation was most frequent for kin *fa'alavelave*. The most common monthly contribution, as Table 29 shows, was \$50 with 24 households, followed by \$100 (18 households), \$41.67 (11 households) and \$200 (10 households).

Non-contribution to Samoan community *fa'alavelave* was due to a number of reasons. In six households, whose members subscribe to a fundamentalist Christianity,¹² the emphasis on the primacy of the gospel tended to relegate involvement in cultural practices to a secondary position and the general attitude was that the *fa'a-Samoa* was an anachronism in Australia. Three households belonged to second-generation Samoans, young people who, while not necessarily antagonistic to Samoan values, generally felt that community relations were best left to their elder kinsmen. One household did not contribute because of unemployment, another because of poverty. The twelfth household belonged to a young Samoan living together with an Australian woman. Having recently arrived in Canterbury, he has not yet developed any Samoan networks. At the other end of the spectrum, the eight households which contributed the most to community *fa'alavelave* were generally well off economically and from an ideological point of view very conservative. Six of them were headed by *matai* who were widely-known in the community for their involvement in church and cultural activities. One household was headed by a preacher and the eighth one by an untitled man. Being well off economically is an essential condition for being a contributor to *fa'alavelave* but not a sufficient one. One must have many networks which need support and one must moreover be disposed to assist through contributions of various sorts.

One who regularly supports one's relatives, especially financially, is referred to as "*osi aiga*". If one does the same to a village or community, one is referred to as "*osi nu'u*". Samoans who faithfully serve their *aiga* and communities through fine mats, cash, food, services or in other ways are held in the highest esteem and are rewarded sooner or later by their beneficiaries, sometimes with the bestowal of a *matai* title, or election to the legislature. Samoans have a special word for this kind of service: *tautua* (cf. Meleisea,

¹² Particularly Assembly of God.

1989). Table 30 shows that 56 percent of the respondents contributed to at least one **fa'alavelave** per month on average and that 73 percent (91 households) contributed in the three main areas of money, food and services.

Table 30: Frequency, Contributions to Community Fa'alavelave

Frequency	No. Households
Weekly	16
Monthly	70
Twice monthly	6
Twice yearly	2
Three times yearly	1
Four times yearly	14
Six times yearly	15
Nine times yearly	1
Total	125

Things Contributed	No. Households
Money, Food, Services	91
Money only	25
Money and food	5
Gifts only	3
Services only	1
Total	125

Note: In addition, 11 households also contributed *toga* over and above their other contributions.

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

The most common community **fa'alavelave** specifically mentioned by respondents, in their order of precedence, were: birthdays, funerals, weddings, church social activities, functions of the Samoan Advisory Council, fundraisers, flag day ceremonies, title investitures, social visits, farewelling visitors, births, establishment of new churches, beauty contests, religious dramas, community dances, Boys Brigade functions, overseas trips, opening of new businesses, family reunions, engagements, barbecues, church dedications and anniversaries. These **fa'alavelave** are not necessarily restricted to life cycle events but to many social occasions where households have to spend or contribute money for kin (such as social visits and farewelling visitors) church or migrant community (such as fundraisers, community dances, beauty contests

and barbecues¹³). These events and others require the urgent attention of the respondents and expenditures, over and above those of the immediate family, in terms of money, food, services or other need.

Overseas Fa'alavelave

Fa'alavelave participation is, of course, not restricted to the Samoan community in Australia. Migrants also contribute heavily to the fa'alavelave of their aiga in Western Samoa, New Zealand and the United States. Table 31, for instance, shows the number of households where either the husband, wife or household head travelled overseas for fa'alavelave. The great

Table 31: Overseas Travel for Fa'alavelave

	No. Households	Percentage
Overseas travel	112	81.75
No overseas travel	25	18.25
Total	137	100
Destination		
To Western Samoa	83	60.58
To New Zealand	65	47.45
To both Western Samoa and New Zealand	37	27.01
To USA	5	3.65
To Hawai'i	2	1.46
To American Samoa	1	0.73

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

majority of households in the sample, 81.75 %, were involved in overseas travel to attend fa'alavelave, mostly to Western Samoa (60.58%) and New Zealand (47.45%). Some travel also took place to the United States, Hawai'i and American Samoa where migrant relatives also abound. The statistics are based on a minimum requirement of one overseas trip by either husband, wife or household head and do not reflect frequency of overseas travel. The 25 households not involved in overseas travel were generally more recent arrivals in Australia and still in the process of establishing themselves in the community.

The main types of fa'alavelave which required overseas travel were as

¹³ Barbecues, beauty contests and community dances may also be regarded as means of raising funds for Samoan organisations, churches and Samoan Advisory Council. Organisers of these events have to contribute money, food and time and, therefore, regard them as fa'alavelave.

follows: funerals (52 households), weddings (33), illness (31), church conference (9), family affairs (9), church dedications (8), house construction (6), title bestowal (4), birthdays (4), church affairs (4), house dedications (4), court cases (4), fundraising (3), sports competitions (3) and elections (1). Holidays accounted for 24 households and visits to relatives, 22. While holidays and visits may not be regarded as *fa'alavelave* in a certain sense, Samoans often regard them as such because they invariably involve outlays of huge sums of money not just in air fares but also in prestations that need to be made to relatives, friends and acquaintances in the home country. Again as in Table 31, the household figures exclude overseas travel by children and other family members and do not reflect frequency of travel abroad. This is provided for in the next table involving 95 male and 87 female respondents in

Table 32: Frequency of Overseas Visits for Fa'alavelave

MALES	
Destination	Number of visits
1. Australia to Western Samoa	121
2. Australia to New Zealand	116
3. New Zealand to Western Samoa	120
4. Australia to USA	2
5. Australia to American Samoa	2
6. Australia to Hong Kong	1
7. New Zealand to USA	4
Total	366
Mean: 3.85 visits	
FEMALES	
Destination	Number of visits
1. Australia to Western Samoa	80
2. Australia to New Zealand	97
3. New Zealand to Western Samoa	72
4. Australia to USA	2
5. Australia to Hawaii	1
6. New Zealand to USA	4
7. New Zealand to Hawaii	1
Total	257
Mean: 2.95 visits	
Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.	

the main sample. Table 32 refers to all visits prior to the survey by Samoan

migrants for **fa'alavelave** and demonstrates that most overseas travel occurred within the Australia-New Zealand-Western Samoa triangle. For males, visits within this triangle constituted 98% of all overseas travel, for females 97%. It is almost certain that the frequency of travel to Hawaii and the US Mainland would have been far higher were it not for the combined effect of distance and prohibitive cost of air fares. To round off this section, Table 33 gives a breakdown of types of **fa'alavelave** and frequency of visits by both males and females for these. This shows that the 95 male and 87

Table 33: Overseas Visits for Fa'alavelave from Australia and N.Z.

Fa'alavelave	Males	Females	Total
Holiday	56	51	107
Visit relatives	45	41	86
Funerals	52	32	84
Family affairs	33	32	65
Illness	35	22	57
Church conference	27	19	46
Weddings	15	24	39
Visit family	24	2	26
Church business	17	6	23
Court case	16	1	17
Church dedication	6	8	14
Saofa'i	9	2	11
Sports	9	1	10
Return migration	5	4	9
Build house	4	3	7
Umusaga	2	4	6
Fundraising	2	1	3
Birthday	2	1	3
Education	2	1	3
Malaga ¹⁴	1	2	3
Employment	2	0	2
Transit	1	0	1
Elections	1	0	1
Total	366	257	623

Mean: 3.42 visits

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

¹⁴ Malaga is a formal visit, usually by a group of people and could be for any purpose.

female respondents in the main sample made a total of 623 overseas visits from Australia and New Zealand for **fa'alavelave** of one sort or another mostly in Western Samoa and New Zealand (see Table 32), or an average of 3.42 visits per respondent from the period of initial migration to the time of the survey. The greater part of the **fa'alavelave** involves relatives and to a much lesser degree, church matters such as annual conferences. The important point that needs to be stressed here, however, is that **fa'alavelave** are not restricted to the Samoan community in Sydney but also extend interstate and overseas, mainly Western Samoa and New Zealand and to a much lesser extent U.S.A. Thus, Samoan migrants in Australia are also linked to international **fa'alavelave** networks of extended family groups which, in certain respects, resemble multinational corporations in their operations (Bertram and Watters 1985, 1986) but united by ties of blood, culture, history and a common geographic homeland. At their head are the "clan heads", **matal**, mostly though not necessarily, resident in Western Samoa.

Remittances

Remittances are generally cash sent by migrants in various ways (e.g. by drafts, transfers, in envelopes) to their relatives in the home country. On a broader level, remittances may also include gifts of food, clothing, appliances, equipment, in fact, anything to which economic value could be attached. Many

Table 34: Estimates of Remittances Sent Annually Mainly to Western Samoa

	No. Households
Sent both money and gifts	75
Sent only money	44
Sent only gifts	1
Sent neither money nor gifts	17
Total	137
Total value of money sent	\$254,910
Total value of gifts sent	\$70,165
Grand total	\$325,075
	Average
Cash	\$2,142.10 p.a.
Gifts	\$923.22 p.a.
Combined	\$2,708.96 p.a.

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Samoan migrants regularly send remittances to their relatives in Western Samoa to assist with their daily living costs; some send remittances only when *fa'alavelave* occur in their *aiga*; a few do not remit at all. Table 34 provides data on migrants' estimates of remittances they send annually to overseas relatives. Out of 137 households in the sample, only 17 households did not send remittances and 120 did so. These were responsible for both cash and gift remittances worth \$325,075 sent, almost all of it, to Western Samoa over a 12-month period. "Gift", as used here, means material goods of various kinds, including food, that were shipped or airfreighted to relatives. The averages were worked out on the basis of the 119 households that sent cash, 76 households that sent gifts and 120 households for the total value of the cash and gift remittances. Thus of the 120 households involved, each household was responsible for \$2,708.96 in the value of remittances over the same period. Of the 17 households that sent neither money nor gifts to relatives, eight did not do so because the spouses' parents were dead, most of their immediate relatives had, like themselves, migrated to New Zealand or Australia, or their relatives in Samoa were well off economically and did not require assistance. Four belonged to second-generation Samoans whose own immediate relatives lived in either New Zealand or Australia and knew very few relatives or none at all in Samoa. Three belonged to unemployed males and two to economically-deprived persons. Thus, almost half of the households did not remit because there was no need to do so, five because of poverty and four because the

Table 35: Some Large Remittances

Cash	Value of Gifts
\$50,000 p.a.	\$6,500 p.a.
\$10,000 p.a.	\$5,000 p.a.
\$6,500 p.a.	\$5,000 p.a.
\$6,000 p.a.	\$3,200 p.a.
\$6,000 p.a.	\$2,500 p.a.
\$5,500 p.a.	\$2,500 p.a.

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

spouses lacked roots in the parents' home country. Table 35 provides figures on the six largest contributors for both cash and gifts. In fact, many of the sample households may be considered well off economically. This suggests that

besides wealth, other factors play an important role in determining the level of remittances. Based on individual categories, 100 households (out of 120) send remittances for family support, 36 for *fa'alavelave*, six for gifts, 2 for parental support and one for savings and mortgage purposes. The frequency with which remittances were sent is shown in Table 36. It shows that most households (37 or 30.83%) sent remittances 12 times a year or once a month, followed by the 25 households (20.83%) which remitted four times a year or once every three months. Only one household remitted 52 times a year or once a week. Finally, who benefits from the remittances? Table 37 shows this. By far the most important recipients from the donors' point of view were their children, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, in other words, their closest relatives. These total 225 persons or 81% of the total recipients. If similar relatives of household heads are added, the number jumps to 240 or 86% of all recipients. Of the 279 recipients 233 or 83.5 percent lived in Western Samoa, 44 or 15.7 percent lived in New Zealand and one each lived in Tonga and U.S.A. (0.8%).

Table 36: Frequency Remittances Sent Per Annum

Times	No. Households	Times	No. H/holds
1	11	12	37
2	17	24	6
3	10	26	2
4	25	36	1
6	9	52	1
8	1	-	-
Total			120

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Table 37: Recipients of Remittances

Relationship	No. Households	No. Persons
Husband's father	38	38
Husband's mother	50	50
Wife's father	34	34
Wife's mother	47	47
Husband's brother	11	13
Husband's sister	16	19
Wife's brother	13	14
Wife's sister	8	9
Husband's "relatives"	10	14

		177
Wife's "relatives"	6	6
Husband and wife's "relatives"	7	7
Household head's brother	5	6
Household head's sister	3	5
Household head's "relatives"	3	6
Household head's parents	1	2
Household head's father	1	1
Household head's stepsister	1	1
Household head's pastor's wife	1	1
Husband's stepson	1	1
Husband's village matai	1	1
Wife's stepmother	1	1
Village pastor	1	1
Bank of Western Samoa	1	1
Son	1	1
Total		279

Note: The term "household head" as used above refers to the heads of sample households where a solo parent or an adult, male or female, is recognised head.

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Exchange, Fa'alavelave, Remittances

The practices which constitute ceremonial exchange, **fa'alavelave** and remittances are interconnected because they are the different aspects of the same reality. Ceremonial exchange exists in the real world but it is also a symbolic act which binds two parties in the celebration of ties of kinship. For the exchange is more than an economic transaction. In Samoan eyes, the presentation of a formal gift, especially a fine mat, is the giving of a part of one's self, insofar as the gift serves as an extension of the self, whether this be the individual or the collectivity. The gift is also possessed of moral, legal and spiritual qualities. The moral aspect corresponds to the social obligation of a Samoan to help or contribute to the **fa'alavelave** of a relative or friend. The legal aspect corresponds to the politically binding ties generated by the presentation of the gift. Finally, the spiritual aspect corresponds to the union of two parties, achieved by the symbolic nature of the exchange, not merely on the social and political levels, but also on the spiritual or highest levels, because the union of the two parties also entails the union of ancestral spirits and deities. Mauss is correct, therefore, when he referred to ceremonial exchange in the

Samoan context as simultaneously "economic, juridical, moral, aesthetic, religious, mythological and socio-morphological phenomena" (Evans-Pritchard in Mauss, 1970:vii-viii). The rigours of the potlatch system that Ruth Benedict re-analysed (1934) are not, however, applicable among Samoans (cf. Mauss, 1970:6) because of the different cultural realities. Samoans generally deplore waste in their gift-giving, and in general their expectation is one of parity, that is, goods and services exchanged should be of approximately equal value. However, not infrequently there is competition for power or prestige in the form of putting the other side off-balance, that is, by hiding from it the real value of the gift to be offered so that the return gift falls short of the exchange. Call it mischievous planning but it does happen and often. Another favourite ploy is to tell the other party that there would be no *fa'a-Samoa* (i.e. no ceremonial exchange) but only to renege on one's word later.¹⁵

The *fa'alavelave* are, as explained, matters of grave social concern which require one's immediate, undivided attention. There are many kinds of *fa'alavelave*, as I have already indicated, but some are more important than others. For instance, a funeral is more important than a birthday and requires more resources and expenditures. The Samoan migrants of Canterbury/Bankstown attend not only their relatives' *fa'alavelave* but also those of their friends, their church congregations and the wider community. Such involvement necessarily leads to heavy expenditures on their part. Based on the figures in Table 38, 122 households¹⁶ spend approximately \$564.47 monthly on *fa'alavelave*, remittances and church donations which, in the opinion of some, is a phenomenal amount. It is also evident that most of

Table 38: *Fa'alavelave*, Remittances, Church Donations

Expenditure	No. Households	Monthly Average
<i>Fa'alavelave</i>	125	\$91.08
Remittances	120	\$225.75
Church donations	121	\$247.64
Total		\$564.47

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

¹⁵ Understandably, families go to much trouble to try to discover the intentions of the other side using both legitimate and illegitimate methods (e.g. inside information).

¹⁶ Mean number of households.

this expenditure is for church contributions, followed closely by remittances and a fair distance behind, community *fa'alavelave*. In a certain sense then, the sizes of the expenditures reflect the social values of the migrants with religion occupying the most important position, relatives next and the community last. The monetary cost of these expenditures is high indeed and most certainly the Samoan migrants are only too well aware of it.

In terms of expenditures, overseas Samoan migrants tend to have fewer *fa'alavelave* but to spend more on them than their relatives in Samoa naturally because there are fewer Samoans in their overseas communities and their incomes are much higher. The average household expenditure (for 122 households) of \$564.47 monthly for church, remittances and *fa'alavelave* is a large sum but more than feasible for the sample households in general whose average monthly income is \$3,264.29¹⁷ approximately. The \$564.47 monthly expenditure, therefore, represents 17 percent of total monthly income leaving 83 percent for normal household expenditures such as rent, food, clothing, utility bills, car maintenance and so on. These calculations tend to confirm the general accuracy of the interviewees' estimates of their expenditure on these gifts and exchanges. The system, of course, works smoothly as long as all household income earners cooperate.

The remittances sent by migrants to their relatives in Samoa constitute the backbone of the Western Samoan economy for without them Western Samoa would be unable to maintain its present standard of living and to sustain current levels of economic development (see Va'a, 1993). It is not my intention here to deal with the wider ramifications of the subject of Samoan remittances which has already been discussed extensively by Shankman (1978), Connell (1983), Bertram and Watters (1985), Meleisea (1989) and others. Suffice it to say that since 1980, remittances have become the main earner of foreign exchange for Western Samoa, as Table 39 shows. In the eighties, the rise of remittances as the leading earner of foreign exchange was accompanied by the achievement of surplus balance of payments positions from 1983 to 1989. Approximately 75% of these remittances came from Samoan migrants, according to a 1990

¹⁷ Calculated on the basis of medium income (see Table 19). This provides for a median household income of \$39,171.53 per annum.

Table 39: Main Earners of Foreign Exchange

(W.S. currency in millions)

Year	Exports (f.o.b.)	Travel	Net Remittances
1980	15.3	3.6	17.2
1981	11.2	3.2	19.2
1982	16.3	3.7	22.5
1983	27.4	4.8	31.3
1984	34.2	6.0	37.3
1985	36.2	11.85	53.1
1986	23.5	15.50	63.5
1987	25.2	16.72	77.2
1988	31.6	30.03	73.8
1989	30.6	35.10	86.6

Note: The travel figures for 1980-1983 inclusive are gross figures but are considered close to the actual net figures.

Source: Va'a, 1993.

assessment by the Central Bank of Western Samoa; 20% came from churches and non-profit organisations and 5% were for expatriate Europeans living in Western Samoa. Of remittances sent by Samoan migrants, 52% came from New Zealand, 26% from U.S.A., 9% from Australia, 7% from American Samoa, 2% from Hawaii and 4% from the rest of the world (Central Bank study, 1988). It is now evident that with the increase of Samoan migration to Australia from 1985 onwards, Australia's share of total remittances may be expected to rise correspondingly. The sample survey shows that only 17 households sent neither cash nor gifts to their relatives in Western Samoa and all had legitimate reasons for not remitting, as stated before. It should also be emphasised that remittances are not necessarily just for *fa'alavelave*; they are also felt to be an obligation towards dependent relatives in Western Samoa or New Zealand. One of the main reasons for migration, in the first place, had been to help one's relatives in Samoa, not merely in the sense of meeting the basic necessities of life such as food and education, but also to provide the wealth that would enhance the social status of one's family in the village (cf. Meleisea, 1989).

Conclusion

The *fa'a-Samoa* operates efficiently in the geographical setting of Samoa with its villages, chiefly system, village fono, aumaga, aualuma and

tagata nu'u (see Chapter 2). Concepts such as those of person, status, power and place are relatively well-defined and understood. The village structure of Samoa cannot be replicated in Australia, however, for obvious reasons though there have been attempts in the United States to form councils of chiefs and even model Samoan villages. Cut off from their home villages, the question of constructing meaningful identities in an alien environment suddenly assumes major significance in the migrants' lives (cf. Sala, 1980:3). The solution is often to form church, ethnic and other kinds of communities more or less modelled on those at home wherein migrants can find security and friendship in the company of other Samoans. But these communities possess unique characteristics of their own.

The Canterbury-Bankstown community, for instance, exhibits similarities with the home country but also differences. As in Samoa, support of kin and community activities is extensive. Thus the survey shows that a substantial proportion of the respondents, 125 households (91.2%) participate in **fa'alavelave** networks and 120 households (87.6%) regularly send remittances to their dependents in Western Samoa and New Zealand. Other things being equal, these high percentages are indicative of the inclination of the majority of the respondents to meet their social obligations to relatives, church associates and friends. Of the 12 households (8.8%) that did not participate in **fa'alavelave**, six households, members of fundamentalist Christian denominations, cited religious reasons for non-involvement in community **fa'alavelave**; three households belonged to second-generation Samoans who have a tendency to leave responsibility for **fa'alavelave** to their parents; and three households could not contribute because of poverty. Of the 17 households (12.4%) that did not send remittances, eight households did not remit because most of their closest relatives had either died or were no longer living in Samoa; four belonged to second-generation Samoans who generally leave remittance matters to their parents; and five did not remit because of poverty. The reasons for non-remittance are comparable to those given in other studies (cf. Tongamoa, 1987).

The data suggests regular and extensive participation by Samoan migrants in **fa'alavelave** not only in Sydney (Tables 29, 30) but also in New

Zealand and Western Samoa (Tables 31, 32, 33). The same applies with remittances (Tables 34, 35, 36, 37). There are exceptions to participation of both kinds, for example, those households whose closest members have joined them overseas, migrants with a strong religious ideological bent, second generation Samoans and the poor. Increased numbers of these groups can, in the long run, affect the proportion of those involved in *fa'alavelave* networks and volume of remittances but as yet they are in a distinct minority. Generally speaking, the majority of migrants, if the survey is a guide, are meeting their obligations to their fellow-Samoans by way of gift exchanges, some examples of which have been provided, and to their overseas relatives by way of remittances. Yet there are also contentious issues as well.

For example, in a ceremony where gifts are presented and reciprocated in one form or another¹⁸, the structure (reciprocity) and the emotions appropriate to such an exchange (e.g. desire to help kin), apart from any other consideration, are present. But certain other elements have also to be considered. Most conspicuous is the absence of the geographical context of the village and village organisation represented by the *fono*, *aumaga* and *zualuma*, the basic ingredients in the practice of the *fa'a-Samoa* and which give it authenticity. This absence leaves, so to speak, a vacuum in the authority structure of the ceremony and it is this which encourages the struggle for social status (and indirectly wealth and power) among migrants. A useful way of regarding a Samoan ceremony, therefore, whether it be a wedding, funeral, or other, is to see it as an arena where not merely personal and social identity is constructed and reinforced (for Samoans believe that in giving we give of ourselves) but also as a place where social status and, therefore, the path to political leadership, in a broad sense, is contested and negotiated. The process of acquiring such status in the *fa'a-Samoa* is, to a certain extent, inherited through *matai* titles but it is also largely the product of initiative and inventiveness. Especially is this important in the migrant context.

The struggle for leadership is not restricted to a particular sphere of social activity but to as many as an aspiring leader is capable of dominating. However, it is true that in some ways, the *fa'atau* serves as a symbolic gesture of this

¹⁸ All examples given in this chapter belong to this category.

general principle among Samoan migrants. The participation of not merely the **matal**, but also the untitled and the **falfeau** attests to this reality. Thus, in manipulating the **fa'a-Samoa** for purposes other than those prescribed for the customary rituals of exchange, Samoan migrants have added a new dimension to the structure of the modern **fa'a-Samoa**. The **fa'a-Samoa** has also become a metaphor for the search for political power in the hands of **matal**, **taulele'a** and **falfeau**.

Family, Community and Identity

In this chapter, I discuss further characteristics of the Samoan migrant family in Canterbury/Bankstown, the general relationships between the Samoan migrant community and the wider Australian public, and finally the Samoan migrants' own perceptions concerning their sense of cultural and ethnic identity.¹ Discussion of the family will focus on language, types of food eaten and clothing worn at home, the theory and practice of raising Samoan children in Australia, the migrants' friends and neighbours. Discussion of the community will focus mainly on the question of migrant adaptation to the Australian social and physical environment and involves consideration of the work of the Samoan Advisory Council, the authority that acts as a link between the Samoan community and the Australian government. Finally, discussion of identity will focus on the views of migrants especially in relation to how far and why they support or oppose the practice of the *fa'a-Samoa* in Australia. While cultural continuities are to be observed in the context of family, community and identity, there are also many areas of tension and conflict.

The Samoan Family

The home serves as the training ground for Samoan values, beliefs and practices. The home, in fact, is a mini-Samoan community, where respect for authority is not merely inculcated in the minds of the young but hierarchical and religious structures are both promoted and enforced. The parents substitute for the *matai*, and both their status and authority are reinforced, by corporal punishment, if necessary. Religious observance is also strict and there is scarcely a meal without a prayer of thanksgiving and blessing that precedes it. And whilst church attendance on Sundays is not enforced in a physical or quasi-legal sense, social pressures produce the required effect. Thus Le'afa gives his three married children a tongue-lashing if he discovers they did not attend Sunday service "because they had been partying the night before". But on the

¹ The meanings of family, community and identity will be clarified in due course.

other hand, inter-generational conflicts involving migrants and their New Zealand or Australian-born children have posed major problems. Thus Rev Litala has been summoned 10 times before the courts to be a character witness in child abuse cases involving Samoan migrants and has managed to have the children returned to their parents "but only just". Rev Mautofu mentions the case of a young Samoan teenager who had become a King's Cross prostitute because her parents had cut off her hair² and I talked with several couples who were genuinely concerned with disciplinary problems involving their teenage sons. Samoan parents sometimes cope with these difficulties by sending their children to Samoa where, they hope, exposure to the hard realities of Samoan village life would help them mend their ways.

Upon entering a Samoan home, one is usually struck by the sincerity and respect shown by the host. Every effort is made to make one feel relaxed and comfortable and only after that will the host inquire about the reason for the visit. As is customary, the visitor will be led to the place of honour in the living room. Here, one gains an immediate impression of the physical environment of the place, a sure guide to the personalities of the parents and other co-residents. The most universal features of the 137 lounges that I observed, whether flats or houses, were the presence of large colour television sets, videos, stereos, religious paintings and family portraits. Some had, in addition, items such as wall clocks, wall decorations, personal mementos such as educational and training certificates and diplomas, Samoan artifacts such as *fala IIII'I*, fans and coloured necklaces, crockery, sets of encyclopaedias, rugs and record-players. One lounge even contained a fish bowl with live fish. It is, however, the religious paintings and family portraits which stand out. These are indicative of the high values which Samoan migrants place on religion and kinship relations. Only one home did not have any decorations in the lounge room (except for a picture of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane).

Samoan migrants wear *palagi* clothes at their place of employment and revert to their Samoan-style clothes at home and at Samoan kinship and community gatherings. The casual wear for both males and females is the universal *lavalava*, a wrapround tied or fastened at waist level. Formal

² She disobeyed her parents wishes not to have a boy friend.

traditional wear consists of **le faltaga** for males and **puletafi** for females and which are generally worn in public. At home, however, most migrants alternate between wearing Samoan and **palagi** clothes. Of the 137 households surveyed, 128 (93.4%) fell into the above "mixed" category; 5 wore only **palagi** clothes; 3 only Samoan clothes; and 1 only Arabic. Children generally wear only **palagi** clothes. Of the five families which wear only **palagi** clothes at home, three are of mixed marriages and two represent families with strong **palagi** cultural orientations. The three families which wear only Samoan clothes at home are culturally conservative. The family which wears only Arabic dress is that of a Samoan woman married to a Moslem and converted to Islam.

Another distinguishing feature of Samoan families is their predilection for Samoan food. A total of 134 (98%) families reported they ate both Samoan and **palagi** food at home, 2 only **palagi** food and 1 only Samoan food. In pre-contact times (i.e. before 1830), Samoan food consisted mainly of boiled or baked taro, bananas, yams, breadfruit, pork, fish, and vegetables such as **palusami**. The land was also the source of other kinds of food such as the **lupe** (pigeon), and the sea of a multitude of edible molluscs (such as the **gau**), crustaceans (such as the **ula** and **pa'a**) and other sea organisms (such as the **sea**). With the arrival of the Europeans in the 1830s and Chinese contract workers in the 1900s, new kinds of food were added to the Samoan diet. These include beef, chou mein, canned fish, corned beef and salted beef, to mention a few. Other kinds of Samoan food are characterised not so much by their content as by their method of preparation. These include: **kopai** (sweet flour pudding), **ko'ko alaisa** (cocoa-rice pudding) and **supo esi** (coconut cream-paw paw pudding). In truth, much of the Samoan diet would be found palatable by most Europeans but some sea foods will be rejected by most. I am referring to **sea** (raw entrails of the yellow sea cucumber), **gau** (an edible slug), **loli** (a sea cucumber) and **tuitui** (edible sea urchin). The sea foods are still frequently sent to migrants from Samoa or obtained by migrants off the coasts of New Zealand and Australia. In Canterbury/Bankstown, a balanced Samoan meal will consist of boiled or baked taro and bananas; fish, crabs, lobster, chicken and beef; and vegetable salad and **palusami**. The use of coconut cream in the preparation of carbohydrate, protein, vitamin and "pudding" dishes is a defining characteristic of the Samoan gastronomic arts.

Language

The Samoan language is spoken in practically all Samoan families, in fact in all Samoan churches and community gatherings. Children vary in their ability to speak Samoan but generally speaking they are aware of the importance of the language especially in terms of defining their identity. As a New Zealand-born Samoan said, "You're not regarded as a Samoan³ unless you can speak the language." The inability of many second generation Samoans to speak Samoan properly is causing concern among migrant families, churches and community organisations such as the Samoan Advisory Council. This has led to increased community demands for the establishment of

Table 40: Language Spoken At Home

	Parents	H/holds
	Samoan	98
	Samoan and English	29
	English	10
	Total households	137
	Children	H/holds
	Samoan and English	61
	English	31
	Samoan	27
	Families with no children	18
	Total households	137

Note: Parents include married couples, solo parents and other household heads.

Source: Sample survey 1992/93.

language training programmes. Table 40 shows that the great majority of parents (98 or 71.5% of the households) speak Samoan at home and that parents who speak both English and Samoan make up only 21.2% of the households. The parents who use only Samoan at home do so primarily from habit and secondarily to facilitate the Samoan-speaking ability of their children. In fact, in eleven households children were specifically forbidden to speak English at home, a measure designed to promote their learning of the Samoan language. The bilingual parents are generally the more easygoing in their attitudes towards their children. The ten sets of parents who speak English represent seven mixed marriages, two marriages each involving a New Zealand-born male and a household belonging to a New Zealand-born female

³ Among his peers.

and a female Maori friend. Predictably, the ability of the children in the Samoan language is not so strong as their parents'. In only 27 (19.7%) of the households do children speak only Samoan. In 61 households (44.5%) they speak both English and Samoan and in 31 households (22.6%) they do not speak Samoan at all! The evidence suggests the ability to speak Samoan could become a major problem for second-generation Samoans in the years to come, if not sooner, especially if contact with Samoan-speaking relatives and the home country is discontinued. During fieldwork, I encountered difficulties in one interview situation because one respondent, a New Zealand-born husband, did not understand my explanation in Samoan about the purposes of my household survey. He was suspicious I might have been a "government agent" trying to collect confidential information about overstayers and tax cheats. It was only after I had identified his problem and switched to English that he became more amenable to being interviewed. Parents were also encountering problems with their children's level of understanding Samoan. Thus, as one mother explained, children have a tendency to answer back to their parents when ordered to do something. In her view, this habit is due to the fact that children often do not understand what their parents communicate to them in Samoan.

Language is not the only area of difficulty between Samoan parents and their children. Cultural differences also abound due to the influences of the peer groups, educational system and mass media on second generation Samoans. Thus parents' insistence on a strict adherence to respect behaviour towards authoritative figures such as the elders, parents and *matai*, has often led to situations of confrontation with their New Zealand or Australian-born children. These children have acquired new social values and standards which often conflict with the *fa'a-Samoa* which is, after all the prime goal of Samoan migrant socialisation. Such socialisation is characterised by authoritative methods of discipline which may include physical punishment. That parents prefer Samoan methods of raising children is brought out in the survey. Eighty households (58.4%), for instance, preferred Samoan methods of raising children, 42 (30.7%) preferred a mixed approach of Samoan and European methods, 12 (8.8%) made no comment and one preferred "biblical" method, one "Christian" and one "Australian". The figures indicate that most parents belong to either of the first two categories but the conservatives are the more

numerous by far. The 'no comments' came from households with no children.

Child Discipline

Discipline of children was in practically all households the responsibility of parents (122 out of 137 households) although in some households senior family members also helped parents in this task. Methods of discipline include physical punishment which can range from a simple spanking to acts of a more serious nature (see Table 41). When asked the reasons for spanking, *le usita'i*

Table 41: Methods of Child Discipline

Do you spank your children?

	No h/holds
Yes	91
Sometimes	17
No	5
Families with no children	13
No comment	7
Children grown up	2
Children too young	2
Total households	137

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

(disobedience) was cited in 44 households, *ulavale* (misbehaviour) in 29, *fa'alogogata* (lack of attentiveness) in 8 and *a'oa'i* (discipline) in 5. Fifteen households cited combinations of the above reasons while others cited lying (2), fighting (2), disrespect (1) and speaking English (1). The status of the remaining households was: no comment, 13; no children, 13; children grown up, 2; children too young, 2. It is thus obvious that in 94 households, the main reasons for physical punishment were disobedience, misbehaviour, lack of attention to parental orders and discipline. In some families it was a combination of these factors which provoked parental wrath. The preponderance in the use of physical punishment as a method of disciplining children must not be construed as evidence of a psychopathic streak in the Samoan personality. Rather it should be seen as a factor in Samoan socialisation practices that have roots in the deep historical past, in which, among other things,⁴ respect for and subservience to the interests of the elders and *matai* were the distinguishing

⁴ Such as the discipline needed to prepare young men for war.

virtues of the young and the *tagata nu'u*. The following are some of the comments of parents who favour physical chastisement of the young:

"Children should be beaten (*sasa*)⁵ if they don't listen and disciplined in the Samoan way to obey. Among the *palagi* children can do what they like. This is not true among us. Even if they are married, they must still visit their parents."

"Children should be beaten if they misbehave. They have been told they would be beaten even if they have grown up. They are beaten out of love, to save them from evil."

There are many other comments by parents on the use of physical force to discipline children but the most common reasons have to do with emphasising the need to observe basic Samoan values such as respect for parents, good manners and a sound spiritual life.

Not surprisingly, some parents have gradually modified their views on physical punishment either as a result of their own personal experiences or due to conflict with the legal system in Australia which frowns on such practices. Thus, as one parent said:

"Children should do things when told, right or wrong. If wrong, the parent accepts the blame. I believe in punishing children not with rods but with words. My children are afraid of my voice. I used to beat them up. One day I beat my son but my daughter stopped me. Then another day I beat my daughter. I slapped her several times. She cried and stood up without answering back. I felt then that beating children was not right. I think now that beating should take place only when a child frequently disobeys. Only then should one give way to one's anger."

Another parent complains about what he perceives as the unwelcomed intrusion of the legal system into Samoan domestic affairs. He says that employing the traditional method of disciplining children

"is difficult because of the laws. Teachers want to know every little thing that happens to children. They report their suspicions to the Welfare Department. The result is often a court case. There is strong pressure to follow Australian laws."

⁵ To hit with a strap or small piece of stick usually hands, buttocks or legs.

Since most of the respondents are first generation migrants, it is understandable that they tend to keep to the old ways of doing things, including methods of child discipline. But it is possible that as the children of these migrants marry and establish their own families, that there would be a trend towards a compromise in the method of disciplining children. Perhaps there would be more parental

Table 42: Ethnicity of Best Friends

	No.	
Samoan	219	
Palagi	31	
Niuean	2	
Fijian	2	
Lebanese	2	
Greek	1	
Tongan	1	
Vanuatuan	1	
Total	259	
	No. H/holds	
Households sampled	137	
No best friends	3	
Balance	134	
Minimum of two best friends	125	(250)
Minimum of one best friend	9	(9)
Total households	134	(259)

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Table 43: Context of Friendship Relations

	No.
Church	130
Social	54
Work	34
Relative	22
Neighbour	17
Fellow villager	1
Fiance	1
Total	259

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

attention to the needs and desires of children and less emphasis on the exclusive requirements of a strict discipline.

Neighbours and Friends

The village lifestyle of most Samoans has accustomed them to living happily with others. Thus most Samoans do not really care who their neighbours are as long as they are "nice" people: 119 households responded that it did not really matter who their neighbours were, 9 preferred Samoans, 7 preferred **palagi**, 1 preferred any other than a Samoan and 1 preferred any other than an Australian. Many reservations follow the comment "does not matter" (i.e. the 119 households) such as:

- "...as long as they're good neighbours"
- "...as long as they behave"
- "...as long as they're kind"
- "...as long as they're friendly"
- "...as long as they leave us alone"
- "...as long as they're nice to us"
- "...as long as they make no noise"
- "...as long as they're peaceful and quiet"
- "...as long as they keep to themselves".

Comments by those who prefer Samoans as neighbours include "Samoans but no Lebanese", "Samoans because we want to talk to them" and "Samoans even if they are noisy". Of households which prefer **palagi** as neighbours, three specified white Australians.

At a more intimate level, most friendships developed in the Samoan community were between Samoans as Table 42 shows. According to the sample, of the total of 259 best friends reported by 134 households, 219 or 84.6 percent are Samoan, 31 or 12 percent are **palagi** and the rest make up 3.4 percent. The preponderance of friendships between Samoans is undoubtedly due to the presence of many common interests among them. For instance, most of the friendships have been developed within the framework of church contacts and relationships as Table 43 indicates. A total of 130 friendships (50.2%) were made as a result of church connections; 54 (20.8%) as a result of social contacts including sport and 34 (13.1%) as a result of employment. Twenty-two best friends were also relatives and 17 were also neighbours. Generally speaking, I tried in the interviews to separate the concepts of "relative" and "friend" in the minds of the respondents, that is, a relative cannot be a friend

and vice versa. But the respondents felt otherwise, to some, relatives can also be friends, similarly for a fiancée. Thus, who is or is not a friend is largely a matter of definition.

Another significant criterion of the strength of social relationships is the question of who visits whom and how often. Table 44 shows the persons the sample respondents visited most often. Most visits were to friends (25.5% of households), followed by visits to church members (16.1%), in-laws

Table 44: Those Whom Respondents Visit Most Often

Relationship	No. H/holds
Friends	35
Church members	22
In-laws	19
Pastor	10
Sister	9
Brother	8
Relatives	6
Cousin	5
Parents	4
Mother	3
Daughter	3
Others ⁶	10
Undeclared	3
Total households	137

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Table 45: Frequency of Visits by Respondents

Frequency	No. H/holds
Weekly	83
Twice weekly	17
Three times weekly	11
Seven times weekly	10
Monthly	6
Twice monthly	7
Undeclared	3
Total	137

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

⁶ Includes one each for: son, aunt, nephew, fellow villager, neighbour, church secretary, church treasurer, children, fiancée and teacher.

(13.9%), pastors (7.3%), sisters (6.6%) and brothers (5.8%). Thus 75.2 percent of the sample households made most of their social visits to friends, church members, in-laws, pastors, sisters and brothers, in that order. It must also be remembered that almost 100 percent of the people visited most often were themselves Samoan. Table 45 shows the frequency of these visits: most households, 83 or 60.6 percent of the total sample, made social visits at least once a week and the more frequent the visits the fewer the households involved. The social visits, of course, do not include those made on the basis of attending a *fa'alavelave* or church service or function. The latter may be regarded as obligatory, rather than social visits. The daily visits were made to sisters (three households), daughters (2), wife's cousin, church member, neighbour and pastor. Monthly visits were made to church members (2 households), in-laws (2), church treasurer and a friend.

Just as the Samoan migrants tend to visit their friends most often, so it is also true the other way around as Table 46 shows. It will be recalled that 75.2 percent of the sample households most often visit their friends, church members,

Table 46: Those Who Visit Respondents Most Often

Relationship	No H/holds
Friends	40
In-laws	25
Church members	17
Brother	9
Relatives	9
Pastor	6
Sister	5
Church secretary	4
Daughter	3
Neighbour	3
Cousin	2
Niece	2
Parents	2
Children	2
Church treasurer	2
Others ⁷	6
Total	137

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

⁷ Others include, one each: bishop, nephew, son, fiance, aunt, undeclared.

Table 47: Frequency of Visits to Respondents

Frequency	No H/holds
Weekly	87
Twice weekly	13
Three times weekly	8
Four times weekly	1
Seven times weekly	15
Monthly	5
Twice monthly	7
Undeclared	1
Total	137

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

in-laws, pastors, brothers and sisters. Again 74.5 percent of the sample households report that the people who visit them most often are the same as the above. This suggests a regularity in the reciprocity of these visits and further a stability in the maintenance of these social relationships. The frequency of the social visits to respondents correlates closely with those made by the respondents themselves, as Table 47 indicates. Thus, 87 households (63.5% of total sample) were visited at least once a week compared with 83 households or 60.6 percent which made social visits on a similar basis. There were more households, however, which were visited seven times weekly, 15, compared with 10. The daily visits to respondents were made by friends (3 households), neighbours (2), church members (2), daughters (2), relatives (2), sister, brother, sister-in-law and brother-in-law. Monthly visits were made by friends (2 households), in-laws, church treasurer and brother.

The Return Home

The return voyage home is the goal of many migrants and this subject has been discussed extensively by other scholars (e.g. Huber, 1977; De Lepervanche, 1984; Stark, 1991). It is also the ambition of a number of Samoan migrants as Table 48 indicates. This shows that 56 males or 44.1 percent of the male respondents and 54 females or 41 percent of the female respondents desire to return to live permanently in Western Samoa; the corresponding figures for those who do not want to do so are 49 or 38.6 percent and 61 or 46.2 percent for males and females respectively. Thus more males want to return to

Samoa while more females want to remain in Australia. In 17 households, the responses by the spouses varied and again the vast majority of the males (13) want to return or would consider returning. Many of the respondents who said "no" had indicated that they would go only for a visit. Many who said "yes" indicated they would return only after their children had been educated or were retired, meaning after their economic goals as migrants had been achieved.

The following are some of the comments made by respondents who wish to return to live in Samoa:

"It is my intention and dream to return to Samoa"- supermarket manager.

"We plan to return in two years. We are saving to set up a business in Samoa. There is plenty of money in Samoa. We know from recent huge salary increases there. Plenty of nice motor vehicles for business. Also I want to die in Samoa. I have already had enough of 30 years overseas. I much prefer to live in Samoa. There is too much racial prejudice over here based on colour alone. I'm sick of going to work early in the morning. I don't feel at home here"- Samoan businessman.

"Once I return to Samoa, I won't come back. I can never forget Samoa, especially my village of Sa'anapu. I belong to the bush. I love the bush. I prefer to work in the bush. The only problem is I have no land to work on"- unemployed migrant.

"I dream of Samoa. I hope to return to Samoa if it pleases God I shall live that long"- middle-aged migrant.

Table 48: Intention to Return Permanently to Western Samoa

MALES	
	No H/holds
Yes	56
No	49
Maybe	13
Don't know yet	9
	127
Female household heads	9
Palagi husband	1
Total	137

FEMALES

Yes	54
No	61
Maybe	9
Don't know yet	8
	132
Male household heads	3
Palagi wives	2
Total	137

Spouses' Different Responses⁸

Male	Female	No. H/holds
Yes	No	8
No	Yes	4
Maybe	No	2
Maybe	Yes	2
Don't know yet	No	1
Total households		17

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

The following are some comments by those who wish to remain in Australia:

"We have no plans to return to Samoa. My husband knows of families who have gone to Samoa and come back again because things did not work out"- a young wife.

"We have no hope of returning to Samoa. We tried it before. We operated a bus transport service in Samoa. The business went broke"- a housewife.

"Originally we did intend to return. But we are not sure now. We have often gone on visits to Samoa. We can see it is not going to be easy to return for good. We also have sympathy for the extended family in Samoa due to the lack of lands"-a grandfather.

The evidence suggests that the desire of many migrants to return to Samoa is a genuine one and is motivated by many factors of a complex nature. At the same time, many are practical in their aspirations, for instance, in their goals of first educating their children or of earning enough money to take back with them. Several comments by female respondents are illuminative of the fate of some migrants who returned to found business empires in Samoa but

⁸ This refers to situations where husband and wife have different responses.

eventually failed due to a variety of reasons including poor business management and too many *fa'alavelave*. During my fieldwork I came across four migrant families that had lost heavily in their business investments in Western Samoa and had returned to Australia "penniless" and ready to start all over again. In at least one instance, hurricanes were the cause of the business failure and the man involved showed signs of extreme frustration and despondency; he has also changed his religion perhaps an indication of his desire to break with the past.

Questioned whether they wanted their children to return to live in Western Samoa, most, 25 households or 62 percent would leave that decision to their children, 19 or 13.9 percent replied "yes", 13 or 9.5 percent replied "no", 7 or 5.1 percent would not comment and there were no children in 13 households (9.5%). Whilst the majority would leave the important decision, whether to return or not, to their children many expressed at the same time the wish that their children would opt to return. Thus, as one respondent put it, "It's their decision but I'd feel good if they wanted to return." Another said, "Children need to return to Samoa to learn discipline; too much *fa'a-palagi* here."

The Samoan Community

Families make up a community. As used here, the word "community" has several distinct though closely inter-related meanings. There is what may be described as the kinship community which consists of both consanguineal and affinal relatives, both close and distant. It is best described by the Samoan word *alga* which can mean a nuclear family, extended family (including affines) or descent group (cf. Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:24). Samoans refer to their churches as *lotu* and congregations as *au lotu* but the terms "*alga*" (family) and "*nu'u*" (village) are sometimes applied to churches and congregations in a metaphorical sense. Which expression is used will depend largely on the social context of speech. When Samoans are not engaged in their *fa'alavelave*, their churches serve as the focal point of their lives, both literally and metaphorically if this is measured in terms of time spent on social activities. But I wish to address the question of Samoan ethnic community as part of the greater Australian community composed of different ethnic migrant groups. The links which unite this community are mainly racial (i.e. Polynesian descent), linguistic and cultural

(Samoan). Members are largely aware of each other's presence but generally invisible to the rest of the Australian population except perhaps in the limited circles of religion (e.g. among Uniting and Presbyterian churches) or in sporting circles (for example, rugby league and union). While statistically the largest, it is the least focussed because it lacks the solidary bonds of kinship and religion. In Sydney, the clearest formal expression is the Samoan Advisory Council (**Fono Faufautua**) which represents the wider Samoan community in its relations with local, state and federal governments.

The Council (**fono**) was formed because by the early 1980s, it had become evident to the long-time Samoan residents of Sydney and community leaders that an ethnic organisation to look after the interests of the growing Samoan population had to be established. Consequently, a meeting of those interested in the idea was held December, 1985, at the residence of Rev Fa'ato'ese Auva'a, a Samoan Methodist minister attached to the Wesley Mission, Sydney. Those present included: Rev Fa'ato'ese Auva'a; Rev Sam Elia, Uniting Church; Rev Finau Paulo Lokeni, Methodist minister; Rev Fosi Pala'amo, **EFKS** minister; and Ano Sei, long-time Sydney resident. At this meeting, it was decided that the group did not possess the authority to form an advisory council and that a letter should be sent to all Samoan church denominations in Sydney to send their representatives to a general meeting. This was subsequently held at the Uniting Church Hall, Marrickville, 16 March, 1986, and resulted in the formal establishment of the Samoan Advisory Council and the election of the following officers: chairman, Rev Fa'ato'ese Auva'a; vice chairman, Rev Fosi Pala'amo; secretary, Ano Sei; treasurer, Alaimoana Muamai.

After one year in office, Rev Auva'a resigned to take up a new post in American Samoa and was replaced by Rev Pala'amo whilst Rev Luteru Vaifale became vice chairman. The memorable landmarks of Rev Pala'amo's administration were a survey of the Samoan population⁹ and the drafting of a constitution for the **Fono Faufautua**. For the survey, questionnaires were distributed to various congregations and later collected after they were filled in by respondents. After the data had been analysed, a Sydney-based population

⁹ The survey was intended primarily to determine the size of the Samoan migrant population and to collect data on types of accommodation, number of school children and extent of employment among adults. So far I have not been able to obtain a copy of this survey.

of 12,000 people of Samoan descent was estimated. This can be compared with a Western Samoan-born population of 2,994 in the 1986 census and 5,742 in the 1991 census. The constitution was drafted with technical assistance from Dr Grant McCall of the University of New South Wales and Dr John Connell of Sydney University. When Rev Pala'amo resigned in 1988, Gaia Sapena of the **Lotu Aso Fitu** took over as chairman and he, in turn, was replaced by Papali'i Tuala of the **Lotu Mamona** in 1989. Papali'i has been re-elected every year since then until June, 1993, when he resigned to take up a full-time position as bishop of the **Lotu Mamona** church in Bankstown. He was replaced by former treasurer, Futialo Faleono, a Catholic, and Futialo, in turn, was replaced in June, 1994, by Tavu'i Anesone of the Uniting Church. The longest-serving member of the council since its inception in 1986 was Ano Sei. He finally resigned his post of secretary in June, 1992, when he was appointed full-time social welfare worker for the Sydney Samoan community, based at the Canterbury/Bankstown Migrant Resource Centre, Campsie. Spurred on by the establishment of the Sydney Council, the Samoan community in Melbourne established its own council in mid-1986, and Brisbane followed suit in 1988 especially to cater to community needs during Expo 1988.

From the outset, the question of funding had been the most pressing one for the **fono**. At that time (1986), government aid (both state and federal) to the Pacific island communities was channelled mainly through the Pacific Islands Council (PIC), an agency of the Uniting Church, Pitt St., Sydney. PIC regularly requested and obtained public funds for redistribution to the Pacific ethnic communities (e.g. Tongan, Fijian, Samoan). The only problem, Sei said, was that no Samoan or Pacific islander could become a member of the Management Committee unless one was a member of the Uniting Church. Thus many Samoan congregations were left in the cold when it came to the making of important decisions, such as the allocation of funds, for instance. Even the funds provided by the government to employ part-time social workers for Tongans, Fijians and Samoans were channelled through PIC. Because of these reasons, Pacific island organisations eventually severed ties with PIC and dealt directly with government bodies. The **Fono Faufautua** was the last to cut connections in 1988, "because we were still hoping to change the situation around," Sei said.

Towards the end of 1989, the **fono** applied directly to the federal government for funds for its community projects. Alternatively, if this was not possible, that funds previously given to PIC for a part-time Samoan social worker be given instead to the **fono**. In Christmas 1990, the reply came that firstly, funds previously given to PIC for the Samoan community would be terminated and secondly, these would be transferred to the **fono**. However, the funds would be for one year only. "I knew it was a test and we accepted the offer," Sei said. With these initial funds, the **fono** was able to hire Taiva Ah Young as its first full-time social worker for 1991/92. And before long, another request was made to the federal government for funding, this time for three years. Again the response was positive and the **fono** decided to use the funds mainly for the salary of a full-time social worker. The position was advertised but eventually, the **fono** decided in favour of Sei, who had been so instrumental in the formation of the **fono** in 1985. Office facilities were provided by the Canterbury-Bankstown Migrant Resource Centre for use by the **fono** and its social worker. The social worker is directly under the control of the **fono** and his functions include, among others, counselling and advising Samoan migrants and coordinating activities with local, state and federal agencies. Supporting facilities and services are provided for him by the Canterbury-Bankstown Migrant Resource Centre.

In the early years of the **fono**, support from the Samoan community had been generally lukewarm but since 1990 it has increased considerably. Certainly, the recognition accorded the **fono** by the local, state and federal governments by way of consultation, project participation and funding, has added greatly to the **fono's** power and finally earned it the respect and admiration of the Samoan community. Today, according to Sei, of some 40 Samoan church congregations in Sydney, perhaps only four are not actively involved in the activities of the **fono**. In the beginning, the **fono** used to meet weekly. Now it meets only once a month usually at the Lithuanian Club, Bankstown.

The objects of the **fono**, according to the constitution, are firstly, to promote the well-being of members of the Samoan community and, secondly, to provide welfare services such as counselling and referral to members of the

same. In pursuance of these goals, the **fono** shall:

- (i) liaise with government and non-government institutions;
- (ii) carry out surveys to ascertain the needs and problems facing the Samoan community;
- (iii) organise programmes and activities to promote cultural, social and religious awareness among members of the community;
- (iv) raise funds by applying for grants, fund-raising or by any other methods;
- (v) manage all moneys received by the council;
- (vi) appoint staff to work for the council.

Membership in the council is open to the following:

- (i) any Samoan church group in Sydney;
- (ii) any non-religious Samoan organisation established in Sydney for the benefit of the Samoan people;
- (iii) any Samoan of 18 years of age and above who lives, works or studies in Sydney.

Membership is free but the secretary is required to keep a register of all members with appropriate details.

The **fono** continues to be the main ethnic organisation which deals with local, state and federal government agencies involved in migrant welfare services especially the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs. Cooperation with government agencies takes many forms but some examples will suffice. In matters affecting Samoan migrants, when the Immigration and Justice departments need an interpreter, or when the police need assistance in diffusing racial tensions in schools, or when the Education Department needs help with the preparation of a crosscultural syllabus the Samoan social worker is usually consulted. The social worker decides on the best course of action to deal with a particular situation and acts accordingly, consulting the Council only on major matters. When the N.S.W. Education Department needed help with the preparation of a Samoan history for the school syllabus, for instance, I was one of those he co-opted to advise on the preparation of the history.

The Council (i.e. the **fono**) also plays a leading role in organising community-wide projects and activities which link individual Samoan migrants and groups into one big migrant community. Thus, when a hurricane struck the Samoan islands in December, 1991, the Council organised a drive to collect food, clothes and other goods to assist hurricane victims. As a result, two and a half containers were dispatched in 1992 at a cost of \$9,920. And every year, the Council organises the celebrations to mark the anniversary of Western Samoa's political independence in June. These celebrations are, as a rule, held in large halls or parks in various parts of Sydney, and are elaborate affairs which include military-style parades, formal speeches, sermons, choirs and flag-raising. Sporting competitions, involving teams from the various church congregations, usually take place the next day, which is usually the Queen's Birthday. Sporting events feature volleyball for both genders and golf and rugby league for men capped by a rugby union test between Western Samoa and Fiji. It is noteworthy that in all these activities, the Council always works through the different religious denominations and their pastors, for the goodwill of the churches is so important that practically nothing significant can be accomplished in the community without their cooperation. The **matai**, of course, play an important role in the Council, with four chiefs holding the position of chairman from 1989 to 1995,¹⁰ compared with two pastors from 1986 to 1987. In fact, since 1986, most of the highest positions in the Council have been held by churchmen and **matai** but recently more untitled persons have been elected to the Executive Council. The Council comprises the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer and Special Advisor, usually a chief who specialises in cultural affairs. When it comes to voting power, however, the pastors have the advantage because of the influence they have over the votes of members of their congregations. To succeed, an aspirant for political leadership within the Samoan community must seek the support of one or more of these church congregations. But this increases further the political clout of the churchmen.

Apart from the federal grant, the Council has very little money of its own. When it needs money, it raises it by sponsoring socials. At these functions, often held at the Lithuanian Club, Bankstown, clients pay \$12 per head admission

¹⁰ These were Gaia, Papalii, Futialo and Tavu'i.

and are also expected to contribute to special Samoan siva dedicated to various dignitaries or groups present. Table 49 shows the fono's income for the 1991/92 financial year. Expenditures for the same period came to \$60,977.84 of which \$31,907.60 (52.33%) went on salaries for the social worker (\$29,975.60) and secretary (\$1,932). Other major expenses were: cost of hall, band and supper for the socials, \$3,762.46; and hurricane aid for Western Samoa, \$6,935. The financial statement showed there was a surplus of \$543.58. Table 49 indicates that the federal grant comprises the main source by far of the fono's income, 81.3 percent. Major expenses are salaries. There is no doubt that

Table 49: Samoan Advisory Council Revenues, 1991/92

Balance from 1990/91 financial year	\$496.60
Australian federal grant	50,000.00
Interest	919.72
Socials (3)	4,505.10
Advertising in Talanoa ¹¹	2,600.00
Gift from Wesley Mission ¹²	3,000.00
Total	\$61,521.42

Source: Annual Report of Samoan Advisory Council, 1991/92.

without government funding, the fono would not be a viable proposition. The difficulty of raising more revenue from migrants continues to be a perplexing one for the Council. It is perhaps partly due to Samoan perception of the "impersonal" nature of the organisation, the more distant it is from their familiar social world, the weaker their determination to support it financially. Clearly, the Council will have to seek other avenues of raising money.

The fono's annual report for 1991/92 reveals that some outstanding goals were achieved, especially the award of a three-year federal grant for the fono's work. This came to \$42,700 per annum for three years to be used mainly to pay the salary of the social worker. In addition, the Council:

- (a) requested the Minister of Immigration for a six-month extension of the permits of overstayers to enable them to legalise their stay in Australia;
- (b) sent representatives to meetings called by the various government

¹¹ Fono's journal.

¹² Gift for container freight.

departments at local, state and federal levels to discuss matters affecting migrants and the Samoan ethnic community;

(c) met with representatives from the Samoan Advisory Councils of Melbourne and Brisbane to discuss the question of closer cooperation between the three Councils;

(d) sponsored a two-day youth conference which discussed youth problems in the Samoan community particularly the issue of education;

(e) sent 2.5 containers of food, clothes, building materials and other goods to help hurricane victims in Samoa;

(f) sponsored three dances and a raffle to raise funds for meeting freight costs of sending the containers to Samoa;

(g) organised independence anniversary celebrations at the RSL Club, Blacktown, 7 June;¹³

(h) organised sporting competitions for some 100 youth teams, both male and female, representing the different Samoan church congregations;

(i) launched the first printing of the **fono's** journal called "O le Tanoa" to be used for the dissemination of community news and announcements by the **fono**;

(j) counselled, through its social worker, Samoan migrants who were experiencing problems in the following areas: motor vehicle licences (308 persons);¹⁴ migration (156); health (84); welfare benefits (78); court cases (76); housing (74).

With increased population, Samoan migrant problems are also expected to increase both in quantity and complexity and this will lead to further pressures on the Council to adapt to the newer realities or fight for its existence as presently constituted. To the extent that the Council has succeeded in giving itself a sense of legitimacy in the eyes of the Samoan community and has managed to convince the federal government to loosen its purse strings, it has undoubtedly made remarkable progress. But the critics of the current system argue the **fono** is not keeping pace with community development and

¹³ Guest-of-honour was the Western Samoan High Commissioner, Fe'esago S. Fepulea'i, and his wife Rosita. Performances were given by 15 church choirs and the Seventh Day Adventist brass band. The ceremony lasted three hours.

¹⁴ This refers to the number of people who attended classes on traffic laws conducted by the social worker.

aspirations; that it is fighting a "modern war" with antiquated weapons. Thus, as one critic pointed out, it is no longer sufficient for people to just attend annual general meetings and cast their votes for members of the executive; they should vote only if they have been duly registered. Also, he condemns what he considers to be insufficient keeping of administrative records and looseness of procedures in the **fono's** modus operandi, especially with regard to the control and management of employees. There is also the criticism that the Council is lax and not doing enough for the migrants but, of course, what is one man's meat is another man's poison. Other criticisms tend to be personal, the most representative of which is the view that the church pastors, instrumental in setting up the Council, are not accorded the proper respect by some officials of the **fono**. As one minister said of one of them:

"He is too arrogant and has a tendency to talk down on the **falfeau**. This is a no-no: **falfeau** particularly do not like this attitude. He should remember that the real power in the Samoan community lies with the pastors. One word from them and all their church members will boycott the **fono's** activities."

This potential "boycott" ever remains a real threat to the **fono** because, after all, the backbone of its members and supporters, belong to the different church congregations, each under the spiritual leadership of a latter-day Samoan **Imam**. **Fono** executive members, therefore, are ever watchful that they do not overstep the boundaries of propriety and respect for other community leaders. The importance of the **fono**, however, is not underestimated by the Samoan community and in every Samoan gathering, members of the **fono**, along with the **falfeau**, are given positions of honour signified by the presentations of **sua**, money envelope or other appropriate gift or gesture. The **Fono Faufautua** can be a positive force in the lives of Samoan migrants, but its success is dependent mainly on its effectiveness in obtaining funds from government agencies for Samoan community projects, such as the establishment of Samoan language schools and the hiring of more social welfare workers.

Culture and Identity

Cultural practices relating to religion, social exchange, family and community are important dimensions for determining identity. Several survey

questions were asked to determine the extent to which migrants identified with **fa'a-Samoa**. Since practically 100 percent of the interviews were conducted in the Samoan language, culture was referred to in the conversations as either "**aganu'u**" or "**fa'a-Samoa**". These two words are synonymous (they both mean Samoan culture) and both their denotations and connotations are understood by most Samoans. To facilitate analysis, a scale of 1-12 was used. The households which believe that the **fa'a-Samoa** should be practised "in fuisi" in Australia are ranged 9-12 on the scale; the households which are strongly against the practice of the **fa'a-Samoa** in Australia are ranged 1-4; and those which are both supportive (in some respects) and critical (in others) are ranged 5-8 on the scale. According to Table 50, 71 households or 51.8 percent strongly support the practice of the **fa'a-Samoa** in Australia; 26 households or 19 percent are strongly against it; and 40 or 29.2 percent occupy a middle position. They want to practise only certain aspects of the culture and boycott others. If this figure is split between the other two groups, the result would be 91 or 66.4% of the households support the practice of the **fa'a-Samoa** and 46 or 33.6% are against.

Table 50: Practice of Samoan Culture in Australia

Attitude	No. H/holds
Strongly for	71
Both supportive and critical	40
Strongly against	26
Total	137

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Table 51. Extent of Culture Learning

	No H/holds
More	108
Less	9
Voluntary	1
	118
No Children	13
No Comment	4
Children Grown Up	2
Total	137

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

When questions were asked, however, concerning the need for children to learn their Samoan cultural heritage, more households wanted their children to be proficient in cultural knowledge (see Table 51). If the households with no children or which did not respond or where children were grown up are excluded, then 108 or 91.5 percent of the households wanted their children to learn more about Samoan culture, 9 or 7.6 percent wanted less cultural learning and 1 or 0.9 percent would leave the question to the child. A proponent of more cultural learning said: "The **fa'a-Samoa** is infinitely better than European culture. Look at European children. Many wander around in the streets, abandoned." Another respondent, less stringent, said: "Teach the children respect behaviour. Other aspects of the culture are not so important."

On a more general level, respondents were asked to emphasise what they considered to be the positive and negative aspects of Samoan culture. Table 52 provides a list of some positive aspects. Without any doubt, respect behaviour is regarded by most, if not all migrants, as the most important aspect of the **fa'a-Samoa** that needs to be preserved in Australia. Even the households opposed to cultural practices want respect behaviour to be maintained both in their families and the community. Generally speaking, respect behaviour and other Samoan values, religion and language are widely supported but cultural practices which involve expenditures of large sums of money, such as **fa'alavelave**, and loss of individual freedom, as when a **matal**, imposes his/her will on other family members, constitute those cultural elements which are rejected by some. On questions such as whether to continue cultural practices or not in a migrant setting, the debate can never be settled from a purely academic viewpoint because there are pros and cons in both positions. For instance, those who are against cultural practices may save money, become rich and an integral part of the host community. But they may achieve this status at the expense of loss of standing and, therefore, of influence within the migrant community and possibly a severing of ties with relatives in Samoa. Those who support the **fa'a-Samoa** practices in Australia may stand to lose in an economic sense but at the same time, by being involved in the **fa'alavelave** network, will increase both their status and political influence within the migrant community. And, of course, their ties with their kin in Samoa remain as strong as ever because of their regular gifts and services to them. In this manner,

Table 52: Positive Aspects of Samoan Culture

Cultural Aspect	No. Responses
Respect behaviour	27
Traditional Samoan values	12
Religion	9
Language	8
Church and culture	6
Fa'a-matai (chiefly system)	5
Reciprocity	5
Public relations	4
Alofa	4
Identity	3
Obedience	3
Traditional dancing	2
Relations with in-laws	1
Care of children	1
Peace and harmony	1
Church meetings	1
Kava ceremonies	1
Gift-giving	1
Care of relatives	1
Funerals	1
Weddings	1

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

they are able to maximise their opportunities for social and ultimately economic advancement. This spirit of giving is aptly described by one migrant, who professes himself to be a regular contributor to family *fa'alavelave*:

"A Samoan invests in his *aiga* and not in commercial banks. If a Samoan prefers the *fa'a-palagi* (European) ways, he should keep his money in the bank. That is all the money he will have in the world. The true Samoan, however, invests in his *aiga* and in times of trouble (*fa'alavelave*), they come to his rescue. As a person gives, so does he/she receive."

When his mother died in New Zealand in 1986, he said, his relatives and friends contributed \$30,000 towards the funeral at a time when he had no money at all! Another migrant said his children did not understand why he spent so much money on helping relatives in their *fa'alavelave*. He told them it was the Samoan way to share things (*fetufaa'i*) with brothers, sisters, relatives, church members. He pitied those Samoans who lived like *papalagi*, by themselves

and did not contribute to others' **fa'alavelave** because when they have their own, nobody comes to them.

Behavioural and cultural aspects most criticised by respondents are listed in Table 53. Trading in fine mats is the most condemned practice partly because being a rare commodity there is unequal access to it.¹⁵ Thus lack of access penalises many families which are unable to use fine mats in their prestations. This in turn inordinately affects their aspirations for higher status and political influence in the Samoan community. Alternatively, lack of fine mats, especially of the larger, more exquisite and prestigious **le tetele**, would inhibit some families from engaging in the **fa'alavelave** networks. Other cultural practices such as **tusiga lgoa**, **saofa'i**, funerals, gift-giving, weddings and so on undoubtedly are condemned mainly as a result of the extra expenditures involved. Some, such as **fa'atau**, false **matal** titles, speech-making and so on are considered negative because of the nuisances they often create: the **fa'atau** and speech-making because they seem to be endless and often have to be cut short by the pastors and others, false **matal** titles because untitled persons can claim privileges not rightfully theirs, especially in the competition among **matal** for the acquisition of fine mats. "Exploitation of culture" refers to the manipulation of culture in order to gain an unfair advantage. "Cultural intrusions in church" means the use of culture to manipulate church activities which should be free of such influences. "Sham **fa'a-Samoa**" refers to cultural representations which most migrants would regard as inauthentic. But the word "excesses" perhaps provides in a nutshell the core of the spirit of opposition to the "negative" aspects of migrant behaviour and culture. Respondents claim there is nothing wrong with **fa'a-Samoa** but rather the excessive demands made on migrant resources for contributions of cash and goods towards **fa'alavelave**. These excessive demands can lead to situations where economic resources needed for successful adaptation in the host country are drained to a dangerous degree. Thus as a Samoan social worker said,

"Samoans give money towards many **fa'alavelave** but principally to the church. This causes problems as when people put donations to their churches first, their families suffer. Consequently,

¹⁵ Fine mats are made only in the Samoan islands.

to make ends meet, they depend on charitable organisations like St Vincent de Paul."

But so far, kinship links and *fa'alavelave* networks continue to occupy first place in the minds of the majority of Samoan migrants.

Table 53: Negative Aspects of Samoan Behaviour and Culture

Aspect of Behaviour and Culture	No. Responses
Use of fine mats	20
Excesses	17
Fa'atau	11
High costs	10
Tusiga Igoa	6
Faise matai titles	6
Fighting	6
Saofa'i	4
Exploitation of culture	4
Cultural intrusions in church	4
Funerary rites	4
Gift-giving	4
Speech-making	3
Sham fa'a-Samoa	3
Forced reciprocity	3
Weddings	3
Fa'a-matal	2
Common assault	2
Fraud (e.g. benefits)	2
Jealousy	2
Birthdays	2
Others ¹⁶	18
Total responses	136

Source: Sample survey, 1992/93.

Family, Community, Identity

From an ethnic point of view, migrants of Samoan descent do identify themselves as Samoan but are committed to the *fa'a-Samoa*, as Table 50 shows, in varying degrees. It is, therefore, misleading to refer to any notion of an

¹⁶ "Others" refers to one response each for the following negative aspects: big feasts, dancing, *auosoga* (destruction of property at a funeral), *auala* (method of claiming a right to a gift at a funeral), use of *fala IIII'I*, abuse of *slapo* (*tapa*), pagan practices, fund-raising, homicide, overstayers, wearing Samoan dress in public, interference, non-recognition of youth, pride, wanting renown, drunkenness, kava ceremony, ignorance of *palagil* customs.

unchanging, essentialist form of the culture that is being lived and practised by Samoan migrants. Rather it is more accurate to view the **fa'a-Samoa**, especially within a migrant setting, as a product of individual constructions which are sometimes marked by distinctive peculiarities brought about by different socialisation and educational experiences and often political agendas. These different cultural understandings and experiences contribute in their turn to the tensions and conflicts experienced within families and migrant communities. This, however, is not to deny that there is a substantial body of values, beliefs and practices which may be referred to as **fa'a-Samoa**, in the sense meant by the modernists. The **fa'a-Samoa**, however, remains subject to individual interpretation and to the process of social change. Especially is this true in migrant experience in the host countries. In the next paragraphs, I wish to point out some of the cultural continuities and changes in the lives of Samoan migrants in Australia.

Just as in Samoa, an almost universal characteristic of Samoan homes visited in Canterbury-Bankstown was the prominent display in the living rooms of family portraits, religious pictures, personal mementos and artifacts which give these homes a distinctly Samoan flavour. But unlike most homes in Samoa, migrant homes contain the usual conveniences of modern living such as refrigerators, washing machines, electric or gas ovens, colour television, video machines, stereo sets and even the odd piano and golden fish glass bowl. Other details about Samoan migrant homes are: most of the families, 97.8 percent, continue to eat Samoan food, the kind that they ate in Samoa and 93.4 percent wear Samoan dress; the language of the home remains Samoan with 71.5 percent speaking Samoan only and 21.2 percent both Samoan and English. Most of the overseas-born children understand basic Samoan but encounter difficulties in speaking it. This is not surprising given the fact that outside the home, in school and at play, English is the language of the peer group.

The social atmosphere of the homes very much resembles that in Samoa by which I mean the generous hospitality extended to visitors and the respect shown to senior members of the family such as elder siblings and relatives, parents and **matai**. But undoubtedly, the apparent good relations between the young and old, parents and children, **matai** and **taulele'a** sometimes conceal

underlying conflicts. In particular, disciplining of children is a source of constant friction between parents and children as well as between parents and welfare agencies. This happens because most families, 58.4 percent, prefer to use Samoan methods of raising children. These methods, as understood by most Samoans, include the use of physical punishment, such as slapping, use of the belt, to enforce obedience to parental wishes and commands. But they have also resulted in problems with the law which proscribes such practices however well-meaning they may be. To circumvent these problems, some Samoan parents have sent wayward children to Samoa for proper "social conditioning" in the villages, a tactic which has proved successful in most cases. One, however, resulted in suicide.

Most families, 86.9 percent, did not have marked preferences for neighbours as long as their neighbours were relatively nice people but were very selective in their choice of friends. That is to say, friends were usually persons of the same ethnic group. Thus, of the 256 friends enumerated, 84.6 percent were Samoan and only 12 percent were palagi. Moreover, most of the friendships, 50.2 percent, were formed as a result of church affiliations. The people most often visited by migrants in the sample were their friends, 25.5 percent of households; church members, 16.1 percent; and in-laws, 13.9 percent. Others who visited the migrants most often were friends, 29.2 percent of households; in-laws, 18.2 percent; and church members, 12.4 percent. Thus it can reasonably be concluded that people in most frequent contact and interaction with migrants in the sample were friends, church members and affines, the latter being the close relatives of the other spouse. These, in effect, comprise the apex of the social world of the ordinary migrant. Most of the social visits by both migrants and others are on a weekly basis, a fair indication of the results of pressures of modern living, such as the need to work for a living.

The success of the Samoan Advisory Council in obtaining funds and technical assistance from local, state and federal governments has rendered it an effective agency in dealing with government agencies. This effectiveness has led to its own rewards, for instance, the widespread support in the Samoan ethnic community for the activities of the Council such as fund-raising, independence celebrations and sports days. In the culture area, there is little that

the Council can contribute because cultural practice is an area largely dominated by the extended family group, church congregations and *fa'alavelave* networks. Perhaps it is more accurate to state that an important aspect of the Council's work lies not so much in promoting cultural practice as in appropriating cultural symbols to promote its own peculiarly distinctive functions. In essence, these functions relate to the need to assist Samoan migrants to adapt to the new lifestyles demanded for existence in Australian *palagi* society. I refer here to professional assistance to help migrants find low-cost housing, employment, translation services, legal representation and, above all, welfare services both private and public. This counselling and consultative function of the Council is largely exercised by the social worker and judging from the volume of daily requests for help from Samoan migrants, there is already a compelling need for hiring more social workers.

Another important aspect of the Council's work is liaison with other government agencies dealing with migrant services such as the Canterbury-Bankstown Migrant Resource Centre; Multicultural Services Division of the Canterbury Municipal Council; Pacific Islands Council of the Uniting Church; Burwood Ethnic Council; Department of Immigration, Local Government, and Ethnic Affairs (DILGEA) and other local, state and federal government agencies. In the few years of its existence, the Council is already widely known in Sydney and frequently consulted by other migrant and government organisations. Invisibility is thus no longer a problem. But money most certainly is for without it, programmes for the improvement of the Samoan migrants' welfare, such as the establishment of a Samoan language school, cannot be implemented. For while Samoans are generous with their contributions to their relatives and churches, they are not so certain about the advantages of donating large sums of money to the work of a council often run by "strangers". To most migrants, the Council, unlike a kin or church group, is something they can join or not join; they have no strong feelings towards it unless they are to profit from it in an economic sense. The "impersonal" nature of the organisation therefore poses a serious problem for its existence. It also needs to seriously heed the criticisms levelled against its administrative procedures, for instance, about the need to improve methods of record-keeping, proper registration of members, proper meeting procedures, among others. The old patriarchal system, instituted by the *ta'afeau*, must give

way to a more rational one consistent with modern methods of social organisation and administration. This would help remove suspicions of "corruption" and inefficiency. But because of the volatile and unpredictable nature of Samoan community politics in Sydney, suggestions for reform may be easier said than done. Power struggles within the organisation are rampant and council meetings are often nothing more than shouting and mud-slinging matches.

Ethnic identification is universal among Samoan migrants, including second generation Samoans, but the degree of their identification varies. It is dependent, for instance, on the affective ties with kin and friends but on other factors as well. For instance to some it is important because of the feelings of security this generates, especially where racial discrimination is perceived. Teata, for instance, said racial discrimination was much stronger in Australia than in New Zealand and that he had an unforgettable experience of this where he worked. "I tried to ignore it but sometimes it stares you right in the face and you are forced to act," he said. Toleafoa said he was discriminated against by one employer who changed his mind about a job when the employer found out he was not a European. A woman found that at her place of employment, Europeans tended to discriminate against coloured people. "The Europeans keep to themselves. It does not matter how close they seem to us but there's always a point where we find we are being discriminated against. They are jealous when we appear to be doing better than they or we get a promotion." With Samoans, however, she always finds "comfort and a sense of calmness". And Vui said he applied several times to rent the Canterbury Police Citizens Club Hall in Belmore for socials but each time was unsuccessful on the grounds that "the Samoans had a bad reputation wherever they went". He succeeded, however, in reversing the decisions by taking legal action against the management. These and other examples show ethnicity also serves as a means of unifying the Samoan community in its relations with other ethnic groups.

The degree to which a migrant identifies with his/her culture is highly problematic because there is no foolproof method of measuring it especially as culture is an elusive term. It is much easier to take a cultural aspect and measure, for instance, on a scale from 1 to 10, how much a person identifies with

or supports it but then this would be an endless project. So when culture identification is meant, it should be understood in general terms only. That migrants of Samoan descent identify themselves (in a subjective sense) as Samoan there can be no doubt. It is what they mean by being Samoan that constitutes a problem and theoretically there are as many definitions of Samoan identity as there are migrants. In statistical terms, however, it is possible to group migrants into broad categories. This is how I have generally classified questions of cultural affiliation and identity as have Kotchek (1975), Rolff (1978) and Macpherson (1984). It is meant only to simplify analysis just as the singular "migrant community" often serves to substitute for plural "communities" (cf. Macpherson, 1984).

Based on a scale of 1-12, 91 households or 66.4 percent of 137 households in the survey support the practice of Samoan culture in the migrant setting and 46 households or 33.6 percent are against. But it must be noted that the households against the practice of Samoan culture in Australia are opposed not so much against the basic aspects of the culture but for other practical reasons, the most important being the need to conserve hard-earned income for educating one's children and to help relatives in Samoa. The use of household income for *fa'alavelave* is thus seen by opponents of the *fa'a-Samoa* as being counterproductive to those practical aims and purposes. It must also be emphasised that ideals are not always put into practice because of the nature of social pressures operating within the kinship group and community. These pressures favour more rather than less involvement in *fa'a-Samoa* practices within the community.

The point just made is reinforced by the fact that of 118 respondents, 108 households or 91.5 percent prefer their children to learn more about their Samoan culture as compared with 9 households or 7.6 percent against. This is clearly an indication that the great majority of Samoan parents want to see the practice of their culture perpetuated, even after they pass from the scene. Indeed, from my own fieldwork observations, Samoan parents take great care to familiarise their children and dependents in the finer aspects of the culture. But the task of socialising children in their parents' culture is a difficult one, given the centrifugal forces generated by the libertarian tendencies of the educational

system, **palagi** culture and peer group attachments. Therefore, parents are not always successful in their efforts to bend their children to their own cultural expectations. Clashes with children are frequent and vary in intensity and many a parent has appeared before the courts to answer to charges of beating their children.

Not all children, however, are rebels. Many are responding favourably to the wishes of their parents respecting the need to internalise Samoan values and observe culturally-sanctioned behaviour and practice. Parental expectations are further reinforced by the work of the churches through their youth activities, programmes and movements such as the Boys and Girls' Brigades of the **EfKS** churches, and the Christ Ambassador groups of the **Fa'apopotoga** churches. It can be stated with a certain amount of confidence, therefore, that the present status of the Samoan migrant community suggests that the practice of Samoan culture is not likely to evaporate quickly with the passing away of the first generation of Samoan migrants especially if there is to be continuing migration from Samoa.

Conclusion

The existence of certain cultural continuities observed in the lives of migrant families and migrant community practices is counterbalanced by the changes that have also affected them. Among Samoan families, the **fa'a-Samoa** continues to be the model for social behaviour but the countervailing pressures from the wider Australian community have served to create areas of tension and conflict. This is particularly evident in the emergent conflicts between parents and their New Zealand and Australian-born children. According to Sei, migrant children are exposed to the libertarian tendencies of the European education system and culture and want to exploit these freedoms "for their own purposes". But Samoan parents, brought up under an authoritarian system tend to be too strict with them and this has led to a reaction of rebellion from their children as a means of getting even with their parents. Not surprisingly, parents are often summoned before the courts to answer charges of child abuse, involving almost invariably the physical punishment of children. Such punishment, in the **fa'a-Samoa**, is regarded as normal and many find it hard to accept the system's support for the so-called "rights" of children. A

compromise solution has usually been to send wayward children back to Samoa for a period of socialisation in the **fa'a-Samoa**.

The activities of the Samoan Advisory Council are of a unique kind because they do not quite correspond to the usual **fa'a-Samoa** institutions and therefore pose different kinds of problems. It is dedicated to the task of helping migrants adjust to their new lives within the wider Australian community through the counselling services it provides through the social worker and funding of projects for the improvement of migrant welfare. But in order for it to succeed within the migrant community, it has to work through the **fa'a-Samoa** institutions such as the churches and family groups. Apart from the need to improve its organisational framework and administrative procedures, the critical issue facing it is the question of power or who is to control the Council. In similar organisations in the United States, there has been a noticeable power struggle between the chiefs and untitled people for control of these organisations and there is every reason to believe that the Sydney Council will also go through this process. When the Council was first formed, the main power struggle was between church groups but now it is becoming a struggle between **matai** and **taule'ua**, family groups and individuals.

Ethnic identity will remain an important aspect of migrant life in Australia but if the American and New Zealand experience is of any relevance, there will be a further tendency for the formation of different kinds of identities and consequently communities. One section of the community will continue to push for a strong identification with the **fa'a-Samoa**, another will push for a strong identification with the culture of the host society and yet a third kind of community will try to utilise the best from both **fa'a-Samoa** and host culture (cf. Macpherson, 1984). My observations are that ethnicity, as a movement, will splinter not only along the three main lines mentioned above but also along individual lines and that eventually, ethnic sub-groups within the Samoan migrant community will closely resemble other sub-groups and sub-cultures within the host society of which the distinguishing feature will be differentiation, not only in a social and cultural sense but also in an economic and political sense. In New Zealand, for instance, segments of the Samoan migrant community support and campaign for different political parties. The end result

will probably be that Samoan ethnic sub-groups will become interest groups and therefore the term "subculture" might be more appropriate for them then (see, for instance, Pitt and Macpherson, 1974).

Fa'a-Samoa: Continuities and Change

Samoans are inclined to believe that the **fa'a-Samoa**, as a set of values, beliefs and practices, is immutable because it is thought of as God-given. Of course this represents Samoan ideology but the objective reality is otherwise as I hope to show. In this thesis, I have attempted to identify and explain some of the continuities and changes affecting the Samoan community in Canterbury-Barkstoun and the reasons for them. I maintain that the factors which contribute to cultural maintenance and social change are more complex than they appear to be. Consequently, it follows that no single factor or phenomenon can adequately explain their manifestation.

Generally speaking, the arrival of large numbers of Samoan migrants in Australia beginning in the late 1970s coincided with two historical developments: the onset of a severe economic recession in New Zealand and the establishment of the Trans-Tasman Agreement, both in 1975. The recession in New Zealand severely affected the economic welfare of many low-income Samoan families as jobs became scarce and the government cut back on welfare payments across the board. When the gateway to Australia was opened in the same period and Samoans (and Maoris) discovered that jobs were plentiful and welfare benefits were relatively high in Australia, there was a rapid response which is still continuing. Thus of the 137 households in the sample (see Chapter 3), 68 percent stated that they migrated primarily for economic reasons including employment (45%), education/training (14%) and to help families (9%). These were not young inexperienced migrants but mostly people who had had considerable experience of living among **papalagi** in New Zealand. Further while they were generally unmarried when they went to New Zealand 66.4 percent of the sample migrants to Australia came partly or wholly as family units.

In undertaking this study of the lifestyle of the Samoan migrants of

Canterbury-Bankstown, I have chosen to focus on their social practices especially as they relate to religion, social exchange and family relationships (Chapters 4, 5 and 6). A study of these practices renders possible a series of judgments concerning the extent of social and cultural continuities and change by comparing contemporary practices in Samoa and the overseas migrant community. But identifying these is insufficient. It is also necessary to identify causal aspects of these changes and continuities. Why, for instance, do migrants differ in their adaptive strategies? The aim of this final chapter is to try to answer some of these questions. I begin by identifying some of the major changes and continuities in the lifestyle of the Samoan migrants in Canterbury-Bankstown. This will enable me to discuss the reasons for these phenomena in the light of the theoretical perspectives suggested by other scholars of Samoan migration such as Forster (1954), Pitt and Macpherson (1974), Kotchek (1975) and Rolff (1978). Finally I make some more general observations about the nature of social change.

The word "continuities", as used here refers to those aspects of the *fa'a-Samoa*, conceived broadly as a socio-cultural system, which Samoan migrants continue to practise in Australia. The assumption here is that there is a homology between the *fa'a-Samoa* practised in Samoa and that practised in Australia. "Change" refers to alterations in some aspects of the *fa'a-Samoa* in terms of both objective structure and the subjective "dispositions acquired through experience" (Bourdieu, 1990:9). Real life situations, however, are much more complex for in practice the posited homology of cultural experience in Samoa and Australia does not exist except in relative terms. Whole cultural complexes, for example, religious and social exchange practices represent continuities in a broad sense but are also, in fact, undergoing significant changes within them, as I have argued in Chapters 4 and 5.

"Postmodernist" approaches which came into their own in the 1980s are characterised by their refusal to acknowledge the logocentric premise of the objectivist, modernist paradigm, namely, that there is only one "truth" or "reality". Instead they opt for many different kinds of truths and realities based on the premise that truth and reality are both socially and historically situated. They are what the subjects interpret and experience and not the result of some

overarching rationalism devoid of other forms of knowledge (cf. Friedman, 1992). Thus instead of a single "truth" as the modernists would have it (for example, the structuralists and Marxists), there are many truths, for different categories of people, for example, for colonialists, social classes, male and female and ethnic groups, and by extension of the argument, for individuals. This decentering of knowledge has also resulted in the equating of postmodernism with subjectivity. In Yeatman's words, the "post-modern perspectivalist approach to knowledge" refuses "universal and transcendent status" to the "central anchor of the modern(ist) episteme - reason..." Instead,

"postmodern thought develops a thoroughgoing epistemological politics which insists on the always embodied, localized nature of reason. Reason is always tied to the pragmatics and to the politics of the particularly contextualised nature of knowledge claims. The consequence of this is as Lyotard... put it: 'There is no reason, only reasons'" (Yeatman, 1991:3).

Closely related to this is the question of whether the **fa'a-Samoa** is the product of invention (Wagner, 1975 and Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1982) or folklorisation (Babadzan, 1988), commonly subsumed under the euphemism of cultural construction or reconstruction. I maintain that it is always a product of construction, if by this term is meant individual interpretation. But at the same time, such constructions are not necessarily limitless in their application because social forces and influences also affect them. We are not so free in our constructions as we might think for often they are reflections of the doxa of the social class we belong to, sometimes unconsciously, at other times as a result of misrecognition. The **fa'a-Samoa**, like other cultural systems, is always the product of construction or reconstruction insofar as it is necessarily mediated by the effects of individual consciousness. Given that this is so, the **fa'a-Samoa** is a mercurial product subject to varying interpretations though this should not necessarily prevent reference to structural aspects of **fa'a-Samoa** where the more enduring principles of social organisation are meant.

Pastor and Congregation

As I argued in Chapter 4, one of the outstanding features of change in migrant social organisation is the assumption by the pastors of a greater share of political power and in a sense transforming the structure of the **feagaiga**

relationship between him and his congregation. This may very well induce changes in other areas of the church's life in Australia in the long run. For now, there is a general consensus among scholars of Samoan migration (e.g. Ablon, 1971b, 1971c; Pitt and Macpherson, 1974; Kotchek, 1975; Rolff, 1978; Franco, 1991) that the Christian church continues to be one of the pillars of Samoan migrant communities. The same holds true in Canterbury-Bankstown and Sydney in general. Here, cultural values and practices affecting religion persist in varying degrees but especially among the Congregational churches. Most significant is the widespread adoption, as in Hawaii, U.S. Mainland and New Zealand, in fact wherever there are Samoan churches, of the **feagaiga** system (Chapter 4). Under this custom, which is known in Fiji as **vasu** and Tonga as **fahu**, the honorific status of sister's child plus all the honours and privileges attached thereto, is conferred on the person of the pastor and all the immediate members of his family (e.g. wife and children). Their persons are thus sacred because under the **feagaiga** system, the sister, her children and those bilaterally descended from them are considered sacred in their status vis-a-vis the **tama tane** (bilateral descendants of the sister's brother). In return for this status, **feagaiga** are not expected to participate in political matters affecting the family, especially in relation to problems concerning land and titles which are considered the prerogative of the **tama tane**. The social function of the **feagaiga** is, therefore, largely a passive one with respect to the exercise of political power; theirs is to pray (**tapua'i**) for the success of the endeavours of the **tama tane** in the political arena. However they do exercise important ritualistic functions. In the church context, the **falfeau** as **feagaiga** is also expected to follow a similar course. His/her job is to pray for the members of the church, both literally and figuratively, and to remain largely neutral in the political affairs of the church. That is to say, the power to decide in secular matters affecting the life of the church is expected to remain with the members of the congregation. After all did they not form the church in the first place? Did they not invite the pastor to work for them? In the migrant context in Canterbury-Bankstown and Sydney, however, the pastors still remain the **feagaiga** but the balance of power between the pastor and congregation has changed. Pastors are no longer passive personages. They are also very active (compare Litala's speech in Chapter 4) in the political affairs of their churches. They are, in fact, contesting power issues with their congregations, for instance, the right to spend

money or make other important decisions without consulting their congregations.

This intrusion of the **falfeau** into the realm of church politics and administration is usually resented by congregation members and leads, sooner or later, into open conflicts, some of which I have already referred to in chapter 4. The main reason for these conflicts seems to be decisions by **falfeau** to spend church funds or the making of other important decisions, such as arrangements for hosting visiting groups (**malaga**), without first consulting their congregations. The question then is asked, are the **falfeau** trying to assume more power than they are entitled to under custom? My answer must be the **falfeaus'** attempt to exercise greater power is really an attempt to legitimate the status quo. Migrant existence has increased the power of the **falfeau** in ways not possible in the home country. This is because they are often called upon to carry out functions normally not part of their office, for instance, the need to act as translators, counsellors and advocates for migrants in difficulties or trouble with the law. In other words, they have assumed important leadership roles among migrants. Such roles also involve the exercise of power and this has been extended to the sphere of religion. In emergency situations where initiative is required, pastors have often felt compelled to act on important matters before consulting their congregations. Thus many of their independent acts are made in good faith and in the belief they have the power to do so. Some congregation members, however, are not necessarily so convinced. The result sometimes then is conflict and if the issue is serious enough, disaffected members may decide to leave. They in turn may form a new church and if the lessons of the previous experience have not been learnt, the cycle of birth, growth and dissolution may be repeated. The **falfeaus'** gain in power is offset, therefore, by the potential danger of loss of congregation members as a result of political conflicts. What we have here then is an example of continuities, such as the continuation of the **feagalga** system, and changes, such as the increased political power of the **falfeau**, existing within the context of religious practices. But the assumption of more power by the **falfeau** often leads to splits in the congregations resulting in the proliferation of small church groups either under a larger church institution or operating independently. The field of religion in Australia thus appears to be a very open one which can be exploited by anyone with some knowledge of theology and the dynamics of social organisation. I was even asked by the wife

of one **falfeau** to form a church congregation in Canberra presumably sponsored by her denomination!

Untitled Persons and Chiefs

Another feature of Samoan social organisation most often commented on by scholars is the perceived loss of power of the **matal** and increased influence of **taulele'a** in Samoan migrant communities. The same holds true in Canterbury-Bankstown (see Chapters 4 and 5). Roles and statuses for chiefs and untitled persons are, in a sense, reversed in the migrant context due mainly to the **taulele'as'** access to wealth which enables a **taule'ale'a** to compete for status and political power in the various institutions of the **fa'a-Samoa**. But it is misleading to suppose that the **fa'a-matal** is dead in Samoan migrant communities as some scholars seem to suggest. This is strictly speaking untrue. What is occurring are changes to some aspects of the system but not to others. For instance, chiefs do not control the income of their migrant children or relatives as they would according to customary usage in Samoa. At the same time, chiefs still vie for status and power in such communities. This is most noticeable, for instance, in the context of ceremonial exchanges where the **fa'atau** usually serves as the social index as to where a chief stands in the social ranking order.

The scarcity of chiefs and preponderance in the number of **taulele'a** also tend to favour the **taulele'a** because numbers can be converted into voting power, for instance, in the decision-making processes of the churches and Samoan Advisory Council. Thus in the sample survey there were 14 household heads who were chiefs and 21 orators for a total of 35 **matal**. Collectively, they constituted 25.5 percent of the total sample and continue to enjoy high status in the communities, as referred to earlier. They also tend to contribute more on average for Sydney-based **fa'alavelave** with monthly expenditures averaging \$121.66, based on the involvement of 34 **matal** households. By contrast the monthly expenditure on **fa'alavelave** for the wider sample of 125 households (see Table 29) averaged \$91.08. However, the **matal** do not fare so well when it comes to the question of remittances. Thus in the survey, only 30 **matal** households (out of 35) sent remittances both in cash and in kind averaging \$1984.50 per annum. In comparison, 120

households in the wider sample sent remittances averaging \$2708.96 per annum (see Table 34), a difference of \$724.46 per annum. The wide discrepancy is perhaps ample testimony to the new money power possessed by untitled persons, both men and women. It also shows that in the migrant context wealth and status do not necessarily correlate. This then allows for more open competition between the chiefs and untitled persons in the affairs of the community as the **taulele'as'** lack of status is compensated for by their access to money income.

In Samoa, for instance, power and status are concentrated in the chiefs and this has enabled them to dominate appointments to church positions. In the migrant context, however, untitled persons, by virtue of their new-found wealth, are demanding and obtaining equal rights with the chiefs. Thus in Sydney, the **falfeau** are unanimous that **matal** and **taulele'a** are treated equally; church positions are available to all regardless of social status. The **taulele'a** are also successfully challenging the power of the **matal** during ceremonial occasions such as funerals, weddings and fundraising events. For instance, many are participating successfully in the **fa'atau** (Chapter 5), of course, not under their **taulele'a** names but under assumed **matal** titles. Because such participation is often the gateway to acquiring indigenous wealth (such as **toga**), **taulele'as'** participation is generally resented by the **matal** who see in it an attempt to usurp their customary rights and privileges. The **taulele'a**, for their part, see no reason why the chiefs should control Samoan ceremonies especially if the **taulele'a** also contribute to these **fa'alavelave** (which they, in fact, do). But in order to more successfully challenge the power of the chiefs in these ceremonies, **taulele'a** must be proficient in their knowledge of Samoan legends, folklore and genealogies and use of chiefly language. To this end, many **taulele'a** are educating themselves in these very aspects of the **fa'a-Samoa**, sometimes in schools operated privately by some Samoan chiefs such as Afioga Tuisila of Campbelltown.

The increasing number of overseas-born children with inadequate knowledge of Samoan language and culture has led to the demand among Samoan migrants for the establishment of a school to teach this knowledge. The Samoan Advisory Council, however, has been unable to obtain funds for setting

up this school. But this has not prevented private individuals, such as Afioga Tuisila, to set up their own schools. Tuisila conducts regular weekly classes at the Punchbowl High School, Bankstown, and sometimes at the Ashfield Uniting Church Hall if the demand rises. Subjects taught include genealogies of the more important Samoan descent groups and oral history which are, however, considered more suitable for teaching at the advanced level.

For the first few years, Tuisila financed the costs of the school partly from the nominal fees paid by his students but more recently, he told me that the neighbouring Burwood Ethnic Council had provided funds for his school. His classes are quite unsuitable for students wanting to learn the language but most appropriate for **taulele'a** who want to engage in the **fa'atau**. Because many of the students are untitled men and women, Tuisila's project is considered by some **matai** as a subversive one as it is placing "esoteric" knowledge about the **fa'a-Samoa** in the hands of **taulele'a**. But Tuisila merely shrugs off the criticism saying his philosophy is "to share as much of my knowledge as possible with others so that vital knowledge about Samoan language and culture is not lost". In making this knowledge available to members of the public, he is siding with **taulele'a** against the wishes of his own **matai** peers and this, in turn, becomes a source of friction between Tuisila and the chiefs.

Taulele'a are thus successfully challenging the hegemonic roles of the **matai** not only in the ambience of the churches but also in the wider community. The fact that they are in the majority adds to their effectiveness but one wonders what would happen if positions are reversed and the **taulele'a** end up dominating everything. Presently this is not the situation; the chiefs still enjoy a lot of prestige but one that is being destabilised by the money power of the **taulele'a**. Certainly the **taulele'a** enjoy a greater degree of power than in Samoa where the road to power for a young untitled person is to become a **matai**. There are continuities in the **fa'a-matai** but also changes resulting from the experimental and experiential conditions of migrant life in Canterbury-Bankstown and Sydney. Continuities and changes also affect inter-generational relationships and which may assume greater importance in the future.

Parents and Children

The Samoan family in Australia has also experienced the traumatic effects of social change particularly in the relationships between parents and their overseas-born children. Historically, the Samoan family is regarded as a microcosm of the greater world of Samoan society, of extended family groups with ties which cut across village and district political boundaries, of the *fa'a-matai* and *fa'a-Samoa*. As in the larger society, the Samoan family is based on authority and honour inherited from the ancestors of the parents and continued more or less unchanged. Because of the patrilineal bias of the kinship system (Freeman, 1971), the supreme authority in the family is vested in the father and in his absence the mother. After them the rights and privileges are determined on the gender and seniority principles. The gender principle of Samoan social organisation has already been explained in Chapter 2. This is the *feagaiga* relationship. The seniority principle refers to birth order, and entails rights of primogeniture. The aim of Samoan socialisation practices is to educate children in the principles of social behaviour, with emphasis on obedience and respect for parents, elders and above all for chiefs, as well as in the principles of social organisation and one's position in this organisation. In other words, it is education in upholding the status quo. But socio-economic and political changes have affected socialisation practices not only in Samoa but also and especially in overseas Samoan migrant communities.

In Chapter 6, I have already referred to the problems parents are having with their overseas-born children. Samoan socialisation practices are proving ineffective in the face of external pressures from peer groups, educational institutions and government agencies, not to mention the legal system. The combined effect of these competing demands is seemingly interminable tension and conflict in the home between parents and their children. Occasionally, these conflicts emerge into the open when some parents are taken before the courts to answer to charges of child abuse. Parents, out of desperation, resort to sending their children back to Samoa "to learn discipline" in the parents' villages. Since most of the parents in the sample are first generation migrants from Samoa and who are still strongly influenced by the old socialisation practices, it is difficult to see how this conflict with children can be resolved more satisfactorily. Perhaps it is an issue which needs to come under the scrutiny of

the Samoan Advisory Council and requiring the re-education of Samoan parents in modified socialisation practices combining the best of the Samoan and Australian models. I am not here arguing that parents in Samoa are not having problems with their children: I am only saying these problems appear to be more widespread and serious in Australia especially given the competing demands from other social and cultural models.

Moreover, the basic difference between Samoan and Australian situations is that in Samoa, the young people do not resist the discipline itself, only the degree and the manner of it; in Australia it seems the resistance is against the very notion of discipline. And the harder Samoan parents discipline their children in Australia, the more the rebellion which is sometimes translated into leaving home and joining street gangs or working as a prostitute at King's Cross. The existence of alternative strategies of coping with problems with parents, such as the existence of gangs and the generous provisions of government welfare payments, facilitates this move. In Samoa, however, leaving home and depending on one's own resources would be a comparatively difficult alternative and this could be an important factor too in the increase in teenage suicide there. What I am saying, in the context of Australia, is that generally speaking Samoan parents' attempt to use Samoan socialisation practices in raising their children is relatively ineffectual in the context of their new environment. Perhaps it is a question of right methods, wrong place. Children's social expectations have changed not necessarily through their fault. A corresponding change, on the parents' part, will probably eventuate with the help of re-education programmes. For now, however, one perceives continuities in the parents' perception of their roles and functions of the family, modelled on those of the *fa'a-Samoa*, and the changes in their children's attitudes and behaviour. Their coming together creates friction in the family. This, in turn, may complicate the children's later search for cultural identity as the harshness of home discipline encourages them to rebel against the system.

Other Aspects of Change

Other aspects of social change are also to be seen in the other social practices of the migrants relating to church participation, contributions to *fa'alavelave*, remittances, language, gender issues, marriage, social status,

social habits and ethnic identity.

Religion has been an integral aspect of Samoan society from time immemorial especially as one of the principal spiritual beliefs of the Samoans was that to achieve success and prosperity (*manu*) in this life, one had to gain the support of one's gods (*aitu*) who were often deified ancestors (*tupua*). Thus to gain their favour, the gods were frequently worshipped and offered sacrifices in the form of *toga* and *oloa* and the religious rites were known as the *tapuaiga*. When the first European missionaries visited Samoa in the 1830s they were able to observe and describe in detail the various aspects of the animistic religion of the Samoans. And when the Samoans were converted in mass to Christianity between 1830 and 1860, they merely substituted the Christian divinities for their own (cf. Va'a, 1987) and continued many of the old Samoan religious practices in the garb of the new religion.

Since European contact and even after the mass migrations of the 1950s and subsequently, Samoans have continued to give religion a central place in their lives. Table 26, for instance, shows that 94 percent of the sample households in Carterbury-Bankstown are active members of a church, 5.5 percent are inactive members and only 0.5 percent have no religion. They are also generous contributors to their churches. For instance, of 121 households sampled, the average weekly contribution was \$61.91 with Mormons, Methodists and Seventh Day Adventists being the biggest contributors averaging \$109.90, \$107.50 and \$106 respectively weekly (see Tables 27, 28). Church attendance, church meetings and social activities (e.g. picnics, volleyball, games evenings) take up most of the migrants' spare time, an indication of the central role of the Christian churches in their daily lives. Truly, a migrant's social life revolves around his church, it is his/her "village" in the new environment. Adherence to religion, as a form of customary behaviour, continues to exert a strong influence on the lives of migrants. Yet basic changes, as referred to earlier, have also affected religious practice.

Support for kin is also a strong aspect of migrant behaviour. In Samoa, most people continue to depend on the subsistence economy, to a greater or lesser extent, for their survival. This economy is characterised by the

exploitation of economic resources to meet the basic needs of the kinship groups with surplus, such as fine mats, being set aside for *fa'alavelave*, which are always occurring more or less on a regular basis. Productive labour for these economic activities is provided by the kin under the supervision of the *matai* who determine the nature of the work to be performed, who is to carry it out, how it is to be done, with what resources and the distribution of the final product. In short, the Samoan economy is a kinship-based one, small-scale and aimed primarily at meeting the immediate needs of the *alga* (cf. Va'a, 1987).

The data shows that migrants continue to assist their relatives mainly through regular contributions for *fa'alavelave* and remittances. Thus of 137 households, 125 took part in Sydney *fa'alavelave* and only 12 did not (see Table 29). The most common monthly contribution for these *fa'alavelave* was \$50 (24 households) followed by \$100 (18 households), \$41.67 (11 households) and \$200 (10 households). They spent on average \$91.08 monthly for *fa'alavelave* in Sydney. And Table 31 shows that 81.75 percent of the respondents (100 households) were involved in overseas travel to attend *fa'alavelave* in Western Samoa (60.58%) and New Zealand (47.45%).

Of the 120 households that sent either money or gifts to relatives in Western Samoa and New Zealand, the average cash remittance was \$2,142.10 p.a., and the average value of the gifts was \$923.22 p.a. (see Table 34). While most continue to remit, there seems to be a direct relationship between remittances and the number of dependents in Samoa. That is, remittances tend to cease when all the immediate relatives of a migrant have joined him/her permanently or have died. A migrant would usually say, "All my immediate relatives are dead" or "All my immediate relatives are overseas" and that, therefore, there is nobody to send money to except distant relatives. This trend appears to foreshadow the decline of remittances generally unless, of course, there is continuing migration from Samoa. Current evidence, however, suggests that from an economic point of view, most Samoan migrants continue to provide valuable support for their relatives through *fa'alavelave* and regular transfers of remittances in various modes (e.g. bank drafts, cash, gifts such as clothes, food, hardware). There have been significant changes, however.

In the migrant context, for instance, the chiefs no longer dominate the productive process because the **taulele'a** now control their own economic behaviour. The **taulele'as'** relationship to their **aiga** in Samoa in economic matters is now largely based on quasi-contractual arrangements by which the **aiga** sponsor the early phases of their migration in return for remittances (Stark, 1991) or on their obligations as members of what Bertram and Watters have called a "transnational corporation of kin" (1985, 1986). That is, their duty to their relatives is perceived in terms of moral obligation rather than on the authority of the **matai**. At the local level, in Sydney, for instance, the **matai** no longer command support for **fa'alavelave** from other **aiga** members. They now seek support from them and this in turn increases the political stature of untitled persons.

When it comes to employment issues, however, **matai** and **taulele'a** are equally affected. In Samoa every person occupies a social position within the hierarchy of positions available in the social organisation of the village. In the migrant context, however, the loss of these positions is compensated mainly by access to regular income, usually from employment, which enables migrants to fulfil their social obligations. But when unemployment strikes migrants at whatever social level, the results can be disastrous especially the loss of social status (cf. Franco, 1992:304f). The unemployment rate for migrants in Canterbury-Bankstown in 1992/93 was relatively high compared with the national average. While the unemployment rate for Samoan women was a low of two percent, mainly because 47 percent of the women were housewives, that for men was a high of 16 percent compared with the national average of 9.9 percent in August, 1993.

As in Hawaii, unemployment among men was due largely to the lack of job skills (Franco, 1992) or the reluctance of employers to hire older men. Thus the majority of the migrants in the sample have had a sound education with 71.5 percent of the husbands and wives attending secondary schools mostly in Samoa. But from a practical viewpoint, many of them lacked job skills when they first migrated to New Zealand. Any skills they might have learned were gained mostly in New Zealand or Australia and since many migrants showed a preference for manual work, little effort was made to acquire a wider range of

job skills with the result they were often unemployed in times of recession. To ameliorate the situation, the Samoan Advisory Council is negotiating with educational institutions in Sydney to take on more Samoan students in their various job skills courses. This is a sporadic process, however, and it appears that Samoan unemployment and the almost complete absence of entrepreneurship, compared with other ethnic groups such as Italians who operate restaurants, will pose serious problems in the future (cf. Franco, 1990).

Gender issues are not prominent in the Samoan community reflecting perhaps the strength of the social dominance of first generation migrants. Women's role is still conceived to be in the home but, at the same time, parents are showing much concern with the education and training of their children of both sexes. As well as in the home, women play active roles in church activities such as providing support services for poorer members, organising youth activities and teaching bible classes. A woman's group was formed several years ago to promote the manufacture of Samoan handicrafts and this is perhaps indicative of the formation of more women's groups in the future. As for marriage trends, the prevalent view among Samoan migrants is that Samoans should marry Samoans but this view, of course, is not preventing intermarriage with non-Samoans. These marriages (see Chapter 3) are relatively few. It is likely, however, that as the overseas-born Samoans grow into adulthood that the incidence of mixed-marriages will increase as is already happening in the United States and New Zealand. The tendency of some parents to dissuade their children from marrying *papalagi*, I suspect, is due mainly to their desire to perpetuate the *fa'a-Samoa* by encouraging in-marriage.

Other cultural continuities that will be observed by the visitor include the prevalent use of Samoan foods such as taro, bananas and *palusami* (see Chapter 6); the wearing of Samoan dress, *lavalava* by both men and women and *puletafi* by women; and especially the almost universal use of the Samoan language. While these habits may cause no surprise when practised by first-generation migrants, there is considerable doubt concerning the continuation of these by their overseas-born children more at home with fast foods, hip hop styles, English language and Australian mannerisms.

Take Samoan language, for instance. First generation Samoan migrants tend to always communicate in Samoan, especially with each other, at home and at Samoan social gatherings such as church services, *fa'alavelave* events and community dances but their overseas-born children are often barely able to speak the language. In Table 40, for instance, parents speak only Samoan at home in 71.5 percent of the sample households and both English and Samoan in 21.2 percent. In only 19.7 percent of the households, however, do children speak only Samoan, and in 44.5 percent both English and Samoan. Their Samoan, however, will be only of the most basic kind and often improperly pronounced. Samoan parents and community leaders are aware of their children's problems with Samoan and efforts are being made by the Samoan Advisory Council and the Burwood Ethnic Council for public funding for a Samoan language school, of which Tuisila's is an example.

In their socialising practices, Samoan migrants tend to interact more with their own kind than with any other and this is scarcely surprising given the importance of social, kinship and church ties among them. Thus, of 259 best friends reported by 134 households, 219 or 84.6 percent are Samoan (see Table 42). Of these friendships, 130 (50.2%) were made as a result of church connections, 54 (20.8%) as a result of social contacts and 34 (13.1%) as a result of employment (see Table 43). Table 44 also shows that most social visits are either to church members or to close relatives and the respondents are also most often visited by the same (Table 46). Again, whether these habits will be continued by the younger generation remains highly problematic. Since their circles of friendships are larger than those of their parents they can be expected to socialise more with white Australians.

Finally, the urgency among Samoan migrants to define their sense of ethnic identity constitutes a significant change in their lives. In Samoa, because almost 100 percent of the population are Samoans sharing a uniform culture, language and social organisation the question of ethnicity generally does not arise for those of Samoan descent. It is only when they migrate overseas that the question of ethnic identity assumes great importance. As Sala has formulated it, "The basic problem that the immigrants face [in America] is that of self-identification, that is, the question, "who am I?" For the Samoan immigrant, the

question is new because it was never asked in Samoa" (1980:3). This concern has naturally led Samoan migrants to form communities wherein they are able to practise many aspects of their culture. These communities, varying in sizes and forms of social organisation, are to be found in the main cities of Hawaii, California, New Zealand and Australia and are indicative of the strong desire among Samoan migrants to maintain their ethnic identity through the practice of their culture. Of course, as this and other studies show, these communities themselves are divided along religious and kinship lines and according to the strength of the migrants' commitment to the *fa'a-Samoa*. Still, they do provide the migrants with a sense of ethnic identity and enable them to adapt better to the institutions of the host society (cf. Pitt and Macpherson, 1974).

These then are some examples of socio-cultural continuities and changes manifesting at different levels: some are very clear and definite, others rather vague and there are many shades in-between. It is misleading to interpret these continuities and changes only in terms of extreme polarities. Interpretation must, of necessity, be tentative because social change is always a complex phenomenon. If the study of social change is a complex phenomenon, so is the question of causality. I will now compare the views of the American anthropologists Forster, Kotchek and Rolff and the causes and nature of social change in their studies with the experience of Samoan migrants in Sydney.

Social Change Perspectives

Forster (and others), as explained in Chapter 1, accepted the American ideology of the 1950s which pictured America as the land of riches and freedom and that migrants would naturally assimilate into their new society sooner or later (Forster, 1954). If they did not want to assimilate, they would be forced to do so by sheer public pressure from the dominant society. Social change (meaning assimilation) was thus seen as something the migrants would "naturally" see as being in their own best interest or if they fail to recognise this they would be forced to assimilate by the sheer weight of public opinion. Of course, by the late 1960s, scholars of migration and ethnicity, and others, noted that despite the deliberate social policies to assimilate migrants, assimilation was simply not happening, ethnic cultures and communities persisted. By the 1970s, multiculturalism had replaced assimilation as national ideologies not only in the

United States but also New Zealand and Australia.

Assimilationism in Australia has been associated with the White Australia policy which was designed to keep Australia British and to keep out migrants "not of European descent and appearance" (Jupp, 1991:46). The Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 was the first major Commonwealth legislation towards keeping Australia white but, as Jupp said, it was only part "of the legislative armoury of White Australia. Colonial and state laws relating to immigration, occupations, citizenship and Aborigines must all be seen as part of a consistent campaign" to keep Australia British and white. The policy was also in many respects a racist one as the historical record shows, "an assertion that the white race was superior to all others and must preserve that superiority by excluding all others from the continent" (Jupp, 1991:53). By the 1960s the policy had become increasingly unpopular as a result of both internal and external pressures and the Australian political parties began the process of dismantling the racist structure of society. In 1973, the policy was formally abolished by the Whitlam government which declared that "future admissions would be universal in the sense of ignoring race, ethnicity, religion or cultural background" (Jupp, 1991:86). Two years later, with the enactment of the Trans-Tasman Agreement allowing free travel between Australia and New Zealand by citizens of both countries, Samoans began to migrate to Australia, at first in their tens and then by the 1980s in their hundreds.

When Samoan migrants came to Australia, therefore, the worst effects of the White Australia policy were behind them. By then, multiculturalism had become the official government policy and there was no concerted effort to pressure them to assimilate. This is not to say, however, that there were no cases of racial discrimination against Samoan migrants in Sydney but these were isolated ones and certainly did not represent official government policy. Multiculturalism is indeed regarded as ideal by the government bureaucracy in Sydney but especially in Canterbury-Bankstown with its high migrant populations. Assimilationist pressures, therefore, cannot be considered as the motive force for social change among Samoan migrants in Sydney.

Kotchek's thesis is that there is a direct relationship between the nature of

adaptive strategies and the degree of invisibility of the migrant population. She defines "adaptive strategies", following Bennett, as "patterns formed by the many separate adjustments that people devise in order to obtain and use resources and to solve the immediate problems confronting them" (Bennett, 1969:14 in Kotchek, 1975:42). By "invisibility", she means that the "presence of Samoans as a known ethnic group has not yet impinged upon the collective awareness of the total population" (Kotchek, 1975:6). This invisibility, in turn, is due to the small size of the migrant population, residential patterns and political history (Ibid, p. 21) and has allowed them to be "freer in their choices of adaptive strategies..... than are members of a more visible group" (Ibid, p. 3). Unfortunately, because her thesis focuses on Samoan adaptive strategies in Seattle, Kotchek largely leaves undeveloped the implications of her views on social change. If, for instance, invisibility is an important factor in the migrants' forms of adaptive strategies, what would be the result of greater visibility? While she says that greater visibility would limit the migrants' freedom of choice, it is not clear in what ways this freedom would be limited or the reasons for it because, for instance, the progression of her adaptive strategies is not unidirectional and "an individual might, at different times, participate in fa'aSamoan activities, remain isolated or use fa'apalagi resources" (Kotchek, 1975:41f). Since her data does not support a linear model of social adaptation (from Samoan to an American lifestyle), one is left with the impression that greater visibility would facilitate absorption into the dominant stream of American society. Lack of it would ensure a greater variety of adaptive strategies but at the same time would, as it were, lock the Samoan migrants into a ghetto-like existence in their ethnic enclaves already well developed in California, such as Carson City in Los Angeles (cf. Kotchek, 1975:39f). It would appear, therefore, that greater visibility can be correlated with the degree of successful adaption into the dominant culture and that the converse is also true. The criticism of this view must be that it is also possible for migrants to contextualise their experiences depending on the social environment they are in at the time without in any way having to sacrifice anything. Choices, therefore, of adaptive strategies or otherwise, need not then depend on the visibility/invisibility dichotomy.

In Sydney, Samoan migrants are indeed generally "invisible" to the

majority of Australians, in part, because they are among the newest groups of migrants and, as members of a new ethnic community, are still establishing themselves in terms of finding suitable housing, employment and schools for their children. They are not only widely dispersed across Sydney suburbs (mainly in the southwest) but also few in number, as compared with other migrant groups, the Lebanese or Vietnamese, for instance. Moreover, "the common avenues for success for minority groups", such as "sports, entertainment, politics, and ethnic capitalism" (Kotchek, 1975:150) are relatively undeveloped among Samoan migrants. Success in any of these areas would increase their visibility but this has not happened and probably for a long time yet except possibly in sports. Invisibility is thus not necessarily the result of a conscious attempt by migrants to remain "invisible" but the consequence of a number of factors. The question then, posed in Kotchek's terms, is whether this invisibility is a determining factor in their adaptive strategies as discussed in Chapter 1. However, when it is considered that for the great majority of Samoan migrants, adaptive strategies to cope with life in European countries had been formed mostly in New Zealand, it can be reasonably inferred that invisibility is less of a factor in their adaptive strategies in Australia than is the question of their previous experience. That is to say their experience in New Zealand has already predisposed migrants to act in certain ways, particularly in their social and community formation practices. As for migrants who came directly from Samoa these were simply absorbed into the local migrant networks facilitating their adaptation to the demands of life in their adopted country. As yet, it is too early to determine if greater visibility would also signal a greater degree of assimilation into the host society as Kotchek seems to suggest.

While Kotchek's focus is adaptive strategies, Rolff's research is a thoroughgoing analysis of the process of social change among Samoan migrants in a fictitious community called Shoretown. The key to the process of social change among Samoan migrants, Rolff argues, lies in the operation of the two concepts of consolidation and individuation (see Chapter 1). Arguing from Samoan history, she characterises consolidation as increasing involvement and individuation as decreasing involvement in the *fa'a-Samoa* (1978:vi-vii). Consolidation is "an adjustment to poverty, institutional racism, and exploitation" while individuation "is due largely to increased affluence which permits

Samoans' withdrawal from mutual aid and prestige networks without risk to their economic security" (ibid, p. vi-vii). Moreover, she argues that these dual processes have always characterised social change among Samoans from the time of contact with Europeans to the present.

In the Sydney context, however, I find that the Samoans' adaptive strategies do not neatly fit the consolidation/individuation dichotomy. The process of consolidation, for instance, is an adjustment to poverty, where Samoans find in the *fa'a-Samoa* a means of survival in a foreign land and a sense of security. But many Samoans, who are comparatively wealthy and do not need the *fa'a-Samoa* to survive in economic terms, are strong supporters and practitioners of the *fa'a-Samoa* lifestyle. Thus of the 16 households in the sample survey with the highest income (over \$70,000 p.a.) remittances sent to overseas relatives averaged \$3,468.75 per annum compared with the median figure of \$2,708.96 per annum for 120 households that regularly sent remittances. Only one household of the 16 did not send remittances because all of its immediate relatives no longer lived in Samoa and the highest total sent was \$10,200 per annum. The average expenditure for *fa'alavelave* among the 16 households amounted to \$110.55 monthly compared with \$91.08 monthly for the 125 households that reported participation in *fa'alavelave* activities. Ten (62.5%) of the households strongly supported the practice of *fa'a-Samoa* in Australia, four (25%) gave only moderate support while two (12.5%) felt that the *fa'a-Samoa* should be practised only in Samoa. In short, the data does not support the notion that wealth encourages a tendency to individuate if this means withdrawal from family and community support activities.

Neither does the evidence support the converse idea that poverty encourages consolidation. Thus of the 18 households that earned less than \$20,000 per annum in the sample survey, average expenditure on remittances amounted to \$951 p.a. compared with \$2708.96 p.a. for the total sample of 120 households and \$3,468.75 p.a. for the high income group. Six households did not send remittances: three because of unemployment and two because they had no immediate relatives remaining in Samoa; one belonged to a New Zealand-born migrant. Expenditures on *fa'alavelave* averaged \$50 monthly compared with \$91.08 monthly for the total sample of 125 households and

\$110.55 monthly for the high income group. Only three households did not participate in *fa'alavelave* networks, two due to unemployment and one belonged to the New Zealand-born migrant mentioned above. Eleven households (61%) strongly supported the practice of *fa'a-Samoa* in Australia, two (11%) gave only moderate support and five (28%) prefer a more Australian lifestyle. One of these, for instance, said: "Leave the *fa'a-Samoa* in Samoa. We are in a different country now. Let us live according to Australian rules. We came here to be educated and to work, not to support *fa'a-Samoa* activities." In the low income group participation in typical *fa'a-Samoa* activities involving financial support for dependent relatives and community *fa'alavelave* is almost universal except for the unemployed, those who no longer have immediate relatives in Samoa and the second-generation migrant. The percentage of households showing strong support for *fa'a-Samoa* activities in Australia is almost the same as in the high income group. But there is a noticeable reversal of percentages in the other two categories: among the high income households, 25 percent give only moderate support to the *fa'a-Samoa*, among the low income households it is 11 percent; among the former, 12.5 percent do not want the *fa'a-Samoa* practised in Australia, among the latter, 28 percent. Thus in fact more households in the lower income group prefer to individuate, in the sense used by Rolff. This would go against her model which associates poverty with consolidation and wealth with individuation. The sample results do not support this view and the inevitable conclusion must be that the tendency to consolidate or to individuate, to use Rolff's terminology, is not necessarily related to the question of poverty or wealth though these may be factors in such behaviour.

Neither do institutional racism and exploitation fully explain the processes of consolidation and individuation. I have already referred to the abolition of the racist White Australia policy in the early 1970s and the efforts made at the municipal, state and federal levels to assist migrants in adapting to Australian society within the new context of multiracialism. Thus it is not surprising that Samoan migrants have not identified institutionalised racism as a major problem though there have been isolated cases, such as the court complaint lodged against the management board of the Canterbury Police Citizens Club Hall at Belmore (Chapter 6). Neither were there reports of extensive exploitation from

informants though again there were isolated cases of complaint. These complaints, however, appear to have been the result of either personal conflicts or of cross-cultural misunderstandings, not common or serious enough to cause general concern among migrants. To a large extent, Samoans have adjusted well in a structural sense. That is, generally speaking, they have a well-developed understanding of the operations of the government bureaucracy, educational and employment markets, the capitalist economy and especially the welfare system though in some areas, they still need the assistance of Samoan social workers.

A further weakness in Rolff's hypothesis is the application of her conception of poverty to the *fa'a-Samoa* as a social system. In her view the primary determinant of poverty among Samoans since contact times is the socio-economic system itself because "the higher strata preserve their advantages by preventing the equal distribution of wealth and social rewards" (Rolff, 1978:15). The secondary determinant is to be found in the ways in which migrants "cope with economic deprivation and lack of social recognition" (Ibid, p. 16). By this she means that while participation in *fa'a-Samoa* activities do provide migrants with the means of survival in a new environment and a sense of security, "the price [they] pay for these benefits is not only poverty and social isolation from American society" but also intense psychological pressure on youth faced with the different demands of two social systems (Rolff, 1978:16f).

It is clear that what Rolff is emphasising is the economic advantage to be gained by individuation and, therefore, assimilation into the American way of life. But as Bourdieu has made clear through his concept of capital, which can loosely be translated as a form of wealth, economic capital is only one form of capital, albeit it is the most important type in Western countries. Other forms of capital include "symbolic capital, social capital and even cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1990: 93). Individuals "strive to maximize their capital" which in turn "defines their social trajectory" or life chances (Calhoun et al, 1993:5). Thus while Rolff may have a point about the *fa'a-Samoa* as a strategy for coping with poverty, she fails to perceive that many Samoans also regard the *fa'a-Samoa* strategy as a means of accumulating symbolic, social and other forms of capital. This is why for many Samoans, remittances and contributions to

fa'alavelave are considered forms of investment for the future for themselves and their children especially if later on they hope to return to Samoa. Their participation in the **fa'a-Samoa**, therefore, is not as irrational as it seems.

As a corollary to this, the extent of welfare payments made to Samoan families in Australia often means that these families are not so dependent on **fa'a-Samoa** institutions such as the extended family and church for economic support and may even choose to remain aloof from **fa'a-Samoa** networks. Looked at from the opposite direction it can also be argued that the welfare system is one of the chief supports of the **fa'a-Samoa** system because it enables migrants to depend on welfare payments for subsistence enabling them to divert savings to their relatives and to finance ceremonial exchanges and redistributive feasts. Thus according to many of my informants, the New Zealand government's decision to reduce various forms of social welfare payments, such as family allowances and unemployment benefits, was the proverbial straw "which broke the camel's back" and a key factor leading to migration to Australia. This was because with the reduction of these "**penefiti**", as the migrants call these payments, they found it difficult to both contribute to **fa'alavelave** and survive. The **fa'a-Samoa** contributions, therefore, did not necessarily lead to impoverishment. Rather it is the other way around: welfare payments enable migrants to participate in **fa'a-Samoa** activities.

Conclusion

While the Samoan community in Sydney is similar in many respects to those found in New Zealand and the United States, it has some distinctive features which underlie the importance of situating the analysis of continuities and change in the **fa'a-Samoa** in a wider socio-political context than that of a localised study. These features arise directly from the socio-political conjuncture in which the community came to be formed. At the widest level this related to changes in possibilities for migration created by the Trans-Tasman Agreement that opened up the possibility of easy movement to Australia at a time when the New Zealand economy was in a major recession. Prior to that period the Samoan community in Sydney, Australia, numbered approximately 200 persons whereas today, ten years later, it stands at 6,500.¹ The significance of this

¹ Estimates of Western Samoan-born persons based on 1976 and 1991 Australian censuses.

change in the politico-economic possibilities of migration is underlined by the fact that 68 percent of the 735 persons enumerated in the Canterbury-Bankstown sample, representing 137 households, are of New Zealand origin.

This points to a second distinctive feature of this community. It is the product of a secondary migration in which among the 261 adults, comprising husbands, wives and solo heads of the 137 households, 244 or 93.49 percent migrated to Australia, usually after spending many years in New Zealand (cf. Tables 5.4 and 5.8). Correlated with this secondary aspect is the fact that adult migrants to Australia are generally older than the migrants to New Zealand and that many more of them came to Australia as married members of households than in the first phase of migration to New Zealand where the majority were single. Clearly economic pressures are greater on married couples with children than they are with single people who are able to stay with relatives and this would appear to account for the preponderance of married people making the move to Australia. The more mature nature of the population has consequences for the rapidity with which the people organised and proliferated church congregations and an overarching body, the Samoan Advisory Council. Compared with New Zealand where in the initial phases of migration Samoans largely affiliated themselves with white dominated congregations before forming their own separate ones, here in Australia for all but the Catholic and some Uniting Church groups, people quickly set about establishing their own congregations and attracting their own pastors.

Further, the nature of the social activity associated with these congregations can only be adequately understood within the context of the nature of the Australian state. The Australian state still remains a relatively benign liberal-democratic welfare state that supplies a wide range of relatively easily accessed benefits to the unemployed and young families with children. While the benefits are not handsome they provide basic needs, removing immediate pressure on activating Samoan networks for basic day-to-day support, and making it possible for migrants to become involved in *fa'alavelave* to advance social standing within the community, or to raise money only for the most major kinds of expenditure such as funerals and return visits to Samoa. This may, in part, account for the level of intensity of the

competition between commoners and chiefs in Sydney which, impressionistically at least, seems more intense than in New Zealand.

Thus while there are practical and social pressures that lead to the reproduction of many aspects of the *fa'a-Samoa* in Australia, the nature of the welfare state provides a greater economic independence to households freeing them up for a more intense status competition. This appears to be reflected in the proliferation of congregations especially among the Congregational, Pentecostal and Mormon groups. These congregations provide not merely religious services but have also taken over many of the functions of the Samoan village, for instance, as centres for socio-economic and political activities. They organise assistance for newly-arrived migrants by helping them find suitable accommodation and employment, assist them financially in the first six months of settlement before their entitlement to welfare benefits and generally provide a forum whereby they can interact with other Samoans. This, of course, often means taking part in *fa'alavelave* networks generally after they have found employment and/or become recipients of welfare payments. The welfare system facilitates the extensive participation by Samoans in *fa'alavelave* and tends to focus it on social objectives rather than providing material support. Thus even with a high unemployment rate for males of 16 percent compared with 9.7 percent, 13.5 percent and 8.3 percent for Canterbury, Bankstown and Sydney respectively, 91.24 percent of the sample households were regular contributors to *fa'alavelave* in Sydney with expenditures averaging \$91.08 monthly. Unemployment status, I found, did not seriously affect *fa'alavelave* contributions.

The Sydney Samoan migrant community, of which Canterbury-Bankstown is part, has been developing rapidly since the mid-1980s in terms firstly of numbers and secondly in terms of common social activities, especially those organised by the Samoan Advisory Council such as celebrations marking Western Samoan independence, usually held early June, and kinship activities connected with *fa'alavelave*. In addition to these, the congregations also have their separate activities which take up most of the time of their members. Thus ethnic, kinship and church activities overlap a great deal and participation in them is part of what it means to be a Samoan. But the degree of involvement in

any one particular sphere varies from church to church, family to family, individual to individual. However, just as this community is developing collective expression through the Advisory Council and the activities it organises, signs of internal strain are becoming evident, as in the pastor-congregation, commoner-chief and community-Advisory Council conflicts, reflecting perhaps the formation of what Macpherson has described as "various Samoan 'communities' which are characterized by different attitudes to, and experiences of Samoan culture" (1984:107). Doubtless these different forms of accommodation to Australian life will become more pronounced with the second generation.

In this thesis, I have argued that placing too much emphasis on a single factor in understanding social change among Samoan migrants, such as social pressure, invisibility or poverty is to be avoided. Change is brought about by the interaction of macro and micro causes. Some of these are political-economic in origin, for example, the new agreement and the recession in New Zealand which opened the possibility for many poor Samoan families in difficult circumstances to migrate to Australia. Others are the product of more idiosyncratic motivations, for example, that of the two Catholic seminarians who migrated to Australia because they could not face the ridicule of their relatives for sacrificing their vocation. Structural factors have to be linked with the everyday decisions of individuals, their hopes and aspirations for the future. In the intersection of these two, many of the explanations for what people do and why are to be found.

As stated in Chapter 1, this study was intended to be a broad-based one due to the fact that this is the first major study carried out on Samoan migrants in Australia. There was a patent need to explore the general field first before venturing into more specialised studies later. For the future, in the area of specialised studies, I would suggest the following topics as among the more significant: (1) women's roles and statuses within the Samoan migrant community; (2) the problems and needs of second-generation Samoans; (3) educational problems and needs of Samoan children at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels; (4) health issues as they affect Samoan migrants. Community leaders at present appear to be very keen on research on educational problems of Samoan children. Perhaps this could be a start. At the same time, there is a need, as Franco has suggested (1992b:1) of utilising the data from this study as

part of a general study linking similar research on Samoan migrants in Hawaii, U.S. Mainland and New Zealand to obtain a larger perspective on Samoan international migration.

Appendix 1

Date..... HOUSEHOLD SURVEY FORM Household No.....

- a) Head of household (matal title if any)
- b) Address.....
- c) Telephone Nos.....(Hm)..... (Bus)
- d) Housing type:No. Bedrooms.....
- e) Occupants:

No. A ¹	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
8.							
9.							
10.							

- f) Who owns the residence?.....
- g) Who pays the rent?

(Interviewer:.....)

Note: No. 1 = household head; relation = to household head.

1 Code: A= Date of Migration; B=From which country; C= Name; D= Age; E=Sex; F=Relation; G=Birthplace; H=Ethnicity.

Appendix 2

SURVEY SCHEDULE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Date:

Household No:A. MIGRATION HISTORY

1. Name of household head:
2. Date and place of birth:
3. Home village in Samoa for 12 months before migration:
4. Year of first permanent overseas migration:
5. Host country of first permanent overseas migration:
6. Immigration category to above country (eg quota?):
7. Motives for migration in ranked order:
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 5.

8. Write (in notebook) the history of all the subsequent migrations of the household head noting (a) dates and nature of such migrations (b) possible return migrations (c) last address before migrating to Australia (d) first address in Australia (e) include Nos. 5, 6 & 7 above (f) others.

9. Name of spouse:
10. Date and place of birth:
11. Home village in Samoa for 12 months before migration:
12. Year of first permanent overseas migration:
13. Host country of first permanent overseas migration:
14. Immigration category to above country (quota?):
15. Motives for migration in ranked order:
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 5.

15. Do as in No. 8 above.

Note: Repeat above line of questioning for other adult members of the household where applicable.

B. ACCOMMODATION

17. Type of accommodation in Samoa:
18. Type of accommodation in New Zealand:
19. Type of accommodation in Australia:
20. How was accommodation acquired in New Zealand and Australia (eg through own efforts or through relatives):

C. EDUCATION

21. Where educated in Samoa?

22. Level of education/training in Samoa?

23. Any further education/training after migration?

24. If so, to what levels?

25. Spouse's level of education/training in Samoa?

26. Any further education/training after migration?

27. If so, to what levels?

28. Children's educational level:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Level</u>
.....
.....
.....

29. H/hold head's parents' level of education: Father -
Mother -

30. Spouse's parents' level of education: Father -
Mother -

D. EMPLOYMENT

(See job schedule;¹ fill in separate forms for h/head and spouse).

E. INCOME (includes all sources of income)

31. Number of income earners in household?

32. H/hold head's estimated gross weekly income?

Less than \$58 per week	\$482 to \$577 per week
\$58 to \$96 per week	\$578 to \$673 per week
\$97 to \$154 per week	\$674 to \$769 per week
\$155 to \$230 per week	\$770 to \$961 per week
\$231 to \$308 per week	\$962 to \$1,154 per week
\$309 to \$385 per week	\$1,155 to \$1,346 per week
\$386 to \$481 per week	More than \$1,346 per week

33. Spouse's estimated gross weekly income? (Use above table).

34. Other estimated gross weekly income?

35. Total estimated family gross weekly income?

36. Main sources of family income?

37. Do you obtain any remittances from Samoa, N.Z. or U.S.A?

F. RELIGION

38. What's your religious denomination?

39. Where is your regular church situated?

40. Any position in church organisation?

41. Do you or other family members belong to church clubs?

Give details:	<u>Name</u>	<u>Club</u>

¹ Appendix 3.

42. Do you take part in church activities? Yes/No
 How often? x() weekly
 () monthly
 () yearly
 () never

43. In what language is sermon preached?

44. Estimate of household weekly contributions to church?

G. KINSHIP OBLIGATIONS

45. Do you send money to relatives in Samoa, N.Z., U.S.A. or elsewhere?

46. Names of these people and their relationships to household?

<u>Country</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Relationship</u>
.....
.....

47. For what purposes?

48. How often? x() weekly
 () monthly
 () yearly
 () never

49. Estimate of amount sent: weekly
 monthly
 yearly

50. Do you also send food, clothing, et cetera to your relatives in Samoa and elsewhere? Based on yearly estimate:

<u>Destination</u>	<u>Item</u>	<u>Value</u>
.....
.....

51. Do you sometimes go to Samoa, New Zealand, USA etc to attend fa'alavelave?

52. Based on a yearly estimate, what countries are involved and what sort of fa'alavelave?

<u>Country</u>	<u>Type fa'alavelave</u>
.....
.....

53. Expenses and contributions involved?

54. Do you also receive help from your Samoan and other relatives?

55. In what ways?

H. COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

56. Do you and other household members take part in Samoan community affairs in Sydney and what are these activities?

57. How often are you involved? x() weekly
 () monthly

- () yearly
58. What is the nature of your involvement?
Contributions of
- (i) money
 - (ii) food
 - (iii) services
 - (iv) all of above
59. Monthly estimate of money spent on fa'alavelave (or life crisis events) in Sydney?

I. CULTURE

60. What aspects of the fa'a-Samoa (Samoan way) you feel should be retained in Australia?
61. What aspects should be done away with?
62. What aspects of Samoan culture are practised at home?
63. What aspects are not practised at home?
64. What languages are spoken at home and how often?
For parents:
For children:

J. PARENT/CHILDREN RELATIONS

65. Which methods of child-discipline do you prefer?
(i) traditional
(ii) Australian
(iii) mixture
66. Who disciplines the children?
67. Do you ever have to spank them?
68. What are the reasons for spanking them?
69. Do you have to discipline them more than in Samoa?
70. Will you let your children date in Australian fashion?
71. Is it more difficult to rear children in Australia than in Samoa?
72. Who helps children with school work?
73. How much education do you want your children to have?
74. What sort of jobs do you envisage for them?
75. Do you want your children to return to Samoa after their education?
76. Should children learn more about their culture?
(i) more
(ii) less
(iii) none

K. LEISURE

77. What do you normally do in your spare time (eg evenings, weekends, holidays)?

78. What do other family members do in their spare time?

Spouse:

Children:

79. How did you spend your leisure time in Samoa?

Spouse:

Children:.....

L. PERSONAL

80. In what year were you married?.....Where married?.....

81. How old were you at marriage? Husband:..... Wife:.....

82. Do you have intentions to return to Samoa? Hus:..... Wife:.....

M. MISCELLANEOUS

83. What sports do family members play?

Husband:

Wife:

Children:

84. What clothes are worn at home?

Husband:

Wife:

Children:

85. What types of food are eaten at home?

(i) traditional

(ii) Western

(iii) mixed

86. Who would you prefer to be neighbours (eg Samoans, Islanders, Australians, et cetera)?

87. Who are your closest friends?

Names:

Relationship:

88. Whom do you visit most often?

Names

Relationships

How often

.....

.....

89. Who visit your home most often?

Names

Relationships

How often

.....

.....

N. COMMENTS:

Interviewer:.....

Interviewee.....

Appendix 31

EMPLOYMENT SCHEDULE

Name:.....

Household No:.....

Employment details

14. In the table provided below, please describe each job you had BEFORE coming to Australia (in chronological order).

	Type of work	Type of employer
Job 1
Job 2
Job 3

15. Have you had any jobs SINCE coming to Australia?

YES If YES GO TO questions 16 & 17.

NO If NO, have you tried to find work in the past month?

YES.....

NO

Now GO TO question 18.

16. In the table provided below, please describe each job you have had SINCE coming to Australia (in chronological order).

	Type of job	Full time	Part-time	Type of employer
Job 1
Job 2
Job 3

17. Do you have a job now?

YES.....

NO

If NO, have you tried to find work in the last 4 weeks?

YES

NO

Appendix 4

Tables adapted from the Australian 1991 Census of Population and Housing for the State of New South Wales

Table 4.1
Distribution of Persons Born in Western Samoa in N.S.W.

Local Government Area	Males	Females	Persons
Canterbury	254	259	513
Blacktown	186	201	387
Campbelltown	167	148	315
Fairfield	142	145	287
Bankstown	93	100	193
Marrickville	88	82	170
Liverpool	75	74	149
Newcastle	82	61	143
Auburn	49	54	103
Rockdale	46	51	97
Parramatta	47	45	92
Lake Macquarie	33	34	67
Randwick	38	25	63
Penrith	23	20	43
Holroyd	16	21	37
Ryde	20	17	37
Warringah	13	20	33
Hurstville	15	13	28
Ashfield	9	16	25
North Sydney	9	15	24
South Sydney	11	13	24
Manly	12	11	23
Queanbeyan	11	10	21
Ku-ring-gal	8	12	20
Waverley	7	13	20
Burwood	10	9	19
Kogarah	10	8	18
Leichardt	10	8	18
Gosford	9	8	17
Maitland	5	11	16
Hornsby	5	10	15
Botany	7	6	13
Sutherland	7	5	12
Wollongong	3	8	11
Blue Mountains	6	4	10
Concord	-	9	9
Strathfield	-	9	9
Baulkham Hills	5	3	8
Port Stephens	5	3	8
Willoughby	4	4	8
Cessnock	4	3	7
Drummoyne	3	3	6
Woollahra	3	3	6
Greater Lithgow	5	-	5
Hawkesbury	-	5	5
Wagga Wagga	-	4	4
Aibury	3	-	3
Armidale	3	-	3
Bathurst	-	3	3

Coffs Harbour	-	3	3
Kempsey	-	3	3
Leeton	3	-	3
Lismore	-	3	3
Mulwara	3	-	3
Muswellbrook	-	3	3
Orange	-	3	3
Sydney	3	-	3
Tamworth	3	-	3
Tweed	-	3	3
Windouran	-	3	3
Wyong	3	-	3
New South Wales	1576	1607	3183

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.2

Language by sex of Western Samoan-born; aged 5 years and over

Language	Males	Females	Persons
African languages NEI	3	3	6
Cantonese	3	-	3
English only	201	223	424
Fijian	-	3	3
French	-	3	3
Italian	-	3	3
Oceanic languages NEI	1258	1284	2542
Inadequately described	9	3	12
Not stated	66	62	128
Total	1540	1584	3124

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.3

Religious Affiliation of Persons Born in Western Samoa By Sex

Religion	Males	Females	Persons
Catholic	357	388	745
Uniting Church	223	233	456
Presbyterian	175	174	349
Assembly of God	155	157	312
Latter Day Saint	148	153	301
Seventh Day Adventist	121	131	252
Congregational	85	84	169
Anglican	27	40	67
Other Christian NEI	30	32	62
Church of Christ	24	24	48
Baptist	23	24	47
Jehovah's Witness	11	11	22
Other Pentecostal NEI	9	9	18
Church of the Nazarene	6	5	11
Baha'i World Faith	3	3	6

			256
Other Protestant NEI	3	3	6
Reformed	3	3	6
Salvation Army	3	3	6
Christian Science	4	-	4
Brethren	-	3	3
Greek Orthodox	-	3	3
Hinduism	-	3	3
Four Square Gospel	3	-	3
Islam	-	3	3
Other Non-Christian	3	-	3
Sub-total	1416	1489	2905
No religion so described	46	28	74
Inadequately described	32	25	57
Not stated	95	69	164
Total	1589	1671	3200

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.4
Age By Sex of Persons Born In Western Samoa

Age (Years)	Males	Females	Persons
Under 1	6	3	9
1	5	3	8
2	8	3	11
3	13	5	18
4	9	9	18
0-4	41	23	64
5	8	7	15
6	13	11	24
7	17	8	25
8	6	8	14
9	15	17	32
5-9	59	51	110
10	19	17	36
11	17	6	23
12	12	17	29
13	14	17	31
14	11	19	30
10-14	73	76	149
15	18	14	32
16	17	15	32
17	23	11	34
18	14	17	31
19	28	27	55
15-19	100	84	184
20-24	146	175	321
25-29	195	243	438
30-34	252	261	513
35-39	233	256	489
40-44	169	185	384
45-49	109	106	215

			257
50-54	75	51	126
55-59	42	19	61
60-64	22	26	48
65-69	15	22	37
70-74	10	15	25
75 and over	14	16	32
All ages	1585	1611	3196

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.5

Year of Arrival in Australia By Sex of Western Samoan-born

Year of arrival	Males	Females	Persons
Prior to 1971	50	49	99
1971-1985	468	515	983
1986-1987	319	320	645
1988-1989	363	380	748
1990-1991	291	263	554
Not stated	89	74	163
Total	1585	1607	3192

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.6

Proficiency In English By Sex of Western Samoan-born. Persons aged 5 years and over.

Proficiency In English	Males	Females	Persons
Very well	666	709	1375
Well	452	460	912
Nct well	175	136	311
Not at all	20	34	54
Not stated	30	26	56
Speaks English only	201	223	424
Total	1544	1588	3132

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.7
Age Western Samoan-born left school by sex; 15 years and over.

Age left school	Males	Females	Persons
Still at school	36	35	71
Did not go to school	55	48	103
Under 15 years	81	67	148
15	104	75	179
16	156	154	310
17	196	215	411
18	225	298	523
19 years and over	345	346	691
Not stated	214	223	437
Total	1412	1461	2873

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.8
Qualifications of Western Samoan-born by sex; 15 years and over.

Level of qualification	Males	Females	Persons
Higher degree	8	3	11
Postgraduate diploma	4	4	8
Bachelor degree	25	16	41
Undergraduate diploma	29	58	87
Associate diploma	16	21	37
Skilled vocational	102	19	121
Basic vocational	26	46	72
Inadequately described	19	20	39
Not stated	261	291	552
Not qualified	922	984	1906
Total	1412	1462	2874

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.9
Labour force status by sex, Western Samoan-born; 15 years and over

Labour force status	Males	Females	Persons
Wage or salary earner	714	465	1179
Self-employed	20	22	42
Employer	9	7	16
Unpaid helper	-	9	9
Total employed	743	503	1246
Unemployed-			
looking for full-time work	337	199	536
looking for part-time work	22	53	75
Total unemployed	359	252	611
Not in labour force	227	575	802
Not stated	83	131	214
Total	1412	1461	2873

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.10

Annual Individual Income by sex, Western Samoan-born, aged 15 years and over

Annual Individual Income	Males	Females	Persons
Less than \$3001	69	145	218
\$3001-\$8000	140	174	314
\$8001-\$16000	272	358	630
\$16001-\$25000	480	256	736
\$25001-\$40000	163	69	232
\$40001-\$70000	30	10	40
More than \$70000	5	-	5
Not stated	253	445	698
Total	1412	1461	2873

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.11

Occupation by sex of Western Samoan-born, employed labour force

Occupational classifications	Males	Females	Person
Managers and administrators	10	10	20
Professionals	26	23	49
Para-professionals	27	48	75
Tradespersons	126	14	140
Clerks	38	103	141
Clerks	21	60	81
Salespersons, personal service workers	226	59	285
Plant/machine operators and drivers	178	144	322
Labourers and related workers	7	9	16
Not adequately described	79	50	129
Not stated			
Total	738	520	1258

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.12

Industry by sex of Western Samoan-born; employed labour force

Industrial classification	Males	Females	Persons
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting	0	0	0
Mining	3	0	3
Manufacturing	298	113	411
Electricity, gas, water	0	0	0
Construction	27	3	30
Wholesale, retail trade	91	50	141
Transport, storage	63	17	80
Communication	0	8	8
Finance, property, business services	36	45	81
Public administration, defence	16	19	35
Community services	53	129	182
Recreation, personal, other services	20	36	56
Non-classifiable economic units	3	5	8
Not stated	130	77	207
Total	740	502	1242

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Table 4.13

Marital status by sex of Western Samoan-born; 15 years and over

Marital status	Male	Female	Persons ¹
Never married	416	355	771
Married	901	923	1824
Separated but not divorced	50	81	131
Divorced	34	39	73
Widowed	16	61	77
Total	1417	1459	2876

Source: Australian Census, 1991

¹ All ages.

Table 4.14

Selected birthplace of mother by birthplace of father by year of arrival in Australia of offspring. Mother's birthplace: Western Samoa

Father's birthplace	Pre-1971	1971-85	1986-91	Unstated	A.-Born ²	Total
Australia	11	30	16	4	136	197
China	-	14	13	3	-	30
Cook Islands	-	7	3	-	4	14
Ecuador	-	-	-	-	3	3
England	8	10	15	-	17	50
Fiji	3	13	13	4	6	39
French Polynesia	-	3	-	-	-	3
Germany	4	5	-	-	7	16
Greece	-	3	-	-	4	7
Hong Kong	-	3	-	-	-	3
Hungary	-	4	-	-	-	4
India	3	-	4	-	3	10
Ireland	-	3	-	-	-	3
Kiribati	3	3	-	-	-	6
Malaysia	-	-	3	-	-	3
Malta	-	-	-	-	4	4
Nauru	-	3	3	-	-	6
Netherlands	3	-	6	-	4	13
New Zealand	8	83	124	14	69	298
Niue	-	4	13	-	-	17
Papua New Guinea	-	8	14	-	3	25
Samoa, American	-	7	7	-	3	17
Samoa, Western	44	1373	2827	208	639	5091
Scotland	4	5	-	-	-	9
South Africa	-	-	-	-	3	3
Spain	-	-	-	-	3	3
Tokelau	-	3	9	-	3	15
Tonga	-	31	8	3	22	64
Tuvalu	-	4	-	-	-	4
United States of America	3	8	6	-	-	17
Wales	3	-	-	-	-	3
Yugoslavia	-	-	-	-	3	3
Inadequately described	-	3	3	-	-	6
Not stated	-	24	18	6	11	59
Total	97	1654	3105	242	947	6045

Source: Australian Census, 1991

² A.-Born= Australian born.

Table 4.15

Selected birthplace of father by birthplace of mother by year of arrival in Australia of offspring. Birthplace of father: Western Samoa.

Mother's birthplace	Pre-1971	1971-85	1986-91	Unstated	A.-born	Total
Australia	5	18	11	3	216	253
Austria	-	-	-	3	-	3
Cook Islands	-	11	16	-	7	34
England	-	-	7	-	10	17
Fiji	4	11	8	3	5	31
France	-	-	3	-	-	3
Germany	-	-	3	-	-	3
Italy	-	-	-	-	3	3
Kiribati	-	-	3	-	-	3
Lebanon	-	-	-	-	5	5
Malta	-	-	-	-	3	3
Netherlands	-	-	3	-	-	3
New Zealand	4	95	142	9	81	331
Niue	-	3	15	3	-	21
Papua New Guinea	-	3	6	-	7	16
Samoa, American	-	5	10	3	3	21
Samoa, Western	44	1373	2827	208	639	5091
Scotland	-	-	4	-	-	4
Sweden	-	-	-	-	3	3
Tokelau	-	3	14	3	3	23
Tonga	-	7	24	3	6	40
Tuvalu	3	3	-	-	-	6
Not stated	3	12	17	3	7	42
Total	63	1544	3113	241	998	5959

Source: Australian Census, 1991

Appendix 5
Supplementary tables from the fieldwork sample survey 1992/93

Table 5.1
Names of household matai in sample

All'i (Chiefs)	Tulafale (Orators)
Aiolupotea	Algamaua
Asi	Fatiau
Fa'alava'au	Fiu
Fa'alava'au	Gogo
Gala	Lalau
Leota	Laloulu
Muagututi'a	Le'afa
Opelu	Manufui
Papall'i	Pouniu
Saumalu	Pouoa
Tiatia	Pouvalu
Tcieafoa	Savea
Tuisila	Seve
Va'ele	Ta'aliti
	Tafaomalo
	Tiata
	Vailolo
	Upu
	Simanu
	Tui
	Suemalo

Total: Chiefs, 14; Orators, 21. Total, 35.

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.2
Weekly Rents: Houses and Flats Combined

Weekly Rates	No. Families	Weekly Rate	No. Families
\$140	15	\$240	2
\$200	12	\$250	2
\$180	9	\$260	2
\$125	9	\$37	1
\$130	8	\$60	1
\$135	7	\$67	1
\$160	6	\$84	1
\$185	5	\$90	1
\$190	5	\$91	1
\$150	4	\$100	1
\$163	3	\$115	1
\$145	3	\$126	1
\$120	3	\$149	1
\$80	2	\$178	1
\$170	2	\$215	1
\$195	2	\$225	1
\$210	2	\$230	1
\$220	2	\$300	1
Total	99		21

Note: Total of 120 families sampled.

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.3
Household size: nuclear and extended families

Extended Families		Nuclear Families	
H/hold size Families	No. Families	H/hold size	No. Families
1	0	5	19
2	2	6	8
3	5	7	6
4	10	8	3
5	15		
6	8		
7	10		
Total Number of Extended Families			67
		Total Number of Nuclear Families	
		70	
		Grand Total	
		137	

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.4
Year of Arrival in Australia

YEAR ARRIVAL	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL
	PERSONS	YEAR ARRIVAL	PERSONS	YEAR ARRIVAL	
1969	0	1969	1	1969	1
1975	1	1975	0	1975	1
1978	0	1978	1	1978	1
1979	3	1979	3	1979	6
1980	8	1980	9	1980	17
1981	26	1981	12	1981	38
1982	6	1982	6	1982	12
1983	13	1983	13	1983	26
1984	10	1984	11	1984	21
1985	22	1985	25	1985	47
1986	31	1986	36	1986	67
1987	25	1987	20	1987	45
1988	38	1988	34	1988	72
1989	29	1989	36	1989	65
1990	42	1990	46	1990	88
1991	32	1991	25	1991	57
1992	31	1992	34	1992	65
Total	317		312		629
Born in Australia	48		47		95
Unstated	5		6		11
Grand Total	370		365		735

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.5
COUNTRY OF BIRTH: SAMPLE CENSUS

Country	Male	Female	Total	%
Western Samoa	200	196	396	53.88
New Zealand	112	111	223	30.34
Australia	51	51	102	13.88
Other	8	6	14	1.90
Total	371	364	735	100

NOTE: "Other" includes males from eight countries: Kiribati, Pakistan, Lebanon, Papua New Guinea, Falkland Islands, India, Tonga and American Samoa; and six females from Lebanon, Brazil, Cook Islands, Tokelau and American Samoa (2).

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.6
Country of residence of close relatives of husbands and wives
HUSBANDS RELATIVES

	W.S.	N.Z.	Aust.	USA	Haw.	A.S. ¹	Thal. ²	Total
Father	7	3	4	1	-	-	-	15
Mother	10	2	7	-	-	-	-	19
Brother	28	26	40	3	1	3	-	101
Sister	26	34	31	4	4	1	1	101
Total	71	65	82	8	5	4	1	236

MOTHERS RELATIVES

	W.S.	N.Z.	Aust.	USA	Haw.	A.S.	Thal.	Total
Father	7	3	3	1	-	-	-	14
Mother	11	7	4	-	-	-	-	22
Brother	46	23	17	3	2	3	-	94
Sister	40	28	24	2	-	2	-	96
Total	104	61	48	6	2	5	-	226

Note: The above results are from a survey of 36 husbands and 31 wives from the main sample of 137 households. Other observations are: (a) The small number of parents is due to the fact many were deceased; (b) Many half-siblings were recorded but are not included in the above figures. If they and adopted children are included, the figures would increase further; (c) Whilst most relatives continue to live in Samoa, by far the greatest number live overseas (i.e. if the numbers of overseas relatives are added, they exceed the number living in Samoa, at least the close relatives).

Source: Sample survey, 1992

1 A.S.= American Samoa.

2 Thal.= Thailand.

Table 5.7
Country of First Migration

Country	MALE		FEMALE	
		Persons		Persons
New Zealand		104		102
Australia		12		20
U.S.A.		1		-
Total		117		122

Note: The 117 males enumerated are all married males from the households in the main sample of 137. The remaining 20 families are not included because: (a) nine are headed by women; (b) six are families where the husbands are New Zealand-born; (c) four are families in which the husband is of a different nationality (i.e. not Samoan); (d) information is unavailable on one Samoan-born male. Data on the remaining 15 households in the female count is unavailable due to similar reasons. Of the 15 households, eight of the females are New Zealand-born; three are headed by males; and four contain European wives.

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.8
Year of First Migration

To New Zealand

MALES		FEMALES	
Year	No.	Year	No.
1956	-	1973	5
1957	1	1974	3
1958	2	1975	8
1959	1	1976	9
1960	1	1977	-
1961	3	1978	7
1962	4	1979	3
1963	3	1980	4
1964	2	1981	3
1965	1	1982	7
1966	3	1983	3
1967	3	1984	4
1968	2	1985	2
1969	2	1986	3
1970	6	1987	2
1971	2	1988	2
1972	3	1989	-
Total			104

To Australia

1978	-	1978	1
1979	1	1979	1
1980	1	1980	1
1981	1	1981	1
1982	2	1983	2
1985	2	1985	3
1986	1	1986	2
1987	2	1987	3
1988	-	1988	2
1989	-	1989	2
1990	2	1990	2
Total	12		20

To United States of America

1963	1
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SUMMARY
Country of First Migration

	MALES	FEMALES
New Zealand	104	102
Australia	12	20
U.S.A.	1	
Total	117	122

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.9
Visa Category for First Migration

<u>To New Zealand</u>	MALES	FEMALES
Quota	70	54
Permanent residences	19	17
New Zealand citizen	6	1
Visitor	4	6
Student	4	9
Family reunion	1	5
Accompany spouse	-	9
Occupation	-	1
Total	104	102
<u>To Australia</u>		
Points system	5	6
Visitor	3	4
Australian citizen	2	-
Occupation	1	-
Accompany spouse	-	4
Family reunion	-	4
Student	-	1
Unstated	1	1
Total	12	20
<u>To United States</u>		
Student	1	
 Grand total	 117	 122

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.10
Multiple responses of reasons for first migration

<u>To New Zealand (Males)</u>	First choice	Second choice	Third choice
Reasons			
Employment	13	8	-
Education/training	7	10	1
Help family	4	4	1
Better life	1	-	-
Better future	1	1	2
See new places	1	2	-
Self-improvement	-	2	-
Total responses	27	27	4

Note: There were four replies with three responses each and 23 with two responses each for an overall total of 58 responses.

3 "Permanent residence" could be under any permanent visa category including quota.

To New Zealand (Females)

Employment	7	8	-
Education/training	5	5	-
Help family	4	5	1
Holiday	3	-	-
Self-improvement	-	1	-
Family reunion	1	-	-
Better future	-	2	-
Support parents	1	-	-
Care for relatives	1	-	-
Visit relatives	-	1	-
Gain experience	-	-	1
Total	22	22	2

Note: There were two replies with three responses each, and 20 with two responses each for an overall total of 46 responses.

To Australia (Males)

Better future	2	1	-
Help family	1	2	-
Family reunion	-	-	1
Employment	1	2	-
Marriage	1	-	-
Total	5	5	1

Note: There was one reply with three responses and four with two responses for an overall total of 11 responses.

To Australia (Females)

Better health	1	-	-
Holiday	1	-	-
Better future	-	1	-
See other places	-	1	-
Help family	-	-	1
Total	2	2	1

Note: There was one reply with three responses and one with two responses for an overall total of five responses.

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.11
Kinds of Fa'alavelave Experienced in Sydney, with Translations

Fa'alavelave	Samoan translation
Baptisms	Papatisoga
Beauty contests	Fa'aaliga tausala
Births	Fanauga
Birthdays	Aso Fanau
Boys' Brigade	Mea Au a Tama
Church anniversaries	Fa'amanatuga, aso fanau

Church dedications	Fa'aulufalega
Dances/socials	Siva, fa'atasiga
Engagements	Fa'amau
Family reunions	Fa'atasiga faa-le-aiga
Farewell function for visitors	Alava
Flag raising	Sisiga fu'a
Formal farewells	Fa'amavaega
Founding of new churches, congregations	Fa'atuina o ekalesia fou
Functions of Samoan Advisory Council	Mea a le Fono Fauautua
Fundraising activities	Su'ega tupe
Fundraising letters	Tusi Aisi
Fundraising pledges	Tusiga igoa
Funerals	Maliu
Girls' Brigade	Mea Au a Teine
House dedications	Umusaga
Opening of new businesses	Tatalaga o pisinisi fou
Formalising of religious contract	Osiga feagaiga
Others' church activities	Mea isi au lotu
Own church activities	Mea faa-le-lotu
Social visits	Asiga
Cancellation of religious contract	Tatalaga o le feagaiga
Title investiture ceremonies	Saofa'i
Travels to Samoa	Malaga i Samoa
Twenty-first birthdays	Lua-sefulu-tasi
Weddings	Fa'alpoipoga

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.12
Respondents Who Returned to Samoa from New Zealand and Australia for faalavelave visits

		MALES	No. H/holds
	Status		95
Respondents			
	Female solo parents		6
	Non-Samoan husbands/partners		4
	No return visits		27
	No information available		5
	Total		137
		FEMALE	No. H/holds
	Status		87
Respondents			
	Male solo parents		2
	Male household heads		1
	Non-Samoan wives/partners		3
	No return visits		39
	No information available		5
	Total		137

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.13
Fa'alavelave visits by males: Australia to Western Samoa

Fa'alavelave	No. Visits
Funerals	22
Holiday	20
Church conference	19
Family business	13
Visit relatives	9
Illness	8
Court case	6
Title investiture	6
Sports	6
Weddings	3
Church business	3
Build house	2
Return migration	2
Church dedication	1
General elections	1
Total	121

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.14
Fa'alavelave visits by males: Australia to New Zealand

Fa'alavelave	No. Visits
Visit family	24
Funerals	22
Church business	14
Visit relatives	13
Family business	11
Holiday	11
Weddings	7
Illness	5
Sports	3
Church dedication	2
Fundraising	2
Group visit (malaga)	1
Birthday	1
Total	116

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.15
Fa'alavelave visits by males: New Zealand to Western Samoa

Fa'alavelave	No. Visits
Illness	22
Visit relatives	21
Holiday	21
Court case	10
Family business	9
Funerals	8
Church conference	8
Weddings	4

Title investiture	3
Church dedication	3
Return migration	3
House dedication	2
Employment	2
Build house	2
Education	2
Total	120

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.16
Fa'alavelave visits by males: N.Z./Australia to other destinations

Destination	Fa'alavelave	No. Visits
Australia to U.S.A.	Wedding	1
	Holiday	1
New Zealand to U.S.A.	Holiday	2
	Birthday	1
	Visit relatives	1
Australia to Am. Samoa	Visit relatives	1
Australia to Hong Kong	Holiday	1
Total		8

Note: Strictly speaking, a holiday is not a fa'alavelave because it is not something unexpected which requires one's immediate attention. It may be regarded as a fa'alavelave though to the extent that it is a problem because it requires extensive expenditures to the people concerned.

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.17
Fa'alavelave visits by females: Australia to Western Samoa

Fa'alavelave	No. Visits
Holiday	21
Funerals	13
Family business	12
Visit relatives	10
Church conference	8
Illness	5
Weddings	2
Church dedication	2
Return migration	2
Title investiture	1
Court case	1
Group visit	1
Build house	1
Fundraising	1
Total	80

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.18
Fa'alavelave visits by females: Australia to New Zealand

Fa'alavelave	No. Visits
Weddings	19
Visit relatives	17
Family business	14
Holiday	14
Funerals	9
Illness	7
Church business	6
Church conference	5
Church dedication	4
Sports	1
Build house	1
Total	97

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.19
Fa'alavelave visits by females: New Zealand to Western Samoa

Fa'alavelave	No. Visits
Visit relatives	15
Holiday	14
Funerals	9
Illness	9
Family business	6
Church conference	5
House dedication	4
Weddings	2
Church dedication	2
Return migration	2
Build house	1
Education	1
Title investiture	1
Group visit	1
Total	72

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.20
Fa'alavelave visits by females: N.Z./Australia to other destinations

Destination	Fa'alavelave	No. Visits
Australia to United States	Wedding	1
	Holiday	1
Australia to Hawaii	Church conference	1
New Zealand to Hawaii	Funeral	1
New Zealand to U.S.A.	Illness	1
	Visit relatives	1
	Birthday	1
	Holiday	1
Total		8

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.21
How first accommodation was obtained in N.Z.: males

Stayed with/at	Persons
Uncle	25
Sister	23
Brother	11
In-laws	8
Friends	7
Cousin	6
Aunt	4
Parents	2
Daughter	1
Mother	1
Fellow villager	1
Company house	1
Theological College	1
Relatives	13
Total	105
Males who migrated direct to Australia	13
Female household heads	8
New Zealand-born males	5
Non-Samoan husbands	4
Information unavailable	1
Total	137

Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.22
How first accommodation was obtained in N.Z.: females

Stayed with/at	Persons
Aunt	13
Sister	11
Brother	7
Uncle	6

Cousin	5
Parents	3
Friends	3
In-laws	2
Father	1
Mother	1
Children	1
Fiance	1
College	1
Relatives	23
In addition:	
Accompanied husband	18
Accompanied family	2
Joined husband	3
Rented	1
Total	102
Females who migrated direct to Australia	19
New Zealand-born	7
Male household heads	5
Non-Samoan wives	4
Total	137

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.23
Married Couples Migrating Together: Village Residence in Western Samoa Immediate 12
Months Before Migration

Village	No. Couples
Aleisa	2
Apia Park	1
Faleatiu	1
Fugalei	1
Lalovaea	1
Lepa	2
Leulumoega	1
Magiagi	2
Malua	1
Matautu, Falelatai	1
Safune	1
Saleimoa	1
Sataoa	1
Tufuiofa	1
Tulaele	1
Utalii	1
Vailele	1
Vailu'utai	1
Vaivase	1
Vaiala	1
Total	23

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.24

Individual Migration. Village Residence in Western Samoa Immediate 12 Months Before
First Migration: Males

Village	Persons	Village	Persons
Aai Niue	1	Sa'aga, Siumu	1
Afega	1	Sa'anapu	1
Alafua	1	Sale'a'aumua	1
Alamagoto	2	Saleufi	1
Apia	1	Saluafata	1
Auala	1	Samatau	1
Aufaga	1	Sasina	1
Fa'ala	1	Sataoa	5
Fagali'i	1	Satitoo	1
Fal'a'ai	1	Satupa'itea	1
Falealupo	1	Sinamoga	1
Falease'ela	1	Si'unlu	1
Fateasi'u	1	Sogi	2
Falelatai	1	Solosolo	1
Falevao	1	Ta'elefaga	1
Fausaga	1	Tafua	1
Gatalval	1	Tanugamanono	1
Lalomanu	1	Tapatapao	1
Lalovaea	1	Taufusi	1
Lefagaoali'i	1	Toamua	1
Lepa	1	Togafu'afu'a	1
Leulumoega-tuai	2	Tuaefu	1
Lotofaga, Safata	1	Tufuiopa	2
Lotopa	2	Utuali'i	3
Luatuanu'u	2	Vaitele	1
Magiagi	1	Vailima	1
Mallfa	4	Vailoa, Apia	4
Malie	1	Vailu'utai	1
Manono-uta	1	Vaimea	1
Matautu, Falelatai	1	Vaimoso	1
Moata'a	2	Vaipu'a, Salega	1
Mutiatele	1	Vaipuna	1
Nelafu	2	Vaisala	1
Pata	4	Vaisa'ulu	1
Poutasi	1	Vaisigano, Apia	1
Pu'apu'a	1	Vaivase	1
Total	.	.	95

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Table 5.25

Individual Migration. Village Residence in Western Samoa Immediate 12 Months Before First Migration: Females

Village	Persons	Village	Persons
Alafua	1	Sa'anapu	2
Alamagoto	2	Safa'ato'a	1
Aleisa	1	Safotu	1
Fa'atola	1	Sala'ilua	1
Fagatogo	1	Salamumu	2
Faleapuna	1	Salimu	1
Faleasi'u	2	Saluafata	1
Falefa	1	Saleimoa	2
Falelatai	1	Samata, Savai'i	2
Falelima	1	Samatau, Falelatai	1
Faletagafoa	1	Sataoa	2
Fasito'outa	2	Satitua	1
Fugalei	2	Sataua	1
Gataivai	1	Satuimalufilufi	1
Lalomanu	1	Satupa'itea	1
Lalovaea	1	Sinamoga	1
Leauva'a	1	Si'ufaga, Savai'i	1
Lefaga	1	Si'usega	1
Lepea	1	Sogi	1
Letogo	1	Taga	1
Leulumoega-tuai	1	Tanugamanono	1
Levi	1	Taufusi	1
Lotofaga, Safata	1	Ti'avea	1
Lotopa	1	Toamua	2
Magiagi	1	Togafu'afu'a	1
Malaela	1	Tufuioa	1
Malle	2	Tulaele	1
Manono-uta	1	Ululoloa	1
Matautu, Apia	2	Vaigaga	1
Matautu, Lefaga	1	Vailele	1
Matautu, Falelatai	1	Valloa, Apia	3
Moata'a	4	Vaimea	1
Mullifanua	3	Vaivase	1
Nelafu	1	Vaivase-tai	1
Pago Pago (American Samoa)	1	Valsala	1
Palauli	1	Vaoval	1
Pesega	2	Total	93

Source: Sample survey, 1992

Appendix 6
PROGRAMME

FOR WESTERN SAMOAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION
held at the RSL Club, Blacktown, Sydney, 7 June, 1992. Organised
by the Samoan Advisory Council.

6.1

Programme

Master of Ceremonies: Rev. Fa'avae Kalamelu Le'aupepe.

Sermon: Rev. Ma'atullmanu Taotua.

Guest of Honour: Western Samoan High Commissioner and wife.

1. Blessing of the national flag - Rev. Savello Paulo (Fa'apopotoga).
2. Raising of the national flag - High Commissioner Fe'esago Fepulea'i. Seventh Day Adventist Band to play national anthem.
3. Chairman of the Samoan Advisory Council, Papali Tuala, to welcome guests and dignitaries.
4. Opening words and prayer by Master of Ceremonies.
5. Hymns by (I) Pereporeane congregation, Five Dock.
(II) EFKS, Sydney.
6. Reading from the Old Testament by Rev. Samuelu Ella.
7. Hymns by (I) Catholic congregation, Bankstown.
(II) So'ofa'atasi, City Mission.
8. Reading from New Testament by Rev. Faavae K. Leaupepe, Pereporeane.
9. Hymn by EFKS, Fairfield.
10. Prayer (Thanksgiving/Atonement) - Rev. Fosi Pala'amo, EFKS, Carlton.
11. Hymns by (I) EFKS, Carlton.
(II) Catholic congregation, Parramatta.
12. Prayer (Petition) - Rev. Neone Okesene, Seventh Day Adventists.
13. Hymns by (I) Seventh Day Adventist congregation.
(II) So'ofa'atasi congregations from Lidcombe, Riverwood, Bidwill.
14. Collection of offering - Hymn "SAU TAULAGA MOLIA" led by Catholic congregation.
15. Sermon - Rev. Ma'atullmanu Taotua, Methodist congregation.
16. Hymns by (I) Methodist congregation.
(II) Samoan Assembly of God (Fa'apopotoga).

17. Announcements - Atonio Sitagata, secretary to Samoan Advisory Council.
18. Keynote address by Western Samoan High Commissioner, His Excellency Fe'esago Siasia Fepaia'i.
19. Announcement by Afloga Vul Masinamua, representative of the Samoan National Development Party.
20. Words of thanks by Tofa Mull'aumalu Pilla'e, Samoan orator for the council.
21. Concluding prayer and hymn, "LOTA NU'U" sung by all.
22. Lowering of flag.

6.2

**RESULTS OF SPORTING EVENTS HELD TO COMMEMORATE
WESTERN SAMOA'S INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY, 1992.
Held at State Sports Centre, Strathfield, Sydney, 8 June, 1992.**

SEVEN A SIDE TOUCH FOOTBALL (League)

Division 1. Years 11-13.

Placings: 1. Uniting Church, Lidcombe. 2. Seventh Day Adventist.
Number of participating teams: 9.

Division 2. Years 14-16.

Placings: 1. Assembly of God, Parramatta. 2. Assembly of God, Mt. Druitt. Number of participating teams: 8.

Division 3. Years 17-20.

Placings: 1. Latter Day Saints, Bankstown. 2. Latter Day Saints, Liverpool.
Number of participating teams: 12.

Open. 21 years and over

Placings for Open, 21 & over: 1. EFKS, Ashbury. 2. Perepereane, Ingleburn.
Number of participating teams: 35.

Open. 21 and over. Names of some participating teams

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Latter Day Saints, Bankstown, A. | 13. Boys' Brigade, EFKS, Campsie. |
| 2. Latter Day Saints, Bankstown, B. | 14. Methodist A, Marrickville. |
| 3. Uniting Church, Ashfield. | 15. Methodist B, Marrickville. |
| 4. Assembly of God, Parramatta. | 16. Pacific Islands Church, Five Dock. |
| 5. Uniting Church. | 17. EFKS, Sydney. |
| 6. Catholic, Parramatta. | 18. Catholic, Bankstown. |
| 7. Assembly of God, Punchbowl | 19. Uniting Church, Canberra. |
| 8. Seventh Day Adventist, Mr. Druitt. | 20. EFKS, Ashbury. |
| 9. Uniting, Wesley Mission. | 21. Assembly of God, Mascot. |
| 10. Latter Day Saints, Fairfield. | 22. Assembly of God, Leichardt. |
| 11. Methodist, Bankstown. | 23. EFKS, Carlton. |
| 12. Pacific Islands Church, Ingleburn. | 24. (Others....) |

Note: At least 64 church-based teams took part in the touch football (league) tournament.

VOLLEYBALL

Open. Men's A Grade.

Placings: 1. Seventh Day Adventists, Mt. Druitt. 2. Latter Day Saints, Bankstown.

Open. Men's B Grade.

Placings: 1. Seventh Day Adventists, Mt. Druitt. 2. Methodists, Marrickville.

Open. Men's Under 21.

Placings: 1. Latter Day Saints, Liverpool. 2. Latter Day Saints, Bankstown.

Number of teams in men's competition: 48

Open. Women's A Grade.

Placings: 1. Assembly of God, Mascot. 2. Latter Day Saints, Bankstown.

Open. Women's B Grade.

Placings: 1. Methodists, Liverpool. 2. Catholics, Parramatta.

Open. Women's Under 21.

Placings: 1. Latter Day Saints, Liverpool. 2. Latter Day Saints, Bankstown.

Number of teams in women's competition: 42.

GOLF

Team Event.

Placings: 1. Royal Samoa Club. 2. Tausala Club. 3. Pacific Club. 4. Western Samoa Club. 5. Samoa Club.

Individual Event. Men's A Grade.

Placings: 1. Feagaiga Moana. 2. Tavita Limutau.

Individual Event. Men's B. Grade.

Placings: 1. Fred Pritchard. 2. Eti Lulu.

Individual Event. Women.

Placing: 1. Mrs Ruta Toleafoa.

Number of participating teams: 5.

Number of individual participants: 35.

RUGBY UNION

Test Match Between Fiji and Western Samoa

Result: Western Samoa 11, Fiji 8.

Appendix 7

NATIONAL STATISTICS ON SAMOAN MIGRANTS

Table 7.1
Western Samoan-born settler arrivals in Australia by five year age groups for financial years 1982/83 to 1990/91 inclusive

Years	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91
0-4	8	7	6	18	22	20	17	16	19
5-9	5	6	7	23	11	21	29	33	15
10-14	6	2	19	22	25	24	25	21	11
15-19	7	5	11	32	40	37	53	39	18
20-24	14	19	30	55	58	72	71	65	39
25-29	23	16	35	61	76	70	93	97	38
30-34	19	14	31	37	76	76	79	67	41
35-39	5	8	20	34	59	53	85	58	13
40-44	7	7	19	24	29	35	44	31	13
45-49	1	1	7	13	13	28	20	22	11
50-54	2	3	10	9	8	12	9	11	5
55-59	1	-	3	5	8	3	10	7	5
60-64	-	-	3	2	2	6	10	5	2
65 & over	-	1	1	5	3	8	6	6	4
Total	98	89	202	340	430	465	552	478	234

Note: Western Samoan-born settler arrivals for 1991/92 totalled 255. Over the 10-year period from 1982/83 to 1991/92, a total of 3,143 Western Samoan-born migrants arrived in Australia.

Source: Standard Tables, Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration Research, DILGEA.

Table 7.2
Western Samoan-born male migrants by year of arrival, by marital status

Status	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91
Married	17	18	57	70	114	119	130	121	40
Divorced	-	-	4	3	4	5	6	2	1
Widowed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Unmarried	23	22	39	101	93	101	123	112	83
Unstated	-	-	-	-	1	10	-	-	-
Total	40	40	100	174	212	235	259	238	124

Total males: 1,422.

Source: Standard Tables, Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration Research, DILGEA.

Table 7.3
Western Samoan-born female migrants by year of arrival, by marital status

Status	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91
Married	37	28	55	85	100	116	155	117	41
Divorced	-	-	3	7	4	3	5	5	1
Widowed	1	-	4	5	5	2	7	6	3
Unmarried	20	21	40	67	106	101	126	112	65
Unstated	-	-	-	2	3	8	-	-	-
Total	58	49	102	166	218	230	293	240	110

Total females: 1,466.

Source: Standard Tables, Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration Research, DILGEA.

Table 7.4
Western Samoan-born migrants by year of arrival, by marital status

Status	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86	86/87	87/88	88/89	89/90	90/91
Married	54	46	112	155	214	235	285	238	81
Divorced	-	-	7	10	8	8	11	7	2
Widowed	1	-	4	5	5	2	7	9	3
Unmarried	43	43	79	168	199	202	249	224	148
Unstated	-	-	-	2	4	18	-	-	-
Total	98	89	202	340	430	465	552	478	234

Total Western Samoan-born migrants: 2,888.

Source: Standard Tables, Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration Research, DILGFA.

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