FROM MORAL COMMUNITY TO MORAL COMMUNITIES: THE FOUNDATIONS OF MIGRANT SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AMONG SAMOANS IN URBAN AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

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There is clear evidence of moral community within early expatriate migrant Samoan communities in New Zealand. This moral community was partly the consequence of many migrants' common life experiences and their resultant commitment to, and belief in, the integrity of their worldview and lifestyle. While commitment was a necessary condition, it was not a sufficient condition for moral community. This article argues that critical to the emergence of moral community were demographic, political, and economic factors—often underrated in anthropological explanations—that influenced the choice of migrants by their families, the processes of migration, and the concentration of migrants in residential and occupational areas. First- and second-generation New Zealand–born Samoans grow up with different social, political, and economic realities, and they do not share the social experiences that underpinned their parents' and grandparents' moral community. They may reconstitute a new form of moral community derived from parental cultures and common experiences of, and social positions within, New Zealand society.

Samoans who migrated from Western Samoa to New Zealand after the Second World War established viable and coherent communities in a number of New Zealand cities. The social organization of these centers has been characterized, by both Samoans and non-Samoan observers, as being "more Samoan than Samoa." This article argues that migrants established what Emile Durkheim referred to as "moral communities," "characterised by social integration (extensive and intimate attachments) and by moral integration (. . . shared beliefs about morality and behaviour)" (Marshall 1994:341), and

Pacific Studies, Vol. 25, Nos. 1/2—March/June 2002

examines the sociocultural and economic factors that made this phenomenon both possible and probable. These communities have been described elsewhere, and it is not my intention to describe them again.

I will instead argue that the desire to maintain social and moral integration is only a part of the explanation of the persistence of moral community in migrant enclaves and that social, economic, and political factors are crucial in determining whether moral communities develop. The article describes a set of factors contributing to the emergence of moral community among migrant Samoans in New Zealand. I will also show how this moral community is transformed as the circumstances in which it emerges change.

Moral Community: The Evidence

Community and Social Cohesion

The earliest evidence of the formation of viable and cohesive Samoan communities in New Zealand was provided by a study of the social organization and networks of one thousand Samoan migrants in four New Zealand cities published in the mid-1970s (Pitt and Macpherson 1974).[1] That study showed viable communities building steadily in all four centers. The survey and associated fieldwork revealed frequent, significant organized social activity based on the extensive and intimate attachments between Samoan migrants. The study also revealed a high degree of agreement on certain key social and moral values that derived from Samoan and Christian traditions and on which much individual and collective social action was based. In both of these respects, migrant Samoan communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand met the criteria of moral community: that is, significant degrees of social and moral integration.

Kinship

A separate study of the organization and significance of kinship among Samoan migrants in two centers revealed similar findings (Macpherson 1974, 1978). Extended kinship linkages served as the basis of significant amounts of migrant social organization from the location of accommodation and employment to the mobilization of capital. The organization of kin-based activities in the "migrant" communities were very similar to those in the "parent" communities in Western Samoa. There was also widespread agreement among migrants that kinship was the "proper" basis for organization of such activities. There was widespread commitment to and participation in these kin-based activities for a variety of reasons: from self-interest, to a lack of

familiarity with alternatives, to commitment to the principles on which they rested.

Religion

The centrality of the Christian church in Samoan life and social organization has been replicated in New Zealand. Many Samoans initially worshiped as part of a pan-Pacific Protestant church, the Pacific Islands Congregational Church,[2] which established congregations in Auckland, Tokoroa, Wellington, and Christchurch from 1946 on (Anae 1992). Others worshiped initially within the preexisting, and predominantly European, congregations of their parent churches. The Methodists, Roman Catholics, Latter-day Saints, Seventh-day Adventists, and Assemblies of God all encouraged Samoan migrants to join existing congregations, and many did so initially. Before long, however, Samoans, who were accustomed to managing their own congregations, found that they were constrained by European rules and conventions from controlling their religious activity as they wished to, and they started to consider forming their own parishes and calling their own ministers from Samoa.

The first split involved a group from the Pacific Islands Congregational Church who left to form the Samoan Congregational Christian Church and symbolically changed its name to the Ekalesia Fa'apopotopotoga Kerisiano o Samoa (Anae 1992). Soon after, the Seventh-day Adventists and the Assemblies of God formed their own parishes. Some mainstream churches made provision for the formation of Samoan sections within their churches, but Samoans sought to establish their own parishes in which Samoans controlled the theological and political organization of the church.[3] Despite resistance from certain church hierarchies, notably the Latter-day Saints, that were unused to being dictated to by small groups at the "periphery" of multinational religious "empires," Samoans gained control of their worship. Many have now established their own parishes, which are funded and controlled by Samoans and ministered to by Samoans trained in theological academies in Samoa.

Most congregations have raised funds for and built their own, often expensive, churches and halls. In the process, close, cohesive social entities have emerged out of the trials of undertaking large, complex, and expensive projects with relatively small numbers of people on relatively low incomes.[4] These congregations seek to attract local Samoans as members and have increasingly replaced the village as the focus of their members' social and political lives. People increasingly use congregational membership as a form of "social location" and identify themselves as members of "the congregation of Pastor X."

Congregations place considerable financial and other responsibilities on members. The congregations build and then maintain their own, often expensive, churches and associated hall buildings as well as homes for their pastors' families. They also support their ministers through regular and significant financial donations and take on various special projects as a congregation.

Membership also offers certain social opportunities. There are, for instance, the possibility of recognition by fellow parishioners in the form of church office; the opportunity to travel and identify with a particular congregation in a variety of religious events such as *fa'aulufalega,* or church openings, and at "family services" that precede funerals; and the chance to participate in quasi-competitive events such as choral music festivals and straight-out competitive events such as choral competitions. The congregation provides an arena for participation in local political and social drama and competition, and is a vehicle for involvement within the activities of the larger Samoan community as groups travel the length and breadth of Aotearoa to meet and compete.

Village

This commitment to migrant churches did not, however, mean that villages from which people had migrated no longer had any social or political significance. *Fono matai,* or village councils, in Samoa periodically undertake new and major capital works and mobilize their expatriate members to provide capital for projects such as the building and rebuilding of churches and schools, women's committee houses, and village guest houses;[5] road building; and village beautification. Councils send delegates to Aotearoa/New Zealand and in some cases constitute standing committees made up of expatriate *matai* (chiefs) to organize and coordinate village activity in migrant enclaves. The activities most frequently focus on seeking contributions to village capital works projects but also include the conferring of titles and the resolution of disputes.

The donations are seen by most migrants as contributions that they make in lieu of physical labor and are made on behalf of nonmigrant members of their family, to which they continue to belong "in exile." The donations are also acknowledgment of the benefits that they have received from membership in the village at various times. Their vicarious participation in these activities is documented and publicly acknowledged by both the family and the village. Migrants' participation guarantees them good standing in the village and reaffirms their right to claim and exercise the rights of village membership.

Institutional Replication

Within these general fields of social activity over the last forty years, further evidence of moral community has taken the form of replication of institutions that both ensured and confirmed the existence of moral and social integration. The communities replicated *fono matai,* drawing on permanently and temporarily resident *matai* to organize certain types of community and family activity. Kin groups constituted expatriate *āiga potopoto,* kin assemblies, to determine fit people to succeed to titles and then to make the preliminary moves to bestow these.[6] Churches replicated their various councils, known generically as *fono a tiakono,* and determined the direction and substance of the parishes' activities, which in turn came to resemble those of "parent" institutions.

Beyond these formal institutions were other activities in which the existence of moral community was both confirmed and reproduced. In such areas as dispute resolution, formal ceremonial forgiveness procedures, or *ifoga,* both confirmed the existence of a transgression of the standards of the moral community and, by publicly redressing the issue, guaranteed the continuation of the moral and social integration. In such areas as marriage, or *fa'ai-poipoga,* the adherence to established patterns of balanced gift exchange managed by senior men and women of the families involved restated the significance of kinship as an organizing principle and the appropriate ways of enacting it in practice. By choosing to give the largest weddings for those members who had given generously to the family over time, the *āiga* publicly confirmed the values of reciprocity and commitment to family.

Studies have also revealed that the principles and practices of Samoan social organization were not confined to areas in which they had traditionally been evident: that is, the management of family activity and mobilization of resources for such events as life crises and dispute management and resolution.[7] The same principles and practices were invoked as the basis for nontraditional activities from employment location, through rotating credit organizations, to the celebration of university graduations and family reunions. They were also even employed for managing relations with non-Samoans.[8]

The term "principles" is used advisedly here. In the 1950s and 1960s, many of the migrants' formal and informal activities were necessarily modified because various key individuals, groups, and knowledge were not available in New Zealand. In the 1970s, as *matai, 'ie tōga* (fine mats), and much esoteric knowledge moved to Aotearoa/New Zealand, the activities became more and more like those in Samoa. Indeed, in some ways the principal difference was that migrant activities were increasingly larger and more elaborate than those in Samoa (Macpherson and Macpherson 1999).

Emerging Pluralism

The findings of these studies, and particularly of a relationship with the dominant society described as social and structural pluralism, flew in the face of two sociological orthodoxies popular in the 1970s and 1980s. Some migration theories tended to depict migrants as "progressive" and "modern" people who fled "traditional" societies to free themselves from the "bondage of tradition" to adopt an individualistic worldview and lifestyle. The supposed desire for freedom to pursue an "individualistic" lifestyle may have said more about the worldviews and political ideologies of its proponents than it did about realities of migrant life or the social and political linkages between migrants and their communities of origin. It did not anticipate the possibility that migrants might migrate to support a "communitarian" lifestyle. Assimilation theory contended that migrants would inevitably adopt the worldviews and lifestyles of the dominant ethnic group (Gordon 1964). I focus below on explaining the social and economic factors that produced this desire to retain the central features of Samoan social organization—the platform on which this moral community was founded—and that now appear to be undermining these features.

Economic Factors

A series of economic factors played a crucial role in producing the platform on which moral community could develop. These provide the context within which migration occurred: the patterns of the flows and of settlement that developed in Aotearoa/New Zealand. These factors are significant because they produced, as I will show, concentrations of Samoan migrants in a relatively small number of areas within a relatively small number of cities and occupations. These concentrations are essential to the development of a moral community for two reasons. First, they produce the critical masses of people necessary to establish and maintain certain core elements of worldview and lifestyle. Second, the concentrations make it easier for people to maintain contact with others for whom these core elements are normative and thus increase the probability that norms are retained.

The Restructuring of the New Zealand Economy

After the Second World War, New Zealand embarked on a policy of import-substitution-based industrialization (Ongley 1991, 1996), which was concentrated in urban areas and designed to lessen the country's dependence on core states in the global economy and to generate opportunities for local

capital and labor (Hawke 1985; Rudd and Roper 1997). World War II had produced two population trends that hindered this development. Heavy losses in the war had led to a loss of able-bodied men, and the local semi-skilled and unskilled labor needed for industrialization was in short supply at the time. The country's population growth rate, which had been dropping for some time before the war, slowed still further as a consequence of war losses and created a longer-term labor supply problem for an expanding economy.

New Zealand's "territories" and former "territories" in the Southwest Pacific represented a convenient source of inexpensive, able-bodied, and educated but docile labor that, indirectly, also dampened domestic wage demands.[9] Pacific Island migration to New Zealand began in the period immediately after the Second World War and continued until labor demand declined in the mid-1980s (Krishnan et al. 1994:12–25).[10] The largest numbers of migrants came from Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, Niue, and the Tokelau Islands, with which New Zealand had been administered earlier in the century and with which the strongest constitutional ties were maintained. Smaller numbers came from Tonga, Fiji, and French Polynesia, with which New Zealand had weaker sociopolitical linkages. Although the migration and depopulation had profound and detrimental effects on Pacific Island states' economies (Shankman 1976; Hayes 1991), their governments, faced with rapid population growth, the escalating demands of their citizens, and limited resources with which to meet these, offered no obstacles to emigration and later actively promoted it (Krishnan et al. 1994).

Urban Concentration

The demand for labor came principally from developing secondary and tertiary industries and as a consequence generated opportunities in relatively few cities, in which the growth was concentrated, and within relatively few industrial areas, in which rapid growth was occurring. Pacific Island men and women tended to be concentrated in the manufacturing and assembly of everything from motor vehicles to domestic appliances and in service industries. Service jobs included jobs in transportation, in cleaning, as hospital domestics, and so on (Krishnan et al. 1994; Spoonley 1990; Bedford and Gibson 1986; Gibson 1983).

By the 1960s, well-established "chains" brought increasing numbers of migrants from the rural villages of the Pacific Islands to suburbs in three New Zealand cities—Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch (Pitt and Macpherson 1974; Levick and Bedford 1988; Loomis 1991)—and a number of smaller provincial centers such as Tokoroa (see Department of Statistics 1992: tables 44, p. 97; 2, p. 27; 9, p. 39; 16, p. 51; 23, p. 63; 30, p. 75; 37, p. 87).

Suburban Concentration

Most early migrants arrived without significant amounts of capital and were dependent on rental housing, at least initially.[11] They confronted largely European landlords who knew nothing or very little of these new home seekers but who assumed that they were similar to Maori migrants who were arriving in the city at the time. The landlords tended to rent them large, old homes at extortionate rents in low-income neighborhoods in areas near the central city scheduled for urban redevelopment. This relatively docile renting population would pay high rents, because they had few housing options, and they would not generally seek enforcement of their rights as tenants for the same reason. Under the circumstances, housing was a relatively scarce resource, and incoming migrants generally settled with existing kin households rather than form their own households. This "economic racism" on the part of the "gatekeepers" in the housing market provided, at least in the earliest phases of migration, the critical masses within certain suburbs that are necessary to create and then sustain viable moral communities.

Even later, however, as Samoans took advantage of the many state-provided incentives to home ownership, concentrations of population built up in tract housing on the fringes of the city for reasons that were often primarily economic. Government housing packages were intended for lower-income families and were aimed at providing inexpensive new homes on relatively inexpensive lots in new suburbs on the edges of the major cities (Macpherson 1997). Those subdivisions were developed by large building and land development companies, who undertook major marketing initiatives among "target populations" including Pacific Islanders. The companies offered comprehensive packages that reduced the need to deal with bureaucracies and "topping up" packages with additional incentives (Macpherson 1997). These companies also took advantage of Samoan knowledge and very soon appointed Samoan marketing staff, who used their social networks and knowledge of Samoan social organization to sell in the Samoan community. Economic incentives were used to gain access to home buyers' social networks and to make multiple sales within a kin group or congregation.[12]

The net effect of these economic forces was to create concentrations of Samoans in suburbs of cities. These provided the critical masses of population necessary to establish and support effective moral community. The fact that employment guarantees required for Samoans to complete immigration formalities came mainly from relatives who were already employed led to concentrations within particular companies within particular industrial sectors. But concentrations were, of themselves, not enough to guarantee moral community. Social and moral integration was only possible because of

a second set of social forces that ensured that those who formed these concentrations were predisposed to accept and participate in activities that are the bases of moral community. These social forces are outlined below.

Social Factors

Motivation for Migration

For viable moral communities to develop, people must be committed to at least the core principles on which moral and social integration rest. Why was it that migrants who settled in New Zealand remained committed to values and practices associated with rural, agricultural villages in an urban industrial environment? The answer lies indirectly in the village economy and more directly in the expectations of those who controlled, at least informally, who would be allowed and encouraged to migrate. To understand this connection one needs to understand the structure of the village economy during the 1950s and 1960s and the situation of those whose sole or principal source of income was primary production. This structure is described in detail elsewhere by such authors as Stace (1956), Pitt (1970), Lockwood (1971), and Shankman (1976).

Many, especially rural, parents sought to lessen their dependence on income from primary production for several reasons. Traditional crops were vulnerable to the attacks of a number of pests and plant diseases. Traditional tree crops were also vulnerable to periodic cyclones and root crops to various blights. As a consequence, domestic prices were in a constant state of flux, and planning was difficult. The situation was made worse by the fact that prices in international markets were also unstable because of the fluctuating volume and quality of production from other Pacific Island producers of the same commodities. Despite the institution, by government, of price stabilization schemes for staple crops, agricultural producers could not plan with any certainty under those conditions. Even some relatively well paid civil servants and wage workers in Samoa were eager to migrate, because they realized that incomes in New Zealand were higher and more elastic than their own (Shankman 1976:49–50).

Migration of family labor into the wage labor markets of Aotearoa/New Zealand guaranteed a significantly better return than employment in the plantation or the wage sector of the Samoan economy. It was relatively easy to augment basic incomes in New Zealand by working additional hours and on public holidays, which were paid at penal (overtime) rates, and with less well paid work in service industries, which was also available for those who wanted second, and occasionally third, jobs. Migrants regularly worked very

long hours to take advantage of penal rates, and took either casual or permanent second jobs. The returns on their labor were potentially higher, more assured, and better protected than the returns on their labor on the plantation or in wage work in Samoa.[13]

Selection

The benefit to the family accrued only as long as those who migrated remained committed to the vision of themselves as members of a family the needs of which took precedence over their own personal needs and interests. Such people would accept their responsibility to remit a significant part of their income to the family and effectively diversify the range and quality of income streams. This realization led parents who had access to guarantees of work in Aotearoa/New Zealand to select with considerable care those of their children to whom these guarantees would be given.

Unmarried women were favored, because they were thought to be more committed to their families than were young men, and, as Shankman noted in the case of Sa'asi, this belief had a solid basis in fact. While young men could, and generally did, earn more than young women, they were generally considered less reliable remitters than young women. Single people were favored by both immigration regulations and parents because a single person's entire income, or at least significant parts of it, were at the disposal of the family. Married people were less favored, because marriage usually meant that the migrant's income would be the subject of periodic calls from a spouse's family and because of the higher costs of establishing and maintaining a larger household. People were encouraged to remain single to extend their effective remitting life until such time as major projects were complete.

Thus, it can be argued that a set of somewhat instrumental concerns led to the "selection" of people who were thought to be more likely to serve their families and who had demonstrated this commitment in their conduct in Samoa. Such people were more likely to be more committed to other Samoan values and practices and provided a solid platform from which a moral community might emerge.

Orientation

This outcome depended on keeping new migrants focused on the need to support family while surrounded by a new set of opportunities and with access to relatively high individual incomes. For these reasons, the circumstances in which new migrants were "inducted" into New Zealand society

were crucial if they were to remain committed to their "mission." In this respect, the emergence of moral community was fostered by both immigration regulations and Samoan social organization.

Immigration regulations at the time required that all migrants provide the address at which they would be living on arrival in New Zealand. Immigration officers then inspected the dwelling to ensure that it complied with existing health and safety regulations before issuing an entry permit. Securing accommodation from a distance in a housing market in which many landlords tended to discriminate against Pacific Islanders was difficult, and so many migrants turned to their kin to locate housing for them. In many cases the "sponsor" provided his or her own address. But the choice of a sponsor owed a considerable amount to Samoan beliefs about the nature of young single people, who were thought of as having a predisposition to stray from the more difficult obligations to service, *tautua,* and to seek individual freedom and self-gratification unless they were adequately supervised. This risk was considered much higher in the cities of New Zealand where there were more reasons and opportunities to stray, and more difficulties in detecting and disciplining those who faltered. These beliefs about young people's lack of self-discipline in turn shaped beliefs about the appropriate environment for induction and the appropriate sponsor.

Many parents believed that close supervision of young migrants' activities was necessary for both social and financial reasons and sought out older migrant relatives whom they believed could and would provide "guidance." Many migrant households were headed by such people; usually an older relation acted in loco parentis and effectively controlled members' social and financial activities.[14] This supervision was not seen, at least initially, to be an unreasonable restriction on freedom by either parents or their migrant children. Most migrants accepted that such supervision was appropriate at the time and that it was no more or less than they would have expected in Samoa. Most acknowledged that they could not have migrated without the assistance they received from the families to which they went and accepted a degree of control over their economic, religious, and social freedom in return for relatively inexpensive accommodation, access to employment, and social and emotional support.

These households often contained other young, single migrants, so that new migrants necessarily spent much of their time with other young people chosen for similar reasons and in similar situations. Furthermore, these households were frequently managed by persons who had been chosen by parents who believed that they were thoroughly committed to the *fa'asamoa* (the Samoan way) and that they would ensure that appropriate standards of conduct would be maintained. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising

that many new migrants maintained a commitment to a Samoan worldview and lifestyle.

Work Life

The values that were central in the home situation would have been more difficult to enforce had they been directly and openly contested in the work situation. This was often not the case for a number of reasons connected with both immigration requirements and Samoan choices. Immigration regulations required that new residents have a guarantee of employment for a named position in a specific company. Proof was presented to immigration authorities in the form of a valid offer of employment on company stationery. For many people such documents would have been impossible to obtain from a distance. In fact, most such guarantees were obtained by Samoans working in companies in New Zealand and forwarded to their families in Samoa.

These people, often supervisors or employees of long standing, used their own work record and abilities as "collateral" for employment guarantees for relatives and friends. These people became, in effect, gatekeepers to the employment market, and both employers and family came to depend on them. The employers depended on these key personnel to identify, induct, and manage new employees, and often placed new Samoan employees with or under the control of those who had sponsored them.[15] So too did their families, who regarded them, correctly, as conduits to permanent residence. These gatekeepers clearly had a vested interest in obtaining people who would accept their direction and whose conduct would consolidate their own position and reputation within a company. If their early recommendations proved to be successful employees, their prospects of obtaining further guarantees increased as did their status within their families.

This system presupposed that the new employee required "controlling." This was, however, not usually the case. The new Samoan employee often hoped that his or her performance would eventually qualify him or her for access to work permits and entitle him or her to the social prestige that came with this access. For these reasons, new employees tended often to be fairly compliant ones who acknowledged their obligation to those who had found them work that they could not otherwise have found and readily accepted the directions of their sponsors.

The consequence of this second facet of chain migration was the concentration of large numbers of Samoans in particular industrial areas and indeed within particular parts of companies. In these situations the new migrants often found that the core elements of the Samoan worldview and

lifestyle were the norms within their workplaces. Furthermore, as long as employers and Samoans benefited from this informal system and maintained it, it would tend to favor the growth of a pool of migrants who were chosen because they were committed to the *fa'asamoa* and who found themselves in situations in which certain key elements of the *fa'asamoa* were the norms.

Nonwork Life

The control of nonwork life extended often to the social and recreational activity of the new migrants. The heads of households to which new migrants were sent were charged with maintaining "appropriate" patterns of social and religious life. To this end, they determined to a significant extent the composition of social networks and patterns of social activity of those under their care. An active religious life was held central to reinforce the key values of the *fa'asamoa* in the midst of temptation, and most households required new migrants to attend religious services on Sunday. One woman remembered the walks to church:

> We lived with my aunt, who decided that all those living with her would attend her church. We would all dress up early on Sunday morning and walk all the way from P to N [a distance of about 7.5 kilometers]. We took turns at carrying my aunty's children and pushing their prams. We must have looked like a hen and chickens bobbing along in white and in line. And yet when I think back to those times, I was not self-conscious, because about the only people walking on the roads at that time of day were other families that looked like us. As you got nearer the church, there were more and more of us.
>
> We would sit through the service and then turn around and walk home. We never got to talk to anybody much at church, because when my aunty was ready to go home, she just announced we were going, and off we went. Sometimes she would meet people at church and invite them home. Those were exciting times. When we got home, we would have our *toana'i* and sleep for the rest of the afternoon. I can't imagine asking my own children to walk to church and back on an empty stomach, but in those times it was a good part of the week.

The heads of households, ever conscious of their responsibility to protect their charges, sought to limit their social activity to that connected with the church, where it was presumed they would be safer. This effectively con-

fined activity to choir rehearsals and performances, fund-raising socials and dances on church premises, and church-affiliated sports clubs and youth groups. In this area boys were allowed more freedom than girls, but even so shift work and extended working hours often limited people's freedom and energy for these activities. Another woman remembered the dances:

> A boy would ask my cousin if I could dance with him. He never asked me directly. If my cousin agreed, he would watch us like a hawk throughout the dance. Sometimes, I would be dancing close to a boy, and my cousin would dance up beside us and glower at me and my partner until we got a bit farther apart. Then my cousin would not allow me to dance for the next couple of dances as a reminder to me to watch my step. That was what passed for a good night out then, and compared with some of the other people with whom we worked, and who were not allowed out at all, we felt pretty free. I could understand why it all happened that way and had no problem. It was the *fa'asamoa,* and that was all most of us knew then.

Under pressure from younger people, the heads of families started to allow young people to attend public dances run by non-Samoans *(papālagi).* Even then, however, the girls were almost always chaperoned by male relatives, which meant that, even in the midst of ostensibly *papālagi* activity, many of the people involved were adhering to Samoan standards of propriety.

In these circumstances, the limited social life that many new migrants enjoyed away from home was with other Samoans and in venues and activities in which Samoan values and norms of conduct prevailed. It is not difficult to understand why Samoans were able to retain a relatively high degree of social and moral integration and felt bound to a significant degree to a moral community.

Overstaying

The prospect of relatively high, secure income proved extremely attractive, and increasing numbers of Samoans arrived in New Zealand as visitors and tourists on three-month visas but remained, disappeared, and worked there illegally. Their illegal immigrant status made them particularly dependent on their kin for work and accommodation and for shelter when they were forced to move at short notice to keep ahead of immigration authorities. This pressure and the resulting dependence became even greater as the New Zealand economy slowed down from the mid-1970s, and immigration

authorities moved more deliberately to locate and deport illegal immigrants. This dependence increased again after 1990 as the government tightened its administration of social welfare and paid social income only to those who could provide evidence of legal residence status (Macpherson 1992). Many illegal residents were left without means of support and were increasingly dependent on their relations and friends for maintenance.

Illegal immigrants were more likely to play their parts in family and village affairs, because they were aware that those who were well regarded were more likely to be supported and sheltered than those who made no useful contribution. Relatives tired of supporting people who made little contribution to family or village would hand them over, usually anonymously, to authorities. This dependence on legal migrants further improved the probability of compliance on the part of people who were outside the system and might otherwise have been expected to be independent of their families and to enjoy greater freedom.

The Undermining of Moral Community

A generation later, the moral and social integration that underpinned much of the social organization of the immigrant Samoans is being transformed. The social, political, and economic factors that gave rise to moral community have changed. In place of the earlier, singular community that had its foundations in Samoa are several moral communities founded on different combinations of factors.

The most obvious factor in the process is the changing demographic composition of the expatriate Samoan population. The Samoan-born migrant population is steadily aging as a consequence of the transformation of the New Zealand economy (Macpherson 1992), which no longer requires large amounts of unskilled and semiskilled labor. The demand for younger Pacific Islanders has waned, and most Samoans migrating now do so under the family reunification provisions that allow older family members whose children have migrated to join their children in New Zealand. This small stream of people tends to share the worldview and practices of the early migrants and to reinforce the moral community that characterized early settlement. A small number of professionals migrate under an immigration points system that gives preference to those with specialist occupational skills in short supply in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2000).

The New Zealand born and raised children and grandchildren of the migrants are coming of age in ever larger numbers and are becoming increasingly influential within the community (Cook et al. 2001). By 1996, New Zealand–born Samoans comprised 56 percent of the Samoan popula-

tion, and this proportion is rising quickly. The ethnicity of this group has been discussed in more detail elsewhere (Macpherson 1984, 1991, 1996, 2001). They bring to the community a broad range of social experience; they have been more systematically exposed to the English language and to non-Samoan cultures as a consequence of their socialization, formal education, and intermarriage (Macpherson 1972; Cook et al. 2001). They have, as a consequence, significantly larger amounts of *papālagi* cultural capital than their parents did. New Zealand–born Samoans have higher educational qualifications and incomes and more secure positions in the labor market than do migrants (Macpherson et al. 2000). This status, theoretically at least, frees them from economic dependence on friends and relatives and the requirement of compliance with parental and community requests for support.

They have, at the same time, been denied the village-based secular and religious socialization that produced commitment to a single and publicly "enforced" and "celebrated" set of social values and associated practices. This group has, in many cases, neither the cultural capital nor the inclination to participate in the forms of social organization that were the bases of their parents' sense of cohesion and moral community. The loss of cultural capital results from the level and pattern of their exposure to Samoan values and practices. Nor do they necessarily have the knowledge of the Samoan language that is necessary to participate in Samoan events that are enacted in New Zealand. Language loss has increased among New Zealand–born Samoans to the point that, while 90 percent of Samoan-born speak Samoan, only 46 percent of New Zealand–born do. As Hunkin-Tuiletufuga notes (2001), this proportion is likely to increase steadily in the absence of policies and a determination to maintain language. To see the New Zealand–born Samoans as having some sort of cultural deficit is, however, to miss the point.

The loss of inclination is a product in many cases of the existence of a viable alternative (Macpherson 2001; Anae 2001). New Zealand–born Samoans have a range of alternative identities available to them. The political, economic, and social conditions in which they were raised have provided them with a range of identities such as "New Zealand–borns," "P.I.s," or "Polys," and, as a consequence of high levels of intermarriage, "part-Samoans." This is not to suggest that they have abandoned the culture and language of their parents. Many remain proud of their Samoan heritage and think of themselves as Samoans (Anae 2001). But it is true that the basis of their moral community as Samoans is different from that of their parents, because the social, political, and economic conditions in which it has been generated are different. The nature of their social and moral integration reflects a different relationship with their parents' Samoan worldview and lifestyle.

These young people have redefined "Samoanness" and have altered its

content. They have adopted new symbols of their identity that reflect the circumstances in which their identity was formed (Macpherson 1984, 1991). The *taulima,* a design tattooed around the mid-bicep and designed originally as a "cultural souvenir" for Peace Corps volunteers who served in Samoa, has been widely adopted by New Zealand–born Samoans as a mark of Samoan identity for both young men and women who might in Samoa have been expected to have had quite different sorts of tattoos. The young, whose fluency in Samoan varies significantly and is frequently somewhat limited (Hunkin-Tuiletufuga 2001), have developed a patois that mixes English and Samoan languages in a way that allows them to communicate and to "mark" common Samoan cultural heritage.

New Zealand–born Samoans have created new forms of art that incorporate Samoan symbols and materials but in a range of new media and in a way that allows them to practice a new range of art forms and to identify as Samoans. Similarly, in music, dance, and drama, the young have created new forms that incorporate traditional ideas, stories, styles, rhythms, and movements in new forms of music, dance, and drama that they identify as Samoan. Thus, one finds such musical styles as "Jamoan" and rap that embodies Samoan stories, experiences, and values (Zemke-White 2001). New Zealand–born Samoans have expropriated non-Samoan forms such as European opera to perform traditional Samoan songs. While the blending of older symbols into newer media is often interesting and easy and commands the support of young and old alike, this is not always the case.

The new and distinctive moral community emerging among New Zealand–born Samoans is not simply an "incomplete" version of that of their parents. New Zealand–born Samoans and others who have spent significant amounts of time in New Zealand have started to reflect critically on the Samoan culture and society of their parents. They have taken advantage of the distance from Samoan society to question some of the central precepts and values that underpin the moral community of their migrant parents and grandparents (Macpherson 2001).

Albert Wendt initiated the trend in a series of novels and short stories about Samoan society that were critical of a series of central elements that underlie Samoan moral community.[16] While he was criticized by many "traditionalists," he gave voice to many other Samoans and won wide critical acclaim outside the Samoan community. More recently author Sia Figiel has won professional acclaim with three powerful, critical novels about the experience of girls, women, and migrants in Samoan society (1996a, 1996b, 1999). Playwright David Fane has written a series of humorous, satirical plays that have dealt with such issues as the tensions between Samoan-born and New Zealand–born in families in *Fresh off the Boat;* the treatment of *fa'afafine,*

or transsexuals, in the *Flight of the Frigate Bird;* dysfunctional Samoan families in *Naked Samoans Talk about Their Knives* and the comedy slots of *Milburn Place,* about a migrant family in which a set of Samoan central values and those associated with them are heavily parodied on prime-time television.

Every year exposes more dramatic and musical talent, and each time a song, play, or book publicly challenges the foundations of the moral community that migrants established almost fifty years ago, it opens the way for others to extend the challenge. The values that underlie the earlier moral community and the institutions which enacted and reproduced it are changing but in an increasingly positive social climate. They are being rearranged to form the foundations of new, multiple moral communities that reflect new ways of being Samoan in an urban industrial society. In New Zealand the existence of alternatives and the freedom to criticize the underpinnings of "Samoan" moral community have made the migrant community a site in which a New Zealand–born moral community, constructed out of new cultural materials and in different circumstances, can emerge and live alongside its "parent."

NOTES

1. Auckland, Wellington, Tokoroa, and Christchurch were the centers in which the population had concentrated at that time.

2. This denomination was connected with the London Missionary Society church, which led the earliest Christian missionary activity in the South Pacific. It became, and remains, the most influential denomination in many Pacific islands (Gunson 1976) and established its first parish in Auckland for Cook Islanders, Samoans, Niueans, Tokelauans, and Tuvaluans in 1946 before expanding southward.

3. This involved "calling" pastors who had been trained or had ministered to congregations in Samoa and who could and would replicate "appropriate" theological and organizational models.

4. These projects require significant commitments, since they typically involve relatively small numbers of members in an area deciding to build a church and call a minister. Most hope to open these buildings either without debt or with a relatively small debt. Thus, foundation members are often asked to mortgage their homes to provide capital. The congregation must continue to service the mortgage, or they risk losing their homes.

5. Recently, periodic cyclones have put immense pressure on members, who have been required to replace or rebuild not only their own family homes but also the village facilities that were damaged twice in as many years by the cyclones Val and Ofa in the early 1990s.

6. The moves precede the village *fono* acknowledgment of the title's transmission and the formal registration of the new titleholder in the Lands and Titles Court.

7. The New Zealand Samoan migrants were by no means unique in this respect. Studies of expatriate Samoan communities in various parts of California revealed similar orientations to Samoan social organization (Ablon 1971; Rolff 1978).

8. In 1994, after an altercation between Samoans and Tongans in which one Tongan was killed, Samoans sought and were given the consent of the Tongans to make an *ifoga,* or ritual self-debasement and formal apology, for the death as a prelude to reconciliation.

9. Pacific Island labor was generally unfamiliar with the highly institutionalized system of labor relations that existed in New Zealand. Workers were generally unfamiliar with the objectives and organization of trade unions, which they were required in most case to join, and somewhat suspicious of the notions of class solidarity that were at the time central parts of the discourse of labor relations.

10. In fact the Pacific Island migration started significantly earlier, when the ancestors of the Maori moved out of Eastern Polynesia and into the South Pacific some one thousand years ago.

11. There were exceptions, such as those relatively wealthy part-Samoans who left Samoa in the period leading up to independence in 1962 because of uncertainty as to how their position would change in a newly independent nation born in a climate of strong Samoan nationalism (Pitt and Macpherson 1974).

12. Samoan sales people offered various bonuses to people who introduced other kin with whom they could discuss home purchase and to those people who introduced kin who subsequently signed housing contracts. Given that there are significant entry expenses, people were motivated to introduce others for the bonuses.

13. In the sectors into which most migrants moved, labor union membership was effectively compulsory, and the power of the labor unions guaranteed the protection of the wages and conditions, and to a lesser extent the jobs, of employees in these sectors.

14. The degree of control varied. In some households people surrendered unopened pay packets to the heads of their households, who deducted various charges, set aside a sum to be remitted and another to be banked, and returned a small sum in pocket money. In others, people were simply required to provide proof that certain savings and remittance commitments had been met weekly. In other households less formal control was exercised over income, and peer pressure seems to have produced much the same result in terms of commitment to remit.

15. This system saved them the costs of advertising for, interviewing, and formally inducting new employees. The growth of a multicultural workforce gave little cause for concern, because the system also guaranteed them a good degree of control over the management of the new Samoan employees.

16. These stories include "Sons for the Return," "Flying Fox in a Freedom Tree," and "The Leaves of the Banyan Tree."

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