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EXTENDED KINSHIP AMONG URBAN SAMOAN MIGRANTS: TOWARDS AN EXPLANATION OF ITS PERSISTENCE IN URBAN NEW ZEALAND.

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the structure and composition of extended kin groups among Western Samoan migrants in New Zealand, and comments on their role and significance in migrant social organisation.

Certain factors which could explain the continued significance of these groupings are identified and examined. The factors identified suggest that individuals continue to accept the rights and obligations associated with membership of an extended kin group partly because they believe that it is in their interests to do so and partly because they have little option.

The material is placed within the context of the current debate on the relationship between economic organisation and associated kinship structures. The thesis concludes that Western Samoan migrants have retained an extended kin group which closely resembles the modified extended family reported in the family literature, and that under certain conditions extended kin groups may emerge, or persist, in urban industrial societies.

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P A R T O N E

INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL.

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter Two: Research Method

-Participant Observation

-The 'Sample'

-Use of Informants

-Documentary Sources

-Limitations of Conventional Techniques.

Chapter Three: Extended Kinship and Urban Industrial Society.

-The Incompatibility Thesis

-The Incompatibility Thesis Challenged

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INTRODUCTION

Western Samoa is an independent sovereign state in the South Pacific Ocean. It is an archipelago consisting of four inhabited islands and a number of uninhabited islets and lies between 171 and 173 degrees west longitude, and between 13 degrees 30 minutes and 14 degrees and 20 minutes south latitude. The islands are the summits of a range of volcanic mountains which lie east west across the Pacific. Total land area of Western Samoa is approximately 1100 square miles. The islands are high islands with maximum elevations of over 8000' a.s.l.

In 1966 there were some 156,000 Samoans in Samoa, and despite emigration this number has continued to increase rapidly. The Samoans are culturally Polynesian and more specifically are Western Polynesian. Despite a long history of contact with Europeans Samoan culture has remained largely intact with the possible exception of the sphere of religion. Since 1830 the Christian religion has become increasingly important and dominates the religious life of the Samoans. The land tenure systems and the stratification and kinship systems have remained basically similar to those of pre and early contact period.

Western Samoa was between 1900 and 1914 under German administration. The outset of the First World War saw a force, under Colonel Logan, occupy Samoa and between 1914 and 1962 Western Samoa was administered by New Zealand. It was this association with New Zealand which made possible the continued entry of Western Samoans to New Zealand after Western Samoa became independent in 1962.

This date did not, however, signal the beginning of the migration of Western Samoans to New Zealand. Western Samoans had been migrating to New Zealand since the late 19th century.

However, the major influx has occurred since the end of the Second World War. In 1971 the Samoan population resident in New Zealand numbered 22,198 which made it the largest non-Maori population in New Zealand.

An interesting feature of Samoan migration, and of the Samoan migrant population, has been the extent to which various ethnic institutions have been transplanted in New Zealand (Pitt, D. and Macpherson, C., 1971, 1974). One of these institutions is kinship, which, in its extended form, has persisted with minor modifications in an urban, industrial society.

Sociological interest has been centred, until comparatively recently, on the suggestion that extended kinship systems are incompatible with urban, industrial societies. This argument has been challenged recently by the presentation of data which suggests that the incompatibility of the two has been overstated by its exponents. In certain circumstances various forms of extended kinship persist, and even emerge, in urban industrial societies. These arguments are discussed in the following chapter in detail.

An attempt is made here to examine the various factors which have co-incided and made possible the persistence of the Samoan form of extended kinship in an urban, industrial context. It will be argued that three factors have co incided in this situation and have collectively contributed to the persistence of Samoan kinship in New Zealand. First, a complex and highly developed system, which is of importance as the basis of much of Samoan social organisation, exists in Samoa. Samoan migrants have the values and experience which permit them to understand and value such a system. These two factors have predisposed migrants to reconstruct a similar system in New Zealand.

Secondly, the Samoan kinship system has a high degree of in-built flexibility which has made modification possible and has facilitated its adaption to the new needs of Samoan migrants. Finally, the existence of certain institutional constraints, imposed by the host society on immigrant participation, has led to continued dependence by migrants on various ethnic institutions for the provision of certain services. These constraints are not legal, but consist instead of certain social and linguistic skills which are required for effective participation and which are not possessed by migrants.

These factors have co-incided in such a way that many migrants have tended to depend on their extended kin groups for a number of services. The fact that this grouping has been able to provide these services appears to have fostered a greater dependence on it. However, not every migrant wishes to participate in the activities of the extended kin group and not every migrant becomes dependent on the group for those services which it provides. Nevertheless, a number of factors operate to keep these people within the kin sphere by according them deference, and by according the possibility of status within the kin group which they do not receive outside it in the host society.

This study examines the extent to which kinship serves as the basis for the organisation of economic activities within the migrant community. The economic aspects of kinship were chosen because the argument here centres around the idea that the economic services which the extended kin group provides for its members are an important part of the explanation of its persistence. In the first section we examine the various ways in which economic organisation and kinship are related in the parent community, i.e., that from which the migrants originate.

In the second section we consider the ways in which these systems are related in the migrant community and compare these findings with those from the first section.

The most significant pattern which emerges from a comparison of these situations is that the consumption of income of any individual is influenced in a number of ways by the extended kinship group of which he is a member. While this is understandable in the parent community, where an individual is either directly or indirectly dependent on his kin group for access to resources, it is somewhat more difficult to explain this influence in the migrant community where one might expect individuals to have greater freedom in the disposal of their income, since they are apparently independent of their kin group for access to resources. It will be argued that the continued influence of the extended kin group in the disposal of individually derived income among migrants can be best regarded as a contribution to an organisation on which an individual may depend from time to time in a number of ways. This thesis is principally concerned with the explanation of this issue.

Personal Interest

My personal interest in this ethnic group, and in this particular issue, began some ten years ago when I was teaching in a rural village in Savai'i Western Samoa. I was impressed by the extent to which kinship influenced patterns of consumption of individually derived income. When I returned to Samoa to work in the Department of Agriculture I found myself again interested in this issue and increasingly aware of the importance of kinship in the organisation of agricultural activities. However, even more fascinating was the fact that in my association with Samoan migrants in New Zealand I found that kinship

continued to influence consumption patterns. Later, when I married into the Samoan community and became intimately involved in the affairs of the kin group, I became acutely aware of the extent to which kinship exerted an influence on the consumption of individually derived income. I was particularly interested in the factors which permitted kinship to retain this influence and particularly over individuals who had the skills and abilities to be independent of the group.

Inasmuch as this thesis is an attempt to resolve something which is of personal interest to me, which concerns me directly now and will do so for the foreseeable future, for this reason I could not honestly claim to be an impersonal, dispassionate observer of this area. However, as I will argue, the fact of personal involvement may permit access to information which is not available to the dispassionate observer and may ultimately permit the construction of a fuller explanation which combines the requirements of systematic investigation with a set of categories and explanations which are recognisable to the 'owners' of the system under study.

RESEARCH METHODS

The central technique employed in this study was participant observation. Becker and Geer (1957) note that the main characteristic of this technique is that the research worker participates in the life of those under study in order to gain a better and fuller understanding of the meaning of their actions and interactions. McCall and Simmons (1969) point out that it is somewhat misleading to regard participant observation as a single method because it involves and combines a number of methods and techniques. It may, for instance, involve genuine social interaction with those under study within the context of 'real' situations, direct observation of relevant events, formal but more often informal interviews, systematic ennumeration, the collection of documents and artifacts and a general open endedness in the direction which the study takes. This study uses participant observation as outlined by McCall and Simmons: as a combination of techniques.[1]

My choice of this technique was not the result of any methodological preferences, but was rather a response to the contingencies of the situation in which my fieldwork was done. In the following sections I set out the factors which influenced my choice of participant observation as the central technique for this study.

1. I freely admit that the status of participant observation within sociological circles is at issue and has generated considerable debate. The most productive, and contentious areas have been incorporated in several major discussions of the issue (Bruyn, S., 1966; McCall and Simmons, 1969; and W. J. Filstead, 1970) and it is not my intention to enter this debate here.

From the outset it was obvious that considerable time was necessary to complete this study satisfactorily. The time was necessary to establish the necessary rapport with informants: without this any further study would have been of little value. Many of the areas which interested me were 'sensitive' to Samoans and 'outsiders' are generally denied access to discussions and information about these. The information which I required necessitated eliciting peoples' 'private' cultures as distinct from those cultures which Goodenough (1963) labelled 'public'. In other words, I was interested in what people did rather than what they said they did or should be done. Samoans have an extraordinary ability to provide information with which they believe the researcher will be impressed. Often this does not correspond very closely with the fact of their behaviour. It was obvious very early in the study that rapport and time was necessary to any study that was to be more than a series of statements of 'public' culture, and that participant observation was necessary to establish where public culture ended and private culture began.

Because the group's size and composition was changing regularly, it was necessary to consider the activities of the group over a period of time to establish whether changes of size and or composition had any effect on the group's organisation and performance. Constant changes of personnel were significant factors in the choice of participant observation. The fact of involvement in and association with the group were obvious to new arrivals and this saved the very considerable amount of time which would have been necessary to establish rapport with each newly arrived member individually.

The use of participant observation was facilitated by knowledge of the language which I had learnt while working in Samoa. A subsequent fieldwork visit, marriage to a Samoan and increasing involvement in the affairs of the kin group, and the community in general, enabled me to build on these foundations. The Samoan language is used in virtually every situation in which the actors are Samoan and even in situations in which non-Samoans are present. The continued and extensive use of Samoan is the product of a number of factors: many migrants have low levels of competence in English and prefer not to use it where possible to avoid losing face by incorrect use. However, its use is not an entirely negative response: Samoans are intensely proud of their ethnicity and language and amongst themselves discourage the use of English.[2] Finally, the language has proved adaptable and has easily incorporated those technical terms necessary to life in New Zealand.

Since I depended heavily on the use of Samoan for research it is necessary to prove some degree of competence. It is also extremely difficult to estimates one's competence in another language. Two indicators seem relevant here. As people came to know me or of me fewer and fewer people spoke to me in English until now hardly anyone speaks English to me. However, as I noted earlier, Samoans can be extremely polite and encouraging

2. Samoans who use English in situations in which other Samoans consider it inappropriate are openly criticised. They are called variously fia palagi (aping the European), fia poto (showing off), or fia sili (supercilious). However, in situations in which the use of English is deemed appropriate competent speakers of English earn respect and prestige. (Pitt and Macpherson, 1975).

to Europeans who attempt to learn Samoan and at first I was uncertain as to the interpretation of their use of Samoan to me. Was it simply politeness and encouragement, or was it an indicator of ability? This question was answered later as increasing numbers of people asked me to interpret for them in their dealings with European bureaucracy and the host society in general. Secondly, my children, whose first language is Samoan, are able to converse with me. Given the brutal frankness of children, this was perhaps the most encouraging sign. While the language suggested the use of participant observation, several other equally important factors entered the decision.

After marriage, my wife and I moved in to live with some of her kinsmen and shortly after bought the house next door, so as to be close to the kin group. The head of this household was my wife's maternal uncle and was de facto head of the kin group in Auckland.[3] Many matters which concerned the kin group of which we were members were discussed formally within the household which became the centre of organisation for the larger kin group. Apart from these formal discussions I was fortunate in being party to the informal discussions and gossip which both preceded and followed the formal meetings. When meetings were held outside the household, they were generally at weekends or in the

3. Heads of kin groups are normally holders of a title which indicates their status. These titles are associated with responsibility for the administration of the resources of the kin group and consequently generally reside in the parent community. The migrants therefore chose, from amongst the migrant members, one or several individuals who become untitled de facto heads of the migrant 'branch' and assume responsibility for its organisation.

evening and, because my wife's uncle did not drive, I was able to attend these meetings as 'chauffeur' which hopefully accounted for my presence. Again being party to the informal gossip which one heard in the diagnostic and post mortem sessions which took place around these meetings was invaluable.

Another factor which permitted rapport with members of the kin group in particular and the community in general was that my wife continued to participate fully in the affairs of the kin group and community. This involved payment of various levies and subscriptions to the sorts of things detailed in a later chapter. After the birth of our children I became the sole wage earner and continued to support, and permit my wife to support, various projects. This appears to have been interpreted as tacit support for the system and in turn permitted my involvement in the activities of the kin group and community.

Another reason for the use of this technique arose out of a developing relationship with the Pacific Islands Presbyterian Church,[4] the largest of the ethnic churches in Auckland and New Zealand. When I returned from Samoa I began to attend this church and after marriage continued to do so. I came to know the ministers through meetings, the baptism of our child, and discussion about my work and research findings. After a year or so

4. Formerly the Pacific Islands Congregational Church (P.I.C.C.) and an offshoot of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) church, the largest in Samoa. This is a protestant church with a significant congregational theological trend evident ever since it merged with the Presbyterian Church two years ago.

I was asked to assist in the work of the church, particularly its youth work. This permitted contact with New Zealand born youth and their parents which was particularly valuable. After a year of this work I was elected a deacon and made further contacts through this position. The importance of status within the church in the Samoan community meant that this association permitted contact and rapport with a wider range of people than I might have contacted otherwise.

These advantages led me to adopt participant observation as the central technique for this study. In retrospect this decision appears to have been the most productive. There are a number of factors which were apparent early and which led me to abandon hope of conducting questionnaire research within the area in which I was interested.[5] Since these are also vindications of my choice and in my opinion of interest in the study of migrant communities I wish to mention these in passing.

5. This is not to suggest that questionnaire research has no place in the study of Samoan migrants. Some very useful information has come out of such research done under the auspices of the Nuffield Foundation. This is contained in part in a preliminary report to the Nuffield Foundation entitled Voluntary Separation and Ethnic Participation - Samoan Migrants in Urban New Zealand (Pitt, D. and Macpherson, C., 1971). In this area however this strategy would not have been productive.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The Sample

In the preceding section I have outlined those factors which influenced my choice of participant observation as a technique for this study. In this section I will outline the procedures by which I selected my 'sample' and the characteristics of this group. Because this sample was not chosen by conventional sociological techniques a further section will detail the reasons for avoiding conventional procedures.

In obtaining a sample I was conscious of the need to find a group which was sufficiently typical of the Samoan migrant population to permit generalisation. However I was equally conscious of the necessity of obtaining a group which was small enough to be observable in depth. The resultant group is a compromise between these two sets of considerations.

The importance of the second of these considerations became obvious in research for a masters thesis on intermarriage in the Samoan migrant community (Macpherson, C., 1971). Samoans, as noted earlier, have a highly developed sense of formality and procedural 'correctness' which does not always resemble what in fact happens. In this thesis I was acutely aware of the necessity of compensating for this, and of being in a position where it was possible to check claims and statements about events with the facts.

By a happy coincidence the group with whom I worked eventually provided me with a situation in which I was able to control for both of the considerations. In the next section the characteristics of this group are detailed.

Composition of the Sample

Sample Boundaries

The group studied was bounded by kinship and consisted of all people who were regarded as kin[6] by a particular individual. These people were adjudged kin by their common affiliation to a title, held in Samoa, and to a group known in Samoan as the 'aiga potopoto. This group consists of the descendants of a founding ancestor who was the original holder of the title and ipso facto founder of the resultant group.

Sample Size

The size of this group fluctuated during the period of the study, but over the duration experienced a net gain from 169 persons in 1970 to 211 persons in 1974. This gain was the result of natural increase and in-migration of persons from the parent community, and of in-marriage by members of other groups.

6. This included consanguineal and affinal kinsmen but in the case of the latter this recognition was limited to the in-marrying member and did not extend to his or her entire aiga potopoto.

Sex Ratio

The sex ratio within the Samoan migrant population in New Zealand had by 1966 reached a state of approximate balance at 1:0.995 (males:females) and in 1971 had tended to a very slight imbalance in favour of women, as can be seen in Appendix 2a. Within the sample the ratio was similarly balanced during the period of the study, but there were occasional and minor fluctuations from time to time as new arrivals led to temporary imbalances. The importance of the sex ratio lies in the fact that major imbalances in the ratio may increase the probability of out marriage when the group is unable to provide adequate potential spouses. This is clearly of little significance within a kin group, which by its very nature is unlikely to be a source of spouses for other members of the same group. However within the group sex ratio is important because it has economic consequences. During the period of the study there was no equal pay legislation in force and there were major discrepancies in rates of payment for males and females. To establish that the group with whom I was working was typical in terms of income I had to establish that the group was balanced in the same way as the total population. Imbalances could mean that the group had an income which was either substantially larger or smaller than other groups within the population.[7]

7. Since the Samoan migration is not sex selective we are able to assume that all groups will be composed of approximately equal numbers of males and females. Analyses of other groups of kinsmen in the community showed that this assumption was correct.

Age Distribution

The age distribution of the Samoan migrant population is difficult to establish accurately because of the way in which New Zealand Census data is presented. While there are accurate breakdowns of the age groups over 16 years of age, all of those under the age of 16 are combined in a consolidated figure. However, even with these deficiencies it is possible to point to a number of features which are significant. In 1966,[8] approximately 49% of the Samoan migrant population was under the age of 16. This was also a feature of the age distribution within the sample in which some 46% were under the age of 16. In the Samoan population there was a second peak in the 25-29 age group. This was also a feature of the sample. In both the Samoan population and the sample approximately 36% were between the ages of 16 and 44 years. In both cases there were comparatively small groups of people over the age of 45. In short, several major features were common to both the Samoan migrant population and the sample. Firstly, in both approximately 64% of the total are economically dependant and approximately 36% economically independent. Of the dependant group approximately 46% in both cases are under the age of 16 years, with a very much smaller group over the age of 45. In both groups the economically independant fall between the ages of 16 and 45 years and within this range there are pronounced peaks in the 25-29 year age group. The New Zealand figures are presented diagrammatically in Appendix 3.

8. 1971 Census figures for age distribution are not available, but because no major intervening factors need be taken into account it is unlikely that the proportion has changed significantly.

Length of Residence

The residential length patterns are similar for both the sample and the Samoan migrant population. Both are characterised by an inverse ratio between length of residence and numbers of migrants. There are comparatively small numbers of migrants who have been in New Zealand for more than 15 years and conversely there are large numbers who have been in New Zealand for less than five years. These trends are presented diagrammatically in Appendix 4. This trend, i.e., the absence of large numbers of longer resident migrants can be attributed to two major factors in both cases. First, the rate of migration into New Zealand has risen steadily over the years since the end of the Second World War. Secondly, increasing numbers of people are realising their 'dream of the return to Samoa'. Thus people who have spent 15 years in New Zealand and have realised most of their ambitions,[9] choose to return at the end of their working life to Samoa, rather than remain in New Zealand where they fear they may be denied the privileges which they feel are due to the aged.

Rural Urban Distribution

Both the Samoan migrant population and the sample are predominantly urban groups. The 1966 New Zealand Census showed 91% of the Samoan population living in areas designated urban and

9. These fall into two major categories: non economic ambitions consist principally of the desire to gain personal skill and experience, and to have their children educated in New Zealand. Economic ambitions consist of saving and investment, support of non-migrant kin, housebuilding in Samoa often as an 'investment' for their return, and similar projects.

by 1971 this figure had risen to 93.3%. The sample group had 98% of its members residing in urban areas. In both cases the major concentrations were found in two major metropolitan areas: Auckland and Wellington. Sixty two percent of the total Samoan population and 75% of the sample lived in Auckland, and 24% and 23% respectively lived in Wellington. The fact that the sample had a higher proportion resident in Auckland than did the total population was not considered a problem for several reasons. Firstly, from experience of both communities, there do not appear to be any major significant differences of structure or organisation. Secondly, young single Samoan migrants tend to move continually and frequently between centres, for reasons outlined elsewhere (Macpherson, C., 1971, 33ff). This means that at any one time the balance may shift.

Proportions of Samoan and New Zealand Born Persons

The Samoan population in New Zealand has two distinct components: Samoan born and New Zealand born persons. For some time now the Samoan born group has been decreasing as a proportion of the total Samoan migrant population. By 1966 the former group constituted 55.5% of the latter. Although comparable data from the 1971 census is not yet available it would appear, on the basis of past trends,[10] that this decrease has continued and that the Samoan born component of the population represents approximately

10. There have been no changes in the immigration restrictions governing the entry of Samoans during the period of the study which would have had a significant effect on this balance. The recent increase in the numbers of persons intending permanent residence (from 1500 to 1650 per annum) did not affect the population during the period of this study.

50% of the total Samoan migrant population. This feature is also evident in the sample in which Samoan born persons represented some 53%. Again this figure is an approximation because of the constant movement of migrants to and from Samoa which meant that the Samoan born proportion of the sample group constituted between 50% and 56% at various times. (see appendix 5.)

Occupational Distribution

Occupational distribution is significant because it offers some indication of the extent to which individuals are likely to be more or less independant, in both social and economic terms, of their kin groups. Unfortunately the arrangement of census data does not permit a very accurate analysis of Samoan distribution. Samoans are listed by area of employment. Thus while one is able to establish the number of people involved in manufacturing, it is not possible to establish in what capacity they are employed. In the absence of satisfactory data from the census, I use material from research carried out under the auspices of the Nuffield Foundation between 1969 and 1971 in three major centres (Pitt, D. C., and Macpherson, C., 1971 and 1974). This material shows that the majority of the Samoan population are found in unskilled and semi skilled employment, a small but growing group in the skilled trades, a very small group of self employed persons and minimal representation in the professions. (Ibid, 66ff.) The same picture situation prevails in the sample group: 78% of those employed were in either semi or unskilled employment, 15% in skilled occupations and the trades, 7% were

or had been self employed[11] and the group was not represented in the professions.

These figures on occupation need to be interpreted with some caution as the proportions of persons in each category fluctuated with the arrivals and departures of persons during the study and because there is reason to doubt the accuracy of statements about occupational status made to collectors of statistics.[12]

In these respects then, the sample and the Samoan migrant population are similar. The characteristics which were common to both groups are the basis for generalisations made in this study. In the beginning of this section I referred to the importance of a compromise between the need to obtain a representative sample and the need for a group which could be observed in depth. The size of this group permitted this compromise and the ability to cross check material is the basis for claims that the material presented here is a factual representation of what happens.

11. Self employment among Samoan migrants consists of a catalogue of short-lived commercial ventures. The failure rate in these businesses is high for reasons which are outlined in detail elsewhere (Pitt, D., and Macpherson, C., 1974). In short they are the result of a combination of cultural and commercial factors.

12. One advantage of being able to check on data supplied became clear in this context. Samoans are prone to overstate the importance and status of their jobs. Thus in casual conversation people told me they were, for example, motor mechanics and engineers respectively. Discreet checks later revealed that they were in fact a lube bay attendant and a fitter's mate respectively.

USE OF INFORMANTS

The size and composition of the group with whom I worked were, in my opinion, satisfactory as a basic source of data. However certain individuals within the group provided more information than did others. While all of the group could be said to be informants there were within the group six people who became 'key' informants. Before discussing this sub group, a number of issues are raised.

In discussions of various techniques and their limitations, various authors have pointed to the problems associated with the use of informants and the assessment of data which they provide. While the use of informants is widely accepted as a necessity, there is something less than consensus about the value of this technique.[13]

The major problem lies in the area of reliability of informants' statements. While it is not possible to generalise from material provided by a small number of informants or a group of key informants, it is possible to use material from such people as a guide to formulating questions and strategies for interviews with other informants.

13. While freely admitting the importance of the debate in this area, there are a number of central discussions available which save me from entering this debate. I refer in particular to the following: Blum, F. H., 1952; Argyris, C., 1952; Becker, H., 1958; Dean, J. P. and Whyte, W. F., 1958; and McCall, G. J., 1969.

Key Informants

However if the reliability of key informants can be satisfactorily established the use of their observations and interpretations of events can be used to fill gaps in the information about events which could not be attended in person. I believe that those members of my sample, who became key informants, were reliable sources of information. This group was not chosen deliberately: it consisted simply of a group of people with whom I enjoyed close relationships before the study began and who were at the same time intimately involved in the affairs of the Samoan kin group. While much of the material from these 'key' informants was unsolicited the nature of my relationship with them was such that reliance could be placed on those opinions about and accounts of events which were of necessity deliberately solicited. The characteristics of these key informants are listed in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Selected Characteristics of Key Informants

No.	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Years in NZ	Birthplace
1	51	M	Single	19	Samoa
2	32	F	Married	11	Samoa
3	28	F	Married	9	Samoa
4	25	F	Single	4	Samoa
5	25	M	Married	7	Samoa
6	18	M	Single	17	NZ

The sample from which most of the material offered in this study consists of a group of kinsmen described earlier and from

a sub group within this whom I have labelled 'key' informants. While from these sources full and satisfactorily validated data was obtained, there were occasions on which other informants, from outside the group, were sought for specialist information.

Secondary Informants

The ministers and some senior laymen in the Pacific Islands Presbyterian Church provided invaluable assistance. These people are in constant contact with members of the community and were able to suggest additions and alterations to material which I presented for their comments and criticism. They had previously commented on, and criticised my analysis of findings from research done for the Nuffield Foundation (Pitt D. C., and Macpherson C., 1971). Their suggestions and information which they provided has proved valuable.

A number of elderly Samoans visit their kinsmen in New Zealand every year on three month visitors' permits, as do a number of younger people who come largely to work for short periods to provide capital for various village and kin group projects in Samoa. Because these people are in constant contact with the parent community, and are aware of recent activities and developments, they proved valuable as secondary informants.[14]

14. There are a number of events within the migrant community which are only partly explicable without reference to various events in the parent community. Thus a household withdraws support for a project sponsored by the extended migrant kin group. No explanation is apparent within the migrant context but it becomes explicable when it is found that two branches of the parent kin group are involved in a dispute over land use in the village.

Elderly visitors provided another valuable type of information. Because of the relative youth of the permanently resident migrant Samoans there is a lack of information about certain areas of 'traditional Samoan life and custom'. In many cases migrants can tell what should be done and how but are unable to offer very coherent explanations of why something is done. The elderly who visit the migrant community are able to fill many of the gaps which became apparent in such areas, and while these explanations are not the principal concern of this thesis attempts to explain events without this background material would be of little value.

A considerable number of casual acquaintances provided a lot of valuable information in conversation throughout the duration of this study. While most of this material was unsolicited and arose in conversations which were not specifically concerned with the study, or collection of information for the study, it was useful inasfar as it provided comparative material from unrelated kin groups which in turn suggested lines of enquiry which I was subsequently able to pursue, within the primary sample. As secondary informants they provided useful information, but because much of the information could not be validated it does not form a significant part of the material of this study.

The sample can be seen to have three components: a group of kinsmen (primary informants), within which a sub group of 'key' informants emerged, and a third group of secondary informants from outside of the primary group. In spite of the fact that the

primary group is representative of the Samoan population in a number of ways, I suspect that readers may argue that the 'sampling procedure' is haphazard. In the following section I will outline some of the factors which in this situation made any other procedure vulnerable to a variety of other forms of error.

LIMITATIONS OF CONVENTIONAL TECHNIQUES

Questionnaires, Sampling and their Limitations

Normal sampling procedures are impracticable in a Samoan migrant population: the sources from which samples are normally drawn are either not available or are, for various reasons, incomplete.

The Aliens Register

This is not available for public inspection and is not complete since it does not include people who have become naturalised and are no longer considered aliens.

Subscriber Lists

The lists of subscribers to various utilities are of little value because many Samoans live in rental accommodation and are listed under their landlords' names rather than their own. Secondly, there is a high rate of movement among households which means that at best these lists are outdated and at worst, seriously inaccurate.

Finally, since there is a high incidence of 'informal' sub letting amongst Samoans, letters addressed to the listed occupant frequently do not reach that person.

Church Rolls

Church rolls are also of limited value because they contain only the names of persons who are 'members' of the church, and who have recorded their presence in New Zealand. They frequently do not include those who are on three month visitors' permits, or those who have not registered. This problem is compounded by the fact that the Roman Catholic, and until recently the Methodist, churches have encouraged their Samoan migrant members to join and worship in European parishes and to forego their ethnic religious identity. These churches do not keep records of Samoan membership as such since these people are spread through all of their parishes.

Illegal Immigrants

There are also a number of Samoans in New Zealand illegally. The majority of these have entered the country on three month visitors' permits that have since expired. These people have chosen to remain to earn money, and take opportunities, not available in Samoa. These people do not appear on any list and although immigration officials acknowledge the presence of a 'sizeable' group of such persons they are unwilling to make an estimate of the size of this group. The chances of locating members of this group are slim because they are highly mobile and with the present shortage of labour are able to change jobs

easily. They can and do also change names to avoid detection. This sample contains a number of such people and from contact with these and other illegal immigrants, it is clear that these persons are often amongst the most committed to Samoan custom and the support of kin. Any sample which does not include representatives of this group will be seriously inadequate.

Finally the timing of a sample selection is important. The size and shape of the population varies seasonally. Samoans believe, correctly, that New Zealand winter can lead to serious illnesses[15] especially in older people who are unaccustomed to severe winters and whose bodies are unable to make necessary adjustments. Thus when parents and other older people are brought to New Zealand it is generally during the summer months. The presence of the older component of the population has a significant effect on the way many things are performed, particularly those which involve elements of formality and protocol. In the presence of the elders the younger migrants try hard to do things 'correctly' which they might not do otherwise. Thus a survey during the summer may give the impression of a highly formal and traditional organisation while one done in winter may give a less formal impression. The only satisfactory solution, in my opinion, is a continuing study which is less susceptible to seasonal variation.

15. Of these by far the most common are the respiratory ailments, notably pneumonia. There are a number of deaths from these every year and they serve as a warning to others who may be contemplating bringing their elders to New Zealand, to choose their time.

These then are the limitations of the method. There are also limitations placed on this method by the group itself. Thus even if one was prepared to draw a sample from the available but incomplete population, several other problems would present themselves.

Research Resistance

First, and most significant, is the increasing resistance among Polynesian minorities to research into their communities. This is the response to a series of invasions of the privacy of the various communities that have resulted largely from a general lack of co-ordination, failure to consult appropriate authorities and leaders of the communities and a considerable number of well intentioned but 'insensitive research activities'.

The Maori community has complained about this over a number of years since the early 1950's, but the Polynesian migrant communities have only recently become critical, as they have increasingly become the subjects of research. This feeling reached a climax in January 1971, in Auckland, when the Polynesian Panther Party and the Nga Tamatoa groups approached the University and sought a moratorium on Polynesian research. These groups of Polynesian activists made several points. First that research resulted in continual invasion of the privacy of the Polynesians. Secondly, that while the Polynesians had assisted academics they had received little or nothing in return, and thirdly that all the research which had been done with the assistance and co-operation of Polynesians had been of very little value to them, either directly or indirectly. They also pointed out that while research by competent people and which fulfilled the criteria

above was acceptable, the use of Polynesian communities as training grounds for large groups of aspiring social scientists was not acceptable.

As a result of this discussion, the University made a number of procedural changes, aimed at ensuring control and co-ordination of subsequent research in these communities. While this was a constructive response on the part of the University, there is little evidence to suggest that it has changed the attitudes of migrant minorities to research and research workers, or that resistance has decreased.

However, it is only part of a more general resistance to door to door callers and uninvited strangers. This feeling is a response on the part of older members of the communities to experience with such people in the past. Many of the older people remember being trapped into expensive and misleading deals by door to door salesmen offering everything from insurance, through clothing to encyclopedias, and now, aware of the traps in many of these offers, actively discourage younger and new migrants from having anything to do with door to door callers and strangers, even when he falls outside of these categories.[16]

16. Samoans have evolved a number of strategies for dealing with these people politely. One informant told me that she had instructed her younger kin to ignore the door unless it was necessary. If they answered the door they told the caller that they did not speak English. If the caller then used Samoan they told him/her that they were Rarotongan and did not understand whatever language he was speaking. Faced with passive, but always polite, resistance most callers would give up.

These factors place limitations on the use of sampling and questionnaire administration in this situation and render these strategies unsuitable. There is, however, another which I mention with some reluctance: this is that the material which is required by some researchers requires an open admission of illegal acts. For instance, many Samoans break laws relating to the export of New Zealand currency. By changing names and going to different post offices they can and do send out of the country more money than they are legally entitled to send. This information, which is essential to this thesis, could not have been elicited without rapport or in questionnaires administered by strangers. In this case, since everyone suspected that I was also doing the same, and was therefore equally vulnerable, this information was forthcoming. There are a number of similar areas in which material was only forthcoming because it was known, or suspected, that our own household and close kin were aware of what was happening or directly involved in similar activities or events.

From this I hope that it is clear that certain 'conventional' ways of drawing a sample and collecting data were, in this situation, unsuitable and impracticable.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Primary Source Material

Apart from informants and the observation of ongoing activities of the group there were a number of other 'primary'

sources of information: largely documents supplied by, or obtained from, informants. These documents were used to supplement qualitative material from other sources and consisted largely of letters, invitations to functions, accounts of various projects sponsored by the kin groups, rolls of kinsmen drawn up for certain projects, lists of food levies and similar items.

Unfortunately, very little correspondence is passed within the Samoan community in New Zealand. This is largely because of the large concentrations of population within five major, urban centres and the comparative ease of communication made possible by modern efficient transport and communication systems. However a considerable amount of correspondence does pass between the parent and migrant communitites. I was able to get together a series of more or less complete files of correspondence from the parent community to a number of individuals within the migrant community. However, individuals were not in the habit of keeping copies of their own outgoing correspondence so these collections are incomplete in this respect. I had originally intended to collect these files and subject them to content analysis, but the gaps made any systematic analysis impractical. This correspondence did however provide a number of interesting ideas which were later pursued productively.

Wedding invitations and printed toast lists were collected. These were useful because kin groups sponsoring weddings seek out their most able members to 'perform' on these occasions and toast lists provided a useful who's who, particularly in those kin groups which were not well known to me. The most potentially

useful document, the guest list, proved hard to obtain for a number of reasons: many guests were invited informally by word of mouth, and many kinsmen knew of the wedding and were not formally invited by invitation. Although in most cases reply cards were sent out with the invitations, few of the recipients bothered to reply and so there was no way of establishing the proportion of invited guests who attended, what proportion of the guests were kinsmen and finally what proportion of the guests were informally invited. Another complication lay in the fact that the bride's and groom's families compile lists separately and while it was possible to get one of these lists it was almost impossible to get both. Some of the gaps were filled at the wedding where it was possible to get information from guests.

Accounts

The accounts of various funds and projects sponsored by either kin groups or villages were very valuable. These generally comprised lists of people, their expected and actual contributions to these funds. The rolls and accounts were kept by trustees and organisers of the various projects. The value of these lists lay in the fact that they represent more or less complete lists of persons from a village, or kin group, who were known to be resident in the migrant community at any time, and because they gave some indication of the extent of individual participation in the affairs of various groups.

Miscellaneous Documents

A great variety of documents were collected which do not fall readily into the categories above. Among these were copies of

telephone lists from various households. These were a very useful indicator of the extent of the networks of members of the household. These have obvious limitations, but notwithstanding these, the lists have distinct advantages. Other documents in this category were copies of 'Tusi Vai La'au' which are books containing pharmaceutical prescriptions for Samoan herbal medicines, one of which was complete with locally available substitutes, sundry speeches made on various occasions, birth certificates, work testimonials, address books, books of Samoan legends in Samoan, genealogical material, and Tusi Fa'alupega listing ceremonial orders of precedence.

Thus far I have been discussing primary sources of material and the value of each. However, there were a number of important secondary sources, and these are discussed in the following section.

Secondary Source Material

Mass Media

In recent years, the mass media have given increased coverage of the settlement and adjustment process of Polynesian minorities in New Zealand. The coverage varies greatly in its value as source material. The Nuffield Foundation has kept a newspaper and tape file concerned with all aspects of Polynesian migration and settlement.

This Foundation funded research into ethnic relations in New Zealand. The first major project was a study of Samoans and

material that this study produced is now held in an archive. This material consists of many taped interviews with individual Samoans and officers of various Government Departments responsible for formulation and administration of policy. Professor David Pitt has been kind enough to permit me access to this material which has proved a valuable source of information.

Quantitative Data

The New Zealand and Western Samoan Censuses of Population have been the most valuable sources of quantitative data and both were used extensively. Unfortunately only a very limited amount of data was available from the 1971 Censuses and consequently a considerable amount of material was drawn from the 1966 Censuses of both countries.

Both New Zealand and Western Samoa publish regular statistical abstracts and other material as supplements to the Census. These provide very useful material on inter-censal trends and this data has been used to fill gaps where this has been necessary or valuable.

The research section of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand has provided a considerable amount of very valuable material on the extent and rates of remittance of funds to Western Samoa from migrants in New Zealand. This material gives information on the purposes for which funds are being remitted by migrants and this has proved a useful indicator of the relative importance of various aspects of parent community support.

The Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Auckland, permitted me access to material held in his office. Information from this source covers the period January 1967 to August 1970, and related to rates of death, and patterns and rates of marriage among Western Samoans in New Zealand.

The Nuffield Foundation funded an ethnic relations project which was centered at the University of Waikato and which sponsored research into the migrant Samoan and Dutch communities in New Zealand. This project generated a considerable amount of data on the Samoans and this material was made available to me through the kind offices of Professor D. C. Pitt. The material relates to studies of three major concentrations of Samoan population in New Zealand: Auckland, Wellington and Tokoroa. From this study of some 800 adult Samoans, a considerable amount of quantitative material was produced and this has been drawn on extensively.

EXTENDED KINSHIP IN URBAN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Since the relationship between forms of production and of social organisation was noted by Marx, Engels and others it has become the subject of considerable interest to social scientists. As interest has grown, so too has the volume of literature which it has generated. The complexity of this relationship has lead to the parcelling out of certain of its facets and, as a result, a number of sub areas have emerged as disciplines in their own right. One of these is the relationship between the form of production and of kinship organisation. Those who have specialised in this area have tried to establish the nature of the connection between types of economic systems and groupings of kinship. This thesis is concerned with one facet of this relationship and in the following sections I will summarise some of the arguments in this area.

Karl Marx's writings serve as a useful starting point. Marx contended that there was a distinct relatioship between economic organisation of a society and its social organisation. He commented that,

> 'The mode of production.....determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.' (1904, p.11)

In another discussion, of the effects of machinery on the life of the industrial worker, Marx makes more specific comments about the relationship between machine based factory technology and the structure of the family. He argued, that the introduction of a machine technology devalued the market value of human skills by displacing workers with machines which could do the same work more efficiently. This devaluation of human skills, combined with the persistent

necessity to support the family, meant that more members of the family had to enter the wage employment to provide the wage income necessary to support the family unit. This would necessitate the entry of women and children into the work force and would in turn have profound effects on the structure and functioning of the family group. (1964, 219ff)

Marx was followed by a number of European social scientists and social philosophers, including Engels, Weber, Durkheim and Sombart, all of whom were concerned with the relationship between the capitalist economic system and the nature of kinship and family groupings. The literature and debate which arose out of this early European interest has contributed significantly to the subsequent development of the area. These large scale historical studies posed practical problems in matters of detail to people interested in contemporary societies and gave impetus to the movements to an increasingly empirical trend in studies in this area. These empirical studies of the connection between economic and kinship organisation have come largely from British and North American social scientists.

All have in common certain key concerns, the most important and relevant of which is the relationship between urban, industrial, capitalist economies and the type of family unit which emerges in them. The evidence is confused and frequently contradictory but certain central trends emerge. In the following sections I will identify and discuss the evidence for three of these.

URBAN INDUSTRIALISM & THE DECLINE OF EXTENDED KINSHIP

THE INCOMPATIBILITY THESIS

The first is a series of arguments which have in common the premise that extended kinship and family groupings are incompatible with urban industrial society. The origins of this argument can be found in Marx, and later Weber, and emerges again in a number of studies in Europe and the United States (Wirth, L., 1938; Parsons, T., 1943, 1956, 1959; Linton, R., 1959; Anderson, N., 1960; Goode, W. J., 1964, 1966, 1968; Schneider, E. V., 1969; Davis, K., 1949).

The supporting arguments range from common-sense, personal experience through to elaborate theoretical models based on empirical research. These studies are concerned with explanations of the basic incompatibility of extended kin groupings and urban industrialism and the consequent emergence of the nuclear family form.

Urbanisation,[1] one of the concommitants of industrialisation, has been cited repeatedly as a factor in the decline of the extended kinship grouping. The industrial revolution saw the displacement of rural cottage industry by factory based industry which became increasingly concentrated in urban centres. The growth of these centres depended on the availability of labour. At the outset

1. For the purposes of this discussion a distinction which might be regarded as somewhat artificial is made between urbanisation and industrialisation.

this labour was available locally but eventually demand exceeded supply. Continuing demand lead to the movement of sectors of the rural population into the cities and the wage economy. Urbanisation has had a marked effect on the structure of population and, by implication, on the structure of the family. For lack of a better term these are labelled here 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' effects respectively.

Kingsley Davis, commenting on the early growth of European cities, points to the high mortality rates in urban areas (1969, 6-7), and Philip Hauser notes similar trends in the North American cities in the same period (1966, 32). Hauser goes on to note that,

> ...in the history of the economically advanced countries urban rural differences.....in mortality have apparently been the rule, at least since the emergence of the industrial city. (Ibid 32)

The high mortality rates in the nineteenth and early twentieth century cities have been attributed to the inadequacy of housing and sanitation with the ever present consequences of contagious infectious diseases, and the general wear and tear of early industrial work.

The significance of this demographic phenomenon is twofold. High mortality rates and shortened life expectancies[2] of urbanites limits the possibility of generating three generational kin

2. Davis (op cit, 12) notes that while in 1840 the average life expectancy for the whole of England was 41 years, in London life expectancies dropped to 36, while in Liverpool and Manchester these dropped even further to 26 years. If one was to compare these with the average for rural England only, the contrast would be even more notable.

groupings and of widespread vertically extended kin groups. Secondly the same two factors shorten the fertility period of reproductive members of the population and limit family size. This leads to the matter of fertility rates in the early industrial city. Both Kingsley Davis (op cit 12) and Hauser (op cit 32) point to markedly lower fertility rates in urban areas in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The low fertility rates in the cities during this period have been attributed to the same diseases and conditions which affected mortality rates, and to the selective effects of industrialisation which led to disproportionate representation of young single males in urban populations. The resultant sex imbalance limits the possibility of finding appropriate spouses, and further lowers rates of fertility.

The significance of this phenomenon is twofold. High infant mortality results in lower overall fertility rates, and the imbalance in the sex ratio limits the possibility of finding appropriate spouses in the city. Postponed marriage leads in turn to a shortened period of fertility.

Since the 1950's when these rural-urban differentials were no longer significant (Davis, op cit, 12) various other factors have come into play and have resulted in restraints on the birth rates of urban populations. Higher levels of education, economic factors associated with family size, more effective contraceptive technology, and affluence have placed restraints on family size

and continued the trend which originated from a different set of factors. Thus Keyfitz comments that,

> Progress in any country.....results in steadily diminishing numbers of children and at any given time the birthrate must be especially low for the people who are better off, more educated and more urban than for those who do not have these advantages. (1962, p.33)

However, the quantitative effects of urban industrialism on population and family size are only one aspect of the argument about the relationship between economic and kinship systems. The proponents of the argument that urban industrialism and the extended kinship systems are incompatible, have pointed to a number of other factors which, they argue, have had qualitative effects on the structure and function of kinship.

Kingsley Davis says that rural-urban migration has been evident in every country which has passed through industrial revolution, and attributes this movement to the attraction of higher wages available in the urban industrial sector of national economies (1969, 13). Thus migration is a result of 'pull factors' which is significant because migration stimulated by 'pull factors' is more selective than that stimulated by 'push factors' (Bogue, D. J., 1961; George, P., 1970, 39). Where 'pull factors' operate migrants are most likely to be young, unattached, adults (Bogue, D. J., op cit) with disproportionate numbers of males (George, P., op cit, 46).

The selectivity of the rural urban migration saw the dispersal of the co-terminous extended kin group as its younger, able bodied members moved to the cities, while its older members remained in rural areas.

C. J. Jansen notes that the dispersal of the kin group led to increased physical distances between the migrant and his non-migrant kinsmen and thus reduced the amount of contact between kin, by lowering the probability of contact (1970, 24). Stacey found similar trends in her study of Banbury in England (1960, xiv).

The absence of older members of the kin group combined with the increasing necessity for adults to enter the wage economy meant that increasingly functions of the 'traditional extended' kin group were taken over by various non-kin agencies. This lead to a decline in the dependence on kin and of the importance of extended groupings. This decline was balanced by a growing importance of the nuclear group. Parsons (1956, 3-34) and others have argued as the extended kin group's importance diminished the nuclear family assumed fewer but more specialised functions. The success of the nuclear group in the performance of these functions was, they claimed, a product of the fact that these groups were best fitted for the performance of the tasks which remained for the kin group, such as procreation, emotional maintenance and part of the socialisation process.

Industrialisation generated a new form of economic organisation and proponents of the thesis of the incompatibility of extended kin groups and industrialism contend that this form had ramifications for family structure and function.

The realisation of the importance of economies of scale led to the centralisation of industry and the growth of factory based

operations. This in turn displaced the small kin based cottage industry by making competition uneconomic. At the same time it created opportunities in urban areas which led to the progressive depopulation of the rural areas. This, they argue, was one of the major factors in the decline of the corporate kin group.

The rapid growth of a new form of economic organisation gave rise to new forms of management structures. Of these the most notable was bureaucracy. In bureaucratic organisations 'offices' were filled by competent persons rather than kinsmen, and although it was possible that nepotism was present in bureaucracies the rapid growth in demand for personnel meant that the demand for kinsmen for offices eventually outstripped the supply. This opened new possibilities of achievement for those who were originally outside of the traditional sources of supply. The significance of this development lay in the fact that a new achievement ethos displaced the pre-industrial ascriptive ethos. The possibility of achieving status independently meant that kinsmen could exert less control over the individual. He was thus freed, to some extent, from the necessity of consideration of the opinions of, and consultation with his kin group. This in turn lead to the realisation of the decreasing importance of extended kinship.

The increasing level of structural differentiation which industrialisation produced offered new possibilities for social mobility and in turn generated a new range of possible life styles for the mobile. As socially mobile members adopted new and discrepant life styles, they moved, socially and physically, away

from non-mobile kinsmen who retained old lifestyles. Not only the difficulty, but also the willingness of mobile members to retain contact with stationary members is assumed to have further accentuated the decreasing importance and recognition of ties with the extended kin group. It has been argued more recently that upward mobility is frequently associated with geographical mobility as the opportunities of upward social mobility have increasingly necessitated some geographical mobility. It is assumed that this geographical mobility further accentuated the decline of the extended kin group by accelerating the fragmentation which had begun with the initial dispersal of the extended kin group to the cities.

This trend was further stimulated by changes which took place in the structure of ownership of the various channels for mobility. Increasingly the control, by kin, of economic opportunities decreased as ownership became concentrated in fewer hands. The consequence of this trend was a decreasing dependence, by the individual, on his kin group.[3]

In summary then, a number of writers have argued that the rise of urban industrialism lead to the decline of the extended

3. This was not true of the cases of hereditary aristocracies and some of the 'dynasties' which arose out of the entrepreneurial activities of the industrial revolution. This has more recently become less important as the increasing demands for technology and other forms of expertise have made it increasingly difficult to provide these from within the ranks of even a considerable dynasty. The family dynasty has been displaced by a new management class, and by public ownership of industry which places competence ahead of kinship where profitability is concerned.

kin group and the emergence of a smaller nuclear kin group. The arguments are essentially functionalist and are concerned with the relationships between various institutions in a society. The emphasis on compatibility, evident in these arguments, reflects the concern with complementary relationships between various sub institutions. The evidence marshalled in support of this argument is impressive but the thesis has not gone unchallenged. In the following sections some criticisms of the thesis are considered.

THE INCOMPATIBILITY THESIS CHALLENGED

One criticism of the incompatibility thesis is that many of its protagonists have confused the issue by imprecise usage of terminology and their failure to define basic terms such as 'traditional family'. W. J. Goode (1964, 105) points to the danger of the uncritical assumption that 'traditional family' means the same to all who have used it. He further notes that the danger is heightened by the fact that the term has emotional connotations which can in themselves have distorting effects. The emotional connotations are at least partly responsible for the fact that

> the study of the family is especially plagued by the prevalence of myths about the past. (1964, 105)

Goode (1964,105; 1970, 504) goes on to note that following from this lack of definition, is the confusion about the indices identified and used as the bases for comparative studies of kinship. Peter Laslett points to the same distortion which he argues has resulted from the consultations of 'a folk memory of the former condition of the family' (1972, 3). This he attributes to the influence of certain authorities on the family who have legitimated evolutionary positions. These beliefs have lead to the uncritical

assumption that contemporary, industrial family forms represent the terminal point on a continuum. The pre-industrial antecedents can be seen in the family forms of contemporary primitive society, which have not as yet evolved. This belief has lead to a neglect by sociologists of the historical material on family forms and conditions.

While disputing neither the lack of historical evidence in sociological studies of the family, nor the importance of use of this material, there are some problems which must be raised in this context. Even if one was able, and willing, to shed the myths which influence our perceptions of pre-industrial family life, there are certain significant obstacles remaining in the way of attempts to establish the nature of pre-industrial groupings from historical studies. In the absence of primary sources one may use two alternative sources: literary accounts or official documents of the period or periods in question. Both of these however have disadvantages.

If one chooses to work from literary accounts, one is forced to depend on reports of a limited and frequently unrepresentative sample of family life.[4] A variety of literary accounts may provide

4. P. Laslett (ibid, xi) highlights the danger of assuming that because there were a number of complex families in a society at any time, there were more at some previous time. More seriously, the assumption that because large families feature in literary accounts they represent 'the family' must be questioned. Laslett notes 'this must not be allowed to obscure the fact that from the point of view of the experience of the persons in the community at the date in question, the nuclear family household constituted the ordinary, expected, normal framework of domestic existence'. (Ibid, xi)

a wealth of qualitative material on the nature of family interaction but one cannot argue from statements about 'quality of family' to statements of 'quantity of family'. Nor can one argue that the 'ideal' forms and sizes expressed in literature were achieved in reality on the ground.

Reconstructions from official and other documentary sources are technically and empirically more satisfactory but present problems when it comes to filling gaps in the data. These gaps are more often gaps in qualitative than quantitative areas and mean that while it may be possible to construct pictures of the size and structure of the family it may be more difficult to establish the nature of interaction within these groupings. As Laslett notes (1972, 10)

> there is little to be gained from recovering facts about the size and composition of domestic groups unless their influence on behaviour can be gauged.

In filling the gaps with surmise, some writers have fallen into traps which they have sought to avoid. In a discussion of the problems of dependance on historical sources, and the use of historical material in the United States, W. J. Goode (1964, 105) was forced to conclude that,

> not a single history of the US family would meet modern standards of historical research.

However, Laslett suggests that the future is more bright: the gap between the standards of quantitative and qualitative accounts of the pre-industrial family will diminish. This he attributes to the facts that historians have begun to acquaint themselves with demography and have moved closer to the social scientists (op cit, 3). The future aside, it remains a fact that the majority of historical family studies leave much to be desired.

Apart from the above challenges which are focused on the incorrect or inadequate use of historical material, and on problems of historical reconstruction, there is another set of studies which take issue with the incompatibility thesis. These focus on the implied unilinear relationship between urban industrialism and the emergence of the nuclear family. This group of social scientists argue that such an inference cannot be sustained and point, in support, to a number of notable exceptions.

At least some of this evidence comes from studies of societies outside of Europe and the United States and raise serious questions about the adequacy of models constructed with only limited reference to cross cultural comparative material. This problem is not unique to family sociology: R. A. Schermerhorn in a discussion of the development of ethnic relations models makes the same point well. He says (1970, 5),

> As in so many other scientific endeavours, early workers in the field.....set in motion what eventually became familiar intellectual habits; as these are crystallised into patterns they are repeated and worn smooth by a generation of users who perpetuate them rather than question them.....many of these familiar but rigid patterns appear anachronistic under close scrutiny, but full awareness of this fact has been delayed by scarcity of field research and general ignorance of related cross cultural studies made by social scientists in other disciplines.*

Two points are significant here: while there is no shortage of field research there are certain problems with that which does exist. Many of the studies follow what Schermerhorn calls 'familiar intellectual habits' inasmuch as they focus on demonstrating the relationship between urban industrialism and the nuclear family.

* My emphasis

Sussman and Burchinall (1962, 231) note that the preoccupation of social scientists with the nuclear family has predisposed them to look for such a unit. This has meant that they have neglected other dimensions of the family and the contrary evidence which might have cast doubt on certain of their assumptions. The second point is that the material which could have lead sociologists to challenge conclusions was often, for various reasons, not consulted. Material from anthropology, demography and history could have provided interesting, and challenging, ideas had they been readily accessible and used.

Michael Anderson (1971), in a discussion of the British family in pre-industrial, early industrial and the present suggests that the pre-industrial type was closer to a nuclear type than is generally thought. He goes on to suggest that the general assumptions about industrialisation and family size may in fact be quite wrong. He asks,

> Why, contrary to all that one might be led to expect by the predictions of the cruder, and even OF MANY OF THE MORE sophisticated proponents, of the thesis of convergence of family structures with industrialisation towards a conjugal type, has there apparently been a massive increase* over the past two centuries in co-residence of married couples and their parents, and precisely how and when did this come about? (Ibid, 79)

In questionning this assumption, Anderson is not alone. Conrad Arensberg (1955) argues that the pre-industrial American family was in fact a nuclear type, and suggests that it was a form which immigrants to the Americas took from pre-industrial Europe. F. F. Furstenberg (1966) supports this argument and suggests that much of what has been written about the impact of industrialisation on

*Anderson's emphasis

American family structure has in fact, and for various reasons, been exaggerated.

Peter Laslett (1972), in a historical demographical study of household and family size in one hundred English communities between the late sixteenth and twentieth centuries argues that (ibid, 126),

> There is no sign of the large, extended kinship coresidential family group of the traditional peasant world giving way to the small, nuclear, conjugal household of modern industrial society. In England in fact, ...the large joint or extended family seems never to have existed as a common form of the domestic group at any point in time covered by known numerical records.

S. M. Greenfield drew on material from a study of Barbados to show that nuclear, and sub nuclear, groupings exist in pre-industrial Barbados society (1961).

There are then a number of authors who challenge the assumptions about a unilinear relationship on either methodological grounds or by showing that such a relationship is not justified by empirical data which suggests that nuclear groupings existed in pre-industrial society. There are, however, a number of significant studies which argue that the impact of industrialisation on family structure has been overstated and these are considered in the following section.

THE COMPATIBILITY THESIS: THE PERSISTENCE OF EXTENDED FAMILY IN URBAN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

The theme shared by studies which are discussed below is that urban industrialism and extended kinship groupings are not in fact

antithetical, nor necessarily incompatible. Two trends can be identified in these studies. The first contends that the recognition of extended kinship in urban industrial society has been impeded by unsatisfactory definition and intellectual preconceptions. The second contends that the effects of factors which are supposed to have led to the decline of extended kinship, have been overstated and that these factors' effects are open to alternative interpretation.

One pre-conception which has delayed the 'discovery' of the existence of extended kinship in urban industrial situations was the notion that co-residence is a necessary pre-condition of extended kinship. Some writers have concluded that the absence of widespread co-resident kin groups indicates a decline of extended kinship and the emergence of the nuclear family. Sussman and Burchinall contest this and comment that,

> the atomistic character of urban families has contributed to the incorrect assumptions concerning interaction within the kinship matrix (1970, 524).

They argue that if co-residence is used as the basic criterion for the existence of the extended kinship then its existence is questionable. But this is a misleading indicator because it ignores the range of services and other types of interaction which take place between kinsmen even when these are not a co-resident group. Co-residence, they argue, is less important in urban situations: more efficient transport and communications mean that interaction can take place effectively and as frequently without the necessity of living together.[5] Thus, the insistence of co-residence

5. This is certainly true of the Samoan migrant population. The telephone and greatly increased use of private cars has made communication a very simple matter. Informants noted that they had more frequent contact with relatives who lived 20 miles away in the city than they had with the same people when they had lived only 3 miles away in Samoa.

as evidence of extended kinship groupings has hindered the recognition of other characteristics which are better indicators of extended kinship.

A related assumption is that the shift from a production plus consumption unit to what is essentially a consumption type has meant that the focus of unity, i.e., corporate economic activity, has been removed. The removal of the economic necessity, and advantages, of involvement in a corporate kin group no longer exist, and it is argued that this has led to a declining importance of extended kinship. However, to regard production plus consumption as a pre-condition of some sort of extended grouping neglects the reality of dependance on kin generated by industrial consumer society.[6] In support of this contention there is evidence of varying levels and types of economic co-operation within kin groups in societies in which there is little kin-based corporate activity. There is also impressive evidence of kin-based corporate activity in certain groups in urban industrial society.

Finally, some of the terms most frequently used in this debate have been employed without clear definition. For example, the term 'traditional family' has been used for the pre-industrial kinship unit, collapsing unjustifiably a great diversity of forms of

6. It could be argued that in societies which have produced comprehensive welfare legislation which remove the threat of destitution this dependance on kin may be lessened. This has yet to be demonstrated empirically. However it can also be argued that there are a wide range of economic services which can be offered to kinsmen for reasons other than the avoidance of destitution: assistance with establishment and expansion of businesses, short term unsecured loans at favourable interest rates and so on. This is very true of the Samoan population in which there is an impressive range of economic services offered to members by the kin group.

pre-industrial kinship organisation. This loose usage has contributed to the assumption of a single form and that where the nuclear family is found with urban industrialism these represent the terminal point in an inevitable and unidirectional process of change. If some terms have been used loosely, there are also others which have been used rigidly, with the result that important alternatives have been neglected. The insistence on co-residence for the existence of extended kinship is one such case. These assumptions have to some extent pre-determined the directions which research has taken and has prejudiced its conclusions.

Dissatisfaction, with inadequate definition, led to a new concern with the nature of extended kinship in urban, industrial society. Subsequent research has provided interesting material, amongst which has been evidence of a new form of extended kinship which has become known as the 'modified extended family' (Litwak, E., 1960a, 1960b; Sussman 1968) and a trend to 'emergent urban familism' (Sussman and Burchinall, 1964).

The arguments for this kinship grouping are simple: they suggest that the proponents of the incompatibility thesis have overstated the case, and the impact of urban industrialism on family structure and function. In place of the prevailing interpretations they offer an alternative. In the following sections these alternatives are considered.

Much has been made of the relationship between physical dispersal of kin and its effect on the frequency and intensity of relationships between individuals and their extended kinsmen.

Litwak (1960b) suggests that the inverse relationship between geographical mobility and cohesion among kin has been exaggerated. He points out that for a number of reasons this relationship does not hold true of the modified extended family because relations can be maintained over long distances and thus the socially disruptive effects of migration are minimised by ease of communication. He further suggests that because movements take place when those involved are at peak earning capacity the financial difficulty of moving an extended household are less significant as a factor in decreasing family cohesion. The final point he makes is that the extended group may encourage and legitimise such moves where they are 'upward' and as a consequence may provide also economic, social and psychological support. The case of the 'economic' migrant who migrates in order to support his home community or who moves to save money for a purpose which he has in the home community must also be noted here. This man may find that his links with and status within his extended kin group may be strengthened and increase by his time in an urban industrial centre. Links between the migrant and extended kin group may be further strengthened if he uses a chain of kinsmen through which to migrate as we will see in the Samoan case.

The same factors which make possible contact between an individual and his kinsmen also make it possible for kin to influence the individual in various ways. While no one has suggested that kin groups control all of the activities of the individual or the more or less autonomous nuclear groupings the possibility of influence must be acknowledged.

The proponents of the incompatibility thesis claim that changes in the structure of ownership and control of industry has led to the rise of a 'meritocracy'. The emphasis on individual achievement is supposed to have caused a decline in the importance of kinship as an avenue to employment and social mobility. The alternative interpretation is that while at this level this is partly true,[7] at other levels of economic activity the kin group remains significant. One need not, for instance, own a factory to have some control over access to opportunities of employment. Thus while kinsmen may not be in a position to actually employ an individual they may be instrumental in locating jobs or contacts which lead to jobs. Furthermore, while the importance of this factor may be low in situations of full employment it may become increasingly important during periods of unemployment.

Another exception to the above assumption is particularly evident among migrants who exhibit high degrees of occupational specialisation. Thus Garigue and Firth note that among Italian restaurateurs opportunities are created for kinsmen where services of non kin are not available or are not readily acceptable. Leyton's work on Canadian Jewish minorities notes the relationship between kinship groupings and economic activities which these groupings are associated with (1970, 180).

7. Proponents of this argument point to the material on life chance determinants and mobility and note that there is evidence that kinship can influence these. There is evidence that within certain minorities which have high degrees of occupational specialisation kinship based enterprises are important.

Apart from the above, there may be other economic advantages of membership of an extended grouping. If one ignores the direct economic aid to kinsmen in the form of loans to kinsmen of the type noted by Sussman (1953, 22-28) and Sussman and Burchinall (1964, 170ff) one finds that a number of other forms of assistance which have value pass through these networks. Garigue points to the existence of networks which provide practical services on a reciprocal basis. Advice is another commodity which may have value which can be passed within these channels defined by kinship. Thus a man may choose to go to a kinsman who is a lawyer for advice rather than go outside the group. The lawyer may in turn seek services from a kinsman who is a motor mechanic rather than go outside the kin group. The advantages of working within a larger group lie in the fact that the larger the group the higher the probability of their having access to a greater range of skills. While these services and advice may not represent direct financial aid all have value which can be established by reference to the cost structure which operates outside the kin group.

Thus if the obvious forms of economic assistance to kinsmen in the form of loans and employment are excluded there still remain a large number of goods and services which are economic and which are available within the kin group. Thus while it may be true, as early writers suggested, that industrial urban society may limit the possibility of economic co-operation among kinsmen, it has also provided an increasing scope for co-operation among kinsmen which have economic value.

The incompatibility thesis argues that industrial society has produced new opportunities for social mobility, which has produced in turn the social dispersal of kin throughout divergent social strata. The emphasis on individual achievement and increased opportunities is supposed to have made the kin group less important. The alternative thesis suggests that the impersonality, and anonymity of urban industrial life has led to greater importance of the kin group as the anonymous, uncertain individual seeks 'community' in an apparently impersonal world. The individual's uncertainty is heightened by the possibility of unemployment as skills become obsolete or as labour demand fluctuates. Given the fact of increasing economic uncertainty the extended kin group assumes new importance as an economic and emotional backstop. In this context Eugene Litwak's work (1960a) is of interest. He suggests that upward social mobility and extended kinship grouping's viability may not be antithetical for the following reasons. The upwardly mobile individuals,

> not only achieve status by associating with others of equal or greater social rank but that they also attain it by deference from others. (1960a, 10)

Litwak argues that the upwardly mobile individual may be regarded by his new equals as an 'arriviste', and they are unlikely to accord him deference. In this situation the extended kin group assumes considerable importance because they will accord him the deference which is denied by his new equals. This is even more important when the kin group is not mobile and regards any movement 'upward' as an important achievement.[8]

8. I will show this aspect of relationships between upwardly mobile and their extended kin groups is important within the Samoan community as a factor which promotes cohesion by according status and deference to mobile members which is not automatically available from the majority European society.

Furthermore, as Litwak notes, the tendency to separate family and professional associations, and the anonymity of the city means that family need not be apparent to one's colleagues, nor impede social mobility.

Litwak's evidence comes largely from white, middle class American society. There are, however, studies which draw material from working class communities, whose members are neither socially nor geographically mobile. These studies are important because they are concerned with groups which constitute large segments of urban industrial populations, and because they provide a counter to the common assumption that all members of an urban industrial community are ipso facto socially and geographically mobile. Madeline Kerr's study of the Liverpool Dock Area (1958) suggests that extended kinship groupings are important in stationary sectors of urban populations. In these communities the extended kin group may provide a bulwark against economic uncertainty and a focus for life to people who have little chance of social or geographical mobility. Dennis et al's study of a mining community shows similar forms of dependance on kin for similar reasons.

Proponents of the incompatibility thesis have pointed to the fact that the kin group assumes less importance as upwardly mobile members have less and less reason to call on them for assistance. This is supposed to happen as the upwardly mobile enters new social and economic environments. It can be argued, however, that kinsmen may play a significant role in the induction and orientation of another upwardly mobile kinsman into his new 'community'.

This is also true of geographical mobility and studies of migrant groups show that established members of extended kin groups may play an important role in the socialisation of incoming members (Piddington, R., 1970, 78; Leyton, E., 1970, 179; Pitt, D. and Macpherson, C., 1971). This assistance is important to the incoming member of either a social or geographical 'community', and is likely to become a pattern because dependance of the new member on the established member may be seen as a form of deference by the latter.

Research has shown that people experience difficulties in establishing satisfactory primary relationships outside of the family in urban areas and this results in increased importance of extended kin ties to the individual. While these ties are undoubtedly important in day to day life, they may assume even greater importance in life crises in the impersonality and anonymity of urban industrial society. This may be such that kin turn to other kin before turning to other agencies because while the former may be less efficient than the latter in a particular area there is a common bond which has some emotional significance which is lacking in the impersonal offices of a non-kin agency.

The evidence, albeit an incomplete summary, suggests that there are a number of factors which contribute to a continuing importance of an extended kin group in urban industrial societies. This is not to suggest that these kin groups are corporate, co-resident groups which coerce their membership and which dominate their lives and decision making and function. The coercive kin group has become a more supportive group; rights and obligations of members have become less structured and more a matter for

personal interpretation, the importance of the kin group in all of the 'life situations' of its members has been replaced by an increased importance in fewer areas, notably crises.

There are certainly changes in the structure and interaction patterns within extended kin groups. But as changes in the law do not necessarily signal the decline or disappearance of the law, nor do changes in structure of kinship groupings signal the disappearance of extended kinship. It is this realisation of change which has given rise to the widely used term 'modified extended family', the nature of which is well summarised by Litwak, who says,

> This type differs from the "classical extended" family in that it does not demand geographical propinquity, occupational involvement or nepotism, nor does it have an hierarchical authority structure. On the other hand it differs from the isolated nuclear family in that it does provide SIGNIFICANT AND continuing aid to the nuclear family. The modified extended family consists of a series of nuclear families bound together on an equalitarian (sic) basis, with a strong emphasis on these extended family bonds as an end value. (1960a, p.10)

Several writers have pointed to situations in which urbanisation and industrialisation have proceeded in the presence of extended kinship structures. E. H. Johnson (1960) in a discussion of the Japanese situation claims that the dominant family form, the stem family, is 400 years old and has persisted through the period of industrialisation and into the present. He is led to comment that, in his view, the traditional family

> does not have to give way under.....urban or industrial influences. (Johnson cited in Smelser 89)

Henry Orenstein (1961) advances a similar argument on the basis of research in India. He argues that the extended family has persisted with minimal changes during a period of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation - 1911-1951.

The absence of more studies of this particular relationship, i.e., between economic organisation and family structure, outside of Western countries is due largely to the fact that industrialism is only now emerging as a phenomenon in the Third World. It is likely that with the growing interest among social scientists in this relationship and in the Third World the volume of literature will grow and may well provide some answers to the unsolved problems and confusions which exist in this area. Notwithstanding this possibility it remains a fact that many of the studies which argue that urban industrialism and extended kinship forms are not incompatible come from the Western World.[1] In the following sections this material is briefly summarised.

1. Earlier in this section it was noted that the literature on the emergence of the nuclear family might have been reconsidered if its authors had had access to comparative sociological studies and an awareness of the studies in other disciplines. Since the same gaps are apparent in the material on the persistence and re-emergence of the extended family one is bound to acknowledge that these ideas may have to be reconsidered in the light of a greater volume of material coming from outside of Europe and the U.S.

Canada, and more particularly the French Canadians, have been extensively studied and P. Garigue, a Canadian anthropologist, has demonstrated the existence of extensive kinship networks among French Canadians in Montreal (1956, 1958). His research led him to conclude that,

> The collected evidence indicates no trend toward the transformation of the present French Canadian urban kinship system into the more restricted system reported for the United States. (1958, 73)

E. Leyton's study of Jewish family networks in a Canadian city provides similar evidence and led him to comment that,

> Kinship - i.e., consanguinity and affinity - can be the principle of recruitment to corporate groups in Western society; further, that the activities of these groups.....are economic as well as social. (1970, 180)

The United States has proved a fertile area for research in this area and much of the material has been drawn together in a book edited by Marvin B. Sussman (1968). While acknowledging the diversity evident in the family structures of the many regional, racial, ethnic, rural-urban and socio-economic groups they are led to conclude that,

> The... isolated nuclear family system if valid, is most suited to the white, urban, middle class segment of American society... (1962, 234)

but at the same time they point out that,

> Disintegration of the extended family in urban areas because of lack of contact is unsupported and often the contrary situation is found. (1962, 237)

The work of Sussman and Burchinal (1962) and Sussman (1953, 1959) raised questions about the nature of the family group in the United States: specifically the question of the reality of the supposed isolation of the nuclear family. They argue that there are a variety of forms of assistance which flow between kinsmen including services, gifts, advice, and financial assistance (1964, 172). These patterns are probably,

> ....more widespread, in the middle and working class families and are more integral a feature of family relationships than has been appreciated by students of family behaviour. (1964, 172)

Similar conclusions are reached in a number of British studies. There is a considerable amount of material on the family in Britain but there are some gaps; the studies have concentrated on the working and lower middle class groups and with certain exceptions have neglected the upper middle and upper classes. Lupton and Wilson, commenting on the British research, note the absence of predominance of studies of the working class and comment that

> Sociologists, including ourselves, have tended to concentrate on the study of working class groups or small local communities where there is much knowledge of the operation of kinship in social life. (1973, 204)

Notwithstanding this deficiency, the British studies offer a considerable amount of evidence for the persistance of extended kin groups in urban industrial societies.

Firth and Djamour (1956) found extended kinship groups in a working class area of London. Garigue and Firth (1956) found further evidence of extended kinship amongst the London Italianate. Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1956) demonstrated extended kinship groups in a study of a Yorkshire mining community. Madeline Kerr reported the presence of extended kin groups and the retention of kin link in the Liverpool Dock area and suggested explanations for the persistence of these groups (1958). Michael Young and Peter Willmott (1957) reported that they were surprised to discover the existence of 'wider family' and concentrated on this grouping after and apparently incidental discovery.

1. The volume of British research is at least partly due to the work of Michael Young who founded the Institute of Community Studies from which a lot of the work was done.

The material from African societies has provided some evidence of continued dependence by urban migrants on extended kin groups for various services. It has also pointed to the persistence of extended groupings in both urban and urban industrial centres. Much of the material on the status of extended kinship groupings in urban African centres has been drawn together in a UNESCO publication 'Social Implications of Industrialisation and Urbanisation in Africa South of the Sahara' (1957). Some of the papers in this collection are more relevant than others, but in general the relevance of African material lies in the clear parallels between the nature of African migration and the Samoan migrants. Both have moved from predominantly rural situations to cities in search of economic opportunity. Similarly too, is the fact that both groups perceive their migration as a temporary phase of life and that both retain links with their home communities and non-migrant kinsmen in particular.

One major study of such a group is Philip Mayers study of migrant Xhosa groups in East London (1961, 1962) in which he identifies three groups of Xhosa and outlines the effects of the various groups' backgrounds on their resistance to urbanisation. He notes the resistance of the Red Xhosa to urbanisation but looks also at factors which may weaken this resistance.

A different approach, which suggests that the picture of tribal and familial breakdown in African urban centres has been overstated, is that of Plotnicov. His study of urban migrants in Jos, Nigeria, suggests that contrary to the picture presented by people such as Hellman (1935, 1960), i.e., of extreme disorientation and breakdown of family and tribal ties, kinship can and is used by urban migrants. He attributes the misunderstanding of the 'reality' at least in part

to ethnocentricity of observers - who portrayed urban migrants as confused and disoriented - because they failed to understand the cultural world of the people they observed. Peter Lloyd, in a discussion of social change in Africa (1969) makes a number of general but relevant comments. He notes the retention of ties of kinship between migrant and non-migrant Africans. Perhaps most interesting are his observations of the retention of these ties by the urban elites whom one might suppose would have least to gain from these ties. He notes however that the ties are at least partly displaced in urban centres by ethnic and voluntary associations.

The African material is interesting and its significance will undoubtedly increase as industrialisation assumes greater importance. However comparisons between African and Western societies must be treated with caution since in many of the former only one dimension - urbanisation - is operative. Industrialisation has yet to intervene on a large scale and this means that conclusions can only be regarded as tentative.

The studies above provide evidence of the existence of extended kinship groupings in urban industrial societies, and contest the notion of incompatibility of these phenomena. But these studies also offer explanations for the persistence of extended kinship.

Conclusions

Much has been written on the relationship between urban industrialism and the organisation and structure of kinship. Three positions can be distinguished within this material.

The first argues that certain demographic and economic phenomena associated with urbanisation and industrialisation have led to the decline of extended kinship groups and the emergence of nuclear families. This has been called here the incompatibility thesis.

The second position suggests that for various reasons the relationship between urban industrialism and the organisation of kinship has been misinterpreted. This group of writers suggest that the proponents of the 'incompatibility' thesis have made assumptions about the pre-industrial family which are incorrect. They further suggest that the implied unilinear relationship between the two phenomena cannot be sustained and point to exceptions.

The third position is that while nuclear families certainly constitute the basic domestic unit in most urban industrial societies this does not mean that extended kinship is no longer significant. The supporters of this position argue that a modified form of extended kinship grouping has become important in urban industrial society.

This brings us to the question of the relevance of this study for the debate which has been summarised above. This study has two related aims: firstly, to provide further empirical evidence of the existence of extended kin groups in urban industrial society, and secondly, to identify some factors which may explain their existence. These dual aims are reflected in the format of this study.

The first section of the thesis consists of an account of the evidence of the existence of extended kin groups among Samoans in both the pre-industrial parent community and the urban industrial migrant community. A comparison of the kin groupings in both of these communities will permit the reader to judge, albeit crudely, the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation on the organisation of kinship, by making it possible to look simultaneously at both pre-industrial and industrial forms. The evidence suggests the migrant Samoans have retained extended kin groups and that these are significant in the social organisation of the migrant community.

The second section of this thesis is concerned with reasons for the persistence of extended kin groups and their continued significance as units of migrant social organisation. In identifying explanatory factors I have chosen to concentrate on those which explain why individual migrants might continue to exercise rights and accept the obligations of membership of an extended kin group. The factors which are identified and discussed relate to a particular group of people in a specific situation. While I am primarily concerned with the explanation of this situation I

believe that at least some of the factors identified here may be relevant to other groups in other situations, and to the explanation of the existence of extended kin groups in urban industrial societies.

PART TWO

SAMOAN KINSHIP AND KIN GROUPINGS

Chapter 4 — The Problem of Samoan Kinship

Chapter 5 — Kinship in the Parent Community

- Conceptual Kin Groupings
- Residential Kin Groupings
- The Individual and His Kin Group

Chapter 6 — Kinship in the Migrant Community

- Conceptual Kin Groupings
- Residential Kin Groupings
- The Individual and His Kin Group
- Summary

Chapter 4.

THE PROBLEM OF SAMOAN KINSHIP.

THE PROBLEM'S RELEVANCE

Early in the preceding section it was suggested that the likelihood of extended kinship persisting in urban industrial environments is partly dependant on the urbanite's previous experience. Where extended kinship has been a part of his pre-urban experience, and where he has been exposed to a value system which has led him to accept and value such a form of organisation, it is probable that these factors will permit him to understand and participate in a similar form of organisation even in a changed situation.

In chapter 5 , the nature of kinship and kinship groupings that exist in Samoa, and therefore form part of migrants' pre-urban experience, are discussed. In chapter 6 the extent to which kinship organisation and groupings from the parent community have been reconstituted in the migrant community is then examined. As will be shown, these similarities between kinship organisation in the parent community and the migrant community are striking, despite major contrasts in the environments in which they occur.

Before embarking on this analysis of Samoan kinship, it is necessary to point to some of the problems which have beset those who have attempted to analyse Samoan kinship. This will serve to

clarify some problems of Samoan ethnography, and provide justification for the approach taken in this study to the question of kinship.

Problems of Samoan Ethnography

Any attempt to discuss Samoan kinship must take cognisance of (i) the distinction between social structure and social organisation made by Raymond Firth[1] (1951) and (ii) of the fact that this distinction permits reconciliation of patterns of behaviour which might at first sight appear contradictory. Margaret Mead (1930) pointed to the importance of such a distinction for studies of Samoan ethnography. She noted that the Samoans have a clear, widely agreed on set of rules and norms which govern behaviour. This is the social structure of Samoan society, and provides individuals with 'ideal' models of most facets of Samoan society. However, as Margaret Mead noted, these statements of 'ideal' behaviour may not provide a very accurate picture of what happens in fact, on the ground. This discrepancy she attributes to,

> ..... the Samoan flair for schematisation, for theoretical arrangements which disregard individuals and override geography. (Ibid, 10)

In contrast to these ideal models of structure which appear to fit all of Samoan society are the actual patterns of behaviour which Mead notes are characterised by,

> ..... the endless variety in which Samoans delight (and) the great premium put on village individuality. (Ibid)

This distinction is recognised in the Samoan language by the term aganu'u which refers to the formal, ideal structure of Samoan society and the term amio which refers to the complex reality of Samoan society. The importance of such a distinction for the fieldworker and for ethnography in general has been lucidly stated by Shore (1971, 4)

> ... Fieldworkers in Samoa have been faced with studying a society characterised, almost paradoxically, by a strong sense of cultural integrity and a shared consistent tradition, represented by an explicit set of symbols of Samoan identity, while at the same time confronting a frustrating idiosyncratic flexibility and ambiguity in the interpretation and manipulation of these symbols by Samoans.

George Milner, who spent twelve years compiling a dictionary of the Samoan language, also pointed to the 'dialectical nature' of Samoan culture. He noted that

> ... It is rare for information to be given, even from a reputedly sound source, without it soon being contradicted from another equally reputable and reliable source. (1966, xii-xiii)

It is therefore not surprising that much of the Samoan ethnograpic material has presented a picture of some confusion as authors have sought to come to terms with their data on Samoan society. A similar confusion has been evident in the material on Samoan kinship for similar reasons: there is readily available an ideal model of the organisation and groupings of Samoan kinship. There is at the same time an almost infinite range of variety that becomes apparent when one attempts to reconcile this 'ideal' model of kinship with what one finds on the ground, or vice versa.

This has resulted in, or at least contributed to, the confusion which has arisen out of attempts to describe and analyse the Samoan kinship system. Although Samoan kinship has been discussed by a number of people since the early missionaries' first attempts, we will confine the discussion here to the accounts of anthropologists and a jurist. (Schultz, E., 1911; Mead, M., 1930; Ember, M., 1959, 1962; Epling,and Eudley, 1963; Gilson, R.P., 1963; Sahlins, M., 1964; Freeman, J. D., 1964; Epling, P. J., 1967; Goldman, I., 1970; Nayacakalou, R., 1960; Shore, B., n.d.)

It is possible to discuss at some considerable length the accounts cited above and to compare them with each other. Such an exercise would be of limited value because a number of factors have influenced the organisation of Samoan society even during the period in which these studies were produced. Regional, and village, variations, the growing importance of the cash economy, the acceptance of Western religion, the adoption of formal education, the influence of emigration, population growth and the consequent pressure on resources have all generated change. This change has, by altering the parameters which were operating at any one time, made it impossible to assess the correctness of any one account[2].

In an attempt to avoid committing myself to an existing description, I offer here another model of Samoan kinship. This model considers kinship at two levels: first, as it exists in formal ideology as a set of concepts by reference to which conceptual groups are formed. At this level I am concerned with the conceptualisation and accept that the conceptual groupings may or may not exist on the

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2. Some of the factors which have 'shaped' various accounts of kinship are outlined in appendix 6 .

ground. At the second level the model deals with kinship groups as they appear on the ground. At this level I am concerned with the day-to-day organisation of kinship groups and acknowledge that these residential aggregates may or may not coincide with these conceptual groupings.

At the first level, the conceptual organisation of kinship, the account offered here is similar to a number of others and draws on the descriptions of some of those authors cited above. At the second level, kin groupings as they occur on the ground, the material offered comes largely from my own fieldwork.

There are two reasons for distinguishing these two levels. The aim of this study is to establish the importance of extended kinship among Samoan migrants. It is a comparatively simple matter to establish that migrants have transferred their kinship ideology and conceptualisations to New Zealand, and that these represent extensions of the system which operates in the parent community. However, analysis at this level would tell us little of the day-to-day importance of kinship among migrants[3]. The most important material on the significance of extended kinship for migrants comes from an examination, not of the ideology, but of the actual organisation of kinship as it exists on the ground. The distinction between conceptual and residential levels permits the formulation of two

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3. I have spoken to migrants whom I have known to be 'outside' of the activities of the extended kin group but who offer 'ideal' concepts of kinship and argue that kinship is important.

models of kinship organisation which correspond to those which Samoans themselves recognise. Such a distinction need not preclude the possibility of overlap between the levels.

In the following account kinship is examined at these two levels: firstly as it exists in the parent community, Western Samoa, and then as it exists in the migrant community.

Chapter 5

KINSHIP IN THE PARENT COMMUNITY

CONCEPTUAL KIN GROUPINGS

The aiga potopoto

This is the largest group of kinsmen recognised in Samoan society. It consists of all of those people who claim affiliation to a title (igoa matai)[1], and who hold rights to land (fanua) vested in the title. The land and title are associated with a particular village and so the aiga potopoto can be said to have a physical focus. Samoans say the aiga potopoto consists of all those who are tied to the title and the land (O e uma e tau ile igoa ma le fanua). Members of this group may be affiliated through any one of four possible connections:

(i) Consanguinity. Consanguines are members by virtue of the fact that they can trace their ancestry to either the founding ancestor or to one of his siblings of either sex.

(ii) Affinity. Affines become members through marriage to a consanguinal member. The rights and obligations of membership are extended only to the in-marrying member and not to his or her kinsmen.

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1. The matai title is a name which is given to an elected head of the aiga potopoto. The name is usually associated with a deed of some ancestor. The name does not change and is simply added to the names of the person who succeeds to the title on the death of the previous holder. Thus when Ioane Petera takes the title Toa he becomes Toa Ioane Petera. The title confers a status on its holder: he becomes trustee of the lands vested in the title, and gains the right to represent the aiga potopoto in the affairs of the village in which the lands are located. The status of titles varies considerably both within a village and nationally, according to the amount of land vested in it, the numbers of people affiliated to it, and the personal qualities of the incumbent.

(iii) Adoption. This applies to persons who are adopted from outside the 'aiga potopoto. Again, rights and obligations of membership are extended only to the adoptee and not to his or her kinsmen.

(iv) Fictive Kinship. Some relationships between individuals develop in such a way that eventually friends may come to consider themselves kin. This institution is known as fa'a'aiga or fa'auoga. People in such relationships are extended the rights and obligations of membership in each other's 'aiga potopoto. Shore (1971,b) notes the importance of this relationship for Samoans: despite the absence of any other form of affiliation, fictive kin are subject to the same mate selection prescriptions as are their fictive siblings.

While all members of an 'aiga potopoto, however related, are referred to collectively by one term 'aiga or kin, the nature of any individual's connection is always known. As Margaret Mead noted (1930,40)

> ...'aiga means relative by blood, marriage and adoption, and although no native actually confuses the three ways by which 'aiga status is arrived at, nevertheless a blanket attitude is implied in the use of the word.

The importance of distinguishing between various paths to 'aiga status is connected primarily with the right to succession to the title of the 'aiga potopoto and becomes significant mostly on occasions when the selection of a new title holder is under discussion. On these occasions a distinction is made between consanguines who are collectively referred to as 'those of one blood' (toto e tasi), and members of the 'aiga potopoto who are other than consanguines. The importance of distinguishing between consanguines and others in the selection of title holders is reflected in the preference for an

heir who is a consanguine (ole sulimoni)[2].

The 'aiga potopoto is a cognatic stock and its members, in Gilson's terms, consider themselves,

> ..... co-heirs to land and other tangibles and co-owners and controllers of a title and position of chieftainship. (1963, 372)

The size of any one 'aiga potopoto varies as a function of its genealogical depth and the numbers of offspring in the first and subsequent generations[3].

As an 'aiga potopoto becomes larger, it becomes increasingly difficult for one person to govern effectively and to co-ordinate its affairs. This problem leads to segmentation along lineage lines and results in a number of what Freeman calls itu 'aiga, or sides of the kin group. Where this segmentation takes place, the title may be split into as many parts as there are itu 'aiga[4].

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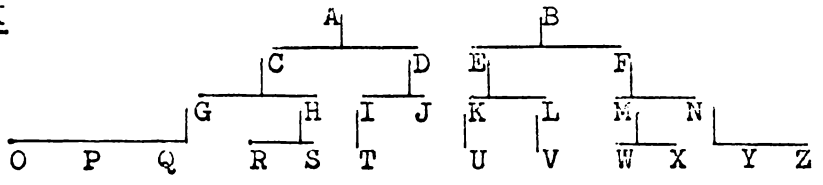
2. Heirs are not always chosen from consanguineal members of the group. In choosing the successor consideration may be given to a member who is not a consanguine but has served the chief faithfully, and there are numerous examples in which such people have been chosen ahead of consanguines to succeed.

3. The first generation is that in which the title and land vested in it were given to the person who then became the founding ancestor. These titles were created by more powerful chiefs and generally were given in recognition of service to them often in war.

4. For example, the title Fiso was originally bestowed on one man, but as the 'aiga potopoto has become larger, three itu 'aiga have emerged within this group. The title has been split so that now the title Fiso is held by three men, each of whom heads one of the itu 'aiga. Of these three one is regarded as the senior title holder who has the final say in matters which concern the entire 'aiga potopoto. The other two junior title holders control the itu 'aiga which they head and are generally consulted in matters which concern the entire itu 'aiga.

The itu 'aiga which are created as a result of segmentation are regarded as sub-branches of the 'aiga potopoto in affairs which concern the entire 'aiga potopoto. However, in matters which concern only the members of the itu 'aiga, members may refer to the itu 'aiga as 'aiga potopoto. This principle is discussed in more detail below (Fig.I):

Figure I



Key

A, the founding ancestor, and first title holder, passes the title to C, who continues to head the group consisting of lines D to N. However, on C's death the size of the group necessitates the splitting of the title into two. One of the holders heads the lineage beginning with A and the second heads the lineage beginning at B.

B's descendants and A's descendants may come to regard themselves as itu 'aiga in matters of concern to the entire 'aiga potopoto, or may regard themselves as separate 'aiga potopoto on occasions which are of interest to either of the lineages.

Within any one 'aiga potopoto there are other conceptual groupings. Of these the most significant are the major sub-lineages.

Major sub-lineages

In every 'aiga potopoto there are two, and never more, major sub-lineages, which are known as the tamatane and tamafafine.

Tamatane - The tamatane consists of the descendants of the founding ancestor and his male siblings. The importance of the tamatane lies in its connections with the transmission of the 'aiga potopoto title.

As Freeman and others have noted, there is a de facto dominance of the male line in the transmission of title.

Tamafafine - The tamafafine consists of all of the descendants of the founding ancestor's female siblings. Despite the de facto dominance of the tamatane in the transmission of titles, the tamafafine can hold titles and does have power in the election of title holders. The power results from the privileged relationship which exists between a male and his female siblings, and which is known as feagaiga or covenant. This entitles the female to the respect, consideration and protection of her male siblings. This privileged relationship is transposed to the relationship between tamatane and tamafafine lines.

The major sub-lineages can be further subdivided again into smaller groupings.

Minor Lineages

Both the 'aiga potopoto and the major sub-lineages can be divided into minor lineages, which may be variously known as itu 'aiga or itu fanauga, which mean respectively 'sides of the kin group' and 'sides by birth'. These minor lineages are headed by a de facto leader who may or may not be a title holder within the 'aiga potopoto.

By reference to the genealogy of an 'aiga potopoto one can establish a finite maximum number of itu 'aiga, but the actual number recognised will vary according to the occasion on which a distinction becomes relevant. Thus on one occasion people will say that the tamafafine (or tamatane) has three component minor

lineages, and on another occasion will claim that the same grouping has more or less minor lineages.

This completes the summary of the major conceptual groupings in Samoan kinship. This is not by any means an exhaustive account, nor does it deal with the entire range of concepts associated with kinship because for this study many are of only peripheral importance. In summary it can be said that by reference to a founding ancestor a group of cognates, related in various ways, may be established. Within this grouping, known as the 'aiga potopoto, there are various recognised and named conceptual sub-groupings. These generally correspond to either combinations of related sub-lineages, or individual sub-lineages. While most adult Samoans have some knowledge of the general structure of the 'aiga potopoto, knowledge of the 'exact' structure and genealogical complexities is entrusted to the tulafale, or talking chiefs/orators[5]. This does not imply disinterest in the complexities of kinship, but is a reflection rather of the knowledge that when it becomes necessary, the gaps in their knowledge can be filled easily by drawing on that of those around them.

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5. Some doubt has been cast on the 'exactness' of this knowledge, but while acknowledging the possibility of distortion, either accidental or deliberate, in pre-literate times, it seems likely that this possibility has been reduced since it became possible to record facts of genealogy for all time. Freeman points to the existence of genealogical records, which are guarded by talking chiefs in support of this claim. (1964, 554-555)

The Significance of Conceptual Groupings

The fact that conceptual groupings are centred around titles, associated land and economic resources indicates some of the occasions on which they are important. In the following sections the significance of these groups will be detailed. Before doing so several points must be made. While all of the groups outlined above have conceptual unity, they do not necessarily have spatial unity. Members of any one of these groupings may be widely dispersed throughout Western Samoa, American Samoa, other Pacific Islands, New Zealand and the West Coast of the United States. At a conceptual level this dispersion is unimportant, since all are members irrespective of where they are, but the fact of dispersion does have significant effects on the 'actual' organisation of kinship.

The 'Aiga Potopoto

The 'aiga potopoto never assembles its entire membership or acts as a unified, ongoing corporate entity. It is said to have assembled when all interested parties, and representatives of some, or all, of the sub-groupings come together. Interested parties must establish their right ('aiā) to participate, and this is done as people arrive for a discussion, and before they are allowed to take their place within the meeting. The 'aiga potopoto meets on the following occasions:-

The Election of Chiefs (Filifiliga a matai)

Elections are the most important occasion on which this group is likely to be convened, and generally attracts most interest and the largest attendance. The election can not proceed, or have any validity, until all those who have aiā are present. There is provision made for people who have rights, but who are unable to attend at a particular time, to call for a postponement until they are able to attend. These regulations make it theoretically possible for the entire 'aiga potopoto to assemble, but the unity suggested in the concept of the 'aiga potopoto is not evident in reality. The regulations' function appear to be symbolic inasmuch as they emphasise the ideal of unity and of every member's right to participate.

Even among the group of representatives who do meet there is an absence of the unity implied in the ideal 'aiga potopoto. The election of a chief or matai can be a particularly contentious matter because of the economic repercussions which the choice of a chief can have.

The transmission of title generates considerable interest even before the formal meetings are convened. These are frequently preceded by a series of informal meetings at which representatives are chosen, endorsed, the opinions of sub-groups are canvassed, contacts between sub-sections are made, attempts are made to create allegiances between sub-sections based on common or parallel interests, and to plan strategies.

The frequency of election meetings of the 'aiga potopoto varies considerably. In one group with which I was associated, the title had been transmitted and split seven times in 25 years, while in another known to me the title has been under discussion only five times in 65 years.

On occasions, the conflict generated by attempts to choose a new titleholder becomes intense and leads to an impasse between the supporters of various potential chiefs. In these cases, the ideal of unity which is supposed to characterise the 'aiga potopoto is seriously endangered and the possibility of a serious and permanent split arises. In an attempt to resolve this problem, the parties involved will take their claims to the Lands and Titles Court for a decision. The Court hears the parties' claims and adjudicates in disputes. These cases are no-holds-barred contests between rival parties and are very useful examples of the gap which exists between the concept of the ideal, unified 'aiga potopoto, which exists at a conceptual level, and the fragmented group which compete for limited resources such as power and control of the group's economic resources.

Funerals

Funerals are another occasion on which the 'aiga potopoto may come together. Unlike the election of matais, however, full meetings of representatives are less likely. While ideally the entire group would be represented at a funeral, in fact this is rarely the case. The status and popularity of the deceased will

determine the size of the assembly and the breadth of representation. Because of the difficulties of preserving corpses without refrigeration in the tropical climate, proceedings must be organised and executed in a short time. This time factor may prevent all interested parties assembling in the time available.

Age, seniority within the 'aiga potopoto, personal popularity, and respect are significant factors in determining the size of the funeral and the extent of representation of various parts of the 'aiga potopoto. There is a clear relationship between these factors and scale: the greater the importance of the deceased, the larger the numbers and the greater the status of mourners.

In contrast to the large, formal funerals of senior members, the death of an untitled junior member of the group, or that of a child, may attract only close kinsmen and be conducted without major interest. Even on these latter occasions there is, however, symbolic representation of the entire group as members of different branches, without formal endorsement of the branch, may act as its representatives. The frequency of these occasions again varies considerably. Although death is ever present, the occasions on which the entire 'aiga potopoto assembles will vary according to the frequency of deaths of members of high status.

Weddings

Similarly, weddings are another occasion on which the

'aiga potopoto may come together. As in funerals, the size of the assembly and the extent of representation varies as a function of the status and popularity of the individuals marrying. Popular members and those genealogically close to the title holder, particularly a popular one, will generally be larger and draw wider representation than others. However, because weddings can be planned and there is no urgency in most cases, the possibility of wider representation is higher than in funerals.

Miscellaneous Disputes

Certain disputes, either within the 'aiga potopoto or between 'aiga potopoto, may necessitate meetings of the representatives of the membership, to plan strategies or to effect reconciliations of parties. Internal disputes most frequently concern the transmission of the title and allocation of land use rights. Disputes between 'aiga potopoto most frequently concern land boundaries, and may necessitate meetings of the concerned 'aiga to discuss strategy and to pool information to be used to plan action. These occasions frequently involve representation of senior members who are able to provide precedents and historical information, which may be used as evidence of rights should the matter be taken to either the village Court (fono) or the Lands and Titles Court. Both of these Courts exist to adjudicate such disputes where the parties are unable to reach an agreement among themselves.

These then are the occasions on which the 'aiga potopoto may assemble. While the occasions will generally result in assemblies of kinsmen who live in Samoa, there are, as will be shown, an increasing number of occasions on which the migrant members are involved, either directly or indirectly. While the meetings may give the appearance of a unified grouping acting together for some stated purpose, it is a misleading impression. Within the apparently unified groups are blocs of opposed interests, competing for superiority and to gain either prestige or economic advantage or both. While the stated function of such meetings is generally clear, the manifest functions are less clear. These occasions provide opportunities for the re-statement of the relationships extent within the group, and provide individuals with opportunities to assess the relative advantages of alignment with various sub-blocs. The outward appearance of solidarity on these occasions is, I would argue, deceptive. Samoans themselves realise this. One informant who was regularly involved in such disputes told me,

> ..... you know the disputes (fa'alavelave): everybody is saying how important it is to retain the unity of the 'aiga, but at the same time they are thinking about the best chances for themselves and their families. Everybody is smiling at one another, but behind their teeth they are thinking about the best thing for themselves....

The composition of the 'aiga potopoto is theoretically known and finite, but the composition of the group which meets as the 'aiga potopoto varies from one occasion to the next, and according to the purpose for which meetings are convened. The

funeral of a person from one of the itu 'aiga will result in a meeting in which representation from the deceased's itu 'aiga will be proportionately higher than from other itu 'aiga. The members of his itu 'aiga will be prominent in organisation and decision making on this occasion because they are closely related to the deceased. Yet the death of someone in another itu 'aiga of the same 'aiga potopoto will see close kin and members of the deceased's playing a prominent part in organisation and decision making. Those who played a prominent part in the first funeral, may play only a minor role in the funeral of someone from another itu 'aiga, and, while well represented in the first funeral, may be less well represented in the second occasion.

Despite the changing composition of the 'aiga potopoto which actually meets, the unity which characterises this group at a conceptual level is important because it provides an individual with a framework within which to organise his kinship universe. He may use this framework, which need never exist on the ground, to establish connections to groups which do exist on the ground. Having established these connections. he may be able to seek assistance and services from groups or individuals to which he is related. Secondly, the conceptual 'aiga potopoto is important for the individual because in situations in which he meets people who are not kin, it provides him, and his acquaintances, with a set of referents which give some indication of relative status of otherwise unrelated persons. Finally, the

concept of 'aiga potopoto provides a principle by reference to which the largest possible organisational groupings of kin can be created.

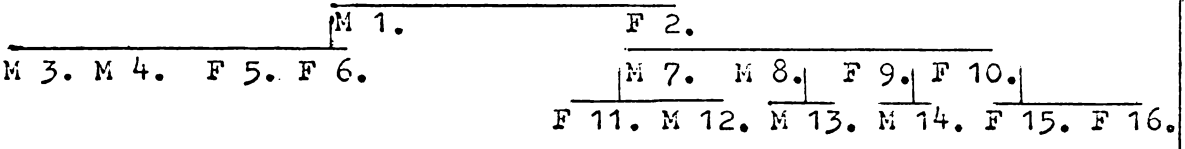
The Major Sub-lineages

The tamatane and tamafafine, as sub-lineages of the 'aiga potopoto, become significant only on those occasions on which the group of which they are parts becomes significant. Thus the tamatane and tamafafine grouping become significant in the matai elections, funerals, weddings, and in miscellaneous disputes, of the type outlined in the preceeding section.

The importance of these groupings arises from the fact that they provide a principle for dividing the 'aiga potopoto into two major sub-groups. These are important as a basis of organisation, and because they provide checks on the unrestricted acquisition of power by one of the two. For example: because of the traditional privileged relationship between a sister and brother and its transposition to the relationship between tamatane and tamafafine, the otherwise unrestricted growth of power of the tamatane over land, and political authority, is restricted. Furthermore, the sub-division of the 'aiga potopoto into descendants of males and descendants of females, provides a principle around which behaviour can be organised and estimated on occasions on which groups of related, but unfamiliar persons gather. Meetings of the 'aiga potopoto, as we have suggested, may involve numbers of people who are not known to one another.

Given this situation, there is a felt need for some referent by which to decide appropriate behaviour: the tamatane and tamafafine distinction provides this. Furthermore, it can provide a principle for the same division within smaller units. This can be seen by reference to the following case.

Figure II



Taking the case of M 7. we find that by application of the concept of tamatane and tamafafine within different groups, he will, in a meeting of the entire group (viz. M 1. --- F 16.), be a member of the tamafafine or descendants of female siblings of the founding ancestor. However, in a meeting of the group formed by reference to F 2. (that is M 7., M 8., F 9., F 10., F 11., M 12., M 13., M 14., F 15., F 16.), he will be tamatane.

Notwithstanding the importance of the concept as a principle for organisation of behaviour and the division of groupings into sub-groupings, there are occasions on which the groups may come together.

The matai elections

Tamafafine, despite de facto dominance of the male line for transmission of titles, do have the right to be heard at matai elections. The election of a matai from available candidates cannot be ratified without the consent of the tamafafine. Tamafafine may also advance their own candidate for

election, and although this is comparatively rare, it may result in the withdrawal of the tamatane's candidate. This power means that tamafafine has the opportunity and power to endorse and veto candidates, according to their assessment of the likely performance of any candidate.

Thus in the election of the matai the groupings become significant. Before the formal meetings, the tamatane and tamafafine will meet and discuss candidates and their relative merits. These meetings will, again, involve interested parties rather than entire memberships, and generally result in a strategy which will be followed in the formal meetings. However, as with the 'aiga potopoto, the unity which characterises the concepts of tamatane and tamafafine, may be more ideal than real. Within large tamatane and tamafafine groups, there may be conflict and competition between various sub-groupings. Thus one may find rival sections of the tamatane advancing their own candidates for election, when they are unable to reach concensus on one. On occasions, the tamafafine may be similarly split with one section of the group supporting a candidate, and another wishing to veto that candidate.

Funerals

In the case of funerals the concepts become significant as means of sharing the organisational responsibility which the occasion demands. Thus the tamatane and tamafafine may accept responsibility for the provision of certain types of task. The specific duties for which each accepts responsibility are negotiable. For those members who come to the funeral after the

initial arrangements have been made, and who bring gifts and contributions, the major sub-lineages provide guidelines for alignment and appropriate behaviour. As one informant said,

> ..... If I go to a funeral in the family, I may travel by myself, but once I get to the village where the funeral is being held and get into the family, I will try to find out how I am related to the people there. If someone asks me: by which path do you come inside the family, I can then explain how I am related and then I know what to do .....

The tamatane and tamafafine are referents for forming organisational groups, and for establishing broad categories of relationship and appropriate behaviour. At funerals, the probability of possible internal splits is reduced and the appearance of groups with some degree of unity is less illusory than in the case of the election of chiefs.

The organisational importance of the groupings at funerals will depend on the size of the funeral and the factors outlined earlier. The greater the occasion, the higher the degree of organisation required, and in turn the probability of the emergence of the tamatane and tamafafine as organisational units. However, even on small scale occasions, there will be symbolic participation of both groups, even where they do not emerge as organisational units.

To some extent, the non-appearance of these groups as unified entities is a problem of dispersal of personnel, and the necessity of organising matters quickly. These factors reduce the likelihood of groups emerging as units of organisation.

Weddings

Weddings, of the large formal type, again provide opportunities for the major sub-lineages to become significant.

The organisation of a large formal wedding generally involves an initial meeting between the 'aiga potopoto of the bride and provision of food between them. Each 'aiga potopoto then subdivides its share into tasks for the tamatane and tamafafine. The exact nature of each's share is negotiable, but the value of shares will approximately be equal. Representatives of the tamatane and tamafafine then allocate specific tasks to member households. As people outside the immediate village in which the event will be held hear of the planning, or as they are notified, they may offer assistance to the tamafafine or tamatane according to their affiliation. The tamatane and tamafafine concepts also become significant for establishing appropriate behaviour at weddings when large numbers of kin come together. As with funerals, the importance of the groupings as organisational units will vary according to the size of the wedding, which in turn will depend on factors outlined in preceding sections. However, unlike the funerals, the probability of these groups emerging as organisational forms is greater because of the time available for planning and the need to involve as many persons and groups as possible in order to mobilise capital and labour for the occasion.

This section has been concerned with the conceptual organisation of the Samoan kinship universe. In it the various groups and sub-groups have been outlined. The significance of these groupings was then considered and it was suggested that while these may, at a conceptual level, be unified solidary groupings, these characteristics are not evident in fact. At a conceptual level, these groups are continuous over time, but in reality exist, as task oriented groups, only sporadically. Thus, groups which have conceptual unity are not ongoing corporate discrete units, but rather ad hoc aggregates of dispersed individuals and groups who come together from time to time for specific purposes. Having disposed of the matter, these groups disperse.

The picture which emerges from this discussion is one of a kinship system which has little apparent significance for the individual in day-to-day affairs. It might appear to be simply an abstraction which is approximated in reality only at life crises, and provides a framework for behaviour and the division of labour on those occasions. However, if we move to the second level of analysis, kin grouping and behaviour as they exist on the ground, kinship assumes a much greater significance. In place of a conceptual scheme, one finds a reality which pervades virtually every aspect of the day-to-day life of the individual. It is this level of analysis which produces statements such as the following about the importance of kinship. Tiresa Malietoa, wife of the Head of State, said of kinship,

> ..... the Samoan people believe that the family is the most important institution, the most important unit, the most important organisation that God has given to this world. The family is not just a biological unit. It involves hundreds of people and gives a sense of identification, of security, of pride, of belonging..... (1972, p.86)

An informant, after a session on the ideology and conceptual organisation of Samoan kinship, reminded me of the distinction between the two levels of analysis. She said,

> ..... What you are interested in and what you have been talking about is one side of Samoan kinship ('aiga) ... There is the other side of kinship. Kinsmen are people who love and trust you: they are the people that you love and trust. They are people who you can ask things of without being ashamed, and who will ask things of you ... they are the people with whom you will work, go fishing, joke and tell your secrets to .... This is the other side of kinship ('aiga). I suppose both are important; without the formal side you can't know who your kin are, but there are two sides .... that is the important thing .....

Amongst anthropologists there has been more interest in the formal, conceptual organisation of the Samoan kinship system, at the expense of kinship as it affects the day-to-day life of individuals. But Margaret Mead, writing in 1930 of Manu'a, recognised the practical significance of kinship on the ground. She wrote,

> ..... Under the shadow of these far-flung recognised relationships, children wander in safety, criminals find a haven, fleeing lovers take shelter, the traveller is housed, fed and his failing resources reinforced, property is collected for a house building or a marriage; and a whole island is converted into a series of cities of refuge from poverty, embarrassment, or local retribution ..... (1930, 40)

In the next section kinship groups, as they exist 'on the ground' in Samoa, are discussed.

The Residential Correlates of Kinship (or kinship 'on the ground')

The 'aiga potopoto has conceptual unity, but lacks spatial unity. The extent of dispersion varies from one 'aiga potopoto to the other, as does the range of dispersion. The membership of any one such group may be spread throughout Samoa, other Pacific Islands, the West Coast of the United States, and New Zealand.

Despite the dispersion, each 'aiga potopoto will have a core of members who reside together in one village - normally that in which the group's land is located, and with which the group's title is associated. The proportions of any one 'aiga potopoto which is found in the 'core' village varies over time according to the amount of land available, and the state of social relations within the group.[6] In the group with whom I worked, approximately 60% of the 'aiga potopoto lived in the core village and worked land there. In other villages the proportion may be as high as 75% of the total membership[7].

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6. Where the matai is able to unify the group, and to control the 'aiga potopoto's affairs to their satisfaction, he will increase the group's prestige locally. Where he is able to do this, he will retain resident members and may attract back other members who have moved out of the village to exercise land rights in another group to which they are related.

7. It is difficult to calculate with any degree of accuracy the proportions of groups resident in 'core' villages since it involves exhaustive genealogical work which is time consuming. The figure of 75% was from recent fieldwork in a rural village in Savai'i. There appears to be a relationship between the proportional size of the kin group's core and the proximity of the village to centres in which wage labour is available. Thus in villages near the capital Apia, and near Asau where a major forestry venture is located, the 'core' as a proportion of the total group will generally be higher, because members born outside of these areas may choose to exercise their rights to live in these villages in the hope of obtaining wage employment.

For the purposes of this study this core group of the 'aiga potopoto which resides in the village with which it is associated, will be referred to as the residential kin corporation[8], and I turn now to a discussion of it.

The Residential Kin Corporation[9]

The size of r.k.c.'s varies considerably - in one village they may consist of as few as 1, and in another of as many as 27 households. The relative sizes of various r.k.c.'s in the one village in which I worked are shown in the table below (see Table II). Further examples may be found in the work of Brian Lockwood (1970a, 1970b).

Table I - Relative Sizes of Residential Kin Corporations in a Village

Residential Kin Corporation	Number of Households
1.	27
2.	16
3.	12
4.	13
5.	9
6.	8
7.	5
8.	3
9.	1
10.	1

8. Gilson (1970) refers to this group as a localised domestic corporation. Most writers acknowledge the existence of this 'core' group of co-resident kin.

9. Residential Kin Corporation will be abbreviated to r.k.c. from here on.

The composition of any one r.k.c. is in a constant state of flux. These groups gain members through marriage, natural increase, increased prestige which results from competent management, return migration, and through the re-assertion of the rights of children of non-resident members. At the same time groups may lose members through marriage, death, inept management by the matai, out-migration and through increasing pressure on local resources. As the composition of individual groups fluctuates, so too does its size and prestige in relation to other like groups within the village. A group which is growing in size gains a certain amount of prestige within the village because growth is generally a reflection of competent management and ample resources.

The members of the r.k.c. live in the village associated with the title of the group, and derive a livelihood from use of the economic resources vested in the title. As a condition of access to land, they are required to provide certain services to the matai as chief 'trustee'. These may take the form of labour or levies, in cash or kind, on the production. The extent and frequency of the demands made by the matai on members of the r.k.c. vary considerably and according to such factors as the power of the matai and the ceremonial needs of the group at any one time. In all cases an upper limit is placed on the demands the matai can make on this group through the possibility of their becoming dissatisfied and moving away and joining another group in which they have rights, and which they believe is more satisfactorily managed.

The various services the matai receives from the group which serves him[10], may be disbursed at ceremonies in which he participates as a representative of the entire 'aiga potopoto. In this case those who provide the matai with the goods for disbursements, regard it as an investment since, if used 'correctly', it may lead to increased prestige for the 'aiga potopoto on whose behalf it is disbursed. Alternatively, labour and other forms of service may be used by the matai to increase the 'asset value' of the holdings of the 'aiga potopoto. This may be done by building new roads, fences or by providing other assets which increase not only the 'capital value', but also the prestige of the 'aiga potopoto.

Irrespective of what is done, the result is similar. A proportion of the 'aiga potopoto, i.e. the r.k.c., provides goods and services which are used by the matai on behalf of the whole 'aiga potopoto, including non-resident members who have not contributed. The acceptance of this state of affairs can be understood in the following way. Their contributions may be seen as some form of rental, paid indirectly to non-resident members in the form of status increments which is their due as co-owners of the land and title. Secondly, while non-resident members of the 'aiga potopoto may benefit indirectly by ceremonial gifts and

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10. The individuals who serve the matai are called the tautua or servants. This does not imply slavery, as it consisted only of those who were related to the matai. There is no record of Samoans taking slaves in the way the New Zealand Maori did 'taurekaraka'. Tautua may also be used as a verb, in which case it means to render service to one's chief, again as distinct from one's captor. Tautua is occasionally used as a term referring to the residential kin corporation. This, informants claim, is because the r.k.c. consists of people who have chosen to remain on the land and serve the matai.

association with prestigious groups, it is the actually contributing r.k.c. that enjoys the actual, direct benefits of their contribution.

From the above it can be seen that members of the r.k.c. have in common certain economic and social interests. They also have other bases of unity. They have frequent social interaction because they live together, or within the same village. Apart from formal economic co-operation in the affairs in which they act on behalf of the 'aiga potopoto, there is considerable informal social and economic co-operation among members of the r.k.c. They have common interests in the affairs of the village and various organisations within it. The children go to school, to pastor's school, to church and Sunday school, and play together. Children move from one household to another as they please, and may stay from several hours to several days in another household. Adult members of the r.k.c. work together, worship together, discuss events, and spend a considerable amount of their leisure time together. The members of the r.k.c. share life crises together, and in certain matters the group dispenses its own justice. As Lockwood notes, these r.k.c.'s (which he calls 'local lineages') form the primary social and economic units of village life. Within a village, the r.k.c.'s may have a degree of spatial unity which can be seen in clusters of related component households in certain parts of the village.

While the 'aiga potopoto is the largest conceptual kin group, the r.k.c. is the largest co-resident kin group. The r.k.c. consists of all of those members of the 'aiga potopoto who have chosen to remain on land, and is, in essence, the residential

correlate of the 'aiga potopoto. Unlike the 'aiga potopoto, which meets only sporadically, the r.k.c. is an on-going entity. It is the r.k.c. which combines most frequently to perform obligations and claim rights due to the matai and the 'aiga potopoto of which it is a part[11].

Households

The second kin grouping which exists on the ground is the household. The size and composition of these groups vary from one to another, and any one household's size and composition may alter over time as people come and go.

Composition varies from three generational units with as many as 15 kinsmen living in several adjacent houses, to the very occasional nuclear unit and childless married couple. Households are invariably comprised of close kinsmen and their affines with such other persons as may attach themselves to a household from time to time.

Households are, in day-to-day affairs, virtually autonomous units, and are concerned primarily with the provision of shelter and food. Apart from those goods and services which the matai may demand of households of the r.k.c., the household units are concerned largely with their own domestic affairs. The

11. The relation between an 'aiga potopoto and the r.k.c. which is in essence its 'core' may be better understood by reference to a diagrammatic representation (See Appendix 7).

men in a household may work closely with each other, and spend much of their leisure time together. Women work together and are likely to have similar village level voluntary associations which provide them with much of common interest. Grandparents and other elderly members of the household will mind infants to free their parents for productive activities.[12]

Certain household property is jointly owned and freely used by members of the household. This property includes such things as canoes, paddles, fishing equipment, machetes, bicycles, tools and radios. Each household has a person, usually male, who is acknowledged as leader and spokesman. This person is usually a senior member of the group and may or may not be the holder of a matai title. He, or she, is responsible for the organisation of the day-to-day affairs of the household and may dispense justice in certain matters. Apart from these duties, he acts as the household's representative in matters which concern the residential kin corporation. In this role he and the heads of other households of the r.k.c. consult with the matai in matters which concern this group. The decisions made by this 'committee of representatives' are taken back to individual households and the representatives become responsible for the implementation of these.[13]

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12. Apart from the economic importance of their role, the grandparents and other elderly relatives play an important role in the socialisation of the children left in their care. In a series of fables, and myths (tala fagono) they impart to children the values and beliefs to make them competent adults.

13. This 'committee of representatives' of component households can be likened to the standing committee of the r.k.c. It is empowered to make decisions on their behalf, and presents these decisions to the full r.k.c. for ratification only.

The advantage of this form of organisation lies in the fact that leadership and decision making can be done by people who are leaders in their own right (in households) quickly and efficiently. This means that the whole range of opinion about a matter is represented, and that the decision is likely to be acceptable because all relevant views are known to the committee. Finally, the persons involved in decision making are also responsible for the implementation of decisions and are constrained by their knowledge of what is practical. The household heads' status is not unlike that of the matai. They are entitled to contributions, in cash or kind, from the membership, and exert varying degrees of control over the income derived by individual members in their own right.[14]

When viewed as part of the entire structure of kinship, the household may appear to be comparatively unimportant because it appears to be simply a component part of a larger unit. However, its importance to the individual is considerable, because households generally contain all those with whom the individual stands in close relationships. It contains groups of siblings, parents and children, and grandparents and grandchildren. Within the household group disclosures are made which could not be made outside it. Within the household a person finds others who will provide him with emotional and psychological support when he needs it. In the household one sees the co-operation and mutual

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14. As the number of vacancies in the wage sector increases, more people are able to find work away from the land controlled by their matai. Many of these people consider that their obligations to their matai are reduced by this 'independence', and are less willing to contribute money direct to the matai. Instead, they contribute to the head of the household who is often a parent. He or she in turn becomes responsible of the payment of such levies (sua) as the matai may require and may use the income from his children to this end.

support of kin, the expressed ideal of kinship, in action.

An examination of the conceptual and actual groupings of Samoan kinship reveals two 'levels' of kinship organisation. At the conceptual level, one can discover a set of principles and groupings which emerge from application of these, and which are used by Samoans to divide up their kin universe. At another level, one finds a series of groupings which exist on the ground. The conceptual groupings of kinsmen provide him with a framework by which to reckon distance from and obligations to other kinsmen, and appear to have little significance in the day-to-day life of the individual. The actual groupings, on the the other hand, provide him with a group of people with whom he will co-operate and from whom he will derive a wide range of economic, social and emotional satisfactions. This latter set of groupings will have a pervasive and very real influence on his day-to-day existence.

In discussions of structure and formal organisation, there is a real danger of losing sight of the individuals who comprise the structure, and who use it as a referent for behaviour. In the following section I will consider briefly the way in which the individual fits into the kinship system, and the way in which he regards it.

The Individual and his Kin Group

An individual is a member of two 'aiga potopoto: that of his father and that of his mother. If each of these groups has approximately 400 living members, he will have approximately

800 living kinsmen. At the same time he is also a member of various sub-groupings within this total range of affiliations: of tamatane and/or tamafafine,[15] of a residential kin corporation, of a household, and of a family of orientation and possibly a family of procreation. The married adult is connected, through his spouse, to two more 'aiga potopoto, which may mean that he is potentially involved in a further 800 relationships.[16] Raymond Firth's model of types of kin relationships (1956, p45ff) is useful in coming to understand how any individual handles and organises the immense number of relationships in which he is actually or potentially involved.

All relationships between an individual and his kin, both known and latent, constitute the boundaries of that individual's kin network. Within this total range if relationships, it is possible to establish, according to Firth's scheme, certain types of relationship.

Firstly, there is a group of kinsmen with whom contact is possible, but unlikely. These are the individual's non-effective kinsmen, comprised largely of kinsmen who are either genealogically distant or who live in distant villages or outside Samoa. It may include also people with whom an individual does not 'get on', often because of disputes which have taken place at some time in the past.

There is a second group of people with whom the individual maintains some regular contact. These are the individual's

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15. The individual may be a member of the tamatane in one parent's 'aiga potopoto and a member of tamafafine in the other parent's 'aiga potopoto.

16. The spouse is not expected to know in any detail the structure and affinal kinsmen. With the exception of his spouse's close kin, his knowledge of the affinal kinsmen is likely to be limited. In affairs which involve him as an affine he may seek more information from his spouse where it becomes necessary.

effective kinsmen. Two types of effective kin can be distinguished. Peripheral effective kinsmen are those with whom the individual maintains regular, but involuntary, contact. Relationships between an individual and his peripheral effective kinsmen are generally based on co-residence and/or common economic interest, and are likely to be people living in nearby villages, and certain kinsmen living in the same village. There are, generally, no strong emotional ties between the individual and his peripheral effective kin.

There is a third group of kinsmen with whom the individual maintains frequent, voluntary contact, and which is characterised by a strong emotional element. These are his intimate effective kinsmen and are likely to be an individual's siblings, parents and parents' siblings, particularly those living in or near the village, his parents' parents and his own children, irrespective of where they live. While this scheme is convenient and provides a satisfactory means of 'typing' relationships, there is a danger, inherent in all schemes, that they omit important attributes. This is true in the case at hand.

One of the important characteristics of relationships between Samoan individuals and their kin is flexibility. One finds continual changes in the type of relationship which exists between an individual and any one of his kinsmen over time. This flexibility arises from the fact that Samoans distinguish between two components of kinship bonds: genealogy and

behaviour.[17] This distinction produces three types of relationship. The first is characterised by the existence of a genealogical bond, but the absence of a behavioural bond. The second is characterised by the presence of a behavioural bond, but the absence of a genealogical bond[18]. The third type has both a genealogical and a behavioural bond, and is for Samoans the strongest and most preferred relationship.[19]

All this means that it is possible for the relationships between an individual and his kinsmen to change over time as the components of those relationships change. Such changes may take place under a variety of circumstances. One of the most common of these is the movement of an individual from one village to

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17. The distinction is similar to that which Raymond Firth (1956, 44ff) makes between all kin ties (which exist even when individuals have little or no contact) and those in which the individual is actively engaged. Firth suggests that personal selectivity is responsible for the formation of a group who are joined not only by kinship, but by behaviour. A degree of personal selectivity is also responsible for the division in Samoan categories, but because of co-residence it is not always possible to ignore or avoid those kinsmen whom one might not like particularly. Thus personal selectivity as an element is modified by fact of co-residence.

18. This type of relationship is technically fictive kinship, but as mentioned earlier, is regarded very seriously by Samoans. Persons who act as kin (fa'a'aiga) are expected to observe the same rules and proscriptions as they would if they were genealogically related. This can be seen most clearly in the observance of mate selection proscriptions which apply to the other party in a fictive relationship.

19. There is some overlap between the scheme offered by Firth (ibid) and that of the Samoans. Firth's non-effective kinsmen would be similar to the group of relationships in which there is a genealogical bond but no behavioural bond. Firth's effective kinsmen would correspond to the group of relationships in which there are both genealogical and behavioural components.

another. An example of this process is offered below:-

> ..... A and B had a child C. At the time they lived in A's village, Vaito'omuli. C was born and brought up in that village, and most of his effective kinsmen were located in Vaito'omuli or nearby villages. With this group he had both genealogical and behavioural bonds. During this period B's relations lived in Afega, and C had little contact with them. His relations in Afega were in essence non-effective kinsmen. He recognised a genealogical bond, but had few close behavioural bonds with kinsmen in Afega. When C was 20 years old, A died and B chose to return to Afega, where she had been born and where she had relations and land rights. C chose to return to Afega with B. The distance between Vaito'omuli and Afega precluded regular contact between the villages and C was faced with the necessity of re-arranging his kinship network. In doing so, his Afega relations who had previously been non-effective kin became effective kin as he established behavioural bonds with them. At the same time, his Vato'omuli relations became less important as the behavioural bonds between C and members of the Vaito'omuli group lapsed. Within two years C's kin network was changed radically. His former effective kinsmen had, with few exceptions, become his non-effective kinsmen, and the same reversal had taken place in the case of his former non-effective kinsmen. In short, the organisation of an individual's kinship network is dependent on the situation in which an individual finds himself, and on the changing importance of various relationships.[20]

The flexibility inherent in the Samoan kinship system permits an individual to differentiate between types of kinsmen according to their importance to him, and to re-organise the resultant groups as necessary. The differentiation between types of kinsmen permits him to concentrate on those relationships which are of most importance at any one time, while keeping him aware of relationships which may assume importance at some time in the future. In short, it permits him to maximise his options as circumstances change because it puts no obstacle in the way of re-orientation of his kin group.

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20. Some of the fictive relationships which C had established in Vaito'omuli lapsed after he moved to Afega, but after two years he had established other such relationships with people in Afega.

Considering the fact that the Samoan may live in as many as ten different villages in the course of his life, such flexibility is clearly necessary.[21] But more significant is the effect of this flexibility on the persistence of extended kinship among migrants. It has made it possible for a migrant who has no effective kin to arrive in New Zealand and 'plug in' to a group of non-effective kin. In this 'plugging in' the new arrival establishes behavioural bonds and converts this formerly non-effective group into an effective one. In return for his observance of certain rights and obligations, he gains the support and assistance of migrant kin.

This concludes the examination of kinship as it exists at various levels in the parent community, Western Samoa. In the following section kinship in the migrant community is considered.

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21. This figure was calculated from the Nuffield Survey Data.by taking a series of older respondents (50+ years of age) and counting the number of villages in which they had lived for more than 6 months. Ten villages was the upper limit with the average being 5.

Chapter 6.

KINSHIP IN THE MIGRANT COMMUNITY

For Samoans in New Zealand kinship is, both conceptually and actually, an extension of the system as it exists in Samoa, despite the physical separation of the parts of the system. Perhaps the clearest expression of the unity of the system was that offered by an informant who said,

> ..... The 'aiga is like a tree, its branches may spread out, but they all grow from the same roots. Without the roots the tree could not live .....

Another comment offered a more specific statement of the relationship between the migrant and the kin group to which he belongs,

> ..... The people of the 'aiga are like fishermen who go a long way out to sea, and the 'aiga is like the landmarks which the fishermen use to establish their position. Only by looking at the landmarks can the fisherman tell where he is because the landmarks do not shift. With the migrant, only by looking at the 'aiga can he tell where and who he is. Once he loses sight of the landmarks, he is lost .....

The relationship between migrants and their kin groups can also be seen in the conceptual scheme offered in the preceding section. Those in Samoa regard migrants simply as non-resident members of the kin group[1], in much the same way as are kinsmen who have migrated to other villages in Samoa. All migrants, say informants, retain membership irrespective of where they are and all can, at any time they choose, return and re-activate their connections in the parent community.

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1. Migrants are non-resident members of the 'aiga potopoto, of tamatane and/or tamafafine, of itu 'aiga.

The above comments about the relationship of a migrant to his kin group, and the nature of migrant status, were offered by non-migrants. This raises the question of whether migrants' and non-migrants' views of their status and relationship coincide. In short the answer is yes, and in the following section kinship systems as they exist among migrants are considered. Again, the distinction between the conceptual and actual levelss of kinship organisation is retained.

The conceptual organisation of kinship in New Zealand.

Samoan migrants in New Zealand tend to conceptualise the kinship system in the same way as non-migrants. This is reflected in the retention of the ideology of kinship, of the kinship terminology, and of similar conceptual groupings.

The 'aiga potopoto

Migrants regard themselves as members of the 'aiga potopoto to which they belonged before migration. Despite the fact of migration, they are still 'tied to the title and the land', both of which are located in Samoa. Migration makes no difference to the nature of any migrant's affiliation: while all are regarded as members of the 'aiga potopoto, various types of affiliation are distinguished. While the migrant's orientation is toward the parent 'aiga potopoto in Samoa, there are occasions on which all migrant members of that group combine and perform tasks as a localised group. On these occasions, the members of the localised group may call the group an 'aiga potopoto, but the use of this term does not imply a discrete, independent 'aiga potopoto in

competition with its parent body[2]. The migrant group which is referred to as an 'aiga potopoto, is most fruitfully regarded as a 'branch' of the parent unit[3], and the use of the term is to be seen as a means of mobilising the largest group of migrant kinsmen who have something in common, a tie to land and a title. The membership will consist of all migrant members of the 'aiga potopoto. Similarly, the migrant's 'aiga potopoto is, like its parent body, a conceptual grouping. Its members are dispersed throughout New Zealand, and it becomes an action oriented group, as opposed to an abstraction, only when convened for specific purposes.

Major Sub Lineages

Migrants regard themselves as members of the tamatane and/or tamafafine to which they belonged before migration. Despite the fact of migration, individuals are still tied to a title and land through membership of a line which descends from either a male or female sibling of the founding ancestor.

On occasions when the migrant 'aiga potopoto is convened, individual migrants may align themselves along tamatane and

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2. When I suggested this possible interpretation, migrants were amused and asked in reply, how there could be more than one 'aiga potopoto when there was only one block of land and one title. They pointed out that there was no local focus of unity and noted that an 'aiga potopoto can only exist in relation to land and a title which were invariably in Samoa.

3. The branch analogy is appropriate. The migrant 'aiga potopoto is similar to branches of a company. There is one company which has a head office at its centre. Power is centred in the head office and important decisions about policy and implementation are made there, and then relayed to branches for action. Branches have some lesser degree of autonomy in the management of their affairs. Without a head office at the centre the branches would not exist. The relationship between the parent - and the migrant 'aiga potopoto is almost identical.

and tamafafine lines. The emergence of migrant tamatane and tamafafine does not mean that migrants regard these as discrete groupings which are independent of those in the parent community. The division of the migrant 'aiga potopoto into localised tamatane and tamafafine arises from the necessity of having two sub-groupings between which tasks undertaken by the migrant 'aiga potopoto can be divided. Migrant branches of the tamatane and tamafafine are primarily conceptual groupings. Members are dispersed throughout New Zealand, and only meet under certain circumstances. On these meetings the tamatane and tamafafine become action oriented groups as against conceptual groupings. Even on these occasions entire migrant membership is rarely, if ever, assembled.

Minor Lineages

Migrants consider themselves members of itu'aiga or itu fanauga to which they belonged before migration. They are simply migrant members of an itu'aiga, which is a minor lineage of the 'aiga potopoto. There are localised migrant branches of these minor lineages in New Zealand. These emerge as itu 'aiga only infrequently, and are generally small groups of closely related migrants.

In summary, the most notable feature of the conceptual organisation of kinship among Samoan migrants in New Zealand is its similarity to the conceptual organisation of kinship in the parent community. The conceptual groupings, and the terms for them, are identical. As in Samoa, the groupings have conceptual

unity, but lack spatial unity, and while they have continuity as abstractions they meet as action oriented groups only sporadically. In the following section we consider the significance of these conceptual groupings of kin. The aim is to establish whether the roles of these conceptual groupings are similar to the roles of those same groupings in the parent community. There is a distinct possibility that in the absence of land and a title[4], the conceptual groupings have no reason to meet and are never convened as action oriented groups.

The Significance of Conceptual Groupings in the Migrant Community

The unity of conceptual groupings derives from their association with land and a title. In the parent community representatives of the conceptual groupings meet on occasions when issues connected with land and/or title arise. They meet because they have a direct interest in the outcome of such matters[5]. The

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4. There is no land or title in New Zealand which might serve as a focus for meetings of New Zealand branches of the conceptual groupings. It is possible that separation from the land and title, which is the basis of their unity, may lead to a disinterest on the part of the migrants.

5. The economic consequences of the selection of a matai are perhaps the most significant of these incentives to meet, but the status of the 'aiga potopoto is also a consideration. The personal qualities of a matai can have a significant e effect on the status of a group: a competent and respected matai may increase the status of a group, while an incompetent matai may have the opposite effect on the 'aiga potopoto's status.

unity of the extensions of these conceptual groupings in the migrant community also derive from their association with lands and titles in Samoa but, unlike non-migrant members, migrants will have no direct interest in the outcome of matters associated with the land and titles in Samoa. The choice of a matai and the allocation or re-allocation of land rights does not directly affect the migrant engaged in the New Zealand wage economy. One is tempted to assume that the conceptual groupings in the migrant community will be insignificant, and that there would be no reason for their representatives to meet. In other words, unlike groups in the parent community, which from time to time meet as task oriented groups, the migrant groups would not meet and would remain conceptual groupings. However, for a number of reasons this assumption is incorrect and these reasons are expanded below.

A considerable proportion of the Samoan population are only temporarily resident in New Zealand. They come for three months on a visitor's permit, often to work and save for some project which they wish to undertake in Samoa on their return. These visitors are vitally interested in discussions about land and titles which take place in their absence, because on their return they will be directly affected by the outcome. To a certain extent, visitors who are able to explain the importance of various outcomes to permanently resident migrants, may encourage interest and participation on the part of the permanently resident migrants.

Even in the absence of these visitor 'catalysts', permanently resident migrants have reasons for taking an active interest in matters connected with the land and titles. For the older group who may return to Samoa, these matters are important because they will be directly affected by the consequences on their return.[6] The possibility of a return keeps migrants interested in matters of land and title throughout their time in New Zealand, and this interest grows as the return draws nearer.

Younger migrants, for whom the possibility of a return lies in the distant future, are also interested in the affairs of the 'aiga potopoto for different reasons. The outcome of decisions about land and titles may not directly affect them, but it may have significant consequences for those of their kinsmen who have remained in the home village. These decisions may assume greater importance when migrants' close kinsmen are involved.

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6. Many migrants intend to return to Samoa at the end of their working life, or after their children have been educated and are independent. This ambition springs partly from the economic advantages of such a move, but also from a widely expressed fear that their children will, through exposure to European values, not wish to look after them or respect them. Most wish to return to their birthplace in old age, and to capitalise on the status which residence in New Zealand confers on an individual in the home community. For many the 'dream of a return' is not realised, because on their return migrants find that the Samoa which they have kept alive in in their mind is not at all like that which confronts them in reality. This realisation leads many to return again to New Zealand. As yet, the numbers of returnees to Samoa are not large enough to establish future trends. The financial success of some recent returnees is impressive (see appendix 8) and may stimulate this trend to return at the end of one's working life in New Zealand.

Thus, several statements such as the following were collected,

> ..... For myself, I am not concerned directly with the election (of a matai), because I am buying my own house here. But my parents, brothers and sisters could suffer if a bad person is installed as the matai. They could lose some of their land or something like that. That is why I try to keep up with the play, to find out who the candidates are, and to get information about those I don't know much about ..... then I know who to support.....
>
> ..... We can't cut ourselves off from the family in Samoa. We always get information and gossip from our parents' letters, and from people coming from Samoa. I like to know what's going on because I can help my parents when there is a fa'alavelave (dispute) over things like land or who will hold the title.....

For the reasons above, most migrants, whether short term or long term resident in New Zealand, have a continuing interest in the affairs connected with the lands and titles of the 'aiga potopoto of which they are members. This means that, even in the absence of a local focus for conceptual groupings, interest among migrants is held by the affairs in the home community. This is seen in the following outline of the sorts of occasions on which migrant branches of conceptual groupings meet.

The 'Aiga Potopoto

The migrant 'aiga potopoto[7] is likely to be convened only when a matter involving two 'aiga potopoto arises. When for

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7. By migrant 'aiga potopoto I mean representatives from all over New Zealand. That is the group composed of representatives from all of the centres meeting in one place.

instance a serious dispute arises between two 'aiga potopoto in the same village, migrant branches of each may meet (separately) to discuss the matter and to plan strategies. Such cases are extremely rare, and three cases which I was able to collect, concerned large and powerful 'aiga potopoto in dispute over valuable land.

In the early phases of Samoan migration to New Zealand, the frequency of meetings of the entire migrant 'aiga potopoto was higher. But in the past ten years a number of Samoans have moved from Auckland to various other main centres, and the resultant dispersion has made it increasingly difficult to convene meetings of the entire migrant branch of the 'aiga potopoto. However, because the dispersal has been limited to centres in which unskilled or semi-skilled employment is readily available, the result has been that 86% of the total Samoan population live in either Auckland or Wellington, with most of the remainder in three other centres. The limited dispersal means that there are concentrations of members of 'aiga potopoto. Thus, in each of the five centres, on occasions which concern the 'aiga potopoto, but which do not justify convening a meeting of the entire group, local sub-groups of the migrant 'aiga potopoto may meet simultaneously in one or more of the five centres to discuss the same issue.

The meetings of both the entire migrant 'aiga potopoto, or its localised sub-branches, are essentially discussion sessions.

If the meeting produces a decision which members feel should be heard in Samoa, they may either write or send one of their members to Samoa to represent their view. The latter strategy is becoming increasingly popular as the following statement suggests:-

> ..... a lot of Samoans do what we did. The dispute was important to us because our family was concerned. We could have sent money to help the family get a good advocate to put their case, but we could not do much from here, so we decided to go to Samoa and help over there. We went for five weeks and took the money from the family here, and helped to make a good case at the Lands and Titles Court.....

United action by the migrant sub-branches of the 'aiga potopoto is most likely to take place where there is a possibility of influencing the outcome of events in the home community. Where outcomes are predictable and/or acceptable to migrants, the group will not be convened and will not act to influence it.

There are then a number of events which take place in the home community, and which lead to meetings of either the entire migrant 'aiga potopoto or its sub-branches. There are also events which take place in New Zealand and which lead to meetings of the migrant 'aiga potopoto. Certain weddings[7], for instance, will lead

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7. The weddings of popular and respected migrant members of the 'aiga potopoto, and weddings involving the children of the matai, or other senior members of the 'aiga potopoto. On these occasions, one important motivation is the possibility of a gain in status for the 'aiga potopoto, which may result from an impressive wedding which draws on all of the resources of 'aiga potopoto. The possibility of impressing the migrant and parent communities will lead to co-operation among members of the migrant 'aiga potopoto, in order to sponsor a large scale wedding.

to meetings of the migrant 'aiga potopoto. On such occasions a sub-branch of the migrant 'aiga potopoto may undertake the task of organising and paying for the wedding. However, the sub-branch, in say Wellington, will be assisted by other sub-branches, who will make contributions to the cost of the wedding. At such weddings, most of the sub-branches will be represented by one or more members, who will take money to the organising sub-branch before the wedding, and will involve themselves in the organisation of the wedding, the cooking and serving of food, and so on. Thus, while the bulk of the organisation and work is handled by one sub-branch, all other sub-branches will generally be represented and will assist financially, and on these occasions the entire migrant 'aiga potopoto can be seen as a task oriented group.

Certain funerals[8] will lead to meetings of and co-operation in the migrant 'aiga potopoto. News of the death of a prominent person will be telegraphed to members of the 'aiga potopoto who live outside of the centre in which he or she dies. The members of the sub-branch in the centre will meet and begin making preparations for the ceremony and wake (lau'ava). Between death and the funeral there is generally a gap of two to four days to allow members from outside the centre to make travel arrangements.[9]

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8. Those of prominent, senior or popular members of the 'aiga potopoto will generally involve the entire group. The largest are the funerals of elderly people who die while on visits to New Zealand.

9. On one occasion, the funeral was postponed for five days to allow a group to arrange to fly from Los Angeles to Auckland, and gaps of four days are quite common where it is known that people wish to fly from Samoa.

During this period, a series of informal meetings of sub-branches in other centres are held, and money is collected and given to those members who are to attend the funeral. This money is taken and presented to the organising sub-branch to defray the costs of the funeral. As in the case of the wedding, cash contributions made by various sub-branches are regarded as symbolic gestures of unity of the 'aiga potopoto.[10] Representatives of sub-branches generally attend the meetings at which the organising sub-branch prepares for and winds up funeral organisation.

There are then certain occasions on which the migrant branch of the 'aiga potopoto combines as a task oriented group as opposed to a conceptual grouping. These occasions correspond to those on which the parent 'aiga potopoto combines as a task oriented group: weddings, funerals, and matters arising from land and title disputes. In New Zealand, as in Samoa, the 'aiga potopoto which assembles to perform tasks, is a body of representatives, but the entire membership is symbolically present in the contributions made on their behalf by their representatives. As in Samoa, these groups combine only in crises, and co-operation is generally temporary and short-lived. When the task, for which the group assembled, is completed, the 'aiga potopoto disperses until another crisis arises.

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10. This is similar to what happens in Samoa, where non-resident sub-branches are represented at funerals and weddings by some members, who take gifts to the organisers on behalf of the sub-branches to which they belong.

The major lineages, tamatane and tamafafine, also emerge on these same occasions. These groups, like the 'aiga potopoto, are dispersed throughout New Zealand, and may be seen as a number of localised sub-branches. When a crisis arises in a centre, say Auckland, representatives of the local sub-branch of tamatane and of tamafafine will accept responsibility for certain tasks, which are allocated at meetings of the 'aiga potopoto. Representatives of each then divide the tasks among component households of the tamatane and of the tamafafine. These groups do not normally meet as groups. The division of tasks within these is generally done by telephone or in informal visits to various households. Migrant tamatane and tamafafine emerge as categories for the division of labour, rather than as unified groups. Visitors from out of the centre may chose to align themselves with either tamatane or tamafafine, and assist the group to which they attach themselves with the preparation of food, or the performance of various tasks.

From the discussion of the significance of conceptual groupings in the migrant community, one can see a number of similarities with the parent community. In both cases, the conceptual groupings emerge as task-oriented groups on a limited number of occasions, and in both communities co-operation is short-lived and centred around crises. While in both cases the groups which emerge on these occasions, are bodies of representatives, the entire group is symbolically present. In New Zealand, widespread use of the telephone and the private car

has made contact between members of the 'aiga potopoto a much simpler business, and has lead to a reduced frequency of meetings of conceptual groupings. At the same time, these factors have also made it possible to produce higher degrees of co-operation among members without time-consuming meetings. But, even given these facts, the conceptual groupings in New Zealand, as in Samoa, have only occasional significance for the migrant.

In the following section, the residential correlates of kinship in the migrant community are considered, and from this we see that these residential groupings of kinsmen, as in Samoa, are very significant in the individual's day-to-day life.

Residential Kin Groupings in the Migrant Community

The largest co-resident group of kin identified in Samoa is the residential kin corporation. This is a group of kinsmen who live in a village with which the land and title of an 'aiga potopoto is associated, and work the land. The r.k.c. can be described as a loose confederation of related, but autonomous households, which are clustered together within a village, and which may co-operate from time to time as a unit.

If all of these criteria are regarded as necessary conditions for the existence of a r.k.c., then there are no such groups in New Zealand, because there is no land owned in common by the 'aiga potopoto in New Zealand, and occupied by a number of related households. There are groups which have all of the other attributes of residential kin corporations, and this fact must lead us to consider the importance of co-residence. The question which must be answered is whether the Samoans regard contiguous households, or at least a high degree of co-residence, as prerequisite for the formation of confederations of co-operating households. The answer is that the more important attribute is co-operation. The degree of co-residence is only important inasmuch as it facilitates co-operation and cohesion in the group.

Samoan migrants have groups which combine to perform the functions of residential kin corporations, and which are perceived as the functional equivalents of residential kin

corporations. These groups are composed of kinsmen living in a city or town.[11]

Furthermore, while the functional equivalent of the r.k.c. is more dispersed in New Zealand, several factors combine to limit the extent of dispersal, and produce clusters of related households in certain areas of New Zealand cities. These factors can be divided into two categories: those which are external inasmuch as Samoans have little control over these factors, and those which are internal inasmuch as they are part of the Samoan value system.

External Factors

(i) The attitudes of landlords and the Real Estate industry to Polynesians in general. There is a general belief within this sector that Polynesians (and Samoans are included here) are undesirable tenants. The Polynesians are a bad risk, they do not look after properties well,

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11. All that distinguishes these migrant groups from the r.k.c. is the fact of a lower degree of co-residence. But this lower degree of co-residence has little effect on the extent of cohesion and co-operation of the migrant grouping, because distances between component households have been offset by easier communication between them.

and tend to overcrowd dwellings with relatives.[12] At the same time, Polynesian migrants represent a large 'market': Because they are desperate for housing, they are prepared to pay high rents even for sub-standard dwellings, and so represent a particularly profitable group.[13] In a compromise, landlords bought a number of comparatively cheap houses in central city areas, and let these to Polynesians. This has led to concentrations of Polynesian migrants in inner city areas (Trlin A., 1971).

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12. This is a self-fulfilling prophecy in that the refusal to let houses in certain areas to Polynesians places a premium on available rental accommodation. Many people will stay with a relative while looking for accommodation, and such arrangements lead to temporary higher densities, which then provide justification for further restrictions on areas in which houses will be let to Polynesians. When agents talk about overcrowding, they are not referring to technical overcrowding, which is defined in local by-laws, and which require a minimum ration of cubic feet breathing space per occupant. The standard which they use is frequently a cultural conception of overcrowding, which says that it is undesirable to have a sitting room which is not solely used as a sitting room. Certainly, Polynesians have higher average numbers of occupants per dwelling than do Europeans, but they are often not, according to law, overcrowding a dwelling (McCreary J, 1965, 26-27). Interviews with landlords suggest that the overcrowding accusation is often a result of a belief that people come and go, and that the landlord feels that he may be losing rent, because he cannot keep track of movements.

13. Because Polynesians are aware of the extreme scarcity of housing, they often are unwilling to complain, even when they realise that there are grounds for complaint. For the landlord this is good because his tenants are passive, and costs of maintaining dwellings are consequently lower. (Auckland City Council Community Adviser, per comm).

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(ii) Government housing policy entitles qualifying Samoans to borrow money for housing at favourable interest rates. This policy, aimed at stimulating growth in the building industry, favours those seeking finance to build new homes as against existing dwellings. This has led to concentrations of low income families in low cost housing subdivisions. The policy has sought to discourage high concentrations of Polynesians in streets by 'pepper potting' them throughout these subdivisions. Although the policy prevents concentrations within streets, it still produces concentrations within subdivisions.

(iii) The State owns rental accommodation which is allocated on the basis of need and income. There are major tracts of State rental housing in both Auckland and Wellington[14], and within these areas there are large concentrations of Polynesians.

Once migrant groups become concentrated in an area, the process tends to be self perpetuating, and leads to what Trlin calls settlement nucleation and the growth of ethnic centres.

Internal Factors

The extent of the dispersal of the Samoan population is also influenced by Samoan values. There is a marked preference for living close to one's kin, particularly among women with children and among older people. This preference is based on the

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14. In Auckland the suburbs of Otara and Mangere are examples of this type of development, and in Wellington: Porirua.

belief that where there are related households nearby, help and companionship is always at hand. This preference is reflected in a number of statements such as those below:-

> ..... You know our situation: there are six families living in this area. I think it is good because we can help each other like we did in Samoa. We don't have a car, but if we want to go to hospital or take the kids to the doctor, we can ask ..... to take us in his car. If there is a wedding like .....'s, we can help each other with the cooking. When some of the women get jobs, the other women can look after the children for them while they work. We can visit each other easily, and in the summer we can go and play volleyball at .....'s place, or go and watch .....'s TV. It's good when the old people come to New Zealand, because they are not stuck in one place all day. If they want to, they can walk around and visit the other people.that they know .....

Another statement suggest[6] that, while spatial unity of the kin group is desirable, the lower degree of unity in New Zealand may have distinct advantages for individuals. A woman pointed out that,

> ..... it is good to live close to your kinsmen because we can rely on each other for help when we need it. In New Zealand we do not live as close to them as we did in Samoa, where we all lived in the same part of the village. For myself, I prefer this because we live close, but not so close that everybody knows what everybody else is doing. You know in the island everybody can look into everybody's house and hear everything that everybody else is saying. Here in New Zealand there is some privacy ..... you don't have to live in front of the whole family.....

The preference for kin living close together was also evident among older people visiting New Zealand. An old lady told the head of one group,

> ..... You are very lucky to have all of your family around you and close to you... Look at our family: one here, one there, and some on the other side of the harbour. I don't know what would happen if there

> was trouble or an emergency in one .... their neighbours are all European, so they couldn't expect any help from them .... I am going to tell them to try and get a house closer to .. .. who has already bought his house, before I go back to Samoa .....

Given this preference for clusters of kinsmen, we come to consider how far and by what means individuals will go to create them. There are three main strategies used to obtain housing in the same area as other kin:-

(i) Firstly, individuals, frequently long-term residents, may cultivate relationships with real estate agents, often those who placed them or through whom they have bought a house. From time to time they may call on these agents to assist them to place recommended relatives. Samoans are very careful about recommending relatives, and this caution ensures that relationships which are convenient, are not jeopardised.

(ii) Relationships with landlords are occasionally cultivated. A person who has rented a house or flat for some time, and has established a reputation as a reliable tenant, may approach his landlord if he knows that a flat is about to be vacated, and has a friend or relative who is looking for accommodation. Again, considerable caution is exercised and only in certain cases, where the prospective tenant is known to be reliable, will a Samoan act on his behalf.[15]

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15. A couple living in a block of 3 flats, had both others occupied by kinsmen. Over the 5 years he had lived in the flat, he had supplied 70% of the tenants. His relationship with the landlord was cordial and he was invited to recommend relatives as tenants for both the flats and for other rental accommodation which the landlord owned in the same area.

(iii) The above strategies favour people who have certain linguistic and social skills, usually long term residents. A number of people who do not have these, resort to a third strategy: informal sub-letting. As a house is vacated, the departing tenants informally sub-let the house to another group.[16] The Samoans recognise the dubious legality of this practice, but are quick to point out that it is possible only because landlords are unconcerned as long as they are being paid, and because they are unable to tell 'one brown face from another'.

Both internal and external factors combine to produce concentrations of Polynesian migrants in certain areas. In these areas, there are clusters of related households, which develop over time, as earlier migrants attempt to locate accommodation nearby for newly arrived kin. While the degree of co-residence is not as high as it is in r.k.c.'s in the parent community, these clusters are functional equivalents of the r.k.c. The effects of greater dispersal on interaction between kin have been offset by the easier communication between members, and Samoans recognise this. As one informant noted,

> .... well look, if there are two families living ten miles apart in Samoa, they might only see each other three or four times a year ... but look at

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16. Such arrangements often take place between kin because information about imminent vacancies is readily available within this group. The frequency of such arrangements depends on the state of the rental accommodation market, and is high when housing is available and is displaced by multiple tenancies of one dwelling, when housing is scarce.

> New Zealand .... ten miles is nothing, you just get in a car and you are there .... and think about the telephone; it is so easy to get in touch with one another .... not like Samoa, where you give a letter to a bus driver to take to the other family and have him forget it or use it to wipe his backside.....

While improved communication has been significant in the persistence of a local equivalent of the r.k.c., there are other factors. One of them, paradoxically, is the absence of common land. Common land produces unity, but can also produce serious conflict within the r.k.c. The possibility of co-operation within the r.k.c., born out of common residence, is balanced by the possibility of serious conflicts, born out of disputes over common interest. Common land produces very high degrees of co-residence with members of r.k.c.'s clustered in groups of contiguous households within a village. Within these groups, members have high degrees of involuntary and unavoidable contact with one another, and there is little possibility of privacy. These factors contribute to tension among individuals and groups of members. In a city like Auckland, contact between members can be suspended when tension arises, and members can enjoy a greater degree of privacy than is possible within a village. This is important because aside from land, the major source of tension within an r.k.c. in Samoa is gossip, which arises because one's every move is known to all others, which in turn arises partly from the lack of privacy.

If a r.k.c. is seen as a loose confederation of households of kinsmen, which co-operates in a variety of ventures from time

to time, then such a unit exists as a feature of the organisation of Samoan migrant community. Furthermore, because certain sources of conflict are absent in the migrant community, the probability of cohesion and effective co-operation in this group is higher, as will be seen in part three.

The Household

In Samoa, the household is an important residential kin grouping. Households are characterised by extended composition, fluid membership, high degrees of informal interaction among members, comparatively efficient utilisation of labour, and economic autonomy in day-to-day affairs. In this section, the characteristics of migrant households will be considered and compared with those of households in Samoa.

(i) Extended Composition

Because household membership is changing continually, it was necessary to sample households at four points in one year to establish the extent of extended membership. The results are contained in the table below.

Table II - Extended Households as Proportion of all Households 1973-1974

Months	Number extended	No. not extended	Extended as %-age
September	34	6	85.0%
December	38	2	95.0%
March	35	5	87.5%
June	37	3	92.5%

N=40 1973-1974

The data shows that during a 12-months period an average of 90% of households sampled were extended. Compositions of

households varied considerably, but three trends can be identified and are described below,

(a) the first comprised of a couple, with or without children, plus unmarried relatives in the same generation. This was the most common aggregate.

(b) the second comprised more than one couple, with or without children, plus unmarried kinsmen. In most cases these included two couples.

(c) the third group consisted of three generational units, which were usually comprised of a couple, their children, and unmarried kinsmen of their own generation, plus temporarily resident senior kinsmen, often parents. Three generational households were more common in summer than in winter, when many temporarily resident older kinsmen are sent back to Samoa.[17] Those which were present during winter were households of early migrants[18] with their married children and grandchildren.

The average household size was 7.25 persons, but the range was considerable (from 2 - 14 persons).

(ii) Fluidity of Membership

In the 40 households sampled, the composition was changing constantly. In most households there were 'core' members, often a married couple, and most of the movements in and out of

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17. Samoans prefer to bring elderly relatives to New Zealand in the summer months, and to send them back in winter. This preference is based on the belief that New Zealand winters are hard on the health of people who are unaccustomed to them.

18. Early migrants refers to the group which arrived in the late 1940's and early 1950's, and who have grown up children and grandchildren, who have been born in New Zealand.

households involved unmarried kinsmen. Movements out generally took place when conflict arose in a household, as members married and moved out, or as opportunities arose to live in another household with closer kin.[19]

(iii) Interaction Patterns

The desire for informal, intimate groups of close kin has led to the formation of households which consist of kinsmen who have lived together before migration or have known each other well.[20] The fact that households are based on bonds formed before migration, has meant that interaction within households is easy and informal because of common experience and common, or overlapping, social networks of members. The importance of the household has been heightened by the fact that it corresponds more closely to the member's primary group than does its counterpart in Samoa. Its importance has increased because it provides a shelter from the noisy and often incomprehensible world which surrounds the new migrant, while at the same time providing him with an education which will equip him to cope eventually in that world.

(iv) Labour Utilisation

Households in Samoa are, in an economic sense, fairly efficient. The same is true of their migrant counterparts. The

19. Many movements resulted as a number of close kin who were living in different households moved out to establish a new household. An intending migrant may be offered short-term accommodation with distant kinsmen in New Zealand. This offer enables him to satisfy immigration regulations, to get here and to establish his own chain. Several other members may get this short term qualifying accommodation, and when there are enough close kin in New Zealand, they will choose to move into a dwelling as a group.

20. Notwithstanding this, it is possible for people who have not known each other closely before migration, to establish a household. This is done simply by activating previously non-effective genealogical bonds and establishing new genealogical and behavioural bonds.

extended households are efficient, because savings in individual's outgoings and in overheads are possible, and arrangements which permit more members to work are practical. Samoans are well aware of the financial advantages of living in extended households, and cited numerous examples of these:

> ..... When my sister became pregnant, we invited them (the sister and husband) to come and live with us. Now she looks after our children and I can go out to work and help the family. My husband, my sister's husband and my husband's brother are all working now, and it is very good because we can help the family in the island....
>
> ..... We have my husband's mother and father staying with us for three months .... it is very good because that means that we can both go out to work, and they can stay and look after the young children. My husband's sister is not working and she comes round to see them most days. At first, it was fifficult, because the children couldn't speak very well, but now they get on very well, the kids have learnt Samoan, and the old people will be sad to leave the children....
>
> ..... There are five people working in our family, but because we stay together, we only pay one lot of rent, which is a big help. It means that there is more money for all of us to support our family. We buy our food at the auction every week, and the person who finishes the shift at 6 a.m. goes straight to the markets. Our expenses are high, but we save by living together and buying in bulk...
>
> ..... My husband and I used to work alternating shifts at the same factory ..... so that we could both work and there was always someone at home to look after the children .... Now his sister, her husband and their child have come from Samoa to stay here with us. She looks after the children, and I have been able to get a better paying job ....

The economics of living together in extended households will be discussed in detail later, because financial considerations are significant in explaining the persistence of extended kin

groupings amongst migrants. It is sufficient to note here that migrant household are efficient in their use of available labour, and that the advantages of such arrangements are apparent to migrants.

(v) Economic Autonomy

In day-to-day affairs households in the sample were autonomous. Household finances were handled by the groups in a variety of ways. Members of households occasionally borrowed sums of money from one another, and shared certain items, but these arrangements were informal and rarely the source of any contention.[21]

(vi) Economic Co-operation

One of the characteristics of households in Samoa is that members of a household are often co-workers. They may work the same plot of land, and often assist one another in certain production tasks. This might have been expected to change significantly in New Zealand, where there is a greater range of employers. Therefore, it was somewhat surprising to find that within the households sampled, there were a considerable number (29) in which two or more people worked at the same job. This can be explained by the existence of chains through which individuals migrate. Intending migrants

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21. The lower incidence of borrowing in migrant households reflects the higher incomes of members, which make it possible for individuals to buy items for themselves, which in Samoa they would have had to share.

locate jobs through close migrant kinsmen, and since it is also likely that they will live with the same kinsmen, the incidence of households in which members are also co-workers is not surprising.

In summary, the migrant household group is smaller on average than its counterpart in Samoa, but shares other characteristics. Both represent the focus of members' day-to-day affairs. Their importance as foci of interaction has been heightened because the migrant sees them as islands of sanity, inhabited by kinsmen with whom he shares common language, values, experience and friends. This is not to suggest that there is no conflict or suspicion within households, but even in situations where these emerge, members can understand and agree on solutions to these by reference to shared institutionalised norms and procedures.

The Migrant and his Kin Group

As chain migration gathers momentum, the migrant finds that he is surrounded by an ever increasing number of kinsmen in his new community. While this has advantages, it also presents him with the problem of handling the increasing numbers of relationships to which he is a party. One finds migrants commenting on this rapid growth in their networks. One man, who had been here for fourteen years, had just found

to his surprise that two kinsmen, whom he had known well in Samoa, had arrived the week before in New Zealand. He commented,

> ..... when I first came here, I knew all of my own kin and my wife's kin, who were here. We did a lot of things together, and we always knew from each other who was coming or going. But now there are so many people here that I only hear of some arrivals after they have got here. My wife is the same .... But it doesn't really matter, because we always hear in the end .....

This raises a question of how any one individual handles the ever increasing numbers of kinsmen arriving in New Zealand.

In short, the mechanism used is similar to that used in Samoa: a distinction between categories of relationship. This distinction involves separating out kin into intimate and peripherally effective kinsmen and non-effective kinsmen. Having grouped relationships this way, the individual concentrates his attention on those in the first two categories. His intimate effective kinsmen are likely to be those people with whom he either lives, or intends living in the future, and his peripheral effective kin are likely to be those who live nearby, and with whom he has regular contact. His non-effective kinsmen are likely to be those living in other centres of New Zealand, with whom face-to-face contact is rare. This categorisation does not simply involve transferring arriving migrants from a pre-migration category to the same category in the migrant

community. It may involve a complete re-structuring of an individual's network, as new circumstances dictate. This re-structuring does not cause serious problems for the individual, because it is likely that throughout his life he will have been constantly re-arranging his network of kin as the importance of various people has increased or decreased. The in-built flexibility has been significant in the adaptation of migrant Samoans, because it has ensured that no man need be without a kin group, who will support and assist him, if he so chooses, and if he is prepared to accept the responsibilities of membership. Thus, an individual takes the sum total of his relationships, both known and latent, and selects from these certain groups according to their importance to him. While accepting that there are occasions when all will be significant, he concentrates his energies on those which are of greatest importance to him in day-to-day life. By this means, he handles the ever growing number of relationships in which he finds himself in the migrant community.[22]

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22. While the bulk of an individual's non-migrant kin become non-effective kin after his migration, contact with them is not suspended. As they migrate to New Zealand, or when he returns to Samoa, the frequency of contact may change significantly. Even after migration non-migrant parents, siblings, and close cousins may continue to be regarded by the migrant as close effective kinsmen, despite the absence of face-to-face contact. This is reflected in the fact that migrants continue to send large sums of money to this group.

SUMMARY

In the preceding chapters Samoan kinship, as it exists in parent and migrant communities, has been discussed. Having made a distinction between conceptual and residential groupings of kin, each was considered.

A comparison of conceptual groupings in the parent and migrant communities showed that there are fundamental similarities in the form and functions of conceptual groupings in both communities. The retention of conceptual categories reflects the fact that for Samoans at a conceptual level, considerations of physical unity or dispersion are relatively un-important. Thus, the fact of physical separation of parent and migrant communities has not resulted in conceptual dislocation. This has made it possible for Samoans to regard migrants as members of conceptual groups, and aggregates of migrants as conceptual extensions of groupings centred in the parent community. The comparison showed that on certain occasions, members of conceptual groupings may gather as task oriented groups in both parent and migrant communities, and that in both communities the occasions are similar. The events which will produce a task oriented group are similar in both communities, and are in both connected with certain crises. For the individual, conceptual groupings have limited importance in day-to-day life.

The residential correlates of kinship in both Samoa and among Samoan migrants in New Zealand have been discussed and

compared. Again, fundamental similarities of form and function of residential aggregates are evident. In both parent and migrant communities, there are loose confederations of related households, which are based on co-residence and are characterised by varying degrees of informal co-operation.

While the degree of co-residence in Samoa is higher (because member households are often contiguous), a number of factors have offset the effects of lower degrees of co-residence in the migrant community. Thus it was suggested that this variation in form had not had significant effects on the function of these groups in New Zealand. The comparison of form and function of households in Samoa and New Zealand showed that there are a number of similarities. While migrant households are, on average, smaller, they shared similar characteristics with those in the parent community.

The picture which emerges from comparison, is one of a series of parallels between Samoan and Samoan migrant's conceptual and residential organisation of kinship. The residential organisation characterised by clusters of autonomous households, bounded by kinship and capable of combining and co-operating in a variety of tasks, is particularly interesting. This arrangement is not unlike that which Litwak calls the modified extended family and which he describes thus,

> ..... The modified extended family grouping consists of a series of nuclear families bound together on an equalitarian basis, with a strong emphasis on these extended family bonds as an end value. (1960b)[22]

If, as Litwak argues, such structures are well suited to urban industrial life, the Samoan traditional system should be equally well adapted to urban industrial life, because it is similarly organised. Migrants who have transferred the form of organisation to New Zealand, may have unwittingly created a system which is most likely to succeed in their new environment.

The fact that Samoan migrants have transferred conceptual kin groupings to New Zealand, and that similar residential aggregates of kinsmen occur in both Samoa and New Zealand, is suggestive. The existence of conceptual and residential groupings of kin provide the basis or framework for an extended kinship system among Samoan migrants. However, the existence of a framework does not constitute proof of the existence of a system of extended kinship, which provides the basis of all or part of migrant social organisation.

In its most general form, the question raised here is whether the structures described earlier in this chapter emerge in social action. More specifically, is extended kinship

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22. The components of the Samoan 'modified extended family' are households rather than nuclear families. However, there are grounds for believing that Litwak is assuming a correspondence between nuclear family and household on thebasis of his research with white middle-class families. If this is so, then the exact structure of component units of the modified extended families may be unimportant.

significant in social organisation? There are two ways of answering such a question. One could take the entire field of social organisation and outline the significance of extended kinship in each sub-area of social organisation, so that one considers the significance of extended kinship in fields as remote as socialisation and the transmission of pharmaceutical prescriptions. Such an undertaking, for reasons of time and space, is impracticable. The alternative is to consider the significance of extended kinship within a particular sphere of social organisation. This approach is more manageable, and permits a more systematic description of the significance of extended kinship in a particular area of social organisation. In part three, we consider the role of extended kinship in one area of social organisation: economic activity.

Chapter 7

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE EXTENDED KIN GROUP IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Kinship provides the infrastructure for corporate economic activity, which may involve as few as two and as many as 200 kinsmen. While many economic activities, necessary to individual subsistence, can be performed by either the individual or a small group of closely related kinsmen, there are a number of activities which, because of their scale, require the co-operation of larger groups of people. It is in these larger scale economic activities that the extended kin group emerges a unit of social action.

There are several reasons why an extended kin group, as opposed to some other group of individuals, emerges on these occasions. Firstly, kinship provides a ready made infrastructure for co-operation. Secondly, the kin group is the largest single group which has a common, and unifying, economic interest in the form of commonly owned land and resources. Finally, because the extended kin group is able to mobilise large amounts of capital and labour, which enable it to perform large scale economic activities.

The prominence of extended kin groups in large scale economic activity can be attributed to its ability to the [illegible] the three reasons above. Neither an infrastructure, nor comm[illegible]

economic interest are of themselves sufficient to enable the extended kin group to perform large scale economic activities. The extended kin group's ability to mobilise capital and labour is dependent on its ability to consume individual members' income, and is in turn dependent on their acceptance of its right to do this.

The e.k.g.'s right to consume individual members' incomes is backed by a number of sanctions. There are positive sanctions, which stress the value of co-operation and unity among kinsmen, there are those which stress the rewards of service in the form of power and prestige. There is the socialisation process which produces individuals who accept the obligations of e.k.g. membership as right and proper. There are negative sanctions which can be invoked where individuals fail to fulfil the obligations of membership, which include the acceptance of the e.k.g.'s right to consume their income. These may include ridicule and social opprobrium through ostracism to the ultimate sanction, which is the withdrawal of the individual's right to derive a livelihood from the land and resources owned by the e.k.g. Thus, while members of an e.k.g. may be firstly persuaded to accept the e.k.g.'s right to consume their income, they may ultimately have to be co-erced into performance of their obligations.

The extended kin group owns the land from which its members derive, either directly or indirectly, their livelihoods. Membership of an extended kin group entitles the individual

member to a number of benefits, but of these perhaps the most important is his right to use the group's land and resources. In return for the use of land and resources, the group, or the matai acting on the group's behalf, may demand of the individual certain dues in the form of either cash or labour. Thus, membership entitles one to certain economic rights and imposes on him certain economic obligations.

The payments collected from members in the name of the extended kin group by the matai enable the extended kin group to perform a wide range of economic activities. The accumulated payments may be used by the matai for certain defined and approved purposes, most of which have a strong investment element. The matai may use funds in any one of the following ways:-

(i) to finance projects which result in the creation of capital items, and which increase the 'asset value' of the extended kin group. Such projects may be either labour intensive in which case the capital used is the group's labour, or capital intensive in which case the capital used is the group's cash.

(ii) to finance certain ceremonial activities, which result in the creation of socio-political capital, and which increase the group's social status or prestige. Such projects may again consume either or both the group's labour or cash.

(iii) to finance certain activities which are undertaken by a number of extended kin groups acting together as part of either a village or a congregation. Thus the provision of an amenity for either a village or congregation will involve numerous extended kin groups, co-operating in a joint economic venture.

Thus, the economic significance of the extended kin group is based on its ability to mobilise large amounts of capital to finance major economic undertakings. It is able to mobilise larger amounts than can any one of its component parts, and is effectively the only financier for such activities.

The extended kin group's ability to mobilise capital is in turn dependent on its ability to consume individual members' income. In Samoa, the extended kin group is in a strong position when it comes to asserting its right to consume individuals' income. It has at its disposal a number of sanctions, including the power to withdraw access to the group's land and resources. This means that the individual who does not accept the extended kin group's right to consume his income, and who refuses to put his income at its disposal, can ultimately lose his right to earn a living. Given this lever, the prominence of the extended kin group in economic activity in Samoa is assured.

In New Zealand, however, the entire situation is changed dramatically. The Samoan migrant is economically independent of his extended kin group. He is no longer dependent on the group, because he no longer works its land, consumes its resources, or occupies a house site belonging to the group. His income is derived from wage labour, services which the extended kin group might have provided, are now available through the host society's institutions, and his

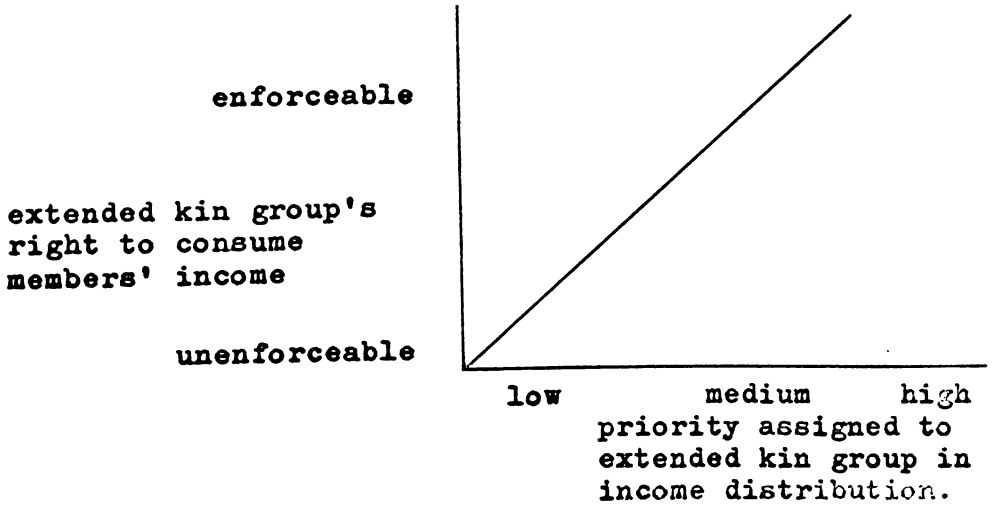
house is owned either by his landlord or by himself.

In this situation, the migrant could contest the extended kin group's right to consume any of his income, and the latter would have considerable difficulty in proving legal grounds for its continued consumption.

The inability of the extended kin group to enforce its right to consume migrant individuals' income, would be reflected in two indices: the priority which the individual attaches to the extended kin group as a consumer, and the proportion of the income which is consumed by the extended kin group.

It might be hypothesised that the priority which the individual attaches to the extended kin group as a consumer, will be related to its ability to enforce its right to a priority. It might be further hypothesised that the relationship between enforceability and priority is a direct linear one, such as that in the figure below:-

Figure III



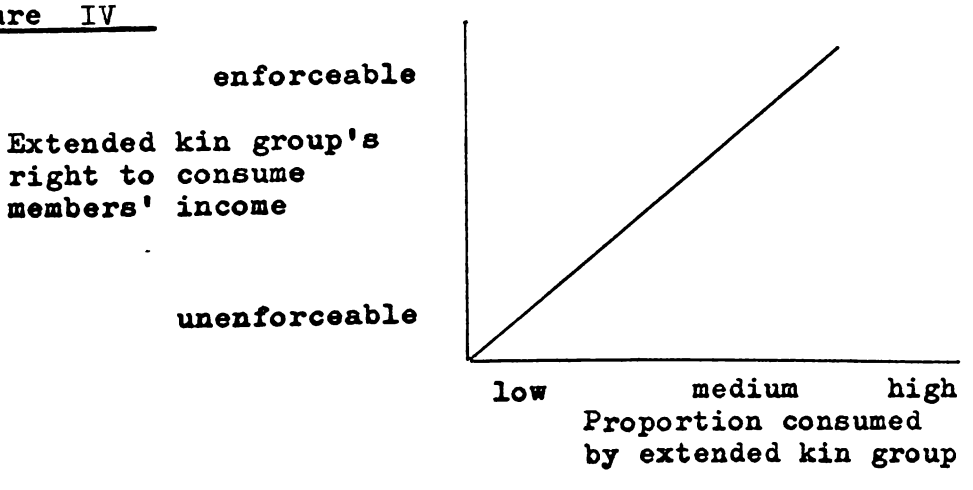
In Samoa, where the extended kin group has both the clearly defined rights to consume individuals' incomes and can enforce this right, it is able to maintain its right to a high priority in the distribution of individual income. In New Zealand, where neither the legal right is clear, nor sanctions are available, the individual is technically free to re-assign his priorities, and in doing so to assign a lower priority to the extended kin group.

Harrison (1974,2) discussing the priorities evident in the consumption of cash and foodstuffs in Samoa, highlights the importance of the extended kin group as a consumer of income. In the consumption of foodstuffs, he notes, the kin group has first priority and is followed by the rest of the village, the rest of Samoa and the rest of the world respectively. A similar pattern is evident in the consumption of cash. The household has first priority and is followed by fa'alavelave, the church, house construction and savings respectively. Fa'alavelave are significant, because they are activities which involve the individual as a member of an extended kin group. Cash is taken from individuals, and invested on their behalf, by the matai in the expectation of some gain in the group's socio-political 'capital'. This means that after the household unit, which may itself be a small extended kin group, the extended kin group has second claim on both cash and foodstuffs.

The individual migrant, aware of his economic independence, might be expected to re-assign priorities, and to either assign a lower priority to the extended kin group's rights as consumer or, alternatively, to reject it altogether. The lower priority would be reflected in the proportion of individual income which the extended kin group is able to consume. The migrant who decides that the extended kin group is of little importance to him, may assign it low priority, and might decide that in the distribution of income it will take only that share, which remains after his own personal needs, both immediate and luxury, are met. This leads to a second hypothesis.

There will be a relationship between the right of the group to enforce its rights as a consumer of individual income and the proportion of individual income which it is able to consume. This relationship will be a linear relationship such as that in the figure below.

Figure IV



In Samoa, where the extended kin group has both clearly defined rights to consume income, and the sanctions to enforce

this right, one would expect to find that the proportions of income consumed by the group be considerably higher than in New Zealand, where the group would appear to have neither clearly defined rights, nor the ability to enforce its rights.

Pitt (1970,273), in a survey of urban Apia and two rural villages, gives an indication of the relative proportion of an individual's income consumed by the extended kin group. The household or domestic unit consumes the largest proportion (38% in Apia and 44,45% respectively in the rural villages). Ceremonial in all cases consumed the second largest share of income (24%, 29% and 23% respectively). For the purpose of this study, the category ceremonial is the most significant. Ceremonial refers to consumption of income by the extended kin group, which, as the reader may recall, includes activities in which the matai invests individual members' income on the group's behalf to create socio-political capital.

Professor Pitt's breakdown may be something of an under estimate, because it considers only the distribution of actual income. In projects sponsored by the extended kin group labour may also be consumed. This labour can be considered potential income and can be assigned a value. Secondly, as noted earlier, income - either actual or potential - may be consumed by the extended kin group in joint activities other than ceremonial.

In short, what I am suggesting is that if the right of the extended kin group to consume income of individual members has diminished in New Zealand, one would expect to find a proportion considerably less than that estimated by Pitt, consumed by the extended kin group.

If, as hypothesised, the Samoan migrant re-assigns consumption priorities, with the result that the proportions which he permits the extended kin group to consume decreases, there would be obvious implications for the extended kin group's role in economic activities in the migrant community. Its ability to perform a central role in economic activities depends on continued access to individual members' income, and without the sanctions to enforce right of access, its ability to mobilise large amounts of capital decreases. The situation is further exacerbated by the presence of competition in the form of host society institutions, which are able to perform this role, i.e. of capital supply. The inability of the extended kin group to compete with these would hasten the decline in its importance in economic activities.

The hypothesis advanced is that in economic activities the role of the extended kin group has diminished significantly in the Samoan migrant community, and that this is a product of its reduced access to members' income and of the fact that its place in these activities has been taken over by host society institutions.

To either prove or disprove this hypothesis, it is necessary to outline the role of the extended kin group in economic activities in the parent community, and to consider its role in economic activities in the migrant community against this baseline. This comparison will show the nature of changes in the role of the extended kin group. Since changes will be a function of the group's ability to consume individual income, we will also be

concerned with the nature of individual involvement in economic activities sponsored by the extended kin group. in both communities.

With this in mind, the following chapter sets out to examine the role of the extended kin group in economic activity in the parent community.

Chapter 8

THE ROLE OF THE EXTENDED KIN GROUP IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN THE PARENT COMMUNITY

In this chapter, the economic activities in which the extended kin group emerges as an economic unit are outlined. The role of the group is in each case chiefly that of a capital mobiliser; a role which involves its asserting its right to consume individual members' income.

While in each of the cases an extended kin group is involved, the membership may vary from one occasion to another. Thus, on some occasions the entire 'aiga potopoto may be involved, on others the residential kin corporation plus other non-resident members of the 'aiga potopoto may be involved, while in still others only the residential kin corporation may be involved.

In those activities undertaken by a village, a number of extended kin groups are involved in a joint venture. The groups in this case are likely to be residential kin corporations. These people participate because the amenity provided will be of direct and immediate benefit to them. The non-resident members of the 'aiga potopoto (of which the residential kin corporation is part) do not normally participate, because they will derive no immediate benefit from involvement. The same is true of activities undertaken by a village congregation. The matai who

will derive no benefit from participation, are not normally involved in activities such as the mobilisation of capital, but may put in an appearance at the church opening (umusaga, fa'aulufalega), and may make token gifts on these occasions.

In activities which are aimed at creating assets such as copra driers or increased cultivable acreages for the 'aiga potopoto, the participants are chiefly members of the residential kin corporation. Non-resident members of the 'aiga potopoto will not normally be involved in this type of activity, since they will gain no immediate benefit from this type of development.

However, economic activities such as funerals of prominent members of an 'aiga potopoto may involve both the residential kin corporation and non-resident members of the group. The same is true of weddings sponsored by the matai and 'aiga potopoto.

Given the variation in the composition of the extended kin groups which take part in various economic activities, there is a problem in using one Samoan term for extended kin group. Instead, the term extended kin group will be used throughout the text, and in each activity the actual composition of the group involved will be made clear.

In the first part of this chapter, those activities which involve an extended kin group as one of a number of like units will be considered, and in the second part economic activities undertaken independently by an extended kin group will be outlined.

The Extended Kin Group in Village Projects

Villages undertake a number of capital works to provide or upgrade village-owned amenities. Decisions to undertake such projects are normally made in the Council of Chiefs of the village (fono matai). The projects undertaken by villages involve all of the residential kin corporations in the village, which in turn involves all adult members of these groups. The sorts of projects undertaken by the village are described below.

Womens Committee Buildings

Every village has a Womens' Committee (Komiti a Fafine, or Komiti a le Tumama), which is concerned with matters ranging from discussion of health and welfare to practical projects such as gardening and animal husbandry. Originally conceived as a 'grass roots' advancement movement, these Committees spread rapidly, and have come to involve most village women. Apart from educational functions and practical work of these committees, they have become important as a womens' forum and as a force in social control at village level.

Originally, the committee met in traditional style buildings, but as the useful lives of these buildings end, they are being replaced by new ones, built in permanent materials. The typical replacement is around 1000 square feet and built of either concrete blocks or weatherboard with iron roofs and concrete slab bases. The upgrading of these buildings reflects

the growing importance of the Committees within the social organisation of the village, and the realisation of the economic advantages of the longer life of buildings in permanent materials.

The provision of these replacement buildings involves the entire village in both the raising of funds and the provision of labour. For these activities, the village is divided along kin lines, into a series of residential kin corporations, which are asked to provide a certain amount of cash and labour. The residential kin corporations then subdivide their share of the responsibilities among component households. Thus, the individual whose income is consumed by these activities, is involved by the fact of membership of the extended kin group.

School and Anciliary Buildings

The Western Samoan Government provides teachers and teachers' salaries in the primary sector of education, and teachers' salaries and buildings at secondary and tertiary levels. The provision of buildings in the primary sector is the responsibility of the village in which they are situated, and intermediate schools and junior high schools are the responsibility of the district in which they are found.

Most villages have their own primary school (aoga tulagalua), and these are generally built in permanent materials.

The capital required for primary schools was, until recently, comparatively small and generally for expansion or upgrading of existing buildings and the provision of anciliaries like teachers' houses and lavatory blocks. However, two years ago the government, in an attempt to increase the amount of education available at village level, directed village schools to increase the number of classes taught. Thus the village schools, which formerly provided education to standard four level, now provide for classes from the new entrants to form two. This expansion has involved nearly all villages in major capital projects for building expansion, and in some cases for provision of teacher housing.

The district high schools, which formerly offered education to either form three or four level, are also being expanded in an attempt to increase the amount of secondary education available in rural areas. Villages have become involved in the provision of capital for this expansion.

The provision of capital for expansion involves the entire village, and in the case of the junior high schools involves entire districts. For these projects, villages are again divided into residential kin corporations, which must provide contributions in cash and labour. The individual member, whose income will be used on these occasions, is involved because he is a member of an extended kin group.

Electricity Generation and Reticulation

The Western Samoan Government is expanding its power generating capacity and regulation network, but as yet power is available only to the Apia urban area and certain anciliary services, such as the airport at Faleolo. For people outside these areas, the cost of generation and reticulation of electricity must be borne by those who will use it. Despite the cost, an increasing number of villages are establishing generation and reticulation systems. While many schemes involve a single village, some involve a number of villages, combining resources and using a single generator. The decision to undertake such a project is made in the council of chiefs (fono matai), who then appoint people to carry out feasibility studies and costings. With this information at hand, the council decides on a cost sharing basis, which generally involves splitting the village, or villages, into residential kin corporations, and dividing the cost among them on the basis of size and projected requirements of each. The residential kin corporation's share is then subdivided among members, who will have to provide contributions of cash and labour.

Hospitals and Dispensaries

The Western Samoa Government provides medical personnel, their salaries, and basic medical equipment for hospitals outside of Apia, but buildings and maintenance become the responsibility of the village or villages which they serve.[7]

7. Hospitals generally serve a number of villages within a district. The costs of establishment are shared among the villages within the district acoording to size and other factors. Each of the villages then sets about raising its contribution.

A meeting of representatives of the various villages which make up the district decides on the need for a hospital, and appoints people to consult with the Health Department, to carry out feasibility studies, and to make costings of the project. The costs are then shared among participating villages, who then share these among the residential kin corporations. The r.k.c.'s shares are then subdivided among individual members.

In all of the above activities, all r.k.c.'s in a given village are involved, as potential users, in the provision of funds for various amenities. There are, however, other amenities which are provided by some of the r.k.c.'s within a village, again on the basis of 'user pays'. These amenities are usually connected with religious activities, and involve the r.k.c.'s who are members of a particular denomination. Projects of this type are outlined below.

Church Buildings

Every village has one or more church buildings. Many of the existing buildings were built last century, or early this century, to serve smaller populations. As village populations grow, and as some buildings reach the end of their useful lives, an increasing number of villages are faced with the necessity of building new churches.

The provision of churches is the responsibility of

adherents of a denomination.[8] In some villages, all villagers belong to the same church, and therefore church-building involves the entire village. In other villages, residents may be members of several churches, and church-building projects may only involve a part of the village.[9]

Discussions about the possibility of re-building, and the final decision involve the heads of r.k.c.'s which belong to the denomination, and the village pastor. Plans and costs are worked out and funds raising gets under way. Part of the total cost is divided among r.k.c.'s in the village, who in turn subdivide this amongst members, who contribute initially cash and later give labour. Because of the high cost of building churches[10], and the low capital levels in the villages, part of the cost of such buildings is raised in other villages and from migrants in New Zealand. The village may assemble a group of entertainers, who travel from village to village, giving concerts to raise money for the church-building fund. More recently, villages have organised a new scheme, which can accelerate the rate of capital formation. Groups of up to 25 village men are sent to New Zealand for three months. Their fares are borrowed

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8. There are some exceptions in the cases of the Mormon and Seventh Day Adventist churches which provide funds, plans and expertise from a central office of the church. In such cases adherents in the village are less directly involved than they are in the cases of Methodist, L.M.S., Roman Catholic Churches.

9. There is generally a correlation between religion and membership of a kin group. Most members of a r.k.c. tend to belong to the same denomination, and this means that church-building projects generally involve r.k.c.'s rather than individuals or households.

10. The Moata'a, which opened a church in December 1974, cost $NZ81,250, and a church opened in Solosolo in December 1974 cost approximately $NZ75,000.

in New Zealand, and are repaid when they begin work here. The men work in factories and make weekly fare repayments, and provide a minimum fixed sum to a fund for the new church. Migrant relatives provide accommodation free and the balance of their weekly earnings is kept by the individual. If necessary, when the first 25 men return to Samoa, they may be replaced by another group, who work on the same basis. The scheme means that with 25 men contributing $40.00 per week for three months, the fund may benefit by $9840 in three months.[11]

The member of a r.k.c. may find himself giving both cash and labour. If a scheme such as that above is adopted, it may mean that he will also work for a period as an 'indentured labourer' in New Zealand. Even with all these schemes in operation, part of the burden of raising funds falls on migrant members of the r.k.c. in New Zealand. Their contribution will be discussed in a later section; it is sufficient to note here that migrants' assistance is almost essential in such projects.

Provision of Pastors' Houses

The provision of housing for pastors is the responsibility

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11. In fact, the sum realised is greater than this, because there is an element of competition in the giving, which ensures that most men will try and outdo each other, and will give more than the minimum weekly sum. In the case of Sala'ilua, members were giving as much as $60.00 per week.

of the adherents of a denomination in a particular village.[12] These houses are generally large, and are often the largest house in a village. Many were built before the turn of last century and are now near the end of their useful lives. As renewal becomes necessary, these older buildings are being replaced by large buildings in imported permanent materials. The typical pastor's house is about 3500 square feet on two levels, and built in concrete block or weatherboard, with an iron roof and a concrete slab base.

The decision to build is taken by the heads of residential kin corporations, which constitute the congregation in consultation with the pastor. Plans are drawn up and costings made and presented to the group by their appointee, and when these are accepted, the raising of funds is considered. The capital costs of pastors' houses are considerable, because permanent imported materials are used. The cost of material alone ranges between $NZ 12,000 amd $NZ 25,000 and if it were not for the fact that labour is provided free by the congregation, the total cost of the dwelling would be considerably higher. The cost of materials and service connections are divided among the r.k.c.'s and the heads of

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12. The Seventh Day Adventist, Mormon, and Roman Catholic Churches provide housing for their ministers, and the adherents pay indirectly through offerings and tythes, and through contributions of labour for building. The value of these contributions is significantly less than in the case of Methodist and L.M.S. congregations, who provide the entire cost of the building. In the case of the lay preachers in the Catholic Church (fesoasoani), the village provides the housing, but this is generally a traditional style Samoan fale, and does not involve great cost.

these then subdivide these among members. As in the case of church building, members contribute cash initially, and labour when building actually begins.

The high costs of building and the low capital levels in villages means that the migrant members of r.k.c.'s in New Zealand invariably become involved in fund raising and make significant contributions to the funds.

The provision of churches and houses for pastors are themost impressive examples of co-operation among a number of r.k.c.'s in a village, and consume large amounts of individuals' incomes. There are, however, a number of other projects which are organised similarly, and differ only in terms of scale.

Personal Upkeep of Pastor and Family

The maintenance of the pastor and his family is the responsibility of his congregation. In most villages, this involves the provision of land for his plantation,and labour to work the plantation, the provision of food and occasionally the services of children to look after his house. Over and above these services, the congregation provides cash to meet the pastor's outgoings. All of these services are provided by r.k.c.'s and involve charges on individual members' incomes and time. The plantation may be tended on a roster basis, with each r.k.c. providing labour at a certain time in rotation, or by a regular combined work party with labour drawn from all r.k.c.'s in the congregation. Food may, again, be provided

according to a roster by various r.k.c.'s. Cash contributions are made in a church service which is held once a month, and these are announced in church[13] as a list of donors and their contributions. Over and above these regular expenses the pastor's maintenance may involve certain extraordinary expenses. When a pastor becomes ill and requires hospitalization, the congregation may become involved in the payment of medical expenses. Each of the r.k.c.'s in the congregation strikes a levy, which is payable in cash by adult members, and this provides a contingency fund. A roster is drawn up to ensure that the pastor has food and a constant attendant at the hospital.[14] Individual members of the r.k.c.'s provide the food, which is given to the pastor in the name of the r.k.c.

On occasions when pastors' children get married, the village in which the pastor serves may decide to provide the wedding. Costs are divided among the r.k.c.'s which make up the congregation, and these are then subdivided among individual members. Since these weddings are generally large scale affairs, the costs may be considerable. The weddings involve the provision of food and cash, and most frequently require individuals to provide a fixed amount of both food and cash.

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13. In some villages, the contributions are listed by households but in most they are listed by r.k.c. This ensures continued generosity by making public the size of contributions.

14. The Western Samoan Government provides beds and medical personnel. Patients' food, except in the case of restricted diets, is provided by thepatient's family, with directions from the dietitian. Most families provide an attendant who lives at the hospital and prepares food, runs messages and keeps the patient company during the stay. Because pastors do not serve in the village in which their maintained lands are located, these services are provided by his congregation.

From time to time, all or some of the residential kin corporations within a village may combine to provide amenities and services for either the village or the village church. Some of the projects which produce this co-operation have been outlined above, and several general statements about the process by which costs are shared among the r.k.c.'s have been made. In the next section the process is discussed in more detail.

The Mechanics of Cost Sharing

When either the fono matai or the matais of a congregation decide to undertake a major project, they are faced with the problem of making an equitable distribution of costs among the r.k.c.'s who will contribute. The size of r.k.c.'s varies considerably, and this directly affects their ability to contribute. This means that shares based on a simple division of total costs by the number of r.k.c.'s available is unrealistic, because large units would find it easy to meet their quota, while smaller units would find it extremely difficult. This problem is solved by using a sliding scale, which takes into account size variations.

The first step involves a census (tusigaigoa) of the population, which is relevant for the occasion. Within this population, certain classes, based on age and sex, are distinguished. A per capita levy is struck for each class, and by reference to the census and the levy scale, a residential kin corporation's total contribution can be assessed. It is then up to the matai and the heads of the households to decide how they will raise the amount

assessed for their r.k.c. There are a number of avenues available to them, and they must decide which one to adopt. They may establish the proportion of the total cost payable by each of the component households, and make the head of each household responsible for raising and collecting his household's share. They may decide to divert a proportion of the entire r.k.c.'s labour to cash cropping, and use the proceeds from sale of crops to meet the group's quota. Alternatively, they may decide to combine both of the above strategies. The matai presents his group's quota in the name of the r.k.c. to the fund set up for the purpose. The various strategies outlined above would generally be adopted where there is some urgency about the fund raising, and where the market for cash crops is buoyant. Where there is less urgency, another strategy may be adopted, which produces a lower rate of capital formation.

This is known as the lafoga system, and involves meeting the sum assessed for a r.k.c. by a series of regular and smaller donations, made over a longer period of time, by individuals. Again, the r.k.c.'s contribution is presented on their behalf by the matai to the fund set up for the project.

The above strategies produce cash which can be used as capital for the purchase of building materials, and when a target figure is reached, building begins. A foreman carpenter (tufuga) may be appointed either from within the village, or from outside the village, to oversee the project, but most of the labour is provided by the village men. The organisers will again divide

the labour needs among r.k.c.'s according to the amounts of labour available in each r.k.c. The matai and the heads of the r.k.c. households are responsible for ensuring that their share of the labour requirement is provided. In villages where members are in wage employment and are unable to take time off from their jobs, the matai and household heads may have to make alternative arrangements to meet the r.k.c.'s requirements for labour. The labour contributions of those employed in the wage economy may be commuted for fixed cash contributions, and the deficiency in the labour assessment made up by members of the r.k.c., who are free to work on a building project.

Irrespective of which strategy is chosen, and how successfully the strategy is operated, the organisers of projects are invariably led to the conclusion that the costs cannot be met within the village. There is simply not enough money available to meet the entire costs in most villages, and this realisation leads inevitably to a consideration of the role of villagers in New Zealand as potential contributors. There are a number of strategies for involving villagers in New Zealand, and these will be outlined in the next chapter. It is sufficient to note here that migrants in New Zealand play an important part in the financing of most village and church projects.

In preceding sections, I have outlined a number of projects which involve groups of r.k.c.'s co-operating to provide amenities for either the village or the village church. I have discussed briefly the mechanics by which these ventures consume the income,

both actual and potential, of individual members of the r.k.c. There are other ventures undertaken by the residential kin corporation, and which also consume the individual members' incomes.

In this type of venture, a r.k.c. acts, not as one of a number like units organised at village level, but as an independent body concerned with organisation of its own affairs. In these ventures, the individual income is consumed by the r.k.c. on its own behalf, which distinguishes these occasions from others on which the income is consumed by the r.k.c. on behalf of the village or the village church.

The Residential Kin Corporation as Consumer

The r.k.c. may consume individual members' incomes in its own right as a corporate body. The frequency and the manner in which the r.k.c. acts as a consumer varies considerably among these groups, and are to some extent a reflection of the power and popularity of the matai.[15] The r.k.c. generally consumes income for one of two purposes: to increase the productive capacity of its land holdings or value of the group's asset capital. Into this category fall projects such as land clearing and planting, weed and pest control programmes, crop diversification, vehicle purchase, building and the purchase of

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15. Where the matai is able to disburse goods provided by the residential kin corporation so that the prestige of the group is increased, his prestige is also increased. As his personal prestige grows, he will be better able to draw on resources of the group for ceremonial, since the individual donors will give more freely when they anticipate some benefit will accrue to the group and to them by their association with the group. The likelihood of ongoing co-operation in projects sponsored by the r.k.c. will also depend to some extent, on the capability of the matai to unify the group, and to prevent conflicts from growing to the point where co-operation becomes impossible.

agricultural equipment. Secondly, the r.k.c. may consume members' income for ceremonial purposes. Into this category fall projects such as the sponsoring of, or participation in, life crises ceremonies, feeding of guests, and assistance to members in difficulties. In the following sections, the range of occasions on which the r.k.c. acts as a consumer, is considered[16].

Land Clearance

Both r.k.c.'s had considerable land resources[17], and in each case parts of the land were under cultivation, while the balance was in forest or second growth. In one case the land under cultivation was insufficient to meet the needs of the r.k.c. and the matai, in consultation with heads of households, initiated a land clearance programme to increase the acreage under cultivation.

A programme of works was drawn up[18], and manpower requirements were calculated. Each able-bodied male member of

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16. The activities outlined in this account were performed by two r.k.c.'s, one in a semi-urban village, and one in a rural village. In view of the way in which the individual matai influences the range of activities, some comment on the two matai involved is necessary. Both matai held high titles, and both held senior administrative positions in government departments: one in the customs dept. and one in the judiciary. Neither was solely dependent on the r.k.c. for his livelihood, and both were capable and popular.

17. Exact areas could not be established because people view land holdings as areas falling inside well-known boundaries (tuaoi). Estimates, however, put the landholdings at approx. 200+ and 300+ acres. In relation to the holdings of other r.k.c.'s in each village, these two holdings were large, but not the largest in either case.

18. The programme took into account the necessity of individuals being free during the period to tend their own plantations, and to fish.

the r.k.c. was included in a roster which specified when and how much labour he was to provide. The work was completed inside the two months scheduled, and resulted in the recovery of approximately 20 acres.

In the second case the matai, again in consultation with household heads, decided to meet a target allocated for a village project by clearing an area for cash cropping. The procedure was similar and the outcome was recovery of about 16 acres.

In both cases individuals contributed labour to the project, which affected their capacity to earn income, and were also required to consume their 'savings' of food to support them while they were working for the r.k.c.

Road Building

The land cleared by one of the r.k.c.'s was inland and was inaccessable by road. Efficient use of the land necessitated the extension of an existing road to the newly cleared section. The matai and household heads drew up a roster of able-bodied males, and directed them to work on the project for a certain number of days per week until it was completed. Three of the men who held jobs in Apia had their labour obligations commuted for cash payments, which were used to hire a truck to carry road metal to the new road.

In the second case, the land cleared lay alongside a disused road. The men of the r.k.c. were rostered to work clearing plant cover and replacing a section of the road which had been washed out.

In both cases, individuals were required to contribute labour, which affected their potential income, and in both they were required to consume 'savings' to maintain themselves during the project.

Copra Drier Construction

Smoke dried copra fetches a higher price than does sun-dried copra, and so copra driers can be worthwhile investments for groups which depend heavily on this crop for their income. The construction of driers involves a cash outlay for the materials and a labour force to collect locally available materials and for building. Both of the r.k.c.'s under discussion had built copra driers, but there are several significant differences in their approaches to the task, and so both are described separately below.

In the first case, members of the r.k.c. had raised the possibility of building a drier with the matai, who had approved the idea and had agreed to put up the money to buy materials. A roster was organised to provide labour to move stones to the building site. When the workforce complained that the work was hard and time consuming, the matai put up money to hire a truck so that men had only to load and unload the truck. When the drier was completed, it was used to dry the r.k.c.'s copra, and was hired out to other r.k.c.'s when it was not in use. Income from hireage was collected by the matai, who had outlaid the costs of construction. The members of the r.k.c., who had contributed labour, harvested, dried and sold their copra individually. Their individual incomes were consumed from time to time by the matai for ceremonial.

In the second case, the matai raised the idea of building a drier. He co-ordinated construction, provided cash, organised labour rosters. However, in this case the matai also co-ordinated the marketing. Individual members of the r.k.c. collected their copra and took it to a collection shed, where their copra was weighed and the weights recorded in their name. The matai organised a roster of labour for drying the copra, sold the dried product when prices were highest, and took the proceeds of the sale. Individuals' shares of the proceeds were calculated and they drew on these cash savings when they needed money. The matai took a commission on sales, and this was used for working capital and was disbursed on ceremonial occasions in which the r.k.c. was represented. This scheme meant that subsequent demands on individuals' incomes were less frequent, because the demands of various projects were generally met from the 'commission'.

In both cases, the construction of a drier consumed potential income of members of the r.k.c., who supported themselves during the construction, but who in the long run increased their actual incomes.

Fish Trap Construction

Fish traps, built in permanent materials, are an efficient means of harvesting edible fish. The traps, once set, will trap fish without any labour input and need people only to empty them. With minimal labour inputs, the traps

can catch larger quantities of fish more efficiently than can be caught by traditional methods. The traps are built of chicken mesh with either steel or wooden poles, and costs vary considerably according to the size and materials used in the construction.

One of the two r.k.c.'s mentioned above had constructed a medium sized trap in the following way: The matai provided the cost of materials from the 'commission' on the r.k.c.'s copra sales, and directed the men to work on the trap for a day. The men transported material to the site, and collected coconut palm fronds from the bush. The trap was built in a day, and was used in the following way.

Fish that moved into the trap accidentally, could be taken by anyone who wished to collect them. When larger quantities were needed for ceremonial disbursement, the matai asked men to present themselves for a 'drive'[19] and fish caught were used by the matai on behalf of his group. Where surpluses were caught in these drives, they were shared among those who took part. Certain problems arose about the frequency with which certain households were emptying the trap but the matai intervened and prevented the question from becoming a serious source of friction.

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19. A number of fishermen in canoes form a line across the mouth of the trap, and begin to beat the edges of the canoes with paddles. This sets up submarine waves which frighten the fish, which move away from the source of the waves, and into the trap where they are speared.

In this case, the r.k.c. consumes individuals' potential income but, as with the construction of driers, there is a strong investment element in this building, and individuals anticipate a return for this consumption.

Miscellaneous Activities

From time to time livestock, other than chickens, were bought by both r.k.c.'s.[20] One group bought two cows in calf. These were kept in the plantation to eat the weeds around the base of coconut palms to reduce the loss of crops which had formerly dropped into the weeds and been lost, or had rotted. They were to be used for milk for the children of the r.k.c. and the aim of buying cows in calf was to start a herd, which would eventually produce a surplus of milk, which could be sold. The cows had to be moved regularly to avoid overgrazing and this involved a number of men in an informal roster.

One of the r.k.c. decided to go into pig breeding, because of the market for pork, which is bought mainly for presentation at feasts. The matai bought three sows to improve the quality of stock. Men of the r.k.c. were rostered to build a stone-walled pig pen complex, and to build drainage sumps. This was duly done and was eventually extended.

All of the above projects were labour intensive and involved comparatively small amounts of capital, most of which

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20. This excludes livestock bought on the hoof for slaughter. Beef and pork is often bought on the hoof, and is slaughtered and butchered for feasts and various ceremonies. On these occasions, the animal is bought for meat, and not for breeding purposes.

could be found within the r.k.c. While all of the projects promised a return to participants, they nevertheless consumed individuals' potential savings. There are, however, other activities undertaken by the r.k.c. which are capital intensive and which consume individuals' incomes. These are outlined below:-

Vehicle Purchase

There is a growing market for cash and staple crops.[21] The growing market has highlighted the need for efficient transport systems, but many rural villages are poorly served and miss opportunities of marketing their crops. In an attempt to overcome this situation, villages and extended kin groups are buying their own vehicles. The advantages of owning, as against hiring, vehicles are numerous. Double and triple handling of crops is eliminated, and so the crop reaches the market in a better condition and fetches a higher price. Labour costs are saved and the owners become independent of expensive and often unreliable transport hire services.

These arguments were advanced in a meeting of one r.k.c. by the matai, who was trying to persuade the group to buy their own vehicle. They were convinced and agreed that a 30cwt vehicle was most suitable for their needs. The matai pointed out that the r.k.c. had nowhere near enough cash available to buy a new

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21. This market is both international and domestic. Until recently, international demand was largely for copra, cocoa and bananas, but now the growing numbers of Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand has generated a demand for staples such as taro, yams, ta'amu, ripe coconuts, pawpaw and other crops. Thus, there is now an international market for these crops.

vehicle. One man suggested using the available funds and tending for a second-hand government surplus vehicle, but this was discarded because of the high running- and maintenance costs of second-hand vehicles. In the end the group decided to use available funds for a deposit on a new vehicle, and to raise the balance from three sources; hireage charges, contributions from members, and a contribution from migrant relatives in New Zealand.

The arrangement was that a proportion of all sales was diverted to the purchase of the vehicle, and that because the r.k.c.'s reserve funds had been used to buy the vehicle, the costs of ceremonial would have to be met by additional contributions from members until the truck was paid for and started to generate reserve funds from which costs of ceremonial could be met.

In fact, the migrants in New Zealand contributed substantially more than they were asked for, and within 6 months the operation showed a profit, but for some four months the members of the r.k.c. took a considerable loss of income.[22] The individuals who were penalised were small producers, who needed all of the proceeds of the sale of their produce, but lost a proportion of it to pay for the truck. They also lost because they used less of the capacity less regularly, but paid the same proportion of their income for use.

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22. The original plan of hiring the vehicle out to defray operating costs failed for several reasons. Non kin used the vehicle, but frequently made contributions which did not cover running costs. Etiquette prevented the owners from suing to recover realisitic hiring charges. But at the same time, the vehicle and its owners' apparent generosity did gain the r.k.c. some prestige within the village community.

Guest House Building

There is one other major capital-intensive project, which r.k.c.'s may undertake: the building of guest houses (fale afolau). These are built by r.k.c.[23] to house their guests, but may also be used to house guests of the village as a whole. These are large houses and, in the past, were built by craftsmen carpenters in traditional materials. Many are now in need of either rebuilding or replacement, and the matai, in consultation with the heads of households, must decide whether to refurbish the existing building, or to replace it, in which case he must decide whether to replace it with a traditional building or with one in permanent materials. Irrespective of which option is chosen, the project will involve members of the r.k.c. and will consume their income.

When houses are replaced by traditional style buildings, members of the r.k.c. will have to provide the material. This involves labour for the collection of timber, stone, pandanus, sinnet cord (for the lashings), coral (which is ground into powder as a floor surfacing material), and coconut plan fronds which are woven into blinds (pola). The collection and processing of these materials may involve most adult members of the r.k.c. in a series of trips inland to where the materials are grown, and transporting materials to the building site. Older men and women

23. Not all r.k.c.'s build fale afolau. These are built mostly by prominent and powerful groups, largely because of the considerable costs involved in their construction. In some cases, the entire village may contribute to the construction of such a house, and in these cases the houses are used as accommodation for the villages' visitors, and occasionally for families' guests.

then set about processing these materials while younger males are rostered to labour on the building and for the heavier work such as foundation building. Over and above these 'costs', households will be rostered to provide food for the master craftsmen (tufuga) and his assistants during the building, and will be asked to provide food[24] and fine mats (i'e toga) as a gift on completion of the work.

Where the matai and r.k.c. decide to build their new guest house of permanent materials, a different set of problems arise. While members of the r.k.c. can provide all or part of the labour, they cannot provide materials. In place of material contributions, members of the r.k.c. are asked for cash, generally in the form of a regular levy (lafoga), which varies according to age and sex of contributor. As with other construction projects, which use imported material, costs are high and the full amount of cash cannot be generated within the village. The most obvious way of meeting cash deficits is to involve migrant members of the r.k.c. in New Zealand and even in the United States. We will consider the migrant role in such projects in the following chapter, but it is important to note here that migrants do contribute significantly, and regard their assistance as a form of service (tautua). One young man, who was co-ordinating the migrant end of a project, opened his speech to the group in the following way,

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24. Cash contributions to the tufuga are increasingly replacing food gifts, which were traditionally made. In most cases the tufuga's payment consists of food, cash, and fine mats.

> .....How can we serve our family? We cannot labour on the building, we can't feed the carpenter and his workers, we have no fine mats or food to give to the carpenter (tufuga) when the house is opened. There is only one way for us to take a part in the construction of the building: to give money. We will sweat to get this house built like those who will cut the timber and mix the cement, because this is the only way in which we can serve (tautua) the matai and the family .....

Migrants may contribute as much as 75% of the cost of these houses, but this in no way belittles the contribution of the village level r.k.c., whose much smaller income is being consumed by the project.

In the preceding material, we have considered the r.k.c as a consumer of individual income. All the projects outlined so far have involved taking individuals' incomes to invest in projects, which in the long run give some return to the investors. With the possible exception of guest houses, the benefits of these projects can be reckoned in economic terms. We turn now to consider the r.k.c. as a consumer in a different type of activity, in which parts of individual incomes are taken and used for ceremonial purposes. The use of food, cash and fine mats on these occasions does not necessarily bring an economic reward, but may result in a significant increase in the prestige of the r.k.c. The returns on this form of 'investment' are socio-political, rather than purely economic. There is a range of activities in which individuals' incomes are invested to produce socio-political dividends, and these are outlined below.

Formal Weddings

Although large weddings constitute only a small percentage of all unions,[25] they are significant consumers of income. Formal weddings are similar in style to formal European weddings, and by far the largest costs are involved in feeding the guests which may number as many as 500. Large formal weddings may be put on for people who are prominent and/or popular within their extended kin group and village. Where parents of the parties involved have independent access to money, they may chosse to finance the wedding without the assistance of the matai and the r.k.c.[26] Parents who do not have access to money, but who wish to put on a large formal wedding (fa'atele le fa'aipoipoga) will seek the assistance of the matai and the r.k.c.

The parents inform the matai of the proposed marriage, and tell him that they hope to put on a large formal wedding. The matai will ask whether they plan to do this themselves or whether they want the assistance of the 'aiga potopoto (pe lafo le mea ile 'aiga

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25. Not all weddings are formal affairs involving the entire r.k.c. as 'aiga potopoto. Many unions in Western Samoa are technically de facto unions, which are entered informally and without ceremony. These do not involve the extended kin group in collective activity. These de facto unions are recognised in customary law, and children of these suffer no legal disadvantage. These are distinguished from casual sexual liaisons which result in children (Shore, 1971). De facto unions may occur where parties elope (avaga) when parents refuse to permit a proposed marriage to go ahead.

26. Families may choose to finance the wedding to demonstrate their independence and wealth. If the wedding is successful, the sponsors may gain prestige within the 'aiga potopoto, and within the village. This prestige may be useful where they hope to secure a title, since if they prove themselves competent in managing ceremonial, they increase the chances of securing a title for one of their members. The finance may in these cases come largely from migrants in New Zealand, and particularly the siblings of the bride or groom.

potopoto).[27] The parents say that they would like to have the assistance of the extended group and, his offer accepted, the matai becomes responsible for the organisation and the co-ordination of the wedding.

The matai and the heads of r.k.c. households [28] begin planning by deciding how many people are likely to be present, and how much food will be required. This food requirement is then divided about equally between the tamafafine and tamatane, who will negotiate the actual items which they will provide. Each then distributes its total requirements among its component households, taking into account the ability of each to provide. Major items such as pigs and cattle may be provided by the matai or from cash contributions which are levied on households for this purpose. Most of the other expenses are paid by the parents of the bride or groom and their close kinsmen.[29] Fine mats for

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27. The question is rhetorical, because parents would not seek the support of the 'aiga potopoto and the matai unless they believe that their past performance in the group's affairs have earned them the right to call on it for assistance. This does not imply that parents who put on their childrens' weddings without the assistance of the matai are poor performers (see 26).

28. Although the matai undertakes the task on behalf of the 'aiga potopoto, the bulk of the organisation will fall on the members of the r.k.c, who will also bear a large part of the cost. Non-resident members of the r.k.c. may bring contributions of food and cash to assist, but because the amount available from this source cannot be accurately predicted, the planners do not depend on this and plan on the assumption that this will not be forthcoming.

29. Since these involve payments in cash, the parents may have to look to close relatives in New Zealand for assistance. Quite substantial amounts of cash are sent by these relatives, who may also send bridal gowns, and accessories, cakes and other items which are not available in Samoa.

distribution to important guests are provided by the parents and the matai, as are barrels of salt beef, tins of biscuits, and cartons of tinned herring.

Over and above the food and cash which an individual gives to the matai for a wedding, is his labour contribution. Members of the r.k.c are responsible for the preparation, serving and removal of food, the preparation and tidying up of the 'reception area'. Where guests choose to remain after the wedding, the r.k.c. members will have to house and feed them until they leave. Thus, the formal wedding which is sponsored by the matai and r.k.c., is a major consumer of income.

The individuals whose income is consumed gain in three ways from a successful wedding. Firstly, he gains by association with the matai and the r.k.c. (whose collective status is enhanced), and secondly he gains status within the r.k.c. by participating. Finally he gains because participation on these occasions establishes his right to call on the group for the same service at a later date.

The Funeral

Funerals generate various levels of economic co-operation within the kin group. There is generally a correlation between the deceased's status and the size of the funeral and associated ceremony. The most impressive funerals are those of the elderly, popular, and titled adults.[30]

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30. The death of untitled men (taulele'a), young women and children are commemorated, but do not generate the same levels of economic co-operation and do not involve as many people.

The fact of illness is widely known, even among non-resident members of the 'aiga potopoto. When death appears imminent, telegrams are sent to close relatives outside the village, informing them of the person's condition.[31] As the news spreads, a number of people travel to the village to be with the person in his last hours. Thus even before death, a group, including migrants from New Zealand, the United States and American Samoa, begins to assemble.

When death occurs, people are informed by telegram and those who have delayed travelling to the village, begin to make arrangements to get there in time for the funeral. Death also signals the beginning of intense activity within the r.k.c. The matai, in consultation with the heads of households, begins to establish what what is needed. The most important consideration will be the feeding of visiting parties, which include both kin and non-kin. A certain amount of the food required will be locally available, and responsibility for providing this food is shared among the households of the r.k.c., who in turn share it among individual members. This distribution of responsibility takes account of the fact that households who are closely related to the deceased, will want to provide more than others. A certain amount of imported food is necessary for disbursement by the matai to important visitors, and this demands some cash.[32] Because of the tremendous prestige which

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31. Telegrams are broadcast nightly in Samoa over the only radio station and have a wide audience. Thus, apart from the person to whom telegrams are addressed, many others also get to hear the news in this way.

32. The r.k.c. must provide cash initially, but this is normally supplemented by contributions from returning kinsmen who give money to the matai. Migrants from NZ generally bring at least $200, and local returnees contribute between $5-$20 each. Where a kinsman owns a store, a certain amount of imported food can be got on credit, and even un-related storekeepers may allow a family to run up credit against the expectation of a cash surplus from the contributions made at the funeral.

results from the distribution of large amounts of imported food, the matai will attempt to buy as much as possible, and the cash for this will come from within the r.k.c. and from returning kinsmen. Where pigs and cattle are not available within the kin group, cash will also have to be found to provide these, and will come, again, from within the kin group.

The food is pooled and placed at the disposal of the matai who will have to decide how to distribute it in such a way that the collective prestige of the providers is enhanced in the eyes of the village and other guests. The pool is known as the food of the 'aiga potopoto, despite the fact that the bulk of the food is provided by the residential kin corporation at this point in the proceedings.

Aside from food, other services have to be provided. These include the coffin, fine mats, tapa cloth, and a cash payment for the officiating minister (faife'au). Fine mats and tapa will have to be provided initially by the matai and r.k.c., but as returning kinsmen arrive, this pool of mats will be supplemented by their contributions. The cash payments will be made from a cash pool held by the matai, and which is initially provided by the r.k.c., but which is later also supplemented by the returning kinsmen's contributions.

Funerals involve not only consanguineal relatives of the deceased. Male and female affines (fai ava and nofo tane respectively) and their consanguineal kin are also involved. Affines living within the r.k.c. assist their spouses to meet their contributions, and the affines' kin groups will either attend the funeral and make presentations of cash and/or fine mats,

or will give gifts to the affinal living in the r.k.c. to present on their behalf.

Funerals provide opportunities for the matai to gain or to increase the prestige of the group which he heads. This prestige can be regarded as socio-political capital and results from approved collections and redistribution of available resources. The matai who ensures that guests are fed well and given generous gifts makes considerable political capital for the group which he represents. The matai is in a sense a broker who weighs social costs and benefits of certain actions and decides on the basis of his analysis how the collected goods can be most profitably re-distributed. While the very considerable skill required is a significant factor in the gaining of prestige the availability of resources to which to apply this skill is equally important. The resources consist principally of the contributions of individual members and households of the r.k.c. Their contributions of food, cash and fine mats provide the working capital on these occasions. Apart from the actual income which funerals consume there is potential income in the form of labour consumed.

In the preceding sections we have looked at the extended kin group as both an action oriented form of organisation and as a consumer of individual members' incomes. In summary it can be said that extended kinship provides the infrastructure for the formation of task oriented groups which emerge as units of social action. The importance of these groups to members is reflected in the individuals' acceptance of the group's right to consume part of their actual and potential income.

The prominent role which the extended kin group plays in economic activity in Samoa has been attributed to its right to consume income of its membership and to the fact that it is the only form of organisation which exists for the performance of certain tasks. These factors are significant in a consideration of the role of extended kin groups among migrants in New Zealand. The economic independance of migrants and the existence of alternative forms of organisation would appear to indicate a much less prominent role for the extended kin group in the migrant community.

Chapter 9

THE ROLE OF THE EXTENDED KIN GROUP IN MIGRANT COMMUNITY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

In the preceding chapter, the extended kin group's role in economic activity in the parent community was considered. The impressive range of economic activities in which the extended kin group is central, is made possible by the fact that the group has access to individual members' incomes. This access is guaranteed ultimately by the fact that members are dependent on the extended kin group[1] for access to land and resources. In this chapter, the e.k.g.'s role in economic activity in the migrant community is considered. The question addressed in this chapter is whether or not the migrant, who is now economically independent, continues to accept the right of the e.k.g. to consume his income. The answer to this question will determine whether or not the extended kin group is able to mobilise the income which has made it possible for it to perform an important role in economic activity.

This raises a question of definition of e.k.g. which has implications for the format of this chapter. The migrant is a member of a conceptual group of kinsmen. The fact of migration makes no difference to membership in conceptual terms, because he remains a member of an 'aiga potopoto, irrespective of where he is. But for

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1. From here on the abbreviation e.k.g. will be used to denote the extended kin group.

practical purposes, he is a member of two actual groups. He is firstly a member of an extended kin group based in Samoa. This group is usually the residential kin corporation which he has left but in which a number of his close kinsmen may have remained. Because this group considers him temporarily absent, and because he may intend to return eventually, he may be bound to participate in those economic activities in which this r.k.c. does. The first part of this chapter is concerned with the extent to which this group, centred in Samoa, is able to consume individual migrant members' income. But the migrant is also a member of a local branch of the e.k.g., which is centred in New Zealand. This local branch of the e.k.g. may also claim his allegiance, and may in the name of extended kinship assert rights to consume his income. The second part of this chapter is concerned with the extent to which the local 'branch' of the e.k.g. is able to consume individual migrant members' income. The ability of the local branch to consume income will be reflected in the range of economic activities which it is able to perform as a group.

Home Community Extended Kin Groups and the Consumption of Migrant Income.

The migrant, as a member of an extended kin group based in Samoa, becomes involved in a number of projects undertaken in his home community. These activities may be undertaken by the matai, and residential kin corporation acting either independently, or in ventures with other r.k.c.'s as members of either a village or a village congregation. These projects are usually capital intensive

ventures, which require more cash than is available within the r.k.c., the village or the village congregation. They include projects which are aimed at increasing tangible assets of the r.k.c., the village or the village congregation, and those which seek to increase the socio-political 'capital' of the sponsors[2]. In the following sections, the ways in which these projects consume migrants' income are considered in detail, but before embarking on this, some comments on the scale of consumption may put the issue in perspective.

The Scale of Migrant Participation in Home Community

Activities in the home community have consumed considerable amounts of migrant income since the early 1960's, when the rate of migration to New Zealand from Samoa began to increase significantly. This fact is reflected in the figures for remittance to Samoa by migrants in New Zealand. Remittances[3] are handled mainly by either the Post Office or Trading Banks, but the amounts are consolidated in the totals provided by the Reserve Bank in Table III below:

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2. Even capital intensive projects such as house building enhance the socio-political prestige of their sponsors, but we are concerned here with those occasions sponsored by the matai and r.k.c. which do not normally result in tangible asset creation such as weddings, funerals and the ceremonial associated with the transmission of titles.

3. The figures supplied by the Reserve Bank are almost certainly an understatement of the real amount. By one officer's estimate the amount may be as much as 10% higher than the official figures. Samoans who wish to exceed the legal maximum allowed by currency export regulations, will send money illegally, usually in the form of bundles of NZ $5.00 notes, which are legal tender in Western Samoa. This is occasionally detected, but most are avoiding detection successfully.

Table III - Migrant Remittances (1971, 1972, 1973)

Source: N.Z. Reserve Bank (per comm)

Year	1971	1972	1973
Total Remittances	$NZ 2.551m	$NZ 3.990m	$NZ 5.043m
Corrected Figure*	$NZ 2.155m	$NZ 3.463m	$NZ 3.819m

* The corrected figure is arrived at by subtracting from total remittances such figures as transfers of company and church funds, insurance payouts, and various other sums, which the research section of the Reserve Bank suggested were expenses which did not include migrant remittances.

The full significance of these figures is not apparent without some estimate of the numbers of people who contribute to the total. This can be done by establishing the numbers of people who could have contributed,[4] and calculating an average per capita remittance on this basis. This data is provided in Table IV.

4. For this study, possible contributors are those who are actively engaged in the New Zealand economy according to the New Zealand Census.

Table IV - Estimates of Per Capita Remittances (1971, 1972, 1973)

Source: N. Z. Census of Population and Projections

Year	1971	1972	1973
Total Population	22189	25971*	30489
Working Population	8435*	9869*	11586*
Remittances $NZ 000.00	2,155	3,463	3,819
Remittances per Capita	$255.51	$350.92	$323.65
* Estimates: See Footnote[5]			

The per capital remittance figures become more significant still when it is expressed as a proportion of the average migrant income from which remittances originate. This data is offered in the Table below:

Table V - Per Capita Remittances as Proportion of Migrant Income

Source: N.Z. Prices, Wages, and Labour (1971, 1972, 1973)

Year	1971	1972	1973
Remittance per Capita	$255.51	$350.92	$323.65
Gross Income (average)	$3182.00	$3568.00	$3924.00*
Remittances as %-age of gross income	8.02%	9.83%	8.24%
Remittances as %-age of nett income	11.23%	14.00%	11.78%
* See Footnote[6]			

5. Projections are based on past intercensal increases and patterns. The procedures used in estimation are contained in detail in the statistical appendices.

6 Projection based in 10% increase for 1973. This estimate , however, may be on the high side because of government imposed restraints on wage increases which were intended to limit inreases to 7%.

The above figures are average per capita remittances and as such may be misleading. The actual amounts remitted by individuals varies according to three factors:-

(i) Length of residence in New Zealand. With increasing length of residence, the amounts sent by individuals tend to taper off. This is not necessarily because the extended kin group's control over members' income diminishes. What happens normally is that in the early phase of migration, individuals send large amounts of capital to build houses for parents, for vehicle purchase and for agricultural development. After these major expenses have been met, the amount decreases because the demands for assistance decrease. Furthermore, during this initial phase one major expense[7] incurred is the payment of fares for relatives to come to New Zealand. As the number of migrants responsible for the support of a kin group in the home community increases, the per capita contributions decrease accordingly.

(ii) After marriage, the amounts sent tend to taper off because the proportion of migrant income required to establish and maintain a household is increased, and consequently the amount of income available for consumption by the extended kin group decreases. However, the absolute decrease at this point is misleading. A single individual who earns $90, pays board of $15 and sends $15 per week to Samoa, is sending 20% of his available income to kinsmen in Samoa. A married man who earns $90 per week, pays $40 per week in rent, food, etc., and sends $5.00 per week to Samoa, is, in fact, sending 10% of his available income to his kin group. If, on top of

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7. This expense is not recorded in the remittance figures, because fares are paid in New Zealand currency in New Zealand, and until 1975 were not included in the consolidated total for remittances. Even now, these are listed as a separate entry and can be established.

this, his wife is not working and he is sending $5.00 per week to her extended kingroup, he is in fact still spending a total of 20% of his income on kinship obligations, despite the fact that the actual amount is considerably less. This fact is important, since I will argue that this recognition of changes in an individual's ability to pay after marriage has meant that the burden of kinship obligations does not become intolerable for individuals.

(iii) The level of economic activity within the home community also affects the amount remitted. Thus, an individual from village 'X' normally sends $250 per year to his kin group. However, when the village decided to replace a church, the amount may be doubled or tripled for the duration of the activity, after which it drops again to the former level.

This means that at any one time the average may be the product of a very wide range of individual amounts, which may very from as much as $2000 per year in the case of new migrants with heavy commitments to as little as $100 in the case of longer resident migrants, who have fulfilled their major commitments to their kin group.[8]

The Nature of Migrant Participation in Home Community

Perhaps the most notable fact about participation of migrants in the home community is that in virtually every case they are

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8. The figures and trends cited above are clear in data collected from tax returns which I completed for Samoans during the period of this study. The New Zealand taxation structure permits certain tax-deductible expenses incurred in the support of dependent relatives. A dependent relative is one who earns less than $1000 in his own right, and this means that virtually all money sent to relatives in Samoa is tax deductible. All of the 89 persons, whose returns I completed, came with full records of the amounts sent to Samoa, and the trends were established from this material, all of which consists of official receipts of remittances.

participating, not as individuals, but as members of extended kin groups. This is particularly clear in the case of economic activities undertaken by the village and congregation, and in the projects sponsored by members of the residential kin corporation. But even contributions to the support of his immediate kin must be seen as more than a simple contribution. The migrant, in providing $10,000 to build a house for his parents, is ostensibly housing his parents, but the latent function of this activity may well be to impress the wider kin group with his generosity and diligence, both of which qualities are highly desirable and are central considerations in the selection of matai. Similarly, a migrant's gift of $100 to his father for a funeral is apparently a gift from one man to his parent, but the gesture may also be seen as an individual's investment in an activity which will earn him status within a wider kin group, who will see evidence of the migrant's generosity expressed through his gift to his father.

With these general comments on the scale and general nature of migrant participation in economic activities of the extended kin group in the home community in mind, I come to consider the mechanics of his involvement in these activities. In the following sections, the reader will see that the extended kin group in the home community is a consumer, and that at the same time the migrant branch of the extended kin group emerges as a central structure in the mobilisation of migrant capital for these activities.

Any proposal is considered very thoroughly by people in the home community. Even people who are not directly concerned[9] with the decision/making, are well aware of the arguments for and against proposals under consideration. Migrants in New Zealand are also well aware of both proposals and arguments, because they get regular information from a variety of sources throughout the period during which the discussions are held. Much of the information comes from letters from kin and friends.in the home community, or direct from people who are arriving regularly from Samoa, and who bring with them the latest information. Thus, well before the migrants are formally invited to participate, they are aware of the likelihood of their becoming involved in a particular project.

When the costings are available and the decision to go ahead is finally taken, the organisers in the home community become aware of the necessity of tapping the migrant community for funds which are not available locally. At this point, the organisers decide to seek migrant support. The strategies used to get support vary, and in the following sections those used in village, church and r.k.c. projects are considered separately.

Village Projects

In village-sponsored activities, a prominent *matai* may be sent to New Zealand to discuss and explain a proposal, and

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9. This includes people outside of the Council of Chiefs in the village affairs, those outside the session in church affairs, and those other than the *matai* and household heads in affairs of the r.k.c.

to solicit the support of migrants from the village. When this is not financially possible, a matai who is about to visit New Zealand, may be given a similar brief which he performs over and above the main purpose of his visit. Where neither of the above is possible or appropriate, matais in the home community will write to prominent migrants, usually older people, and appeal to them, on behalf of the village, for their support. Beside these formal appeals, migrants also receive letters from close kinsmen in Samoa, in which the project is outlined and the value of the project to the village is explained. The relative poverty of the village is emphasised and migrants are told that their support is vital to the success of the project. Letters such as the following are not uncommon,

> .....This is a very important thing for the village and for the future of the children (of the village) We know that you are helping us all the time with money and showing your love for us in this way.... but the village is still poor. If you love us, and w we know you do, please help us to do our part in this thing. I do not want to be like the family of A.. who didn't do anything except talk when we (the congregation) built the pastor's house. They showed their teeth, but hardly any money. But think what happened to them: they pulled their name down in the village.....

Other letters may stress the recipient's debt to the village in terms of his education, status and identity like the letter below:-

> .....This is the village you were born in. This is the village you were brought up in, and where you went to school. It is the village you left to go to New Zealand. But it is the village you belong in and the village you will come back to... The new building (a school addition) is for the benefit of this village, our village. Your brothers' and sisters' children will go to school in this building and your foster sister will be taught in that building.....

Thus, through a formal invitation and a series of informal approaches, the village project will try and gain the support of the migrants in New Zealand.

Church Projects

The strategy by which migrant members of a congregation's support is sought is in many ways similar. Where possible, prominant members of the congregation, usually senior matais, are sent to contact the migrants in New Zealand, and to explain the project and its importance to them. Where this is neither possible nor appropriate, the members of the session, either collectively or individually, will contact prominent migrant members of the comgregation and ask for their support. Over and above these formal appeals are the informal ones of kinsmen for support in the project.

The appeals stress the necessity of providing adequately for the servants of God on earth and letters couched in the following terms are common:-

> .....This building is not for us, it is for God. It is not for our prestige, but for the adoration of God. We have no strength other than that we gain from God, and so it is necessary for us to show our love for God, who gave us this strength. We can do this by showing our respect for God's servant on earth, and through this it will be known that we love our God .....

The informal appeals are likely to contain expressions such as the above, but also to note the importance of participation by the family in the project. Thus, one finds also appeals such as the following emerging in letters between kinsmen:-

> .....There are many members of our family (r.k.c.) and so it is appropriate that our contribution reflects our size and status in the village. If we do less than we should, we will be seen to fail in the eyes of God and to fail as a family in the village.....

Church projects, like village projects, come to involve the migrant through a series of appeals, both formal and informal, for his support.

Extended Kin Group Projects

The strategy varies from case to case, but generally works in the following way. The matai either visits or writes to the de facto heads of the migrant group, and outlines the proposal and its importance, and solicits their support. These appeals are augmented by others from the heads of various r.k.c. households to their migrant members. These appeals concentrate on three main themes. The formal appeals are centred on issues of cost and practicability, the immediate benefit to the family in the village, and on considerations of prestige within the village, which will accrue from successful completion of a project. Thus, comments such as those below emerge in the letters sent to de facto heads by the matai,

> ..... This is a way by which the family can gain prestige and lift itself up in the village ... At the same time we (in the village) can secure better prices for our copra which is important because of the high prices of things in Samoa at this time. We will be able to do things that were not possible before because of the shortage of money....

Informal appeals from the heads of households stress the importance of the household playing its part in the project, and occasionally

mention the implications of giving for succession to a title.

The two-pronged approach: Formal and informal appeals for migrant support is similar to the cases of both village and church ventures.

The Migrant Community in Action

Extended kin groups in village and church projects

Once informed, migrants must decide how their contribution to a project is to be raised. This is done in a series of meetings[10] at which various strategies are discussed. The meetings of migrant villagers or parishioners are attended by the representatives of the various r.k.c.'s which make up either the village or the congregation. The representatives are generally senior members and speak for the r.k.c.'s which they represent on these occasions. A r.k.c. may be represented by one or several people.

In both village and church projects, the migrants divide along kinship lines into r.k.c.'s which are represented in meetings by senior members. These people are expected to represent the views of their groups, to inform their members of the decisions made in the meeting, and to accept responsibility for the implementation of these decisions within their group, which consists of migrant members of the r.k.c. This form of organisation

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10. The migrants from a village or congregation may meet in different centres concurrently. Thus, the members of village V in Wellington, in Auckland, and Tokoroa met as independent groups an planned strategies independently in each centre.

is almost identical to that adopted on similar occasions in the home community.

The assembled representatives may choose one or a number of strategies to raise their contribution. The strategies are remarkably similar to those followed in Samoa, and begin with a census (tusigaigoa) of migrant members of the village or congregation, to establish the size of the group which will be tapped. With this census and an estimate of the migrant share, the representatives may choose the most suitable strategy from those available.

(i) Per Capita Levies

One popular means of raising money is by a levy struck by the meeting. The contributions payable by each r.k.c. are established by multiplying the numbers of people in various classes by the levies payable by each. The r.k.c.'s representative becomes responsible for the collection of money and its presentation at regular meetings.[11] Some typical levy schemes are outlined in Table VI below.

Table VI - Selected Levy Schemes from two Villages

Purpose	Duration	Male	Female (working)	Female (non working)
W.C.House	8 months	$10.00*	$10.00	$ 5.00
Church	2 years	$40.00	$20.00	$10.00
Pastor's House	1 year	$50.00	$30.00	$20.00

* These figures are monthly contributions.

11. The public presentation of collections is an incentive to collect money conscientiously lest the r.k.c. be seen to under-perform publicly by the rest of the r.k.c.'s involved in a project.

Levy schemes are popular with large groups, because the rate of capital formation is high and involves little time on the part of contributors. Levy schemes may also be operated by smaller groups as a means of creating a 'pool of capital', which can then be invested in schemes such as those below.

(ii) Dances, socials and concerts

Where groups are small, or in large groups which wish to boost existing funds quickly, dances and socials are popular. The representatives of a village or congregation will invest some or all of its available funds in such an activity in the expectation of at least doubling their outlay. Available funds are used to hire a hall and band, to provide some of the food for supper, and to print invitations. Individual members of the sponsoring body give time for the preparation of the hall, publicity and distribution of invitations as widely as possible. They may be asked to provide food for supper out of their own pockets. Guests are charged entry and the programme includes a number of items which require guests to give money for performances by relatives of for impressive dancing. Individual members of the sponsoring body are expected to give generously, and their example leads guests to do likewise. Typical outputs for these dances vary between $200 and $600, and the minimum return is generally double the investment, but on many occasions these dances triple the amount outlaid. The activities are popular and drew good crowds which compete with each other to appear generous.

(iii) Imported Entertainment

Some villages and congregations' migrant members may bring troups of entertainers from their village to perform in New Zealand.[12] These groups perform in evenings and weekends to largely Samoan audiences, and the proceeds from entry charges and gifts, are collected for the project fund. The performers may perform twice a week for three weeks in Auckland, and then go on tour of other centres in which there are concentrations of Samoans. The fares for these entertainers are paid by kinsmen, who may or may not recover the money outlaid. Where possible, the proceeds from entertainment are supplemented by arranging day jobs for the entertainers during their stay. Contributions from wages may be collected by relatives to repay fares, and by the organisers to supplement funds. The proceeds from such ventures vary, but are generally greater than $2000.00[13].

All of these strategies involve the Samoan migrant in expense, and while the extent varies, all involve the consumption of his income. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this matter is that the migrant accepts this consumption, even though he is under no legal obligation to contribute or even to attend meetings

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12. The entertainers are generally from the village raising funds, and are schooled and led by a professional or semi-professional raconteur/clown/musician, who is retained by the village or congregation. These faleaitu are popular entertainment for Samoans in New Zealand, and may draw crowds of 1500+, whom are charged entry and are expected to give money for particularly clever perfomances and dances.

13. Clear profits vary according to the length of time, the size of the troup, and the 'reviews' which they receive for the initial performance, and whether or not they go on tour throughout New Zealand.

because he is dependent on the extended kin group for his livelihood.

Extended Kin Groups in Residential Kin Corporation Projects

Fundraising for projects sponsored by the matai and r.k.c. tends to rely on similar strategies, but migrant r.k.c.'s are generally too small to be able to afford to bring troups of entertainers to New Zealand. Migrant members of a r.k.c. generally combine a levy system with an investment activity such as a dance or a social. Because smaller numbers of people are available to provide the capital and labour required, the load on individuals is generally considerable. Because capital outlays remain more or less constant, individuals will provide greater per capita inputs of capital and labour than would be necessary for members of a larger group sponsoring the same activity.

The migrant member of a village, a congregation or a r.k.c. will be involved in the above ways, but may also find himself giving more of his income to the same projects in other ways. The reader will recall that within the home community the sponsors share the costs of a project among r.k.c., who in turn share it among households or individuals. Levies are struck after giving due consideration to individuals' ability to pay, and are generally acceptable because widespread consultation ensures that a realistic amount is decided upon. This method assumes that the members' ability to pay will remain constant for a period of time, but for

various reasons this may not be so. A household may budget to meet its levy for a specific project, and may be successful until another 'fa'alavelave involves them and consumes savings which had been put aside for the project. At this point, they may have to write to migrants and ask them to send cash to meet the deficit, so that they do not have to default on either set of obligations, i.e. to the fa'alavelave and to the project. It is not uncommon for migrants to receive telegrams asking them to send money urgently, such as the following:-

> .... P is ill in Safata.please send some money urgently to help the fa'alavelave.

So the migrant kinsman finds his income being consumed by close kin in the home community in the same projects to which he is already contributing in New Zealand.

So far, this chapter has been concerned with the consumption of migrant income by various projects undertaken within the home community. The projects considered have been the large capital - intensive activities, which aim at establishing tangible assets or amenities. In the following sections other activities undertaken by the home community are considered. These differ from the above in that they result in the creation of social, rather than material assets. Into this category fall mostly weddings, funerals, conferring of titles (saofa'i) and all of these are sponsored by the matai and r.k.c. or by a part of the r.k.c. These activities consume migrant income in a variety of ways, and these are outlined briefly below.

Formal Weddings in the home community

While most of the labour and the bulk of organisation is handled within the r.k.c., not all the cash required can be found locally. Migrants become involved on these occasions as providers of cash, and various services.

Cash is generally the most important contribution made by migrants. Not all migrant members of a r.k.c. give cash on these occasions. Cash donations are made mostly by close kin, particularly siblings and first cousins, and others who consider themselves close to the marrying member. The numbers of people who fall into these categories varies[14] so that in one case the organisers and parents may be able to call on or expect contributions from as many as 20 migrants, while in other cases they may be able to expect help from only 5 people.

The amounts sent by migrants vary according to the perceived importance of a wedding, their feelings about the marrying kinsman or -woman, and the amount of money available at the time.[15] The size of these contributions can be gauged from the Table below in which contributions by migrants to six weddings are outlined.

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14. Numbers vary according to the length of time over which a chain migration process has been under way in a village. Thus, where chains began ten years ago, one would expect a larger number of close kinsmen to have migrated to New Zealand than in a case where a chain had only been operated for two years.

15. While an individual may wish to contribute say $150.00, he may not have that much available at the time. Rather than default, he will generally try to borrow money from other kinsmen, who will not be contributing in their own right to supplement his own money.

Table VII - Wedding Contributions made by Migrants

No. of Migrants involved:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Amount of $NZ per occasion:													
Wedding 1.	150	50	60	25	20	10	10	10	5				
Wedding 2.	75	30	30	25	25	10	5	5	5	5			
Wedding 3.	100	100	50	40	30	30	40	10	10	10	10	20	10
Wedding 4.	100	100	80	75	50	50	50	40	35	40	20	10	10
Wedding 5.	85	85	70	30	30	20	25	30	10	5	5		
Wedding 6.	75	50	45	30	15	10	5	5	5	5	5		

NB - Some cash contributions are intended for the couples personal use, but are added into general figure to indicate extent of migrant cash involvement.

Migrant kinsmen become involved in other ways in these weddings. Material, bridal gowns and accessories are often provided by sisters or aunts of the bride. There is a considerable amount of prestige to be gained from having imported accessories used. The fact that these are imported, is spread among guests, not always subtly, on the day. These items may cost anything from $100 to as much as $600,[16] and even then a considerable amount is saved by having relatives sew gowns and so on.

On top of these expenses, there are others incurred when a migrant is asked or feels bound to return to Samoa for the wedding. This involves a $266 return fare, which may be paid either by the migrant, or by his close kin in New Zealand. There is, again, status to be had from the presence of migrants in Samoa for weddings, and guests are reminded of this fact in prayers in which the Lord is thanked for the presence of migrants, and protection is sought for their safe return to New Zealand.

16. I was able to establish 3 figures for these expenses ($120, $200 and $242). The $600 was claimed by a man to have been spent on clothing a wedding party of 10, and does not seem unreasonable as I was shown the account for shoes, which alone came to $150.

Finally, migrants other than the close kin of the bride and groom will send gifts to the couple. In doing so, they participate as kinsmen, while avoiding the heavier contributions required of closer kinsmen. Their gifts are largely consumer durables such as electric irons, dinner sets and sets of stainless steel kitchenware, and contributions are noted and recorded. The gifts stand out by comparison with the cheaper gifts from local guests, and may generate a considerable amount of prestige for the sponsoring kin group.

Illness in the Home Community

Migrant income may be consumed by the extended kin group in certain cases of illness. When a migrant's close kinsman is ill in Samoa, money may be necessary to take the ill person in search of a cure, and to pay fofo or Samoan 'doctors' for their services[17]. If a cure cannot be found in Samoa, it may be necessary to bring the patient to New Zealand for treatment, and this decision may prove costly for the migrant, who will be expected to foot the bill in most cases.

A case of illness which requires treatment in New Zealand, typically requires the payment of a return airfare, which could vary between $266 and $396 according to the length of stay, the payment of consultation fees and those of specialists, and the

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17. Medical treatment in hospitals is provided by the government, but there are numerous fofo who specialise in the treatment of illnesses using Samoan medicine. The services of the fofo may be available within a kin group, but where this is not the case, diagnosis and treatment must be sought outside, and generally involves giving gifts to the fofo when he is approached to take the case, and again when treatment has been completed.

cost of hospitalisation at $28.00 per day[18]. There is considerable variation in the costs involved, and I recorded four cases of costs, which varied between $500 and $2400. The number of migrants who will foot the bill, varies according to the size of the migrant kin group and the status of the person who requires treatment. In one case of an elderly and popular woman, a group of some 17 people (her children and their husbands, and her grandchildren) contributed, while in another case of a younger man his migrant siblings, a foster brother and an uncle, 5 people in all, paid the $1100 bill.

The Home Community Funeral

When death occurs and kinsmen in the home community decide that a large funeral is appropriate, the migrant is again likely to be involved. Migrant contributions on these occasions generally take the form of cash, and are used for the funeral itself, and to buy certain major items of food such as pigs and cattle. Those closest to the deceased contribute most heavily, and for children and siblings of the deceased, the funeral generally means a trip to Samoa to be present at the graveside. The returning migrant will be expected to take with him a sum in cash, and these amounts vary considerably. On seven

18. Medical treatment is free for tax-paying residents of New Zealand after a qualifying period. Government assistance is available in certain cases for medical expenses of Samoans, who are brought to New Zealand for certain types of treatment under an agreement reached in 1973. However, for 'non essential' treatment and various other illnesses non-residents are charged at a rate of $NZ28.00 per day.

occasions, returnees took $175, $250, $290, $200, $450, $580 and $720 respectively[19]. In most cases, these sums were either the returnees' savings, or those of his own and his siblings. However, the figure is generally higher, because these sums are supplemented by other money.

For migrant members of the r.k.c. (other than those in the above categories), some gift to the family of the deceased will be considered appropriate. Households of the migrant r.k.c. will put their gifts together, and either give them to a kinsman who is returning to Samoa for the funeral, or, where this is not possible, will send the cash direct to Samoa. These amounts vary according to the relationship between (a) the donor and the deceased, and (b) the donor and the returnee. I have not recorded any donation of less than $10.00, and most fall in the range $10 - $50. I have collected cases of persons who did not have money to take to a returnee and borrowed from affinal kinsmen rather than default on an occasion. There are 'rules' which relate gift size to the importance of the relationship, as the following comments indicate,

> .....Everyone should go, and take some money to the family if they are related. The man I am taking the money to is only a cousin and I don't really know him very well, because he is from another village, but my father and his mother are brother and sister and so I want to take some money.

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19. Since the currency export regulations were liberalised recently, the amounts have been increasing. Even before liberalisation, a number of strategies were adopted to beat the regulations. One popular one was to take the legal maximum, and to send the balance either in concealed $5 notes, which can be cashed in Samoa, or to send a series of money orders from different post offices in names other than the senders.

> I wanted to take $50 because he (the deceased) is my mother's brother and is like a father, but my husband only gave me $30, and so I borrowed the rest from a lady at work.....
>
> .....I don't really know the lady who died - she only came to the village the year I left the island in 1968 - but her daughter and I are good friends, and she got me a work guarantee so that I could come to New Zealand ... We work together (with the deceased's daughter) and we are acting as kin to one another (fa'a'aiga), so I wanted to give some money to her ....
>
> .....That man (the deceased) is my father's cousin, and I don't know him well and I don't like his children. They are too smart alecky, but all the same he is related, so I took $10 to his son, who is going back to Samoa...

Thus, while contributions are voluntary, there is a pattern which links the nature of relationship and is based on precedent. Migrant participation on these occasions reflects their perception of their relationship with the home extended kin group: they are an extension of that group, and not a distinct group defined by the fact of geographical separation, or the fact of migration.

This concludes the examination of the relationship between the migrant and his extended group in the home community. We have shown that the migrant actively supports the extended kin group in the home community, not simply by paying lip service to its importance to him, but by giving substantial amounts of cash to the group on a range of occasions. His continued acceptance of the right of the e.k.g. to consume his income, is perhaps the more surprising, because he is no longer dependent on them for his livelihood.

The demonstration of a continuing commitment, on the part of the migrant, to his extended kin group in Samoa, is suggestive. The migrant who accepts the right of extended kin group, to consume a proportion of his income, may be assumed to be convinced that it is right or advantageous to pay dues required of members. If this is so, then it can be reasonably suggested that he will continue to participate in the activities of the migrant branch of the e.k.g. because it will offer him more direct benefits and advantages. This raises the question of the importance of the e.k.g. in the migrant community, or whether such a group exists in name only. In part II we suggested that the e.k.g. does exist in the migrant community, and in the following section we consider its importance. To do this, we consider the role of the group on a number of occasions, and the extent to which it consumes migrant income on these occasions. The assumption underlying this approach is that the migrant will continue to participate and pay 'dues' if the group has some value to him. The importance of the e.k.g. will be reflected in the acceptance of its right to consume his income and the amount of income consumed.

Extended Kinship in the Migrant Community and the Consumption of Income.

One interesting aspect of extended kinship in New Zealand is that, while some of the roles of the e.k.g. have been discarded or modified, it has assumed some new roles. This change is reflected in the proliferation of activities which are undertaken by the migrant e.k.g., and which consume migrant incomes. This proliferation has been matched by increased selectivity of the occasions which are handled by the e.k.g. In the following section we consider these occasions and discuss the scale and nature of participation of the members of the e.k.g.

Formal Weddings

The number of formal weddings undertaken by the e.k.g. has increased in New Zealand. Parents and couples who could not have afforded to take on major financial responsibility for a formal wedding in Samoa, are as migrants in a better position to do so. People who in Samoa were unable to contribute to the e.k.g.'s activities on a scale which would have justified the kin group's sponsorship of a wedding, are, as migrants, better able to do so. The cash necessary to put on a formal wedding in New Zealand is more readily available than it was in Samoa. These three factors have contributed to the increased incidence of formal weddings which involve the e.k.g.

As in Samoa, a courting couple first take their suit to

parents or guardians for consent and approval.[20] If approval is given, the parents and the couple will decide whether to have a formal wedding or a smaller house wedding. There is often considerable pressure on a popular couple to have a large wedding because, successfully handled, such a wedding can gain considerable prestige for its sponsors. The couple and their parents or guardians will take on major financial responsibility for the wedding, but will be very dependent on the e.k.g. for support, particularly in terms of food and labour contributions. The support of the e.k.g. will be given only when there is some concensus that the parties involved are worthy of support.

The criteria used to assess worthiness are a complex combination of situationally defined variables. Three criteria are particularly significant: a person's generosity (lotoalofa) to his kinsmen, both in Samoa and in New Zealand, his participation in the affairs of the e.k.g., and his personal popularity. A person's relationship with the matai has become less important in New Zealand as a criterion, but is still considered. These criteria are neatly summarised in the following statement;

> .....That girl A... is a good girl. She doesn't have much money of her own, but that is not because she wastes it betting like O .... No, it is because she has been looking after her mother and brothers and sisters since she arrived in New Zealand. She has been generous and has shown her love to her family (aiga). She is a good girl: she doesn't drink or bet

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20. This formality is necessary where the couple wish to have the extended kin group's sponsorship, it is optional but normal when the couple intend to have the e.k.g. play a minor role. If a couple holds no hope of obtaining consent, and do not want a formal wedding, they may elope and present the group with a fait accompli.

> her money away ... she thinks of the hard life of her family in Samoa, and tries to help them... You think about that house she built for her mother; it cost $7000 and she got hardly any help from her brothers. She is not like her brother, who drives round in a big car, but doesn't do much for his mother. That is why I will help (fesoasoani) at her wedding, and why the family will help.. because she is generous. You think of her brother S.. He wanted to put on a big wedding, but no one would help because he thinks only of himself and is too smart. In the end, he had a small wedding in his wife's family's house.....

Representatives of the prospective spouses' kin groups meet[21] and discuss the division of function and responsibility between the two groups. These representatives generally include the parents or guardians of each spouse to be, and a senior member of each's e.k.g. (a matai where possible). This group decided on a date, a venue and minister, and on the way responsibilities will be divided. The third matter may involve considerable negotiation. Each party will be attempting to negotiate settlement, which will not overburden them, but which, at the same time, will not make them appear ungenerous.[22] There is a neat balance between apparent lack of concern about costs and a simultaneous attempt to strike costs and share them fairly between the parties.

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21. This frequently consists of a form of competition in which the parties attempt to point to their importance, the importance of their titles, prestigious positions held by members of the group, the expertise available within their groups, which is relevant to the wedding and similar things. This must be done 'surreptitiously' and without implying directly that the other party is not good enough. The manifest function of the meeting is to bring the parties together; its latent function is to assert the desirability of association and generate commitment of both parties to the wedding.

22. If parties are not realistic, they may end up with a settlement which is likely to be very expensive to them personally. In such cases they personally will end up meeting the deficit between the amount which the e.k.g. is prepared to provide, and the total amount required by the settlement. Thus the skilful negotiator is always aware of the amount which he can expect from the kin group and parents, and tries to negotiate a settlement within these limits.

Settlements on division of costs vary considerably, but there are two main variants evident. In the first the bride's side takes food preparation, and provision of gowns and accessories, while the groom's side takes responsibility for the hire of a hall, a photographer, car hire, suits and so on for men in the bridal party, hiring a band, buying a cake, flowers and other miscellaneous costs. There are distinct disadvantages to the bride's group in such an arrangement, because while the groom's group's expenses are likely to be 'fixed', the bride's group's expenses may escalate as the numbers of guests increase beyond original estimates. For this reason, the following settlement is more popular,

In this, the expenses are calculated approximately and are divided equally among the two groups. This involves estimation not only of cash necessary, but of food, and agreement will be reached on the amounts of each item to be provided by each group. Representatives of both groups must decide, on their own, how to divide their allocation between the households of the e.k.g. which each represents. These costs will be shared among the households of the migrant equivalent of the residential kin corporation,[23] usually in the following way: The households of those closest to either the bride or groom, will be expected to provide major shares of the food and cash. Thus the guardians, parents,

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23. If a wedding is to be held in Auckland, the bulk of the costs will be shared among the households of the e.k.g. in the Auckland area. While support can be expected from households outside of Auckland, planning proceeds on the assumption that this will not be forthcoming since it cannot be estimated in advance or with any degree of accuracy. Considerable effort is put into establishing who is present in the area at the time so that the maximum number of households can be involved by the sponsors. This includes both households of both bride and groom - their weak sides and their strong sides (<u>itu vaivai</u> and <u>itu malosi</u>)

and siblings[24] of the spouse to be are involved first and most heavily, and more distant relatives later and less heavily. At each household which the sponsors visit, they inform members of the wedding and arrangements. A representative of the household will insist that as kin they must help the sponsors. The sponsors insist that it is not necessary, but the representative continues to insist on the right of kinsmen to assist until finally the offer is accepted. The outcome is known in advance, and the interchange is primarily a matter of etiquette. At this point, the list of food required is produced by the sponsors. The items which have already been allocated to various households, and names of donors are marked down. The household is offered a choice of the items which have not been allocated. The household representative selects a number of items[25] which is generally more than he thinks reasonable, and tells the sponsors that he will provide them. This over-estimation is appreciated and leads to another interchange. The sponsors argue that the offer is magnanimous but over-generous. There follows some token resistance to the argument, until the amount is reduced to something closer to what the household intended to give originally. Again, this is more

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24. Notwithstanding 23 above, siblings will be heavily involved, even when they are not living in the same centre as where the wedding will be held. Mostly, they send large amounts of cash to the sponsors, and travel to the wedding with more cash from other kin in the area in which they normally reside.

25. In choosing the items from a list, the prospective donor is made aware of what other households have given, and is able to gauge from this what would appear to be reasonable for his own in the circumstances. It may also help him to decide whether there is any advantage in being seen to be more generous than another household, by beating the contribution of another supposedly more important household.

a formality which is required by etiquette, but serves a useful purpose insofar as it allows both parties a framework within which they can negotiate without either having to state their limits or expectations openly initially. When the sponsors have left, the representative must further decide how to determine the allocation among the household members of the e.k.g. This can be done in a variety of ways, but the result is similar in each case: the individual's income will be consumed in the name of of extended kinship.

Kinsmen's contributions do not end here. A number of closer kin will have to give labour on and before the day: to decorate the hall, serve guests, clean the hall, cook food contributions, pick up suits, sew bridal gowns, and so on.

Added to these expenses, which are directly connected with the wedding, are other significant expenses, which must be born by close kinsmen. The presence of one or both parents of the bride and groom at the wedding is considered important and appropriate. Where they do not live in New Zealand, the cost of bringing parents here may have to be met by the spouse-to-be and his or her siblings and cousins. This is a major expense, since the visiting parent generally comes for a holiday of between three weeks and three months, and must be accommodated and fed for that time. The local kinsmen must also accommodate those who come to the wedding from outside Auckland, and this generally involves them in a considerable amount of time and money, which is spent taking them visiting friends and other kinsmen.

In return for these contributions, the members of the e.k.g. receive some prestige within both the parent and migrant communities,[26] and closer kin receive shares of the food which is left over.[27]

There are a number of problems in estimating the rate of participation by kinsmen on these occasions. The first of these is the way in which accounts are kept. Contributions from members of the local 'residential kin corporation' are noted systematically, but contributions brought at the last minute by kinsmen from other centres are often not included. Secondly, it is difficult to assess the 'value' of contributions other than food and cash, i.e. transport, time taken off work, and so on. Thirdly, the number of people who participate can be established but because the exact size of the entire group is not known, the former cannot be expressed as a percentage of the latter. In an attempt to provide some indicator of rate of participation, I calculated households participating as a percentage of those households approached.

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26. Weddings are discussed critically within the migrant community and weddings are frequently compared with the ideal form, and shortcomings and failures of the sponsoring kin group are well known. There is a radio programme broadcast in Samoan to the parent community weekly. It consists of a summary of weekly events in the migrant community. This programme frequently includes information about weddings to which the commentator has been or of which he has heard. Prestige may be gained by favourable comment on a wedding on this programme within the parent community.

27. Generally, considerable food is left over. This is not a result of inefficient planning nor is it wasted. It happens because, although invitations are sent out and replies solicited, Samoans often do not bother replying. The organisers must plan for the maximum number which may be much greater than the actual number attending. The Samoan value emphasising the necessity of feeding one's guests as well as possible is enshrined in proverbs about generosity and the danger of being niggardly for prestige of the 'aiga in the eyes of outsiders. This value plays an important part here. The division of the remaining food reflects the value of the contributions of contributors.

This formula was applied to data from fourteen weddings, for which fairly comprehensive records were kept, and the rate of participation averaged 94%. As this figure applies to households participating, rather than individuals, it could be argued that as long as one person in a household contributes the household will have participated, even though four other individuals have not. In other words, it could be argued that the figure established by using households as units is artificially high. But this is not necessarily so: the household's contribution is divided among its wage earning members generally on an equal share basis, and there are a number of sanctions which ensure that members do not default and in doing so place a heavier burden on those who participate. Furthermore, in a majority of the households in the group with whom I worked, there was a fund to which all members contributed regularly, and from which expenses for such things as weddings could be drawn. In most cases, these funds had been established to ensure that there were group funds available for such contingencies, and that there were no grounds for default.

The expenses involved in large formal weddings are considerable. For the fourteen weddings for which comprehensive records were kept, the average cost of a wedding was \$1660.[28] This total includes only food, cash, and outgoings connected directly

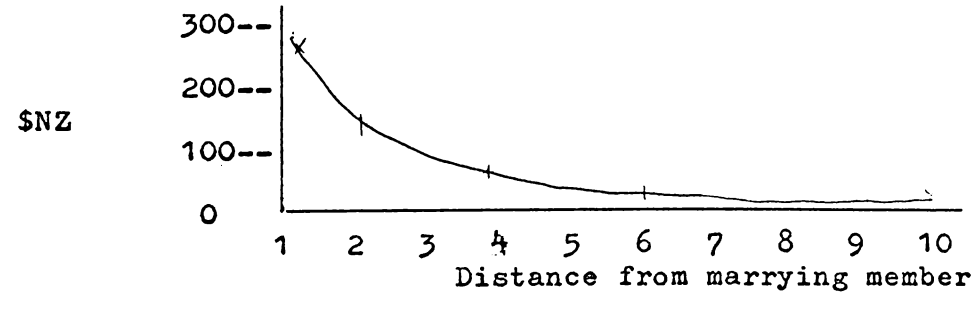
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28. There are two qualifications necessary here: firstly this estimate is arrived at by doubling the accurate figures which were available for either the bride or groom's extended kin group. This is satisfactory because in each of the cases considered the expenses were shared equally between the bride's and groom's e.k.g. Secondly, inflation has made averages established over three years somewhat meaningless. A wedding costing \$600 in 1972, might today cost \$800, thus the average may be an underestimate of the actual costs of weddings, because smaller figures from earlier years will drag it down.

with the wedding, but does include payment of fares for relatives from Samoa, where they are parents of the bride or groom. It does not include the potential income consumed by weddings in the form of time off work, or the indirect costs in running costs of vehicles used, and a variety of other such expenses.

The average cost per household of participation in these large formal weddings was approximately $55, and although many households spent either more or less than this amount, this figure does serve to put wedding expenditure in perspective. The fact that wedding expenses are distributed unevenly among participating households, has been noted. The largest financial contribution comes from those households, which include the closest kin of the bride and groom, and smaller contributions come from those households which are more distantly related to the marrying member. This pattern of contribution can be seen in the figure below in which the level of household contribution is related to the distance from the marrying member.[29]

Figure V. - Average Household Contributions by Distance from marrying member



29. This was established by ordering participating households according to their distance from the marrying member for each of fourteen weddings, and establishing the average contribution of households at various removes for the 14 weddings. The ordering of households is based on (a) the order in which they were approached by the sponsors and (b) on informants' comments on the relationship between various households. It is essentially an 'emic' perception of distance, but from the table above it would seem to be a fairly accurate assessment.

In large formal weddings, the e.k.g. emerges as a task oriented action group. Its principal task on these occasions is the mobilisation of capital and labour. The performance of this task depends on its ability to consume individual member's incomes, and this in turn depends on members' acceptance of the extended kin group's right to do so. The successful performance of this task on a large number of occasions in the migrant community provides evidence of the continued ability of the e.k.g.'s to mobilize capital and labour, and of the individual member's acceptance of its right to consume their income for these purposes.

However, while weddings present evidence of the extended kin group's continuing importance in economic activity, its role in economic activity is not restricted to weddings, and can be seen equally clearly in the case of the funeral.

Formal Funerals

As in Samoa, the e.k.g. emerges as a task oriented group in the formal funeral. On these occasions, the e.k.g. plays a central role in the organisation and financing of the ceremonies connected with death. Not all funerals in the migrant community are large scale formal events: the funerals of untitled persons, adolescents, and children, are generally celebrated only by their close kinsmen, and involve only token participation on the part of the e.k.g. The entire migrant e.k.g. is most likely to become involved in the funerals of persons who are titled, senior, popular and well respected.[30] Death triggers off a process in which the e.k.g. plays an essential role as both the basis of organisation and financing, and it is this process with which this section is concerned.

At death, the most immediate problem is the notification of the fact to kinsmen, who may be spread throughout New Zealand, Samoa and the United States. When a prominent person dies, in say Auckland, the local members of the e.k.g. will know very quickly. Many will have been involved in nursing and visiting the deceased where illness preceded death, and can be informed quickly. Since local members of the e.k.g. will play the central role in organisation and financing, the first concern is to notify this group. Relatives in other centres in New Zealand are notified by telephone, and those in Samoa and the United States are sent telegrams. It is important to know whether any of those outside of

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30. Schultz (1953) notes the difference between these types of funeral in proverbs, and the different importance of each can be seen in proverbs 6 and 142.

New Zealand intend to fly to New Zealand, so that the organisers can leave time for them to get here. When replies are in from this group, the organisers will know approximately how much time they have to prepare everything. Finally, the community at large are notified through the death notices of the daily newspapers[31], and as members of the e.k.g. spread the news among their friends.

The information sets in motion a number of informal visits and telephone conversations, the most important of which are those which take place between senior members of the local branch of the e.k.g., who will decide whether to channel existing interest into a full scale formal funeral.

If they decide that a full scale funeral is appropriate, a meeting of the representatives of households of the local e.k.g. will be called.[32] This meeting begins with some formal oratory in which tribute is paid to the deceased and condolences offered to the bereaved. In the speeches, the importance of the deceased to the e.k.g. and the importance of the e.k.g. co-operating as a sign of respect are stressed. These speeches serve to establish that the meeting is to arrange a formula for participation, rather than to debate the appropriateness of a formal funeral. Having reached concensus on this point, the meeting concerns itself with practical matters of organisation and finance.

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31. Samoans almost invariably read the death notices either first or second in a newspaper, so advertising in these columns is a reasonably certain way of ensuring a wide spread of information.

32. In doing so, this group is assuming the role of a residential kin corporation. In this case, the fact that they are more widely spread than is the r.k.c. in the parent community is no disadvantage since communication between component households is easier.

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The first question is to decide in which church the funeral is to be held, who will officiate, and where the deceased will be buried. Since in many cases, the deceased will have informed close relatives of his preferences in these matters, they can be disposed of relatively simply. However, someone will have to be appointed to ensure that necessary arrangements are made.

The second issue is generally the matter of how to provide for the mourners. This involves the meeting in establishing the likely attendance as a basis for estimating food requirements. Once some estimate of the total amount of food required for the wake (lau'ava) is made, the meeting will have to decide how to share this amount among households. This involves a certain amount of negotiation by the representatives of the various households present. Each will be concerned firstly with appearing generous, and secondly with avoiding overstraining the resources of the household which he represents. The distribution of shares will reflect the nature of the relationship between the deceased and the heads of various households. Those who were closest to the deceased, will accept a larger share than those who were less close.

Having solved the question of food, the meeting will concern itself with the disposal of the large amounts of money, which will be given to the organisers either as gifts or in lieu of food contributions by kinsmen who come from other centres. The sum involved is generally large[33] and its disposal may be contentious.

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33. The amounts of money collected at these formal funerals varied between $500 and $3900 depending on the size and prominence of the kin group and the popularity of the deceased.

The contention arises over the proportions which will be used in connection with the funeral, and which will be given to the bereaved, The debate on this topic usually involves the long stay migrants, who argue that the money collected should be used to pay only the immediate costs of the funeral, and should not be used to subsidize the food contributions. They will point out that after,

> ....everyone has filled their stomachs, N... and her children will still have to eat and pay their mortgage. What is the point of thinking only of the people who will come for the afternoon, and forgetting the person who has lost her husband? This is New Zealand, not Samoa... The European still wants the money for food, he still wants the payments for the house. I suggest that we think first of the things which .... will have to face and then think about the things which we would like to see....

On the other hand, the older person, usually short stay visitors, will argue that the name of the e.k.g. is at stake, and that unless the mourners are fed, the group will lose face, and that failure to use available money to put on a large funeral, will be interpreted as a sign of disrespect for the deceased and the guests. Many people involved have mixed feelings about the disposal of the money, as the statement below suggests, but it seems that in most cases, the money is used to pay only those expenses connected directly with the funeral and burial.

> ....one side wanted to use the money to buy food and to make the feast a really big one. I would like to have a big feast, but you have to think of the man and his children who are left behind ... the big feast will not help them. When his wife died, she was not worried about feeding the people ... she was worried about the children and feeding them. Sure a big feast is important and very nice, but in New Zealand the life is different ... the husband and his children cannot live for nothing like in Samoa ... there are so many things to pay - they need money, not a big feast, That is part of Samoan custom with which many people do not agree ... especially those people who have been living in New Zealand, and realise that you have to have money, or you die of starvation..

> but there are always the old people who want to put on a feast and do things the Samoan way ... but you can't blame them, that is the way which they know.....

These matters disposed of, the representatives of the various households return to their groups, tell them what has been decided, and arrange to organise their contribution. Where a representative was representing more than one household, he will have to visit the others and co-ordinate the collection of their contribution.

However, between the meeting at which arrangements are made and the burial, members of the e.k.g. will be involved in a number of activities, all of which consume their income. While these are unspectacular, they are nonetheless significant costs which must be met by kinsmen of the deceased. Many closer kinsmen will take time off work to perform duties such as those below:-

Female kinsmen will prepare food to take to the household of the deceased's immediate kin. This food will be used to feed the people who will visit the house to see the deceased[34], and to pay their respects and offer condolences. It is difficult to conceive the scale of this operation, but in three funerals in which we were directly involved, 54, 80 and 143 people passed

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34. The deceased may be taken to the undertaker's for preparation and then returned to the household, so that visitors can pay their respects. Each evening, the body is returned to the undertaker's premises so that family prayers and hymn sessions can be held.

through the house, and had to be offered food. The numbers vary according to the time of the week, and are greatest when death coincides with a weekend.

The visitors bring with them gifts, usually of cash and food[35], and each of these must be 'called', recorded and the donor thanked formally. This usually involves the services of some senior person with some ability in formal speech making. Because people call throughout the day and night, this involves some kinsmen taking time off work to perform this service.

By this point, kinsmen from other centres begin to arrive, and local kinsmen will have to take time off work to collect these visitors from airports, bus depots and stations. This is more than something that one does if there is time: it is expected of kinsmen. As one young man, who had spent two days collecting visitors, said,

> .... These people have come to show their respect for my father's brother. It would be impolite if I did not show my respect for them. It is nothing to me to get them from the airport but it has meant a lot to them to have come from Wellington for this funeral....

The visitors must also be housed and fed while they are in town, and this duty again falls to the local members of the e.k.g., who will have the task to take them to the household to visit the immediate kin of thedeceased, and to visit other kin whom they may wish to see.

The visitors from other centres come not as individuals

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35. Kegs of salt meat are popular on these occasions. These pa'elo are used at the lau'ava. This is a carryover from Samoa, where this meat is one of the only meats which can be stored without refrigeration. Howver, as one Samoan noted, the original purpose of taking salt meat has been forgotten, and it is ironic that one of the cheapest meats available in New Zealand remains appropriate as a gift on an occasion on which everybody is trying to show their respect for the dead.

but as representatives of branches of the e.k.g. in those centres. As kinsmen in those centres have been informed of the death, and of the fact that somebody intends to go to the funeral, they will have taken cash contributions to that person. He or she will present the cash on their behalf to the organisers, and may also offer his or her labour to help the organisers. This is often a formality, and while the organisers will thank him or her for the offer of assistance, they will inform the representative that the dignity which his or her presence has added to the occasion, is ample service.[36]

During the period between the organising meeting and the funeral, households of the local e.k.g. will be buying and preparing food. In some cases this involves time off work to get to the vegetable markets to buy bulk vegetables at market prices. During this time, households may come to a number of ad hoc arrangements with each other. One household may arrange to buy and deliver food to another, who will prepare and cook it so that members of the first household do not loose any more time than is strictly necessary. Yet another may give money to a closely related kinsman, who works on the night shift, to buy all the food for both households. He leaves the food and goes to work, and in the evening the members of the first household pick up the food, and take it away to cook it overnight.

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36. In some cases the refusal is tactical. Some visitors are known to be pushy (fia pule), and the local kinsmen find this opportunity a useful chance to exclude such people from intervening in arrangements which are already under way, and from trying to gain control. In other cases, the visitor is hoping that the offer will be refused because he is hoping to use his time visiting kinsmen, and is not particularly keen on becoming involved in peeling taro and other such mundane tasks.

Throughout this period, one or two of the organisers will be monitoring the food situation and attempting to re-allocate food when they discover what they consider to be an imbalance. Most of this can be done efficiently by telephone, but requires a person of considerable tact if it is to be done without causing bad feeling.

On the day of the funeral, the e.k.g. becomes involved in the actual organisation of the event. This involves the preparation of the hall in which the lau'ava is to be held, collecting food brought by members, and setting the tables, serving the guests and cleaning up after the ceremony. Unlike the wedding, the kin involved in this activity are not the close kin of the deceased. They will be at the funeral service, and the graveside for the interment. The organisation of the lau'ava will fall to more distant, younger kin, who will gladly accept the task as a sign of their respect for the deceased. The organisation of this work is informal and an ad hoc arrangement, and guests who arrive and see that the work is incomplete, will either pitch in themselves or will direct younger kinsmen to assist.

The mourners return from the graveside to the hall, and after grace the food is eaten. The ceremony closes with certain speeches, in which members of the kin group thank those present for their presence, and express the feeling of honour bestowed on the family by their presence. They apologise for the paucity of

the food, and for the fact that they have only had such poor food to offer to such honoured guests. This takes place even when the food is good and there is plenty for all. The family is not thanked for providing the food because, as one informant put it,

> .....Everyone knows that the family provides the food ...It is their own member who has died ... who else but the 'aiga potopoto should put on the food and prepare everything .... People do not have to be thanked for their love .... but the people from outside (the 'aiga potopoto) have to be thanked, because they have come because they wanted to; ... the family comes because they must.....

The guests disperse and the 'aiga potopoto once again becomes involved in the work of clearing up, disposing of rubbish and so on. This is, again, an ad hoc arrangement, arrived on at the time, and again involving usually junior kinsmen and frequently more distant kinsmen.

In the evening after the funeral, the senior members of the 'aiga potopoto again meet and decide on how to pay accounts and to wind up the final details. The amount of money collected is calculated, and the sum to be given to the bereaved will be arrived at after the various accounts are settled. These sums vary from one occasion to the next, according to variables mentioned earlier.[37] They are frequently in the vicinity of

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37. Authenticated figures, which were available to me, were as follows: $1235, $897, $1467, $2251, $3897, $1158, $1625, $1452. These are all from 'aiga potopoto sponsored events.

$1000 - $1500.00, but are sometimes greater. The 'aiga potopoto then disbands its 'formal' organisation, and returns to its pre crisis form of a set of informally related households. The representatives explain to those whom they represent the outcome of the meeting, the amount of money raised, and the various costs which will have to be met, and so on.

Thus far, the role of the extended kin group as an organisational infrastructure and a mobiliser of capital have been discussed in general terms. It remains here to make some comments on the rate of participation and the costs of participation to individual members.

The Rate of Participation

The same problems of estimating the extent of participation arise here as arose in the case of the wedding. There is no accurate means of establishing the size of the kin group who are eligible to participate, and therefore of establishing the numbers participating as a proportion of the total. Nor is it possible to establish those participating as a proportion of those approached, since assistance is not deliberately solicited in the case of the funeral. It is possible to point to various facts which point to a high rate of participation, but these are open to various interpretations and are not satisfactory.

The ideal is easy to establish: any death is an extremely important life crisis. The death of a well-known and respected person is perhaps the most important of all life crises. It demands full participation of the 'aiga potopoto, since it is this group which has lost a significant part of itself. This sentiment is expressed in proverbs which emphasise the great loss for the group, and are used on occasions when an attempt is being made to pull the group together for the occasion. These are always counter-balanced by another set of proverbs, which stress the necessity of unity within the group which remains.[38]

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38. Schultz, E., 1953, sets out such proverbs, and some in more common use are contained in this work. See for instance 6, 142, for death's importance, and 147, 151, 331 for the importance of unity.

For an assessment of the extent to which the ideal is ever recognised, one must depend on informants' assessments, rather than normal statistical procedures. A number of informants were asked about the extent of participation of the e.k.g. in migrant funerals. These people all noted the high rates in funerals which they had attended. They were at the same time realistic about the difficulties of being precise. The following statement is one of the most perceptive collected,

> .....you know the Samoan 'aiga no one knows how big it is, especially here in New Zealand. I go to a funeral thinking that I know most of the people here, and meet people that have been here for weeks... this is particularly the case with people from the other side of the family - like people to whom we are related through our grandparents ... the funeral is a good place to go to to meet all your people, and to get to know who is here because everybody should be there....

There were other statements as well,

> .....it is the same here as in Samoa: everybody who knows about the funeral should come. Not everybody will hear about the death ... but those who don't are only a very small group. Those who come ... that is the members of the family ... come because they are kin and should show their love for their own flesh and blood... but what can you do if not everybody knows... we are not God... we cannot contact everybody.....

> .....you will get more people at the funeral like that (a formal funeral) than you might get at a big wedding. Everyone should go to show their love and respect to the dead, even if they have to lose time at work or even overtime.... But you know what a wedding is like: people just give a gift, but don't go because they lose time and money. In the case of the wedding, there is a choice for the person (kinsman), but with the funeral there is not really a choice.....

> .....the funeral is not like a wedding in some ways ... if there is trouble in the family, not all the sides will support the wedding ... some households from the other side (faction) might give little or nothing. But the funeral is different ... even if there is trouble in the family, the bad feeling must be pushed aside for the time of the funeral. A part cannot stay away from the funeral.....

These statements make several points which indicate high rates of participation. Firstly, the importance of death to Samoans is such that it theoretically precludes choice in the matter of participation. Secondly, unlike the wedding, the funeral overrides factions and individuals' interests, which means that the funeral can generate a level of participation which weddings can not.

Support for these claims of high rates of participation come from employers of Samoan work forces. Employers cited numerous cases of Samoan employees, who were refused time off to attend a funeral and who either left, or threatened to leave, rather than miss the funeral. Given the present labour shortage and the good reputation which Samoan employees have, employers have little option and are forced to allow Samoans time off, rather than lose good employees who are difficult to replace. In this situation, there are no obstacles to attendance. My own observations confirm these statements. In formal funerals in Auckland, from which this data comes, the group with which I worked was generally well represented at funerals of their kinsmen.

The Costs of Participation

There are a number of major problems in estimating the costs, of participation, to individuals. Post hoc analyses of costs based on surveys of individuals' costs were tried unsuccessfully. The main problem was that individuals tended to overstate their contributions, a fact which I attribute to the importance of appearing generous in the case of the death of a kinsman. Analyses of costs based on contributions of cash and food made by kinsmen on or before the funeral were unsatisfactory because the volume was such that systematic recording was impossible, and because it is virtually impossible to establish how many people have contributed to any one gift which is presented.[39] On the occasions on which I could have done such an analysis, I was also expected to take people here and there, and to perform certain chores which meant that I missed certain gifts made in my absence. Finally, it is virtually impossible to establish the indirect costs by either of the above means. Time off work, and running costs of vehicles are a significant cost and can be regarded as income consumed by the e.k.g. In an attempt to assess the costs of participation accurately, I adopted the following strategy.

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39. For example, when trying to record contributions made by individuals on behalf of a household of which they are a member, one must establish how many people belong to that household to establish individual costs. Because the composition of households changes regularly, it is impossible to establish, with any degree of accuracy, the individual costs which a gift made on behalf of a household represents.

I concentrated on two households to which I had ready access, and collected detailed data on the costs to these households of a number of funerals. This meant that I was able to get accurate data on both the direct costs and indirect costs, and to assess accurately the cost to individual members, because I knew exactly how many people contributed on each occasion.

Because contribution levels vary according to the relationship between the deceased and the contributors, data was collected for occasions on which the relationship between the households and the deceased varied.

(i) on two occasions the deceased was a close kinsman of members of the households, and was well known and well liked by all. These appear in the Table below as class I funerals, and in these cases the households were major contributors and played a central organisational role.

(ii) on three occasions the deceased was a kinsman of members of the household, and had been a member of the same residential kin corporation as members of the household before migration. As fellow villagers and co-members of a r.k.c., the deceased and members of the household had a lot in common, but individual feelings of household members to the deceased varied considerably.

(iii) on one occasion the deceased was a member of the 'aiga potopoto, but had never lived in the village from which household members had come. Their contribution on this occasion was more a recognition of a bond based on kinship than on any close behavioural bond, and the size of the contribution reflects this. This appears in the data below as a

class III funeral, and involved the household in a token attendance and contribution.

The costs below are broken down into four categories: cash, food, vehicle running costs, and work time lost. In the case of food, a cash value was assessed for contributions. Work time lost was assessed at the basic rate of pay per hour for each of the individuals who took time off work to assist with or attend funerals. This is a significant cost, and is a 'real' cost, because few Samoans in general, and none in the households, were on salaries and actually lost wages.

Table VIII - Costs of Participation in Formal Funerals

FUNERAL CLASS	I	I	II	II	II	III
No.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Food	$44.00	$57.00	$18.75	$ 5.30	Nil	Nil
Cash	$80.00	$75.00	$45.00	$55.00	$30.00	$30.00
Mileage	$ 6.40	$12.00	$ 7.20	$ 9.12	$ 8.40	$ 1.35
Work time lost	$40.20	$52.00	$39.50	$55.30	$35.00	$18.00
Cash outlay (food and cash)	$124.00	$132.00	$73.75	$55.30	$30.00	$30.00
Cash cost to individual	$ 17.50	$18.80	$ 9.10	$ 6.80	$ 4.28	$ 3.80
Total Cost to Household*	$171.10	$196.00	$110.45	$119.92	$73.40	$49.39
Total Cost to Individual	$ 21.50	$ 28.00	$ 13.80	$ 14.30	$10.48	$ 6.20

* Total of all four categories consolidated to establish cost to household of participation in formal funeral.

Three points emerge from this breakdown. Firstly, the costs to the individual can be seen in two ways: as actual cash outlay, or as actual cash outlay plus potential income. Secondly, there is a clear relationship between the size of contributions and the relationship between the deceased and the contributor. Contributions are larger where close relationships exist, and smaller as the relationship becomes less close. Finally, that the e.k.g. consumes individual members' incomes and that individuals continue to accept its right to do so.

In both the migrant community's weddings and funerals, we have seen the e.k.g. emerging as a task oriented group. On these occasions, extended kinship provides the infrastructure for both the organisation and mobilisation of capital for these events. However, these occasions are not the only ones on which extended kinship emerges as a task oriented action group. There are other, admittedly less spectacular, events on which extended kin groups emerge in a similar role. The most interesting point about these events is that the e.k.g. is being used to service needs which are peculiar to the urban industrial environment. In other words, a traditional form of organisation is responding to non-traditional needs. As yet, it is not clear how far this process will go, and to what extent the e.k.g. will be used to service these needs. This will to some extent depend on the success with which it handles these initial attempts, and on whether Samoans become aware of other host society's institutions, which are capable of performing these tasks. In the following sections, the extended kin group's role in servicing new needs is discussed.

Educational Assistance

Samoan migrants place a high value on formal education, and in many cases believe that success in formal education will ensure that their children gain better jobs than they hold. Education, and particularly tertiary education, is presented to the child as a highly desirable goal, and every encouragement is given to children to remain in school and secure recognised qualifications. However, large family sizes and the high costs of maintaining children after 16 years of age[40] cause many families to find that they are financially unable to support their children through tertiary education on their own.[41] Since parents with little formal education are often unaware of possible sources of assistance for their children's tertiary education, they have had to either abandon hopes of having children complete tertiary education, send their children to tertiary fields such as nursing where wages are paid during training, or to provide funds from some other source to which they have access.

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40. At 16 years of age, the State ceases to subsidize medical dental care, and stops paying certain child subsidies to parents. Transport costs become more expensive and text books are no longer provided free.

41. This was recognised by Government in 1972, and they indicated willingness to establish a Polynesian Education Foundation, similar to that run for the Maori population. The Government offered a dollar-for-dollar subsidy for up to $50,000 which was to be raised by Pacific Islands' migrants. The Labour Government, which took office late in 1972, set about increasing both the capital in the fund and the Government subsidiy rate, and established a management trust.

One solution to the problem of funding full-time tertiary study has been to mobilize the e.k.g. to provide these funds, and I am aware of two cases in which this has been done by Samoan families in Auckland. In both cases, the parents of the student approached their kinsmen for loans for this purpose. Those approached in the first instance were the parents' brothers and sisters, but in each case the exercise generated interest among other kinsmen, and the idea of funding education was taken up by the e.k.g. on a more formal basis. In each case, the group involved was the local branch of the e.k.g or the equivalent of the residential kin corporation in Samoa. The two cases varied considerably in scale[42], but are similar in procedural terms. The de facto head of the local branch of the e.k.g. visited various households and sought their assistance for the venture. The appeal for assistance was based on four grounds, and these are of themselves interesting.

Firstly, the parents of the student had been loyal members of the e.k.g., and during 17 years in New Zealand had played an active role in the affairs of the e.k.g., both in the village and in Auckland. It was suggested, albeit obliquely, that their inability to finance their child's education might have been partly due to the fact that they had performed their obligations to their kin group.

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42. In the first case, the aim was to raise $2000 to assist a man to go to London to write a PhD in law, and in the second to raise about $500 to assist a student in his second year law studies. The fact that both exercises were to subsidise lawyers is of no real significance, and was more a co-incidence.

Secondly, it was suggested by the 'sponsor' that those whose assistance was sought, might one day have need of the services of the e.k.g. to fund their own childrens' education.

Thirdly, the utilitarian value of having a trained lawyer at the family's disposal would far exceed the value of their contribution to his education in the long run. The sponsor pointed to the costs of conveyancing and the difficulties in obtaining finance for certain types of houses, and noted that the services of a lawyer would solve part of this problem.

Finally, the 'sponsor' pointed to the prestige which would be gained by having a lawyer among their membership. The mamalu or dignity of the e.k.g. would be significantly enhanced within the Samoan community in New Zealand, and in support of this claim, the sponsor pointed to this effect in another e.k.g. which had a lawyer among its ranks.

In the households to which these sponsors went for assistance, the appeals were well received and in both cases the targets set were met.from within the e.k.g. Whether or not the e.k.g. will continue to perform this role, is difficult to tell because as yet the vast majority of Samoan migrants' children are still under the age of 16, and the demand for this funding has not yet assumed the proportions which would permit one to establish trends. However, it does appear that the success of these first efforts may encourage e.k.g.'s to adopt this strategy more frequently.

Ole Asiga Malaga

One of the fondest hopes of many elderly Samoans is to visit their migrant children in New Zealand, and to see their grandchildren born in New Zealand. The cost of these visits is born largely by their children, who pay the fares and other expenses incurred during their visits.

The costs are high and involve the migrant children in the payment of a return air fare at $396.00, the costs of internal transportation and thoseof maintenance during their stay. The last of these is higher than one might expect, because as one migrant put it,

> .....The old people think that money grows on trees here in New Zealand, and that they can ask for things they haven't had in Samoa because they don't know how much it costs. Take our family (an extended kin household), we decided to eat potatoes instead of taro because the price of taro has been rising and is really too expensive for us now. When our mother came, she didn't like potatoes and asked us to get her taro. We couldn't refuse because we know she used to taro, but it is really stretching us a bit. Then she wanted to go and see my brother in Wellington, so we split the fare between the two of us. After two weeks in Wellington she said it was too cold and wanted to come back. After about two weeks here, she decided she wanted to go to see our sister in Invercargill, and so we had to pay another fare. If she had gone from Wellington, we would have saved a lot of money, but I can't complain because she is my mother and she spent her life looking after me.....

The problems of managing financially are numerous, and while costs are borne primarily by immediate relatives of the guest, the e.k.g. provides significant financial assistance in the following way:-

Once members of the e.k.g. know that a visitor has arrived, they visit the household in which she or he is staying during the weekends or evenings. Members take with them gifts of

and/or cash as a gesture of welcome and respect for the visitor. The food is presented symbolically to the visitor, but is in fact kept by the head of the household in which the visitor is staying. The gifts of cash are given to the visitor for his personal use, or are split between the visitor and the head of the household.

The scale of this support by the e.k.g. is quite considerable, as can be seen in the data below. This data was collected during periods when we were hosts to three elderly visitors. In most cases, most of the contributions were presented in the first week of the visitor's stay. While the data below does not relate to the cost of such visits to individual members, it will give some indication of the scale of this exercise, and the ways in which the receiving household benefits from membership of the e.k.g. on these occasions.

Table IX - Gifts made by e.k.g. households on the occasion of visits by elderly relatives from Samoa

Occasion	1	2	3
Value of Food Gifts	$121.55	$ 89.20	$ 98.50
Cash Gifts	$ 55.00	$ 52.00	$85. 00
Total Value of Gifts	$176.55	$141.20	$183.50
No. of Contributing Households	13	11	9
Average Value of Household Gifts	$ 13.58	$ 12.83	$ 20.39

Furthermore, not only one household benefits from this gift giving. If the guest travels from one centre to another to visit kin, the same procedure is repeated in each centre. Thus,

some of the burdens of kinship are shared among a pool of related households in a particular centre. It can be argued that such a scheme is certainly of benefit to those who are responsible for the maintenance of an elderly relative, but that it does not help those who are responsible for the maintenance of younger relatives. The answer to this is that younger relatives almost invariably come to New Zealand to work, and are therefore able to contribute to the expenses of the household in which they live, and do not therefore need to be subsidised.

While the data in the Table above suggests the scale of this maintenance,subsidy, it does not give a very accurate figure of the costs to the individual of participation in this arrangement. To establish the costs to the individual, one must know how many people contributed to any one household contribution. To do this I collected detailed data from two related households over a period of 18 months during which they made ten contributions towards the maintenance of elderly relatives. The data is summarised in the Table below.

Table X Costs to Individuals of Participation in Maintenance Subsidy Schemes

Value of Food Contributions	$ 26.00	$16.50	$21.00	$12.10	$13.60	$ 8.00	$ 9.10	$ 8.50	$10.80	$ 5.00
Value of Cash Contributions	$ 10.00	$ 5.00	$10.00	$15.00	$10.00	$10.00	$ 5.00	$ 5.00	$10.00	$ 5.00
Vehicle Running Costs	$ 4.16	$ 5.12	$ 1.28	$ 1.52	$ 1.68	$ 2.96	$ 1.12	$ 1.28	$ 1.92	$ 3.20
Total Cost to Household	$ 40.16	$26.62	$32.28	$28.52	$25.28	$20.96	$15.22	$14.78	$22.72	$13.20
No. of Contributors in Household	7	4	7	6	5	4	5	7	6	6
Cost per Individual	$ 5.75	$ 6.65	$ 4.61	$ 4.77	$ 5.06	$ 5.24	$ 3.04	$ 2.10	$ 3.78	$ 2.20
Average Cost per Individual over 10 Occasions	$4.32									

This was established separately on each occasion, and is based on the retail price at the time in Auckland. Home-made items such as Samoan 'pai' and 'keke' are based on the cost of ingredients.

NOTE: No charge is involved in time lost from work because the visits are made out of work time, and do not involve loss of income.

The reader may have noted the disparity in the average contributions made to the household ($15.60) and the average contributions made by the household ($23.07) under this maintenance subsidy scheme. Part of the disparity is due to the fact that vehicle running costs have been added to contributions made by the household, but not to contributions made to the household. The average vehicle running costs ($2.42) can be subtracted from the average total contributions made by the household, and the disparity in outgoing and incoming contributions is reduced. The remaining disparity is to be explained by the fact that outgoing contributions were made by a household which is larger on average than those which provided the incoming contributions.

The main point which emerges from this data, however, is that the e.k.g. provides the infrastructure for a maintenance subsidy scheme, which may relieve individual households of the full burden of kinship obligations. It does this by providing a household with what is in essence an interest free loan during a period of need. This loan is secured by a household's past contributions, and the expectations of their future participation in this scheme. In doing so, this maintenance subsidy scheme consumes individual members' incomes in the name of extended kin ship. However, the individual's contributions are comparatively small in relation to his income, and because the food contributions are made from his board payments in most cases, the actual cash outlaid, over and above his normal costs, is smaller still. This

means that the costs to the individual of participation are quite small, but the potential benefits are considerable.

Kalapu: Contingency Funds

One major problem which urban Samoans face is that of providing financially for contingencies. The problem arises, not from any improvidence, but because a Samoan migrant's income is required to support more dependents than is the European New Zealander's. Thus, while both Samoans' and Europeans' are consumed in the first place by their immediate dependents, the European is generally free to dispose of the balance as he chooses, but the Samoan must place at least part of the balance at the disposal of other kinsmen. It is this additional load placed on the Samoan income, which makes personal savings difficult, and the rate of formation slow. This pattern is not peculiar to migrant Samoans: Pitt (1970,273) shows that in both rural and urban sub-samples personal savings were non-existent. However, in the New Zealand urban environment, the consequences of having no savings are more serious than in Samoa, and the problem budgeting in some way for contingencies is more pressing.

The extended kin group provides general assistance for certain specified contingencies such as the provision of finance for weddings and funerals, but cannot be mobilised to provide finance for every member's personal contingencies. One solution to this problem of providing funds, which can be used to provide for individual's cash crises, is the formation of Kalapu by groups of kinsmen within the e.k.g. Thus, a local branch of the e.k.g. may

have a number of sub-groups or kalapu, which are organised in the following way.

A group of kinsmen may decide to constitute a kalapu, which is in effect a friendly society. 'Members' agree to save a fixed sum each week for a period of approximately 12 months, normally from January to December. Each week members give their contributions to the treasurer, who banks them into one account, and records each member's contribution in a notebook. The members agree to leave their savings in the consolidated account for the period decided on.

In the normal course of events, each member withdraws his contributions plus interest[43] shortly before Christmas. This ensures that contributors can depend on receiving a sum of money at Christmas time over and above any other savings which they may have. The fact that withdrawals are made at Christmas is not coincidence. It is at Christmas that members' expenses are heaviest. Many Samoans take advantage of charter flights to Samoa over the Christmas period, and are saving to pay fares. At Christmas, many migrants wish to make large gifts to kinsmen in Samoa, and the kalapu ensures that there will be a sum intact for this purpose.

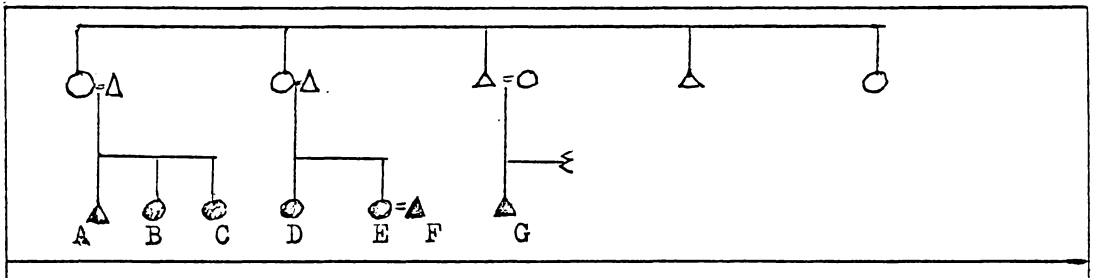
While the benefits of having a large sum of money saved for the period during which the migrant faces heaviest expenses are evident, the real advantages of membership of a kalapu lies elsewhere. Under exceptional circumstances, the members may decide to make a gift or an interest-free loan to one member who is faced with heavy expenses. The gift or loan may exceed the value of the recipient's

43. While most Kalapu funds are placed in either Savings Bank or Post Office Savings Banks, and earn only 3% interest, some more 'sophisticated' groups deposit their funds with building societies on fixed terms, which earn rates of interest of between 4½% and 5¾%.

contributions. Before such a grant can be made, all members must agree that the purpose for which it is made is legitimate. Let us take the following example to see how the individual may benefit from kalapu membership.

The following group decided at the beginning of 1974 to start a kalapu:

Figure VI - Membership of Sample Kalapu



Note: Shaded symbols represent members of the kalapu

Each member elected to save a given amount although these varied as the reader will see from the Table below, and in other than exceptional circumstances, to leave this amount in the fund for 50 weeks. The economics of this arrangement are summarised in the Table below.

Table XI - The Economics of the Kalapu

Contributor	Weekly Savings	Savings over 25 weeks	Savings over 50 weeks
A	$15.00	$375	$750
B	$15.00	$375	$750
C	$15.00	$375	$750
D	$15.00	$375	$750
E	$10.00	$250	$500
F	$ 5.00	$125	$250
G	$10.00	$250	$500

The amounts saved by members are quite considerable and provided worthwhile benefits as savings alone, but the real value lies in the rate at which the fund grew, which can be seen in the Table

below.

Table XII - Rate of Capital Formation

Value of Fund at	10 weeks	20 weeks	30 weeks	40 weeks	50 weeks
	$850	$1700	$2550	$3400	$4250

Membership ensures that in certain circumstances the individual member will have access to an amount which far exceeds the amount which he personally has saved. After ten weeks for instance, the member saving at $5.00 per week will have access to a fund totalling $850, which is 1600% better than his individual savings. The members saving larger amounts get proportionately lesser benefits: a member saving $15.00 will have access to $85) after ten weeks, which is 467% better than his individual savings.

During 1974, three members of the kalapu were assisted to meet contingencies. The first case arose in March, when members D and F found that their father had died suddenly in Samoa, and decided to return to Samoa for the funeral. D and F approached the organiser and sought to withdraw the sums of their contributions to take to the funeral as a gift. The organiser discussed the proposition with other members, and the group decided that the circumstances were such that the kalapu would make a gift of $800 to the funeral. This meant that $200 was given from kalapu funds, and that the members D and F received a sum larger than their combined contributions (which totalled $180), and that the gift was shared among all seven members of the group.

The second case arose when member B married and approached the organiser to withdraw her contributions late in May to assist with the financing of the wedding. The group was contacted and decided to make a gift of $150 from the consolidated fund rather than have

the member withdraw all her contributions. Member B received the amount sought without having to withdraw her entire contribution, because the $150 was shared among the seven members.

It has been argued that the benefits of membership of kalapu would be considerably greater, if the membership was increased to include all members of the local branch of the e.k.g. If, for example, instead of having four smaller kalapu within the e.k.g., there was one large one, the funds available would be significantly larger, and the advantages to individual members would be proportionately higher. Attempts to establish larger kalapu have been unsuccessful for the following reasons.

As the number of members is increased, the time involved in administration increases, and the problem of communication increases. If one had to contact 30 members before a decision to loan or give grants could be made, the speed with which the group is able to make emergency funds available would be reduced, and the advantages to members would be lost. As more and more people become involved, the problems of reaching consenses about legitimate purposes for grants are increased. With a small group of close kin, consensus can be reached fairly quickly. While larger amounts, which a larger kalapu could accumulate, might offer a greater range of investment opportunities, and might return a higher rate of interest, these investments involve the tying up of capital for longer periods and the loss of accessibility of funds. Thus, the economic advantages of larger groups are outweighed by certain disadvantages.

In the kalapu, small groups of extended kin are able to provide for contingencies which individual members on their own could not. As such the kalapu can be seen as an adaptation by the e.k.g. of the principles of a credit union/building society/ christmas club in one scheme, which meets the needs of members in an urban industrial environment.

In this chapter, the extended kin group's role in economic activities in the migrant community has been considered. It was hypothesised that the prominent role which the e.k.g. plays in economic activities in the home community, would have diminished considerably in the migrant community. This was based on the assumption that the e.k.g.'s role in economic activity is based on its ability to mobilise large amounts of capital, and its right to consume individual members' incomes to do this. While its right to consume individual members' incomes is assured in the home community, it was hypothesised that in the migrant community, where neither the right to consume nor the sanction to assert this right successfully are available to the e.k.g., its ability to mobilise large amounts of capital, and to play a prominent economic role would have been greatly reduced.

However, having compared the e.k.g.'s role in the parent and migrant communities, it is clear that the group plays a prominent role in economic activities in both. Furthermore, there are clear parallels in the roles of the e.k.g.'s in both the parent and migrant communities. In each case, the e.k.g. can be mobilised to provide capital for projects undertaken by the e.k.g. In each case, the mobilisation of this capital is dependent on the acceptance

by members of the extended kin group's right to consume their income.

In the parent and migrant communities, the e.k.g. provides the infrastructure for the mobilisation of capital for one of three types of project:-

(i) those undertaken by the e.k.g. as one of a number of like groups co-operating in a joint venture as components of either a village or congregation. Most of the projects of this type involve the creation or replacement of an amenity which the groups participating will 'own' in common.

(ii) those undertaken by the e.k.g. independently, and which involve the creation or replacement of an amenity which will increase the e.k.g.'s asset capital, such as fish traps, roads, etc.

(iii) those undertaken by the e.k.g. independently, and which involve the creation or increase of the group's socio-political capital, through ceremonial displays and disbursement of its collective wealth.

When the migrant e.k.g. is mobilised for projects of either type (i) or (ii), the assets or amenities created will be in the home community and will not, in most cases, be of any immediate value to the migrant whose income is consumed to provide them. Thus, the migrant Samoan, as a member of an e.k.g., has his income consumed in much the same way as does his non-migrant counterpart, but while the non-migrant will benefit immediately and directly from those activities, which consume his income, the migrant can not expect the same benefits from participation in e.k.g. activity. He will not be able to use the fish trap which his income is used to construct, nor will he worship in the church which his income is used to provide, nor will his children be educated in the

school which his income is used to build.

In the following section, an explanation of the persistence of the e.k.g.'s prominence in economic activity will be offered. While the section will focus on the factors which enable these groups to play a prominent part in economic activity, the discussion of these factors will shed some light on the persistence of extended kinship's importance in the migrant community's social organisation.

P A R T F O U R

TOWARDS AN EXPLANATION OF THE PERSISTENCE OF EXTENDED KINSHIP AMONG SAMOAN MIGRANTS.

Chapter Ten: Explanation: two Possible Approaches

Chapter Eleven: Participation as Choice.

- Economic factors
- Organisational factors
- Socio-political factors

Chapter Twelve: Participation as 'Forced Choice'

- participation as a product of lack of awareness of alternatives.
- participation as a product of coercion

Conclusions

Chapter 10:

EXPLANATION : TWO POSSIBLE APPROACHES

Kinship provides the infrastructure for the formation of a variety of extended kin groups which emerge as units of social action in both Samoan parent and migrant communities. In the preceding chapters I have examined and compared the role of extended kin groups in economic activity in both parent and migrant communities. The similarities in the roles of the extended kin group in the two situations are striking.

The role which the extended kin group performs in economic activity in the parent community can be explained comparatively simply. Its role in economic activity depends on its right to consume members' incomes and it has sanctions available to ensure that this right can be asserted successfully. Furthermore the extended kin group is the only structure which exists to perform certain economic activities, in Samoan society.

The role which the extended kin group performs in economic activity in the migrant community is somewhat more problematical. The extended kin group's role in economic activity again depends on its ability to consume members' income. In the migrant community the group does not have the power to control members' access to resources and a livelihood and is therefore in a poor position to assert its right to consume members' income. Furthermore in the migrant community the extended kin group is only one of a number of

structures which exist to perform certain economic activities. In this part the problem of explaining the persistence of the extended kin group is approached.

The persistence, or re-emergence, of the extended kin group is due to the fact that a number of individuals continue to participate in activities which it sponsors. Thus any explanation of the extended kin group's persistence must explain why individuals continue to participate in activities.

Continued individual participation, and ipso facto, the persistence of the group can be explained in two ways. The individual member chooses to participate in the extended kin group's activities because, having considered all relevant factors, he decides that his needs and expectations are most likely to be met by participation. The collective effect of numerous individuals choosing to participate is the persistence of the extended kin group. Under these circumstances the persistence of the group is the product of consensus about the desirability and appropriateness of the group as a form of organisation.

An explanation which argues that individual participation is a result of a deliberate choice would concentrate on the factors which might lead individuals to choose one option ahead of others. If continued individual participation in the extended kin group is the result of choice it must be shown that there are factors which, in the opinion of the Samoan migrant, make the extended kin group more attractive than other institutions or forms of organisation which exist to perform similar functions.

On the other hand continued individual participation and, ipso facto, the group's persistence can be seen as a 'forced choice' [1]. The individual participates because he is unaware of alternatives and/or because members of the group, either individually or collectively, are able to coerce his participation [2]. Under these circumstances the persistence of the extended kin group is a product of a distribution of power which permits certain individuals to coerce the participation of others.

An explanation which argues that participation is the result of either a lack of awareness of alternatives and/or coercion would concentrate on factors which might force the individual to participate by either limiting his view of alternatives and/or on various ways by which the individual can be pressured into taking part.

Either of the above approaches could furnish a logically consistent and apparently satisfactory explanation of continued individual participation in the activities of the extended kin group, and of the persistence of the group itself among urban Samoans. However an explanation which is, in my opinion, satisfactory will only emerge from combining the two approaches. Most sociologists would accept that as Williams (1966:718) notes 'all interacting human populations show both coerced and voluntary conformity'. In this study I will offer two explanations of continued individual participation based on the two

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1. Continued participation is technically a choice since in participating the individual is by implication rejecting participation in other forms of organisation.

2. This does not rule out the possibility that members of the group may be able to coerce the individual's participation by deliberately limiting his awareness of alternatives. As I will show coercion is at least partly based on leaders' ability to make alternatives appear either less attractive or undesirable.

perspectives outlined above. The order in which the two are considered does not reflect my consideration of the relative importance of each: it is simply a convenient way of handling a considerable amount of material systematically. One unavoidable consequence of such a treatment of the data is the emergence of two apparently discrete explanations of the same phenomenon: continued participation of individuals in the activities of extended kin group. I wish to make it clear that neither explanation is to be taken on its own, and that the reader should ignore any apparent suggestion that the writer is more committed to one or other of the 'explanations'. Any such inference is unintended. One of the aims of shaping data into two 'explanations' is to highlight the inadequacy of taking one or other approach alone. By placing the two 'explanations' in tandem the incompleteness of each alone becomes apparent.

Chapter 11

PARTICIPATION AS CHOICE

In this chapter I will identify and examine various economic, organisational and socio-political factors which might explain why individual migrants choose to continue to identify with and participate in the activities of the extended kin group. These factors can be regarded as the positive attractions of identification with, and participation in, the extended kin group. While primarily concerned with reasons for an individual's choice of the extended kin group some reasons for the rejection of alternatives are offered. In outlining the reasons for rejection of alternatives, I offer mainly those given by Samoans themselves. The reader will soon become aware that some of the reasons offered are based in supposition rather than fact. A person may say that he participates in the extended kin group because he believes he will be able to get a loan which he would not be able to get from a bank. The fact that he may not have tried to get a loan from a bank and that his belief about the availability of bank loans may be incorrect is unimportant. The fact of participation is based on belief and explanations of choice must be based on actors' beliefs irrespective of whether these are factually correct.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

(i) The Lending Policies

Both the host society's financial institutions and the e.k.g. have what could be called lending policies, by which priorities are assigned to various possible purposes for funds loaned. The extended kin group's lending policy is determined in a very real way by its membership. Without their acceptance of the 'correctness' of the policy, the e.k.g. would be unable to function in economic activity. Because the e.k.g.'s policy is formulated by the membership, it reflects not only their needs, but also their priorities. The lending policies of the host society's financial institutions are formulated by an economic elite, and while policy reflects members' needs, the priorities are assigned on the basis of certain assumptions about the security of funds loaned.

Thus, the Samoan migrant, who wishes to return to Samoa for a funeral, lodges an application for aid from the e.k.g. Its 'policy' accepts that this is a legitimate purpose for them to loan on, and that attendance at a funeral of a close kinsman is a high priority loan. The same application, made to a bank, may meet with an entirely different response. While the lending policy may accept that a loan for an air fare is a legitimate purpose for a loan, it may assign a lower priority to this. The lower priority will reflect economic concern with the security of funds loaned,

and the enforcement of contract. Samoans realise this as the statements below reflect,

> .....Its good if you are a European and go to a bank to borrow some money to buy a motor mower. The bank manager smiles and says: yes, sir, because he knows he can come around and take the mower back if you don't pay back the money. But if the Samoan goes to borrow some money to bring a brother here for treatment in hospital, the bank manager is keen to tell you how much he wants to help, but can't because of the bank rules. He's really thinking: I can't go and get a sick coconut back if the man does not pay the money back .....

> .....If I want to put on a big wedding for my sister, it is better for me to go to the family for help. If I go to the bank, I have to pay interest, but I wouldn't be able to borrow the money because the bank manager doesn't want to lend money, because he thinks it will all be eaten by all the Samoans at the wedding, and once they are full, no one will want to pay the money back.....

In short, lending policy of the e.k.g. is better atuned to the members' needs, because it is based on their values and priorities, and is less concerned with profitability of an undertaking than with servicing needs. However, the above statements reflect another significant issue, which may be important in the explanation of continued individual participation in e.k.g. activities: that of collateral.

(ii) Collateral

Both the host society institutions and the e.k.g. must consider the security of funds loaned. Both require 'collateral' as security for funds loaned, but each defines acceptable collateral quite differently.

The e.k.g. accepts as collateral evidence of past

participation in economic activities which it has sponsored. The applicant's past record is considered an indicator of likely future performance, so that one who has participated in economic activities is assumed to be likely to continue to do so. Thus, aid is secured by (a) past performance and (b) the expectation of future performance. The e.k.g. does not require material assets as collateral.

The host society's financial institutions, on the other hand, also considers an applicant's past performance to assess likely future performance, but in doing so adopts different criteria to those of the e.k.g. These criteria place the Samoan migrant at a disadvantage. For example, the Samoan applicant who, after five years in New Zealand, has little in the way of tangible assets will appear to be a very poor risk. His apparent improvidence weighs against him and when he explains that his failure to accumulate personal assets is due to the fact that he has given at least part of his income to his kinsmen, he may well further reduce his chances of securing a loan. As a bank manager, who deals from time to time with Samoans, noted,

> ....From a banker's point of view, Pacific Islanders do not appear to be very good risks. Many have nothing to offer as collateral, even when they have been here for some years. We have no way of deciding why they have nothing put aside, and many can't really explain themselves adequately, so we have no way of finding out. Beside that, there is no guarantee that he won't keep on giving money to hundreds of relatives before he thinks about repaying his loan .....

Thus, the e.k.g. may enjoy support of its members because its collateral requirements are better suited to the needs of its members. The e.k.g. accepts that the same reasons which will force a member to seek assistance, will also mean that he may not have assets which can be offered as collateral. Host society institutions may interpret the absence of assets as a sign of financial incompetence and/or irresponsibility.

(iii) The Nature of Contract

In return for assistance, both the e.k.g. and the host society's financial institutions impose some conditions on the borrower. Both institutions require the 'borrower' to enter some sort of contract, in which the rights and obligations of each party are specified. It is in the nature of these contracts that the host society's institutions and the e.k.g. differ significantly.

The e.k.g., having accepted the member's right to borrow, places him under an obligation to continue to contribute when and as called upon to do so. The terms of contract are not spelt out nor are they written, nor enforceable in court. Members are expected to be aware of their obligations and of the consequences of breach of 'contract'. Periods of repayment, where specified, are flexible, and failure to meet repayment schedules carries no penalty. In most cases, the future 'repayments' are not tied specifically to the sum received[1]. Thus, a person whose wedding

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1. Except in the case of loans from the Kalapu, which require that the borrower repay the sum lent.

is paid for by the e.k.g., does not repay the exact sum spent on the wedding: 'repayments take the form of contributions to activities sponsored by the kin group. The repayments may be in cash, food or labour.

Host society institutions, on the other hand, must of necessity state explicitly the terms of contract and ensure that the contract is legally enforceable. Contracts almost invariably specify a term of repayment, and contain penalty provisions for default. Repayments are fixed to the sum loaned, and are generally repayable in cash as opposed to food or labour.

The advantages to the Samoan migrant of participation within the e.k.g. are several. The e.k.g. accepts that the same reasons which lead members to seek assistance, make it unrealistic to set schedules of repayment which assume an ability to repay fixed amounts on a regular basis. Furthermore, the e.k.g. accepts that changes in personal circumstances may alter the individual's ability to contribute, and the 'scale of repayments' is always a relative thing based, not on fixed amounts, but on what might be expected of a person in given circumstances. This flexibility, which is possible in the absence of written contracts, ensures that borrowers will be permitted to discharge their obligations without undue hardship.

(iv) Interest Rates

Both the e.k.g. and the host society's financial institutions seek some return on their 'investment', but the returns which each seek differ.

In the case of the e.k.g., the returns sought in most cases are socio-political. The e.k.g. attempts to invest in areas which will produce increments in socio-political capital.[2] Because there are no 'overheads' associated with the administration of the e.k.g., it does not need to make a cash profit to cover operating expenses, nor does it have to make a profit to ensure that there are funds available for future investment. Socio-political 'profit' generated by e.k.g.'s activities ensure that members, who benefit by association with a prestigious group, will continue to participate, and in doing so, will generate funds for future investment. This means that interest need not be charged on assistance to produce a return to the group.

Host society's financial institutions, on the other hand, must produce a return on their activities in order to pay operating expenses, investors' dividends, and to generate funds for investment. This requires interest charges on moneys loaned, and a higher cost to the borrower than does assistance from the e.k.g.

The e.k.g. is successful in generating individual participation, because it operates a dividend structure which individuals accept as appropriate, and which means that the cost, to the 'borrower', is lower than the costs of borrowing from host society institutions.

The e.k.g. continues to enjoy the support of individual members because, while it operates according to principles which are similar to those of host society financial institutions, the e.k.g. offers certain significant economic advantages to its members, which in turn

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2. Even projects undertaken by the e.k.g. in the home community which produce tangible assets, also produce indirectly increased socio-political capital (i.e. prestige, power) for the sponsor.

encourage participation.

There are, however, other factors which encourage individual participation. The individual who supports his e.k.g in its formal activity is entitled to other services from other members of the group. These services can be assigned an economic 'value', but do not involve the entire e.k.g. in an organisational role.

(v) Access to Services

The extended kin group may be viewed as a pool of assorted skills. Within the group with whom I worked, there was an impressive range of skills. There were carpenters, builders, a plumber, a roofer, welders, a boilermaker, nurses, a concreter, mechanics, bus drivers, taxi owner/drivers, typists, a fitter and turner, a fisherman, and a large number of unskilled people working in a number of factories. Every person within the pool is able to offer some service to other members, and each service has a 'value' which can be assessed by establishing its cost of a service on the open market.

The ideal of service to one's kinsmen means that technically these skills are placed at the disposal of any kinsmen who might require them. In fact, services are available only to thosekinsmen who participate actively in the activities of the e.k.g. While etiquette prevents a person with a given skill from refusing outright to assist a kinsman who asks for assistance, it does not prevent him from withholding a service without actually refusing. The most popular strategy in such cases is the indefinite

postponement, which finally forces the person who seeks assistance to go elsewhere.

For example, a carpenter who was asked to build an extra room on another kinsman's house, gave in successive weeks the following excuses: working overtime, illness, attendance at a funeral, attendance at a wedding, working overtime, leaving his tool box at work. By the end of the sixth weekend, the person who wanted assistance, had given up hope of getting help and was forced to let the contract out to a commercial firm. In a sense, this series of postponements, and excuses, is a ritual which permits the carpenter to avoid outright refusal, and which warns the person seeking assistance that he cannot expect this without contributing anything. At the end of the six weeks period above, the petitioner was becoming angry, and knew that the excuses were deliberate evasions. He commented that the excuses were the 'fa'afiti a tautai' - deliberate evasions.[3] At the same time, however, he had few people to whom he could turn and complain, because his poor record as a participant was widely known among kinsmen.

For the conscientious participant, however, the access to the skills of kinsmen may be of considerable value. The value of services received must be weighed against the value of services rendered by any one individual to get a picture of their true value which will vary from one individual to another, and according to the range of skills available within his e.k.g.

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3. The fisherman who has fish which he wants to keep to himself, will tell people that he has not caught anything, and thus avoid having to share his catch with others, particularly those who have not fished. Schultz (1953,8) says that the proverb is used to show that a person realises that negative answers which he gets are evasions.

The value of services received from kinsmen may vary over time and from one kinsman to another. However, it is possible to give an estimate of what one might expect in the way of services, and to compare this with an estimate of services rendered.

A kinsman, who was building his own house, saved the entire cost of labour by having other kinsmen assist him with the construction. The cost of the labour component of the house was approximately 25% of the total cost, and at $12.000 this represents a saving of approximately $3000. Further savings were made in the cost of materials, which were bought by kinsmen who had employee buying privileges at various construction supply firms. Equipment was supplied by kinsmen who owned it, and a considerable amount was saved by not having to pay hireage charges. One kinsman, who worked for a firm which sold pre-fabricated garages, bought the garage at a discount, and erected it free of charge on the site. During the building, the recipient of all this assistance followed Samoan custom in feeding all those who contributed labour, and giving gifts to the specialists who contributed. However, the value of these gifts represented only about 20% of the savings in labour charges alone. Perhaps, the most impressive saving was that made possible by financing the house on one low cost state mortgage. Without the assistance of kinsmen, the owner would have had to take a second mortgage of around $4000, which would have had to be repaid over three years at an interest rate of 12%. This is perhaps the most impressive example of the rewards of conscientious participation in

the extended kin group's activities, but it does give some idea of the possibilities. While the above example suggests the upper limits of assistance, and is exceptional. Many similar, but smaller savings are made in adding to and renovating dwellings, and this sort of activity goes on regularly.

In an attempt to calculate the value of services received from kinsmen under normal circumstances, data was collected from a household over a period of 12 months. Data was also collected on services rendered by members of the household over the same period and the data is summarised below.

Table XIII(a) - Services Received over 12 Months by e.k.g.Household

Month	Service	Approx. Value
January	Nil	
February	Discount on refrigerator	$45.00
	Labouring/concreting	$51.00
	Use of Equipment for above	$14.00
March	Nil	
April	Mechanics services	$96.00
	Loan of Vehicle	$20.00
	Savings on Spare parts	$70.00
May	Use of Pickup Vehicle	$25.00
	Use of Trailer	$ 8.00
June	Nil	
July	Savings on bulk vegetable buying	$ 7.50
	Typing services	$ 3.00
August	Discount on Car Battery	$15.00
September	Carpenters services	$132.00
	Roofer's services	$18.00
October	Nil	
November	Discount on Toys	$19.00
December	Nil	
	Total Value	$523.50

Over the same twelve months' period members of the household rendered the following services to kinsmen,

Table XIII (b) - Services Rendered over Twelve Months Period

Month	Service	Approx. Value
January	Labour services	$48.00
	Savings on bulk fruit buying*	$12.00
February	Nil	
March	Apples distributed**	$ 3.50
April	Welder's services	$20.00
	Savings on Clothing bought by kinsmen***	$22.00
May	Nil	
June	Labour services	$16.00
	Laundry services to woman with baby****	$17.00
July	Laundry services as above	$17.00
	Loan of Truck and Driver to shift furniture etc.	$18.75
August	Supply of bus and driver*****	$16.88
	Savings on bus hire	$20.00
September	Savings on Clothes bought by kinsmen	$24.00
October	Savings on wool bought by kinsmen	$ 3.70
	Welder's services	$16.00
November	Carpenters services	$30.00
	Panelbeating services	$26.00
	Total Value	$310.83

Notes:

* The household bought large amounts of food at the city market and either sold the surplus at cost or gave it to other kinsmen.

** The household visited the orchards and bought a large quantity of apples. The surplus was given to various households of the e.k.g.

*** A member of the household worked as a knitter and periodically bought clothing for relations under an employee discount scheme. The figure represents the savings to the buyer of buying through relations.

**** Members of the household worked in a laundry and would pick up the woman's baby linen and wash it and return it daily.This continued for 2 months in midwinter while it was difficult to dry clothes.

***** Bus drivers are able to hire buses and pay only a mileage charge. The amount represents the value of the driver's services and the amount below represents savings to the kin who used the bus.

The value of the services which are available within the extended kin group is not, as the reader will have seen, spectacular. However, to the Samoan migrant the services may be significant for several reasons.

Firstly, the maintenance of a migrant's immediate and less immediate kin place heavy demands on his income. The services received from his e.k.g. allow him to avoid acute liquidity problems by freeing cash which would otherwise have to be used to pay for these services. While in absolute terms he may not appear to be saving because there is an expectation of future reciprocation by the recipient, repayment of services will not normally be in cash. It will generally mean placing his 'skill' at the disposal of the kinsman whose skill he has used. The value of such savings is a relative matter: while savings on a motor repair job may not appear large to the reader, to the recipient of the services the savings represented two weeks net income. Finally, the repayment of these services may be spread over time without interest charges, formal contracts, or the threat of enforcement in court.

Within the e.k.g. services are exchanged in such a way that members who contribute services, may draw on services within the pool. The financial advantages of participation may be marginal because of the expectation of repayment, but the terms on which these services are offered may in themselves constitute a significant advantage to the recipient. These advantages are yet another reason for continued participation by members in the activities of the e.k.g.

There are two services, which are available within the e.k.g., and which have not been mentioned above because they are

qualitatively different, and because it is difficult to assign value to them. These are discussed separately below.

(vi) Job Guarantees

A Samoan who intends to reside permanently in New Zealand, must have a guarantee of employment in New Zealand, before he is issued an entry permit. Guarantees must satisfy the following requirements:- They must (a) come from a New Zealand company, (b) name a specific job, (c) be on company stationery, and (d) be no more than 30 days old when the intending migrant presents himself for immigration interview with New Zealand immigration officials in Apia. All guarantees are checked in New Zealand by officials of the Labour Department, and the scheme is, to all intents and purposes, foolproof.

Few intending migrants are able, for a variety of reasons, to arrange these guarantees from Samoa. The combined effects of delays in the receipt of newspapers from New Zealand, mail delays, lack of English fluency, and the fact that the would-be migrant cannot present himself for interview, ensure that these guarantees must, with few exceptions, be arranged by migrants who are already in New Zealand.

Not all migrants are in a position to arrange job guarantees for would-be migrants. Most employers are somewhat reluctant to guarantee jobs to people whom they have not seen, but may do so when asked by Samoan employees who have good employment records, and who enjoy a good personal relationship with foreman and personnel officers. There are, however, only limited numbers of such persons within any e.k.g. When a migrant who does not have access to work guarantees, wishes to sponsor a would-be migrant kinsman, he must approach a

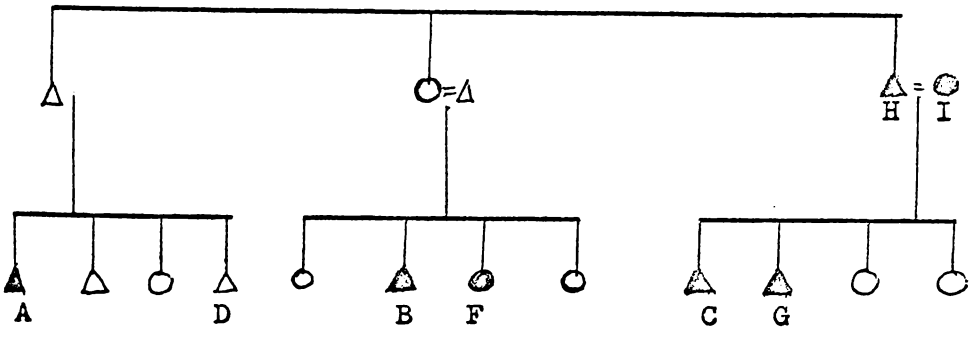
kinsman who does have access and ask him for a guarantee.

Because the would-be migrants exceed the number of guarantees available, the people with access to these opportunities can afford to be selective in the award of guarantees. In fact, they are under pressure to be selective:a bad allocation can jeopardise his chances of obtaining more guarantees, by damaging his reputation as a reliable judge of character. In allocating guarantees available these people will consider the possibility of controlling the would-be candidate in the work situation, and are likely to choose those candidates whom they believe they will be able to control. Where they do not have information on the candidate himself, the allocator will look at the people who asked him to secure a guarantee. He is most likely to allocate available guarantees to those who have good records of service to the e.k.g., on the assumption that such persons are more likely to be responsive to his control. He is conversely, least likely to allocate guarantees to those whose performance in e.k.g. activity is less impressive (a) because he has less to judge on and (b) because if a person is independent of the e.k.g., he is less likely to be responsive to the use of group sanctions and more difficult to control. This is clear in the following comments made by a man, who had secured some 10 guarantees for kin and was in a position to obtain more,

> ....That boy M... came to ask me to get a job guarantee for his brother yesterday. I don't know what his brother is like because I have not met him, but if he is like M ... he is a fool, M.. is always acting as if he is a big wheel, but when it comes down to it, he can't even get a guarantee from that company. If they (the company) won't give one to him, they must have a reason, so I'm not going to give him one. That's the funny thing about him.. When we are doing a wedding, he says he doesn't like the Samoan custom, says he thinks we should do it

> the European way, but when he wants help, he is keen on the Samoan way... Well, if he wants to be a European, he is not going to get a guarantee from me. If he is so keen on helping himself like a European, let him help himself...

A job guarantee is of considerable value to a migrant who is not in a position to obtain them. The value of these guarantees can be seen by taking an actual case.



A was first to arrive in New Zealand. A wanted to build a house for his parents, and began saving with that in mind. However, as a member of the village from which he had come, he became involved in raising money for a church, and this reduced the rate at which he was able to save for the house. The money which he was sending to Samoa, was not being used only by his parents: it was being used to pay various expenses incurred by his parents' siblings and their children. While A was not concerned about the use of the money, he was concerned that the demands on his income were slowing down his rate of saving even further. A's solution to this was to sponsor the migration of B who on arrival assumed financial responsibility for his parents and siblings. A and B's parents were still using money sent to them to assist other kinsmen, and A and B decided that they would jointly sponsor C, who could in turn

assume responsibility for his parents and siblings. From A's point of view, all of the above moves were worthwhile, because they reduced the demands on his own income and made savings possible. However, even when he was freed from the high demand, he found that his rate of saving was still not high enough, and resolved to bring D to assist him save towards the cost of his parents' house. This he duly did, and together A and D built the house in three years. By bringing B and C to New Zealand, A managed to reduce the high levels of demand to a more manageable amount. In the year before B and C arrived A had sent $970 to Samoa, but in the year following their arrival, A sent only $310. This meant that he could save more toward the cost of the house, but even at the higher rate ($40.00 per week) he faced the prospect of four years of heavy saving to reach the target of $8000. By bringing his brother D, he was able to do two things: firstly he could reduce his actual weekly contribution to $30.00, and secondly, by getting D to match this amount, he was able to increase the rate of capital formation for the project by 50% (from $40.00 to $60.00 per week).

All of these moves and the consequent financial advantages to A were dependent on his ability to get job guarantees for B, C and D. Without the guarantees, the level of demand from non-migrant kinsmen would have been so high as to prevent him from saving for the house. Nor would it have been possible for A to increase the rate of capital formation, while at the same time cutting his own weekly contribution.

It is significant that A was able to get guarantees for B, C and D through a kinsman, largely because of his record of service to his kinsmen and to the village. Many people knew that A was (a) supporting his parents and siblings, (b) saving toward a house for them, and (c) giving money to the church building fund. In fact, when he presented his monthly contribution to the church fund, the secretary told him,

> .....I know how difficult it is for you looking after your family and supporting this church fund. There is nothing for you but the knowledge that you have given generously of yourself as the Bible commands you to, and the gratitude of your parents and the church .....

Thus, the value of the job guarantee lies in (a) the fact that it permits an individual to reach targets faster, and (b) the fact that it may, at the same time, free more of his income for his own personal consumption. Both of these factors may explain why individuals continue to participate in the affairs of the e.k.g., and why it in turn continues to play an important part in migrant social organisation.

(vii) Accommodation Guarantees

Samoans who wish to reside permanently in New Zealand, must have a guarantee of accommodation, before entry permits are issued. Accommodation guarantees must (a) give a specific address and (b) name the householder. The existence of a house, and the fact that the applicant has the householder's consent, are verified by officers of the Labour Department in New Zealand, who also

confirm that the house meets various health and occupancy regulations.

Few intending migrants are able to rent a house or flat in advance from Samoa. The combined effects of the shortage of urban housing in New Zealand, negative prejudice on the part of the landlords to Pacific Islanders, the high advance payments required and delays between accepting a dwelling and arriving in New Zealand, mean that with few exceptions, the intending migrant must seek accommodation guarantees from migrants who are already in New Zealand. Not all Samoan migrants are in a position to offer accommodation guarantees to would-be migrants. The intending migrant has three possible sources of guarantee; (a) if he knows a guarantor who is a kinsman, he may contact him and ask for a guarantee, (b) he may ask a migrant kinsman to locate a guarantor from outside the kin group, usually among friends who are in New Zealand.

When an intending migrant is forced to ask a kinsman to locate a guarantee on his behalf, the latter will look for guarantees among households of the e.k.g. in the centre in which the work guarantee is issued. He will approach the heads of households and ask if they have room for the intending migrant. He may, at the same time, point out that such an arrangement would be for a short time only, and that as soon as he has located accommodation, he will take the intending migrant to live with him.

In such a case, the probability of a migrant securing

a guarantee on someone else's behalf will depend largely on his own record as assessed by the potential guarantor. The guarantor will consider what he knows of the person and what others, usually within the kin group, have to say about him. The interesting fact about this process is that the information collected about a person relates almost exclusively to performance within the e.k.g.'s activities, and, to a lesser extent, within the work situation. Guarantees are most likely to be awarded to those who have a good record in activities sponsored by the e.k.g.

Because individuals stand to gain in various ways from sponsoring the migration of close kinsmen, accommodation guarantees can be shown to have a value in the same way as job guarantees have. The financial advantages of access to guarantees of accommodation may be another reason for the continued participation of individuals in the activities of the migrant e.k.g.

In the preceding sections, we have considered a series of economic factors, which may in part explain why Samoan migrants continue to participate in the activities sponsored by their e.k.g. The factors which have been considered are those which would encourage participation, because participants stand to gain economically from involvement. Economic factors alone do not explain continued individual participation, since the host society's financial institutions can offer inducements which are at least as impressive to the individual as those offered by the e.k.g.

Aside from economic factors, there are others which

may contribute to a more complete explanation of continued individual participation in the e.k.g.'s activities. There are a group of factors which arise from the different ways in which the e.k.g. and host society institutions are organised, and in the following section these are discussed.

Organisational Factors

(i) Pre-migration experience

The Samoan migrants' pre-migration experience has not normally included contact with complex organisations of the bureaucratic type. In fact, for many migrants their first contact with the bureaucratic organisation is made when they begin to make arrangements for emigration, and come into contact with a number of government departments.

A bureaucratically organised central government is a comparatively recent phenomenon, which was superimposed on a number of more or less autonomous political 'states'. These states were groups of villages, which were unified by historical events (Gilson R.P., 1970, 51ff) and which co-operated in a limited range of activity. The 'states' are composed of a number of villages, each of which had its own fono matai, which was responsible for village government. Central government's success has been, at least in part, due to the fact that it has incorporated traditional institutions, and has a constitution which recognises the legitimacy of various traditional agencies. Even so, central government's power is contested from time to time: directives are

ignored and contested, and the lives of government officials sent to enforce them, are threatened by villages.

For the most part, villages retain autonomy in the organisation of their affairs. The organisation of the village is handled by the fono matai or council of village chiefs, on which all kin groups within a village are represented. As such it might be viewed as a complex organisation, but while it may be complex, it does not have the features which characterise bureaucratic complex organisations. Beside the organisations of Western societies, the village organisation provides a major contrast. For the migrant whose pre-migration experience consists almost entirely of village-level organisation, the organisation of the host society appears immensely complex.

The organisation of e.k.g. affairs, based on a structure with which the migrant is familiar, has certain obvious attractions which might in a general sense encourage participation. In the following sections some of the more specific organisational factors which generate individual participation are discussed.

(ii) Speed of Operation

The speed with which assistance can be obtained from the e.k.g. is probably a significant factor in the generation of individual participation among Samoan migrants. Host society institutions, including various government departments, require the individual to complete forms which may in turn require approval of local offices, and possibly even the approval of a head office. Even if this process proceeds without hitch, it may take more time than the Samoan migrant can afford. This may not be entirely the

fault of bureaucratisation: unanswered questions, unsigned forms, misunderstood questions may all contribute to delays. There are many stories around the Samoan community which recount the delays and the slow speed with which bureaucracy works. One which is particularly interesting is the following,

> .....My wife and I had just bought a house and we were really in debt for furniture and the mortgage. It was O.K. because I had a good job with plenty of overtime, and we could have made it if everything had gone properly. But I fell into a tank I was welding and broke an arm and a leg. The boss sent me to the doctor, who gave me a compensation claim form and an accident report. Well, I thought all would be well, but after two weeks nothing had happened. I was getting a bit desperate, because of the mortgage and everything. Then I got a letter from the government askingme to fill in the form again and send it back to them. So I did that, and about ten days later I got another letter. Anyhow, by the time I finally got some money, I found it was only a percentage of my basic wage, and by then my leg was O.K. anyway. The only reason I kept on with the whole business was that I thought I was due to get some of the tax I had been paying as a single man, back. I'm sorry for the European who has to depend on those government departments ... they probably die before they get the money. But the Samoan is lucky because he has his 'aiga, they brought food around and some money, my wife's cousing took the kids while my wife went out to work, and the kalapu gave me some money to pay some bills, and lent me some more till I was O.K. I never had to sign any forms to get those things.. they just came when they knew I was sick.....

The question of speed is particularly important in certain circumstances such as funerals, and even if a migrant could arrange a loan, it would be too late to buy food and perform other tasks which must be done before the funeral. The following statement reflects this and other difficulties in the funeral,

> .....I was one of the first of our family here and so I thought I would bring my mother here for a trip to New Zealand. One day she said she didn't feel well, so I went to work and her sister came over to stay with her. At 2.30 pm I got a ring to go home because my mother was getting worse. I went home and we took her to the hospital, but she died that night. There were about five of the family in Auckland then, and they came round to see what should be done. We decided to have a memorial service, and then take her body back to Samoa to bury. We had enough money to pay for the undertaker, but I thought I would borrow some from the bank to pay the other fare to Samoa, and I would use her ticket because someone has to go with the body. I went to the bank and saw the manager; he said yes, they could lend some money once he had approval. When I told him I was going to use the money to go to Samoa, he changed his mind ... I couldn't go, he said, because I would have to repay the loan, what about someone else? I said I was her son and should go ... he told me I was his security or something... So I gave up with that lot, and borrowed the fare from the Samoan men at work, who acted as kin to me (sa fa'a'aiga matou) .....

But the speed with which capital may be mobilised by e.k.g.'s varies in importance from one occasion to another, and in weddings for instance may not be critical.

(iii) Representation in Decision Making

Both the e.k.g. and host society's financial institutions' decisions are made by an 'elite', which represent members' interests. What differs in these cases, is the extent to which members' opinions are represented in decision-making.

In activities sponsored by the e.k.g., the decision making 'elite' is comprised of heads of its component households. Samoan

custom permits all those who will participate in an activity to be represented on the grounds that they have a right (aiā) and in New Zealand this has resulted in the representation of all households which will eventually be involved in an activity. Thus, as the number of component households increases, the number of people who are entitled to take part in decision making also increases. This ensures that the ratio of representatives to represented remains more or less constant and high. It means in effect that there is one representative per household or 1:7.25 persons. Thus, the structure for effective consultation and representation is built into the system of household representation.

The representatives, as we have seen, have powerful incentives to represent the views of members of their household in decision making. Their failure to represent their members' views may lead (a) to a loss of face, (b) to a loss of influence within the household, and (c) a difficult problem of implementing a decision within a 'hostile' household. Repeated failure on the part of the head of a household will eventually result in the loss of his influence, and in turn the support of members of the household. In this situation, there is an excellent chance of having the rank and file opinions represented in elite-level decision making.

Clearly, within host society financial institutions such a system of representation is neither practical, nor of any advantage to members, partly because decisions made are of a

different order and partly because members have accepted the place of specialists within organisations. For the Samoan migrant, however, whose pre-migration experience consists almost entirely of consultative decision making in which he is closely involved, the organisation of the migrant extended kin group is more familiar, which alone may be an incentive to continued participation. However, I believe that it is more than a general question of familiarity.

The variables which are considered in making decisions are clearly understood by all members and are not the exclusive property of the elite. The manipulation of these variables and the resulting decisions are readily understood by all although not all are bound to agree. This leads in turn to the question of what happens when individual members do not either understand or agree with decisions made.

(iv) The Accountability of the Elite

In both the extended kin group and host society financial institutions the elite are accountable to the membership for decisions made on members' behalves.

Those people who make decisions on behalf of the e.k.g. membership are readily accessible. If an individual wants clarificatio of a decision or wants to take issue with decisions made he can do so informally in congenial surroundings. He need take no time off work to go to an inner city office, and can confront the decision makers themselves and not clerks who can disclaim responsibility for decision

making. If after discussion with decision makers the individual is still dissatisfied he may contact other members of the e.k.g. and seek to mobilise opinion against the elite. Since in all activities Samoan language is used an individual's lack of English is of no disadvantage in his dealings with the 'elite'.

However because the elite is under pressure to make decisions which are acceptable to the membership there are few occasions on which the membership has reason to hold it accountable. It is clear however that the accessibility of the 'elite' is an important factor in generating participation on the part of the individual members of the e.k.g. A number of people commented on the fact that it was easy (and inexpensive) to find out why things were being done in a certain way. As one said:

> ". . . if I want to know why they are having taro instead of potatoes at a wedding I can just ring someone and ask them. Some of the family work at the same factory and I can ask them at work or go and see someone after church . . . . You know the Samoan way it's easy to find out about what's happening. But if you are not sure about whether your building society shares are paid you ring them up and they tell you to come to their office. It's alright for them, they are not losing time but if I go to see them I see one person, then another and in the end I'm still not sure what the story is . . . . "

For the Samoan migrant who is accustomed to an accessible elite which is also directly accountable the accessibility of the migrant e.k.g's elite is preferable to the inaccessible elite of European institutions. This is more than simply a question of physical accessibility: there is not the social and linguistic distance in relationship between members and the elite in the e.k.g. which there is in host society institutions.

v) Competence of the leadership

The fact that members of the extended kin groups' elite are rarely held to account reflects on their competence in (a) the formulating 'policy' which reflects members' expectations and values and (b) in implementing 'policy' to the satisfaction of members. In an earlier section I discussed those factors which ensure that 'policy' reflects members' expectations but this does not explain why this policy is successfully implemented. It is probable that a group of village matai could formulate policy which would satisfy the expectations of migrant kinsmen because they would share common values and expectations. It is much less probable that the same village matai could implement this policy. The successful implementation of policy is clearly significant in the explaining individual participation in the extended kin group: if a group perceives policy goals similarly but is unable to achieve these it is likely to lose the support of members who will seek another way of achieving goals. The Samoan migrants have been able to implement policy satisfactorily and in this section the factors which have made this possible are considered.

Samoans have traditionally chosen their leaders on the basis of situationally defined competence [1]. The emphasis on situational competence has clear implications in the urban industrial environment. Migrants have continued to choose their leaders on the basis of

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1. The situational competence is emphasised in a number of proverbs. One commonly quoted is 'Ia tautai o se mata'alia' which Schultz, E. explains thus (1953, 64) - In a difficult situation reliance should be placed in a competent person, irrespective of rank and other considerations.

competence but have redefined criteria of competence. The competent man is one who has qualities and skills which the migrants consider necessary in the new society. These include a knowledge of the workings of the institutions of the host society, some knowledge of the law which applies on various occasions in the host society, some understanding of the European culture and values and fluency in English language. Samoans themselves are conscious of this redefinition of competence and are able to justify it quite simply. This is apparent in the comments below made by an informant who was asked why an untitled man had been chosen ahead of titled men, to organise a kin group activity.

> "The old men are very good and very clever in matters of Samoan custom. They are respected by everybody as you have seen in this meeting. No one will do anything without their approval, in Samoa and they always lead the things done by the aiga potopoto. But in New Zealand it is different because while everybody loves the old men the European is important for what we want to do. That means that we have to have a person who understands the European and European custom and law (fa'a palagi) who can speak English and is generally clever in the palagi sense of the word. You think about this thing we want to do. We want to bring people here to work for three months to save some money for the new house. We need someone who can go and explain what we want to do to the personnel manager, to the bank manager, to the reserve bank, to the Air New Zealand and so on . . . . That is why that man was chosen to organise. The old men will be there but they will let him organise it because they know that he is the one to do the job . . . . "

Given the choice of competent leaders, projects undertaken by the extended kin groups are more likely to be successful than if they were to depend on 'traditional' leaders. The success of an activity must in turn raise the probability of its being repeated by the extended kin group. If on the other hand a supposedly competent person fails to perform a task to the satisfaction of the group there is no major

obstacle to replacing him [1]. In fact replacement of less than successful leaders does not generate much comment as the following statement suggests:

> "That man . . . was alright. He did a reasonable job organising the dances (feololo) but the other dances were making more money than ours. It is good to have those men from Tokoroa here now . . . They ran dances at Tokoroa and they made a lot of money because they knew how to do things like this properly because of their experience".

The conflict which might be expected where younger people appear to be usurping the authority (pule) of the older more traditional leaders does not emerge for two main reasons. Firstly, leadership is truly situational and since many of the functions managed by the extended kin group are done according to tradition there is a place for older people and a use for their competence in oratory, and knowledge of appropriate procedure and protocol. Thus two different types of competence may be required simultaneously and this means that either/or situations are circumvented. Thus at a wedding one finds the 'new' leader organising food distribution and other practical matters while the 'traditional' leader provides another equally important service in the management of traditional aspects of ceremonial and oratory. The second factor which limits

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1. The person who fails is likely to step aside rather than to lose face from repeated failure or to risk being removed by his peers. This institutionalised way out means that it is possible to avoid conflict within the group by preventing in most cases the necessity of confrontation. There is a precedent in Samoan custom which appears to be the basis of the migrant version. A matai who under performs may either pass on his title to a more able person or may agree to splitting the title and appointing a more able co-matai. Failure to do this may result in his retaining the title but being effectively ignored by the group and village. Rather than face such humiliation matai will opt for the first or second alternative when the threat of humiliation becomes apparent.

the possibility of conflict between two groups of leaders is that the acquisition of competence as defined by the migrants takes some time. Mastery of English, the understanding of host society institutions may take some years which means that those who have this competence are likely to be in their thirties. This means that they are more likely to be acceptable to a group who assume some relationship between seniority and wisdom [2], than would a very young person irrespective of whether he had the necessary skills. Thus the acceptance by Samoans of the possibility of the division of authority (pule) [3] according to competence has reduced the likelihood of conflict over the possession of authority by either the older or younger people.

(vi) Access to the elite

In both the extended kin group and the host society's institutions power is concentrated in the hands of an elite who are responsible for management. The selection of the elite is based on the demonstration of competence and in both cases membership of the elite confers certain rewards on members.

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2. It will be interesting to see what happens as New Zealand born and educated children come of age in larger numbers. One might expect that because of their competence they might be expected to be obvious leaders but whether this will be accepted without seniority by the group remains to be seen.

3. There is a proverbial expression 'soa laupule' which emphasises the desirability of sharing authority with others.

The complexity of the host society's institutions' affairs demands a high level of specialised skill. Thus membership of the elite is restricted to those who have acquired a high level of skill in a particular area. The average bank depositor does not expect to make it to the board room because he is educated to accept the legitimacy of restricted access to the elite, and to accept that high degrees of specialisation are necessary and in his best interests.

The extended kin group's activities demand a specialised competence on the part of members of the elite. Specifically it demands a knowledge of fa'a Samoa (Samoan custom and etiquette) and a knowledge of the fa'a Palagi (European custom and etiquette) which in turn demands fluency in English. Positions of power are open to those who demonstrate competence in these areas.

The main point here is that access to the e.k.g. elite is more open because any member who chooses to acquire the above skills may join the elite and enjoy the power and rewards which membership offers. To the Samoan migrant whose pre-migration experience has led him to believe that access to the elite is an important life goal and offers rewards (chiefly in terms of power) participation in the extended kin groups' activities has obvious attractions. Participation is the most effective route to the elite because it is a form of socialisation. By participation he learns, not only how to organise, but also how to project himself, in such a way as to make himself acceptable to other members.

For the Samoans within the group with whom I worked the probability of access to power in the European world was low. For many the ethnic church and the kin group offered the only opportunities of achieving any recognised form of status which probably explains why

these institutions were valued so highly. The most interesting revelation of the importance of participation as an alternative route to power arose in a conversation between two girls who were discussing the performance of a man who was acting as toastmaster at a wedding. It was his first appearance as a member of the management and not particularly successful as the girls noted:

> "Look at that man P.... He really fancies himself. He must like it on the stage where people can see him. I'm surprised he hasn't asked the photographer to take his photograph."
>
> "It's a pity he can't hear himself making a fool of himself."
>
> "You can't blame him though . . . . All day pushing the button on that machine and obeying the machine. That's right you know the machine is his boss; he just stands round feeding it."
>
> "Oh yes well then the time clock must be his foreman. It tells him when he can come and go."

The importance of power and the low probability of achieving it within host society institutions will lead the migrant to participation within the extended kin group where there is a higher probability of fulfilment of his ambition. However, the question of the rewards for those who accept the responsibility of management is complex. The rewards are not financial: the managers of a funeral will themselves gain nothing financially and in fact may have to put out money of their own. The managers gain status as well as power in return for their management skills. This rather intangible reward does raise another issue which is the importance of socio-political factors in generating individual participation in the activities of the extended kin group.

Socio-Political Factors

Various economic and organisational factors which contribute to an explanation of individual participation have been discussed in the preceding sections. It has been suggested that the extended kin group enjoys the support of its members because both its organisation and economic rewards are structured in such a way that they meet the expectations and needs of its migrant Samoan members. In this section it is suggested that the extended kin group enjoys support because it meets members' needs for social recognition in a way that few if any host society institutions can.

(i) The Social Rewards of Participation

Participation in both the host society financial institutions and in the extended kin group offers participants certain rewards. Both offer participants certain economic benefits in return for the use of their capital. However participation in the extended kin group also offers certain social rewards, which host society financial institutions can not.

The conscientious European who deposits regularly in a series of savings programmes may enjoy personal satisfaction of knowing that his future is secure and that he has savings to cover most foreseeable contingencies. The benefits of his participation are essentially economic and take the form of dividends on his contributions. Because of the confidentiality which surrounds an individual's relationship with financial institutions and the expectation of privacy there is little chance of his thrift earning widespread social recognition.

The organisation of the activities of the extended kin group offers conscientious participants more than the satisfaction of knowing that his future is secure and that he will be able to secure assistance to meet contingencies: it offers the participant immediate social recognition. The Samoan who gives regularly to activities sponsored by the extended kin group is rewarded regularly and publicly, by both his primary group and by the extended kin group as a whole. This is made possible by the fact that participation is public and that individuals' contributions are a matter of public knowledge. The conscientious contributor enjoys the satisfaction of knowing that a contribution has strengthened his claim not only to assistance but also to positive recognition by members of the extended kin group.

The conscientious and generous contributor is publicly acclaimed and his deeds given widespread publicity among the kin group. To the Samoan migrant, accustomed to public surveillance of his economic activity, the privacy surrounding participation in host society institutions is alien. Furthermore, the privacy denies him social rewards and, given the fact that there may be few other avenues for social reward in a society which is not kindly disposed to Samoan migrants, (Trlin, A. D. 1972), participation in the activities of the extended kin group may be viewed as compensatory response.

(ii) <u>The accumulation of personal social capital</u>

By participating regularly the migrant is able to build up a store of social capital on which he may draw in various ways in times of need. This social capital is stored in the migrant community in his reputation among his migrant kinsmen. It may be drawn against on

the sorts of occasions which have been outlined in part three. Social capital is also stored in the home community in his reputation among non-migrant kinsmen. In the latter case it may be stored against the expectation of an eventual return to the home community at which time his reputation may be critical in gaining the assistance of kinsman in the home community in building a house, in agricultural activity, and in accession to a matai title.

Until such time as the migrant claims assistance the social capital which he has accumulated ensures that he will at least enjoy the support and respect of his kinsmen, and while this might appear a tenuous benefit in a society in which the Samoan is not considered the most welcome guest this support may be of greater value to the Samoan than the outsider might assume. The social capital which a migrant accumulates by continued participation in the extended kin group is yet another factor which could explain why an individual chooses to retain his association with the group and to take part in its activities.

(iii) The Personal Benefits of Association

It has been suggested above that the antipathy of the host society to Samoans, and its unwillingness, or inability, to provide social rewards may lead individuals to view the extended kin group as a legitimate alternative to the host society's institutions. However there are factors within the migrant Samoan community itself which may lead individuals to continue to participate in the activities of the e.k.g.

Samoans locate each other socially firstly by establishing village affiliations and then kin group affiliations. By reference to the latter 'co-ordinates' a person's social standing is determined by other Samoans. An individual gains immediately by association with a powerful kin group. The power of a kin group is established partly by its historical prominence and partly by its present unity and ability to undertake various projects in such a way that political and economic influence is enhanced.

These social co-ordinates have remained important in the migrant community. The prominence of one's kin group in Samoa has remained significant as a social co-ordinate among migrants who, either on meeting or privately afterwards, attempt to establish the affiliations of people with whom they come into contact for the first time. However there is another dimension which is becoming significant among migrants and that is the prominence of one's kin group within the migrant community. A migrant extended kin group's prominence is established by reference to (a) its size and unity (b) its ability to undertake activities in such a way that its political and economic influence is enhanced.

Thus while one may benefit within the Samoan migrant community from association with a powerful and well know extended kin group, its continued influence is dependent on continued participation by individual members. The individual migrant is aware of this as the following statements reflect:

> "No-one will be able to leave this hall saying that they were not fed well by this family (_'aiga_). They will be compelled to remember this funeral and this day because the family has fed them as they have never been fed before . . . . "

> This wedding should be an immpressive affair. We are a big family and so we should ensure that this wedding reflects our size and our prestige. If we do less than we have planned we will fail and in doing so will pull down the name of this our family....

This concludes the summary of factors which might induce individual migrants to opt for participation in and identification with the extended kin group. This choice is based on the individual's perception of economic, organisational and socio-political advantages of membership. In his analysis these benefits of association with the extended kin group balance costs of continued participation and the consumption of his income which participation implies.

While this explanation may appear logically consistent and adequate this impression is a product of the way in which the data has been presented rather than a reflection of my commitment to this explanation. The inadequacies of an explanation which assumes that participation is a result of free and deliberate choice become apparent in the following chapter in which another group of factors will be identified and discussed. These can be construed in such a way as to suggest that participation in and identification with the extended kin group is the product of a lack of choice and of co-ercion.

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4. There are four forms of the first person plural pronoun, in Samoan. Tatou, the pronoun used by this speaker, is used to refer to a group of three or more persons including those to whom the speaker is talking. It is an inclusive form and as such is used to suggest the unity of the collectivity being addressed.

Chapter 12:

PARTICIPATION AS "FORCED CHOICE"

In the preceding chapter continued participation in the affairs of the extended kin group was viewed as a deliberate and positive response to factors, which collectively constituted an inducement to the individual. The assumption underlying this approach is that the individual migrant is able to consider all relevant factors and to decide that participation is right and/or advantageous.

However it is possible to view continued participation as an involuntary response on the part of the individual. It is possible to show that his continued participation is a product of his ignorance of alternatives, and of the extended kin group's ability to coerce his participation. While technically participation in the e.k.g.'s activities is a choice since the person has opted for the extended kin group rather than other alternatives, it is more correctly a "forced choice".

In this chapter various factors which lead an individual to participate in the activities of the extended kin group either by limiting his awareness of alternatives, or by bringing pressure to bear on him are outlined and discussed.

Participation as a product of a lack of alternatives

There are a number of factors which may be said to pre-dispose migrants to participate in the activities of the extended kin group by either limiting their awareness of alternatives or and/or by limiting their ability to participate in alternatives. These are factors over which the individual has little control and might be called 'non-normative' factors. The combined effect of these factors is to force the individual to continue to accept the legitimacy of Samoan custom and the organisation within the migrant community in New Zealand. A number of these factors will be outlined below.

Rural Origins

Until the early 1960's many Samoans came to New Zealand from the area around Apia. During this phase migrants were largely part Samoan, part European (Pitt and Macpherson, 1971:15ff.), well educated and members of a group which after Independence became a financial and commercial elite. In the mid-1960's the pattern of migration changed: as links were established between New Zealand and rural villages, Apia's importance as a source area for migrants declined. With a direct route to New Zealand the members of rural villages began to move in ever increasing numbers to New Zealand. Statistics on migrant origins (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:17) conform this trend but for reasons outlined elsewhere (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:10-11), these statistics almost certainly understate the increases in the volume of rural migrants. The most obvious, and interesting evidence of this trend is the increasing number of village based migrant associations which have sprung up in the migrant community in the

past 12 years [1] as chain migration between the rural villages and New Zealand has gathered momentum.

The increasing proportion and numbers of rural migrants in New Zealand has important implications for the perpetuation of Samoan social organisation in the migrant community. The rural villages of Samoa are the most conservative of all. This can be seen in the rigid adherence to Samoan custom and tradition, and the rejection of a number of external influences [2]. Samoans themselves recognise this fact and refer to the rural villages (Nu'u i tuā) as ole Samoa moli: the real or true Samoa. The strength of Samoan custom in these villages is immense and Samoan social organisation, with its heavy emphasis on kinship, has remained the basis of organisation in these villages despite the presence of central government.

The increasing numbers of migrants who arrive from these villages has obvious implications for the perpetuation of Samoan social organisation in the migrant community. This is not simply because of their pre-migration experience with this form but also because of their positive commitment to Samoan social organisation and values.

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1. When I returned from a rural village in Samoa at the end of 1965 there were some 9 members of the village in Auckland During the 9 years since 1965 the migrant population has grown to over 130 and virtually every residential kin corporation in that village is represented. The same is true of most rural villages and this recent migration is reflected in the increasing numbers of rural villages which are building new churches, although and in the numbers of European style houses which are being built in rural villages with remittances sent from migrants.

2. In villages 25 minutes from Apia, girls are fined for wearing mini-skirts, dark glasses are banned, film screenings are banned a prayer curfew is sounded and people found out after curfew are fined by the village fono.

To the rural villager who migrates to New Zealand the Samoan kinship system may appear not only an acceptable but the only sensible basis of social organisation. However, this is more than a generalisation: there are a number of factors which limit all Samoan migrants, and especially rural migrants', perception of alternative forms of social organisation.

The Formal Education System in Samoa.

Western Samoa faces, along with many developing countries, a major problem in providing formal education for a rapidly increasing school age population. In Samoa's case, the rapid growth in the school age population and deteriorating conditions of the international market, has resulted in a decline in the average level of educational attainment and an increase in the numbers of persons leaving school earlier. The present economic situation has prevented Samoa from providing the capital necessary to maintain former average levels, let alone provision of capital necessary to increase these (Hilder, W., 1970:34). If levels of educational attainment are low overall, they are even lower in rural areas for a number of reasons.

If formal education is seen as a vehicle for the acquisition of information about alternative forms of social organisation, the significance of falling levels of educational attainment is obvious. The Samoan population overall, and the rural population in particular, is presented fewer and fewer opportunities of acquiring information about societies outside of Samoa. The potential migrant is thus

denied the opportunity to obtain the sort of information which might permit him to become independent in New Zealand society, and is instead made more dependent on kinsmen, who have acquired information since their arrival, for interpretation of the organisation and values of the host society.

If falling levels of educational attainment have reduced the amount of information about the organisation of the potential host societies which is accessible to potential migrants, this trend has been accelerated by the restructuring of the content of school curriculums.

Since Samoa attained independence in 1962, there has been a move toward the Samoanisation of the civil service. In the case of the education department this resulted in the appointment of Dr Fanaafi Larkin as Director of Education. Dr Larkin instituted a programme of Samoanisation of the content of school curricula. Convinced that national awareness and pride was desirable, Dr Larkin has guided the development of a new curriculum which has introduced and re-emphasised Samoan tradition, history and social skills. At the same time there has been a progressive reduction in the emphasis on 'European content' in the curriculum. The net product of this programme has been that the individual who emerges from the formal education system may be exceedingly well equipped to understand and cope with life in Samoa but poorly equipped to cope with life in a non-Samoan society [3]. The

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3. At higher levels information about other forms of social organisation are more readily available but given the limited numbers of people who can be offered places in the secondary education sector, those who obtain this information constitute a very small minority within the total population.

low levels of English fluency present in the rural, and even semi-urban, populations is also a product of the decreasing average time spent in formal education and is significant because fluency levels restrict access to alternative sources of information.

Alternative Sources of information

Formal education is clearly not the only source of information for the potential migrant, but it does place serious constraints on the sort of material to which potential migrants have access. Low levels of educational attainment and the low levels of English language fluency may deny him access to the considerable volume of material which is available but only in English. Material in the Samoan language is scarce and not comprehensive.

The most obvious vehicles for mass education are the media but for various financial and political reasons the media have not played a very significant role in the provision of information which might be useful for potential migrants to New Zealand. The role of the media in the dissemination of material for potential migrants is important but, for reasons of space, has been relegated to the appendices.[4a] It is sufficient to note here two major factors which have shaped the media role in the dissemination of material. Firstly, Samoan migration to New Zealand and the US has resulted in a major decrease in the manpower available to the Samoan economy.[4] The government

4. An economist who has recently completed research in Samoa told me that there are already signs of a shortage of manpower and that continued migration can only exacerbate this problem (Harrison, G. per comm.).

4(a) See appendix 9 for detailed consideration of this issue.

has good reason to discourage, or at least to avoid actively encouraging, further immigration. Secondly, Samoan national awareness which blossomed after independence [5] generated a demand for information about Samoan history and tradition. The media have become a vehicle for the dissemination of material on Samoan history and social tradition. The Western Samoan Government owns and controls the only radio station and publishes one of the two major newspapers which means that they are in a powerful position to determine content of the media. Given that the awakening of national pride may at least make Samoans less willing to abandon Samoa it is hardly surprising that the government has used the media in the way it has.

Age At Migration

New Zealand's immigration regulations state that Samoans who intend to reside permanently in New Zealand must be over the age of 18 and must have no more than 4 dependants. Single migrants are given preference over those with dependants because they are most economically productive and because they represent a lower cost to the state in terms of maintenance. These age restrictions are intended to ensure that those who intend to reside permanently in New Zealand will make a contribution to the New Zealand economy and will not become a charge on the state.

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5. Samoan national pride has always been strong: Samoan tradition states that Samoa was the island from which Tagaloa went forth and created the rest of the Eastern Pacific Islands, and from which later people went forth and colonised the islands which he had created. The Mau movement early in the 20th century was another major sign of this nationalism. However it was after independence and self government was secured this nationalism gained momentum and has been most pronounced.

However these regulations have an unintended effect which is significant in this context. The regulations ensure that migrants have been thoroughly socialised into Samoan society, which in turn raises the probability of a continued post-migration commitment to Samoan custom and values.

Summary

The combined effect of all of the factors outlined above is the production of a potential migrant who has been thoroughly socialised into an acceptance of Samoan values and social organisation. This socialisation is all the more effective because of the age restrictions on potential permanent migrants. By ensuring that migrants have spent at least 18 years in Samoan society the regulations also ensure that the most influential part of socialisation is completed in Samoan society. In addition to the above factors there are others which limit the possibility of some sort of anticipatory socialisation. Low levels of educational attainment, and consequently low levels of English fluency impose limitations on the material available to a potential migrant who wants to obtain information about New Zealand society. The media, the other obvious source of such information, do not provide very much information which would enable the potential migrant to prepare himself for life outside of Samoa.

The above factors are important because they produce a potential migrant population which in terms of social skills acquired before migration, are poorly prepared for life outside of Samoa. Furthermore the low levels of English fluency among those who do migrate limit

the possibility of a rapid post-migration resocialisation. In general terms, the people who migrate to New Zealand are poorly prepared for resocialisation and in consequence become dependent on other Samoan migrants for guidance and socialisation in New Zealand society.

Participation as a product of coercion

To this point, I have been discussing factors which limit potential migrants' awareness of alternatives to Samoan values and forms of social organisation. There are of course potential migrants who, despite the factors above, are disenchanted with Samoan values and social organisation. This group may be motivated to migrate by a desire to escape the source of their dissatisfaction. This group of 'deviants' are highly motivated to undertake some sort of anticipatory socialisation so that they will be prepared to escape the grips of the fa'a Samoa on arrival in New Zealand. In other words, the 'deviant' will prepare before migration for a life free of dependence on kinsmen and thus free of involvement in a replica of the form of social organisation which he seeks to escape.

The migrant Samoan community's structure and organisation would be profoundly influenced by the presence of large numbers of such deviants. A large number of such people pursuing an apparently successful and prosperous life outside of the fa'a Samoa could generate a growing dissatisfaction among those who had 'chosen' to remain within Samoan social organisation, by making them aware of the advantages of an independent European life style. A certain general heightening of

the awareness of the advantages of the European life style is inevitable among all migrants, as they are exposed to contrasts in lifestyles in New Zealand. This is evident in a number of comments passed, particularly when Samoans are angry. The following comment is typical and was made by a young man who had heard that $800.00 which he had sent to his father to fence a plantation had been spent on two weddings:

> "This fa'a Samoa is a lot of nonsense. I would much rather have the fa'a palagi. I watch my money being poured down a drain. Look, I have been here for four and a half years and look what I have . . . a car which is nearly older than I am . . . . Yet look at that European who started work two weeks after I did at the same firm and as a carpenter too . . . He has a station wagon and has bought himself a house but me . . . I just throw my money away on the fa'a Samoa . . . the fa'a palagi is the best way.

The awareness which this comment reflects of contrasts between the life styles of Samoan and their European peers is general. However, the reply to his comment is interesting:

> "You're absolutely right . . . that European will have a lot of things when you will have hardly anything but your thinking is wrong . . . . Remember the story about the rich man and the poor man in the Kingdom of Heaven. God sent the rich man to the devil and accepted the poor man into Heaven . . . and another thing. When that European grows old and sick is that station wagon going to look after him . . . . is his house going to look after him . . . is his funeral going to be attended by large numbers of people who respect him and love him? The only people at his funeral will be the bank manager, and the man from the hire purchase firm . . . Leave the palagi to his own.

So long as 'success' in these terms is seen among the host population, the members of the community are able to attribute it to the natural success of a particular, and different, group's life style. It is more difficult to disregard or disclaim such success if pursued by large numbers of Samoan 'deviants', with apparent success.

Since, for many migrants in New Zealand, the Samoan migrant community is their major avenue to social recognition and prestige, they have a vested interest in the retention of this system. The prestige which the 'elite' enjoys is based on their knowledge of, and influence in, European society. However the prestige is bestowed by a group of migrants who are poorly equipped to evaluate the real extent of the elite's knowledge and influence in the host society. The elite's power over newer and less competent migrants is dependent on their ability to keep the latter believing that they could not manage without the elite. The presence of large numbers of successful deviants would present a yardstick against which new migrants could compare the competence of the present elite. If in the process the elite's power was shown to be more apparent than real their prestige, and power, would decline. The exclusion of 'deviants' ensures that the elite (a) retain prestige within the community, and (b) limit the range of alternative life styles available to the new migrants. In other words the elite have a vested interest in the recruitment and sponsorship of conservative and poorly educated migrants to whom the elite will appear important.

The dependence of a poorly educated migrant on the elite can be maintained after migration. The new migrant will of necessity have dealings with the host society. Since the new migrant is poorly equipped socially to manage these dealings on his own he becomes dependant to the elite in these situations. Such an arrangement may suit the new migrant well because, bewildered by a new society, he may well have no desire to attempt to handle these decisions himself. The following statement, made by a young woman, reflects this willingness to avoid making complex decisions involving variables which they do not understand.

" . . . for the first four or five years here I stayed with my uncle and his wife and they looked after everything for me . . . . I was very lucky that they were here . . . . I know other people who had no relations to help them and some got into trouble and some got scared or something and ran away to Samoa . . . . Now I know something about this country and know some English I am able to help some of the younger kids in the same way I was helped . . . . ".

The migrant community elite's prestige is dependent on the retention of the system within which it is achieved: fa'a Samoa and they therefore have reason for selecting those who are most committed to the system and whose participation ensures the maintenance of the system.

The continued involvement of individuals is to some degree assured by their lack of alternatives, but in situations in which individuals begin to question the value of participation, the elite may be faced with the problems of coercing their participation. Because the fa'a Samoa has no legal standing in New Zealand, civil authority cannot be invoked to force recalcitrant individuals to accept the authority of the elite. The only means which the elite has at its disposal are sanctions which arise out of the Samoan social system. The elite's success in disciplining members will depend largely on how responsive the deviant is to this type of pressure. The most responsive deviant is likely to be one who accepts the elite's right to discipline him and who can be controlled by sanctions at their disposal. Thus the elite has yet another reason for preferring conservative poorly educated migrants who will be responsive to sanctions at its disposal.

The elite not only have reasons for preferring conservative migrants who are committed to the fa'a Samoa and responsive to sanctions at its disposal; they also have the ability to ensure that from among all would be migrants the most conservative in fact migrate. This ability arises from the way in which the immigration regulations are structured.

Immigration Regulations

The regulations which govern Samoan immigration to New Zealand were intended to ensure that migrants did not arrive in New Zealand at time when there were either insufficient jobs or insufficient housing [6]. This was done by making guarantees of accommodation and employment prerequisites for the issue of entry permits to intending migrants. For reasons outlined in the preceding chapter the intending migrant is in almost all cases dependent on migrants who are already in New Zealand for both the accommodation and employment guarantees and the payment of his airfare.

These regulations have quite incidentally given the migrant population a significant degree of control over who can or cannot migrate. The migrant can select from among all would be migrants those to whom he will allocate guarantees. In a very real sense then the migrants in New Zealand are involved in a form of pre-selection and have considerable influence in the selection process.

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6. This is in addition to a number of requirements such as health, clearance, proof of good character, pre-paid airfare, and a ceiling of 1650 persons per year on the number of migrants intending permanent residence. The accommodation and employments regulations however are the areas which give migrants in New Zealand control.

Their influence hinges on their ability to provide guarantees for those would be migrants whom they believe will make 'good' migrants, and to withhold guarantees for those whom they believe would not. What happens on the ground is that a would be migrant will contact a kinsman, or occasionally a friend, and seek his sponsorship. The migrant in New Zealand must then decide whether he will sponsor the would be migrant. His decision will be based on the following considerations.

(a) the effect the would be migrant will have on the sponsor's own financial situation is important. Where the sponsor believes that a would be migrant will contribute to the support of kinsmen, usually those in Samoa, whom he is presently supporting on his own sponsorship is an attractive proposition. The would be migrants most likely to meet this criterion are those most committed to fa'a Samoa.

(b) the effect a would be migrant will have on the sponsor's reputation in the Samoan migrant community is also important. A sponsor who has invested considerable time and money in the establishment of a good reputation in the Samoan community will consider the effects of a would be migrant's presence on his reputation. He is most likely to consider sponsoring a person whose behaviour will reflect favourably on the sponsor in the

eyes of the Samoan community [7]. Such a person is again likely to be one who is committed to the same system as those who will judge him: the fa'a Samoa.

(c) the effect the would be migrant will have on his reputation in the host community is also significant. A person who has invested considerable time and effort in creating contacts with, and a reputation in, the host community will not wish to sponsor a person who will bring him into disrepute with the host community. The irony here is that the sponsor is assuming that the host community shares his own beliefs about shared traits in kinsmen and collective responsibility. The European's belief in individuality and individual responsibility may mean that the sponsor's concern in this area is misplaced. However, misplaced or not, it leads the sponsor to seek those whom he believes he will be able to control, which means those who will be most responsive to sanctions based on notions of collective responsibility, which in turn means those who are most committed to the fa'a Samoa.

The combined effect of these criteria applied by a would be sponsor is to single out certain individuals whom he believes to be good risks according to his own, Samoan, judgement. While the motive

7. The Samoan notion of collective responsibility is important here. A deviant's behaviour will reflect not only on the deviant but also on his kinsmen. There is a belief that behaviour traits are common to all kinsmen. These traits may, in normal circumstances, be submerged, but in cases where a person exhibits a trait its existence in others is assumed. This is mostly in cases where socially undesirable traits emerge.

in this situation is one of self interest on the part of the would be migrant, this process has an interesting latent effect. The process results in the selection for sponsorship of those people who are most committed to the fa'a Samoa, which increases the probability of the perpetuation of fa'a Samoa in the migrant community, and ipso facto, the persistence of a kinship system based on extended kin groupings.

However, by choosing one would be migrant for sponsorship, the sponsor excludes certain others. In so doing he creates himself another problem, that of reconciling the ideals of service and primary loyalty to kinsmen with the necessity of withholding this service out of self interest. He must then withhold assistance without revealing motives of self interest and a number of strategies are adopted to make socially nefarious decisions, if not acceptable, at least justifiable. These strategies revolve around the control of the availability of the necessary guarantees, by the sponsor. The strategies are discussed below.

Employment Guarantees

A 'sponsor' may lie to would be migrants and simply tell them that no vacancies are available. In certain circumstances, however, he may not be able to do this as the following statement suggests:

> "I always ask if there are any vacancies because there are a lot of my relations working with me and they would know if I did not really try to get a guarantee".

When forced to see the personnel officer the 'sponsor' may still adopt another strategy. When asked for his assessment of a would be migrant, the 'sponsor' may either hint that the person is unsuitable

or claim that he does not know the person well enough to give an assessment, or just say that the person is unsuitable. As one 'sponsor' commented:

> "When the personnel officer asks me about the person I just say that I don't know the person well, or say that he is not much good. Usually he will say there are no vacancies because I know him well and he knows what I mean even if I don't say it".

Thus armed with a refusal, the 'sponsor' is faced with the necessity of disguising the fact that he engineered it. The most common solution to this problem is to place the blame on the management. This may be done by claiming that the management has had problems with other Samoan employees and will not offer guarantees at the present time or, that the management has recently issued a guarantee to a Samoan and wants time to assess that person's performance before issuing other guarantees, or finally that there are no vacancies [8]. Since the people who are given these excuses have no way of assessing the truth or otherwise, the 'sponsor' is able to maintain a smooth personal relationship while at the same time achieving his own ends. Finally so that the 'sponsor' appears keen to assist he tells would be migrants that he will try again as soon as he thinks there is a chance of obtaining a guarantee for them.

Accommodation Guarantees

In this area the 'sponsor' has less chance of controlling access. There is an expectation in Samoan custom that any person

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8. The final strategy cannot be employed where other kinsmen are also employed in the company. They will know that it is a lie if the company is engaging people while they are being told that there are no vacancies.

who seeks accommodation with his kinsman will be granted this for as long as it is necessary. This custom continues today and much travel within Samoa consists of a series of journeys between kinsmen's households or villages in which a person has kin [9]. There are, however, strategies which are available to New Zealand residents.

The sponsor may guarantee a certain number of persons accommodation so that he can say that his dwelling is committed, and that he cannot offer any more. Clearly to attempt to deceive his own family, all of whom know of the progress of most immigration applications, is impossible since one cannot claim that one has guaranteed accommodation for someone else with whom the family can check. In such cases the husband claims that the guarantees have been offered to his wife's kinsmen and vice versa. This may effectively prevent relations from checking on the truth of the claims.

It is possible for the members of a household which is full or overfull to move out and to create room in a new household for an intending migrant. This is expected of kinsmen in situations in which such a move would create the necessary accommodation. Here manipulation is possible. It is possible to claim that the migrant cannot find alternative accommodation and that despite the fact that he wishes to be in a situation in which he can offer

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9. In fact there are no motels or other hostelries in Samoa which are used by Samoans partly because of the fact that such facilities are concentrated around Apia urban area and partly because of the cost of staying in those which exist.

accommodation to a relative he is prevented from doing so by prejudice on the part of land agents or because of a general shortage of housing. At the same time he may add that he is still trying and that they should keep hoping.

Thirdly it is possible to offer a guarantee of accommodation and then to await inspection by the Labour Department's officers. When they arrive, the head of the household may make the house appear to be full and thus be disqualified while at the same time placing the blame on the Labour Department. There is a variant on this which is to offer accommodation to a number of people so that the Labour Department is forced into a situation in which they become suspicious and place a quota on the head of the household. He is then able to say that despite his wish to be able to accommodate all his kin, the quota has led to his being placed under surveillance by the Labour Department and/or his being prevented by the department from offering the accommodation previously offered. This again permits him to appear the innocent victim of his own generosity.

These strategies then permit the 'sponsor' a degree of control over access to accommodation guarantees while at the same time appearing innocent of any deception. The importance of this was mentioned by the heads of households and one such statement is cited below:

> "you know the Samoan custom, you cannot refuse to look after your own kinsman and you cannot turn him away. But not all people are good and the same is true of your kin although you cannot say it . . . some people are just a lot of trouble as are some kinsmen . . . you cannot tell people, especially kinsmen, that you don't want them but you cannot risk having them and so you have to do it so that you look after yourself but so that you do not offend your kinsman . . . . ".

Thus there is both motive for using strategies and strategies which are available, and which are used, in the area of accommodation. We turn now to the final area in which migrants attempt to exercise some degree of control.

Airfare Payments

Recent developments have reduced the degree of control which migrants are able to exercise in this area. Formerly it was possible for migrants in New Zealand to claim inability to pay fares on the grounds of expense and this was done. However, recently the demand for travel has led to the formation of companies to finance air travel on a 'fly now, pay later' basis. Thus a person who wishes to travel to New Zealand may ask his 'sponsor' to arrange to have the fare prepaid by one of these companies and to promise to repay the fare from his earnings. This involves the sponsor entering into a contract on behalf of the intending migrant as guarantor. Since the sponsor cannot tell the intending migrant that he doubts his ability or his intention to repay the fare he is forced by etiquette to enter into a contract and take the risk that the intending migrant once here will pay the fare plus the various interest and administrative charges of the financing company.

However, as mentioned, this is a fairly recent development and up until 1974 the migrants have been able to exert some degree of control in this area, through a number of strategies.

The claiming of inability to pay on the grounds of hardship has been used, but presents difficulties for the sponsor who is forced

to admit that despite the glowing reports of his progress and new found wealth he is unable to find the price of an airfare. For married couples the difficulty is to some extent avoided by claiming that his hardship is temporary and has been caused by generosity to his spouse's family. The same is true in reverse for the wife. For single persons the explanation of the apparent contradiction is somewhat more problematical.

However, where a migrant has been asked for more than one airfare he may be able to claim that despite his wealth he is unable to pay all the airfares for which he has been asked. Where there are several members of a would be migrant's kin group in New Zealand it may be suggested that the sponsor combines with others and that the cost is shared among them all. This argument is hard to refute and so what more often than not happens is that the sponsors attempt to block a person on some grounds such as the inability to find accommodation or work guarantees.

It is true to say that this area provides more problems for control than do other areas because of widespread knowledge of the possibility of financing arrangements in which the sponsor need only be guarantor. But even before this became a fact it was still a problem and more often than not a sponsor who sought to exclude somebody was forced to attempt to block the procedure on some other grounds. Thus we find that strategies in other areas are better developed than are those in this area. It is interesting to consider the extent to which the inability to place the blame on other agencies such as government has led to a lack of development of strategies in this area. This was suggested by the following statement, from a person to whom I was very close:

'You know the Samoan . . . you know how proud he is and especially the person who has come to New Zealand. He is too proud to admit that he cannot pay a fare because he has no money . . . especially after he has been telling all the people at home how important he is at his job and so on . . . . '

The pre-selection and sponsorship of conservative migrants may ensure that those chosen are predisposed to participate in the fa'a Samoa. It does not, however, guarantee their continued participation after migration. In the preceding chapters various factors which may encourage participation were discussed but these alone do not guarantee continued commitment to the system. This leads to the consideration of the strategies by which the migrant's continued participation in the fa'a Samoa and in the extended kin group in particular are ensured. While it is true that these strategies are aimed at maintaining commitment by limiting the new migrant's awareness of alternatives, these strategies are separated because they involve deliberate action on the part of the longer resident migrants who seek to maintain the new migrant's commitment.

Participation as the product of coercive strategies

Coercive, for the purposes of this discussion, refers to the application of pressures, of whatever type, which is intended to produce conformity on the part of individual members of a group, to group norms of thought and behaviour. In this case I am primarily concerned with those strategies which are used to coerce participation in the activities of the extended kin group.

Dependence and participation

Immediately after the new migrant's arrival in New Zealand his sponsor and other kinsmen embark on a process of socialisation. The aim of this process is to make it clear to the new migrant that the host society is immensely complex and unsafe territory for the naive newcomer. The timing of this process is appropriate: the new migrant has just had his first contact with a series of agents of the host society. This contact with officials who have asked him about abbatoirs, reptiles, and organic substances (a list of which is to be found overleaf) has made the new migrant painfully aware of the complexity of the new society and of his own inadequacies. The confiscation of a bag of undeclared raw fruit, brought for a relative, may have succeeded in convincing the new migrant that the host society will take little notice of his concerns and is potentially hostile.

With the new arrival somewhat bewildered, the migrant kinsmen begin on their socialisation. In the course of a discussion the new arrival is asked about events in the village, and in the parent branch of the extended kin group in Samoa. He answers these questions and then begins to ask about events and people in the migrant community. His migrant hosts tell him what has been happening, taking every opportunity to relate in great detail the tales of people who have failed in the community. A typical conversation may give an insight into this process of socialisation:

New Migrant:	What about Ioane?
Migrant:	Poor Ioane . . . .
New Migrant:	What happened to him?
Migrant:	He had an accident in the South Island and was killed.
New Migrant:	How?
Migrant:	He ran away from his family and

was going south to get a job. He got a ride from some palagi he met but while they were crossing the railway line something went wrong with their car and they were hit by the train . . . two of them were killed.

New Migrant: That's too bad . . . poor Ioane. How about his brother Maleko, he's here in Auckland isn't he?

Migrant: Yes he's here in Otara, he married a girl from somewhere in Aleipata . . . . We might see them tomorrow. They are always at church . . . .

While accidents and failures are attributed to bad luck, and while the racconteur is apparently very sorry for the victims of various misfortunes, the message to the new arrival is clear: the dangers of life outside of the kin group are everywhere, and that they seem to strike those who have sought premature independence. This message is not accidental, the migrants have an interest in keeping the new arrival within the control of the kin group, and one of the most effective strategies is to point to the dangers which exist outside of it.

This socialisation is sufficient to establish an early dependance of the new migrant on his kinsmen as the following comment suggests:

> 'When I first thought about coming to New Zealand it all seemed simple and very attractive. I was going to be a big number and show my family that I could do big things in New Zealand. I thought I had a very good idea about what New Zealand was really like . . . . When I arrived in New Zealand I didn't know what had struck me . . . . For the first time in my life I seemed to be surrounded by people who didn't know me and who didn't have any interest in me. It was then that I realised what the village had meant to me and I started to feel homesick for my parents and for the village. The only people I wanted to be with were my kinsmen who knew me and would help me. In a way it was just like being in the village again. I know that most migrants feel that way because everything

here seems very attractive from Samoa but once you see the reality you know how wrong you were . . . .'

The process continues over a period in a number of situations and emphasises the new migrant's dependence on his kinsmen. At work the sponsor becomes responsible for the induction and orientation of the new migrant and guides him through the early phase of adjustment to the work situation (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:88ff.). The presence of a kinsman who can assist the new migrant define and interpret new situations and intervene where trouble arises heightens the dependence on kinsmen and at the same time makes him aware of his personal limitations. In dealing with the host society the importance of his migrant kinsmen is made clear to the new migrant. For varying periods of time the new migrant finds that his contacts with doctors, shop assistants, neighbours, foremen, busdrivers are through, and only possible through, his kinsmen.

When the new migrant shows signs of premature independence he can easily be brought up short by his sponsors. They may begin to recount stories of the brash but ill equipped new migrant who makes a fool of himself because of his inexperience. These stories are told over meals, apparently simply for their amusement value, and serve to warn the new migrant not to overestimate his ability to cope with the new society on his own. Many of the stories revolve around people who have made fools of themselves by the incorrect use of English language. If this fails to restrain the new migrant's enthusiasm the kinsmen may leave him to his own devices for a time to bring his inadequacies home to him. Thus as one woman said:

'That sister of mine . . . she thinks she is very clever. Now she is talking about leaving her job and looking for another job. I told her to go ahead and look for a job I didn't care. She went out this afternoon but I'm not worried . . . she'll be back tonight without a new job because she can't even speak English properly . . . but by then she will know her own foolishness.

The above may be combined with a dose of public humiliation of the new migrant who fails in things which he tries unaided. So we have conversations such as the following carried out in front of the failure:

I. I wonder where L got a new job?
II. Oh he got a new job . . . sitting on the newspaper box reading the newspaper . . . .
I. That sounds like a good job, I wonder how much it pays?
II. Oh I don't think it pays much because he only reads the situations vacant.
I. Never mind, he might be promoted to read the frong page if he does well!
II. Ha ha ha.

While the sponsor gives the new migrant assistance, ostensibly out of love, motives of self-interest are clearly apparent. The latent effects of this maintenance of a dependant relationship are interesting. The dependence on kinsmen as a buffer between the new migrant and the host society excludes him from those situations and information which would permit him to become independent. While it frees the new migrant from the necessity of grappling with decisions based on variables which he does not understand, it also prevents him from learning how to make his own decisions. Thus even when the new migrant becomes aware of alternatives he may not have the necessary skills to participate in them.

The socialisation process described above ensures continued dependence of the new migrant on his sponsor and other kin, but it has another effect which is equally interesting: the indebtedness of the new migrant to his sponsor and to other kin on whom he is in some way dependent.

Indebtedness and Participation

The new migrant is indebted to his sponsor and his kinsmen for a number of things. Firstly, his presence in the New Zealand and access to the wage economy are the products of his sponsor's having located guarantees and having paid his airfare. Thus in a very real sense he is indebted to his kinsman/sponsor for all that he enjoys. The kinsman/sponsor's patronage and guidance has given the new migrant security and has helped him to avoid difficulties and 'failure' which have beset other migrants who sought independence. This security which he enjoys places the new migrant in further debt to his kinsmen and sponsor. Thirdly, the prestige which he enjoys among his kinsmen in Samoa through the gifts and remittances which he is able to send is again due to the fact that kinsmen have brought him to New Zealand and made it possible for him to gain this prestige. Thus he is further indebted to his sponsor and kinsmen.

This fact of indebtedness, on the part of the new migrant, to his kinsmen is a powerful sanction which can be used when necessary on the would be 'deviant'. The sponsor may remind the new migrant of his indebtedness and of the fact that without his patronage and help the new migrant would still be at home in the village digging

his plantation. However, it is, in my experience, rarely necessary to remind the new migrant of his debt to his kinsmen, because his continuing dependence on them does this for him.

The combined effect of the new migrant's dependence on, and indebtedness to, his sponsor and migrant kinsmen in general is to give them a certain degree of control over the new migrant's affairs. This control in most cases extends to the new migrant's financial affairs, which leads to a consideration of the possibility that individual participation is in certain cases involuntary.

Participation as an involuntary response

The control of the new migrant's affairs is taken over by the head of the household [10] in which the migrant goes to live. This arrangement is not new to the migrant: in Samoa both the matai and the heads of households exert some degree of control over members' affairs. The migrant is not only accustomed to such an arrangement but is forced to accept its necessity in the new situation.

The control which the head of the household exerts extends to the new migrant's financial affairs. Again, this arrangement is not new to the migrant. In Samoa both the matai and household heads exert some control over members' income, although only in

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10. The head of the household is, in most cases, a senior kinsman of the new migrant, and has in most cases, obtained one or both of the guarantees for the new migrant.

few cases would the individual's income be subject to sole control by either. While the new migrant may be somewhat reluctant to hand over his entire income to the head of the household he has little option in the circumstances because he is both indebted to and dependent on the head of the household.

In addition to the costs of maintenance of members, the head of the household is entitled to take, from members' incomes, a sum which covers his 'risk' in sponsoring migrants. This usually consists of a surcharge combined with board payments and migrants may be led to assume that the sum taken is all for board [11]. This arrangement is not peculiar to the migrant Samoan community: the matai and household heads in Samoa are entitled to a consideration for their 'patronage'. It is fair to note that few migrants contest the household head's right to take a sum which they have reason to believe exceeds the costs of upkeep.

However the existence of the fund to which all members of a household contribute compulsorily and which is controlled by the head of a household is significant. The head of the household is able to commit his household to participation in extended kin group activities without the consent of individual members. It is possible to argue that an individual's dependence on and indebtedness to the household head results in the loss of choice in the matter of

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11. The size of this 'surcharge' varies and few household heads were keen to discuss the matter. It was claimed that this extra money was necessary to pay incidental expenses such as TV licenses, the upkeep of the house and rates, and so on. However it is clear that household head's income from these sources exceeds their outgoings and it is likely that some of the surcharge goes to paying their own personal expenses.

participation. This in turn means that the participation of individuals is more apparent than real.

It must be made clear here that members of a household are unlikely to contest the household's decision to participate in activities. Commitment to fa'a Samoa makes it likely that members will agree that participation is appropriate in most cases. Furthermore, while technically the household head is able to decide to participate without consultation, members of a household have the right, and the ability, to influence the scale of participation which the household head accepts on their behalf [12].

It remains a fact however that in both major forms of household organisation the head of a household has the power to commit the group to participation without consultation by virtue of his power over members. Here I wish to discuss briefly the organisation of households to show the extent of household heads' control of members' financial affairs under various forms of organisation.

Centralised Responsibility

The household head collects each member's wages intact and handles budgeting of each's income [13]. With the exception of the

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12. When household members feel that someone is profiteering or is committing them to contributions which are unnecessarily large they may write to their parents and complain. The parents may suggest that the 'victim' moves to another household in which demands are more reasonable. Once the head of a household gets a reputation for consuming excessive amounts of individual incomes he will find it difficult to replace those who leave. This acts as a check on his power to consume members income excessively.

13. This is often done at the factory and a number of forms report that senior kinsmen will collect all of the wages of members of the kin group as they are paid. One firm reports a senior kinsman who collected 10 paypackets which have an average weekly value of $700, while others report similar patterns involving smaller numbers of paypackets.

household head, each member receives from his or her income a sum of pocket money, which he or she is free to dispose of as they will. The amount varies between $3.00 and $7.00 for girls, and $4.00 and $10.00 for boys. Another sum is banked on each member's behalf in a savings account. The accounts may be solely controlled by the individual or may be jointly controlled by the individual and the household head (as joint signatories).

Of the balance various other expenses are paid on the members' behalf's. The household head budgets and pays these expenses which may be for such things as fare repayments, savings funds, remittances to Western Samoa, hire purchase commitments.

From each income the household head takes a sum for board and maintenance (which includes the 'surcharge'). This sum varies from household to household in the range of $10.00 to $15.00. He retains full control of this sum and is free to use the residue as he chooses.

The breakdown of weekly expenses of individuals living in households organised in this way is shown in Table XIV below.

TABLE XIV

Breakdown of weekly budget - (Central Responsibility)

	MALES			FEMALES.		
Board	10	15	12	10	15	10
Fare Repayments	10	-	-	5	5	-
Savings Funds *	25	25	35	20	15	10
Remittances to WS	10	10	5	5	10	5
Hire Purchase	-	5	2	-	3	-
Miscellaneous	-	5	7	5	5	2

Table XIV Continued:

Pocket Money	5	10	10	2.50	5	5
Personal Savings	10	20	5	2.50	7	9
TOTAL	$70	$90	$75	$50	$65	$41
		(MALES)			(FEMALES)	

* (kalapu)

The most interesting feature of this type of organisation is that the members of a household retain sole control of very little of their income. Such an arrangement may well suit the new migrant who not only accepts, but is grateful for the household head's assistance in the management of his income. However, such an organisational form has implications in any discussion of individual participation in the affairs of the extended kin group. The lack of control which an individual member has over his or her income raises very real questions about the nature of participation.

Joint Control

In households of this type the head of the household takes from each member's income a sum for board which includes a surcharge of the type discussed earlier. Members are permitted free access to the balance of their incomes. In the case of new migrants the head of the household may offer to assist with budgeting until such time as it is unnecessary. Again under this form of organisation the head of the household has access to a fund which permits him to commit the group to participation without consultation with individual members. This again raises the question of whether there is in fact true individual participation, or whether individual involvement in the affairs of the extended kin group is an involuntary response

forced on individuals by their dependence.

Thus far I have been discussing factors which may explain the participation of the new migrant. It is one thing to explain the participation of a new migrant who is both indebted to and dependent on kinsmen. It is quite another to explain the continued participation of migrants who have been in New Zealand for longer periods of time, are in a position to be independent of their kinsmen, have worked out their indebtedness, and are aware of alternative forms of organisation and their advantages. This brings us to a discussion of those sanctions which are invoked to maintain the commitment to and participation of this latter group. The elite, whom we have mentioned have an interest in the continued participation of individual members, have a range of sanctions available to them for this purpose.

Containment strategies : controlling the would be 'deviant'

When members of the elite can no longer mask alternatives and where they are no longer able to direct and limit migrants' contact with the host society, they are faced with a problem of maintaining their control over migrants. The elite's control diminuishes as the new migrant becomes more fluent in English and consequently better equipped to make sense of the host society [14]. As the new migrant establishes contact with members of the host society and finds that he is apparently acceptable to them he may have less and less reason

14. The rate at which this process proceeds varies from migrant to migrant. I know of cases of people who after 12 years in New Zealand have only basic fluency in English and have little understanding of or interest in the host society, and of others who after 12 months are beginning to take an active interest in the host community are are questioning the value of continued participation in the fa'a Samoa.

to believe the elite's tales of rejection of and prejudice toward Polynesians. As the new migrant begins to deal with the host society's institutions he has less reason to fear them. The elite, and other migrant kinsmen who are committed to fa'a Samoa, are no longer as able to exploit the would be deviant's ignorance. In these circumstances however they have other strategies which can be effectively applied.

The first of these is to suggest that the acceptance which the 'deviant' has experienced is a qualified acceptance and is not typical of the host population as a whole. It is further suggested that the 'deviant' is unwise to generalise on the basis of a limited number of contacts. This casts doubt on the 'deviant's' perception of his situation. This initial "softening up" process is followed up with a series of anecdotes which recount the experiences of others who misjudged the extent of their acceptance by the host society. These anecdotes can be extremely 'brutal' in their frankness and concentrate on the loss of dignity and humiliation which has been experienced by Samoans at the hands of the palagi.* In addition to these anecdotes scripture is invoked to show the deviant that the racial hierarchy is divinely ordained and therefore immutable [15]. The scriptures are invoked to explain the separation of races from one another and to show that this too is divinely ordained [16].

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* Several of these anecdotes are contained in appendix10 to illustrate their bias.

15. This belief is taught to Samoans early and is built on the story of Noah and his three sons (Genesis IX, 18-27). The descendants of Ham were cursed and ordained by God to be servants of Japheth and Shem. The interpretation placed on this story is that the descendants of Ham were coloured as a punishment for Ham's act and as a sign of their servantile status.

16. That the separation of racial groups is divinely ordained is also contained in scripture in the account of the Tower of Babel (Genesis XI,1-9). The interpretation placed on this is that God, having witnessed the arrogance of man, decided to make it impossible for them to communicate and thus separated races from one another.

The use of scripture is effective because while the 'deviant' may be willing to risk the loss of his connections with his kinsmen he is almost certainly unwilling to risk the breaking of God's law and inviting the displeasure of God. While he may believe that he is able to cope with his kinsmens' displeasure by moving away from them he is fully aware that he cannot escape God's sight and displeasure. Scripture is also effective because the Samoan is taught these beliefs early in his life by pastors who have a fundamentalist training which encompasses the belief in visitations of the Lord on deviants, in some rather extreme forms.

While the apparent aim of recounting these anecdotes is to save the would be deviant from humiliation the latent effects are obvious: the individual begins to reconsider the nature of his relationships with members of the host society and to question his hosts' motivation for accepting him.

As noted the would be 'deviant's' willingness to abandon his kinsmen may also be due to his positive experiences and successful contact with host society institutions. The elite and other kinsmen who are committed to the fa'a Samoa try to dampen this newfound confidence by warning the would be 'deviant' against generalising on the basis of limited experience.

Again they point to the experiences of other Samoans who overestimated their ability to deal, without the assistance of the elite, with the institutions of the host society. In these accounts are a number which relate fraudulent acts, committed by European

companies, which have resulted in financial losses to Samoans who put their faith in these [17]. The suggestion here is that the European has labelled the Polynesian as an easy target and is more than willing to take advantage of him at any opportunity. The complexities of contracts, the impersonality of European institutions and their lack of interest in the Polynesian are also mentioned and evidence for the allegations is cited.

Again the apparent aim of the exercise is to save the would be deviant from losing all that he has at the hands of European institutions but the latent effects of the process is to lead the deviant to reconsider his interpretation of his experience with European institutions. This in turn may lead him to doubt his own perception of events and the motivation of the European institutions which have tried to involve him.

The success of both of the above strategies depends on evidence of both prejudice and a willingness to defraud Polynesians in the host community. There is ample evidence of prejudice (Trlin, A. D., 1972; Vaughan, G. (Ed.), 1972) in sociological and anthropological literature. The prejudice is highlighted periodically by the news media particularly when statements are made by prominent members of

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17. At the same time, the racconteur deliberately avoids mentioning fraudulent acts committed by Samoans against other Samoans. When these issues are raised the racconteurs' answer is that in these cases the victim has means of seeking redress which he does not have with the Europeans and furthermore the acts committed by Samoans have involved comparatively small losses. A collection of these anecdotes is contained in appendix 11.

the host society [18]. Both the prominent coverage and the status of the proponents of these policies make it difficult for migrants to ignore or disclaim suggestions that prejudice against Polynesians does exist. This works in favour of those who are attempting to point out this prejudice to would be deviants. Ironically, the activities and public coverage of groups working for racial equality also provide evidence of prejudice and discrimination against Pacific Islanders which members of the elite can use in their arguments.

Evidence of fraudulent acts committed by Europeans which have resulted in losses to Samoans are somewhat harder to gain. However there is regular coverage of fraudulence and the would be deviant is confronted with this information and assured that if fraudulent acts can be committed by Europeans against other Europeans it must be very much easier for such acts to be committed against Samoans. Thus one older migrant told a young girl:

> 'You think you are clever because you have been to secondary school . . . . But look at all the palagi who had money in the J. B. L. company. There were lawyers, accountants, teachers, and bank managers with money in that company and even though they had been to the university, they lost all their money. If people like that can lose their money then what chance do you have?'

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18. Mr R. D. Muldoon, Leader of the Opposition, suggested that Polynesians who were found guilty of violent crime should be sent back to either maraes (in the case of Maoris) and to the Pacific Islands in the case of Pacific Islanders. The Crown Prosecutor (Auckland) publicly suggested a similar thing recently. In both cases the media gave considerable coverage to the issue and arguments for and against repatriation. In each case there was an apparently large public support for these suggestions which was reflected in both talk-back radio and letters to the editor. The leader of the New Zealand Nationalist Party (a fascist organisation) also periodically calls for the repatriation of non-Maori Polynesians in order to achieve a 'pure' society, and gains considerable coverage, from the media.

By forcing the would be deviant to doubt his own new-found confidence, the elite and other kinsmen are often able to bring him back into line. But these may fail and when this happens further sanctions may be invoked.

Personal Prestige in the Home Community

When a would be deviant stops sending money or gifts to kinsmen in the home community it is possible for the members of the elite to point to the effect on his reputation in the home community. The deviant is reminded that at some point he will return to his home village and that his reception will depend on how he has contributed to the home community as a migrant. The would be deviant is told that the village forgets those who forget it as the following comment which I overheard suggests:

> 'The people will ask each other who is that. I don't remember him. I wonder whose family he belongs to? It won't make any difference if you go in a taxi, with a suit on and fancy shoes . . . people won't remember you, you will mean nothing to them, you are a nobody in the village to which you belong . . . . Well if you want to be like that that's up to you but for myself I would not want that to happen in a thousand years . . . . '

If this strategy is effective it is because many migrants intend to return to live in Samoa. This desire is reflected in the fact that very few migrants choose to become naturalised New Zealanders even when they are eligible (Pitt and Macpherson, 1974:14, 15). Most choose to reside permanently in New Zealand but retain Samoan citizenship which will permit them to return to Samoa. It is more than simply a dream of a return: many migrants are aware that with skills

and capital it is possible to make the return to Samoa a very profitable venture. While there are as yet only small numbers of migrants returning to Samoa after spending their working lives in New Zealand, their success is encouraging to others. The case histories of two such returnees are contained in appendix 8 , to illustrate the financial possibilities of a return to Samoa.

It is too soon to establish whether the dream will be realised by large numbers of people, and it is possible to argue that for many who do return to Samoa the dream will sour (Wendt, A., 1973:170ff.). However, for many who dream of a return the considerations of their prestige in the home community will be important and may be sufficient to induce them to participate.

Where the would be deviant's parents have remained in the home community much more pressure can be exerted on him. Because of the strength of the relationship between parents and children in Samoan society, the suggestion that a would be deviant's non-participation will reflect on his parents is a powerful weapon. Non-participation reflects directly on the lack of love for his parents who gave birth to him and brought him up and gave him the opportunity to enjoy all that he enjoys. Where appeals to Samoan values are unsuccessful, scripture may be invoked to show that such behaviour is also un-christian. The most frequently quoted scripture is the commandment to love and honour one's parents (Exodus XX, 12). Here again while appeals to the deviant which are based on secular and Samoan values may fail to impress the migrant who has become dissatisfied with Samoan society, appeals backed by the authority of the Bible may be more successful.

Furthermore non-participation will affect not only his personal reputation: it will also affect his parents' reputation within the village. It is suggested that the would be deviant is punishing his parents by non-participation, and that in the light of what they have done for him this is extremely ungrateful. A girl criticising her sister's behaviour told her:

> 'You ate our parents' sweat, they paid for your education, they arranged for you to come here and this is how you repay them . . . . Think what people will say about our parents . . . . Look at them, they have three children in New Zealand and what have they got? Nothing . . . . Do you want the people to say that sort of thing about our parents . . . they will if you go on the way you are going . . . . '

Such accusations are obviously effective and one hears of people who are participating in activities out of consideration for their parents and their reputation within the village. I once took a woman to a funeral to give some money ($100.00) and on the way she told me that:

> 'Some times I ask myself why I am doing this and that here . . . . If there was only me involved . . . I wouldn't bother with some things but I think of my parents. I don't want the people in the village to say the bad things about my parents. But you know what the village is like . . . a lot of gossip and criticism of other people . . . . I don't mind that for myself but I do not want it to happen to my parents . . . . '

The would be deviant's parents are not entirely passive acceptors of the deviant's behaviour. Quite apart from disappointment in the lack of love shown them by the 'deviant', they may be concerned about the decline in their standard of living and the loss of prestige in the village. When this happens they may enter the play in the following way.

Non-recognition of kinship

There is an institution which is known in Samoan as le toe fai 'aiga which means literally no longer to make kinship but which more accurately means to cease to recognise as a kinsman. Any kinsman can inform another that he will cease to recognise him as a kinsman. This happens most frequently when a person fails to perform obligations due to a kinsman. The offended party implies that since the offender has ceased to behave as a kinsman, he has no option but to withdraw recognition of their kinship. This action is a fairly extreme alternative and is not used without good cause [19].

This same institution survives in the migrant community and is used from time to time. However the use of this strategy on a would be 'deviant' may not always be successful because the severing of kinship ties and therefore from obligations of kinship may be precisely what the deviant wants. However this strategy may be used with impressive effect by two categories of kinsman: parents and siblings. Of these two, parents' use of this device is, in my experience, most effective.

The parent will write to the child and express his disappointment at their behaviour. The writer notes that the love which once characterised their relationship is no longer evident in the child's behaviour and therefore it is probably better that the bond be terminated.

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19. The restraint with which this is used is significant. Its use leads the public at large to question the right of the offended party to use it and in doing so the offended party's own record of service is considered. Thus people whose own record is not note-worthy may avoid bringing the issue into the public eye for fear of revealing their own shortcomings.

I have only seen three responses to such threats and in each case there has been a dramatic change in the child's behaviour. In each the initial reaction seems to be one of disbelief on the part of the deviant, followed by a period of depression and then a resumption of support for parents. In one case the daughter immediately offered her parents a trip to New Zealand, and in another, a son withdrew the bulk of his savings and sent them to his parents.

The threat of non-recognition of the parent-child bond is effective because of its perceived importance among Samoans. As one young man said:

> 'You cannot replace your parents ... anything else can be replaced but your parents can never be replaced ....A person has only one set of parents and thus in one's life time he should do everything possible for them as the Bible commands....When they have gone then one can think of himself....'

It is probably that either singly, or in combination, the above sanctions will succeed in bringing the would be deviant back into line but there is one final possibility.

Supernatural Visitation

Samoan belief in supernatural agencies is well established despite the influence of the Christian churches. Supernatural agents remain powerful forces in contemporary Samoan society (Goodman, R. A., 1971:463ff.). There are a number of types of 'aitu or spirit (Ibid, 463) and one which is important in this context is the spirit of deceased relatives.

Deceased relatives who were given offense during their life time may return to seek retribution. The visitations may take any one of a number of forms all of which involve some discomfort to the offender [20]. One of these is the possession of the offender by the spirit. Having entered the offender, the spirit begins to speak in his or her voice of the act which gave offense. The person possessed can do nothing to override the spirit's presence and must hear the spirit out. The spirit's voice is clearly audible and the person possessed seems to be simply a vehicle for the spirit's relating of the incident or incidents which gave offense.

The visitations are often the result of a victim's failure to perform certain obligations which were due to the spirit in his lifetime. Apart from acts of ommission spirits may return to seek retribution for acts of commission by the offender.

The possibility of visitation is a horrible prospect for a Samoan and one young girl told me that she

'. . . would rather be dead than struck by a ghost'.

There may be several explanations for the fear which surrounds ghosts. For reasons of space it is impossible to detail these but three major possibilities are mentioned here in passing. Firstly, a general fear of the supernatural which is born out of the fact that it cannot be explained. Secondly, fear may be due to the unpredictability of

spirits' behaviour. Finally, the visitation may reveal one's failures and shortcomings publicly and expose him to opprobrium, among both the witnesses and those who hear the details. Spirits are simultaneously respected and feared and no man would take it upon himself to threaten a would be deviant with the possibility of visitation lest he invited one on himself. However it is unlikely that such an act would be necessary: there are sufficient stories of visitations on migrants current to ensure that migrants are well aware of the possibility. The presence of spirits and the possibility of visitation is an immensely powerful force in the maintenance of participation in the kin groups' activities. The spirit visitation has an interesting latent effect: its witnesses begin to review their own actions and behaviour and may (a) reinforce certain beliefs about ideals of behaviour and (b) lead to changes in the individual's behaviour which are intended to ensure that spirits will have no cause to seek retribution on him.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis arose out of interest in the debate which surrounds the relationship between economic systems and kinship systems. The formerly accepted argument that the dual processes of urbanisation and industrialisation have resulted in a transition from a system of kinship based on extended kin groups to one based on nuclear families has been challenged. Writers have argued that the empirical evidence for a pre-industrial kinship system based on extended kin groups is unsatisfactory and that the pre-industrial kin group may well be a myth born out of nostalgia rather than a verifiable fact. Yet another group have argued that extended kin groups do exist, albeit in a modified form, in urban industrial societies and have been obscured only by an uncritical acceptance of the transition thesis.

The claim that pre-industrial antecedents of existing kinship systems cannot be satisfactorily established is significant. Without an empirically satisfactory record of a system's pre-industrial antecedents it is impossible to establish the nature and direction of change which has taken place under the impact of urbanisation and industrialisation. One solution to this problem is to take a society whose pre-industrial kinship forms are reliably recorded and to trace changes in these during the process of urbanisation and industrialisation. The time span which such an exercise would involve under normal circumstances would make it impractical. However, it is possible to take a society whose pre-industrial kinship forms are clearly visible, but which is undergoing rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, and to trace changes in kinship throughout this process. Working from some clearly visible baseline, the nature and direction of changes associated with urbanisation and industrialisation can be traced with some degree

of accuracy. The Samoans meet these criteria. The pre-industrial kinship forms are clearly visible in the pre-industrial parent community. The nature and direction of changes in these forms can be seen in the urbanised and industrialised migrant community.

In the second part of this thesis the principles of recruitment to and the composition of kin groupings in both the Samoan parent and migrant communities were considered in some detail. The composition of kin groupings in both communities was then compared, and this comparison revealed a number of marked similarities. Both communities were characterised by a series of conceptually and residentially defined extended kin groups of similar composition. The similarities in both terminology and composition were found both interesting and suggestive, but of themselves do not constitute sufficient evidence of the persistence of extended kinship in the migrant community. If one is to claim that extended kinship survives, as more than simply a set of categories, one must show that the groups to which these categories refer, persist as units of social action and that their roles in social organisation are similar to those of their counterparts in the parent community.

So, in the third part of this thesis, I set out to consider whether extended kin groupings in the migrant community did persist as units of social action and the extent to which their roles in social organisation were similar to those of their counterparts in the parent community. For reasons of time and space I decided to concentrate on the role of extended kin groups in economic activity rather than to try to encompass the entire sphere of social activity. Economic activity was chosen for three reasons. Firstly, the emergence of extended kin groupings is most clearly apparent in economic activity and the product of this kin based corporate action, can be measured albeit crudely.

Secondly the nature of individual migrants' commitment to extended kinship can be gauged because it is reflected in the extent of economic participation. Finally, economic role of the extended kin groupsin migrant society is a significant part of the explanation of their persistence.

Comparison of the roles of extended kin groups in economic activity in both parent and migrant communities revealed marked similarities. Samoan migrants remain committed to the extended kin group and this commitment is reflected in their continued use of and participation in the extended kin group. The commitment is such that members put part of their individually derived income at the disposal of the extended kin group, and accept its right to consume this income even when they are no longer dependent on it for their livelihoods. The argument which is implicit here is that the emergence of the extended kin group in economic activity and the fact individuals pay a premium in order to belong suggests that the extended kin group is important in areas of social organisation other than economic activity.

The extended kin groupings which Samoan migrants have retained resemble those which Litwak and others have termed the 'modified extended family'. These groupings comprise a series of households, often themselves extended units [1] which are bound by kinship bonds into network of kinsmen. Within this network individuals and households exchange goods and services informally. The goods and services which are exchanged within the network are similar to those reported in the British and American literature and summarised by Sussman and Burchinall (1971:109-112). But the Samoan extended kin groupings

1. Households are often comprised of other than a nuclear family grouping.

differ in one important respect from the 'modified extended family': kinship provides an infrastructure not only for small scale informal relationships between members but for large scale formalised cooperation which involves the majority of the membership of the network. On these occasions the extended kin group emerges as a task oriented unit, for such time as is necessary. The term 'modified extended kin family' can be appropriately applied to the Samoan extended kin group because it shares common structural attributes with groups that are known by this term. But at the same time the Samoan extended kin group is not a modified form: it is structurally a replica of the residential kin corporation which exists in pre-industrial Samoa.

In part four I sought to explain the persistence of extended kin groupings as units of social action, and their continued significance in the social organisation of the migrant community. It was argued that the persistence of the extended kin group was the product of participation of a number of individual migrants, and that an explanation of persistence could most profitably concentrate on identifying and examining factors which produce individual participation in and commitment to extended kin groups. Participation and commitment have been explained by reference to two major theoretical perspectives, each of which has an impressive pedigree.

The first regards an individual's decision to participate as a deliberate choice. This assumes that the individual weighs all relevant factors, considers alternatives and on this basis decides voluntarily to participate in the extended kin group. Thus the persistence of extended kin groups is the produce of consensus among participants about the desirability and legitimacy of such a form of organisation. By concentrating on factors which might lead migrants to

opt in favour of the extended kin group one could construct an apparently satisfactory explanation of participation as a product of consensus.

The second regards an individual's participation as the product of a lack of choice. This assumes that the individual is either unable to consider alternatives, or that even if aware of alternatives he is unable to opt to participate in them. The persistence of the extended kin group is a product, not of free choice, but of factors which coerce members' participation. By concentrating on factors which limit migrants' awareness of alternatives, and on factors which permit certain individuals to make others participate one can construct an explanation of participation as a product of coercion.

The adoption of dual perspectives in this study provided a useful framework for grouping the various factors which were identified. It also checked the temptations to concentrate on and emphasise those factors which best fit one's theoretical predilections. The result of this two pronged approach to a problem is of course the emergence of two apparently logical and internally consistent explanations of the same phenomenon. The truth is that neither explanation is, on its own, completely satisfactory: an adequate explanation of the phenomenon must embody aspects of both. Continued individual participation, and ipso facto, the persistence of extended kin groupings among migrant Samoans is neither the product of free choice nor of forced choice but of both.

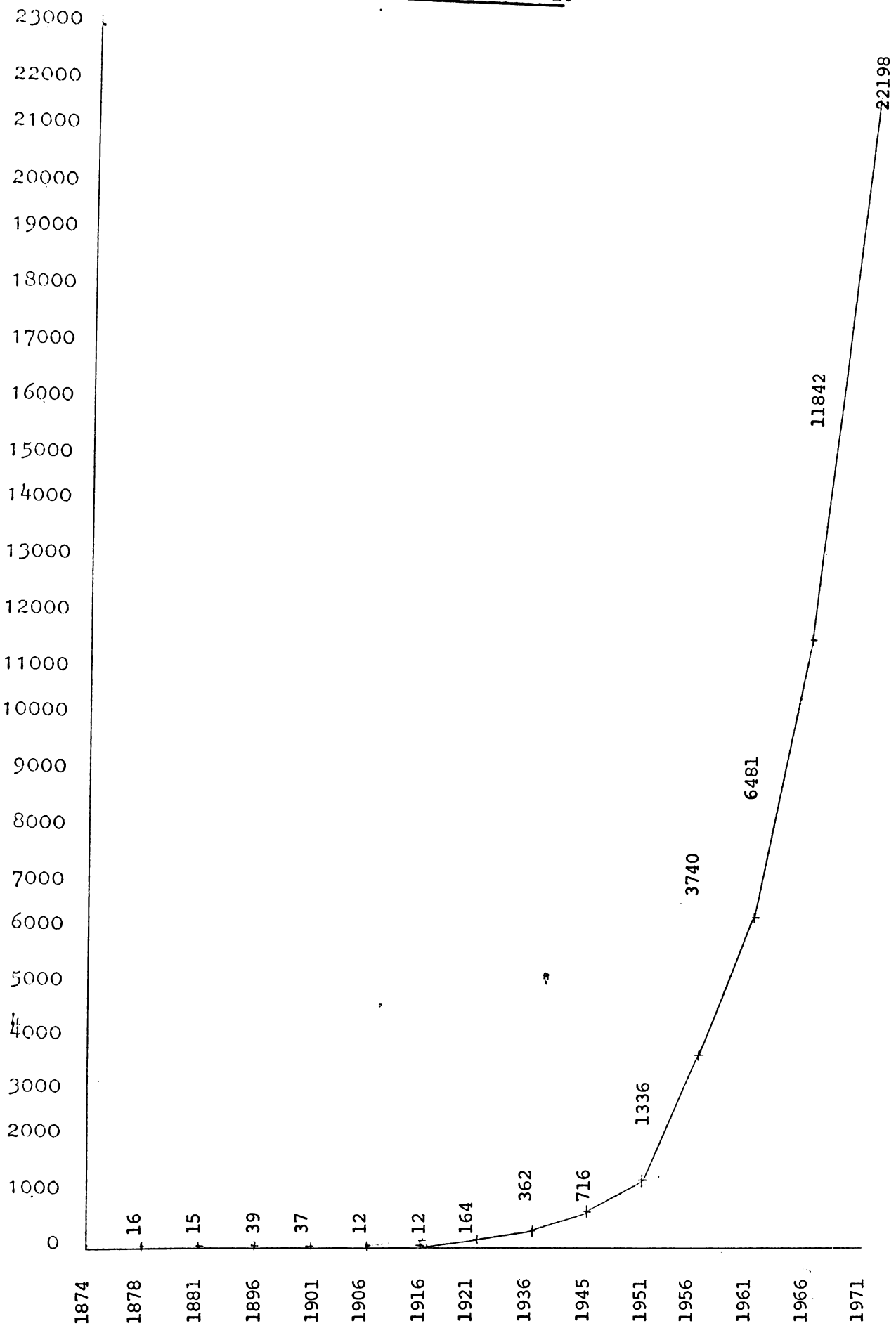
The ommission of a statement of the relative importance of the factors identified and of the interaction between them is deliberate. Prolonged exposure to the data has made me aware that the importance of any one variable varies from one situation to another and from one individual to another. The prospect of incorporating a large number of situationally defined variables in any one 'equation' is at best daunting, at worst futile. If this thesis does not, in the reader's opinion, integrate various factors as neatly as he might wish, it is also true that it does not for expediency's sake oversimplify the complexity of the phenomenon at issue.

GENERAL AND

STATISTICAL APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Samoan Population in New Zealand 1874--1971.



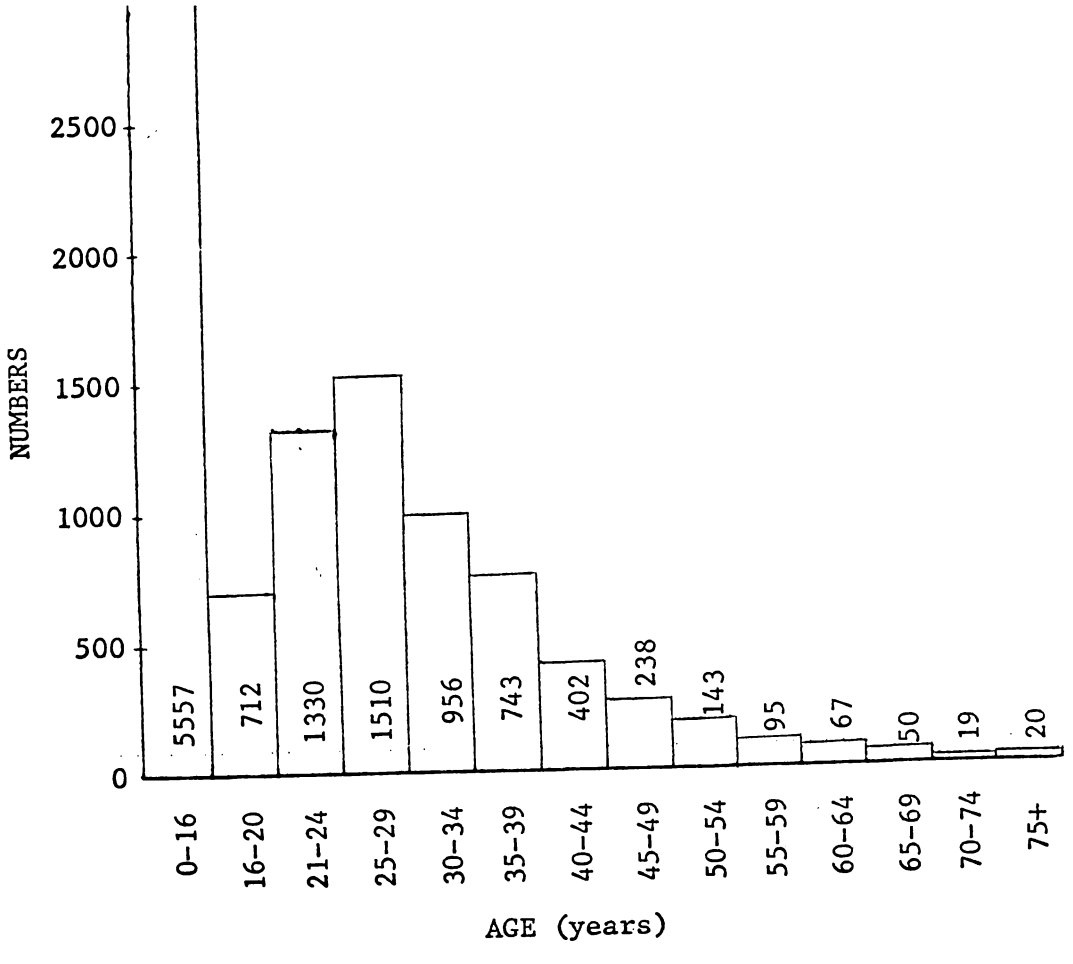
Appendix 2a

Sex Ratio Within the Samoan Population Resident in New Zealand, 1956-1971.

Year	Males	Females	Ratio (males:females)
1956	2078	1622	1:0.780
1961	3424	3057	1:0.837
1966	5937	5907	1:0.995
1971	11010	11031	1:1.001

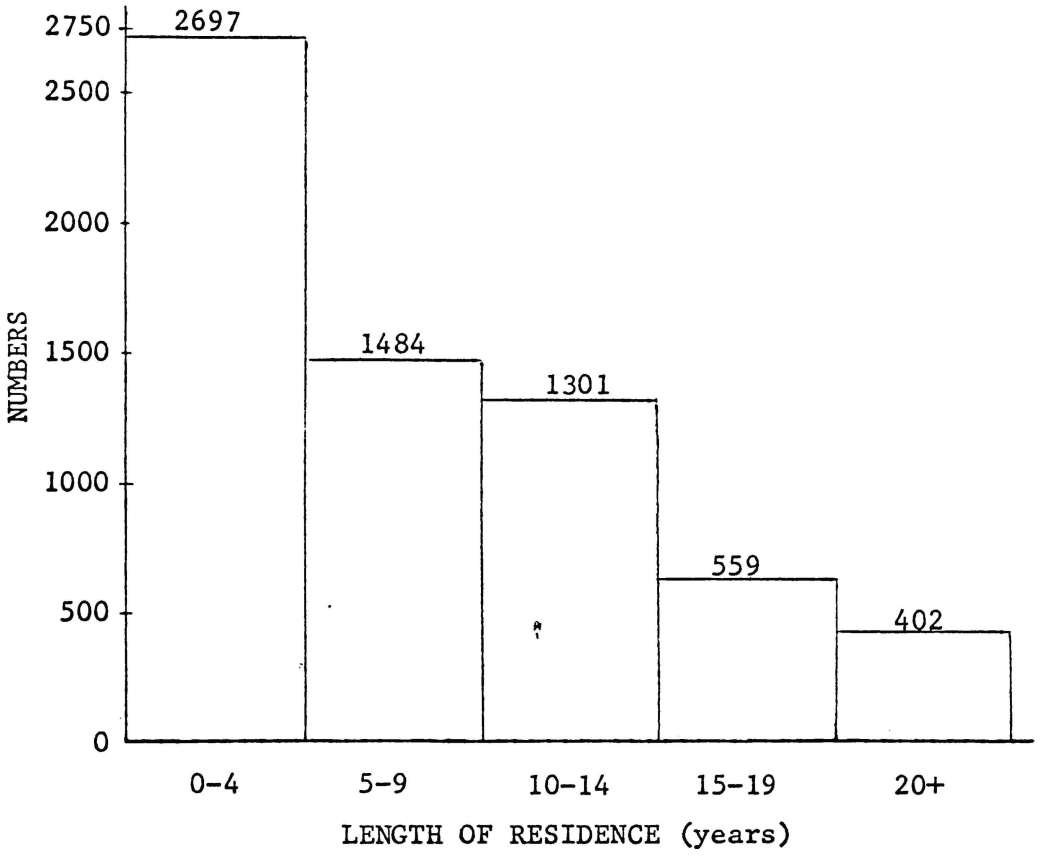
Appendix 3

Age Distribution with the Samoan Population Resident in New Zealand in 1966.



Appendix 4

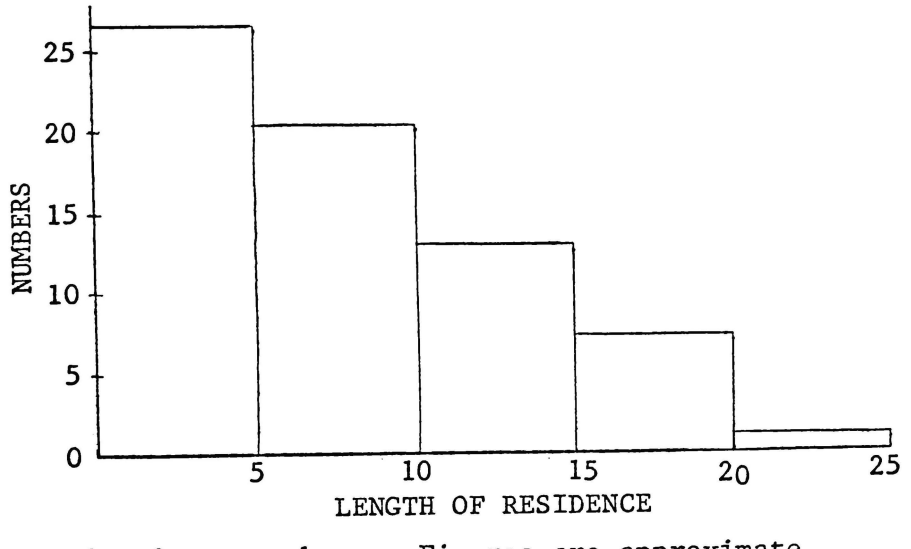
Length of Residence of Samoan Migrants in New Zealand, 1966.[1]



1. Overseas born.

Appendix 4a

Length of Residence of Group Members at 1972.[1]



1 Overseas born. Figures are approximate

Appendix 5

New Zealand Born as Proportion of Total Samoan Population 1956-1966.

Source: New Zealand Censuses of Population

Year	Total Population	New Zealand Born	Samoan Born	NZ Born Propn of Total
1956	3742	1164	2354	31.10%
1961	6481	2577	3655	38.70%
1966	11842	5272	6241	44.52%

Appendix 6

Samoan Kinship as a Dynamic System

The first and most obvious contributory factor is that the system itself is not stable, and that it is therefore unrealistic to expect accounts written over a period of some 140 years will be similar. Kinship and descent have been influenced by a number of factors over the period: the introduction of a cash economy with the resultant possibility of the individualisation of wealth, the introduction of a formal education system and the resultant recognition of an alternative route to status, Samoan entry into an international market place and the resultant diversification of agricultural production and an increasing immigration outflow. It is therefore hardly surprising that some structural changes have taken place. This does not necessarily mean that the system has automatically undergone radical reconstitution. Rather, under these circumstances the differential emphasis on certain areas of the structure given in the various accounts can be understood. Thus any one account could conceivably be a valid account of the structure of kinship at a particular time. Notwithstanding this possibility there are a number of other factors which must be considered.

The Fieldwork Scene

The second factor is the widely separated areas in which various authors have done fieldwork. Schultz (1911), Kramer (1902a, 1902b, 1941), Gilson R.P. (1970), Davidson (1950, 196), Keesing (1937, 1956), Freeman (1966), and Pitt (1970), worked in various parts of Western Samoa, while Mead (1930, 1953), Holmes (1957), and Ember (1959, 1962), worked in different parts of the Eastern Archipelago. Some, notably Kramer, have worked in both the Western

and Eastern parts. Freeman (1964, 563) discounts the importance of this factor pointing to the fact that this is simply a national division based on political expediency. Even within this group few worked in the same village, some worked in more than one village, some in more than one district and thus provide the areal variations which Samoans themselves freely acknowledge. It is possible that this is another source of the discrepancy between the various accounts. This is not an exhaustive survey but does cover the major attempts. However, more important is the fact that each account may be a valid account of kinship in the village, villages, or districts in which it was collected but this may contribute to the apparent disparity in the literature.

Background and Intent of Authors

A third contributory factor which must be considered is the background and academic training of the authors and their intent in attempting to describe the system. In the group named above the majority are anthropologists, but there are also historians, jurists, clergy, and journalists. The same is true of a number of accounts outside those above. Thus a number of varying perspectives have at one time or another been brought into use in the interpretation of kinship and descent.

Methodological Considerations

Of these perhaps the most important is that few authors state explicitly the nature of their relationship with the researched, and where this is done they are frequently stating their assessment of the nature of the relationship. The importance of this relationship cannot be overlooked and Waterhouse, a Samoan and an anthropologist, in a discussion of Melvin Ember's paper

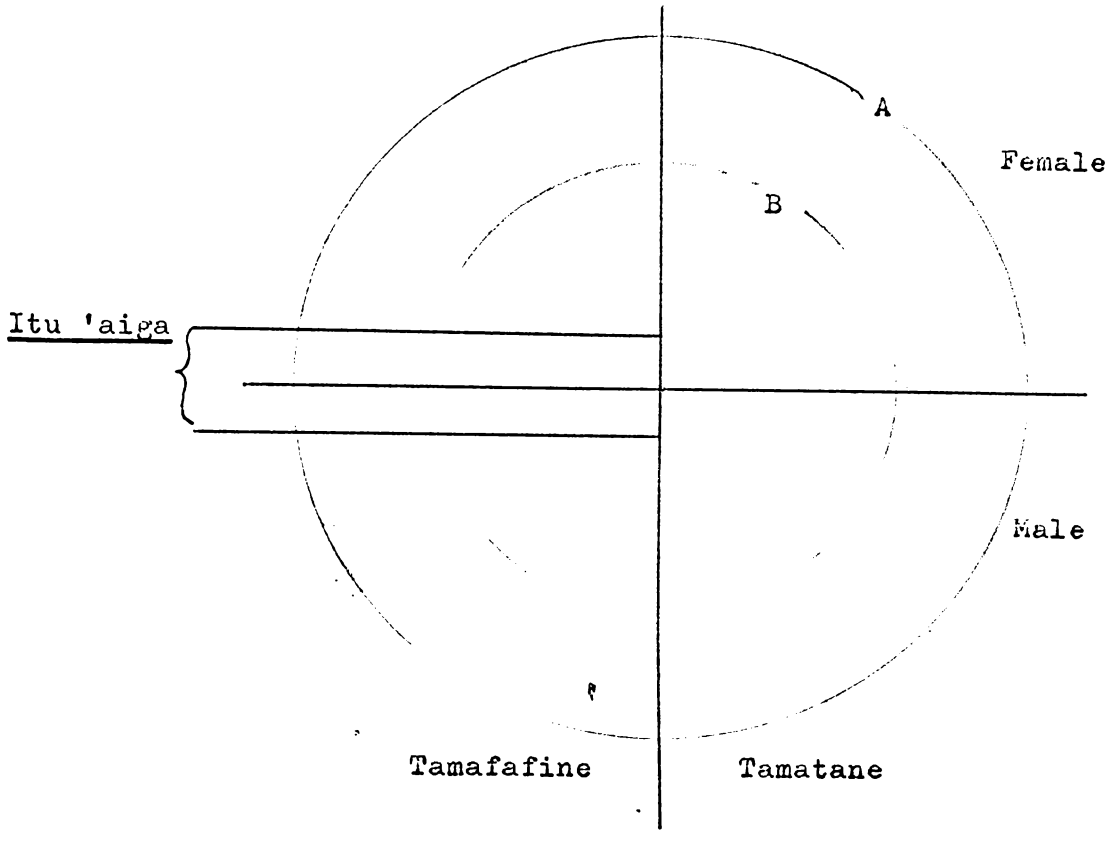
on kinship suggests that it is this factor which could have contributed to Ember's misinterpretation of the structure. This then is one area: the others are so numerous and so frequently raised among social scientists that it is of little value to attempt to condense the debate here.

In Summary

There are a number of more or less comprehensive accounts of the structure of Samoan kinship and descent systems. There are a number of apparent discrepancies between these accounts but these can be at least partly explained by reference to the factors cited above. It is virtually impossible to establish how correct any one account is and it must therefore be accepted that each account is a more or less valid description of the system as it existed at any one time in a particular place.

APPENDIX 7

Figure ____ - Diagrammatic Representation of the Relationship between 'aiga potopoto and the residential kin corporation



Key

(1) The 'aiga potopoto consists of all of those people who fall inside circles A and B. Those who fall inside circle B are members who are resident on the land vested in the 'aiga potopoto, those falling inside circle A but outside of B are non-resident members of the 'aiga potopoto.

(2) The 'aiga potopoto can be subdivided into tamatane and tamafafine, and members of these groups will be represented in the residential corporation. In life crises the residential cores of tamatane and tamafafine will provide the basic action groups. Non-resident kin members who return to the village on these occasions, will attach themselves to these residential cores.

(3) Similarly, itu 'aiga may have both resident and non-resident members.

APPENDIX 8

Case Histories of Returnees

Case 1. Tasi

Tasi arrived in New Zealand in 1954 at the age of twenty two. He worked as a builder's labourer for six years before becoming a carpenter. When he had qualified he left Auckland and worked on a number of major out-of-town construction projects where the wages were high. He has sent money to his kinsmen in Samoa since he arrived and has returned to Samoa for holidays five times in 19 years. When his sister's children, whom he sponsored, arrived in New Zealand, he returned to Auckland and bought an old house in poor condition for 3500. He and his neices lived there and they gradually renno-vated the house which served as point of entry for a number of kinsmen who arrived in New Zealand, who had stayed there until they had moved out and into their own or rented houses.

His decision to return to Samoa was the result of a number of events which co-incided. A developer offered him a good price for his house and land, and because he had no children of his own he was tempted to sell but decided against it, hoping to hold on to it for another five years and take advantage of the high prices which inflation would generate. However, shortly afterwards he started to suffer from rheumatics in the winter and when he found that he was much better when he was

in Samoa he started to consider returning to Samoa for the winters. While he was in Samoa he realised that there was a demand for skilled carpenters and people who were able to build high quality European style dwellings. He returned to New Zealand and bought the equipment to set himself up in business in Samoa. While he was here he sold his original house and bought a very much cheaper house on which he paid the deposit from the proceeds of the first sale. He placed tenants in it to pay off the mortgage and returned to Samoa.

The economics of the case are clearly advantageous. He realised $26,000 on the sale of the original property and spent $10,000 to secure a second house which then paid itself off. He spent $2,000 on equipment and returned to Samoa with about $14,000. He did not replace his house in Samoa and instead lived with his sister whose children he had originally sponsored. He now spends summer in New Zealand where he works as a carpenter and returns to Samoa in the winter and works as a builder there, using kinsmen as a labour force and training them at the same time.

APPENDIX 8

Case Histories of Returnees

Case 2. Lua

Lua arrived virtually unskilled in New Zealand at the age of twenty six in 1956. He worked in a factory as a machine operator for five years until he was offered a job as a part time taxi driver by a Rarotongan friend who owned a taxi. He enjoyed the work and meeting people and held both jobs for three and a half years until he was able to buy a taxi license and cab. He drove full time and later when one of his nephews arrived he employed him as a part time driver so that the cab was always on the road.

When the co-operative issued new licenses in a ballot which offered members who won the opportunity to buy new licenses for a nominal sum he entered the balance and was lucky. He sold his other license for $4,000 and bought a new license for a nominal fee. Shortly after he married and he and his wife both worked driving the cab so that one could stay at home when the children were at home. They bought a house and had a number of younger kinsmen in their home. The house was duly paid for and although there was no real need to do so his wife continued to work. The money that was left after supporting their kin groups and looking after their children was saved and used to buy another taxi and license. He employed younger kinsmen as drivers and drove the other cab himself.

When his children became independant two years ago he decided to return to Samoa, partly because he had been offered a good title by his wife's kin group and partly because his favourite sister was ill. By this time his children were growing up and so he left them with an older sister in a house which he financed by selling one of the taxi licenses and sold the original house for $31,000. He returned to Samoa with $20,000, built a large European style house and took the title which he had been offered. When last speaking to him he was considering using the balance of the $20,000 to buy a cab in Samoa. His children are working and contribute to his upkeep and he visits them from time to time.

Although he is, by his own admission, well off, he has occasional regrets about his decision to return and sometimes wishes he could return permanently to New Zealand and be with his children.

APPENDIX 8

Case Histories of Returnees

Case 3. Tolu

Tolu arrived in New Zealand in 1951 at the age of twenty three and took a job as a bus driver. He started sending money home to bring some of his sister's children and his brothers' children to New Zealand. Once they had established themselves they in turn brought others who lived at various times with Tolu. He married a Maori woman in 1955 and they had two children before she died in 1958. By then he was working long hours and sending money home to build a house for his parents. His sister came to New Zealand to look after the children. At that point he decided to buy a house and duly bought one in the inner city area for 3,800. Younger relatives who stayed with him paid board which he used to pay the mortgage. By 1968 the house was almost paid for when fire destroyed part of it. The insurance paid for the rebuilding of the damaged parts and he rennovated the inside of the house at the same time. These alterations meant that the value of the house increased considerably.

At the same time he had been sending money to complete and later to add to the house which he had built for his parents and siblings in Samoa. In 1969 his parents died shortly after one another and while he was there for the funeral it was suggested that he return permanently to Samoa

and look after the family's affairs. He admits that he was tempted but did not know how his children would react to the suggestion so he returned to New Zealand and decided to take them for a holiday there to see how they would settle down in school. They settled down and appeared to be enjoying school so he returned to Samoa permanently with his children and the sister who had been looking after them.

He rented out his unencumbered property in Auckland for $40 per week but after some problems with getting access to the rent and exporting it to Samoa decided to sell his house. However, his children have done well in school and he is keen to send them to New Zealand to either a polytech or university so he has held on to the house and the rent has accumulated as a fund for this purpose.

Appendix 9

Mass Media in Western Samoa

Mass media can be used very effectively to transmit information and ideas. Our interest in the mass media in Western Samoa is in the extent to which they are used as a vehicle for the transmission of information which would make potential migrants more aware of the customs and institutions of the potential host society and therefore increase the probability of their being able to become independent of their kin groups for information about and access to these areas. For instance, if a migrant knew in advance that there were facilities for obtaining short term unsecured loans outside of the kin group he might be less likely to use the kin group for these similar services. Widespread knowledge of this type might have significant effects on the continued ability of the kin group to influence individual's consumption of income.

In general, there has never been any attempt to use mass media in Samoa for the dissemination of information which would be of use for the aspiring migrant. Only this year (1974) has the Labour Government commissioned a survey of the possibilities of mounting a pre-migration education programme for migrants from the Pacific Basin. In part at least this comparatively recent interest has been the result of representations by various interested parties to Government for better preparation of migrants to New Zealand. Motives have ranged from those interested in a higher probability of assimilation which they anticipate would result from such a programme to those who have represented their interest as a humanitarian necessity to make migrants better aware of the possibilities of being exploited and hopefully less vulnerable. The report which contained the findings of the survey points to the fact that mass media have not been

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Mass Media in Samoa

used for this form of education in general (Haas, A., 1974).

In a discussion of the Samoan situation the same conclusions were reached and the report deals at some length with these (Haas, A., 1974, pp32ff). The report also points to reasons for this state of affairs and to the likelihood of this changing. There is a reluctance on the part of a number of people in Samoan Government to promote large scale migrant education in Samoa mass media because of the danger that such a programme might trigger a large scale out-migration which would have serious consequences for economic planning and development within the Islands.

While the possibility of future use of mass media for migrant education is undertain, some trends and facts about the mass media in the past ten years can be made.

The Press

Samoans have been served by two weekly newspapers and one fortnightly paper for some considerable time. The two weekly newspapers are bi-lingual and have a combined circulation of 8500 for a population of approximately 150,000. The demand for this medium is indicated by the fact that between 1966 and 1972 inclusive the circulation increased by only 11.7% and that it has remained stable for the four years between 1969 and 1972. Both of these newspapers are bi-lingual but the coverage in each language is not identical. Samoan language coverage is mainly of local events or international affairs which concern Samoa directly, public notices, classified advertising and editorial comment. There is nothing which resembles an attempt to present factual information which might be of use to migrants.

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The bi-lingual government paper, published by the Prime Minister's Department fortnightly, is distributed free and has a circulation of 6500 which includes those distributed to Samoans in New Zealand. 'Savali' (the Messenger) covers almost exclusively the work and achievements of the central government in Samoa, with minimal coverage of international events such as medical conferences at which Samoa is represented. It also contains schedules of cases to be heard by the Lands and Titles Courts and summaries of decisions handed down. Its circulation, like those of the weekly papers, has been stable at 6500 for seven years.

In all cases the newspapers tend to be distributed almost entirely within the Apian urban area and filter through only very slowly to the rural districts.

Thus the press has limited circulation, mainly within Apia and the urban area, and much of the Samoan language cover is concerned primarily with local events. As a vehicle for dissemination of material which might make migrants more aware of alternatives to dependence on kin its role has been insignificant.

Radio

Western Samoans are served by one radio station owned and operated by the government. The station broadcasts in both English and Samoan languages to its audience. The world news and a limited coverage of international affairs is available in both languages. However, the English coverage is very much more comprehensive and uses English language material from Australia and New Zealand, while the Samoan coverage of the same areas consists

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largely of translation of the news. The balance of the Samoan language programme is concerned with the dissemination of public information on such things as medical, dietary and public health, public notices including telegrams, and with programmes of traditional and modern music.

In the report cited earlier, Haas reports that those within the Samoan Broadcasting Service are concerned with the inadequacy of present and past coverage of events outside of Samoa and at the unsuitability of programmes offered by outside broadcasting organisations to Samoa. This has at least partly contributed to the fact that as a vehicle for migrant education the Broadcasting Service has not really played any role at all.[1]

Since the government operates the Service and is anxious not to trigger off major out-migration it may be that even future plans will have to be a compromise between what is 'desirable' and what is political.

Television

Western Samoa does not operate television transmissions but it is possible to pick up broadcasts from neighbouring Western American Samoa, which broadcasts on two channels for American Samoa. One of these channels broadcasts 36 hours per week in English language and the other for 45 hours per week. The latter KVZK channel 5 has approximately 13% of its programmes in Samoan language, but

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1. Interestingly, this view was expressed in the context of the possible use of the media in pre-migrant education.

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these are translations of the news and public notices.

Because of climatic conditions the reception of TV in Western Samoa is of a poor quality and those who own sets often turn off rather than spend time trying to improve reception which is beyond their control.

The number of sets operated in Western Samoa is not available but from observation is small and sets are mostly owned by the wealthier Apia urban population and expatriates working in Samoa.

Thus in terms of its use as a vehicle for migrant education its role is negligible because coverage is poor, reception is poor, and because those who own the sets are probably less in need of education than those who do not own sets.

Cinema

This has become an increasingly important popular form of entertainment in Western Samoa. There are three fixed establishments. Two are in Apia and one in the major village in Savai'i. There are a number of mobile cinema projection businesses in both Upolu and Savai'i which move from village to village.

The films shown are all in English and consist mostly of westerns, musicals and horror films. The reasons for this were suggested by the proprietor of one establishment who pointed out that because the level of English fluency within the audience was so low that subtlety in the dialogue had to be sacrificed for films with more active plots and with a heavy action content. Since these films were commercially successful there has been no real change in the content sought in films, and as a consequence

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the use of cinema as a vehicle for education of the type discussed has not been considered, and has not had very much impact.

Formal Education

Clearly formal education provides the most obvious avenue for some sort of education programme which would prepare aspiring migrants for life in a society outside of Samoa. Its success in this area has been limited for a number of reasons.

It would require a number of persons in the system who had been outside of the Samoan society and were capable of providing insights and first hand information and interpretation. These people do not appear to be available. In 1969 the teaching profession contained 92.5% and 50.2% (government and mission education systems respectively) of locally trained local teachers. By 1970 these figures had increased to 93.1% and 83.45% respectively. More data is contained in the table below.

Composition of Teaching Profession (1969-1970)

Source: W. Samoan Annual Abstract of Statistics 1970

Government System				
	No.	Propn of Total	No.	Propn of Total
Locally trained	855	92.50%	892	93.10%
Locals trained overseas	41	4.40%	53	5.50%
Seconded	28	3.00%	13	1.40%
Mission System				
Locally trained[1]	178	50.20%	343	83.45%
Locals trained overseas	112	31.60%	68	16.50%
Seconded	64	18.10%	0	0.00%

1. Includes all untrained personnel

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Since many of the overseas trained and seconded personnel find themselves in administrative positions, the possibility of their being directly involved in transmission of their knowledge about other cultures and societies decreases. So too does the possibility of the formal education system being a vehicle for the transmission of information for aspiring migrants decrease.

Furthermore, since the appointment of Dr Fanaafi Larkin as Director of Education, the emphasis in the school curriculum has changed. It has concentrated on the teaching of a deeper understanding of Samoan traditional culture which is aimed ultimately at producing persons with security and price in Samoan culture. Dr Larkin's argument is that leaving Samoa with a better understanding of, and deeper regard for, the fa'a Samoa will be better citizens of other countries (Haas, A., 1974, p36). This emphasis has clear implications for the role of formal education as a medium for the preparation of potential migrants. It could be argued that people who are more committed to Samoan custom and values, which have been legitimated in the formal education system, will be more likely to espouse and live by these values. The Samoanisation of the school curriculum also means that less time is devoted to teaching about alternative values and life styles.

While before Dr Larkin's appointment there was perhaps less emphasis on Samoan custom and culture, there were also fewer teachers with first hand knowledge of the alternatives, with a lower level of education and this has meant that the possibility of the formal education system having been a significant force in the education of aspiring migrants has always been minimal.

Furthermore, the concentration of highly trained and experi-

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enced locals trained overseas in either administration or in secondary education has accentuated this trend. Their knowledge is accessible to proportionately fewer persons because of the very limited numbers of places in secondary education. Those to whom it is available are those most likely to be more independent in any case and thus it does not reach many of those who are more likely to be dependent on kinsmen for lack of knowledge of the alternatives.

Summary

Most of the mass media facilities which are available to Western Samoa have not been used as vehicles for the transmission about customs and cultures outside of Samoa. Such coverage of this area as is available is offered largely in English and therefore may consolidate the advantages enjoyed by those who are most likely to be most independent while those who have less education and lower levels of fluency in English have been largely denied access to the information which could make them more independent. Given this situation it is hardly surprising that the rural migrant remains dependent on kinsmen for his initiation into the urban cash economy of New Zealand until such time as he is able to gain information which permit him a degree of independence of his kin group.

APPENDIX 10

Anecdotes About Inter-Racial Personal Relationships

The purpose of relating these anecdotes is to suggest to the individual that he has overestimated the depth of his relationships with Europeans. The anecdotes are generally concerned with instances of discrimination and of negative inter-racial contact. There appears to be a fairly limited range of themes within this repertoire and the following are some of the more common of these.

> .....That man T... has been here in New Zealand for quite a while. After he had been here about two years he struck up a friendship with some of the palagi at the place where he was working. He used to go out with them a lot: after work, at the weekend and even on Sundays. He thought he was pretty smart and he never brought them over here to our place; I suppose he thought we were too low to be seen.... Well, one night there was a party at one of his mates places and some people who were not invited tried to get into the party. One of his palagi mates tried to stop them and a fight started. When T... saw his mates getting beaten he went to their assistance and started fighting with the gatecrashers. When the police arrived they asked who had started the fight and the gatecrashers told them that it was the coconut*. His palagi mates didn't stand up for him and one of them said that he had not seen the fight and that it could have been the coconut who started it.... In fact, in court one of the palagi mates gave evidence against T... I guess they thought it was all a big joke. Well, T... learnt his lesson the hard way, but if you want to learn the hard way too then go ahead.
>
> *A colloquial term for immigrants from the Pacific Islands.

The suggestion here is that Europeans may appear to be good friends but that they are basically fair weather friends who will desert the Samoan in any sort of difficulty.

The second set of anecdotes appears to be aimed at warning people that friendship with Europeans in one situation will not automatically be extended into other areas. One such story is the following.

> The palagi are very clever. They like to make friends with the Polynesians so that they can say they have Polynesian friends and so that they can get invited to the Polynesian weddings and eat the island food. Sure they like to come to the house and eat and drink, but have you seen them inviting the Polynesians to their houses or to their weddings? No, you haven't, because although the palagi doesn't mind having a Polynesian friend at work they are ashamed to show them to their other palagi friends. .....I know of the other Samoan boy who used to be good friends with a palagi at work. When the boy got a car he used to take that palagi home but he was never invited inside their house. One day the man's daughter came to get her father from work and she met the boy and they talked. The boy quite liked the girl and so he asked the man if he could take her to the pictures. The man said no and everytime the boy asked the man thought of another excuse.....

The above anecdote raises the question of what happens when an inter-racial cross sex relationship begins to develop. Where the relationship is likely to rob the Samoan group of a participating member's contributions some attempt may be made to discourage the Samoan party from going further with the relationship. One story which I have heard several times is the following.

> There was a girl, a cousin of ours, who was going out with a boy that she met at the Orange (a dance hall). They went out for a long time and he came round here a couple of times. Then one day they came here to ask if they could get married... I said that the girl would have to ask her parents but if they agreed then I would be happy to do

> something to help. They were happy and so they went off to see the boy's parents. It was the first time that the girl had been to his place and she was a bit shy but very happy. They came back about half an hour later and the girl came in here crying and very upset. I asked her what had happened and she told me that when they had gone into the boy's parents' house they had told the son to get her out, that she would dirty the furniture and that they didn't want her in the house again.... The boy told them that he wanted to marry her and his parents told him in front of the girl, to think of them and all that they had done for him and why did he want to let them down by marrying that coloured girl and on and on. Well, he brought her home and left her here.....but he never rang her again.

The moral of this story is that one should not put too much faith in the European friend's apparent acceptance. While young people might be keen, their parents were likely to be outwardly hostile and antagonistic to Polynesian potential spouses. There is another strategy which is used in these circumstances and that is to recount cases where the European has let the Samoan down.

> That girl ... went round with the palagi man for quite a long time. She was a good girl and wouldn't go and stay with him even though he kept asking her to. In the end he asked her to marry him and once they were engaged he asked her to go and live with him. The stupid girl went because she thought they were going to be married. One day she told him that she was pregnant and suggested that they get married sooner. He said he would make the arrangements. But he never came back after that. She found herself with the rent on his flat to pay and her baby on the way.... Then she came back to the family and we looked after her.... She never saw the man again but later she found out that he was already married and had gone back to live with his wife.... That's the sort of thing that happens to people who think they are smart....

Another possibility is to point to cases where inter-marriage with Europeans has been unsuccessful. The stories here revolve around the meanness of the palagi in the matter of assistance to relatives. These stories may be convincing because there are obvious external signs that Europeans have a different attitude to relatives and particularly elderly relatives and parents. One of these is the following.

> One of the Samoan girls I worked with married a palagi. I was her bridesmaid. It all went well for a while and she was very happy. Her parents were brought to New Zealand for the wedding and I think they quite liked the man because he was friendly. After they had been married about six months her father became sick and her mother sent her a telegram to go to Samoa. She asked her husband for the money to pay her fare and he refused to give her the money because he said there were more important things to do with that amount of money. He told her that she was married to him and not her parents and that she should note that everytime his parents were sick he did not rush off to see them.... Well, they had a big row and in the end he said that if she went she could stay away or find somebody else whose money she could waste.... You know that's right - you look around at all those old people's homes.... When the palagi get old their children just put them in a home and leave them there.... Well, if you don't want your parents to be sick and die on their own then you had better forget the palagi....

The anecdotes which are used in these situations are invariably simple and involve specific cases. It appears that choosing specific cases is partly a product of an unwillingness to generalise and partly an attempt to bring the 'reality' close to home. By choosing a case that involves someone who is known the facts of the case have a greater impact.

The wider moral and generalising is left to the individual who is told the story in most cases. Where the anecdotes are told in a group the first one generally starts people thinking about similar cases and recounting of anecdotes with a similar theme. In some cases the anecdotes are not very accurate accounts of the facts: I have listened to accounts of marital breakdown in which the facts of the account and the facts of the case bear very little resemblance to one another. About all that was the same was the names of the people involved. The Samoan is generally portrayed as a well-intentioned but stupid person and the European is generally portrayed as a person out to take the Samoan for a ride and willing to abandon him when it is convenient or where the relationship is causing embarrassment. They aim, as mentioned earlier, at leading the would-be 'deviant' to doubt his perception of inter-racial relationships in which he is involved, and to doubting the wisdom of inter-racial relationships in general.

APPENDIX 11

Anecdotes About the European Commercial World

The aim of these anecdotes is to suggest to would-be deviants that their apparently successful dealings with host society institutions are illusory. One way of doing this is to suggest that contact with the sales personnel may give the individual a false impression of the organisation, that while salesmen may be friendly the organisation which they represent is remote and far less friendly. Thus one older man was telling a nephew that sales personnel,

> .....those people just smile until they have your name on their piece of paper and then they get their percentage and that's the end.....the smile stops while they count their money.....I don't think they care if someone understands what they are signing because they still get paid.

Furthermore sales personnel may assure the buyer of this and that in order to sell something but that the promises may be misleading as the buyer finds out later,

> My sister signed a form for some insurance of some sort. She had to sign this paper in about five different places. Then she never heard anything more from them and she just kept paying and paying... When she wanted to borrow some money which she had been told she could do she was sent from one person to another and no-one seemed to know what she wanted or was very interested.... In the end they wouldn't lend her the money and she had to borrow it from our other brother in Otara....

On top of these disadvantages the experience of dealing with a complex, impersonal and apparently disinterested organisation may lead to frustration and loss of face as the following comment suggests.

> .....you go over to that place, there's someone different there each time.....and even when the same person is there they don't remember you or what you came for last time and have to find your papers before they can talk to you.
>
> Often they just listen to your explanation and then reach under the desk and find some papers for you to fill in. You fill them in and they just look at them.....if it's O.K. they say they'll be in touch with you.....if it's a mistake they just look tired and ask you this and that....
>
> Especially the young ones.....often they have no manners - just treat you like an old fool.... If they did that in Samoa they would be in trouble.....no-one should treat an old person like that even if they don't like them they should show respect for someone older then themselves.....

If the sort of story does not succeed, something heavier may be called for and this generally involves the recounting of tales of frauds perpetrated against Samoans, or about deals which looked good on the surface but proved expensive later.

One incident involved a building and investment society which was established in Auckland and which appointed Samoan sales staff to sell policies to Samoans. The sales staff had remarkable success for reasons discussed earlier. However, after some seven months the local office manager absconded with some of the funds and for some time the members were left

with the very real possibility of a major loss. The situation was eventually resolved, but not before members had become thoroughly sceptical about the ethics and the wisdom of investing in organisations of this type.

The second incident involved a pyramidal sales organisation. The returns involved were attractive and included the possibility of being self-employed. The presentation of the deal was impressive and attractive and a number of Samoans became involved by investing money to secure various types of dealership. However, the profits were dependant on actual sales and because the organisation concentrated on dealerships there were comparatively few people moving the product at the ground level. The profits were somewhat lower than Samoans had been led to expect and eventually the company went into liquidation when the government began to move against pyramidal sales organisations. The Consumer Society dealt investors a final blow by handing down an unfavourable report on the products themselves and those left with the products are unable to sell them. A number of Samoans who went into this have since lost various amounts of money and these people are portrayed as the victims of the European commercial world.

The third set of incidents is the door to door sales organisation, offering a variety of goods on easy credit. Clothing in particular seemed attractive and the terms seemed reasonable when quoted by the sales personnel, but in fact involved an interest rate which was close to 20% with heavy

default penalties. The low interest rates quoted did not include all the 'booking' and 'collection' fees and 'insurance charges' which when added to the interest rates meant that buyers were paying significantly more than they thought they were paying in interest. Another example of this same sort of thing was the rapid growth of the travel financing business. A number of companies who say rapid profits in this field of investment lent money for fares to New Zealand at very high rates of interest. Again the interest was apparently around 10% but in fact when 'booking fees', 'collection fees' and 'legal charges' were added on and expressed as a part of the interest the actual rate of interest was doubled. The government, the Prime Minister of Western Samoa, and a number of racial equality groups exposed the actual cost structure and provided another example of the avarice of the Europeans and of the danger of dealing with these organisations.

Yet another type of racket was the house buying scheme which offered people the opportunity of buying homes on low deposit and apparently reasonable terms. However, the contract was drawn up in such a way that the buyer had to re-finance the dwelling after three years or forfeit his investment. While this was quite legal, some unfortunates were led to understand that the repayments were paying both interest and reducing principal, where in fact they were paying only interest. A number of people lost houses because they had not realised that they would have to re-finance and when the expiry date came round were left in trouble, since many of the dwellings involved were in poor condition and would not qualify for loans from other lending organisations.

Appendix 11

Participation in Host Economic Investment Institutions

	Five years or less										Six years or more									
No.	Personal Savings	Endowment Insurance	Building Society Plan	Mortgage Protection	Medical Insurance	Fire Insurance	Superannuation	Bonus Bonds	Govt. Devpt. Bonds	No.	Personal Savings	Endowment Insurance	Building Society Plan	Mortgage Protection	Medical Insurance	Fire Insurance	Superannuation	Bonus Bonds	Govt. Devpt. Bonds
1	*									1	*							*	
2	*									2	*	*	*		*			*	
3	*									3	*								
4	*									4	*		*	*					
5	*	*	*							5	*							*	
6	*	*		*						6	*						*		
7	*									7	*	*	*	*				*	
8	*									8	*								
9	*		*							9	*		*	*			*		
10	*									10	*	*			*				
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15	*									15	*								

Notes

1. The sample is biased because in selecting it, it was necessary to choose those who had control or partial control over the disposal of their income. While this presented no problem in the case of the longer resident group, it meant that in the first group many of whom were living in households in which the head of the group controlled disposal of income, only a limited number of those eligible could be included here.

2. Superannuation plans can be divided into two types: compulsory schemes such as those operated by the Government for all government employees and those operated by firms in which employees are offered the chance to participate and their contributions are subsidised by the employer. The former, which concern only one person in this group, are not voluntary, and are therefore not calculated in the totals above.

3. Personal savings schemes above include those which are operated by individuals or by heads of households on their behalf. However, those operated by heads of households may not be voluntary technically but are generally the result of pressure by individuals for personal savings and are therefore considered here to be voluntary.

4. From the above it is clear that while there are higher rates of participation in the longer resident group these tend to be the result of high rates in the case of certain individuals rather than an overall higher rate of the whole group.

Statistical Appendix

Population Estimates

Population estimates for the years 1972 and 1973 have been derived by taking the population growth rates for the past four intercensal periods and projecting population for the period 1971-1976. Working on the assumption that growth rates for intercensal periods are even for the years of period the total growth rate for the period was divided by five and a 17% increase was projected for the years 1972 and 1973. This increase was calculated and added to the figures from the 1971 census.

This was calculated on the data contained below.

Population Increase Rates

Year:	1956	1961	1966	1971
Male	2078	3424	5937	N.A.
Female	1662	3057	5905	N.A.
Total	3740	6481	11842	22198
Increase		2741	5361	10356
Increase as %age		73.28	82.72	87.45

Assuming an annual increase rate of 17% the figures for 1972 and 1973 were then estimated. This gives the following estimates;

Year:	1972	1973
Estimated Increase	3773	4415*
Estimated Total	25971	30386

* Cumulative increase

Working Population Estimates

The working population for the intercensal periods was taken and was expressed as a proportion of the total population. The rate was constant at around 38% and it was assumed that in any one year the working population would be approximately 38% of the total population. The projected populations for 1972, 1973 and the population for 1971 were taken and 38% of these totals were expressed numerically.

The data is contained in the table below.

Working Population Estimates

Source: N.Z. Censuses of Population, 1956, 1961, 1966.

Year:	1956	1961	1966
Total Population	3740	6481	11842
Working Population	1600	2547	4562
Working Population as Proportion of Total	42.78%	37.23%	38.52%

Projections for 1971, 1972, 1973

Year:	1971	1972	1973
Total Population	22198	25971	30489
Working Population	8435	9869	11586
Working Population as Proportion of Total	38.0%	38.0%	38.0%

Average Earnings

The average earnings are calculated in the following way. The two surveyed weeks used by the Labour Department to calculate average earnings for all industries are presented as two sets of data. The data from both of these weeks was taken and averaged

for the years 1971 and 1972. This gave the following data:

Average Hourly Earnings			Average Weekly Hours		
Ordinary time	Overtime	Combined	Ordinary hours	Overtime hours	Ordinary + Overtime
$1.48	$2.21	$1.53	37.1	2.85	37.7
$1.66	$2.45	$1.715	37.1	2.85	37.55

Using the above data and the following formula the average earnings were established.

(Average Ordinary Earnings x Average Ordinary Hours) + (Average Overtime x Average Overtime Hours) = Average Weekly Wage.

For 1971 the average weekly wage was $61.19, giving a total for the year of $3182.00. For 1972 the average weekly earnings were $68.62 per week or $3568.00 for the year.

For 1973 the wages were based on an informed estimate of a 10% increase in the level of wages, which gave an average weekly wage of $74.46, and an annual wage of $3924.00.

Per Capita Remittance Estimates

The total amount in remittances was divided by the numbers of persons estimated to be actively engaged in the New Zealand economy, to arrive at per capita remittance figures. The figure was then expressed as a proportion of the average income for persons actively engaged in surveyed industries in New Zealand.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

On pages 284-285, references to a number of articles on Samoan migrants in the United States are offered.

On pages 286ff, a bibliography of works cited in the text is offered.

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