MIGRATION AND CULTURE:

THE ROLE OF SAMOAN CHURCHES IN CONTEMPORARY
AOTEAROA - NEW ZEALAND

A thesis
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of the requirements for the degree
of
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in the
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by
Edwin Peter Hendrikse  B.Sc.,B.A.

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DEDICATION

To my Mum, Dad and my sister Meritiana
for their constant love, support and encouragement.

Special Dedication: To my late beloved cousin
Keith Michael Brady.
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the dilemmas that the church faces today when dealing with the Samoan and New Zealand born components of the New Zealand Samoan population. The generation gap between these two groups is a source of concern for both the church and the Samoan community as a whole. The thesis attempts to assess the processes of acculturation, assimilation, and ethnic segregation that may or may not be occurring among the Samoan people in New Zealand, and assesses the growth and emergence of a new culture of Samoans in New Zealand, The New Zealand born Samoan generation', who seek to find their cultural identity with Samoans and as New Zealanders.

Its purposes are threefold:

Firstly, to make readers aware of the diversity of New Zealand's Multicultural Society, and highlight the importance of the church for the Samoan migrant community in maintaining and retaining Samoan language and culture in New Zealand.

Secondly, to provide the Samoan Community, both Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans, with an understanding on the development of churches of various denominations that exist to serve them in New Zealand.

And thirdly, to promote the development of the New Zealand born Samoan generation who, unlike their Samoan-born parents, find themselves influenced by both their Samoan heritage and the New Zealand's multicultural society, and are thus at times caught between two cultures that can often contradict each other. It also examines the future implications in the survival of Samoan language and culture among the New Zealand born Samoan generation, who are presently already giving birth to the second generation of New Zealand born Samoans.
This study draws primarily on information obtained from survey research conducted within five different churches that serve the Samoan community in New Zealand's Capital City of Wellington (which, after Auckland, holds the second highest Samoan population in New Zealand). It also draws from less structured interviews with Samoans and a handful of other Pacific Islanders within the Wellington area. Through these interviews a sense of the history and growth of Samoan orientated churches in Wellington, and their contemporary activities was established. Together with survey material, these interviews enable the changes in attitudes, concerns, and views of the Samoan people who attend (and are loosely associated) with these churches to be assessed.

This thesis hopes to encourage and stimulate further research and discussion on the role of Samoan and other Pacific Island Churches in Aotearoa/New Zealand with regards to migration and culture, as well as provide a basis for future research to make necessary improvements on this particular study.
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Flow-chart Summation of Migration and Culture:
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172-180 Owen St, Newtown - Wellington.

Rev. Dr. Feleterika U Nokise
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Catholic Church of St Anne
26 Daniell St, Newtown - Wellington.

Pastor Va'a Saipani
Samoan Assembly of God
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**Interviewees and Conversations:**
- Rev. Risatesone Ete
- Rev. Setu Masina
- Rev. Dr. Feleterika U Nokise
- Rev. Pepe Nokise

- Rev. Va'alotu Salofa
- Pastor Va'a Saipani
- Rev. Feiloaiga Taule'ale'a'sumai
- Father Ioane Vito

**Interviewees:**
- Estha Afoa
- Anthony C H Carter
- Violet Ekenasio
- Tulele Faletolu

- Sina Masau
- Tina Masau
- Patrick Masina
- Fa'atoto Moanunu
Tofiga Sefo Fepuleai  Tufaina Moananu
Enoka Feterika  Vevesi Moananu
Elia Feterika  Vinise Moananu
Maria Feterika  Lealofi Nanai
Reva Fergusson  Liz Nanai
Salesulu Galugalu  Sulupo Nanai
Tupou Gardinar  Tovale Nanai
Gayle Hanipale-Brady  Pouliuli Salanoa
Laisarini Hanipale-Brady  Lotu Salesulu
Senerita Hanipale-Hendrikse  Siaosi Salesulu
Meritiana Hendrikse  Patsy Savali
Selea Komiti  Peter Savali
Bessie Lafoaga  Joy Sipeli
Ilove'a Leota  Colin Stanley
Patrick Leota  Riteta Tamatoa
Sapani Leota  Keiti Tiata
Tania Leota  Lomi Tomane
Tioata Leota  June Uili
Vai leota  Ake Vaitagutu
Au Liko

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E momoli atu la'u fa'afetai tele, mo lo outou lagolagoina, aemaise la outou fesoasoani mai, mo le tausaililiina o nisi o mataupu sa ou fesiliga ai mo se fesoasoani, aua lava le taumafaiga mo se lelei o tagata Samoa, o alala i Aotearoa/ Niu Sila, po o tapuaiga Fa'a-Samo a o lo'o iai i totonu o Aotearoa/Niu Sila nei. Fa'afetai tele mo la outou lagolago mai, ia alofa le Atua ma fa'amanuia atu, puipui lo outou soifua aua le galulue ai i lana galuega. Fa'afetai, fa'afetai tele lava.

Edwin Hendrikse.
ABBREVIATIONS

CCCS - Congregational Christian Church in Samoa.

EFKS - Ekalesia Fa'apotopotoga Kerisiano i Samoa
       (Congregational Christian Church in Samoa).

LMS - London Missionary Society.

PIPC - Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church.

SAOG - Samoan Assembly of God.

CCStA - Catholic Church of St. Anne.

StDMP - St. David's (Presbyterian) Multicultural Parish.
GLOSSARY OF SAMOAN WORDS

Aiga - Family, both immediate and extended.

Aiga fa'alavelave - An occasion where the extended family members are expected to contribute.

Aiga potopoto - Extended families gathered together.

Aitu - Class of pre-Christian gods of human origin, usually taking the form of animals, birds, humans or other natural objects.

Ali'i - High ranking paramount chief.

Alofa - Love, compassion and concern.

Aoga Amata - Pre-school language nest taught in Samoan.

Aoga Aso Sa - Sunday Schcol

Atua - God, also pre-Christian gods of non-human origin.

Aufaipese - Choir.

Au matutua (Tiakono) - Term used to describe Church Elder/Deacon.

Autalavou - Depending on the NZ Samoan Church, may only be for married couples and/or parents and youth together in a Samoan group within the church.
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<td>Autalavou tamaiti</td>
<td>- Junior Youth Group - College age to un-married persons.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fa'aloalo</td>
<td>- Respect, reverence, courtesies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa'aSamoa</td>
<td>- The world of Samoans, Samoan custom and culture, social organisation, the Samoan way and Samoan language.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gagana</td>
<td>- Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ie toga</td>
<td>- Fine mat woven from the flax of the Pandanus tree. This fine mat is exchanged on ceremonial occasions and considered of very high value. The most highly valued are named and have long histories.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mafutaga Tina</td>
<td>- Women's Fellowship.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matai</td>
<td>- Titled head of an aiga, general term applied to both chiefs and orators.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nu'u</td>
<td>- Village.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palagi, Papalagi (pl.)</td>
<td>- A term used to describe the earliest contact with Europeans which refer to their bursting through the sky at the horizon. Today it is a common term to describe Europeans/A white person(s).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulafale</td>
<td>- An orator or talking chief; one of two types of chiefs. The tulafale speaks for the ali'i on ceremonial occasions.</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

MIGRATION, CULTURE AND THE CHURCH:
AN INTRODUCTION.

One of the most important issues in understanding migrant groups, is how do migrant groups change their culture once they enter a new environment, and how do they cope with change.

Migration is a crucial process in determining cultural change. As people move to another region or country, they may seek to retain many aspects of their original culture as a way of maintaining their sense of identity in a new world. Yet over time migrant groups may also adopt and adapt elements of new cultures within their own culture. In some cases, they may even become partially or fully assimilated within the dominant culture in which they now live in.

This thesis is a study of the Samoan migrant community in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It focuses on the role of contemporary Samoan churches in their attempt to maintain and retain the Samoan culture among the Samoan born, and especially among the New Zealand born Samoan generation who are emerging as a new culture. This new culture contains many aspects of the Samoan Culture, but also incorporates the diversity and influences of Aotearoa/New Zealand, whether it be Maori, Pakeha, or both (Taule'ale'a'ausumai, 1990).

Samoans have been migrating to New Zealand since the mid 1800s, but it was not until after the Second World War that the number of Samoan migrants coming to New Zealand became significant. The 1960s and early 1970s saw significant increases in the size of the Western Samoan community in New Zealand, reflecting New Zealand's demand for labour through the encouragement of immigration by the New Zealand administration. Migration and settlement in New Zealand is an ongoing process and continues to this present day.
Samoans are the largest non-Maori Polynesian ethnic group in New Zealand with a population of 85,743 in 1991 (1992 New Zealand Census). This has attracted interest and studies from various disciplines. Some examples of studies have been done by Bedford (1984b) Ioane (1987) and Macpherson (1991). These have tended to support findings by Pitt and Macpherson (1974) and suggest that the Samoan community in New Zealand has shown little inclination to set aside Samoan values and institutions in favour of the host community. More correctly, the majority of Samoans have consciously sought to retain and maintain their language, values and social institutions in which they identify with (Macpherson, 1984a).

Samoan churches in Aotearoa/New Zealand play an important role among the Samoan community throughout New Zealand. Samoan churches are not only a place of praise and worship, but are also a centre for Samoan people to meet, work and socialise with each other as a social institution establishing a strong Samoan community. Most importantly, Samoan churches continually practice Fa'aSamoa which, in European terms, can be understood as 'the Samoan way of life' embracing Samoan culture and language. For Samoans, Fa'aSamoa is the all-embracing principle which determines their identity as Samoans and all things belonging only to Samoans which makes them uniquely - Samoan (Nokise, 1983).

Studies and extensive field research on a historical basis have well documented the establishment, development and the growth of Samoan Christianity and churches within Samoa, and the work of Samoan missionaries throughout the South-West Pacific. Some examples of these studies have been done by Nokise (1983), Sevaetasi (1978) and Nepo (1990). However, there has been rather limited research concerning Samoan churches in New Zealand, particularly at a contemporary level. Although there has been significant research concerning the Samoan migrant community in New Zealand, there has been scarce research of that of the church and its place among the Samoan migrant community of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Palenapa, 1993). This is true in the discipline of
Geography, however an overseas study by Pacione (1990) does show interest in the involvement of churches by geographers, in which he discusses the significant role of the church in the United Kingdom in 

"enhancing the well-being of the poor and promoting a re-examination of the goals and priorities of the prevailing political economy" (Pacione, 1990, p.193).

Pacione's study looks at the involvement of the church and its interest in dealing with problems of poverty and deprivation experienced by poor people and city areas due to capitalist development in the United Kingdom.

Although the importance of aiga (family) in reproducing Samoan culture is essential, Samoan churches in New Zealand further enhance Fa'aSamoan on a community base level. In Western Samoa, Fa'aSamoan is not only confined to the aiga, but is very much a community base involvement, within every village and within the church. Fa'aSamoan is a way of life and a necessity, participating in all walks of life of every Samoan in Samoa. The establishment of Christianity in Western Samoa in the early nineteenth century, officially began with the London Missionary Society who were the first to commence work in Samoa with Rev. John Williams who arrived in Western Samoa in 1830. Christianity has now become an important part of Samoan culture, which is reflected in the motto of Western Samoa 'fa'avae i le Atua Samoa'. Translated this explicit statement means 'Samoa is founded on God' revealing the relationship between the church, the nation, and Fa'aSamoan. With Christianity deeply engrained into Fa'aSamoan, the churches' influence extends not only to the Western Samoan nation, but also into national politics in which politicians have strong and active affiliations with the church (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974). In Western Samoa, such is the hold of the church upon the nation, individuals find themselves under intense pressure to attend church from the family, the village, and matai (titled family head-general term applied to both chiefs and orators). Thus in Western Samoa church attendance is more or less compulsory. The intense pressure that exist in Western Samoa to attend church, is of a some what different nature with the Samoan migrant community in New Zealand. In contrast, church attendance and
involvement in New Zealand is essentially voluntary. However, it must be noted that even though the Samoan migrant community voluntarily attends their church, in most cases, they exert family pressures on their New Zealand born Samoan children to attend church, thus making church attendance compulsory for their children. This may explain partially why attendance in Samoan churches in New Zealand is still very high today, but most importantly, the church is the only social institution in New Zealand available for Samoans to indulge and practice Fa'aSamoa and in giving Samoans a continued sense of identity and maintaining their cultural traditions and beliefs outside the home.

The establishment of Samoan churches in New Zealand has occurred as a direct result of migration, and over the past forty years has seen an increase in numbers of Samoan churches throughout New Zealand and congregational populations. These churches have successfully maintained and retained Fa'aSamoa to various degrees among the Samoan born and New Zealand-born Samoans who live in a multicultural society. New Zealand, like many Western countries, has become a host to many ethnic societies reflecting a trend as nations across the world become multicultural in nature as we close towards the twenty-first century.

Due to migration and settlement in New Zealand, the birth of a New Zealand born Samoan generation and an onset of value-conflicts have occurred. The first generation of New Zealand born Samoans are considered to be born in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (and it is true for some in the 1980s and 1990s). Many of the first generation New Zealand born Samoans are now in their twenties, thirties and forties and have become parents themselves giving birth to a second generation of New Zealand born Samoans.

In the context in looking at the birth of the first generation of New Zealand born Samoans no one decade has ever been the same (Taule'ale'a'Sumai, 1993). Thus depending on the decade that the first generation was born and grew up in, New Zealand born Samoans have lived through different lifestyles, different circumstances and different problems. New Zealand has provided many changes
and significant events throughout the decades for Samoan families as they become more settled in their foreign environment that has become their new home. The 1950s and 1960s were an era of the Post War baby boom, the 1970s was an era of police "down raids" and crack down on overstayers and illegal immigrants. The 1980s and 1990s has brought the birth of the computer literate age, the slow decline of the Welfare State and the birth of a second generation of New Zealand born Samoans (Taule'ale'a'ausumai, 1993).

Although there are exceptions to the following, for many of the first generation born in the 1950s and 1960s, their parents knew very little of the English language and thus learnt English from their children and became bi-lingual, while their children remained mono-lingual speaking only English. This also occurred to those who could speak Samoan at home up to the age of five before attending primary school under New Zealand's education system. Being laughed at when attempting to speak Samoan meant that choosing to speak English was not often a difficult choice. For the first generation born in the 1970s, the ability to speak their "mother tongue" was increased, as their parents realized the importance of language revival among their children in fear of losing many of their Fa'aSamoan identity. However for many, understanding the Samoan language was not often the problem, but speaking the Samoan language fluently was. Those born in the 1980s find themselves bi-lingually fluent or reasonably fluent in English and Samoan, as the family, the church and the availability of Samoan language courses have made an additional effort in maintaining and retaining their language among New Zealand born Samoans, having learnt from many of the early first born generation of the 1950s and 1960s who find themselves struggling to revive their Samoan language and heritage. Despite many New Zealand born Samoans having knowledge of the Samoan language at various levels, today there is a growing trend of language recovery, as this first generation struggles to find acceptance among the Samoan and New Zealand society, as a new emerging culture of Samoan descent in a New Zealand environment.
The importance of language and knowledge of gagana (language) Samoa for New-Zealand born Samoans does determine whether one belongs within Samoan culture. Not being able to communicate in Samoan, one faces the harsh reality of no matter how hard they try to fit in some how, they do not (Taule'ale'a'ausumai, 1993). Today for many of the young New Zealand born Samoans, being Samoan is 'popular' and 'cool', and with the success of the Manu Samoa rugby team of Western Samoa, there is a sense of great pride in being Samoan. Those born in the 1950s and 1960s found themselves treated by New Zealand's society as non-New Zealanders because of their skin colour and Polynesian appearance, which was more unusual of that time, making them feel out of place and not being fully accepted as New Zealanders or Samoans. The New Zealand born Samoans, as an emerging new culture of Samoan identity incorporating Maori, Palagi and other ethnic cultures such as Black American, can be seen in the way they dress, dance, talk, and music styles of Black Soul and Rap. Despite these influences, this generation still expresses the Samoan identity in which they are proud of.

Today, the role of the church varies from denomination to denomination in addressing the issue of Samoan language and culture survival. Thus depending on the church denomination one attends, can determine whether one gains or loses Fa'aSamoa knowledge to its fullest potential.

**Thesis objectives**

The aim of this research is to study the link between migration and cultural change of the Samoan community in contemporary New Zealand, focussing on Samoan churches in their attempt to maintain and retain Samoan language and culture between the Samoan-born and New Zealand Samoan-born who are influenced by their environment in a New Zealand multicultural society. Underlying this aim are seven objectives:

i) To explore the relationship between Fa'aSamoa and the church, and its maintenance through migration.
ii) To explore the nature and influences that the church/minister has over the Samoan community, and what changes are occurring in this area.

iii) To compare views experienced by Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans.

iv) To explore the impact and implications of government policy and economic change that has affected the Samoan migrant group of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

v) To compare and contrast the situation of the Samoan migrant group of Aotearoa/New Zealand with migrant groups studied in overseas research.

vi) Provide a historical and geographical account of fa'aSamoa and Christianity in Western Samoa and its migration to New Zealand; and describing the establishment of various Samoan denominational churches throughout New Zealand.

vii) With the emergence of a new culture for the New Zealand born generation, what does the future hold for the survival of Fa'aSamoa for future generations to come?

Through this aim and objectives, it will be possible to determine the types of acculturation and levels of assimilation that may or may not be present among the Samoan community, and how the church faces new challenges in maintaining and retaining fa'asamoa in a multicultural society throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Chapter two provides a theoretical review of migration in the literature and examines the types and forms of assimilation processes and ethnic segregation of migrant groups researched in overseas studies. This will provide assimilation theory and assumptions that will be used for comparative analysis among the Samoan community in New Zealand. This chapter also looks at the problems of assimilation theory when applied to migrant groups, particularly the Samoan community and their culture.
Chapter three looks at the rise of Christianity in Samoa and its influences upon fa'a Samoa. It also provides an explanation towards a deeper understanding of fa'a Samoa. The chapter attempts to illustrate the cultural changes in Western Samoa in which fa'a Samoa and Christianity are interwoven within Samoan culture and cannot be separated. The migration of fa'a Samoa, explains why Samoan churches in New Zealand have been established. Yet in New Zealand, fa'a Samoa is subject to more cultural change with the rise of the New Zealand born Samoans.

Chapter four focuses on Samoan migration to New Zealand and the establishment of Samoan churches throughout New Zealand especially in main urban centres such as Auckland and Wellington. This will include the analysis of New Zealand's changing economy, government policy and social pressures upon Samoan migration to New Zealand, the Samoan migrant community, and the church.

Chapter five is a methodology discussion of my own research with five selected Samoan church congregations studied in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand. Because the majority of Samoans live in Auckland and Wellington, selected Samoan congregations in Wellington were chosen for this study. The chapter discusses the techniques and methods used to survey the Samoan people in five different selected churches in Wellington, and the problems encountered in surveying churches of the Samoan community. A discussion on the use of personal interviews with members of each church provides further insight in understanding the role and importance that these Samoan churches have upon the Samoan community in New Zealand. Interviews with Samoans who no longer go to these churches, reveals another growth in the diversity of the way Samoans are living in contemporary New Zealand.

Chapter six is an analysis and discussion from the results of the five selected Wellington church congregations that serve the Samoan Community in contemporary New Zealand. This chapter sheds light on both Samoan born and
New Zealand born Samoans on their views of the church. This chapter is also concerned with the emergence of a new culture due to the birth of the New Zealand born Samoan generation. The New Zealand born generation have consciously and unconsciously sought their identity in a New Zealand multicultural society, maintaining many aspects of their traditional Fa'asamoa and incorporating Palagi (European) and/or Maori culture within their own culture. Through New Zealand's education, this generation has learnt to reflect critically on their own culture and its' importance, thus making decisions and goals in assessing their own personal situation and taking a stand as a new culture and developing their own identity as New Zealand born Samoans.

Chapter seven is a discussion on the role of the church as a place of praise and worship, but also as a social institution for the Samoan community. It looks at the influences that the church minister/pastor has upon their congregation, and focuses on how the church maintains and retains traditional Fa'aSamoa for the Samoan born and the New Zealand born Samoans. The chapter also analyses whether the church recognizes the New Zealand born Samoan generation as a unique new culture and are adapting to change in response to this new generation, or merely ignoring the existence of this emerging culture.

Chapter eight concludes this thesis by looking at what the future implications are in the survival of traditional Fa'aSamoa in the church. With the emergence of a new culture for the New Zealand born generation, will Fa'aSamoa become modified or lost for future generations to come? The establishment of Aoga Amata (Samoan language school for pre-schoolers) and Samoan language courses being taught at tertiary level (e.g. Victoria University), the recent launch of the Samoan language syllabus within the curriculum (approved by the Minister of Education in September 1994) to be taught from pre-school level to University level, and with the combination of Samoan church influences, there seems to be little chance of Fa'aSamoa being lost as we head for the twenty-first century.
CHAPTER TWO

INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL MIGRATION, ASSIMILATION AND THE NEW ETHNICITY/NEW CULTURE: A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

This chapter attempts to situate the Migrant Samoan Community in relation to theories of assimilation, and ethnic pluralism which has given rise to the Samoan new ethnicity/new culture, particularly with the growth and establishment of the New Zealand born Samoan generation in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The chapter firstly looks at the changing views of ethnicity in the literature from assimilation, ethnic revival/cultural pluralism, labour migration to developing studies on new ethnicity. Secondly, it is necessary to look at theories of migration in understanding why migrants shift into foreign environments. Thirdly, in reviewing international literature on assimilation and cultural pluralism, will provide background and comparative examples of migrants overseas with the Samoan migrant community in New Zealand. And fourthly, problems with assimilation theory when applied to the Samoan migrant community will be discussed, particularly with the emergence of a new ethnicity/new culture among the New Zealand born Samoan generation.


Studies and extensive research have focussed on migrants and the nature of change upon migrant ethnicity, once arriving into a new and foreign environment. Much attention has been centred on the adaptation processes of immigrant/migrant communities in establishing themselves in a new host Western society in which they now live. The earlier and most significant studies originated from research in the United States of America from the 1920s
onwards in the formation of assimilation models and theories. Here, the founders of modern sociological theory and research on race and ethnic relations was by Robert.E.Park and the 'Chicago School' of sociology (Hirschman, 1983). The popularity of assimilation with its one-directional implication, whereby immigrants become affiliated with the new host majority society and become assimilated within this dominant culture by abandoning their own ethnic culture and identity, appeared to be one of the most successful and important concepts in studying ethnicity (Alba,-1985). This is reflected in many studies such as Duncan & Lieberson (1959). Probably the most noticeable advocate of assimilation and its treatment in the United States is by Milton Gordon (1964), although he looked at factors that blocked or diverted the assimilation process (Pulotu-Endemann & Spoonley, 1992). Gordon's work did much to clarify concepts of assimilation, and in some ways has had direct or indirect links to more recent empirical literature.

However by the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the birth of ethnic revolution/ethnic revival in the literature reflected views of scholars and social observers who argued and recognized that the migrant minority ethnicity remained an important source of social and political consciousness (Hirschman, 1983). This lead to the rejection of assimilatory policies or arguments of functionalist sociology and assumptions (Pulotu-Endemann & Spoonley, 1992) which resulted in the lack of support and decline for the assimilation paradigm. Glazer and Moynihan (1979) demonstrated that migrant ethnicity did not speedily disappear and thus the melting pot portrayal of American society seems to be ill-founded (Alba, 1985). This raises questions if the melting pot model regarding migrants assimilation into the host society, ever had applied in reality? And under what conditions provides the melting pot success, for assimilation to occur among migrant people? It appears that the melting pot model regarded migrant groups to totally disregard their own culture and values and adopt the host societies automatically over a period of time. Although this is more evident in white migrant groups, for 'coloured' ethnic groups the total disregard for their own culture is not true. This is because of their physical differences among
white dominant societies, total assimilation is hindered by racial discrimination. The melting pot also assumes that the host society culture and values is attractive to migrant groups. In most cases, ethnic migrant groups will be attracted to the host societies material wealth, but the attraction of their own culture and values remain deeply engrained within their ethnicity. Glazer and Moynihan (1979) also demonstrated the vitality of ethnic minority politics in New York, and additionally Pitt and Macpherson (1974) showed the importance of religion and nationality among Samoan migrant groups in New Zealand which remain strong within Samoans political behaviour and attitudes. Both Glazer and Moynihan (1979) and Pitt and Macpherson (1974) illustrate the emerging cultural pluralism of migrant minorities within a dominant society. With the development of ethnic revival literature, Alba (1985) shows how Italians at the same time may maintain aspects of their ethnicity, they as minority whites, are also steadily assimilating into the mainstream Anglo-American white society, suggesting that white minorities ethnicity steadily recedes, at least among the white host society compared to non-white minorities. Van Den Burghhe (1983) argues how ethnic revival will not significantly reverse the process of assimilation. For some migrant groups who have established themselves in the host society, successive generations will eventually lose a sense of ethnicity of the migrant home. This is to the gradual adoption and infiltration of descending generations into the host society. It is argued, that although assimilation may not occur with migrant parents, by their third, fourth or fifth successive generation, the process of assimilation ethnic groups will become significant.

More recently the focus of migrant ethnicity has centred on the political economy of labour migration, which is more prevalent in European studies as opposed to American studies. Pulotu-Endemann & Spoonley (1982, p83) state that

"The focus has shifted to core-periphery economic relations, the demand of capitalism and the need for migrant labour, politically inspired immigration policies and the politics of survival and struggle for migrants".

Some examples of labour migration research by Connell (1984) look at the
effects of labour migration upon urbanisation in the South Pacific, Ongley (1991) reviews historically Pacific Island Migration with New Zealand's labour market, and Larner (1989a), (1989b) and (1991) analyses the politics of gender implications on labour migration among Samoan women in New Zealand, illustrating the division of labour within the work force and within the home, and gender tensions between migrants and their descendants.

Pulotu-Endemann & Spoonley (1992), discuss how labour migration and its politics have been increasingly replaced by studies which have focussed on a 'new' ethnicity. This new ethnicity can be seen as an emergence of a new ethnic group/new culture among subsequent generations of descendants from their migrant parents. Yancey, Erickson, and Leon (1985), have labelled the emergence of new forms of ethnicity in America as 'ethnogenesis' in which descending generations will develop less identity to their ethnic migrant identity. This is due to the descending generation emergence of their new ethnicity. New ethnicity has evolved and reflects the situation of the host society. Pulotu-Endemann & Spoonley (1992) provide assumptions to this, in which migrant ethnicity has been altered to meet current circumstances, and that the minority ethnic group in question is not a passive victim of assimilatory pressures, but reacting to (a) a variety of external factors such as state policies, popular and political racism, and discrimination, and (b) internal considerations relating to family and village ties, patriarchal, hierarchal of geroutocratic authority structures.

New ethnicity among migrant groups and particularly among descending generations from migrant groups has occurred directly in their need and search of their ethnic identity and their place within the host society in which they are part of. Ethnic groups concerned actively and positively re-negotiate their sense of ethnic identity (Macpherson, 1991). This issue of re-negotiating ethnic identity are universal in nature among migrants and their descending generation (Poluto-Endemann & Spoonley, 1992). Kallen (1982) interprets new ethnicity to represent an attempt by members of ethnic minorities, firstly to resolve an
inherent conflict between their psychological need for a sense of rootedness and belongingness. This need is best met within a small scale community. And secondly, to fulfil their desire for material gratification and political self determination. This need can best be satisfied within a large-scale society, to gain full access to modern resources and opportunities. For the New Zealand born Samoan generation, their new ethnicity and new culture reflects their need to be recognized as Samoans, and as New Zealanders by integrating these two cultures together in search of their new ethnic and cultural identity.

2.2 Theories of Migration

Much of the literature covering migration focuses on migration processes and patterns of immigrant adaptation to the receiving society (Bedford, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1986, 1987; Connell, 1984; Larner, 1989b; Macpherson, 1978; and Boot, 1992; are examples of such works). Yet, there are also studies that focus on the implications of mass migration from the sending society (Kallen, 1982; and Macpherson, (1984b); and New Zealand Coalition for Trade and Development, 1982)). Two broad fields of migrational theories at a macro and micro level will be looked at in identifying the main forces why Samoans and other ethnic minorities migrate to new and foreign environments.

(i) Macro or Classical Migration Theories

Classical migration theories identify various 'push' and 'pull' factors that induce migration. Kallen (1982, p20-21) provides the variables involved in these factors. Push factors include ecological, economic and demographic pressures, political pressures that produce forced migration, and ideological motivations that appeals to intellectual idealists. Pull factors involve perceived and/or believed greater economic opportunities and higher levels of standard of living, personal and political freedom, the prospect of status advancement, and the attraction of a new and possibly an exotic environment. Classical migration
theories have mostly represented mass migration of large-scale world wide population movements. Mass migration in itself is recognized as part of a global process, particularly with reference where mass migration occurs from developing to developed countries which is seen as an economic phenomenon. Non-economic factors are taken into account at the macro level view of migration, however many studies assume the economic factor to be the dominant cause of mass migration from developing to developed countries (Kallen, 1982).

(ii) Micro Migration Theories

The micro level of migration is an alternative theory to that of the macro level of migration theory. The focus here is on the nature of migration at a micro level such as the level of individual decision-making by the migrant or intending migrant (Kallen, 1982). Push and pull factors again decide why people migrate. Push factor examples such as lack of work, lack of educational facilities, and pull factor examples such as ties with ethnic immigrant communities, and opportunities to work, all influence individuals in their decision-making and choice whether they migrate or not. For many Western Samoans today, the establishment with kinship ties overseas (New Zealand, Hawaii, U.S.A. and Australia) have facilitated in the decision making of many Western Samoans to migrate. Kallen (1982) describes how networks of kin and ethnic fellows may play an important role in many aspects of the migration process at the micro level by firstly, creating and opening up new avenues for migration; secondly, provide vital information for intending migrants; and thirdly, by aiding new migrants in the adjusting process in the receiving country. The network of kin and ethnic migration described by Kallen, is typical of 'chain migration', which was firstly really noted by Herbert Gans (1962) in 'The Urban Villages'.

2.3 International migrants, assimilation verses ethnic pluralism.

Internationally, there have been numerous studies on ethnic migrant groups in
Western host societies. Studies such as Darden & Henry (1978), Hirschman (1982), Jackson (1981), Kasinitz (1987), Kitano (1981), Massey & Mullen (1984), Nielson (1985), Phillips (1981), and Winsberg (1987), present various arguments from assimilation; ethnic residential, social and spatial segregation; ethnic pluralism; to the emergence of a new ethnicity; or a combination of these arguments in determining migrant adaptation to the larger society.

Massey & Mullen (1984) examine the processes of Hispanic and black spatial assimilation in south western United States. They analyse the relationship between social and spatial mobility, and stress that spatial assimilation is an essential step in the process of assimilation. The process of assimilation includes other forms of assimilation models and assumptions, which are cultural assimilation and spatial assimilation. Knox (1978, p251) defines cultural assimilation which involves the ethnic group to adopt the cultural life in common to the host society. Knox (1987) suggests that cultural assimilation may take place faster than structural assimilation. Structural assimilation can be understood as the diffusion of members of the ethnic group through the social and occupational structure of the host society. Spatial assimilation is viewed as a process whereby a group attain residential propinquity with members of a host society, and thus in the United States, it is argued that spatial assimilation generally involves the movement of minority groups out of their established racial or ethnic neighbourhoods into a larger urban environment inhabited by the host society, primarily by non-ethnic native whites. This involves social mobility from one neighbourhood into another which is motivated by socioeconomic advantages such as greater job opportunities and so forth. The result of Massey and Mullen (1984) study shows that spatial assimilation was high for Hispanics, but for blacks remain socially and spatially isolated which has been caused by discrimination processes. However in contrast, Phillips (1981) who examines the social and spatial segregation of Asians in Leicester of the United Kingdom, showed strong similarities of high residential segregation of migrants that was evident in Massey & Mullen (1984) black population (who incidentally have been established in U.S.A. over the past two hundred years).
Asians in Leicester in comparison to black population in the United States are only a recent phenomenon in Leicester residential areas. Phillips (1981) non-assimilatory explanation for high ethnic residential concentration and segregation provides spatial separation. This enables the Asian community to enforce social closure, exclude groups and maintain their social and cultural traditions through many religious facilities, shops and services within their neighbourhood, thus giving rise to ethnic pluralism. Discrimination within the housing market has also meant forced migration for ethnic minorities in Leicester. The main point regarding Asians in Leicester, was that for some Asians, spatial assimilation does not lead to cultural assimilation, but yet for others it did. In contrast to ethnic pluralisms of Asians in Leicester, Kitano (1981) discusses Asian-Americans which include over twenty ethnic groups, of whom the majority have lost their language by the second, third, and forth generation. However a reawakening of ethnic identity may suggest the emergence of a new ethnic group of Asian-Americans in strengthening their pluralistic society.

The Samoan community in New Zealand, particularly in Auckland-Otara, and Wellington-Porirua, have high concentrations of Samoans and other Pacific Island ethnic groups. Religious affiliations within neighbourhoods of ethnic migrant groups (such as Otara and Porirua), remain a universal phenomenon in providing a social institution for ethnic minorities to maintain and retain their cultural language, beliefs and practices. This is evident for the Samoan community in attending their church in New Zealand (Pitt & Macpherson, 1974), Asian Muslim religious institutions in Leicester of the United Kingdom (Phillips, 1981), the black community church in Pittsburgh of the United States (Bodnar et al, 1982), and the Jewish Synagogue in New York of the United States (Glazer and Moynihan, 1979). The church for many migrant ethnic groups, remains as a strong social institutional statement for these pluralistic societies among the dominant host population.
2.4 Problems with assimilation theory with respect to the migrant community.

For many Samoans, Pacific Islanders and as for many other immigrant groups born and raised outside New Zealand, migration and settlement in New Zealand meant that migrant groups were exposed to a new land and to a new culture. In order to survive in this new environment, the process of acculturation, where one learns a different culture, is necessary. The learning process for migrant groups in New Zealand and as for most Western Societies is through informal interactions with members of the host society in areas such as work, the neighbourhood, church organisations, social gatherings, sport affiliations, supermarkets, television, movies, leisure time activities and so forth (Ioane, 1987). Ioane (1987) states that the availability of New Zealand's material culture has meant that Pacific Islanders could not escape its influence. This is very true for the Samoan migrant community, but even though acculturation may have taken place among Samoans in understanding New Zealand's material culture, does not mean that Samoans have sacrificed their own culture, but rather through the influence of New Zealand's material culture has incorporated many of its aspects within the framework of their own culture-within fa'aSamoa, and thus still holding strong to Samoan cultural beliefs and practices.

Although acculturation may be present among Samoan immigrants and even more so among the New Zealand born Samoan generation, it must be stated, that this is not the same as assimilation. Greeley (1981) discusses how the model of 'acculturation but not assimilation' seems to fit among American Jews and were applicable to other ethnic groups in their persistence in maintaining their diversity. Gordon's (1964) view of acculturation suggests that perhaps ethnic groups will ultimately be assimilated too, however this process would be long delayed by the process of acculturation. Whether Gordon's view of acculturation applies to the Samoan community in New Zealand, still remains to be seen.
Studies by Poluto-Endemann & Spoonley (1992), Macpherson (1984a) and (1991) and Taule'ale'a'usumai (1990) have pointed out changes among Samoans in New Zealand in their knowledge and orientation to Samoan language, culture, and social institutions such as the church. These changes are more prominent among New Zealand born Samoans, yet the explanation of these changes and its causes suggested by Macpherson (1991) is more problematic, particularly when there is a tendency to presume that these changes are the first signs that lead to the process of assimilation.

The process of assimilation begins as soon as an ethnic group minority comes into contact with the larger dominant ethnic group (or host society). As a result of this contact, the ethnic minority adopts the language, cultural beliefs, and social institutions by discarding its own. Macpherson (1991) points out that assimilation models and theories may remain popular with non-sociologists, these theories are crude and are deterministic in supplying a simplistic understanding of the processes and forces involved in shaping the direction of change in the contours of ethnic identity. In understanding change among ethnic minorities, it is necessary to focus away from absorption pressures exerted by the dominant ethnic group, and focus on ethnic minorities who are able to make their own assessments, decisions, and choices of their own culture and the host society culture. This involves personal decisions on the value, relevance, importance of many aspects of their culture and heritage and other information available to them.

Macpherson (1991) notes that there are several problems with the assimilation view of ethnic minorities orientation to the dominant group's lifestyle and worldview with Samoans in New Zealand. Firstly, there is considerable diversity among 'European New Zealanders' suggesting that New Zealand's dominant group's values and behavioural norms appear to be unclear and unambiguous at the same time. Yet, even if the European New Zealand culture is 'united', many Samoans who lack English comprehension and fluency are unable to adopt them, particularly as many Samoans live, work, go to church and spend much of their
leisure time together. In addition to this, contrary to popular assumptions, many Samoans have negative views of many aspects of Pakeha-European New Zealand culture and values. For example: Samoans view respect for parents, elders and the like as one of the central cultural teachings of fa'aSamoa, in which Pakeha culture appears to be lacking in New Zealand. Secondly, the assumption of increasing familiarity with the host society language and culture leads to decreasing familiarity to ethnic minority language and culture. For the majority of Samoans this is not true, of whom many have not alienated themselves from their own culture, but remain committed to Samoan language and culture through family and church in New Zealand. Also, many Samoans who migrate to New Zealand intend to return to Western Samoa. This has occurred with Asian in Leicester, of whom many intend to return to their home land (Phillips, 1991). Many Samoans are bilingual and bicultural and are very much involved with Samoan and non-Samoan work, social organisations and so forth. Thirdly, the assumption that assimilation is a unilinear, one-way process will eventually result in the permanent loss of ethnic identity is too simple. However, because ethnic identity can be learned, a New Zealand born Samoan at any time can reclaim Samoan language and culture, and thus have access to Samoan beliefs and social institutions. Another issue relating to inadequacy of assimilation refers to ethnic groups who are not affected by the powerful forces of assimilation while others are. This may reflect the difference in cultural strengths practised by various ethnic groups. For example, Samoans regardless of whether they live in New Zealand or Samoa, identify strongly with their aiga (family) and strongly with their villages of origin. There is a very real and intense pride in being Samoan and in being part of the Samoan nation (Ngan-Woo, 1985). Thus the majority of Samoans are not affected by the so called assimilation forces and remain a strong ethnic group in New Zealand's society. Fourthly, assimilation theories view Samoan cultural values incompatible with those of the dominant group with respect to the work force. Macpherson (1991) elaborates on this, where Samoans are exposed to organisational forms of work by the dominant society, which lead to the devaluation and eventual discarding of Samoan work values. This is not necessarily true, many Samoans hold quite
different attitudes to their own cultural values and practices, which may or may not be influenced by the dominant language, values, beliefs and practices. The argument here suggests that it is necessary to turn to Samoan's reaction to the exposure of the Pakeha working values. Through exposure increased familiarity with the dominant language, culture and practices is produced, but also influences Samoan attitudes and their continued commitment to their own culture. Finally, Macpherson (1991) presents how assimilation models have a tendency to over simplify what happens when change occurs. It assumes that orientation to language, beliefs and practices change together in the same uniform direction, however this remains to be complex, for example a Samoan may continue to use Samoan language and take no part in some or all of the Samoan beliefs and practices.

Problems with Assimilation models and theories are numerous when applied to the Samoan community migrant ethnic group. Assimilation may apply to some ethnic groups, but with other ethnic groups such as Samoans it does not. However, assimilation may apply to individuals of any ethnic group who have a total disregard for their ethnic identity and wish to emerge with the dominant society in which they are now apart of. Contradicting this, it must be noted that this is their own individual choice, not the pressures of assimilation by the dominant society as one would assume.

2.5 Towards a new-culture reformulation.

This thesis is an attempt to provide further material on developing literature on new ethnicity. The empirical work of this thesis should be seen as an attempt to understand the development of 'new ethnicity' among New Zealand born Samoans, by looking at the 'church' as one of the strongest social institutions for the Samoan community throughout New Zealand.

By focussing on Samoan reactions to Samoan culture-Fa'aSamoa, the church,
and the New Zealand's society, may help uncover the underlying principles of change that is occurring among Samoan attitudes towards their view and orientation to language, culture, beliefs and practices, and its establishment and development of a new emerging culture among the New Zealand born Samoan generation.

The thesis further argues the development of new ethnicity among New Zealand born Samoans as an emerging culture, is a direct result in a need to find their sense of identity among Samoans and New Zealanders, and to be accepted by those from Samoa and New Zealand. With a new ethnicity, or more correctly, a new culture, provides New Zealand born Samoans with a new identity by integrating both cultures from the principles of Samoan heritage and New Zealand's material culture. It is however noted that complexities will evolve as individual choices reflect different orientation and knowledge of fa'aSamoa among the New Zealand born Samoan generation. Thus, the shape and form of this new emerging culture among this generation may vary from region to region, and from city to city throughout New Zealand.
CHAPTER THREE
THE CHURCH AND THE SAMOAN CULTURE

In order to develop an understanding of cultural change through migration it is necessary to look at the impact of Christianity in Western Samoa. This chapter provides essential background on the historical development of Christianity in Western Samoa, and the influences that Christianity has had upon cultural change within fa'aSamoa. The chapter also describes the main characteristics of Samoan culture and attempts to provide a deeper understanding of fa'aSamoa.

The objective of this chapter is to illustrate cultural change within Western Samoa which resulted from the introduction of Christianity. The Samoanization of Christianity within fa'aSamoa has lead to the establishment of various Samoan denominational churches throughout New Zealand as a result of Samoan migration. However while Samoan migrants established their culture in New Zealand, fa'aSamoa has been subjected to further cultural change with the rise of the New Zealand born Samoan generation. This generation are influenced by their personal experiences of both fa'aSamoa and New Zealand's bicultural/multicultural influences.

3.1 The Rise of Christianity in Western Samoa

Before the arrival of Christianity, Samoans appeared to be a 'godless' people to the outside observer, particularly to their Pacific Island neighbours. Moyle (1984) for example, notes the views of John Williams, the first pioneering missionary of the Pacific Islands. Williams arrived in Samoa in 1830 and in his 1832 Journal, he wrote that he encountered no temples, idols or powerful priesthood (Moyle 1984). However, John Williams was wrong in his observations, as Samoans did have temples and made offerings to their gods, although they did not have bloody and 'barbarous' ceremonies dedicated to their gods/deities (Holmes, 1987). Thus Samoans did not in fact have an established religion which was polytheistic in nature and character (Palenapa, 1993). Samoans acknowledge three types of gods/deities. The first was the Atua (God), which was non-human in origin, and resided either in the Lagi (heavens), or in Pulotu (the afterworld) (Palenapa, 1993). Tagaloa was the supreme Atua and the Creator of everything and long existed among Samoans before the arrival of Christianity (Ngan-Woo, 1985). The Atua were not worshipped in any particular form and remained aloof from the ordinary lives of humans - the Samoans. The second type of god, the Aitu, were of human origin and usually took the form of animals, birds, humans or other natural objects. The third type, or Tupua, consisted of spiritual gods of dead chiefs or deceased persons of high rank (Palenapa, 1983).

The earliest contacts with Christian teaching occurred between Samoans and Papalagi (European) Seamen. The early missionary attempts by the 1820s of beachcombers, known as 'Sailors Lotu' were not successful and were also not approved by the official missionaries trained in theology, who arrived in Samoa after 1828. During the 1830s, an early Samoan Christian cult, known as the 'Sio Vili' movement, gained a strong momentum over one fifth of Western Samoa's population (Inglis, 1978). The Sio Vili cult originated from a Samoan who served on a whaling ship under the name of Joe Gimblet (Sio Vili is a translation of Joe Gimblet). He had travelled overseas and to other parts of the Pacific experiencing European culture and its material benefits. The movement which developed was a combination of pseudo-Christian elements, exploiting and
perverting the message of Christianity for its own advantages (Palenapa, 1993). The demise of this movement occurred as Sio Vili claimed no one would die if they would follow him. Of course this was not true and thus, ironically, as his followers died, so did his movement.

The importance of sailors' Lotu and the Sio Vili movement is that they showed that Samoans were seeking new religious experiences (Meleisea et al, 1987). Thus, this may help to explain the rapid growth and acceptance of Christianity throughout Western Samoa.

The first missionaries to arrive in Samoa were Wesleyans, however they were soon challenged in their race for converts with the arrival of John Williams and the London Missionary Society in 1830 (Holmes, 1992). Meleisea et al (1987) points out it was unfortunate that religious rivalries in Europe, for example between Catholics and Protestants, came to be transferred to the Pacific Islands through missionary work during the nineteenth century. In many cases theological differences were relatively small but these became magnified by missionaries who established churches in the Pacific Islands. Much of the missionary work which started in the late eighteenth century as part of an Evangelical Movement throughout Africa, Asia and the Pacific was associated with non-conformist churches. The London Missionary Society (LMS) was quite different from some other non-conformist churches, because its decision concerning church government was preferred to be made by members of the congregation rather than by bishops and ministers (Meleisea et al, 1987). The Congregational Church supported the LMS in much of its missionary work, and thus in later years, the LMS became exclusively associated with the Congregational Church.

With the arrival of Christianity, Samoans readily accepted this new lotu (religion) as a confirmation, but also as a reinforcement, of their pre-Christian spiritual beliefs; that there is a God above all gods and that there are spiritual mediators (the church pastor, priest or minister) between the people and God.
The acceptance of Christianity among Samoans occurred for two other reasons. First, the timing of John Williams' visit coincided with the rise of Malietoa Vai'inupo (Ngan-Woo, 1985), who accepted Williams and in turn was later to become a Christian himself. The rise of Malietoa was instrumental in the success of Christianity in Samoa, as Malitoa was leading an alliance against Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a Tamafai - a powerful figure politically and religiously who threatened the introduction of Christianity in Samoa. Malietoa was related to Tamafai and a former ally of him too, however Malietoa was fighting to revenge the assassinations of his kinsmen in which Tamafai tried to take a chiefs wife, thus it was decided to kill him. Malietoa's assassins chased Tamafai into the sea and cut his body into pieces (Maleisea et al, 1987). John Williams later learned from a beachcomber, John Wright, that Malietoa assassinated Tamafai for taking a taupo (ceremonial village maiden, usually the daughter of one of the high chiefs of the village), not a chiefs wife according to most Samoans traditions. The death of Tamafai before Williams arrival meant that Christianity could spread through Samoa with Malietoa's support, and thus Christianity spread like wildfire throughout Samoa (Taule'ale'a'ausumai, 1994).

Secondly Christianity was also readily accepted among Samoans due to the willingness of the LMS and the Methodist church to allow church government to pass into village hands, and thus resulted in a reinforcement of fa'asamoaso (Ngan-Woo, 1985).

Other missions to Western Samoa were established by the Roman Catholic Church in 1845, by the Mormons in 1888, and more recently by the Seventh Day Adventists, Nazarenes, and a variety of Pentecostal churches (Holmes, 1992). Other religions such as the Baha'is have also been introduced in Western Samoa. However the LMS now known as the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, today remains as the major religious influence in Samoa. In 1834, the LMS introduced, and was heavily involved in transcribing the Samoan language into writing. Previously, the art of oratory practised among Samoans particularly
among matai were the only form of communicating historical genealogies and so on from one person to another. This oratory artform is still very much alive today, and is seen as one of Samoa's greatest gifts which has survived Christianization and colonialism (Taule'ale'ausumai, 1994). Apart from religion, education was another major programme that missionaries brought to Samoa. In 1842, the LMS established a school and a theological college that still exists today. Those entering these institutions are looked upon highly, as many become ministers which is regarded particularly among matai as one of the most prestigious positions among the Samoan Community.

3.2 Impact of Christianity on Samoan Culture.

Christianity has brought many changes to Samoan culture. Some of these changes are the adoption of aspects of European material culture and clothing styles particularly when going to church. Other changes occurred because Samoan customs and practices conflicted with Christian values and morals. Often a change of one custom would lead to a series of changes upon other customary practices. For example the matai, who had many wives for Samoan political reasons, had to restrict themselves to one marriage in order to become a Christian matai (Meleisea et al, 1987). Peace was also another important aspect emphasized by the Evangelist missionaries.

Christianity 'revolutionized' Samoan culture during the mid-nineteenth century, yet many of these changes were absorbed and Samoanized (Meleisea et al, 1987). By the second generation of Samoan Christians, many of the teachings of the missionaries, were often interpreted in traditional ways.

With the establishment of Christianity in Samoa, Samoans have been able to control the destiny of their own churches by the Samoanization of Christianity theology and the Christianization of Samoan culture - fa'aSamoa (Ngan-Woo, 1985). The overlapping features of Christianity and fa'aSamoa have been so
intertwined that it would be extremely difficult to separate one from the other and to see whether people are Christian Samoans or Samoan Christians (Taule'ale'a'ausumai, 1990).

The church today plays the most vital role within Samoan society of any institution, other than the aiga (family). The church holds a central position in all aspects of Samoan life - social, economic, or political. (Holmes, 1992), The church in New Zealand plays the same role as in Samoa in which many are facilities for educational and social activities. The church is the central force behind the teaching of the Samoan language, customs and traditions in a foreign land. Within the church, Samoans can stand tall and dignified in exercising their cultural and religious affiliations and practices without being frowned upon by strangers in accordance with fa'aSamoa (Ngan-Woo, 1985). In Samoa and in New Zealand, the church also stands as a symbol of fa'aSamoa, providing psychological comfort for a people experiencing radical cultural change. For the New Zealand born Samoan generation, who are emerging as a new culture, the fa'aSamoa experience in the church has varying effects. For some, the fa'aSamoa experience provides a strong sense of cultural fulfilment and identity. For others, the fa'aSamoa experience is not so comforting.

The importance in understanding the impacts of Christianity in Western Samoa, is that despite cultural change, Samoans were able to Samoanize Christianity within fa'aSamoa. In the same way, Samoans in New Zealand who face cultural change, have Samoanized New Zealand's material culture within fa'aSamoa. This explains the flexibility of fa'aSamoa to adjust to external influences and change, and yet hold on to strong traditional practices deeply engrained within Samoan culture. What is stressed here, is that as a result of migration, fa'aSamoa in New Zealand has experienced subtle changes from fa'aSamoa experienced in Western Samoa. With the birth of the New Zealand born Samoan generation, fa'aSamoa in New Zealand will face additional changes as this generation develops.
3.3 Towards an understanding of Fa'aSamoa.

The following discussion on fa'aSamoa is aimed to enlighten the reader who has no knowledge and understanding of Samoan culture. It must be noted that this discussion, is by no way a complete and thorough account of what fa'aSamoa represents and what processes are involved in the cultural practice of fa'aSamoa. Ngan-Woo's (1985) book, 'Fa'aSamoa-The World of Samoans', provides an excellent overview and understanding of fa'aSamoa. Yet, this work in itself is incomplete, for it is difficult to illustrate any culture in one book. Even a 'bible' of fa'aSamoa may not illustrate the full account of the intrinsic components involved that makes fa'aSamoa - fa'aSamoa. Thus the reader is asked to keep this in mind, and grasp the basic components of this section, that hopefully illustrate a broad and some what clearer understanding of fa'aSamoa.

As discussed previously (in chapter One), Fa'aSamoa can be understood, in its simplistic form, as the 'Samoan way of life', embracing Samoan culture, cultural practices, tradition, heritage, and language. It provides Samoans their sense of identity and cultural uniqueness. The social structure of Samoan society is discussed by Ngan-Woo (1985, p.9) which,

"... is held together and is actively and maintained, by an adherence to unwritten but universally understood cultural convention. These conventions govern the formalised giving and receiving of ava (respect), of fa'aaloalo (reverse), and alofa (love, compassion and concern)."

These practices are incorporated with Christian principles which are necessary in the practice of fa'aSamoa. Within the family and extended family, each individual has a role to play, which varies in their position depending on the status of their parents within their respective aiga. Samoans strongly identify with their aiga (family) and villages of origin, and thus an intense pride in being Samoan and being part of the Samoan nation is very strong among individuals whether they are Samoan born or New Zealand born Samoans.
Obligation to serve and help aiga (fa'alavelave) in both Western Samoa and New Zealand is evident in ceremonial occasions in terms of family support during weddings, births, and deaths. Expenses are shared among the aiga (including extended families) members in which all contribute, participate and have responsibilities for the organisation of such events. In New Zealand, such occasions heavily take place within the church. Samoans in New Zealand also support aiga in Samoa through remittances, reflecting their obligations and love for their aiga.

The matai (chief/title holder) is the pule (authority) among the family. In Western Samoa at the village level, traditionally, aiga land and assets were managed by the matai elected by all the adult members of the resident aiga. Generally to be eligible to become a matai, one's tuatua (service) to the aiga must be recognized as well as their kinship connection to the aiga. The matai administered the economic and political affairs of the aiga. As a trustee of the aiga land, the matai allocated work and re-distributed crop/fruit produce among aiga workers; adjudicated aiga disputes; and represented the aiga in public affairs (Kallen, 1982).

There are two types of matai recognised in fa'aSamoa. Matai title holders either possess the title and status of an ali'i (chief) or a tulafale (orator - talking chief). The ali'i exalted ritual authority, and the tulafale are the custodian of Samoan customary law and spokesperson for the chief (ali'i). Together, both these matai gain status and prestige as a hereditary ruling class or nobility. Untitled Samoans constituted the commoner class. Holders of matai titles have traditionally been male and this still remains the case today, although female matai title holders are becoming more accepted.

In New Zealand, matai status and prestige is maintained in the church setting, which is equivalent to a village setting in Western Samoa. Through weddings, birthdays and funerals, feasting and disbursements upon these ceremonial
occasions (fa'alavelave), has assumed increased importance in securing and maintaining the prestige associated with matai status and title, particularly among the Samoan community within the church.

Although all Samoans share a universal understanding of fa'aSamoan, there is, however, a diversity in the way it is practised. For example, in Western Samoa, those who practice fa'aSamoan in the village differ from Samoans who live in Apia city. Even among different villages, there are differences in the way fa'aSamoan is practices. The politics of one village may differ from others as a result of 'modern' changes in the character of the old political and social structure. However these differences represent no more than a variation on the pervasive theme of Samoan custom, in which all share a unified system of values within fa'aSamoan (Hecht et al, 1986).

Through migration to New Zealand, the established church in New Zealand acts as a village - a community base, for Samoans to continue to practice their fa'aSamoan. However, Samoans within the church who come from all over Western Samoa, who all share a 'universal' fa'aSamoan and differ from one another in their 'finer' qualities of their cultural living. This has had a trickle down effect, in which all churches share the common 'universal fa'aSamoan', yet differ in their finer qualities from one church to another.

Despite the 'Universal Fa'aSamoan' shared by Samoans in both Western Samoa and New Zealand, the diversity and flexibility of fa'aSamoan in its 'finer' qualities has caused confusion for many New Zealand born Samoans. Many have different views of what fa'aSamoan is. For example, fa'aSamoan is language, or fa'aSamoan is culture, or fa'aSamoan is the matai. Indeed, they are all right, however many fail to recognize that all these components are all involved in fa'aSamoan. It is not just language or culture or the matai. The confusion or different interpretations of fa'aSamoan shared among many New Zealand born Samoans may reflect their family influences, in which an aiga may concentrate on different aspects of fa'aSamoan. However, the existence of different
interpretations of fa'aSamoa can often cause difficulties for some parents in fully administering Samoan etiquette among their children. Due to a lack of adequate knowledge and understanding of fa'aSamoa sometimes children may develop a misconception of their culture and turn away from their Samoan heritage. This is not to say that parents do not know fa'aSamoa, but that parents face additional challenges in New Zealand. Therefore, Samoan parents in New Zealand need to address, inform and educate their children thoroughly in the Samoan etiquette of fa'aSamoa in a foreign land, where external influences can easily weigh their childrens’ view of fa'aSamoa in the opposite direction. Some of this misconception and misinterpretation of fa'aSamoa among New Zealand born Samoans has been influenced by Samoan members either in their family or in the church community, who have abused fa'aSamoa for status attainment.

Fa'aSamoa, like any culture is not a perfect culture. However, fa'aSamoa, when fully understood, is a beautiful culture which unites families and Samoans together through love, respect and pride. Yet fa'aSamoa is a culture that has a tendency to be flexible to suit the needs of the people. At times, these needs have abused fa'aSamoa and provided a misconception, misinterpretation and mis-direction among some New Zealand born Samoans in their personal experiences of fa'aSamoa. At the same time, New Zealand born Samoans are presently going through a 'Renaissance' of fa'aSamoa in which they are able to distinguish the key elements of fa'aSamoa and recognize the differences between the value of 'living' fa'aSamoa and the 'abuse' of fa'aSamoa. This is not to say that all Samoans abuse fa'aSamoa in its traditional contexts, but abuse of Samoan culture is evident for those who manipulate fa'aSamoa for their own personal gain and status attainment.

Today, many New Zealand born Samoan recognise that people abuse fa'aSamoa as opposed to fa'aSamoa abusing Samoan people. New Zealand born Samoans who have been educated in New Zealand are able to take another outlook on fa'aSamoa and re-evaluate the processes involved in fa'aSamoa. By incorporating many aspects of fa'aSamoa experiences with their New Zealand
bicultural/multicultural experiences, New Zealand born Samoans are establishing themselves as an emerging new culture.
CHAPTER FOUR

MIGRATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAMOAN CHURCHES IN NEW ZEALAND

The previous chapter examined the growth of Christianity in Western Samoa and its impact on Samoan culture. This chapter provides an historical and geographical account of Samoan migration and the establishment of Samoan churches in New Zealand. In Chapter Two, a theoretical discussion was developed to establish the need to recognize new ethnicity/new culture arising among New Zealand born Samoans. In order to analyse their experience, it is necessary to look at the forces involved in Samoan migration and with it the establishment and growth of Samoan churches. As much of this research was carried out within Wellington churches, a historical account is given in providing background information on the development of the Samoan migrant community and the church in the Wellington area.

4.1 Samoan Migration to New Zealand.

A series of migration waves have occurred from Western Samoa to New Zealand. A small and insignificant number of Samoan migrants have been recorded from the mid 1800s (Pitt & Macpherson, 1974), however the first wave of migration is considered to have taken place before the Second World War from the 1930s (Pitt 7 Macpherson). After the War, the second wave of Samoan migrants entering New Zealand became significant during the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s with families beginning to settle and establish themselves. The third wave brought the greatest influx of Samoan migrants during the 1960s and early 1970s as a response to New Zealand’s urban labour shortages, and a need for Samoans to seek greater economic and education opportunities for themselves, and their families. The overall economic expansion in New Zealand
in the 1950s and 1960s, and the availability of Samoans and Pacific Islanders to provide a reliable and cheap labour force, particularly during an era of high demand for unskilled labour, was reflected in New Zealand's immigration policy through the encouragement of labour migration by the New Zealand government. Chain migration also contributed to the large influx of Samoans to New Zealand in which Samoan migrants concentrated on areas where work, family, and the church were located (Taule'ale'a'sumai, 1990). The Samoan migrant community in New Zealand in the post war era tended to be balanced in sex composition but lacked older members. Thus by the late 1950s, twenty percent of Samoans in New Zealand, had already been born (Pulotu Endemann & Spoonley, 1992).

An economic downturn combined with growing social tensions within New Zealand, led to growing public and political hostility towards Pacific Island migrants during 1973-1976 (Pulotu-Endemann & Spoonley, 1992). This resulted in the introduction of the 'over-stayer' bill passed by the Labour government in March 1974, where the then Prime Minister, Norman Kirk was reported in the New Zealand Herald as saying that 'curbs on immigration might be necessary if our economic resources, particularly housing, were 'strained too severely' ' (Taule'ale'a'sumai, 1990). Although this remark referred primarily to British migrants, its focus was soon turned to Pacific Island migrants. The 'over-stayer' bill provided measures to limit Samoan migration with the fear of becoming over populated with 'undesirable' Samoans. Police 'dawn raids' were also introduced, and media coverage of the time tended to portray a negative attitude towards Pacific Island migrants. From 1976, onwards however, attitudes began to change and people became more aware that Pacific Islanders were being harassed by police and immigration officials. This resulted in a difficult period in questioning the rights of Samoan migrants to be in New Zealand (Pulotu-Endemann & Spoonley, 1992).

During the 1980s and 1990s the Samoan population also faced added burdens arising from the Labour and the National government restructuring of the
economy and public sector. This had a disproportionate effect upon Maori and Pacific Island groups with the result that by the 1990s New Zealand had become a much less attractive destination. Samoans, along with other new migrant groups and the indigenous Maori population exhibited high rates of unemployment (due to the closure of business, particularly within the manufacturing sector) and experienced worsening problems of access to health and education, particularly at tertiary level. These changes have brought not only difficulties among the Samoan born migrant community, but also among the New Zealand born Samoan generation. Despite these changes, migration continues from Samoa. The labour migration flow, while declining in intensity, has been steadily maintained over the years. A net gain of approximately 45,000 Pacific Island Polynesians was recorded in New Zealand between 1981 and 1991 (Trilin, 1993).

Despite Government policy changes, the established church largely remains unaffected continuing to play its role in the Samoan community. The success in the growth of the church is partly due to the already largely established Samoan migrant population in New Zealand who together support and maintain the church, and find comfort in the fa'aSamoan traditions. Presently there are slightly more New Zealand born Samoans than Samoan born in the Samoan community in New Zealand, and the former are becoming more important as New Zealand born Samoans are already giving birth to the second generation of New Zealand-born Samoans. In 1986, the census statistics provided the most accurate and complete data on New Zealand's Pacific Island population. Of a total population of 66,254 Samoan residents in New Zealand, 49.6 percent were born in New Zealand compared with 49.1 percent born in Samoa (the other 0.3 percent were born elsewhere or had not indicated where they were born). The 1986 Census statistics also shows an obvious age difference between New Zealand born Samoans and the Samoan born; 96.8 percent of New Zealand born Samoans were under 29 years of age (70.7 percent of them were less than 14 years of age, compared with 10.6 percent born in Samoa), compared to 57.8 percent of the Samoan born population in New Zealand. Qualification differences also reveal
that New Zealand born Samoans have better qualifications compared to educational performances of Samoan born who are over the age of 25; 36.3 percent of New Zealand born Samoan males and 26.7 percent of New Zealand born Samoan females have tertiary qualifications compared to 17.9 and 15 percent of Samoan born males and females, respectively (Department of Statistics, 1986).

The Samoan resident population of 85,743 in 1991 represents approximately 2.5 percent of New Zealand's total resident population. This contributes to more than half of the Pacific Island residency population of 167,073 in New Zealand (Department of Statistics, 1992).

Within New Zealand, the population of the Samoan community is strongest in the North Island compared to the South Island as seen in Table 4.1. This is also reflected in the main urban centres (Table 4.2), where the majority of the Samoan people in New Zealand live in Auckland, followed by Wellington.

Table 4.1: Population of Samoan ethnic group by Statistical Area: Central Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>1981 Number</th>
<th>1981 %</th>
<th>1991 Number</th>
<th>1991 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Island</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Auckland</td>
<td>26,859</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>56,559</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>9,852</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>17,904</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total North Island</td>
<td>38,732</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>79,482</td>
<td>92.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Island:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>2,127</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4,065</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1,143</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total South Island</td>
<td>3,348</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6,258</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>42,078</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>85,743</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Statistics, 1981 and 1992
Table 4.2: Population of Samoan ethnic group by main urban centres in 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Census No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>56,133</td>
<td>65.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>15,864</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>3,828</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunedin</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total New Zealand</strong></td>
<td><strong>85,743</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Statistics, 1992

4.2 Growth of the Samoan church in New Zealand and its significance.

The presence of the Samoan church that serves the Samoan community throughout New Zealand is not an isolated occurrence. Samoan migration to other countries such as Hawaii (Hecht et al, 1986; & Stranton, 1978), the United States of America - particularly in California (Franco, 1978; Kotchek, 1978; and Tofaeono, 1978) and in Australia have established the church to cater for their cultural and religious needs. New Zealand is in a unique position, since it is the home of the largest Samoan migrant population outside Samoa. Not surprisingly, the past fifty years have seen the substantial growth and development of various Samoan denominational churches throughout New Zealand.

The establishment of various Samoan denominational churches provide social institutions for Samoan communities throughout New Zealand. The church is a centre that maintains and retains Samoan culture and language, particularly for the New Zealand born Samoan generation. Unlike their Samoan born parents, the New Zealand born and educated generation have learnt to reflect critically on their own culture of fa'aSamoa and their experiences with New Zealand culture. This generation is not assimilating into the host society, but is emerging as a new culture incorporating traditional aspects of fa'aSamoa and Maori and Pakeha influences. This new culture has evolved in the need for the New Zealand born
Samoans to be recognized as a bi-cultural generation of their own people. Through this new culture, the New Zealand Samoan born generation retain the ethnic identity and culture of their parents, while at the same time recognizing themselves as New Zealanders with Samoan ethnicity. The church has played a major role in the development of this new culture.

4.2.1 Types of Samoan Churches.

In the 1990s, the Samoan community can be found worshipping, serving their minister and the church in two mainstream church categories; multicultural and monocultural. 'Multicultural churches' are churches consisting of two or more ethnic groups. Several churches fall into this category, the most important of which is the Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church, the first established church for the Samoan community in New Zealand. However, other ethnic groups such as Cook Islanders, Tokelauns, Niueans, Tuvaluans and some Europeans, also share the Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church with Samoans. A combined English service is usually followed by individual Pacific Island language services throughout Sunday. Ministers of the church who are both Island and New Zealand born, usually have received their theological education in New Zealand. There are thirty-two Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Churches throughout New Zealand. Other multicultural churches are the Methodist Church of (which includes Samoan, Tongan and Fijian ministers) and the Roman Catholic Church (which serves Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan and a variety of other communities). Both the Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches hold services in the vernacular (Duncan, 1990). Mormons and the Baha'is churches also fall under this category.

The second mainstream church category are 'monocultural indigenous churches'. Monocultural indigenous churches in New Zealand which serve the Samoan community include the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, the Samoan Methodist Church, the Samoan Assembly of God, and the Samoan Seventh Day Adventist Church. The services and activities within these churches are
conducted in the Samoan language, and in most cases ministers are trained in Samoa, although theological studies in New Zealand by an increased number of ministers, use this opportunity to further their theological skills.

Ironically, while European missionaries in the nineteenth century ministered Pacific Island nations, in the late twentieth century Pacific Island born (including Samoan born) ministers are ministering among predominantly European parishes within New Zealand. It appears that while church attendance among Europeans in New Zealand appears to be declining, Samoan and other Pacific Island religious involvement is steadily increasing.

4.2.2 The establishment of Samoan Churches in New Zealand.

The development and origins of the establishment of the church in New Zealand serving the Samoan community occurred as a direct result of migration. The increased migration of the Pacific Island people to New Zealand in the early 1940s saw the need for a place of worship (Amosa, 1994). They were of London Missionary Society/Congregational background, and thus it was only natural that Pacific Islanders would worship at a Congregational Church (Duncan, 1990). A small group of Cook Islanders in the early 1940s attended the Beresford Street Congregational Church in Auckland. George Edmonds, a member of this church, seemed determined to recognise this Cook Island group not only within the church, but also within Auckland (Nokise, 1978), and so he attracted the attention of the Reverend Robert Challis (a missionary of the London Missionary Society to the Cook Islands in 1933 to 1947) (Nokise, 1978). In 1943, it was decided to create a Pacific Island Church as part of the Beresford Street Church, where increased Pacific Islanders began to gather and worship. In 1944 Pastor Tariu Teiaia came to New Zealand from the Cook Islands to minister to Pacific Island migrant communities. By 1947, the Congregational Union of New Zealand Assembly formally accepted the responsibility for Pacific Islanders, and thus birth gave to the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church (PICC). In the same year a Auckland Niuean group was instituted and the PICC branch began
in Wellington.

In 1949, the premises of the Congregational Church at Edinburgh Street, Newton, became the base for the Pacific Islanders to worship as the PICC Newton branch, of whom members consider to be the 'Mother church of all PICC'. During the 1960s and 1970s, a rapid growth of branches throughout New Zealand occurred, among newly established Samoan migrant communities, who actively participate in church government and decision making.

In 1969 the Congregational Union Church merged with the Presbyterian Church and the Pacific Islanders found themselves under a new umbrella called Presbyterians, a name that took many, especially Samoans to come to terms with (Amosa, 1994), due to the congregational background deeply rooted within their island homes (Amosa, 1994). The PICC officially became Presbyterian and its name was changed to the Pacific Islanders Presbyterian Church (PIPC).

In 1963, a group of Samoans broke away from the Auckland PICC and established a branch of the Congregational Church of Samoa (CCCS). This was followed by a second branch in Wellington two years later. Continued splits from the PICC and continued growth of new Samoan churches in New Zealand such as the Samoan Assembly of God and Samoan Methodist Church, reflected the need for Samoans to worship God in various forms and within a total Samoan authority without interference from other Pacific Island migrants and New Zealand Europeans.

4.3 The establishment of Samoan Churches in Wellington.

Five churches that have been studied in Wellington will be briefly reviewed in their historical development. The reasons why these churches have been studied within this research will be provided for in the next chapter (Chapter Five). A
detailed development of the establishment of Wellington churches provides an understanding in the development of various Samoan communities throughout Wellington. The churches studied are, the Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church, in Newtown; St. David's Multicultural Parish, in Petone; Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, in Newtown; Catholic Church of St. Anne, in Newtown; and Samoan Assembly of God, in Berhampore. Within Wellington, other Samoan denomination churches exist such as the Samoan Methodist and the Samoan Seventh Day Adventist Churches, but have not been covered in this research.

The oldest and largest Samoan community church in the Wellington area is the Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church (PIPC) in the suburb of Newtown. This is a multicultural church as it also contains the Cook Island community. However the Samoan community remains the largest group within the church. The Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church in Newtown (PIPC), is regarded by many as the first church and 'mother' church for Pacific Islanders' particularly among the Samoan people who are members, ex-members and non-members of this church in the wider metropolitan Wellington area.

The origins and development of the Pacific Island community of PIPC began in 1942. This began with a small group of Cook Islanders who worshipped at the Terrace Congregational Church. In interviews with Cook Island elders who were involved in this group, it was revealed that prior to 1942 Cook Islanders worshipped at various churches throughout Wellington. It was then learnt through word of mouth that a few numbers of Cook Islanders started to worship at the Terrace Congregational Church. Soon larger numbers of Cook Islanders began worshipping at the church, to form a Cook Island community. In 1947, following the formation of the Pacific Islanders' Congregational Church (PICC) in Beresford street in Auckland, the Wellington Cook Island community established the first PICC branch in Wellington within the Terrace Congregational Church, as a result of their meeting with Reverend Challis. Prior to this meeting, Cook Islanders worshipped as members of this congregation. As
an established PICC branch, Cook Islanders continued to worship within the premises of the Terrace church and apart from the monthly visits of Rev. Challis and Rev. Teaia (initiators in the establishment of PICC), they relied largely on themselves and Rev. L. Gammon (the minister of the Terrace Congregational Church) to continue their work (Nokise, 1978). By the late 1940s, a small number of Samoans and the other Pacific Islanders began to worship in this church. In 1950, a Cook Island Pastor was appointed to the Wellington branch. Pastor Roro, who soon passed away, and later was succeeded by Rev. Teaia (from PICC Newton Auckland) to minister the Wellington PICC in 1953. In this same year, the Newtown Congregational Church (est. June 1898) premises was made available for the PICC Wellington branch. The old Newtown Congregational Church was deteriorating in numbers and mainly older aged European members remained in the church. The Newtown Congregational Church became the PICC in Wellington in which at this time a growing number of Samoans within the church reflected the increased migration of Samoans to New Zealand. Former European members either remained behind to worship within the PICC or shifted to surrounding European churches, particularly to the Cambridge Terrace Congregational Church, ministered by Rev. Chambers.

Towards the end of 1957, the first Samoan ministers graduated from the Congregational College in Auckland and began their ministry within the PICC. Rev. L. Sio, was appointed to the PICC-Newton Auckland branch, while Rev. P. Nokise was appointed to the PICC-Newtown Wellington branch to assist Rev. Teaia. Rev. Nokise' arrival in Wellington came at a crucial time when Samoan numbers began to grow substantially. This was due to the increase of Samoan migrants to New Zealand. Samoans of different denominational backgrounds began to worship together with the Samoan community in the church, a place to socialize and share common interests. Throughout the 1960s the Samoan community began to out number the Cook Island community and continued to grow substantially throughout the 1970s, becoming a more dominant group within the church. The growth of the Samoan community in PIPC in these decades occurred as a direct result in the acceleration of Samoan migration rates
to New Zealand and in the growing birth rates of New Zealand born Samoans. Rev. Nokise's ministry was not restricted to the Wellington branch. His ministry allowed him to also conduct monthly services for Samoan groups in Wanganui and Christchurch from the late 1950s to the mid 1960s until other Samoan ministers were appointed to these areas. The popularity of Rev. Nokise in the PICC Newtown, brought Samoans together in one church as a community. Many members of the congregation did not live in Newtown who often commuted long distances from Wellington's outer suburbs to worship.

Despite the 1969 merge of the Congregational and Presbytery church, which changed the PICC to the Wellington branch's present name to PIPC, Samoans continued to support Rev. Nokise, which is reflected in the willingness of the community to rebuild a new hall (completed in 1980) and new church (completed in 1988) on the premises. Today, the PIPC-Newtown parish is largely comprised of New Zealand born Samoans, who have already given birth to a second generation. At the same time, it continues to support Samoan migrants. Yet in recent years Samoan migrants have declined within PIPC due to the establishment of other Samoan denominational churches that are now available throughout Wellington and New Zealand.

The establishment of St. David's Multicultural (Presbyterian) Parish in Petone, began with Rev. Nokise and Rev. Pere who took Samoan and Cook Island services in the Porirua area in 1963. Both these ministers continued their work for this new branch, until Rev. Setu Masina was appointed to this branch in 1966. The Samoan population explosion in the 1960s meant that Samoans were residing in and throughout Wellington in outer suburbs such as Porirua and the Hutt Valley, and thus a need for a PICC branch in these areas was inevitable. Rev. Masina's appointment was crucial in the Porirua area, as he was involved in the establishment of a church to serve the Samoan community in the Hutt Valley area, which resulted in the establishment of St. David's Multicultural Parish in the late 1960s.
Although the PIPC (formally PICC) may have been the first church in New Zealand for Samoan communities, break away groups did occur from PIPC Newtown. In 1965, the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa (CCCS) began in Wellington. CCCS identifies with the CCCS in Western Samoa in which all services and activities are conducted in the Samoan language. As the first CCCS established in Wellington, the growing popularity of this church, particularly among the Samoan born, has seen the growth of a further seven CCCS churches in the outer suburbs of Wellington (3-Porirua, 3-Hutt Valley, and 1-Wainuiomata). An American Samoan CCCS has also established itself in Wainuiomata. Under the guidance of Rev. R. Ete, the CCCS Wellington in Newtown, has developed into one of the most important and influential churches in New Zealand and has a vital role in promoting Samoan language and culture. The Aoga Amata (Samoan language nest for pre-schoolers similar to Kohanga Reo language nests for Maori pre-schoolers), was established in this church and approved by the Ministry of Education in 1985. As the first Pacific Island language nest in New Zealand, the Aoga Amata established by Fereni Ete at the Congregational Christian Church in Newtown received television and media coverage across the country. Presently, the Aoga Amata has been established within many denominational churches throughout New Zealand. There are 48 Aoga Amata in the Wellington region, in which only 4 are presently licensed (Tagoilelagi, 1994). On September 15, 1994, the official launching of the Samoan Syllabus within primary and secondary schools was held in CCCS in Newtown (Pacific Network Newspaper, 1994). This reflects the influences and strengths that the CCCS in Newtown has contributed to Samoan communities throughout New Zealand within the education arena, and demonstrates the church's devotion to Samoan language and cultural maintenance within its own community.

The Catholic Church of St. Anne in Newtown was initially a European church. However, today it is considered to be a multicultural parish. The Samoan Catholic community began to grow in numbers within this church in the late 1960s, and it remains one of the strongest Catholic groups within the church.
Although there is a 'combine' mass held in English, a mass in the Samoan language in the church is available to cater for the Samoan Catholic community. In 1993, the Samoan Catholic community of St Anne's opened the 'Ioane Vito Centre' (named after Father Ioane Vito) on a premises separate from the church, for the Samoan Catholic community of St Anne to freely express themselves within their own fa'aSamoan practices as a community. The centre is also available for hire to groups, for example school dances, in which funds gained are used for various Samoan groups; towards the work of the church; and to help repay off the Ioane Vito Centre. The Samoan Catholic community throughout New Zealand remains to be one of the largest Christian faiths among Samoans, particularly within the Auckland region.

The Samoan Assembly of God in Berhampore, is the first to be established in New Zealand. Established in 1973, the Samoan Assembly of God religion is a radical movement for the Samoan migrant group. Many aspects of fa'aSamoan traditional practices have been dismissed within the church, such as the matai system; ie toga (fine mat woven from the flax of the Pandanus tree) used for gift exchange particularly during weddings and funerals; and dancing. Yet at the same time, other traditional fa'aSamoan practices are maintained with an emphasis on Samoan language. The population of these churches are small in comparison to the larger Samoan migrant communities found in the Presbyterian, Congregational and Catholic churches. As a pentecostal movement, these churches remain small in population number as members are encouraged to spread their faith and establish new branches of the Samoan Assembly of God. During the 1970s and particularly the 1980s, the growth in the number of these churches have been substantial. There are 15 Samoan Assembly of God churches in the Wellington region, and 63 churches are established throughout New Zealand.

Table 4.3 shows the Samoan ethnic group population in the Wellington region in 1991. This population is reflected in the rise in migration of the Samoan
population in Wellington over the past fifty years, which has had a direct influence in the development and growth of various denominational churches that serve various Samoan communities throughout the Wellington region.

Table 4.3 Population of Samoan ethnic group in Wellington 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Census No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wellington Zone</td>
<td>4,764</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porirua Zone</td>
<td>6,447</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Hutt Zone</td>
<td>4,164</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Hutt Zone</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Wellington Region</strong></td>
<td><strong>15,864</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Department of Statistics, 1992*

In the early developments of the Samoan migrant community within the Pacific Island Presbyterian Church in Newtown (formally PICC), not every Samoan attended church, but it would be true to say that many did (Nokise, 1978). This may not apply today, however despite the larger Samoan migrant population size and the availability of various Samoan churches in contemporary New Zealand, it is clear that a growing number of Samoans in New Zealand do not attend the church. This may be influenced by the New Zealand born Samoan generation.

4.3.1 The impact of the church in the process of cultural preservation.

The establishment of multicultural and monocultural Samoan churches of various denomination in New Zealand, have had varying impacts on the process of Samoan cultural preservation, particularly among the New Zealand born Samoan generation. Therefore, to understand the importance of cultural preservation within the church, it is necessary to differentiate between the churches that are available to the Samoan community.
Multicultural churches such as PIPC are predominantly Samoan parishes. Within the church, a Samoan service, and the availability of various Samoan groups and activities that are also found in monocultural churches, cater specifically to the needs of the Samoan community. Thus there is very little difference between PIPC (multicultural) and CCCS (monocultural) with regards to cultural preservation. However, PIPC also have multicultural groups in which many New Zealand born Samoans are involved with. Depending on the orientation with Samoan and multicultural groups and activities within the church, many New Zealand born Samoans will have various levels of Samoan language and cultural maintenance. Unlike CCCS New Zealand born Samoan generation, of whom the majority will maintain a strong cultural preservation, due to its monocultural nature.

However, even within monocultural churches, different denominations address Samoan cultural preservation in different ways. SAOG unlike CCCS, only preserves Samoan language within the church. Many of the traditional cultural practises within SAOG have been abandoned. Thus SAOG New Zealand born Samoans will have less orientation of Samoan traditional culture compared to those who attend PIPC and CCCS.

It is important not to assume that a multicultural church will provide a lower level of cultural preservation among the Samoan community compared to monocultural churches. Although this may apply more correctly to many New Zealand born Samoans, multicultural churches can be equal to and greater than monocultural churches in cultural maintenance depending on the church denomination.
CHAPTER FIVE

SAMOAN CHURCHES: A METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

This chapter looks at the methods and techniques used in studying Samoan Communities within five different selected churches in the Wellington area. The multicultural churches studied are the Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church (PIPC) in Newtown; St David's Multicultural Parish (StDMP) in Petone; and the Catholic Church of St Anne (CCStA) in Newtown. The monocultural churches studied are the Congregation Christian Church in Samoa (CCCS) in Newtown; and the Samoan Assembly of God (SAOG) in Berhampore. The problems encountered in undertaking research among the Samoan communities within these churches will also be discussed. This chapter provides essential background research information in which the final results and findings are presented in the following chapter.

5.1 Explanation of chosen research areas.

Two vital questions need to be answered regarding the explanation of the chosen research areas. Firstly, why was Wellington chosen as a study area?; and secondly, why were the five selected churches in Wellington chosen for this study? Wellington was chosen as a study area for three reasons. Firstly, Wellington has a large Samoan population and a large number of Samoan church communities who have established themselves in the city over the past fifty years. Secondly, as the Capital city of New Zealand, the church in Wellington has played a major role in promoting Samoan language throughout New Zealand by its influence and accessibility to the Government. Thirdly, the author's personal affiliation with the Samoan communities in Wellington, meant that accessibility and familiarity with these communities were met with relative ease
(although there is an exception to this with regards to one of the churches studied). Five Samoan churches were selected to be studied within the Wellington region: PIPC, CCCS, StDMP, CCStA and SAOG. The churches location relative to the main concentrations of Samoans in the Wellington region is shown in Figure 5.1.

It must be noted that the term 'Samoan churches' used in this thesis also includes multicultural parishes (PIPC, StDMP, and CCStA). The term 'Samoan churches', used for these churches is inappropriate because these churches also cater for other ethnic, cultural and/or European communities. Therefore, for the basis of simplicity, the term 'Samoan churches' used within this thesis refers to the 'Samoan community' of PIPC, StDMP, and CCStA (multicultural churches). CCCS and SAOG (monocultural churches) which are 'Samoan churches', are naturally included in this term.

The selection of the five Samoan churches: the Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church (PIPC), Congregational Christian Church in Samoa (CCCS), St. David's Multicultural Parish (StDMP), Catholic Church of St. Anne (CCStA) and the Samoan Assembly of God (SAOG) are as follows. The PIPC was chosen for its historical importance as the first church to establish a Samoan community throughout the Wellington region. In its later years, Samoans from this community have had direct and/or indirect influences upon the establishment of other Samoan communities of various denominational churches throughout the Wellington region. PIPC as the 'mother church' of Samoan communities in Wellington remains to be the largest church serving the Samoan community, although it is now followed by CCCS as a rising popular church. CCCS, CCStA and SAOG were chosen for being the first Samoan community established churches under different denominations - Congregational, Roman Catholic, and Assembly of God respectively. The Samoan members of CCCS, CCStA, SAOG and including StDMP, have originated or have had links/ties to PIPC before these churches were established.
FIGURE 5.1: Map of Wellington: Location of Samoan Churches and Samoan Population - Wellington Region, 1991
Geographical interest played an important role in the selection of these five churches. PIPC, CCCS, and CCStA are all located in the same suburb of Newtown, and SAOG is located in a neighbouring suburb of Berhampore approximately one kilometre from PIPC. The location of PIPC in Wellington has played a major influence in the growth of Samoan and Pacific Island communities within Newtown and neighbouring suburbs. In turn, this has enabled the church to increase in congregational size and establish 'new' Samoan communities who have established themselves into other denominational churches (CCCS, CCStA, & SAOG) within and surrounding suburbs. PIPC, CCCS, CCStA & SAOG also unite Samoans together who live throughout the wider Wellington area. It is true to say, that presently, the majority of Samoans who attend PIPC, CCCS and CCStA live in suburbs outside of Newtown. In some cases, for example in PIPC, there are Samoans who come from Wellington's outer suburbs, as far as Porirua, the Hutt Valley and Wainuiomata, despite having Samoan churches already established in these areas. This reflects the strength, affiliation, affection and personal bond that these Samoans have with the Samoan community of PIPC. StDMP is the only church studied outside the 'Wellington city churches'. StDMP was chosen for this reason due to its location in Petone which serves the Presbyterian Samoan community of the Hutt Valley and Wainuiomata areas. In addition to the , StDMP was chosen for its 'multicultural nature', with an aging European community, a small Cook Island community, and a more dominant Samoan community.

PIPC, CCCS, CCStA and SAOG as Wellington city Samoan churches, and StDMP (equivalent to PIPC) as a Hutt Valley Samoan church serves different Samoan communities in the Wellington region. By researching these churches the similarities and differences shared among Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans provide interesting and new insights of a new emerging culture shared by all churches.
5.2 Methodology.

This research study was carried out by means of a survey-questionnaire (refer to appendix) and by personal interviews/conversations. The survey-questionnaire was designed and aimed towards both the Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans. The survey-questionnaire contained five sections within it. Each section concentrated on specific areas concerning the church, focussing on Church Involvement; Church and Migration History; Culture (Fa'aSamoa) and the Church; the Church and other issues; and other personal questions such as income, age, marital status and so forth. The survey consisted with open and closed questions, in which all open questions were translated in both the Samoan and English language in an effort to avoid ambiguities in understanding and interpreting questions by participants of Samoan and New Zealand birth. In constructing the survey-questionnaire, a broad theoretical perspective within the research through the survey-questionnaire was designed to illuminate the relationship between migration, culture and social change and the emergence of a new culture. This was also aided by interviews and conversations.

The survey questionnaire was administered to members of the congregations of the five churches studied. Ideally, it would have been desirable to carry out this survey research for all the Samoan community members who attend these churches, particularly after a Samoan service. However, only a sample population of each church surveyed was possible. The difficulty in surveying the Samoan community after their Samoan service was due to the nature of church formalities including meetings concerning urgent matters of the church during these times. A death in the church is a particularly important formality, in which unexpected funeral services are to be expected, as these over-ride all church activities a part from normal church services held during Sunday. It is common to have an 'unexpected funeral', in which the family service normally held on Sunday evenings is attended by all members of the church including Samoan communities from other churches. Out of cultural respect and sensitivity, without causing disruption among formalities and activities held
within each church, the ministers, father and pastor were consulted in finding the best possible means of surveying the Samoan community of each church. Thus a variety of forms were adopted in order to sample survey church congregations. Youth leaders representing established junior youth groups (Australavou Laitiiti) from PIPC, CCCS, StDMP and CCStA were contacted and consulted in which a time was made available during the youth meetings or gatherings, in which the survey was carried out. The majority of these participants are New Zealand born Samoans, aging from 15 years up to the late 20s. Although these youth groups contained younger aged members (12-14 years of age), it was felt they were too young to participate in this survey. SAOG did not have an established youth group similar to PIPC, CCCS, StDMP and CCStA, however surveys were allocated through a networking system by acquaintances within the Kolisi (college) group of whom most are New Zealand born Samoans. SAOG is a relatively young church compared to the other four churches established in which older New Zealand born Samoans in SAOG were only beginning to participate in the SAOG Australavou which consists of working non-married people. The survey was also networked throughout this group.

In surveying the Samoan born, particularly the parents proved to be another challenge. In PIPC, the survey was administered with members of the Australavou during one of its weekly gatherings on Tuesday evening in the hall. The PIPC Australavou is different from the SAOG Australavou, in which members age from college age school years right up to Samoan elders of the church. This group includes New Zealand born Samoans, with the majority of the Australavou members being born in Samoa, an indication of Samoan parents participation. In the case of CCCS, StDMP and SAOG, the ministers and pastor allocated the surveys out to members of the church representing a wide range of age and church group involvement. This was met with varying success, with high numbers of CCCS surveys being answered and less so with StDMP and SAOG. Networking surveys with acquaintances in all five churches was also adopted in an attempt to have an increased participation of Samoan parents and elders in answering the surveys.
Interviews and conversations with Samoan members of all five churches were necessary in providing a full picture of the history of each church; the changes that each church is going through, and the circumstances and/or issues that each church is presently facing. Participants of interviews and conversations were church ministers (father and pastor), members of youth groups (of whom the majority are New Zealand born Samoans), Samoan born parents, retired ministers, members of the Cook Island community of PIPC, and Samoans who no longer attend church at this present time. Many of these interviews took place within the participants home, ranging from one person to a small group of several people. During interviews, because of the diversity of participants background with affiliated churches, set questions were difficult to maintain, thus each participant gave an account of their own view of trends and changes within the church. This provided further insight of cultural change that was very evident in the survey-questionnaires. Although it is not possible to cite all the views expressed by interviewees within this thesis, their views have provided further understanding in the answers expressed by the Samoan communities of these churches who participated in this survey. Views expressed by interviewees have been used in conjunction to strengthen the views expressed by survey participants with the open answered questions.

5.3 Problems encountered.

As with any research work through surveys and interviews, problems are expected to be encountered. Initially, the author wanted to be present and available for questioning with regards to surveying the five Samoan churches. Although this was possible in meeting some Samoan groups within the churches surveyed, particularly with Youth groups, the difficulty in establishing times and dates to survey groups, where Samoan parents and elders would be involved, proved to be a difficult task. Networking through acquaintances in these churches provided an alternative solution. In allocating and distributing survey material through a network system, it came as no surprise that in retrieving the
answered surveys would provide yet another difficult task. Many were not returned, and surveys that were returned, many were incomplete in answering open (long) questions. In CCStA, only the youth group were able to participate with the survey presented to them. Networking was not very successful with CCStA Samoan parents in participating with this survey, and efforts to establish meetings with Samoan leaders, groups involving Samoan parents and elders met with no success. It was felt that the Samoan leaders of CCStA did not see the importance and value of this research in evaluating cultural change and the emergence of their New Zealand born generation as a new culture in New Zealand. It is quite possible that some may have felt that this survey was a waste of time and/or may have felt threatened by an 'outsider' - non-catholic person surveying their Samoan community. What ever the reason, it was disappointing not to have their participation within this research. Thus, it must be stressed that the survey results of CCStA presented in the next chapter (Chapter six), heavily represents young people of whom the majority are New Zealand born Samoans.

The time of the year that this survey was undertaken among the five churches in September, October and November 1994, coincided with busy church events such as 'White Sunday'. White Sunday is a traditional practice in churches in Samoa, and is continually practices in Samoan churches in all denominations throughout New Zealand. It is a special day held once a year for children, from pre-school years right up to young single adults in their twenties, who present scriptural messages, Biblical plays, and hymns, and more recently creative dancing within the service. Family items prepared by parents are also performed by children during the service. CCCS, StDMP, CCStA and SAOG celebrate White Sunday on the second Sunday of October, which is the traditional date practices in Western Samoa. PIPC celebrates this day on Labour Weekend. The preceding weeks leading up to White Sunday involves many practices for children in preparing for this special day. Despite the majority of New Zealand born Samoans who were involved in the build up to White Sunday, they were still able to participate within this survey. However the difficulty again was participation of Samoan born parents and elders. This clearly reflects the interest
and concerns that New Zealand born Samoans have within the church and their need to express themselves concerning the future of the church. Another realization was that many parents who had low levels of schooling education, felt that the survey was quite difficult. In contrast, their children did not find the survey difficult, but as a thinking exercise reflecting their views of the church and culture. This indicates that New Zealand born Samoans who have grown up in New Zealand's schooling education, have higher 'Western' levels of education compared to their parents. Even though translations in Samoan was provided for in the survey, many Samoan parents may have felt that this was a laborious exercise.

The concept of a 'Survey' as a Western-academic idea of gaining information, contrasts to most Samoan born who would rather be willing to participate in conversation and interviews as a more Samoan approach for researchers to gain information. It must be noted however, that not all Samoan born parents and elders felt this way, and that many were enthusiastic to express their views with their participation within the survey, whether their level of schooling education was high or not. For many Samoan born parents who are struggling financially, the time needed to address the most important tasks in their personal lives, meant that finding the time to complete 'minor' tasks is not often possible, particularly in finding time to complete a survey.

In PIPC, the month of October (1994) alone, there were four funerals within each week consecutively. This coinciding with White Sunday, meant that cancellations with church groups were often delayed week after week. This meant that most survey research with Samoan groups were postponed until the following month of November. Samoan funerals, unlike most New Zealand-European funerals, do not take a period of 2-4 days. Samoan funerals in the context of fa'aSamoa will extend to a period of a week or more, as the grieving family and extended family (aiga potopoto) prepare for extensive cultural rituals of maliu (funeral) in respect and love of their recently deceased.
Many problems were also encountered in establishing interviews with participants of all five churches. Problems in establishing a convenient time and place provided yet another expected challenge.

Although the bulk of this research concentrates on Samoan communities who attend church, it does however neglect Samoans who no longer attend church or Samoan churches. However, by understanding the effects of cultural change that are occurring in Samoan churches, particularly among New Zealand born Samoans, can help explain reasons behind why some Samoans choose not to attend these churches any longer.

Despite the problems encountered within this research, a total of 293 respondents participated in the church survey-questionnaire from all five churches (Table 5.1). Although this represents only a sample population of each Samoan community, the results presented in the following chapter provide interesting insights and similarities shared among all five churches.

Table 5.1: Church Sample Population by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church, Newtown - Wellington (PIPC)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, Newtown - Wellington (CCCS)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St David's Multicultural Parish, Petone - Wellington (StDMP)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Church of St. Anne, Newtown - Wellington (CCStA)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoan Assembly of God, Berhampore - Wellington (SAOG)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL SURVEYED</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is also important to see how representative the total Samoan church sample population is to that of the total Samoan population of the Wellington region. Table 5.2 shows the group percent differences between the total Samoan population of Wellington in 1991 (Department of Statistics, 1992) and the total sample population of Samoan churches in Wellington. In the age group category of 0-19, the total Samoan church sample population in Wellington is 9.9 percent lower than the total Samoan population of Wellington. In the age group of 20-29, another significant difference reveals that there is a 8.4 percent increase of the church sample population compared to the total Samoan population of Wellington. Despite these percent differences, both populations show similar trends of high percentage of Samoan population within younger age groups. Both populations show decreasing Samoan population as ages increase.

Table 5.2: Age Group of total Wellington Samoan population (1991), total church sample population and percent differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Total Wellington</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-19</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>-9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>+8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>-3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>+2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>+0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>+2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 5.3, gender percent differences between the total 1991 Wellington Samoan population and the total sample population of Samoan churches, show an increase of 5.8 percent of Samoan females in the total sample population compared to the total Wellington Samoan population. Table 5.3 also shows that in the total Wellington Samoan population, there is 1 percent more Samoan females in the city compared to Samoan males. This is also similar to the sample population, however there is 12.6 percent more Samoan females compared to Samoan males.
Table 5.3: 1991 Total Wellington Samoan population, total church sample population and percent difference by Gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total Wellington</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>-5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>+5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show similar trends and patterns between the total Wellington Samoan population and the total sample population of Samoan churches in Wellington, there is obviously percentage differences between the two populations.

Table 5.1 shows the total male and female participants surveyed from each church. However it must be noted that percentage discrepancy have rounded percentages to the nearest whole number. This percentage discrepancy has been carried out through all data displayed in Chapter 6 for ease of interpretation.
CHAPTER SIX

THE CHURCH AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW CULTURE: AN EMPIRICAL DISCUSSION

This chapter examines results gained from the survey questionnaire that was used to research the five churches studied in Wellington: Pacific Islanders' Presbyterian Church (PIPC), Congregational Church in Samoa (CCCS), St. David's Multicultural Parish (StDMP), Catholic Church of St. Anne (CCStA), and Samoan Assembly of God (SAOG).

The main objective of this chapter is to present the results of each church surveyed, and examine whether there is any similarities or differences between the Samoan communities within the Wellington churches. An analyses of each church in comparison to one another, will demonstrate whether various denominational Samoan churches have similar or different influences among the Samoan community. Thus, an analyses of the main trends of these churches will be discussed. This will be done in three sections. The first discusses the issue of participants attendance and involvement within the church. Secondly, a discussion on participants migration history, regarding their place of origin, and migration patterns to Western Samoa and the church. And the third section focuses on fa'aSamoan and the church. This discusses the participants views on fa'aSamoan and its importance within the various churches.

Following this, a discussion on the views expressed by the New Zealand born Samoan generation, will illustrate a universal trend in the emergence of a new culture that is developing within the churches.
6.1 Church Involvement.

The majority of church member participants who took part within this research survey were females, with the exception of CCStA (Table 6.1). Although CCStA survey results only reflect the youth members aged from 15-29 years, it does show the strength of young males who attend church compared to PIPC, CCCS, StDMP and SAOG. Table 6.1 also shows that the majority of participants in all five churches were aged between 15-29 years; were mostly students of secondary and tertiary education occupation; income earning mostly fell into the $1-$10,000 category; and were mostly single. This indicates that the majority of participants within this research survey, were young adults and mostly New Zealand born Samoans, compared to participants of Samoan born parents and elders. This was due to the high participation of youth groups within this survey, and thus it must be noted that this has a high bearing on the results presented in this chapter.

The length of time that participants have been involved within their church is shown in Figure 6.1. In PIPC, StDMP and CCStA (multicultural churches), the majority of participants have been members of their church between 16-24 years, representing over 50 percent of the sample population surveyed within these churches. The majority of CCCS and SAOG (monocultural churches) have been members of their church from 6-15 years, however CCCS 16-25 years involvement (35 percent) follows closely behind its 6-15 years (39 percent) participant involvement. In StDMP, 27 percent have been members of their church for the past 0-5 years indicating new growth within the Samoan congregation of this church, compared to PIPC, CCCS, CCStA and SAOG. PIPC and CCCS, have the highest participants who have been involved within the church for over 25 years, 25 and 24 percent respectively. This reflects PIPC and CCCS as the oldest Samoan churches in Wellington, compared to the younger established SAOG in which the Samoan congregation involvement do not exceed 25 years.
Table 6.1: Samoan Congregations by Sex, Age, Occupation, Income and Marital Status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>PIPC (%)</th>
<th>CCCS (%)</th>
<th>StDMP (%)</th>
<th>CCStA (%)</th>
<th>SAOG (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age (years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(General Labourer and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Associated Occupation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Students</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>Unemployed/Beneficiary</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Income</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10 001-$20 000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20 001-$30 000</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30 001-$40 000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40 001-$50 000</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>$50 000 +</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
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<td>36</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 6.1: Length of Time within Samoan Congregations.
The majority of participants of the survey were involved with active groups within the church, as seen in Figure 6.2. StDMP had the highest non-group involvement of 9 percent compared to PIPC, CCCS, CCStA and SAOG. In PIPC, CCCS and SAOG, the most popular group involvement is the Sunday School, Autalavou and the Auaipese (Samoan Choir). It must be noted that the composition of church member participation in the Autalavou varies from church to church. Traditionally, the Autalavou is a Samoan youth group, however this has taken various forms in New Zealand. In PIPC and StDMP, the Autalavou (Senior) comprises of all age groups form youth to elderly. In CCCS and CCStA the Autalavou (Senior) comprises of young to elderly married people and elders who are not married. In SAOG, the Autalavou comprises of non-married working people. Junior Youth groups (Autalavou Laitiiiti) found in PIPC, CCCS and StDMP are young single Samoans from 13 years to the late 20s. This is the same for CCStA, but young married couples are also involved in this group. SAOG do not have a Junior Youth group, due to its Autalavou, but has a Kolisi - (College) group to cater for Samoans aged between 13-18 years. StDMP shows strong group involvement in the Autalavou (Senior), Junior Youth and Auaipese. CCStA has a 100 percent junior youth involvement, as this group was the only accessible church group to be surveyed within this church. The availability of various groups within all Samoan churches, cater for needs of the Samoan community regardless of their age, providing a social institution for Samoans to share their common interests.

Survey participants were also asked if their family attended their church. Figure 6.3 shows that the majority of participants had families who attended the same church as they did, with 100 percent recorded in CCStA and SAOG. Families who do not attend the church were recorded at 5.3 and 11 percent of PIPC, CCCS and StDMP respectively. Figure 6.4 shows that the majority of participant families in all five churches are involved in groups within their church. StDMP had the highest family non-involvement with groups within the church of 20 percent. This partially reflects the 11 percent of participant families who do no attend StDMP. The high family percentage attendance and involve -
Figure 6.2: Group Involvement within Churches.
Figure 6.3: Family Attendance within the Church.

Figure 6.4: Family Involvement with Groups within the Church.
ment within these churches reflects that the Samoan church is a family orientated institution.

In all five churches surveyed, family influences and religious reasons are the most important reasons why Samoans attend their church (Figure 6.5). Other reasons for attending church are also important, such as Fa'aSamoan attraction, and to meet and socialize with other Samoan people. Within PIPC and CCCS, the majority of Samoans who also attend these churches, feel that the church closely relates to traditional life in Samoa. This is also shared to a lesser degree with Samoans who attend StDMP, yet with CCStA the majority (33 percent) feel that this is fairly important, while SAOG majority (32 percent) felt that this was not important. Feeling pressured by the Samoan community to attend church had varying importance among PIPC and CCCS. In StDMP, the majority of 43 percent felt that feeling pressured by the Samoan community was fairly important, while SAOG majority of 43 percent felt this was not important. The majority of CCStA (33 percent) felt this did not apply as a reason to attend their church.

Figure 6.6 shows how often Samoans attend their church. However, within the survey, it was later realized that the question (regarding figure 6.6) was often interpreted in two ways. For example, many answered once a week for attending service on Sunday, yet they also participated in church activities during the week, while others did answer more than once a week. Thus the ambiguity within the survey question may not truly indicate how often one attends the church, particularly where those who attend the church more than once a week have been under-represented. The survey question was not meant to ask how often a person attends the church building (for services), but how often they attend the church and hall premises, for Sunday services and/or church weekly activities. Nevertheless, 63, 56, and 78 percent of Samoans were recorded attending their church more than once a week in PIPC, CCCS and SAOG respectively. Within StDMP and CCStA, most Samoans attend church once a week, yet it is known that many in this category are involved with various groups
Figure 6.5: The importance of various reasons for going to church
Figure 6.5: The importance of various reasons for going to church (continued).
Figure 6.6: Samoan Church Attendance.
within the church, attending church more than once a week. In CCStA, the Samoan community have established the Ioane Vito Centre due to lack of room within the CCStA facilities for Samoan church members to hold various activities. The Ioane Vito Centre although located separately away from CCStA, is a facility that is an extension to the spiritual facility of CCStA. Many from CCStA, have interpreted the survey question in their Sunday service attendance at CCStA premises, without their church involvement during the week in the Ioane Vito Centre.

In all churches surveyed, the majority of participants felt that the Christian religion was very important in their lives (Figure 6.7), with 100 percent recorded from SAOG. This shows the strength of Christianity from Samoa which is embedded into Samoan culture - fa'aSamoa, for both Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans.

In Figure 6.8, a high percentage of survey participants had knowledge of Samoans who do not attend the church regularly (at least once a month), whether they were friends, relatives or members of their family. This was particularly high among PIPC (87 percent) and CCStA (90 percent), compared to SAOG (48 percent). In Figure 6.9, the majority of PIPC and CCStA knew of Samoans who did not attend the church at all, 56 and 74 percent respectively. Although 56, 53 and 52 percent of CCCS, StDMP and SAOG respectively, did not know of any Samoans who did not attend the church at all, it does nevertheless reflect that many do have knowledge of Samoans who do not attend the church. The results may reflect Samoans within a church knowing the same person who has chosen not to attend the Samoan church. However the results do partially reflect the reality of present day New Zealand, that there is evidence of a steady growing minority of Samoans who for some reason have chosen not to attend the church regularly or to totally disregard it.
Figure 6.7: The importance of religion within the church.
Figure 6.8: Knowledge of Samoan who do not attend church regularly (at least once a week).

Figure 6.9: Knowledge of Samoans who do not attend church at all.
6.2 Church and migration history.

The majority of survey participants were born in New Zealand. This is evident in PIPC, StDMP, CCStA (although heavily influenced by the youth group surveyed) and SAOG, as shown in Figure 6.10. The only exception to this was CCCS, where 53 percent of the sample population surveyed were born in Western Samoa. This partially reflects the CCCS direct link and association with the CCCS of Western Samoa. For many recent Samoan migrants, the CCCS in New Zealand is the church that resembles the church of Western Samoa. In PIPC and StDMP, a small percentage of Samoans were born elsewhere such as the Gilbert Islands and Papua New Guinea.

Many of the survey participants whether they were Samoan born or New-Zealand born, have travelled to Western Samoa. Figure 6.11 shows that PIPC (78 percent), CCCS (92 percent), StDMP (80 percent), CCStA (78 percent), and SAOG (86 percent) of the church sample populations have visited Western Samoa. The most common reason for travelling to Western Samoa is to visit families and relatives during summer vacation. Other reasons are to visit sick members of their family (ie parents), funerals, weddings, church openings (in home villages), conferences, and to build a house for their family. Many have returned to Western Samoa on several occasions, the most recorded in this survey by one person is twelve times.

Survey participants were asked if their present church was the first church they attended in their life or not (Figure 6.12). For the majority of PIPC (63 percent) and SAOG (70 percent), Samoans indicated that the church that they presently attend, is not the first church that they have been affiliated with. This compared to CCCS of 37 percent, StDMP of 48 percent and CCStA of 28 percent. This reflects the migration patterns of Samoans within Samoan churches throughout New Zealand. For many Samoan born, their first Samoan church affiliation was in Western Samoa. For many New Zealand born Samoans, many have been affiliated with other Samoan churches and have mostly shifted to their present
Figure 6.10: Samoan congregation place of birth.

Figure 6.11: Samoan congregation migration to Samoa.
church due to family influences. For some young New Zealand born Samoans, they have chosen to attend these churches from their personal choice and satisfaction.

Samoans were also asked if they attended church in Western Samoa. In all five churches, many have attended Samoan churches in their visits to Western Samoa (Figure 6.13). However for Samoans who indicated that they have not attended church, is due to a partial reflection of these Samoans (New Zealand born Samoans) who have never travelled to Western Samoa. For the majority of Samoans (both Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans) who have attended church in Western Samoa indicates that many Samoans remain affiliated with churches despite their temporary absence from their own Samoan church in New Zealand.
6.3 Fa'aSamoa and the Church.

To understand Samoan views on Samoan culture -fa'aSamoa and its implications within the church, survey participants were asked if fa'aSamoa was influential in their church (figure 6.14). Almost 100 percent of sample populations in PIPC, CCCS and StDMP stated that fa'aSamoa is influential in the life of the church. This was only shared with 60 percent of Samoans from SAOG. The other 40 percent of SAOG Samoans felt that fa'aSamoa was not influential in the church, because of traditional practices such as the role of the matai in fa'aSamoa was not accepted within the evangelical practice of SAOG. In CCStA, all Samoans (100 percent) stated that fa'aSamoa was not influential in the church. This was because within the traditional practice of Roman Catholicism, fa'aSamoa could not be practised within the mass - Catholic Service. Although fa'aSamoa is not practised in church services of CCStA, it is however fully practised by the CCStA Samoan community in the Ioane Vito Centre.
Figure 6.14: Fa'aSamoa influence in Samoa Congregations.

Whether fa'aSamoa should participate in the life of the church was another issue confronting survey participants. In Figure 6.15, PIPC, CCCS and StDMP, most participants agreed on the participation of fa'aSamoa in the church. This was shared with 62 percent of SAOG survey participants, particularly with regards to Samoan language maintenance. In CCCS all participants (100 percent) agreed to fa'aSamoa participation, which reflects the CCCS as a church that advocates fa'aSamoa for the Samoan community throughout New Zealand. In contrast, all participants (100 percent) of CCStA did not agree that fa'aSamoa should participate in the life of the church. Although this only reflects the views of young adults within the church, CCStA survey participants view that traditional practice of fa'aSamoa (for example, the matai) should not participate within the church, as many have witnessed matai problems occurring within the CCStA Samoan community in the Ioane Vito Centre.
Survey participants were also asked to classify provided meanings ascribed to fa'aSamoa to varying levels of importance in their lives, in which the final results are shown in Figure 6.16. It shows that in all five churches surveyed, meanings ascribed to fa'aSamoa such as attending church; up-holding cultural beliefs and values; taking care of family and elderly; speaking Samoan (maintaining and retaining Samoan language); strong family relationships; supporting church life; and supporting the church minister were mostly classified as very important or important (as opposed to not important and/or not applicable). In PIPC, speaking Samoan received highest percentage (86 percent as very important) to the meaning ascribed to fa'aSamoa. In CCCS, speaking Samoan (93 percent) and maintaining strong family relationships (97 percent), held the most favoured importance in the meaning ascribed to fa'aSamoa. In StDMP, taking care of the elderly (76 percent); CCStA, taking care of the family (77 percent); and SAOG, up-holding cultural beliefs and values (73 percent) followed by attending church (71 percent), shows the varying most favourable importance ascribed to fa'aSamoa with these churches. Many surveyed participants commented that the provided meanings ascribed to fa'aSamoa in the survey all played a major role in the cultural make up and values of fa'aSamoa.
Figure 6.16: Meanings ascribed to Fa'aSamoa and its importance.

**PIPC**

Meanings ascribed to Fa’aSamoa

- Attending Church
- Up-holding Cultural Beliefs and Values
- Taking Care of Family
- Taking Care of Elderly
- Speaking Samoan (maintaining and retaining language)
- Strong Family Relationships
- Supporting Church Life
- Supporting Church Ministry

**Percent**

**Very Important**

**Important**

**Fairly Important**

**Not Important**

**Not Applicable**

---

**CCCS**

Meanings ascribed to Fa’aSamoa

- Attending Church
- Up-holding Cultural Beliefs and Values
- Taking Care of Family
- Taking Care of Elderly
- Speaking Samoan (maintaining and retaining language)
- Strong Family Relationships
- Supporting Church Life
- Supporting Church Ministry

**Percent**

**Very Important**

**Important**

**Fairly Important**

**Not Important**

**Not Applicable**

---

**SiDMP**

Meanings ascribed to Fa’aSamoa

- Attending Church
- Up-holding Cultural Beliefs and Values
- Taking Care of Family
- Taking Care of Elderly
- Speaking Samoan (maintaining and retaining language)
- Strong Family Relationships
- Supporting Church Life
- Supporting Church Ministry

**Percent**

**Very Important**

**Important**

**Fairly Important**

**Not Important**

**Not Applicable**
The importance of the church in preserving fa'aSamoa varied from church to church (Figure 6.17). In CCCS, 83 percent felt that the church was very important in the preservation of fa'aSamoa, compared to PIPC 50 percent. In all five churches, the preservation of fa'aSamoa in the church was regarded as very-important or important. However in SAOG 32 percent felt that this was only fairly important, due to its varying views and practices of fa'aSamoa in the church. Figure 6.17 reflects that the majority of Samoans in all five churches regard the Samoan church as an important institution in the preservation of fa'aSamoa throughout New Zealand.
Figure 6.17: Preservation importance of Fa’aSamoa.
The preservation importance of fa'aSamoa within the church total sample population surveyed between Samoan born and New Zealand Samoans is displayed in Table 6.2. It shows that the majority of both Samoan born and New Zealand Samoan generation, feel that the cultural preservation importance of fa'aSamoa is very important within the church. Thus both generations regard the Samoan language and culture to be essential in the life of the church.

Table 6.2: Total Church Sample Population: Preservation importance of Fa'aSamoa between Samoan born versus New Zealand born Samoans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fa'aSamoa Preservation Importance</th>
<th>Samoan Born %</th>
<th>New Zealand Born %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Important</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fairly important</td>
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<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not important</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tbody>
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6.4 The emergence of a new culture.

Because the majority of survey participants were New Zealand born Samoans, many have expressed their views within the 'open' questions of the survey regarding fa'aSamoa and the church. Although Samoan parents and elders participated within this survey, many of their views were not expressed in answering these questions. Thus this section endeavours to discuss the universal trends shared among the New Zealand born Samoan generation, who are emerging as a new culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The advantages of fa'aSamoa in the life of the church expressed by New Zealand born Samoans vary form individual to individual. Yet many feel that the main advantage of fa'aSamoa within the church, is that they are able to maintain, retain and learn their culture and language through practice experiences. This provides individuals with a sense of identity, and cultural understanding that may
be passed down to their own children. Fa'aSamoa in the church enables Samoan born to continue and practical their own culture, which in turn enables the New-Zealand born Samoan generation to learn how to communicate and fellowship with the Samoan born. This also enables New Zealand born Samoans as a bi-cultural generation to communicate with the Samoan born whether they are in Western Samoa or New Zealand, and through their New Zealand education are able to communicate with the Maori and Pakeha society of Aotearoa/New-Zealand.

Other advantages of fa'aSamoa, is the respect one must show for parents and elders. Fa'aSamoa is a culture that keeps the family and the Samoan community together through Christian life. Samoan groups such as Autalavou and Aufaipese within the church also helps the Samoan born generation to teach the younger New-Zealand born Samoan generation, the cultural values of fa'aSamoa.

The New Zealand born Samoan generation are also critical of many aspects of fa'aSamoa practices by their Samoan parents. Thus some disadvantages of fa'aSamoa viewed by this emerging new culture are as follows. Firstly, Christian morals are compromised for fa'aSamoa values. Here, fa'aSamoa can stagnate and distract the spiritual focus within the church life, because Samoans are caught up in the formalities and rigid principles and expectations of fa'aSamoa. Secondly, Fa'aSamoa is too traditional. As a conservative culture it can be prohibitive. Many New Zealand born Samoans find themselves caught in between two conflicting cultures of traditional fa'aSamoa and their New Zealand way of life that provides more freedom of expression. Thirdly, is communication problems. In traditional fa'aSamoa contexts, many New Zealand born Samoans as the 'young' generation are seen but not heard, as many parents and elders do not give the 'young people' a chance to express their feelings or point of view. This reflects traditional fa'aSamoa practice for the young to respect parents and elders. The cultural respect is seen as a cyclical process within fa'aSamoa, where the young in turn will receive, as they become parents and elders. Fourthly, is the financial strain of fa'aSamoa within the church for families. Many New Zealand born Samoans feel that 'offerings' towards the church in New Zealand with respect to fa'aSamoa has been abused. Many families compete with each other to present the highest church offering to gain
status attainment within the Samoan community. And lastly, is the issue of equality. Many New Zealand born Samoans who respect the Matai system, also recognize that from a Western point of view, the Matai system does not allow for equality. This is seen in the delegation of set roles of men and women, and in the subordination of women, experienced by many New Zealand born Samoan females. The Matai system tends to be a male dominated role, which provides power, authority and status, particularly with responsibilities to the church. Some Matai have been known to abuse their responsibility for status.

Major issues concerning the New Zealand born Samoan generation within the church are expressed in the following views. Firstly, freedom of speech, freedom of expression, and freedom of worship is the most prominent issue concerning this emerging new culture. Quite often, the young people within the church can be looked down upon by parents and elders as new forms of expression are considered to be too outrageous within the church. The youth are unable to express themselves spiritually, without making parents angry. This in some ways has led to many New Zealand born Samoans leaving the church for other charismatic forms of worship (especially when they arrive at the age of independence, usually from the age of 18). And secondly, the difficulty for young people in finding quality time for church and their school. The New Zealand born Samoan generation are expected to do well in church and school, yet they face other distractions and issues experienced in New Zealand's society. They must face social, moral and ethnic problems such as smoking, stealing, drinking (alcohol), disease, peer pressure, fighting, safe sex, teenage pregnancies, drugs, and child abuse in all its forms. Some experience stress, while others boredom. But many face the challenges within their Career development - such as, where to now?

Major issues concerning the Samoan parents and elders, which is shared by both New Zealand and Samoan born generations is fear of change. For many parents and elders, facing the changing times is a difficult task due to their inflexibility to accept new ideas and methods, particularly from the New Zealand born children. Health risk concerns many New Zealand born Samoans for their parents and elders of the church who often lack in exercise, are over weight and are prone to disease. Alcohol abuse is evident among some Samoan elders.
Financial issues is also another concern for parents, as many over spend financially within church, or try to cope with the financial demands expected from the church. Financial pressures have caused many Samoans depression and ill-health.

Parents and elders today are now more concerned with the New Zealand born generation in attempting to keep them involved within the church. Samoan born parents and elders are trying to understand the New Zealand born Samoan generation, and the changes that they are going through with regards to Samoan culture, and their needs within the church. Other issues concerning many Samoan elders are hoping that their individual needs will be met. Many fear the possibility of facing loneliness, and for some death.

The New Zealand born Samoan generation are facing changes within their fa'aSamoa and New Zealand life experiences. Through these changes, the New Zealand Samoan generation are developing and emerging into a new culture. However, problems are evident between the New Zealand born Samoan generation and the Samoan born generation due to cultural differences. Although initially the changes experienced by New Zealand born Samoans have caused some of them to leave the constraints of traditional fa'aSamoa within the church. Today, many have chosen to remain within the Samoan church. Both generations are slowly resolving their cultural differences through compromise, understanding, and a more 'open' communication channel.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

This chapter discusses the role of the church as a place of praise and worship but also as a social institution for the Samoan community. It looks at the role of the church with regards to spiritual and cultural maintenance. This discusses the influences that the church minister/pastor has upon their congregation, on both Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans. Furthermore, a discussion on the role of the church in promoting education in the cultural and academic arenas is also provided. Lastly, the chapter discusses if the church recognizes the New Zealand born Samoan generation as a unique emerging new culture. This analyses if the church is adapting to change in response to this new generation, or ignores the existence and the needs of this emerging new culture.

7.1 Spiritual and Cultural Maintenance.

The churches primary role for all denominational Samoan communities in NewZealand is to give their people spiritual guidance. For the Samoan migrant, much of the security that they enjoy in Western Samoa is lost in New Zealand. Although the family can provide comfort and help for new migrants in certain situations in coping with their new environment, there are times when the family cannot do so. This is partly because their own experience in New Zealand is insufficient (Macpherson and Pitt, 1974). Thus the Samoan church in NewZealand must provide more than spiritual guidance, in which the church attempts to provide practical guidance in a number of essentially secular areas (Macpherson and Pitt, 1974).

The role of the church minister is particularly important in this area. During the mass migration of Western Samoans to New Zealand, particularly during the late 1950s, and 1960s, Rev. P. Nokise (retired minister of PIPC-Newtown) would go
to the Wellington airport to meet the newly arrived, lost and bewildered Samoan migrants. As a minister, Rev. P. Nokise would help these Samoan people in making them feel 'at home'. He would provide accommodation and food and/or help Samoans locate their families in Wellington. Rev. P. Nokise's ministry involved him to be a social worker, an immigration officer, an accountant and so forth. His practical guidance has helped many Samoan migrants in their adjustment to New Zealand's lifestyle. However the role of the minister in the past has changed today. Many Samoans feel that Samoan ministers of today, lack in their commitment and sacrificial nature of Samoan ministers in the past. This reflects the nature of a strong Samoan community that has established in New Zealand. For example, families are able to go to the airport and help new Samoan migrants without the need of the minister; and with the New Zealand born generation (who are able to liaise with the New Zealand culture), can act as social workers for the new Samoan migrants of today. The presence of a strong Samoan community in New Zealand, has relieved many of the past duties for present day Samoan ministers.

The role of the church does not only provide spiritual and practical guidance, it is also a social institution for the Samoan community to maintain and retain their traditional culture, beliefs and practices. The church is like a Samoan village in New Zealand. It is the only place, where Samoan migrants can express themselves freely within their culture and without outside interference. The church in New Zealand unlike the village of Western Samoa, is a place that holds Samoan migrants who have originated from villages all over Western Samoa. This in turn has brought many Samoan migrants who were strangers to one another to meet and socialize within the setting of a Samoan community church. This has led to many marriages of Samoan migrants in the church, resulting in the substantial growth and establishment of their New Zealand born Samoan children that are present in New Zealand today.

Although the aiga is the primary source for fa'aSamoa maintenance for Samoan migrants, particularly for New Zealand born Samoans, the church further caters
for fa'aSamoa at the community base level in New Zealand, in very much the same way a village would in Western Samoa. Within the context of the church, the Samoan language is catered for through Samoan services and various Samoan groups, such as the Aualiavou/Autalavou Matutua - groups organized and run by the Samoan born community; Aufaipese - the Samoan Choir; sporting occasions involving sports such as kilikiti (Samoan cricket), and so forth. However the church may cater for the Samoan born within the context of fa'aSamoa practice, for the New Zealand born. Samoans, the role of the church in addressing the issue of language and cultural maintenance will vary from church to church (particularly between church denominations). For the New Zealand born Samoan generation, the difference of which church one attends may have a determining factor in various levels of knowledge within Samoan language and culture. For example, within monocultural churches such as CCCS and SAOG, the majority of children are brought up to attend Samoan Sunday Schools and Youth groups. Children who attend and grow up within monocultural churches of predominantly Samoan speaking communities which insist that only Samoan be spoken at all times, will grow up reasonably fluent in Samoan language and culture.

However, for children who attend multicultural churches such as PIPC, StDMP and CCStA, in which the Sunday School and Youth groups are held in English (to cater for other Pacific Island and/or European communities), possess various levels of Samoan culture and language knowledge. For some New Zealand born Samoans, their knowledge of Samoan culture and language is well maintained within multicultural churches. This is due to their family influences and encouragement to learn fa'aSamoa within the home, and their attendance in the Samoan services and Samoan group involvement within the church. Yet for other New Zealand born Samoans, whose families do not encourage and/or enforce them to learn Samoan language and culture within the home, and to attend the Samoan services and participate within Samoan group involvement in the church, may possess rather limited knowledge of Samoan language and culture. For some New Zealand born Samoans, the ethics and etiquette of
fa'aSamoa is fully understood, but are unable to converse in the Samoan language. This is reflected in their fa'aSamoa cultural performance and behaviour, in which their actions speak louder than words. It has been difficult for multicultural churches such as PIPC's Samoan community, to address the issue of Samoan language and culture, which has resulted in various levels of fa'aSamoa maintenance among their New Zealand born Samoan children. For the New Zealand born Samoan generation who attend multicultural churches, and who have attended New Zealand English speaking schools, they are able to express themselves more openly within the church in the English language (compared to New Zealand born Samoans who attend monocultural churches who must express themselves in the Samoan language). Some monocultural churches such as CCCS in Newtown, have allowed children to express themselves in English in Sunday School if they are unable to in Samoan (although the Samoan language is still fully encouraged within this church). This in turn has enabled the children is CCCS to clarify any doubts with Samoan and English interpretations, and thus further develop their Samoan language skills and understanding. In other monocultural churches such as SAOG, Samoan language is fully maintained, but other fa'aSamoa practices such as traditional dancing, the matai system, and ie toga (fine mats used for traditional gift exchange) have been abandoned. Thus children in PIPC and CCCS will have a fuller understanding in cultural fa'aSamoa practices compared to children of SAOG. The degree of cultural maintenance of Samoan language and culture among Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans partially reflects the role of the minister and their stance on Samoan culture maintenance within the different denominational Samoan churches.

Samoan ministers are very influential in the church, through their spiritual, practical and cultural obligations to the Samoan community. Samoan ministers are highly respected by the Samoan community, and within the traditions of Samoan culture, a Samoan minister is often placed high upon a pedestal. One of the most prominent ways in which Samoans show their appreciation and love for the minister, is through their public display of financial donations to the minister
in the church. For families who display the highest amount of money for the minister, are able to gain their spiritual fulfilment as well as status attainment among the Samoan community in the church. As a result of public display for the love of their minister, families within the Samoan community of the church, can become very competitive with the amount of money they donate to the church and their minister. Such is the intensity of this competition to outdo each other, that some families in their attempt to give the highest amount of money, will have no food for the rest of the week, and/or will not have paid other living expenses such as: electricity and telephone payments. The fact of being unable to keep up with church finances can bring embarrassment and shame upon a family, particularly when some churches publicly announce the family names of those who have not 'kept up' with church finances.

Within mainstream churches throughout New Zealand such as PIPC and CCCS, there is no set standards or limits in the amount of financial contributions by families in the work of the church. There is also no set standard for ministers stipend (to help pay and support the minister and his/her family), due to special donations by families which is taken either weekly, fortnightly or monthly. Samoan ministers who belong to a large congregation of the Samoan community can receive an enormous salary. In some cases, Samoan ministers are culturally unable to stop the substantial financial gains that they receive from the love of their congregation. However, there is a small but growing minority of Samoan ministers in New Zealand, who have abused their role within the church for their own personal wealth and satisfaction.

SAOG, is a relatively small congregation in comparison to the mainstream Samoan churches, yet the financial demands of a ten percent tithe by all working individuals is strictly adhered to. On top of the ten percent tithe, all working individuals within the church are often asked for more financial support for funerals, and/or any other activities that may arise within the church. This has in some ways, caused some Samoans to leave the church as the financial burden is too overwhelming. This is also a concern for the New Zealand born
Samoan generation of SAOG, who feel that their church simply asks/demands for too much money.

For the Samoan migrant, supporting the church and minister is of utmost importance with regards to Samoan culture and in showing their love for God. Although the New Zealand born Samoan generation share their parents views in supporting the church and minister, many question the role of the minister, if the minister has abused their position. In the traditional fa'aSamoa context, it is rude to question the ministers decision, particularly if the person who is questioning is young. It is often viewed by Samoan parents that 'the minister is always right', and to show respect and love for the minister, one must accept the ministers decision. However many New Zealand born Samoans cannot accept this reasoning, and will confront the minister when dissatisfied. This has brought conflict between some Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans within the church. However with changing times and the economic hardship that many Samoan families must endure in contemporary New Zealand, many Samoan parents are also questioning the role of the Samoan minister in their church.

**7.2 Education Maintenance - Cultural and Academic.**

The church has played an important role in the development of Samoan language and culture, to be accepted by the Ministry of Education as a formal language to be taught throughout New Zealand. The development of the Early Childhood Programme for Samoan language and culture, resulted in the establishment of the first Aoga Amata (Samoan language nes: for pre-schoolers) in the CCCS in Newtown, Wellington in 1985. Ten years after the first establishment of the Aoga Amata, there is presently a total of 223 established Aoga Amata throughout New Zealand (Tagoilelagi, 1994). PIPC, StDMP, CCStA and SAOG have all established an Aoga Amata within their church premises, in which CCCS has the only fully licensed Aoga Amata from the five churches studied (PIPC is currently working to obtain a licence from the Ministry of Education for
its Aoga Amata). The establishment of the Aoga Amata in New Zealand, provided the catalyst and the development of the Samoan language curriculum which was approved by the Ministry of Education in September 1994. The main thrust in pushing for Samoan language and culture to be taught at all levels of education form pre-school to tertiary education, was by the efforts of the national Samoan teacher's group 'Taliaoga mo le Aoaoina o le Gagana Samoa in Aotearoa' (FAGASA).

Although Samoan language and cultural courses already exist at tertiary level, such as Victoria University in Wellington, Samoan courses have been neglected at primary and secondary school levels. Trials for Samoan courses and subjects in primary and secondary schools are aimed to start in 1995, in areas such as Porirua and South Auckland where high population concentrations of Samoans are located. Teachers' of FAGASA believe that the low use of the Samoan language is linked to the high failure rate of Samoan students in School Certificate. Teachers' experience of students who know their own 'mother tongue', show more confidence and thus do better in their schools (The Dominion, 1994). The need for Samoan to be taught in schools is primarily for two reasons. Firstly, to encourage Samoan students to be confident and more successful in New Zealand schools. And secondly, to maintain and retain Samoan language among the New Zealand born Samoans, who are 'in danger' of losing their Samoan language in New Zealand. One of the problems that FAGASA will have to address is the lack of qualified Samoan teachers to teach Samoan language and cultural subjects within primary and secondary schools throughout New Zealand.

In recognizing the high rates of Samoan students failing in schools, and the rise of young Samoans being unemployed in New Zealand, churches such as PIPC and CCCS in Wellington have established a Homework Centre/Tutorial Classes within the churches premises. These homework centres cater for Samoan students in secondary schools, and particularly focuses on forms 5-7. PIPC is learning from CCCS's highly successful Homework centre in which careful
procedures are taken to ensure that all students do well in school. These procedures include: monitoring academic progress of Samoan students in schools; addressing the problems with student study habits, which are then analysed and remedied; establishing a relationship between school teachers and the church, where problem students are involved; keeping Samoan families within the church informed about their children’s academic progress on a monthly basis; the church’s use of its own resources, such as Samoans who have tertiary qualifications (both Samoan born and New Zealand born Samoans), who help tutor and encourage young Samoan students; and the use of voluntary secondary school teachers from various schools, who help tutor Samoan students in specific subjects.

7.3 Towards a new awareness.

One of the biggest difficulties that young Samoans in New Zealand are encountering is the pressure that is placed upon them from the expectations and pride of their parents. They must be successful in school, and be fully involved within church activities such as; the Autalavou, the choir, Sunday School exams, and any other activities that may be occurring within the church. The problem for many young Samoans is finding time to study, due to their involvement within the church and other responsibilities within the home. Lack of time in some ways has contributed to why many Samoans are not successful in school. The pressure to attend church in order to meet their parents expectations can often cause young Samoans to develop a dislike towards the church, the minister and religion. As a result, many have left the church once they arrive at the age of independence. Some young Samoans try to approach their parents with possible options, in the hope that their parents will consider their individual needs. Yet many parents totally disregard their children's comments and thus, are unable to compromise with them. In extreme cases, this has caused some young Samoans to; run away form home; be disowned by parents; lead to drug and alcohol abuse; possess the inability to deal with instant freedom; teenage
pregnancy (accidental or as a ticket to freedom); arranged marriages; eloping; and ultimately suicide as a final escape (Taule'ale'a'ausumai, 1994). Suicide has not significantly caught the attention and concern of the majority of Samoan churches in New Zealand. However some Samoan churches have recognized that presently, the young people of New Zealand maintains to have one of the highest suicide rates in the world. It was only a few years ago that Western Samoa had the highest suicide rate among young males in the world (Pourtau, 1992). Whether there is a close correlation between suicide rates of young Samoans in New Zealand and Western Samoa, the suicide issue remains to be a rather insignificant one among many Samoan communities throughout New Zealand.

Communication has been one of the major issues for young Samoans within the Samoan church. Having a voice within the church and being heard has often been a difficult process for young Samoans to express their concerns to parents, elders and the minister. During the 1980s, many young Samoans have left the mainstream Samoan churches due to their dissatisfaction within the church. Although it must be noted that some have left churches such as PIPC and CCCS in Wellington for career advancement either else where in New Zealand or overseas. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Samoan churches in New Zealand, particularly in Wellington have experienced the influence of the evangelical charismatic movement of their young people moving away from the mainstream Samoan churches. The main attraction for New Zealand born Samoans who have associated themselves with this charismatic movement, is due to their sense of freedom and freedom of self expression; lack of traditional formalities; contemporary music; and their sense of personal spiritual fulfilment. The importance of this charismatic movement, has meant that a new awareness among Samoan communities within Samoan churches are recognizing the need to address the concerns of the New Zealand born Samoan generation. This is evident in PIPC and CCCS, in which communication channels between New Zealand born Samoans, parents, elders and the minister are steadily progressing. Although conflict in views occasionally occur, slowly but surely, Samoan
churches are working towards a unity of its Samoan community at all ages, regardless if they are Samoan born or New Zealand born. This new awareness within Samoan communities also grew out of concern in realizing that the future survival of the Samoan church, is dependant on the New Zealand born Samoan generation. Rather than viewing their children as 'the future of the church', New-Zealand born Samoans are now viewed as the 'church today'. This new awareness among Samoan born parents, has also coincided with the re-birth or renaissance of Samoan identity among New Zealand born Samoans. This is reflected in the way New Zealand born Samoans take great pride in learning the Samoan language and culture, and in their identity and participation within a Samoan church. There are also many New Zealand born Samoans who have returned back to the Samoan church. Some have brought their experiences from other churches, such as the charismatic movement, which has helped in the spiritual feeding among New Zealand born Samoans who attend traditional Samoan churches.

The new awareness and its growth among Samoan born parents, elders and the minister, are recognizing the needs of their New Zealand born Samoan children within the church. This is done through a progressive and improving communication channel, which in turn has developed a new bonding relationship in bridging the gap between the Samoan born and New Zealand born generations within the church. Although conflict of views and problems may still arise between the two generations, New Zealand born Samoans are slowly finding 'acceptance' within the church to express themselves spiritually, educationally, and culturally within the church.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: FUTURE IMPLICATIONS - FA'ASAMOAH, WILL IT SURVIVE IN AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND?

For the majority of Samoan migrants who arrived in New Zealand in the late 1940s and 1950s, and those who followed in significant numbers during the 1960s and early 1970s, the church provided comfort and security for new immigrants in a new and foreign environment. PIPC was the first church established in New Zealand to meet the needs of Pacific Islanders' to worship in their own language. This church played a major role in serving the Samoan population in New Zealand. The Samoan migrant brought with them their Christian beliefs that is deeply engrained within their Samoan culture and language - Fa'aSamoa. The church provided the Samoan migrants a place where fa'aSamoa can be safely practised without criticism from New Zealand's Pakeha and Maori societies.

The church also provided a social setting for Samoans to meet in a foreign land, which resulted in many marriages (particularly during the 1960s and 1970s) of Samoan migrants in New Zealand. Overtime a substantial growth of their New Zealand born Samoan children has become more prominent in New Zealand. Today, there is more New Zealand born Samoans in New Zealand compared to Samoan born. For the majority of Samoan parents, it was only natural for them to pass on their cultural beliefs and practices of fa'aSamoa in the home and in the church among their children. However, for many Samoan parents, they could not foresee the challenges they faced in teaching fa'aSamoa to their children in the New Zealand environment. Nor could Samoan parents foresee the changes within their childrens' orientation to fa'aSamoa.

The New Zealand born Samoans through their New Zealand education has learnt to reflect critically on their fa'aSamoa culture and the New Zealand bicultural/
multicultural influences. Based on their personal experiences and evaluation of their bicultural lifestyle, many have chosen to incorporate cultural practices of fa'aSamoa and New Zealand's material culture within their lives. Yet many New Zealand born Samoans have also come to assess their cultural influences in different ways, in which some have totally abandoned their Samoan cultural heritage. This may be viewed as the process of assimilation or acculturation of the New Zealand born Samoan generation into the New Zealand Pakeha dominant society. However, this is not so, because this generation are making their own personal choices whether to abandon or maintain fa'aSamoa through their own personal situations, rather than being 'forced' or 'pressured' to adopt the cultural values of the dominant society of New Zealand.

The church has played a major role in the decision making of the New Zealand born Samoan generation in the degree of fa'aSamoa maintenance in their lives. In the past fifty years, the growth and development of the Samoan community in New Zealand, has resulted in the establishment and growth of various Samoan denomination Samoan churches that is present in New Zealand today. Multicultural churches such as the PIPC have varying effects on the orientation of fa'aSamoa maintenance among the New Zealand born generation. For some their fluency and knowledge of Samoan language and culture is of a very high level. But for others, their understanding of Samoan culture and language is of a variable nature. There is even a diversity of fa'aSamoa maintenance among New Zealand born Samoans who attend monocultural churches. The majority of members who have grown up in the CCCS maintain a high level of fa'aSamoa knowledge. Yet their have been cases of some individuals who have found it difficult within the church setting to grasp an understanding of fa'aSamoa. This especially applies to individuals who are relatively 'new' members of the church, in which the confusion over their 'English' interpretation of fa'aSamoa has made the translation difficult in fully understanding Samoan language and culture. Other monocultural denominations such as SAOg have set criteria of levels of fa'aSamoa maintenance practised within the church. Young New Zealand born Samoans in these churches maintain strong knowledge of Samoan language, yet
have less affiliation with Samoan cultural practices such as traditional Samoan dancing, the matai system and so forth, compared to those who attend PIPC and CCCS.

What is stressed here is that whether one attends a multicultural or a monocultural church there will be various levels of orientation and familiarity of fa'aSamoan knowledge among the New Zealand born generation. Strong advocates of Samoan language and culture are Samoan Congregational and Methodist (monocultural) churches, who are more successful in maintaining and retaining fa'aSamoan among their New Zealand born generation. This is also shared to a large degree among the multicultural churches such as PIPC, where the majority of New Zealand born Samoans are fully involved with the Samoan community of the church in attending Samoan services and Samoan group involvement. However, in the same time, they also attend the combined English service and church groups that involve other Pacific Island communities. Within PIPC, the Samoan community is the largest ethnic group involved who support the work of the church. From the Pacific Island and New Zealand born Samoan generation are the largest and dominant group within the church. Although Samoan group involvement is encouraged by Samoan born parents, the decision to be more involved with the Samoan-side of multicultural-side of the church remains to be the choice of the New Zealand born Samoan individual. Some will be heavily involved with the Samoan group and activity involvement, some will be involved in both the Samoan and multicultural activities in the church, while some will be more inclined to remain involved with the multicultural church group. Thus fa'aSamoan maintenance and orientation among the New Zealand born Samoan of PIPC will vary from person to person. The SAOG throughout New Zealand, although a strong advocate for Samoan language maintenance as a monocultural church, lacks the cultural teaching of fa'aSamoan practices among the their New Zealand born Samoan generation, when compared to Samoan Congregational and Methodist (monocultural) churches and Samoan communities involved with Presbyterian and Roman Catholic (multicultural) churches.
Although many New Zealand born Samoans no longer participate with churches that serve the Samoan community throughout New Zealand, the majority of them do. In the 1990s, a 'renaissance' of Samoan identity among New Zealand born Samoans is occurring throughout the nation, as many realise the importance in understanding and knowing their Samoan cultural heritage - fa'aSamoa. This is a trend that is also occurring throughout the world, where many ethnic minorities and their successive generations are going through a 're-awakening' of their ethnic cultural identity. The renaissance of Samoan language and culture among New Zealand born Samoans has also coincided with the 'new awareness' experienced within the church among the Samoan born community. This 'new awareness' is developing among Samoan born parents, in recognising the problems and difficulties that New Zealand born children are facing within the traditional life and expectations of the Samoan churches in New Zealand.

The Samoan community in New Zealand have also recognised the loss of Samoan language and culture among New Zealand born Samoans. This is evident in the development and establishment of Samoan language subjects in the New Zealand education system. Nineteen ninety five will be the first year where the Samoan language Curriculum (approved by the Ministry of Education) will be made available in all levels of education, from pre-school to tertiary levels. Although this may arrive too late for the majority of the first generation of New Zealand born Samoans, it will however provide available and additional access for the second generation to gain Samoan language and cultural knowledge.

In Wellington the establishment of a fully operational Samoan radio station also provides additional important communication link among the Samoan community throughout the Wellington region. The Wellington Samoan radio station (Fofoga e le Laumia) provides the Samoan community with the latest news in Western Samoa; news and additional venue activities concerning the Samoan community throughout Wellington and New Zealand; talk back shows; discussing main issues concerning both Samoan born and New Zealand born
Samoans in New Zealand; Samoan music, and so forth.

Figure 8.1 shows a brief flow chart summation of migration and culture and the role of the church. It indicates that Samoans have migrated to New Zealand for various reasons (such as economic/employment advantages), and brought with them their fa'aSamoa pride and identity. In New Zealand, Samoans have established various denominational churches which also now serve their children who are New Zealand born Samoans. This generation are emerging as a new culture as they search for their identity of fa'aSamoa and New Zealand's multicultural influences in New Zealand. They are now giving birth to the second generation of New Zealand born Samoans, whose fa'aSamoa maintenance will heavily rely on the family, the church, and Samoan language and cultural classes that will be available in all levels of education.

With the emergence of a new culture among New Zealand born Samoans who are experiencing the need for fa'aSamoa identity and maintenance, it would appear that the future of fa'aSamoa in New Zealand will survive. However, it must be noted that not all New Zealand born Samoans will maintain fa'aSamoa in their lives. Even with the establishment of available Samoan language and cultural classes in schools and at Universities and Polytechnics the reality is that not everyone will want to attend them. As culture is dynamic and never static, what remains unclear at this stage is what shape and form fa'aSamoa will evolve into as the first and second generations of New Zealand born Samoans continue to practise fa'aSamoa among their children.

The following questions remain unanswered in the future development and maintenance of fa'aSamoa. Will fa'aSamoa practised in Auckland (fa'aSamoa Aukilani) be different from fa'aSamoa in Wellington (fa'aSamoa Ueligitone)? Will fa'aSamoa in New Zealand maintain the unwritten and cultural 'Universal Fa'aSamoa' shared with Samoans of Western Samoa? And will the church continue to play an important role in Samoan language and cultural maintenance for future successive generations of New Zealand born Samoans? The answers
to these questions will become clearer as we head towards the twenty-first century.

Figure 8.1: Flow-Chart Summation of Migration and Culture: The Role of Samoan Churches in Contemporary Aotearoa-New Zealand

Key

- Main Population Influx
- New Zealand Born Samoan Flow Line
- Possible Activities to maintain fa'a Samoa
APPENDIX:

Copy of Church Survey Questionnaire
Church Survey of Samoan Congregations in New Zealand:
Iloiloina o Ekalesia Samoa i Niu Sila.

Section One: Church Involvement: Aofiaga Fa'ale-Lotu.

1. Name of your Church? Ioga o lau Lotu? .................................................................

2. How long have you been a member of your present church? (please tick one box)
   - [] Less than 1 year.  [] 11 - 15 years.  [] 26 - 30 years.
   - [] 1 - 5 years.  [] 16 - 20 years.  [] Over 30 years.
   - [] 6 - 10 years.  [] 21 - 25 years.

3. What groups or associations are you presently involved in within your church?
   (please tick appropriate box(es))
   - [] Aoga Amata.
   - [] Aoga Aso-Sa / Sunday School.
   - [] Autalavou.
   - [] Aufaipe.  [] Elder / Au-Matutua.
   - [] Mafutaga Tina.  [] Other / Nisi: ....................

4. Does your family attend the same church as you?  [] Yes  [] No

5. Is your family involved in groups or associations within your church? (for example autalavou, etc)  [] Yes  [] No

6. How would you rate the following factors as reasons for you to go to church?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Fairly Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
   a) Family influences..................... []         []         []         []         []
   b) Fa'a Samoa attraction................ []         []         []         []         []
   c) To meet & socialize with other Samoan people......................... []         []         []         []         []
   d) Feeling pressured by the Samoan Community............................. []         []         []         []         []
   e) The Church closely relates to traditional life in Samoa........... []         []         []         []         []
   f) Religious reasons...................... []         []         []         []         []
   g) Other:__________________________ ... []         []         []         []         []

7. How often do you go to church?
   - [] More than once a week  [] Fortnightly.  [] Occasionally / Sometimes.
   - [] Once a week.  [] Monthly.  [] Don't know.

8. How important would you say religion is in your life?
   - [] Very important.  [] Fairly important.  [] Don't know.
   - [] Important.  [] Not important.
9. What does the "church" mean to you? O le a le iuga o le "Lotu" ia oe?

10. Do you have any Samoan friends, relatives or members of your family who:
- do not attend church regularly? (at least once a month)...........[ ] Yes [ ] No
- do not attend church at all?........................................[ ] Yes [ ] No

**Section Two: Church & Migration History: O le Lotu ma le Femalaga'aiaga.**

11. Place of Birth: .................................................................
    (Country: Atunuu)     (Village/Town/City: Nu'u/Taulaga/Taulaga tu tatonu)

12. Place of Present Residence: ................................................
    (City: Taulaga Tuto tatonu)     (Suburb: Itumalo)

13. How long have you lived in New Zealand? ..................................

14. Have you been or gone back to Samoa? [ ] Yes [ ] No

15. If you answered 'yes' to Q14, how often have you gone back to Samoa? Ua fa'afia ona e foi atu i Samoa? ..........................................................

16. Why did you go back to Samoa? Aisea na e toe malaga ai i Samoa? ..............

17. Is your present church the first church that you have attended in your life? [ ] Yes [ ] No

18. If this is not your first church, please name the church(es) that you were involved with and where they are located whether they are in New Zealand and or Samoa.

Name of Church/Igoa o le Lotu: .................. Location/Afioaga: ..................
    (Country)     (Village/Town/City)

Name of Church/Igoa o le Lotu: .................. Location/Afioaga: ..................
Name of Church/Igoa o le Lotu: .................. Location/Afioaga: ..................

19. If this is not your first church in New Zealand, please state why you changed churches to your present church? Afai e le o lau lotu muamua lea i Niu Sila, fa'amole mole fa'ailoa mai, pe aisea ua suia ai lau lotu, i le lotu ua e i ai nei?

20. Have you attended church in Samoa? [ ] Yes [ ] No
21. If you attended church in Samoa, what groups or associations were you involved in?
[] Aoga Aso-Sa.  [] Mafutaga Tina.  [] Not applicable.
[] Autalavou.  [] Au-Matutua.  [] Other / Nisi: ........

22. If you were born or raised in Samoa, please rank the main reasons for you coming to New Zealand? Afai na e fanau ma ola ae i Samoa, fa'amolemole fa'atulaga mai mafua'aga, o lou malaga mai i Niu Sila?

Section Three: Culture (Fa'a Samoa) and Church: O le Aganu'u ma le Lotu.

23. Is Fa'a Samoa influential in your church?  [] Yes  [] No

24. Do you agree that Fa'a Samoa should participate in the life of the church?  [] Yes  [] No

25. What advantages of Fa'a Samoa do you see in the life of the church? O a ni itu taua o le Fa'a Samoa e te silafia i le ola o le lotu?

26. What disadvantages of Fa'a Samoa do you see in the life of the church? O a ni itu e le taua ai le Fa'a Samoa e te silafia i le ola o le lotu?

27. What does Fa'a Samoa mean to you? O le a le uiga o le Fa'a Samoa ia te oe?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Fairly Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taua</td>
<td>Taua</td>
<td>E le Taua</td>
<td>Le'ai se Taua</td>
<td>E le Aofia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) Attending Church/Au'ai i le Lotu.............. []
b) Upholding Cultural beliefs & values/
   Taofi i talitonuga ma taua fa'ale-Aganu'u..... []
c) Taking care of Family/Tausiga o Aiga........ []
d) Taking care of Elderly/Tausiga o e
   Matutua.................................. []
e) Speaking Samoan (maintaining and retaining
   Samoan language)/Fa'atumauna o le tautala
   Fa'a Samoa.................................. []
f) Strong Family Relationships/Malosi o le
   So'otoga Fa'aleaga........................... []
g) Supporting Church life/Ola o le
   Tautua i le Lotu............................ []
h) Supporting Church Minister (Priest)/
   Tautua o le Fa'ae'au........................... []
i) Other/Nisi: ____________________________ []
j) Comments/Fa'amatalaga: __________________________________________


28. What do you personally feel for Fa'a Samoa in your church? O le a sou lagona fa'aletagata i le Fa'a Samoa i lau lotu? .............................................................................................................

29. Do you personally have problems with Fa'a Samoa and its' influence in church? E i ai ni au fa'aftauli fa'aletagata i le Fa'a Samoa ma lona a'afiaga i le lotu? .............................................................................................................

30. How Important do you see the church in preserving Fa'a Samoa?
   [] Very Important.     [] Fairly Important.     [] Don't know.
   [] Important.          [] Not Important.

Section Four: Church & other issues : O le Lotu ma nisi mataupu.

31. What do you think are the major issues facing the young people of your church today? O le a sou manatu o a ni mataupu taua, o feaga: ma tupulaga talavou o lau lotu o i ai nei? .............................................................................................................

32. What do you think are the major issues facing the 'older' people of your church today? (for example parents, etc) O le a sou manatu, o a ni mataupu taua, o feagai ma e matutua o lau lotu o i ai nei? .............................................................................................................

33. Do you think your church is dealing with the major issues facing the young and 'older' people of your church? E te manatu o feagai lau lotu ma ni mataupu taua aga'i i tupulaga talavou ma e matu-tua o lau lotu?

34. What changes within your church do you see important to benefit the people of your present church? O a ni suiga o e va'aia, e taua i totonu o lau lotu, e manuia ai tagata o lau lotu o e i ai nei? .............................................................................................................

Section Five: Other Personal Questions : Nisi o fesili tau i le tagata.

35. If you don't mind, please indicate which income bracket you fall in?
   [] $0 - $10,000.     [] $20,001 - $30,000.     [] $40,001 - $50,000.
   [] $10,001 - $20,000. [] $30,001 - $40,000.     [] $50,001 and over.

36. Age?    [] 0 - 19 years.     [] 30 - 39 years.     [] 50 - 59 years.
           [] 20 - 29 years.     [] 40 - 49 years.     [] 60 years and over.

37. Marital Status? (for example-Married, etc): .............................................................................................................
38. What is your occupation? ............................................

39. Male/Female? .................

Thank you for answering this survey. All individual surveys are kept strictly confidential. Fa'afetai tele mo lou taliaina o lenei ilo:loga, ma ia fa'amauia le Atua ia te oe.
REFERENCES


The Dominion (1994): 'Samoans to be taught in Schools', Thursday May 26th.


