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ACCULTURATION OF SAMOANS IN THE MORMON VILLAGE
OF LAIE, TERRITORY OF HAWAII

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

JUNE 1956

By Francis
Bernard F. Pierce

57-6283

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The field work for this study was made possible by a grant from the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	11
LIST OF TABLES	v
CHAPTER I. NATURE OF THE STUDY	
The Problem	1
x The study of acculturation	1
x Acculturation of Samoans at Laie	1
Areas of investigation	5
Field Methods	5
Field observation	5
The schedule	6
Special informants	9
x Study of U.S.S. President Jackson migration of 1952	9
Anonymity	10
CHAPTER II. THE SETTING: THE VILLAGE OF LAIE	
Physical Environment	11
x Social Environment	14
↓ Historical background	14
↓ Population: growth and composition	16
History of Samoan migration to Laie	19
CHAPTER III. THE ECONOMIC FACTOR IN SAMOAN ACCULTURATION	
Samoan Economy	23
Prewar conditions	23
Wartime conditions	24
Postwar conditions	25
Economic Motivations For Migration	27
Postwar migrants	27
Prewar migrants	31
✓ Employment Of Laie Samoans	32
The past	32
The present	33
Subsistence Economy In Laie	40
Agriculture	40
Seafood	41
Mormon And American Economic Values	42
Economic values in Mormon culture	42
Economic values in American culture	44
Economic activity as a prime factor in the changing culture of Mormon-Americans	45
✓ Attitudes Of Laie Samoans Toward Economic Activity	47
Attitudes toward work	47
Attitudes toward wealth	49
Attitudes toward security	51
Attitudes toward the <u>metai</u> system	59

CHAPTER IV. [SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION	
Attitudes Of Non-Samoans Toward Samoans	64
(Hawaiians	64
Caucasians	65
Attitudes Of Samoans Toward Non-Samoans	66
Toward Hawaiians	66
Toward Caucasians	68
Samoans And The Village Of Laie	70
The significance of Laie to Samoans	70
Laie -- a Mormon village	72
Education In Laie	77
Informal education	77
Formal education: religious	82
Formal education: secular	84
CHAPTER V. OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	
Prewar And Postwar Samoan Migrants In Laie	88
Comparison With Samoans In New Zealand	91
Conclusions	93
APPENDIX	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY	105

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE I.	MOTIVATIONS OF LAIE SAMOANS FOR MIGRATING TO HAWAII	30
TABLE II.	OCCUPATIONS BY EMPLOYER OF SAMPLE SAMOAN HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN LAIE	35
TABLE III.	AREA IN WHICH LAIE SAMOANS THINK THAT PEOPLE WORK HARDER	48
TABLE IV.	DEFINITIONS OF SUCCESS AS GIVEN BY LAIE RESPONDENTS	50
TABLE V.	THE EXTENT TO WHICH PERSONS THOUGHT TO BE SUCCESSFUL WERE ALSO ADMIRED BY LAIE RESPONDENTS	50
TABLE VI.	AREA IN WHICH LAIE SAMOANS WERE MORE SATISFIED WITH THEIR PERSONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION	56
TABLE VII.	THE INCIDENCE OF INSTALLMENT BUYING AMONG LAIE SAMOANS AND HAWAIIANS	58
TABLE VIII.	ATTITUDES OF LAIE SAMOANS TOWARD THE <u>NATAI</u> SYSTEM	62
TABLE IX.	ATTITUDES OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS TOWARD HAWAIIANS	67
TABLE X.	ATTITUDES OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS TOWARD CONTINUED RESIDENCE IN LAIE	71
TABLE XI.	THE CHOICE OF ARBITER BY LAIE RESPONDENTS IN THE EVENT OF AN ALTERCATION WITH A NEIGHBOR	73
TABLE XII.	ATTITUDES OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS TOWARD THE RELATIVE MERITS OF MORMONISM IN HAWAII AND SAMOA	76
TABLE XIII.	STATEMENTS BY LAIE PARENTS CONCERNING WHO REPRIMANDS THEIR CHILDREN	79
TABLE XIV.	REPORTED METHOD OF CHASTISEMENT EMPLOYED BY LAIE RESPONDENTS	80
TABLE XV.	ATTITUDES OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS TOWARD SAMOAN METHOD BY WHICH CHILDREN SHOW RESPECT FOR ADULTS	80
TABLE XVI.	REPORTED OCCURRENCE IN HOUSEHOLDS OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS OF SAMOAN METHOD BY WHICH CHILDREN SHOW RESPECT FOR ADULTS	80

CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE STUDY

The Problem

The study of acculturation. The usual method of evaluating the change that has occurred in the culture of one group of people who have come under the influence of the culture of another group is, first, to ascertain as nearly as possible the nature of the culture of the former group as it was prior to contact with the latter. Comparisons can then be made between the pre-contact culture and the modified culture in order to establish the areas and degree of change. Reconstruction of the pre-contact culture, or what in acculturation studies is termed the cultural base line, often has to depend primarily on limited historical sources which provide insufficient data on all aspects of the culture.

A method of studying culture contact and culture change that may minimize this difficulty is to compare the modified culture of the group undergoing acculturation with that of the group toward which it is tending. The culture of the donor may be termed the cultural goal. The primary difficulty in employing this technique in the study of non-Euroamericans reacting to Euroamerican culture is the dearth of systematic and objective description about the Euroamerican culture involved. In this study both methods will be employed in an attempt to utilize the strengths and to minimize the weaknesses of each.

Acculturation of Samoans at Laie. The present study is concerned with Samoans living in the community of Laie on the island of Oahu in the Territory of Hawaii, and with their adjustment to the culture of that

cosmopolitan community. Samoans have been establishing more or less permanent residence in Laie for a period of over thirty-five years. During that time certain facets of their culture have undergone considerable alteration, while others have remained practically unchanged.

Throughout the period of Samoan migration to Laie neither the culture of Laie nor that of Samoa has remained static, both having undergone modification. A most important factor contributing to these changes is the breakdown of isolation of both Samoa and Laie and the increasing contact of both communities with "standard" American culture.

Prior to World War II Samoa was to a great extent isolated from outside influences, and did not become overwhelmed by Euroamerican culture as did other areas in Polynesia, particularly Hawaii. In American Samoa this was in part due to the paternalistic policy of the naval administration which was inaugurated in 1900. New Zealand administration of Western Samoa, which began after World War I, has followed a similar policy. Geographic, economic, and political factors also contributed to keeping Samoa an "ethnographic museum." World War II brought an end to this situation when thousands of American troops were stationed throughout the archipelago. There was more Euroamerican culture presented to the Samoans at this time than during their whole previous history. Moreover, their direct involvement in a capitalistic economy had ramifications in other spheres of Samoan activity. For example, many Samoans gave up their subsistence economy to work for wages on jobs associated with the war effort. This introduced new avenues of prestige achievement and threatened the traditional socio-political system.

The war also resulted in a four-year hiatus in Samoan migration to Laie from 1942 to 1946. Because of the rapid changes which characterised wartime Samoa, a distinct differential may be postulated in the respective cultural base lines of prewar and postwar Samoan migrants to Laie. However, one point must be kept in mind. The Samoans who came to Laie before the war were experiencing change in Laie in approximately the same direction as were their contemporaries in Samoa. Since most of the changes in Laie probably took place over a longer period of time and were more gradual than those in Samoa, the possibility exists that in some aspects of Samoan culture the effects of changes in Samoa and in Laie have by now become almost identical.

The Samoans at Laie as well as the rest of the community belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, better known as the Mormon Church. Mormonism, a Christian sect founded in early nineteenth-century America, is unique in Christianity, not only for its dogma and theology but also for its profound effect on the social organisation and the economy of its adherents.

Mormon predominance at Laie makes both the Samoans as Samoans and the Laiens as Americans atypical within the wider context of their respective societies, for less than one per cent of Americans are Mormons (O'Dea, 1955, p. 3), and less than five per cent of Samoans are Mormons (Government of Western Samoa, 1954, p. 20; Keesing, 1934, p. 398). Thus, Samoans and other Laiens involved in the acculturation situation at Laie are members of minority groups that are very divergent in significant aspects of culture as compared with other members of their respective Samoan and American societies. To the investigator of this situation an inherent disadvantage is the lack of background material

on both minority groups. The writer knows of no publication that deals with the Samoans as members of the Mormon Church, nor has any material been found that describes the Mormon Church in Samoa. A considerable amount has been written about the Mormon Church in America. Much of this is of an historical nature, and that which is sociological is usually concerned with the more typical Mormon communities in the Mountain States. Much of Laie culture does not conform to these mainland patterns. Laie culture is the result of the conjunction of Hawaiian, "standard" American, Mormon-American, and Samoan cultures, and is today a hybrid way of life that represents fusion as much or more than assimilation to American culture.

Thus, in order to construct the cultural goal presented to Samoans in Laie, use will be made of information about Laie culture gathered from Laiens, both Samoan and Hawaiian, during the course of the writer's field investigation in the summer of 1955. Further insight into the Mormon system of values has been gained from sociological works on Mormon mainland communities, as well as from some official publications of the Church (Bailey, 1955; O'Dea, 1955; Widtsoe, 1939).

The cultural base lines, prewar and postwar, of the Samoan immigrants to Laie will be reconstructed from data obtained through correspondence with persons living in Samoa, and from the Samoan migrants themselves. For general background on contemporary Samoan culture, anthropological sources have been used (Grattan, 1948; Mead, 1928; Keesing, 1934).

Finally, it should be noted that it is an advantage to the investigator that virtually all members of the Laie community belong to the same religion despite their origin. Though Mormonism differs to

some extent in Samoa and Laie, the many common elements tend to provide an underlying constant in the whole process of acculturation of Samoans in Laie.

Areas of investigation. It is believed by the writer that one of the areas most conducive to conflict during the acculturation process is that of values. As the acculturating group and the donor group tend to approximate each other in value orientations, causes for antagonism are minimized. The values of a culture are here considered to be the abstracted concepts which are manifest in the attitudes of individuals associated with that culture. Hence, attitudes in the present study will be viewed as indices to values.

As will be shown later, economic factors appear to have played the leading role in the acculturation of Laie Samoans by providing the main incentive to adopt certain Euroamerican traits. Therefore, since it would seem to be most fruitful, the focus of this study will be on the economic aspect of Laie Samoan culture, emphasizing attitudes toward economic matters. Thus, Samoan attitudes toward work, wealth, and security will be studied with the relevant background of the nature of employment of Samoans both in Samoa and Laie. For the purpose of clarifying related issues, it will be necessary to discuss at some length various other aspects of Laie community life, such as social relations and attitudes toward education.

Field Methods

Field observation. The writer resided in Laie with his wife and child from June 18 to October 2, 1955, a period of three and one-half months.

For the first six weeks they occupied a rented house in the heart of the village. For the following two months a house was rented on the outskirts of Laie, because it was felt that a variation of residence would provide better opportunity for a more balanced investigation of the total community.

The writer endeavored to attend as many social, economic, and religious functions as possible. Active participation on his part was held to a minimum, and the role of inconspicuous observer was stressed. The villagers were told that he was not a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Whenever asked to speak at a religious meeting, he confined himself to remarks outside the field of religious doctrine or dogma.

Direct observation of Laie Samoans and Hawaiians was supplemented by comments from sources outside these two groups. Local merchants and Church officials were interviewed on pertinent matters. Government officials familiar with Laie, such as, police, public health, and public welfare personnel, were questioned about local conditions.

The schedule. A schedule with 115 items, intended as an interview guide, was pre-tested in June, being used with five Samoan and three Hawaiian respondents. Questions that were found to be embarrassing, inappropriate, or otherwise unsatisfactory were eliminated or revised. The final schedule had 101 items pertaining to the following subjects: personal history, religion, conditions in Hawaii, conditions in Samoa, children, community life, economy, and conditions of interviewing. Since the schedule was used with Hawaiians as well as Samoans, some questions were given appropriate alternatives or were not used with Hawaiian respondents.

Questions were numbered and written on a 5 x 8 card to be used as a mnemonic device. Answers were inconspicuously recorded in correspondingly numbered spaces on another card. The answers to many questions could be indicated by merely placing a check mark to the right or left side of a column to indicate "yes" or "no," "male" or "female," or "Hawaii" or "Samoa." Practically all other questions could be answered by a word or a short phrase.

The original intention was to administer the schedule to one married adult in every Samoan nuclear family (which numbered about sixty-seven at the time) and to a corresponding number of Hawaiians in a similar category. However, it soon became apparent that this procedure was impractical. Mormons are extremely active people, and most of their free time is devoted to some phase of Church work. Because there is always something to do, a Mormon dislikes squandering his valuable time in lengthy visiting. It was noticed that so long as a visit or discussion was kept brief and informal, it was easy to establish rapport and gather information. But on a longer visit, where it was obvious to an informant that a schedule was being used, resistance was often very strong. The average length of time required to administer the schedule was about one hour, the range being from twenty-five minutes (for an incomplete interview with a busy Samoan) to two hours and twenty minutes (for an interview with many digressions with a very old Hawaiian).

Resistance by some Samoans to the schedule was ostensibly based on suspicion of the investigator. One Samoan claimed that he had been warned by immigration authorities not to answer any questions because there were "communist spies" in the area. Presentation of U. S. government credentials by the writer did not overcome this attitude.

Others refused to be interviewed on the grounds that a previous investigator had published personal and embarrassing facts about them, and had identified them by name. Others, from British Samoa, felt that the writer might be employed by the U. S. Immigration Service and were reluctant to respond to any questionnaire. It is interesting to note that in practically all cases where the above suspicions could not be allayed, the suspicious individual was a Samoan who had come to Hawaii after the war but who previously had experienced a considerable amount of contact with Euroamerican culture in Samoa. It appears that the official atmosphere surrounding the formal use of a schedule was the cause of avoidance.

Furthermore, when the interviewer had become better acquainted with interviewees after the schedule had been administered, it was observed that the same questions asked in a more casual manner often evoked different answers than they had in more formal response to the schedule.

The writer concluded that it would be more advantageous to work with a few cooperative informants in gathering much of the less directly observable material. In addition, as many people as possible were contacted, at least once, for a short informal interview. However, in attempting to provide as wide a coverage as possible and to acquire some statistical data on attitudes, the writer did administer the schedule to sixty people; of these twenty were prewar Samoan residents of Laie, twenty were postwar Samoan migrants to Laie, and, to provide a base for comparison, twenty were Hawaiians. Households were chosen at random from an official Church list of Laie residents, and any one married adult who happened to be home at the time of the call was interviewed. If no one answered after several calls, then another household in the same category

was substituted. Each respondent was a member of a different nuclear family, and either was married at the time of the interview or had been married previously. The sex ratio for each of the groups was: prewar Samoans, 14 males, 6 females; postwar Samoans, 15 males, 5 females; Hawaiians, 9 males, 11 females. The age range and mean for each of the groups was: prewar Samoans, 25-78, 50.3; postwar Samoans, 21-70, 40.8; Hawaiians, 20-73, 55.4.

Special informants. In addition to the schedule and casual interviews, information was gathered from special informants in order to gain a better insight into some local conditions, and to obtain personal information not otherwise available. After a while these informants became quite relaxed in the presence of the investigator, and frequently discussed subjects of a quite intimate nature.

These informants, about a dozen in number, included male and female, prewar and postwar Samoans, Hawaiians and Caucasians.

Study of U.S.S. President Jackson migration of 1952. In July 1952 the military transport vessel U.S.S. President Jackson was used by the U. S. Navy to transport 958 Samoans from Samoa to Hawaii (see Chapter II). In 1953 David Eyde, an anthropology undergraduate student at the University of Hawaii, made a survey of President Jackson migrants still in residence on the island of Oahu. His investigation of the Laie group was made in August of that year. His report, "A Preliminary Study of a Group of Samoan Migrants in Hawaii," was issued in mimeographed form in 1954.

This report together with some of Eyde's field notes have made it possible to achieve an accurate time dimensional aspect in the present

study. All of the eighty-eight migrants noted by Eyde in Laie were checked by the present writer exactly two years later.

However, Eyde's work can be used here only for its objective reports, e.g., number and location of Samoans; subjective materials such as stated opinions and attitudes cannot be employed. In the latter category, answers to questions about motivations for migration imply a considered choice which could be made only by adults; all eighty-eight Laie migrants are represented as having answered (1954, p. 6), though only 30 per cent of these were adults (p. 11), and 35 per cent were children under 10 years of age (p. 10). It is likely that answers supplied by the household head were applied without distinction to all members of the household. Thus, in one particular family interviewed, one man would have been responsible for fourteen identical answers.

However, Eyde's field notes pertaining to certain household heads were employed, which made it possible to compare changing attitudes of those persons within a two-year period. The number of these individuals was so limited that though Eyde's data provided some additional insight and depth, they were statistically insignificant.

Anonymity. In order to prevent the possibility that this study may offend or embarrass any individual living in Laie, or any other person contacted during the course of investigation, the identity of all interviewees, informants, government officials, officials of the Church, and acquaintances in the village will be held confidential.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING: THE VILLAGE OF LAIE

Physical Environment

The village of Laie is situated on the northeast or windward coast of Oahu, five miles from the northernmost tip of the island, and about thirty-five miles from Honolulu. The two nearest towns along the coast are Kahuku (population in 1950: 1,602), a sugar plantation town two and one half miles to the northwest, and Hauula (population in 1950: 631), three and one half miles to the southeast.

The town faces Laie Bay, which is almost circular in shape and about one mile in diameter. At its southern end the semicircular, sandy beach of the bay meets rocky Laniloa Point, a narrow peninsula extending almost one half mile out to sea. The seaward side of Laie Bay is bounded by a chain of several small islands from the end of Laniloa Point to the northern shore of the bay.

The town itself is situated on a strip of level land, about one mile wide, that lies parallel to the shore and extends inland to the foot of the Koolau Mountains, which rise to an elevation of more than two thousand feet. On the fertile low land, which has an elevation of only ten to twenty-five feet above sea level, Laie is bounded on its inland border by fields of sugar cane.

Between Kanehamaha Highway, which passes through the edge of Laie, and the curved shore of Laie Bay are several beach cottages and the site of the Hukilau, a program of food and entertainment catering to tourists. On the other side of the highway is the heart of the village with more than 200 houses. The two main streets that intersect the highway run

600 yards inland and lie about 300 yards apart. Crossing these two streets are four streets that parallel the highway. At the periphery of the village are several irregular roads that have replaced plantation railroad tracks of earlier years. At the southern edge of Laie, down an obscure inland dirt road, is a cluster of thirteen shanty-type houses which is known as "the camp." These were the houses of plantation laborers years ago. They are now rented to poorer residents or to transients.

There is considerable greenery in and around Laie. Most of the houses are surrounded by trees and shrubs, and many have beautiful flowering plants in the yards. On approaching the town all that can be seen is a low solid mass of trees out of which protrude the thin trunks of many tall coconut trees. Laie Primary School is located in the first block off the highway. Its separate small buildings provide most of the classrooms, with larger ones for meeting house and cafeteria.

Inland from the village on a prominent rise is the Mormon Temple, a large, white massive structure that dominates the surrounding landscape. At the present time work is in progress to construct a wide and straight road directly to the Temple, through the village from the highway. In the process some houses have been torn down or moved. About 150 yards north of the Temple is the Mormon chapel used by the villagers of Laie. The newly established Church College of Hawaii is presently functioning in buildings purchased from the Army and moved into the village near the chapel. The permanent site of this institution is to be in what is now a cane field about three-quarters of a mile south of its present temporary location. The final plans for the Church College of Hawaii also include many radical changes in the layout of this Church-owned village.

Although the coastal location and the general rural atmosphere of Laie are analogous to those of the typical village in Samoa, the climate of Laie is somewhat milder than that of Samoa. The following figures cover a thirty-year period in which records have been kept at the Kahuku weather station in the Laie area. The annual mean temperature is 74.8°F. The month of the year with the lowest mean temperature is January (71.2°F.), and the month with the highest mean temperature is August (78.3°F.). The annual mean rainfall is 38.23 inches. The maximum and minimum monthly means in rainfall have been 5.05 inches (January) and 1.57 inches (June) (Personal communication from U. S. Weather Bureau, 1955). Records kept over a thirty-seven year period at the Naval Station on Tutuila characterize Samoan climate as being one of higher temperature and heavier rainfall. The annual mean temperature is 81.17°F. The month of the year with the lowest mean temperature is July (80.21°F.), and the month with the highest mean temperature is February (82.28°F.). The annual mean rainfall is 196 inches. The maximum and minimum monthly means in rainfall have been 24.4 inches (January) and 8.0 inches (August). The climate at the Naval Station is said to be representative for all of American Samoa at sea level (Coulter, 1941, pp. 9-11).

Climate has been an important factor in the decision of some Samoans to remain at Laie. Three of the older Samoans claimed that they have not returned to Samoa because they are afraid the more tropical climate there would be fatal to them. One Samoan cited a specific case of an elderly Samoan who died within weeks of returning to his homeland from Laie, and attributed the cause of death to the change of climate. The question of the scientific accuracy of this diagnosis is not so important as the fact that the belief exists.

Some Samoans who have gone to the mainland have returned to Laie because of its more favorable climate. This is particularly true of those who have resided in Utah, where the severity of the winters causes many to return. The climate of even central California was too cold for one Samoan who gave up a well-paying job to return to Laie.

Social Environment

Historical background. The village of Laie derives its name from a legendary character, called Laieikawai, who was born and raised in the immediate vicinity (Beckwith, 1919, pp. 338, 348; Kalakawa, 1888, pp. 455-456, 457). Her story is still told by the oldest Hawaiians in the village. The literal meaning of the Hawaiian word laie is "leaf of the 'ie'ie plant." This plant, botanically classified as Freycinetia arborea Gaud., is native to Hawaii (Neal, 1948, p. 50).

In aboriginal times Laie was a small fishing village situated a few hundred yards south of the present town. More than ten archaeological sites have been identified in the area, including three fishing shrines, a fish pond, and two heiau (aboriginal places of worship). It is said that in the old days Laie was a "City of Refuge" (McAllister, 1933, pp. 156-158).

About the middle of the nineteenth century much of the area around Laie was converted into a plantation by Caucasians who turned to the local Hawaiians as a source of labor. In 1865, fifteen years after the first Mormon missionaries arrived in Hawaii, the Mormon Church bought 6,000 acres of land at Laie for \$14,000. A primary reason for this purchase was to provide a gathering place for Mormon adherents so that they could be isolated from disrupting Gentile influences. Since the

proselyting efforts of Mormon missionaries had been successful only among native Hawaiians, Laie remained essentially a Hawaiian community with Caucasian overseers (Bock, 1941, pp. 8-9, 24, 56).

Two other equally important reasons for the purchase were to provide jobs for the native Mormons, and to make the Hawaiian Mission economically independent. Church leaders formed a company to operate the plantation. After various experiments it became apparent that the Laie area was best suited to the growing of sugar cane, and this became the main industry (pp. 60-61, 63, 65, 67).

In 1919 the first Temple outside the continental United States was dedicated at Laie, and the village became a mecca for Mormons throughout the Pacific area. This marked the beginning of permanent settlement of Samoans in Laie. However, in the same year the Hawaiian Mission headquarters were moved from Laie to Honolulu, thus tending to isolate Laie from many outside influences, and bringing about a relaxation of Church supervision (pp. 90-93).

Because it became increasingly difficult to operate the relatively small plantation in competition with the larger commercial ones, all Laie land acreage, excluding that supporting the Temple and the village, was leased to Kahuku Plantation in 1931 for a period of twenty-five years. At this point the Church gave up its role of providing special care for the villagers of Laie, and Church-operated industry no longer provided the primary source of their income (p. 93).

Although the Temple has been a tourist attraction since its construction, exploitation of tourists began to assume proportions of a major industry in Laie with the inauguration in 1947 of the popular monthly Hukilau. This attraction derives its name from the Hawaiian

form of fishing whereby people on the beach pull (huki) on both ends of a long fish net with leaves (lau) attached to it, which has been spread in an arc from the beach by a canoe. After the actual Hukilau in which the tourists participate, the program features a Hawaiian dinner and entertainment. Several hundred tourists attend these affairs which provide the community with considerable income and with a great amount of contact with the outside world (Uale, 1955, pp. 640-641).

In September 1955 the Church College of Hawaii was opened at Laie as a Mormon junior college. Its faculty is drawn primarily from Utah, and most of its students come from Hawaii but not from Laie. Thus the isolation of the "gathering place" has been almost completely broken down, and the tendency is for Laie to become increasingly exposed to new ideas and influences.

Population: growth and composition. The first U. S. Government census report for Laie, made in 1930, reported a population of 521. Ten years later 761 people were living in Laie, and in 1950 the population had increased to 841 (U. S. Census Reports, 1940; 1950). In June 1955 the Church records showed that there were 1,041 people living in Laie. It will be noted that in the twenty-five year period preceding June 1955 the population of Laie doubled. In the decade 1940-1950 the population increased 10.5 per cent, while in the five years following 1950 the population increased 23.8 per cent. This last increase is primarily attributable to the relatively large migrations of Samoans to Laie after 1951, which will be discussed later.

With the influx of people associated with the new Church College of Hawaii, the estimated population of Laie in September 1955 was 1,350

(Uale, 1955, p. 641). The influence of this last great migration to Laie was just beginning to be felt toward the end of the writer's field investigation.

Besides increasing in numbers, the population has changed in ethnic composition. Prior to the purchase of the land by the Church in 1865, there were about eighty Hawaiians residing in the area (p. 641). By 1869 there were 300 Hawaiians in Laie, which number seems to have remained constant for many decades (Bock, 1941, pp. 66-67, 89-90). By 1921 the estimate of 350 Hawaiians included many part-Hawaiians (Erdman, 1921, p. 247; Honolulu Star Bulletin, September 10, 1921). One of the more persistent trends in population change in Laie has been the gradual shift within the "Hawaiian" group from full-Hawaiians to part-Hawaiians. The former are increasingly in the minority and today number less than seventy-five in a total population of 1,041 in June 1955, while the latter are the most numerous group numbering about 600. However, for the purpose of this study, unless otherwise noted, the term "Hawaiian" will include both full- and part-Hawaiians.

Until recently Caucasians were not numerically important in Laie. Those on Church assignments lived apart in special homes provided for them at the edge of the village. Most came for a period of a few years, and then returned to the mainland. After the mission headquarters were moved to Honolulu in 1919, the only official Church positions assigned to Caucasians and requiring temporary residence in Laie were those associated with the administration of the Temple. There are three persons in this category who together with their dependents now number about eight.

Faculty members of the Church College of Hawaii, of which there are about twenty, are Caucasians who came from the mainland in the latter part of 1955. With their families they total about 100 individuals. An increasing number of Caucasian "missionaries" from the mainland have also been sent to Laie by the Church to supervise construction of the new school buildings. It has been noted that Caucasians in these specially assigned Church positions live apart from the regular villagers. Those at the Temple dwell in special housing at the edge of the village near the Temple. Faculty members live at the opposite end of town in houses which have been either constructed at or moved to somewhat exclusive locations along the highway.

For many years a few Caucasian men married to Hawaiian women have lived in the village. Their number has increased since the end of World War II, and now includes a few men married to Samoan women. Their total number is less than twenty-five, about three of which have Samoan wives.

Oriental or persons of Oriental ancestry have been in Laie at least as early as 1894 (Bock, 1941, p. 70), but their number has always been small. At the present time there are about six Oriental families in Laie, most of whom are engaged in local business enterprises. They vary individually in their Church participation. There has been some intermarriage with Hawaiians, but as yet apparently none with Samoans.

The student body of the Church College of Hawaii for the fall quarter in 1955 was made up of 153 individuals, 53 of whom were from Laie. Although there were a few students from the mainland, the great majority came from the Territory of Hawaii. The students represented various ethnic groups, but included a larger Oriental element than had

been in Laie previously. Most of the students boarded with families in the area or lived in special Church-owned dormitories.

Samoans began to appear on the Laie scene more than thirty-five years ago, drawn by the Temple established there in 1919. Their number has in general been increasing, with more than 300 Samoans residing in the village in 1955. Their integration within the Laie community will be presented in more detail below.

The ethnic composition of the Laie population is becoming continuously more heterogenous, with an increase among Caucasians and Samoans both in numbers and in influence at the expense of the indigenous Hawaiians.

History of Samoan migration to Laie. In Samoa the first Mormon missionaries arrived in 1888. Their progress was slow but steady, so that by 1926 there were 1,251 Mormon Samoans throughout the archipelago in a total population of 45,368 (Keesing, 1934, p. 398).

One of the more important aspects of Mormonism is "Temple work." This involves the performance of certain rites pertaining to baptism of the dead, marriage for eternity, and other "ordinances." It is essential that these rites be performed in a Temple. Formerly the nearest Temple to Samoa was that in Salt Lake City, and the cost of transportation was prohibitive for all but a few Samoans. Hence, with the dedication in 1919 of the Temple at Laie in Hawaii this little village became the mecca for Mormon Samoans.

An undetermined number of Samoans who came to Laie completed their Temple work and returned to Samoa. But many others enjoyed the brief stay at Laie and decided to remain. Frequently only one adult of a family would visit Laie, and after deciding to stay would send for the

rest of his family. In 1925, according to informants, six Samoan families consisting of thirty-three people resided in Laie. By 1929, one decade after the completion of the Temple, there were about 125 Samoans in the Mormon village (Honolulu Star Bulletin, June 8, 1929).

With the outbreak of World War II in the Pacific in December 1941, all civilian transportation between Samoa and Hawaii was suspended, resulting in a four-year hiatus in Samoan migration to Laie. In January 1946 the first postwar ship carrying civilians arrived in Hawaii from Samoa with thirty-one Samoan passengers (Honolulu Advertiser, January 13, 1946). The stream of Samoan migrants to Laie was then renewed with even greater intensity than in prewar times.

In 1951 events were taking place in Samoa that were eventually to result in the largest single migration of Samoans to Laie. In that year Navy administration of American Samoa was replaced by that of the Department of the Interior. In withdrawing, the Navy transferred its Samoan personnel, numbering about 100, to Hawaii along with a few dependents of these men.

✓ One year later the Navy arranged to have the rest of the Samoan dependents brought to Hawaii on the military transport vessel U.S.S. President Jackson. This was a large ship with a passenger capacity of 1,000. Since only 458 naval dependents were to be transferred, permission was granted to accept certain other civilian Samoans as passengers. To be eligible one had either to indicate intention of joining the armed forces or to be able to guarantee a sponsor in Hawaii. Five hundred Samoans took advantage of this opportunity, of which 218 planned to join the armed forces, the rest naming friends or relatives

in Hawaii as sponsors. For those who were not naval dependents the cost of the passage was thirty dollars. Thus, in July of 1952 with the landing of 958 migrants from the U.S.S. President Jackson occurred the climax of all Samoan migration to Hawaii (Eyde, 1954, p. 1; Forster, 1954, pp. 24-25).

The Navy provided housing for all naval dependents, but most of the other 500 migrants had to depend on the hospitality of previously established Samoans in Hawaii. Since the largest Samoan settlement in Hawaii was at Laie, it was not surprising that most of the migrants took up residence there. Some 200 of the migrants who belonged to the Mormon Church and about 100 non-Mormons went to Laie. Since hardly any of these were able to establish independent households at that time, most of the newcomers moved into homes of Samoans who were already residents of Laie.

Samoan households in Laie increased to two and three times their original size. A government official working in Laie at that time observed that some houses provided shelter for as many as forty people, and in some cases migrants had to sleep under the house. However, this situation did not last long. Most of those who intended to join the armed forces took up temporary residence in Laie until they were inducted. In less than two months practically all of these were accepted as being eligible to join the armed forces and their leaving greatly alleviated the situation. Other migrants after a short stay continued on to mainland employment. One year after the ship's arrival there were eighty-eight President Jackson migrants still living in Laie (Honolulu Star Bulletin, September 27, 1952; Eyde, 1954, pp. 4, 6; personal communication from Laie residents, 1955).

Unfortunately no periodic records of the number of Samoans in Laie have been made available so that it is not possible to determine their proportion in the total village population throughout the years. The figure of 125 Samoans for the year 1929 compared with the 1930 population of 521 for the whole village indicates that the Samoans made up about 24 per cent of the population one decade after they started migrating to Laie. According to statements of informants, it appears that Samoan migration to Laie decelerated appreciably during the 1930's. It is likely that after 1929 the proportion of Samoans in Laie dropped until the renewal of large-scale migration after the war. In June 1955 the Samoans numbered 307, which was 29 per cent of the village population of 1,041. With the rapid increase in population after that date due to the founding of the junior college, the proportion of Samoans in the total population of Laie may be expected to decrease considerably.

Because of the transient nature of residence among postwar migrants, as will be explained later, the number residing in Laie varies almost from day to day, and therefore it is impossible to be more precise in citing figures concerning them. However, by the end of 1955 there remained about 175 Samoans who had emigrated to Laie after World War II, including several families that had moved in after the completion of the writer's field work. This group, therefore, outnumbered the approximately 150 Samoan residents from prewar times.

CHAPTER III
THE ECONOMIC FACTOR IN SAMOAN ACCULTURATION

Samoan Economy

Prewar conditions. Aboriginal Samoans had a subsistence economy based primarily on horticulture. Land was owned and worked jointly by the family under the supervision of the matai, or family head. Because of his position the matai, who managed the distribution of the products of his family's labor, received the largest share. The matai had the responsibility of seeing that all his family members and any guests were well-fed and properly housed (Grattan, 1948, pp. 10, 11, 54, 62; Keesing, 1934, pp. 270-272; Mead, 1928, pp. 39-40, 48).

A most important aspect of Samoan aboriginal economy was the possibility of producing an abundance of necessities. There were no shortages or poverty, and under normal conditions there was enough surplus to care for the old and the weak (Mead, 1930, p. 65; Stanner, 1953, p. 392; Greer, 1949, p. 61).

Of utmost importance in its effect on Samoan economy and acculturation is the fact that the prewar Navy administration of American Samoa interfered very little with Samoan custom. There was hardly any official effort to "force" Westernization on the Samoans. Generally similar conditions obtained in Western Samoa under New Zealand administration. Thus, Samoans remained very selective about the culture traits they were exposed to in the course of association with their administrators. They had freedom to accept or reject available Euroamerican culture traits according to whether or not they fitted into existing Samoan patterns (Mead, 1929, pp. 266, 268; Stanner, 1953, p. 297).

These two prewar conditions, viz., economic independence and slow, selective acculturation, resulted in an equilibrium, or a self-satisfaction and a desire to maintain the economic status quo (Buck, 1930, pp. 6-7).

Wartime conditions. With the outbreak of World War II in the Pacific, the idyllic isolation of Samoa was completely broken down, and within a very short time the Samoans were exposed to a highly concentrated presentation of American culture. This indoctrination had two facets; (1) interaction with an inordinately large number of American troops who were stationed throughout the archipelago, and (2) direct involvement in the wartime emergency capitalistic economy.

Due to the fact of so many troops in Samoa and so little space available to station them, it was impossible to establish any form of segregation. In 1943-1944 as many as 30,000 American troops were stationed in Western Samoa alone. In this same territory in 1945 there were just a little more than twice as many Samoans, i.e., 61,867. Similar proportions existed in American Samoa although the numbers were smaller (Stanner, 1953, pp. 325, 327, 331; Parsons, 1945, pp. 60-61).

✓ The demand for labor increased fantastically, so that a shortage soon developed and wages rose to what Samoans regarded as incredible heights. Samoans were employed in all sorts of occupations by the military. They were used in the construction of airports and defenses, in unloading ships, and in driving trucks. Those who could speak English were hired as foremen, which brought on a rush to English-teaching schools. Women were employed by the troops to do laundry and other domestic chores. Samoans sold local commodities, such as, fruits, vegetables, curios, and even water, at extremely high prices to the American troops.

In the Mormon village of Mapusaga there were some Samoans who made a lucrative income by managing the orchestras that were hired to play for the American troops as well as for Samoans. It became possible for almost any Samoan to make large sums of money (Stanner, 1953, pp. 326-327; Grattan, 1948, pp. 146-147; Parsons, 1945, pp. 144-145; Stevens, 1952, p. 8). A great variety of consumer goods, even more freely available in Samoa than in New Zealand during the war, provided an incentive for the earning of money (Stanner, 1953, p. 328; Grattan, 1948, p. 147).

Under such conditions of prosperity it is readily understandable that the Samoans might have become inextricably enmeshed in a capitalistic economy. With the introduction of certain commodities along with the means of obtaining them, the Samoans developed a taste for things that had formerly been unfamiliar, and for things that initially had been luxuries but had come to be necessities.

Postwar conditions. After the war the situation that had brought prosperity to American Samoa came to an abrupt termination, but a serious immediate economic depression was forestalled by other conditions associated with the wake of the war. Some 600 Samoan veterans received Servicemen's Readjustment Allowance benefits for up to a year after their discharge. About 250 veterans going to vocational training school on the G. I. Bill brought a monthly income of about \$20,000 into the community (Stevens, 1952, pp. 8-9). In addition well over 100 Samoans were in the Fita Fita Guard, or native constabulary, and many more were on regular active duty with the Navy (Forster, 1954, Appendix C; Greer, 1954, p. 205). Many jobs were still available for those living around Pago Pago in American Samoa. In 1949 there were employed in civilian jobs

1,625 Samoans, about 10 per cent of the total population of American Samoa. Of these, 450 worked at the Naval Station and 600 were employed by the Samoan government (Greer, 1949, p. 59).

Due to several events that took place toward the end of 1951 and in the early part of 1952 a gradual economic recession accelerated to proportions of an extremely serious crisis. During this time a long dry period accompanied by high winds ruined many Samoan crops. Simultaneously a shipping strike in the United States cut off imports and exports. In 1952 most veterans saw the termination of their G. I. Bill benefits (Greer, 1954, p. 205). Due to a 46.7 per cent increase in population in the decade 1940-1950 a serious land shortage had developed. In 1940 there had been 170 persons per square mile compared with 249 persons in 1950 (Greer, 1954, pp. 214-217; 227-323; Stevens, 1952, pp. 1-2; U. S. Census Report, 1950).

However, the most crucial factor in the changing economy was the transfer in 1951 of administration from the Navy to the Department of the Interior. When the Navy withdrew, the Fita Fita Guard and all other Navy personnel were transported to Hawaii. Civilian personnel that had been employed in the Navy Yard were discharged. Because the Department of the Interior was not concerned with military installations it operated on a smaller scale than the Navy, which meant fewer civilian employees in governmental positions. Thus, the greatest single source of money income for Samoans had disappeared, with no adequate substitute. Moreover, there were such ramifications as the loss of the regular and inexpensive transportation that had been furnished by the Navy within Samoa and between the archipelago and the outside world (Greer, 1954, pp. x-xi, 205; Stevens, 1952, pp. 1-2, 9-10; Eyde, 1954, pp. 1, 3).

As one observer stated, "Samoa's economy was at 'rock bottom' in the early months of 1952" (Greer, 1954, p. 205).

Economic Motivations For Migration

Postwar migrants. One method of easing the tense postwar economic situation in Samoa was emigration. With this in mind, some sixty Samoans went to California as farm laborers during the early part of 1952. However, any attempt at full scale emigration was hampered by several factors, one of the most important being the cost of transportation. At that time the commercial fare to Honolulu was \$400. The Navy's approval of passage for only thirty dollars for civilian non-dependents on the President Jackson in July 1952 solved this problem for some (Greer, 1954, pp. 221-222; Stevens, 1952, pp. 2, 5; Forster, 1954, p. 24).

At the same time that approximately 280 migrants who were not in any way associated with military service were leaving Samoa on the President Jackson, 1,074 other Samoans with 3,765 dependents expressed a specific desire to emigrate for the purpose of acquiring wage employment. These Samoans were primarily non-Mormons (Stevens, 1954, p. 1, addendum, p. 1; Greer, 1954, p. 221). One of the stipulations for eligibility for passage on the President Jackson was the guarantee of a sponsor in Hawaii (Kyde, 1954, p. 1; Forster, 1954, p. 24). The Samoans with the greatest number of eligible sponsors in Hawaii were Mormons, since they had friends or relatives living in Laie, the largest Samoan community in Hawaii. Thus, being a Mormon was a selective factor for emigration irrespective of the individual's motivations for leaving Samoa.

Ostensibly, the reason why Samoan Mormons migrate to Laie is to do Temple work. Eyde cites Church work as being the primary reason for migration of the President Jackson migrants to Laie (1954, p. 6). However, many Samoan migrants have been attracted to this village for many years simply because other Samoans were already settled in Laie. When a Samoan arrives in any new territory, it is customary for him to move in with friends or relatives already established until he himself can become independent. The effect is cumulative, and the more Samoans that went to Laie the more Samoans in Samoa had connections in Laie. It cannot be assumed that because Samoan migrants to Laie were Mormons, it was only or even primarily the Temple that attracted them all. In a great many cases Laie does provide the Mormon Samoan with an avenue of escape from a depressing economic situation.

Since motivations are highly subjective, and often quite elusive even to those who have them, an accurate analysis is difficult to achieve. However, motivations are implied by words and actions and it is from such data that the evidence below will be cited. It is not here postulated that economic motivation for migration was the only one for postwar migrants. Nor is it felt that this was even the most important motivation in all cases. Nevertheless, in general the postwar migration of Samoans to Laie appears to have resulted primarily from economic motivations.

An official of the Mormon Church who had worked among the Samoans of Laie for many years told the writer in the summer of 1955 that he believed "religious objectives were secondary" for Samoans who migrated to Hawaii after the war. He said that many Samoans in Hawaii had good jobs during the war, and that when news of this reached Samoa many there

wanted to go to Hawaii. When later arrivals found no employment in Honolulu, they were attracted to Laie because of the presence of other Samoans, and because they would be cared for by the Church.

Some Laie Hawaiians believe that postwar Samoan migrants came to Hawaii only to make money, and they cite many instances of their success. Several prewar Samoans in Laie have expressed similar opinions. One who came to Hawaii just before the war and had briefly visited Samoa after the war made the following statement: "The war spoiled the Samoans in Samoa. A lot of them made money and got used to the idea, and now find it difficult to get along without it. They all want to come here."

Table I indicates that only seven of twenty Samoan respondents who migrated after the war claimed to have come to Hawaii because of religious motivations, such as Temple work and other Church activities. On the other hand, twelve of these respondents said they migrated for economic reasons, such as employment and preparatory education for specific occupations. One respondent wanted to receive further training in teaching, a field in which he was engaged before coming to Hawaii. Another wanted to major in electrical engineering, having been introduced to this occupation as a civilian employee of the Navy in Samoa. Still another was taking courses in business administration because he believed that this was the method by which he could most rapidly become a successful business man. It may be said that education to many Samoans is the key to economic advancement, as was indicated in Samoa during the war by the rush to schools to learn English after that language proved to be the means of acquiring relatively lucrative jobs.

TABLE I. MOTIVATIONS OF LAIE SAMOANS
FOR MIGRATING TO HAWAII

<u>Motivations</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Religious	14	7	21
Economic	4	12	16
Other	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	20	20	40

Laie Hawaiians claim that many postwar Samoan migrants have used Laie as a place to acquire some economic security before moving into Honolulu or going on to the mainland. This is partly confirmed by the fact that of the eighty-eight President Jackson migrants living in Laie in 1953, seventeen had moved to Honolulu proper or its urban environs and seven had gone to the mainland. During the course of the summer's investigation in Laie two additional President Jackson migrants, personally known to the writer and who, incidentally, had never been in the Temple, left Laie for the mainland, one going to live with relatives, the other to embark on a business enterprise.

A postwar immigrant in Laie who recently made a trip to the mainland was most impressed by the elaborate material culture of American urban areas and the many opportunities for economic advancement. He is now strongly motivated to take up permanent residence on the mainland, but first has to accumulate sufficient money to take his rather large family with him. Another postwar Samoan immigrant is a Federal government employee who has requested transfer to the mainland, for he feels that his children will be severely handicapped in acquiring jobs if the only variety of English they learn well is Hawaiian pidgin.

Thus, the unfavorable economic conditions in Samoa after the war have resulted in economic rather than religious motivations as the decisive factor in the postwar migration of Mormon Samoans to Laie and to the mainland.

Prewar migrants. Samoans who came to Laie before the war faced the prospect of having to trade the kind of security associated with an extended family organization and a subsistence in a land of plenty for the lonesome competitive struggle for jobs involving long hours, hard work, and very low pay. During the economic depression of the late 1920's and early 1930's there was little to encourage a Samoan to leave a situation in which he was relatively sure of his future and place himself in the precarious position of an immigrant in America. The economic motivation for emigration could hardly have been important to many Samoans before the war.

Many came for the sole purpose of doing Temple work. After completing this mission, those who felt no attraction for the way of life in Hawaii returned to Samoa. Others, having been attracted by certain advantages of American culture, were willing to trade security for independence, and they remained.

Some oldtimers claim that they left Samoa because they were restless and sought adventure. A couple of the earliest Samoan arrivals in Laie had intended to continue on to the mainland, but ran out of money and had to settle in Hawaii.

The Church official quoted above also said, "The early group of Samoans who came up, the ones who came in the twenties, were the cream of the crop from the Samoan mission. They came here with a sincere

desire to do good for themselves and the Church. They came here to do Temple work. Their primary reason for coming to Laie was a religious one."

Table I, comparing the motivations of prewar and postwar migrants, indicates that 70 per cent of the respondents who resided in Laie before the war migrated because of religious motivations. This table also shows that by comparison with Samoans who migrated after the war, twice as many prewar migrants had religious motivations while only one third as many had economic motivations for leaving Samoa.

The material presented indicates that since Samoans prior to World War II were reasonably well assured of economic security in Samoa, there was little economic incentive to go elsewhere. However, with the completion of the Temple in Laie, Samoans of the Mormon faith were presented with a religious motive for emigrating. Although some prewar migrants after living in Hawaii for a while may have remained because of their adoption of new and favorable attitudes toward a capitalistic economy, prewar Samoan migrants in general may be characterized as having left Samoa because of religious motivations.

Employment Of Laie Samoans

The past. During the early stages of Samoan migration to Hawaii, job opportunities in Laie were restricted to labor. In the 1920's a few Samoans were employed as unskilled laborers by construction companies. Most of the Samoans who found employment worked for Laie Plantation. Samoan informants claim that the pay for a laborer who worked from dawn to dusk was twenty-five cents a day. A laborer's house was provided by

the company, and Samoans supplemented their salary by fishing and by growing much of their own produce.

In 1931 when Laie Plantation leased all of its cane land to nearby Kahuku Plantation many Laiens, including Samoans, left their jobs for other employment, or else went on relief (Bock, 1941, p. 93). Though the source of this information does not give a reason for this reluctance to work for Kahuku Plantation, it is possible that some Laiens did not wish to work for a non-Mormon enterprise.

During World War II the high wages paid by the shipyards and other war industries on Oahu lured the remaining Laie laborers, except for two Samoans, away from employment at Kahuku Plantation to which they did not return after the war. World War II brought an end to the economic isolation of Laie Samoans.

The present. It is the popular conception of many living in the Laie area that a disproportionately large number of Samoans are recipients of welfare assistance from the Territory of Hawaii. Such is actually not the situation.

In June 1955 there were 183 people from Laie on the rolls of the Department of Public Welfare. The Department considers that each member of a family is the recipient of aid when such is given to the head of the household. Church records show that at that time there were 1,041 people living in Laie. Thus, 17.6 per cent of the population was on relief. Sixty-five of a total of 307 Samoans, or 21.1 per cent, were on relief. Samoans normally have larger families than non-Samoans in Laie, thus more individual Samoans are counted as being on relief. Since the head of each family is actually responsible for seeing that it is cared for, a

check on the families that are recipients gives more insight into the matter. According to the Church records of June 1955, there were 177 families living in Laie. Welfare records indicate that at this time 47 Laien families, 26.6 per cent, were receiving Territorial aid. Eighteen of the 67 Samoan families in Laie, 26.7 per cent, were receiving aid. Apparently about an equal proportion of employable non-Samoans and employable Samoans were on relief. Unfortunately because of the lack of appropriate data in the records of the Department of Public Welfare it was not possible to obtain a breakdown on how many Samoan recipients were prewar and how many were postwar immigrants.

A point to be kept in mind when considering Samoan employment is the fact that most Samoans in Laie do not have equal opportunity with non-Samoan Laiens in obtaining work. Upon arrival many Samoans were not sufficiently adept in the use of the English language to qualify them for some jobs. They were ordinarily ineligible for any Territorial job until they had satisfied the three years residence requirement. Moreover, since most Samoans are not American citizens, being either American nationals without citizenship rights or New Zealand Protected Persons if they come from Western Samoa, they are disqualified from City and County jobs for which they would otherwise be suitable. For example, the City and County Road Department of Koolauloa district, which is responsible for the upkeep of roads in the Laie area, employs thirteen Laiens, none of whom are Samoans. One official stated that the reason no Samoans were hired was their lack of citizenship.

As Table II indicates, the greatest single employer of Laie Samoans is the U. S. Navy. The only respondents who were on active duty were three postwar Samoans. The other ten were employed as civilians at

TABLE II. OCCUPATIONS BY EMPLOYER OF SAMPLE SAMOAN
HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN LAIE

<u>Occupation by Employer</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
U. S. Navy	6	7	13
City and County of Honolulu	1	0	1
Territory of Hawaii	0	1	1
Mormon Church	5	7	12
Commercial	4	3	7
Self	2	0	2
Retired and/or on relief	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	20	20	40

various Navy and Marine Corps installations on Oahu. One such place is Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station, where twelve Laiens are employed, seven of whom are Samoans. Such a high proportion of Navy employment of Samoans may be partially due to the tendency of Samoans to gravitate toward what used to be the main source of wage employment in Samoa.

The other major employer of Samoans is the Church, but here employment tends to be sporadic, temporary, and less remunerative. The largest Church organization employing Samoans is Zions Securities Corporation, which is responsible for the general maintenance of Church properties in Laie. The number of employees tends to fluctuate considerably according to the work being done. In June 1955 the daily tally of employees varied from six to fifty. During the first half of April 1955 there were ten laborers working for Zions Securities in Laie, five of whom were Samoans. In the first half of August thirteen of a total of thirty-nine laborers employed were Samoans.

According to a Kahuku Plantation official, of the 418 employees working at Kahuku Plantation in August 1955, only four were from Laie. Two of these were prewar Samoans, one was a postwar Samoan, and one was a Hawaiian.

The last manually operated telephone switchboard circuit on Oahu was located in Laie until the end of 1955 when it was replaced by the dial system. It had been installed about forty years earlier, and served the entire Koolauloa district, i.e., from Kawela Bay to Kaaawa. About thirty years ago the first Samoan telephone operator was hired for the Laie station. Of the eight operators working in Laie in 1955, three were Samoans, two of whom were daughters of the original Samoan operator, and five were Hawaiians.

To some extent Samoan handicraft production has been remunerative. For several months in 1955, during the construction of the Hawaiian Village Hotel in Waikiki, eleven Samoan women from Laie were employed at the rate of \$1.00 per hour to produce plaited coconut leaf partitions (cf. Honolulu Advertiser, September 4, 1955). They worked eight hours a day in Waikiki, sitting cross-legged on the floor of a temporary thatched hut which they themselves had fashioned. Most of these women had come to Hawaii after the war. No Hawaiians were hired for this project.

Tourists who pass through Laie are exploited more by the Samoans than by the Hawaiians. For the year 1954 there were 130,000 tourist visitors to the Temple, always a popular tourist attraction. The volume increased in 1955, with 20,000 visitors in the month of July and 4,000 on the Labor Day weekend alone (personal communication from Temple official). In the

summer of 1955, near the Temple and on the south side of the road that formerly led from the highway to this structure (alterations are now underway on this and other roads in Laie), sixteen Samoan women assisted by their children had set up tables from which they sold curios. Practically all these women were postwar migrants. Only one Hawaiian engaged in this trade, and she curiously enough set up business on the opposite side of the road.

Scheduled busses from Honolulu take tourists to the Temple each Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Since Mormons, and particularly Samoan Mormons, avoid work of any sort on Sunday, there is no curio selling on that day. An estimate of individual income, arrived at from figures cited by different vendors, would be about \$3.00 per day on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, and \$8.00 each on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. It is possible to earn up to \$20.00 on a holiday.

The most popular items are seed leis or necklaces, which cost the tourist about twenty-five cents. It takes about fifteen minutes to string a seed lei. Necklaces made from cowry shells shipped from Samoa are sold for \$1.25. Another outlet for such articles is the monthly Hukilau. Here Laiens sell homemade articles, paying a commission for the use of the Church-owned stands. Even the most respected and well-to-do Samoan women of prewar origin sell their products during the Hukilau.

Samoan women in Laie also engage in the manufacture and sale of mats, trays, and fans of lauhala or pandanus leaf. The Samoans do more of this than the Hawaiians. In almost every Samoan home a woman makes lauhala objects from time to time, but there are at least six women who put in considerable time on the project. In this activity Samoans of prewar and postwar residence are about equal in number. They usually

sell their articles directly from their homes. Thus, both prewar and postwar Samoan women make handicraft articles which are sold from their homes or at Church-sponsored affairs. But it is primarily the postwar Samoan women who sell to tourists from their own stands by the road, which may reflect the type of business activity that was predominant between Samoans and American troops in Samoa during World War II.

Some idea of the business acumen of the Samoans may be gained from the following example. In Laie there is a club which is composed of Hawaiian and Samoan mothers. At the meetings of this club the Hawaiian owner of a curio shop gave lessons in the modern techniques of curio making. Members of the club could then have their products sold at the shop of their teacher, for which a 20 per cent commission was deducted. This procedure was followed by the Hawaiian women. But the Samoan women, having learned as much as they could at the meetings, decided that they could make more money by selling their products themselves at the better location near the Temple, since the tourist busses did not stop at their teacher's shop which was located near the highway in Laie.

An interesting sidelight concerning lauhala manufacture in Laie is the difference in the technique employed by each ethnic group to dry the hala leaves in the sun. According to the Hawaiian method, a number of leaves are rolled up on each other so that they have the appearance of a wide reel of motion picture film. The Samoans on the other hand prepare their hala leaves by arranging them in a loose spiral so that they look like the long curls of a little girl's hair. Actual drying by either method usually takes place in the front yard. This distinction, once it was discovered by the writer, was frequently used to help identify the ethnicity of a household when locating interviewees.

Two elderly postwar Samoan men were found who expertly carved miniature wooden replicas of Samoan outrigger canoes embellished with intricate designs. These models varied in length from six inches to two feet and cost the buyer up to twelve dollars. Two other postwar Samoan men made to order knives of the kind used in the Samoan knife dance. These were the only observed instances of men engaged in the making of articles specifically for the tourist trade. In each case sales were usually transacted in the home of the artisan.

In Samoa the only export beside copra has been handicraft products. (A cannery near Pago Pago began operating about a year ago and is now exporting canned fish.) The making of lauhala mats and other curies has long been a major source of non-governmental income in Samoa, and especially since the war has become the traditional method for an otherwise unemployed Samoan to acquire money (Stevens, 1952, p. 8; Coulter, 1941, p. 33; Greer, 1954, p. 206). Thus, it is not surprising to find that the Samoans who engage in handicraft manufacture in Laie are those who have recently arrived from Samoa and have the most difficulty in acquiring wage employment. It is primarily the women and old men of postwar Samoan origin who put an appreciable amount of time and effort into the making and selling of handicraft products.

In regard to wage employment, little difference was noted in the types of jobs held by Samoans of prewar and postwar residence. In both groups skilled and unskilled laborers made up the majority of those working for wages, and the largest single employer of members of either group was the Navy.

Subsistence Economy In Laie

Agriculture. Though practically all Laie homes have plants and shrubbery, those of the Samoans can be identified by the abundance of food-producing plants in their gardens. The breadfruit tree is found around most Samoan homes, but is not as popular among the Hawaiians. Samoans claim to have introduced the breadfruit tree into Laie and to have taught the Hawaiians how to make use of its fruit. The coconut trees that grow almost everywhere in Laie are utilized by both prewar and postwar Samoan migrants to a much greater extent than by the Hawaiians. Large quantities of coconut cream squeezed from the ripe nuts are used in many Samoan dishes. Before the war Samoans started raising bananas in Laie. This is an extremely important item in Samoan diet, playing a role similar to that of taro among the Hawaiians. In 1955 there were five acres of banana trees in Laie. At that time there were also ten acres in taro patches in Laie, five acres of which were cultivated by Samoans, most of whom were of prewar origin.

Some prewar Samoans and Hawaiians farm not only to obtain home produce, but also for commercial purposes. In the summer of 1955 there was a total of twenty acres in watermelons, of which the largest single holding was four acres cultivated by a prewar Samoan. Besides supplying melons for his own household, he sold them to regular customers and to tourists. This same enterprising individual held ten of the thirty acres used for cattle grazing by Samoans, all of whom were prewar migrants.

In Samoa the closest approach to commercial agriculture has been the production of copra from surplus coconuts. Otherwise Samoan agriculture has been on the subsistence level, with the family planting and

harvesting products from its own land for its own use (Coulter, 1941, pp. 20-25; Greer, 1954, pp. 150-154). Thus, in contrast to Samoans who have been in Hawaii many years, those who left Samoa after the war have not as yet had the experience or motivation to engage profitably in commercial agriculture. Agricultural land is provided by the Church at a very low lease rate for subsistence purposes but few postwar Samoan migrants have taken advantage of this. However, since most of the Samoans who left Samoa since the war have done so because of a desire to find wage employment, it is to be expected that subsistence agriculture would not be any more attractive to them in Laie than it was in Samoa.

Seafood. A considerable amount of seafood is available for local consumption around Laie Bay, but Hawaiians and prewar Samoans rather than postwar Samoans tend to take advantage of these resources.

Limu (edible seaweed) is gathered near the bay shore at low tide. Limu is typically a Hawaiian food, and only the Hawaiians and some prewar Samoans eat it regularly, while many of the postwar Samoans say that they have never even tasted it. It is interesting to note that some Hawaiian folklore associated with limu has been adopted by prewar Samoans, who believe that if a person eats limu in or near the sea it will cause the water to become rough. This belief was told to the writer by three prewar Samoans as well as by several Hawaiians, including one of the oldest in Laie.

Prewar Samoans and Hawaiians who have canoes gather oysters in the shallows surrounding the islands that bound the outer side of Laie Bay. Squid is sought for food by both prewar Samoans and Hawaiians, but only

the Samoans will eat the spiny balloon fish (Genus Diodon). The Hawaiians claim this fish is not edible, but Samoans counter that Hawaiians do not know how to prepare it.

Fresh seafood, such as, millet, octopus, bonito, and shark, was very important aboriginally in the Samoan diet. However, just before the war Samoans in Samoa began to do less fishing for themselves when canned fish became readily available. Samoans who were employed by the military during the war had little time or necessity to fish. For some unexplained reason the stock of fish in the Samoan area had decreased after the war to such an extent that there was no longer a sufficient quantity to encourage fishing (Coulter, 1941, pp. 30-31; Stevens, 1952, p. 6). Thus, for more than fifteen years fishing has been of relatively less importance in the economy of Samoa. Since Samoans who came to Laie before the war had not been affected by these changes, this may account for their being more interested in fishing than those who have come after the war. Hence, whereas prewar Samoan migrants have acquired a liking for limu as a result of their comparatively long association with Hawaiians in Laie, their relative conservatism in contrast with postwar Samoans in attitudes toward fishing is at least in part due to their long absence from Samoa and their sharing with Hawaiians a dependence on marine resources.

Mormon And American Economic Values

Economic values in Mormon culture. The present economic status of the Laie Samoans having been discussed with reference to their former status in Samoa, a review of certain aspects of economic life in the Mormon culture of the continental United States will now be presented. It is

from this culture that much of the culture of Laie has originated.

That which distinguishes Mormonism from most other Christian religions practiced in the United States is the strong integration between the religious and other aspects of life, particularly the economic. The Church is directly concerned with the economic welfare of its members, and tries through its various institutions to see that members are reasonably well cared for (Bailey, 1955, pp. 74, 88-91).

Industriousness is one of the most valued virtues of Mormons. Hard work for the benefit of family and community is praised. There is no excuse for laziness nor for the person who fails to do his share of the work (Bailey, 1955, pp. 74-75). However, Mormon industry is not competitive. Rather it is based on cooperation which is an essential feature of Mormonism (Bailey, 1955, p. 85; O'Dea, 1955, p. 26).

Prudence is another important trait of Mormonism. The ideal Mormon policy requires that every home be stocked with a one-year emergency supply of food and clothing for the family. The good Mormon wastes nothing. He avoids debt, even payment by the installment plan is disapproved (Bailey, 1955, pp. 75, 92).

Economic cooperation is a function of Mormon social organization, the community ideally being regarded as primarily agricultural and self-sufficient with a minimum of outside contact (Bailey, 1955, p. 377). In such communities the inhabitants are united by common values and are relatively free from capitalistic and other non-Mormon influences (Bailey, pp. 85, 377; O'Dea, 1955, pp. 23-32).

The Mormon institution that best exemplifies these three Mormon characteristics -- industriousness, prudence, and cooperation -- is the Church Welfare Plan. Mormons have always prided themselves on being

able to care for their own without help from outside sources, but during the economic depression of the 1930's many Mormons in the United States had to go on Federal Government relief. In order to prevent a recurrence of this, the Church Welfare Plan was organized in 1936.

In addition to the individual family stores of emergency supplies, plans were organized in which local communities stored surplus food, clothing, and other essential materials for individual or public need. Additional storehouses served more extended areas than the local community. Because all Mormons were expected to contribute to this store of goods, no Mormon felt that he was accepting charity when receiving help (Bailey, 1955, pp. 91-93).

Economic values in American culture. Since Mormons are no longer self-sufficient or isolated groups either in Laie or on the mainland, but are more and more coming into contact with and being influenced by non-Mormon American culture, some of the more important values in American culture will be discussed.

In standard American culture economic activity has been sharply differentiated from other spheres of social life, including religion. American culture is characterized by a complex industrial organization with an elaborate specialization of labor (Williams, 1952, pp. 136, 149-150).

One of the more outstanding value orientations in American culture is toward the achievement of economic success. The most important factor associated with such economic success is its achievement through competition as well as through industriousness (Williams, 1952, pp. 390-392). Because money has come to be the symbol of success, its acquisition

has become a desirable end in itself. Wealth is desired, not only for the material comfort it can provide, but because it is symbolic evidence of personal worth (Williams, 1952, p. 395). Work itself is valued by Americans, and tends to be in the form of "directed and disciplined activity in a regular occupation" (Williams, 1952, pp. 393, 396).

Thus, values in both Mormon and Samoan cultures, which emphasize economic cooperation within the small agricultural community and integration of religious and socio-economic activities, are in contrast with the values in non-Mormon American culture, which stress economic competition in large industrial communities, and a sharp differentiation between economic and religious spheres of activity.

Economic activity as a prime factor in the changing culture of Mormon-Americans. One of the most important factors in the acculturation of Samoans toward standard American culture is an economic re-orientation. Mormons on the mainland of the United States as well as in Hawaii are reacting to this same economic influence in a manner similar to that of the Samoans.

Since the war many Mormons on the mainland have been moving from isolated farming villages into large urban areas where they have become involved in a capitalistic economy. Some of this movement has resulted from an increase in population without a corresponding increase in available farm land, which in much of Utah is limited by the lack of irrigation. Many individuals go to the cities primarily to earn wages. Another source of cultural change is the invasion of Mormon areas by non-Mormons who are developing certain enterprises such as manufacturing

and mining that traditionally have been avoided by Mormons (Bailey, 1955, p. 352).

Although urbanization is an important element in the acculturation of Mormons, change is also taking place generally in small farming villages in the continental United States. The main factor contributing to this change is the inability of modern farming villages to maintain their economic independence owing to the growing necessity for commercial transactions with the outside world. It is increasingly difficult for small Mormon communities to supply all their needs, and it becomes impossible as introduced luxuries become necessities. With greater mechanization of farm equipment the farmer must depend more on industrial centers for the purchase and maintenance of his equipment. Furthermore, contact with the outside world is increased as many Mormon villagers find it necessary to work for wages in an urban area at least once in their lives in order to acquire money to buy land or farm equipment (Bailey, 1955, pp. 361, 377).

At present Laie itself is undergoing many changes similar to those that are taking place in Mormon villages on the mainland. Isolation is breaking down and there is a greater dependence on industry. But what is more important is the fact that as Mormon economic values on the mainland are changing, the effect of these changes is felt by Mormons in Hawaii. The ties of the Church are strong, and the influence of Salt Lake City reaches Laie through the many mainland Church officials in Hawaii and through the frequent visits of high Church dignitaries from Utah.

The Samoans in Laie are being influenced by both Mormon and American cultures. At present there is still some conflict between certain

aspects of Mormon and non-Mormon American cultures, but the culture of Samoans in Laie, like Mormon culture in general, is coming increasingly under the influence of non-Mormon American culture, and the differences in economic values between these cultures are being reduced. Most Mormons, whether they are Samoan or not, are tending to become more like non-Mormon Americans, at least in the economic aspects of their culture.

Attitudes Of Laie Samoans Toward Economic Activity

Attitudes toward work. The writer during his stay in Laie rarely heard anyone accuse the Samoans of being lazy. Though many unfavorable opinions were expressed about the Samoans, laziness was seldom mentioned. No Hawaiian respondent included laziness in his characterization of the Samoans. On the other hand, one of the complaints most cited by the Samoans about the Hawaiians was that the latter are lazy (Samoans assumed it to be understood that they themselves were not guilty of this). This response occurred several times during interviews in the form of a derogatory opinion (see Chapter IV).

Church authorities in Laie agree that the energetic Samoans have been responsible for the success of many of the Church programs. This has been particularly true with the monthly Hukilau when the work involved in its preparation is considerable. In proportion to their total numbers Samoans exceed Hawaiians in active participation in the Hukilau, i.e., doing the hard labor of preparing and serving the food, as well as providing much of the entertainment by dancing and singing. There is no remuneration for these services, but participation in the Hukilau helps to satisfy the individual's economic obligation to his Church.

Around Laie homes Samoans are seen working most diligently in the preparation of food. Both prewar and postwar migrants still prepare a Samoan umu (earth oven) at least once a week, and occasionally more frequently. Usually in the preparation of an elaborate dinner several families will work cooperatively. At daybreak the men start preparing the umu, killing and cleaning the pig, squeezing cream from grated coconut, and doing the many other tasks necessary in preparation of a Samoan dinner. The work continues at a steady pace into the afternoon. Samoans seem to enjoy their work for two main reasons, viz., anticipation of the forthcoming feast, and the pleasure of a communal activity in which a considerable amount of social interaction takes place.

TABLE III. AREA IN WHICH LAIE SAMOANS THINK
THAT PEOPLE WORK HARDER

<u>Area</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Hawaii	12	10	22
Samoa	1	4	5
Both places the same	0	2	2
No response	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	20	20	40

From Table III it can be seen that at least half of the respondents, both prewar and postwar migrants, express an opinion that one has to work harder in Hawaii than in Samoa. However, their definition of "hard work" appears to be different from that of the standard American definition. This possibility was first suggested by a prewar Samoan who opined that work was harder in Samoa than in Hawaii. Though he believed that actual physical labor in Samoa was much more strenuous than in Hawaii, he felt

that working in Hawaii was more difficult. He explained that in Samoa whenever he was tired he could take a rest, but because he has to work by the clock in Hawaii he must continue his labor even when he does not feel like it. This was later found to be the attitude of several other Samoans, although some of them had not verbalized it as such when responding to the schedule. They were well aware of the many labor-saving devices they used in their employment in Hawaii which were not available to them in Samoa. The fact that they have to put in a regular eight-hour day is what is most difficult for many of them.

Although the Samoan definition of hard work may differ somewhat from that normally held by Americans, both Samoans and Americans, in contrast to Hawaiians, seem to place considerable value on work and to regard laziness as a personal fault.

Attitudes toward wealth. It would appear that although the Laie Samoans regard the acquisition of wealth as nearly equivalent to the achievement of success, they do not necessarily feel that the possession of wealth is in itself a quality to be admired. When asking a respondent to name a person whom he admired, the writer explained that by an admired person he meant one who had qualities that the respondent would most like to have.

Some of the responses of Hawaiians who described people as being successful though not wealthy referred to their being happy or religious, or having nice fishing gear. Most Samoan responses referred to the successful person as one having money, a large and well-furnished home, or a new and expensive automobile. Although Hawaiians define success

differently than do Samoans, those persons named by Hawaiians as being successful were also not considered to be wealthy.

TABLE IV. DEFINITIONS OF SUCCESS AS
GIVEN BY LAIE RESPONDENTS

<u>Definitions</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Hawaiians</u>	<u>Total</u>
According to wealth	11	8	3	22
Not according to wealth	3	2	9	14
No response	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>24</u>
Total	20	20	20	60

The fact that in Table V no positive correlation between the person who is acknowledged to be successful and the person who is admired exists for either Samoan or Hawaiian in Laie suggests that to make this distinction may be characteristic of Polynesians, of Mormons, or of both. Among Samoans this distinction apparently has its origin in aboriginal

TABLE V. THE EXTENT TO WHICH PERSONS THOUGHT
TO BE SUCCESSFUL WERE ALSO ADMIRERD
BY LAIE RESPONDENTS

<u>Class of response</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Hawaiians</u>	<u>Total</u>
Agree	1	1	0	2
Disagree	16	13	15	44
No response	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>14</u>
Total	20	20	20	60

culture and is probably explained, at least in part, by what Mead considers to be one of the dominant cultural attitudes of Samoans, *viz.*, avoidance of precocity and minimization of individuality (1930, pp. 82-82).

According to Stanner, Samoans have a desire for unstressed uniformity and a distaste for personal idiosyncrasy (1953, p. 311).

A Samoan who distinguishes himself by becoming more wealthy than his neighbors may be acknowledged as having achieved success, but he may also be considered an aberrant individual who, according to Samoan standards, has set himself apart from the group, a quality which is not admired. For example, a certain Samoan in Laie who is relatively wealthy and has one of the most modern and well-furnished homes in the village was cited by twelve prewar and eight postwar Samoans as being successful, though no respondent expressed admiration for him. This individual is in a paradoxical situation insofar as he has achieved the goal to which many Samoans in Laie aspire because of the Euroamerican attitudes they have adopted, while at the same time he ostensibly is not admired by his fellows because of the persistence of traditional Samoan attitudes among them.

In attitudes toward wealth there appears to be no significant difference between prewar and postwar Samoans. Members of both groups associate wealth with success but do not regard success as necessarily worthy of admiration. The Hawaiians agree with the Samoans in not admiring the successful person. On the other hand, a point of utmost importance, which will be discussed later, is that in their definition of success the Samoans more closely approximate Americans than do the Hawaiians.

Attitudes toward security. The writer spent most of one day with a postwar Samoan informant who said that he did not go to work at the naval base that day simply because he did not feel like working. He had told his boss that he was having domestic troubles, yet he was not married.

He had been working at the base for two years, and this was the first time he ever took time off, though he indicated that he had been tempted to do so many times before. He said that soon he was going to quit work anyway, since he planned to attend school the next semester. When asked what he would do for money he replied that he would not need any because he was going to live with a brother. He had not saved any money, for he had many expenses, including the payment of passage for some relatives who were coming from Samoa to live in Laie. He planned to work during the summer to earn money for his tuition, but he did not know who would complete payments on his new car.

This incident reveals several typical Laie Samoan attitudes, viz., the desire for an education, the feeling that regular attendance at work is a distasteful obligation to be endured only if one wants a steady job, and the security that is still felt, at least among many postwar Samoans, in the unity and cooperative atmosphere of the family. This Samoan was not worried by what an individual of Euroamerican culture would consider a rather precarious economic situation. He knew that he could depend on his brother's hospitality, just as he in turn has contributed considerably to the welfare of his family group.

However, for Samoans outside of Samoa such family cooperation in economic matters entails the necessity of providing monetary assistance either directly or indirectly, whereas in Samoa all that is necessary is to provide the needy person with food and shelter at hardly any expense to the donor. Because of the almost unlimited hospitality in Samoa, a stranger in a village is assured of meals and lodging in nearly any household. An additional person or two in a large Samoan household involves

no economic loss for the host. He merely consumes surplus food which is produced by members of the household and which could not be preserved anyway. In Samoa the guest is at liberty to stay as long as he desires. If he remains for an extended period of time he will be expected to contribute his share of work around the household or in the fields. It is also expected that the guest will at some time reciprocate the hospitality of his host (Grattan, 1948, pp. 63-68).

The Samoan's family land was his ultimate source of security, for it could at least supply him with food and shelter. Before the war in Samoa when a Samoan was employed for wages he did not worry about the loss of his job because he could always return to his family and his land. With the postwar shortage of land due to an increase in population many Samoans lost the greatest source of security they ever had. In addition to the land situation, the scarcity of wage employment convinced many that there was no alternative but to find jobs elsewhere. But emigration did not solve the economic problems of all those who undertook it. It has already been pointed out that postwar Samoan migrants in Laie have more handicaps in obtaining wage employment than Samoans who have been there from prewar times. Many of the postwar migrants have neither land nor family to rely on when they cannot obtain employment. Frequently relatives and friends who would ordinarily lend assistance are themselves experiencing difficulty in obtaining work.

Postwar migrants soon learn that the Samoan type of hospitality does not exist in Laie. The fact that people are so much more hospitable in Samoa than in Laie is to a great extent related to the type of economy that is prevalent in each area, i.e., a subsistence economy in the former

and a money economy in the latter. Several prewar Samoans have stated that in Laie it is not possible to provide food and shelter to everyone who asks for it. In contrast to Samoa, food and lodging in Hawaii cost the host money, which the guest may not be able to reciprocate. Hence, hospitality is extended to Samoan guests in Laie for a limited time only, and new arrivals from Samoa are expected to leave as soon as they are able to care for themselves. For example, in 1953 there were nineteen President Jackson migrants residing in households established by Samoans prior to the war. Of these migrants, six were members of the immediate family of the household in which they were living, while thirteen were more distant relatives or friends. In 1955 only four President Jackson migrants, all of whom were members of the immediate family, were still residing in prewar households. Of the other fifteen migrants, five had moved to other quarters in Laie together with members of their family who had immigrated later, and ten had either moved into Honolulu or gone on to the mainland. Thus, as far as the President Jackson migrants in Laie are concerned, no one who was not a member of the immediate family was provided with room and board in prewar Samoan households three years after the migration.

Hence, the size of many prewar households in Laie has decreased since 1953 primarily as the result of postwar migrants moving out. In that year the number of persons in eleven prewar Samoan households in which President Jackson migrants were included was 69, which is 6.3 per dwelling unit. Two years later 47 persons, or 4.3 per unit were dwelling in these same households. However, what is more significant is the fact that households established after the war also experienced a drop in membership. This is important because practically all members of these households either

belonged to the immediate family or were more distant relatives who had been in the original household when it left Samoa. There were very few Laie guests in this group. Nine of these households in 1953 had a total of 65 persons, or 7.2 per unit. Two years later there were 51 persons, or 5.6 per unit in the same dwellings. Most of the people who had left had set up independent households outside of Laie.

The average decrease of 1.8 persons per unit among twenty households of prewar and postwar migrants within a period of two years is undoubtedly related to the increasing participation in a money economy by most Laie Samoans. In Laie there appears to be no particular advantage to the large household or extended family operating as a cooperative unit. Without farming land of its own a large household group loses most of its ability to provide economic security for its members. The individualism that comes from functioning in a capitalistic society is tending to break down the larger households of Laie Samoans.

It has already been noted that the reason why so few postwar migrants have leased Church land for agricultural purposes is that most of them have migrated specifically for the purpose of obtaining wage employment, and subsistence economy is no more appealing to them in Hawaii than it was in Samoa. Also, the fact that leased land would still belong to another owner and not to the family that worked on it may have a psychological effect that would make the postwar Samoan reluctant to take up farming. Because land is so expensive in Hawaii most Samoans could not afford to buy it.

The above comments are not intended to imply that all postwar Samoans are destitute, for there are some who have relatively high incomes. However, it should be understood that the recent Samoan immigrant has many

social and economic difficulties to overcome before he can begin to feel secure in his new environment. Thus, the postwar migrant who has either lost or rejected the security once had in land ownership and extended family cooperation, and has not yet acquired the security of a reasonably salaried, steady job lives in an anxiety-producing situation. It appears that most postwar Samoan migrants to Laie are in this predicament. On the other hand, most prewar Samoans have found economic security in steady jobs which are often supplemented by agriculture.

Since economic adjustment appears to be correlated in part with the amount of time a Samoan has been living in Laie, the attitude of the Samoan toward his personal economic situation might be expected to become more favorable the longer he has resided in the community. Table VI indicates that Samoans who have been in Laie from before the war are more satisfied with their economic situation than those who came after the war.

TABLE VI. AREA IN WHICH LAIE SAMOANS WERE MORE SATISFIED WITH THEIR PERSONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

<u>Area</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Hawaii	10	3	13
Samoa	4	12	16
No response	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	20	20	40

From this it appears that although many postwar migrants left Samoa to escape a depressing economic situation they have not gained much in coming to Laie. Some of the responses of the postwar Samoans who claimed they were more satisfied economically in Samoa may have been influenced by

nostalgia and the thought that no matter how bad their situation was in Samoa they were at least in a more familiar and friendly environment.

Economic security for its members has always been a concern of the Church, and Mormons on the mainland are taught to prepare for contingencies, such as unemployment, which might jeopardize that security. Practice of the ideal Mormon virtue of prudence, as typified in the storage of goods at home and caring for the needy through a Church Welfare Program without assistance from government agencies, has not been evident in Laie. It has already been noted that people in Laie are receiving Territorial relief. Hawaii is one of the few places where the Church has not been able economically to care for its own. It appears that the Church Welfare Program in Hawaii has not been a success. Church officials attribute this to the apathy of the members in Hawaii as indicated by the relatively small number of local Mormons who contribute their full share to the Welfare Program. Moreover, Church officials also believe that the proportion of needy Mormons is greater in Hawaii than in most mainland areas. From this standpoint the Samoans of Laie are residing in an atypical Mormon community.

Neither Hawaiians nor Samoans in Laie have been known to store away food and clothing for an emergency. In Utah, homeland of Mormonism, the climate with its seasonal variation and cold winters is certainly more conducive to the hoarding of food and clothing than is the climate of either Hawaii or Samoa, both of which are situated in the tropics. Since there were no techniques in aboriginal Samoan culture for the storage of food, Samoans have lacked experience in food hoarding. Moreover, they cannot be expected to adopt this trait since it is not practiced by other members of the Laie community. Samoans have not had the opportunity to see "prudence"

in action. This typically Mormon characteristic has not become the ideal of the Hawaiian Laie, nor is it likely to become the ideal of the Samoan Laie if the social environment in Laie remains the same.

TABLE VII. THE INCIDENCE OF INSTALLMENT BUYING
AMONG LAIE SAMOANS AND HAWAIIANS

	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Hawaiians</u>	<u>Total</u>
Have bought on installment plan	13	9	9	31
Have not bought on installment plan	5	6	9	20
No response	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	20	20	20	60

Another trait cited above as being associated with the Mormon ideal of prudence is the avoidance of debt, including the practice of installment plan buying. Table VII indicates that neither Samoans nor Hawaiians in Laie are particularly averse to the practice. However, neither has freedom from debt always been observed in the Mormon homeland. The Mormon sociologist Lowry Nelson has said: "Leaders of the Church frequently exhort the membership to own their farms and homes and keep them free from debt. Neither of these injunctions has been entirely obeyed" (1933, p. 28). During the mid-1920's in two Utah farming villages with a combined total of 524 families, 153 owed money on their homes and 15 of these owed more than \$2,000. As early as 1925 in one of the villages 29.6 per cent of the families were reported as owing money, the average indebtedness being \$2,522 (Nelson, 1933, pp. 30, 50, 55). It should be kept in mind that the Mormon ideal is not always attained by Mormon Americans. The Mormon Samoan will tend to become more like the actual than the ideal Mormon American.

Because of the lack of land ownership and the breakdown of the large cooperative family, the Samoan in Laie has less economic security than he would have had under the aboriginal subsistence economy in Samoa. Because of the absence of the trait of preparing for difficult times by storing away necessities, and the relative non-functioning of the local Church Welfare Program, the Laie Samoan experiences less economic security than the average Mormon in the United States. Because of various handicaps in acquiring wage employment the Laie Samoan probably has less economic security than the average American. Thus the attitudes toward economic security of many Laie Samoans, particularly the more recent immigrants, are those which express anxiety and frustration.

On the other hand, Samoan migrants who settle in Laie have economic advantages not possessed by many of their countrymen who have settled elsewhere in Hawaii. Since Laiens can rent a house or lease a house lot from the Church for a very nominal fee, the Laie Samoan is not greatly concerned about the cost of housing. Being a Mormon the Laie Samoan who is seriously in need can request and receive financial assistance from the Church. Furthermore, the Samoan in Laie has relatively low food costs since he can grow some of his own food, and living in a Samoan community, he can participate in the many cooperatively produced Samoan feasts. The average newly-arrived Samoan probably finds more economic security in Laie than he can in any other place in Hawaii.

Attitudes toward the matai system. The important role that the matai system plays in the subsistence economy of aboriginal Samoa has already been discussed. In order to understand the present status of the matai system in Laie a clarification of the types of titles associated with the rank of matai is necessary.

In aboriginal Samoa a village is governed by policies established in the fono, or official meeting of the matai of the village. Each matai represents his family group in the fono. There are two main types of matai titles, viz., ali'i, or chief, and tulafale, or talking chief. In Samoa the ali'i are delegated authority to make decisions in the fono, while the tulafale, each of whom represents a particular ali'i, have the function of verbally presenting to the fono the decisions made by their respective ali'i. Though an ali'i receives greater honor and prestige because of the nature of his title, the tulafale receives more material benefits as a result of receiving payment for services he performs for his ali'i (Mead, 1930, pp. 10-17, 33-36; Grattan, 1948, pp. 10-24).

In the summer of 1955 there were eight matai in Laie -- seven ali'i and one tulafale. Only one of these matai, an ali'i, had been resident in Laie before the war, most of the others having come on the President Jackson in 1952. For the first year after the arrival of the President Jackson, the matai in Laie held monthly meetings after the fashion of the Samoan fono. Later, however, the meetings occurred less regularly, and in 1955 were very rare. As the matai became aware that they received little or no support from Laie Samoans, they felt that the holding of the fono was superfluous.

Occasionally when it is considered necessary to act according to Samoan custom, the matai of Laie still have a role to play. During the summer of 1955, a benevolent association made up of Samoans, Mormon and non-Mormon from both Laie and Honolulu, decided to produce a movie depicting Samoan customs and featuring the local "Miss Samoa," a young Samoan girl from Honolulu who won her title in a beauty contest. In the film she

played the part of a taupo, which in Samoa is the village virgin who represents her village on various ceremonial occasions, and who is usually the daughter of a high-ranking ali'i. Among other things, the film included a lava ceremony, in which the Laie tulafale was to act as official speaker for the taupo. After the movie was filmed he demanded payment from her, this being the right of the tulafale for such ceremonies. In addition to fine mats, which he claimed were no longer the only suitable payment, he also demanded money. All of these he received. It is interesting to note that since the ali'i are not entitled to such remuneration by Samoan custom, it is claimed that some local ali'i are assuming the role of tulafale whenever possible for the economic advantages associated with this title.

In actual practice the acknowledged leader of the Laie Samoans is not a matai, but a relatively wealthy prewar Samoan who holds a high Church office. It is by virtue of his Church position that he is given the respect and cooperation of the Laie Samoans, even though the nature of the office does not place him in an official position of authority over Samoans.

In the early part of 1955 the President of the Mormon Church paid a visit to Laie, this being regarded by the Laie as a most auspicious occasion. It was desired that a taupo be chosen to preside over the Samoan celebration in honor of the President. After much discussion in which some claimed that the young daughter of an ali'i should be appointed, the wife of the above-mentioned Samoan Church official was chosen to be the taupo. As a matai explained to the writer, it was felt that even though this Samoan official was not an ali'i, in view of his high Church position his wife most appropriately should honor the President of the Church, and that

it would be permissible to forego "Samoa culture, because this was a Church affair and not a Samoan one."

It is quite apparent that most prewar Samoans do not wish to live under the matai system, and some are quite explicit as to their reasons why. The reason cited most often is that one's income should be his own and he should not have to share it with a matai. As Table VIII indicates, postwar Samoans are less articulate on the matter, but it appeared that many of them did not want entirely to reject the security they received from the matai system, at least for the time being. In general, the postwar matai were more in favor of retaining the system, but the prewar matai felt that it could function satisfactorily only in Samoa under aboriginal conditions and not in Hawaii.

TABLE VIII. ATTITUDES OF LAIE SAMOANS
TOWARD THE MATAI SYSTEM

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Favorable	3	5	8
- Unfavorable	14	3	17
Neutral	1	2	3
- No response	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>
Total	20	20	40

It appears that economic security is one of the main contributing factors in the formation of attitudes by Laie Samoans regarding the matai system. Those who have achieved economic security in the form of a steady and relatively large income were the most vehement in expressing unfavorable attitudes toward the matai system. These successful Samoans considered that owing allegiance to a matai was detrimental rather than beneficial,

for the matai would be privileged to share their good fortune without having contributed toward its achievement. On the other hand, postwar Samoans who were still in a precarious economic situation did not wish to reject this Samoan system in which wealth was shared, for they felt that some day they may have to return to it if they were not economically successful in Hawaii.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

Attitudes Of Non-Samoans Toward Samoans

Hawaiians. As a rule the Hawaiians of Laie do not verbalize any distinction in attitudes toward the prewar Samoans and the postwar Samoans, but tend to categorize the Samoans as a single group. Many Hawaiians claim that when a Samoan first arrives in Laie he is like a "barbarian," but that after a period of several years he begins to "settle down."

Hawaiian attitudes toward Samoans as expressed by the twenty respondents to the schedule are as follows: 5 favorable; 8 unfavorable; 2 neutral; and 5 no response. Most of the favorable remarks emphasized the economic progress of the Samoans and the cooperation they display among themselves. That these were intended to be favorable remarks was indicated by the fact that the Hawaiian respondent would often complain about the lack of these qualities within his own group. Unfavorable attitudes were expressed in such terms as "uncivilized" and "cannot be trusted." The most commonly verbalized complaint that the Hawaiians had about the Samoans was that they took things that did not belong to them. It is claimed that the Samoans pass through one's yard without permission, and that they help themselves to the fruits of another's garden, or to any available article that is left unguarded.

It must be kept in mind that Laie is a village inhabited by people who have a common loyalty to a single religious sect, and it is possible that many favorable remarks are made in the interest of charity rather than veracity. Of course there are Hawaiians who express genuine affection for Samoans, but it appears that the prevalent Hawaiian attitude

toward Samoans is one of resentment or anxiety. In prolonged conversations with Hawaiians, many who had initially made favorable remarks reversed their opinions. Some Hawaiians seem to feel overwhelmed by the influx of these people who, to them, are alien and often quite belligerent.

Some indication of Hawaiian hostility toward Samoans may be ascertained by a story that has assumed many of the aspects of folklore among the Hawaiians of the younger generation. They report that a few months after the arrival of the President Jackson migrants in Laie there was a gang fight between the Samoan boys and the Hawaiian boys, in which the latter were victorious. Supposedly because of their defeat the Samoans entered the service to get away from Laie. Actually, the Samoans involved in this incident were those who came to Hawaii expressly for the purpose of joining the armed forces and were merely residing temporarily in Laie until their induction.

Many Hawaiians have expressed a strong resentment to references by outsiders to Laie as a Samoan village. It appears that one of the strongest motivations for Hawaiian animosity toward Samoans in Laie is based on the Hawaiian attitude that because Laie was founded especially for Hawaiian Mormons they have prior rights in the village. Now these rights are believed to be threatened by the Samoans, who are thus considered to be unwelcome interlopers.

Caucasians. On the basis of informal discussions about community relations with most of the Caucasians who had been living in Laie prior to the establishment of the junior college, it appears to the writer that in general these Caucasians tend to be more sympathetic toward the Hawaiians than toward the Samoans. Due to the long historical association of

Hawaiians and Caucasians in Laie there seems to be a greater understanding between these two groups, in spite of Caucasian praise of the industry and cooperation of the Samoans as contrasted to the laziness of the Hawaiians. Most of the Caucasians residing permanently in Laie have married into Hawaiian families, and therefore are more closely affiliated with this group. Inter-marriage between Laie Caucasians and Samoans has been relatively rare. Usually the Caucasians will express a more favorable opinion of the prewar Samoans than the postwar Samoans because they believe the former are more like Hawaiians than the latter.

One important barrier to closer relations between Samoans and Caucasians of Laie is the continued importance of the Samoan language among the Samoan residents. Samoans do not hesitate to talk in their native tongue whenever it is convenient, which tends to make non-Samoan-speaking Caucasians feel awkward in their presence.

Caucasians in Laie, like Hawaiians, have complained about the Samoan tendency to steal things, and some have also categorized the Samoans as "barbarians." On the other hand, these same Caucasians have said that on the whole the Samoans are better Mormons than the Hawaiians because of their more regular attendance at Church meetings and their greater cooperation in Church projects.

Attitudes Of Samoans Toward Non-Samoans

Toward Hawaiians. Laie Samoans appear to regard the Hawaiians as an inferior group. Though they feel that there is some vague bond between themselves and the Hawaiians because they both have been classified as Polynesians, the Samoans deride the Hawaiian form of related culture traits, such as the manner of making an earth oven or the cultivation

and use of breadfruit and bananas.

In Table IX those Samoan responses interpreted as being favorable refer to the Hawaiians as "good" and "gentle." To some extent a few of these comments may have resulted from the charitable motivation of Mormons talking about Mormons. The most frequently unfavorable comments were that Hawaiians were lazy or dirty.

TABLE IX. ATTITUDES OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS
TOWARD HAWAIIANS

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Favorable	8	4	12
Neutral	1	2	3
Unfavorable	7	8	15
No response	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	20	20	40

The Samoan idea of the relatively low status of the Hawaiians is illustrated by the following incident reported to the writer. A Samoan woman with a Caucasian family name tried to discourage her daughter from marrying a Laie Hawaiian by telling her that she would be jeopardizing her whole future and that of her children if she exchanged her Caucasian family name for a Hawaiian family name. However, her marriage to a man with a Samoan family name was not regarded as objectionable, but on the contrary was encouraged.

Both prewar and postwar Samoan informants claimed that it was primarily the Samoans who made Laie the beautiful place that it is. They believe that the Hawaiians are too lazy to bother with improvements and to keep the village clean.

Toward Caucasians. Comments concerning the opinions of Caucasians as expressed by Laie Samoans in response to the schedule all tended to be favorable. However, more than 50 per cent of the respondents in both the prewar and postwar groups avoided making any direct statement about what they thought of Caucasians. The lack of response on this subject may have been due to a reluctance on the part of the Samoans to express unfavorable opinions to the Caucasian investigator.

However, opinions elicited from informants with whom rapport and confidence had been established after several long interviews gave considerable insight into the matter. In general, their attitudes toward Caucasians of long standing in Laie were either favorable or neutral. But with the influx of many Caucasians from Utah in conjunction with the new Church College of Hawaii there seems to be a mixture of feelings. A great future for Laie is anticipated under the new and experienced leadership of Mormons from Utah. But there is also apprehension that Samoans may be left out of the rapid development that is expected to take place in the community.

Though these mainland Mormons have been initially regarded with awe and deep respect, the Samoans are coming to believe that these newcomers may remain strangers to many of the Samoan cultural practices that have been respected in Laie in the past. For example, during a community meeting called to discuss plans for the commercial development of Laie, committees were appointed by Caucasian Mormon officials to investigate various possibilities of increasing exploitation of local resources. A committee of Samoans appointed to study the best place to construct Samoan-type houses to attract tourists included one or two women in its membership. This was vigorously objected to by a Samoan

leader who said that the construction of houses was not part of women's work and that women were unskilled in such matters. This objection was overruled by Caucasian authority on the grounds that it was not important.

Samoans who have spent considerable time in Utah claim that there they were discriminated against by Mormon Caucasians in spite of the fact that they were all members of the same Church. A Samoan woman said that she was not hired for any of several business positions for which she was well qualified, simply because she was a Samoan. Another Samoan said that when he went to public places, such as theaters and restaurants, he felt that people suspected him of being a Negro. One Samoan who had Caucasian missionaries from Utah as guests at his home whenever they passed through Hawaii, said that they would invariably ask him to be sure to contact them if ever he got to Utah so that they could reciprocate. When he finally went to Utah he phoned them, and was shocked that they did not invite him to their homes.

The bond of being Polynesian has united Hawaiians and Samoans living in Utah, since both are minority groups in an environment that is considered to be relatively unfriendly. A Laie Samoan who had been in military service in Utah said that there he had felt closer to non-Mormon Hawaiians than to Mormon Caucasians. Many Hawaiians and Samoans from Laie have gone to Utah to attend institutions of higher education. These Samoans and Hawaiians, some of whom may not have been on very friendly terms in Laie, become part of a group that was considered by everyone to be "Hawaiian." In discussing school activities several Samoans who had returned from Utah referred to themselves and their group as "we Hawaiians." This is an interesting development that is in contrast to the situation in Laie. It is believed by the writer that

the Samoans are more sensitive to discrimination than the Hawaiians, and that it was the Samoans who affiliated themselves with the Hawaiians for security in Utah. Several Laie Samoans have expressed the opinion that the founding of the Church College of Hawaii is primarily for the purpose of discouraging Mormon Polynesians from attending school in Utah.

The above attitudes and opinions of Samoans who have been to Utah are exclusively those of prewar Samoans, for only those have as yet spent any considerable time in Utah and returned to Laie. It should also be kept in mind that much of what has been described of Samoans who have been to Utah is from their reported impressions, which may not accurately correspond to actual existing conditions.

Samoans And The Village Of Laie

The significance of Laie to Samoans. According to R. L. Challis, who has studied the social problems of non-Maori Polynesians in New Zealand, belonging to a village is of utmost importance to the psychological well-being of the average Samoan. He quotes a Samoan living in New Zealand as saying, "We want a Samoan village here" (1953, p. 5). Laie is probably the closest approximation to a Samoan village outside of Samoa. Among the prewar Samoans at least, there seems to be a feeling that Laie is their home and the place where they wish to spend the rest of their lives, as is shown in Table X.

As noted above, many prewar Samoans in Laie have gone to Utah temporarily, usually to pay a visit to the homeland of Mormonism, or to receive a higher education. Many of the postwar Samoans, on the contrary, are looking forward to the time when they will be financially

able to leave Laie and go to the mainland permanently. Utah is rarely included in the proposed itineraries. Usually they mention California as their goal, where Samoan colonies are already developing in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego.

TABLE X. ATTITUDES OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS
TOWARD CONTINUED RESIDENCE IN LAIE

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Want to spend rest of life in Laie	12	3	15
Plan to leave Laie in the future	3	10	13
No response or undecided	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
Total	20	20	40

Three generations of prewar Samoans now reside in Laie. Considerable in-group marriage has taken place among these Samoans, and though some of the offspring move out of the village when they come of age, many have remained. Some of the more wealthy prewar Samoans have made large investments in their homes in Laie, and have played no small role in the development of the community.

On the other hand, to many postwar Samoans as exemplified by the President Jackson migrants, Laie has been little more than a convenient stopover in which to pause momentarily before settling down elsewhere in the American scene. At the outset 218 of the 958 migrants on the President Jackson indicated that they were coming to Hawaii expressly to join the armed forces. Most of these stayed in Laie. By the time Eyde made his study in the summer of 1953, one year after the migration, 268 Samoan migrants had joined the armed forces. Within one year all

those who had officially indicated they had no intention of remaining in Laie had departed. In August 1953 there were 88 President Jackson migrants still residing in Laie (Kyde, 1954, pp. 4, 6; Forster, 1954, p. 25). In August 1955 there were 59 President Jackson migrants remaining in Laie. Of the 29 migrants who had left during this two-year period, only one had joined the armed forces. Of the rest, 17 had moved to other parts of Oahu, 9 had gone to the mainland, and 2 had left Laie without indicating their future place of residence. In addition to these the writer personally knew several President Jackson families, totaling 24 individuals, who in the summer of 1955 had started to make plans to go to the mainland within the near future.

If Challis' observation about Samoan village membership is correct, then the high mobility of the postwar Samoans may be, at least in part, due to one or both of two factors. Either Laie does not answer the need of postwar Samoans to belong to a Samoan village that it apparently does for those of prewar origin, or else this need has now been displaced by another and apparently greater need among the postwar Samoans. Since economic security has been shown to be of utmost importance in the motivations of postwar Samoans to migrate, it is likely that those who have failed to achieve this goal in Laie will continue to seek it elsewhere.

Laie -- a Mormon village. Above all things, Laie is a Mormon village. It was founded by the Church for members of the Church, and it is owned and administered by the Church. The highest Church authorities in Laie who are directly responsible for the general welfare of the inhabitants of the village are the bishops, of which there are two at present.

Theoretically, Mormon bishops have both temporal and spiritual authority over members under their jurisdiction (Widtsoe, 1939, pp. 320-321). Most Laieans, both Samoan and Hawaiian, believe that the bishop's office is in fact one of authority over much of their daily lives. For example, as indicated in Table XI, a bishop would be asked to settle a serious dispute between neighbors. Though two City and County of Honolulu policemen live in Laie and patrol the area, the police department was not regarded by any Laiean respondent as an agent of authority to be relied upon for the settlement of community difficulties. Occasionally the police become involved in some cases, such as theft, and if both the defendant and complainant are from Laie, and if both parties agree, the matter will be taken by the policeman to the bishop for settlement.

TABLE XI. THE CHOICE OF ARBITER BY LAIE RESPONDENTS
IN THE EVENT OF AN ALTERCATION WITH A NEIGHBOR

<u>Choice</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Hawaiians</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bishop	16	14	14	44
Other Church official	1	1	2	4
Another person in Laie	2	0	1	3
No response	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	20	20	20	60

Formerly the entire village of Laie and its environs consisted of a single ward, a geographically delimited administrative division of the Church based on the number of members living in an area and headed by a bishop (Widtsoe, 1939, pp. 316-319). In the early part of 1955, when the population of Laie increased beyond 1,000 individuals, the

village was divided into two wards and consequently lost some of its unity and overall cooperativeness. Some Samoans wanted the division to be made on ethnic grounds, one ward for Samoans and the other for Hawaiians, but since this plan would have been contrary to the policy of the Church it was rejected. Because Samoans live in different parts of the village some now reside in each ward, but it so happens that more are to be found in one ward than in the other. The ward with the greater number of Samoans has a more cooperative membership and works harder during the Hukilau. Church officials believe that the difference in effort put forth is directly related to the difference in the number of Samoans in each ward. Since both wards are given equal credit by the Church for the economic success of each Hukilau, feelings of antagonism have developed between the two.

General ward meetings, such as the Sacrament Meetings, and others of various committees and age groups are conducted separately in their respective wards. The meetings of the Samoan makua ("old folks") have a higher record of attendance than those of the Hawaiian makua. This was accounted for by one official who said that the Samoans from one ward will attend the Samoan makua meetings of the other ward, simply because they like to go to meetings at which Samoan is spoken.

Though all general ward meetings are conducted in English, many Samoans when called on to give a prayer or a talk do so in the Samoan language. Special classes and meetings in which Samoan is spoken are conducted for the Samoans. For many Samoans, mainly women and old folks who have little contact outside the community, there is no real incentive to learn English, for so much pleasure is derived from the long orations in Samoan that anyone is entitled to give at such meetings.

The Church has taken advantage of some of the cultural talents of the Samoans for the enrichment of community life. Samoans are asked to perform with their native dancing and singing at religious and social functions as well as for the benefit of tourists. In August 1955 a special choir made up of more than one hundred Samoans from Laie and Honolulu sang Samoan songs at the Tabernacle in Honolulu in honor of visiting dignitaries of the Church.

The Oahu Stake Directory, issued in 1955, lists a grand total of 58 official Church positions for both Laie wards (pp. 69, 72). These are divided into seven categories according to the respective duties associated with each. Seventeen of these positions, which represent all categories, are held by Samoans of whom 10 are prewar migrants and 7 postwar. Thus, Samoans hold 29 per cent of the Church offices, which would appear to be equitable, since at the beginning of 1955 Samoans made up approximately 30 per cent of the Laie population.

Though Laie is definitely a Mormon village, it differs in some respects from the typical Mormon village on the mainland. For example, the Church on the mainland encourages its members to hold their own title to land (Nelson, 1933, p. 28). In Laie, however, only four house lots, held by descendants of some of the original Hawaiians in the area, are not owned directly by the Church. All other property is leased or rented from the Church at a very reasonable rate. Though this system is foreign to that reported for the continental United States, it is quite similar to that of the Mormon mission village of Mapusaga in Samoa, where many Laie Samoans have lived.

In other ways norms in Laie differ considerably from those of Mormon villages in Samoa. One of the greatest shocks experienced by

the Mormon Samoan on his arrival in Laie is the generally relative laxity of the Church in Hawaii compared with its mission in Samoa. One complaint made most frequently by Samoans was that Laieans work on Sundays, something which does not occur in Samoa. Both prewar and postwar Samoans thought that the average Mormon conducts himself better in Samoa than he does in Hawaii. They believe that Mormons in Samoa have the true spirit of cooperation for helping those in need, whereas Mormons in Hawaii, including many Samoans, are interested primarily in themselves. The effects of this rather harsh introduction to the world outside of Samoa may last for some time for individual Samoans, for most prewar Samoan respondents continue to prefer the type of religion they knew in Samoa, as evidenced in Table XII.

TABLE XII. ATTITUDES OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS TOWARD
THE RELATIVE MERITS OF MORMONISM IN
HAWAII AND SAMOA

<u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Prefer Mormonism in Samoa	11	9	20
Prefer Mormonism in Hawaii	6	4	10
No response	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
Total	20	20	40

The Samoans at Laie take their religion seriously, and consider themselves full-fledged members of the Mormon Church. They respect Church authority and participate fully in Church functions. Nevertheless, the Samoans are completely aware of, and satisfied with their ethnic background and remain a separate group which has achieved less social than religious integration within the community.

The degree of Church supervision of members in Laie appears to be somewhat less than in Samoa but more than on the mainland. The Church's recognition of the ethnic identity of the Samoans, while allowing them equal opportunity to advance in the religious offices of the community, places the Laie Samoans in a status somewhere between that of their countrymen in Samoa living in a mission community in which advancement in the Church hierarchy is quite restricted, and that of a Samoan living in a mainland community in which the emphasis on cultural homogeneity in the American pattern would severely restrict him in his tendency to retain many of his native culture traits. This midway position of socio-religious integration among the Samoans of Laie would seem to be advantageous in the adjustment of a Samoan undergoing acculturation since it provides a transition between the end points of a continuum of acculturation.

Education In Laie

Informal education. It was observed that in most Laie families much of the socialization of younger children was in the hands of elder siblings. This seems to be the pattern in Hawaiian, prewar Samoan, and postwar Samoan families. It might be noted that this also was the standard procedure in Samoa (cf. Mead, 1928, pp. 22-26). In one prewar Samoan household with more than nine children, the mother was often seen telling one of her children to reprimand a sibling who was but a few years younger. This reprimand frequently assumed the form of several slaps on the buttocks. Once babies have been weaned, their care in Laie homes (both Samoan and Hawaiian) is usually left entirely in the hands of elder sisters.

Though this situation in Laie may have its origin in a general Polynesian pattern, its continuance has been assured by the function it serves for contemporary Laiens in their life as Mormons. Mormons are constantly engaged in various Church activities which consume a considerable amount of an adult's time. Meetings of various auxiliaries, committees, and Church groups are attended throughout the week, and many are the community chores that must be done. In order to gain time for so many activities the mother must delegate many of her household duties to her older children. Moreover, the care of younger siblings is actually an established Mormon-American pattern, resulting from the same conditions as those noted for Laie. One writer has claimed that in many cases an elder sister may act as a sociological mother for a Mormon child (Bailey, 1955, pp. 207-208). Thus, though the Samoans approximate the Mormon ideal in this aspect, this appears not to be the result of acculturation, but an instance of parallelism. It may be assumed that this trait will continue indefinitely if the Samoans remain in the Mormon environment, for this is a fortuitous occurrence in which there is no conflict.

Contrary to direct observation, no respondent to the schedule mentioned the fact that disciplinary authority was delegated to any of their elder children (see Table XIII). The parents probably believed that since they had the ultimate authority in the household they were at least indirectly responsible for any reprimands that took place.

According to Table XIII an overwhelming number of prewar Samoan parents believe in sharing the responsibility of correcting their children. This may indicate a change from a patriarchal family structure

to a more democratic family organization. The fact that so few "father only" responses were given by Hawaiians is partly due to the greater number of widows in this group.

TABLE XIII. STATEMENTS BY LAIE PARENTS CONCERNING WHO REPRIMANDS THEIR CHILDREN

<u>Reported reprimander</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Hawaiians</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mother and father	11	5	5	21
Father only	3	6	3	12
Mother only	3	4	9	16
No response	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	20	20	20	60

In regard to the method of chastisement employed as reported in Table XIV, it was later discovered through direct observation and by talking with the children concerned, that four of the prewar Samoan respondents to the schedule who claimed not to have spanked their children had actually employed this method. Since in some other cases the children were either no longer living in Laie, or were for some reason not available, it was impossible to test the truth of all parental responses.

Several Laie informants, of both prewar and postwar origin, stated that in Samoa children show respect for any adult present in the room by walking in a stooped-over position. It is this trait that is referred to in Tables IV and XVI. In only one house was this custom actually observed in Laie by the writer. During the early part of 1955 the writer had occasion to visit a President Jackson migrant who was

TABLE XIV. REPORTED METHOD OF CHASTISEMENT EMPLOYED
BY LAIE RESPONDENTS

<u>Method</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Hawaiians</u>	<u>Total</u>
Corporal and verbal (either parent)	1	1	3	5
Corporal only (either parent)	1	5	2	8
Verbal only (either parent)	9	3	8	20
Corporal (father) and Verbal (mother)	1	0	0	1
Corporal (mother) and Verbal (father)	0	1	0	1
No response	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>25</u>
Total	20	20	20	60

TABLE XV. ATTITUDES OF SAMOAN RESPONDENTS TOWARD SAMOAN
METHOD BY WHICH CHILDREN SHOW RESPECT FOR ADULTS

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Approve	11	12	23
Disapprove	2	0	2
No response	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	20	20	40

TABLE XVI. REPORTED OCCURRENCE IN HOUSEHOLDS OF SAMOAN
RESPONDENTS OF SAMOAN METHOD BY WHICH CHILDREN
SHOW RESPECT FOR ADULTS

<u>Occurrence</u>	<u>Prewar Samoans</u>	<u>Postwar Samoans</u>	<u>Total</u>
Does occur	2	3	5
Does not occur	12	8	20
No response	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	20	20	40

head of a household. During the interview two of his children passed through the room in the described position. About seven months later the writer was again visiting in the same house, but this time the children did not stoop over as they passed through the room, nor were they ever seen to do it during many subsequent visits. Apparently these children had abandoned this behavior sometime during the later part of the third year or the early part of the fourth year of their absence from Samoa.

Both prewar and postwar Samoans claimed to have instructed their children in the Samoan form of respect, but not to have been able to enforce it. They say that their children complain that none of their non-Samoan acquaintances have to do it, and since they are not in Samoa they feel it to be unnecessary. All parents who reported this experience seemed quite resigned to it.

One question asked from the schedule was "Where do you find that it is more difficult to raise children: in Hawaii or in Samoa?" This question was intended to elicit opinions as to whether it was more difficult to control and discipline children in one area than in the other. The question was confusing to most respondents, and only a few opinions were actually expressed. However, all nine who answered agreed that it was more difficult to raise children in Hawaii. Four of these were prewar Samoans and five were postwar. On pursuing the matter further, it was discovered that each respondent thought that raising children was more difficult in Hawaii because of the additional expense incurred in caring for children. Apparently for some Samoan parents it is the economic rather than the disciplinary aspect that assumes greater importance in child rearing.

There is apparently no intensive effort to make a Samoan child retain Samoan culture traits which are at variance with Mormon or American culture. The fact that so much of the socialization of Laie Samoan children is in the hands of older siblings rather than adults may have an appreciable effect on the nature and degree of adaptive changes made by the second generation to Mormon-American culture. This is a problem that would be worthy of further investigation.

Formal education: religious. In addition to secular schooling the mainland Mormon child, beginning about the age of four, attends organized classes in teachings of the Church. The Primary Association, referred to as the Primary, is for children up to the age of twelve, and the Mutual Improvement Association, referred to as the M. I. A., is for those above this age. Classes are held once a week during the regular school year, and last for about an hour (Bailey, 1955, pp. 142-149, 242-243).

Both Primary and M. I. A. classes were observed in Laie. All Primary classes were conducted by women, while in the M. I. A. men instructed the boys and women instructed the girls. All instructors were Laieans, and were drawn from both Hawaiian and Samoan groups. All instruction was in English, and Hawaiian and Samoan children attended the same classes. All children during class appeared to be well-disciplined. They took an active interest in the material presented by the instructor, and were responsive in classroom activities.

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an ostensibly favorable attitude. Only one person was known to forbid his children to attend the Primary. Children of even the few non-Mormon Orientals living in Laie are sent by their parents to Primary classes.

The M. I. A., however, has not been as successful in Laie. When Laie children enter their middle teens they begin to assume more control over their own actions, and attendance at the M. I. A. cannot be as easily enforced by their parents. In addition, the M. I. A. does not seem to have the same appeal for teenagers as the Primary does for younger children. One of the main reasons for this is the lack of proper recreational facilities.

Much of the popularity of the M. I. A. in Mormon communities on the mainland results from a well-organized recreational program. A recreation hall or a gymnasium has been very important in the average Mormon community (Bailey, 1955, pp. 147-148). Laie has neither. This lack of facilities has been a matter of great concern on the part of the recently arrived faculty members of the new Church College of Hawaii. Some have expressed both surprise and disappointment that this situation should occur in a Mormon community.

This problem was discussed with several teenage boys, four of them Samoan and three Hawaiian, who did not attend the M. I. A. They were unanimous in reporting their opinion that the M. I. A. "was not any fun." They said that they would rather attend the movies in Kahuku. They claimed that the sports program of the Laie M. I. A. was deficient, and that they preferred to play for Kahuku High School. On the mainland teenage Mormons normally learn to dance at M. I. A. functions.

However, such dances are so rarely held in Laie that one Samoan youth complained that though he would enjoy learning, he had never been taught to dance. This is indeed aberrant for either a Mormon or a Samoan, for both cultures have independently stressed the importance of dancing (Mead, 1928, pp. 110-121; O'Dea, 1955, p. 27).

It is apparent that the Church plays an important role in the socialization of the young child. The Samoan child who attends the Primary is exposed to the same teachings and influences as the Hawaiian child. However, some differences in perception may result from language difficulties among Samoan children, for even though most of the younger Samoan children in Laie can understand English reasonably well, they are usually less fluent than Hawaiian children in this language.

No doubt the recent influx of Mormon teachers and their families from the homeland of the religion will soon exert influences to bring about changes in the community, including a more efficient and more intensive indoctrination of young Laiens into the Mormon faith. Through supervision by mainland experts in Mormon organization and education the process of acculturation for Laie Samoans may be accelerated and altered somewhat toward a more traditional Mormon culture.

Formal education: secular. The grades in Laie elementary public school range from kindergarten through the sixth grade. In 1955 the total staff numbered ten, and there were 234 students (Territory of Hawaii, 1955, p. 40). This school was originally founded by the Church shortly after the establishment of the Mormon colony in Laie in 1865, and remained directly under the supervision of the Church until 1928,

at which time it was placed under the control of the Department of Public Instruction of the Territory of Hawaii (Bock, 1941, pp. 22, 73). In the past it has been the policy on the mainland for the Church to establish an elementary school in each new community, and later to relinquish control to the various state school systems (Bailey, 1955, p. 259). Laie has thus conformed to this pattern.

In predominantly Mormon communities on the mainland, practically all teachers in the public schools are Mormons; the school board which is made up of Mormons tends to hire Mormon teachers (Bailey, 1955, p. 263). The situation is similar in Laie, and all teachers at Laie elementary school are Mormons. As of 1955 there were no Samoan teachers at the Laie School. A qualified Samoan who had applied for a teaching position in Laie was instead sent to Kahuku, while a Hawaiian was named to fill the Laie position. Apparently the Church exerts considerable influence in the administration of the Laie School, and thus the children attending this school tend to be shielded from various non-Mormon influences that would exist in any other public school.

Upon completion of their six years at Laie School, children normally continue their education at Kahuku School. This school has grades from kindergarten through the twelfth grade, and in 1955 had 900 students and 36 staff members (Territory of Hawaii, 1955, p. 40). Four of these teachers at Kahuku were from Laie, and one was a Samoan. Twenty-nine students transferred from Laie in 1955, entering the seventh grade at Kahuku. Seven of these students were Samoans.

One of the Kahuku teachers, well acquainted with the Laie situation, said that children from Laie are functioning in and reacting to two different situations, viz., Mormon and non-Mormon. At Kahuku they

are noted for not volunteering for anything. They are reluctant to recite or answer any question orally. These same children will volunteer for various duties in the Church, and will stand up in front of a congregation of more than 200 to deliver a prayer or a talk. Laie children have the reputation of being belligerent and causing fights at Kahuku School. However, in Laie village they are usually well-mannered.

According to another teacher at Kahuku, Laie children are notorious for getting poor grades. He states that the reason for this among Hawaiians is that they are lazy and indifferent. With the Samoans, on the other hand, the main reason is the language problem. Were school taught in the Samoan language it is probable that the Samoans would make a better showing. They are reportedly very poor in literature and English, but they are very good in common sense and logic and are superior in mathematics.

Until his twelfth year the Laie Samoan child is socialized to a great extent in Mormon culture. This socialization, which includes formal education, is for the most part limited to the type of Mormon culture found in the village of Laie, and tends to isolate the child from what are considered by Mormons to be disrupting influences of the outside world. However, during his teens, with attendance at school and other activities outside of Laie, he is exposed for the first time to intensive non-Mormon influences, some of which conflict with his earlier training. The difficulties faced by Laie Mormon children in adjusting to a new social environment at Kahuku School regardless of their ethnic background, indicates that conflicts may arise more

because the children are Mormons than the fact of their being Hawaiian or Samoan. On the other hand, ethnic background may account for the difference in reported scholastic performance of the two groups. The Samoan attitude that education is an asset to economic advancement may account for the relative superiority of Samoans in such subjects as mathematics.

CHAPTER V

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Prewar And Postwar Samoan Migrants In Laie

Before their arrival in Laie very few prewar Samoan migrants had been regularly employed for wages in Samoa. Most of them had no desire to forego the security they possessed in the aboriginal subsistence economy, and their migration to Laie was the result of religious motivation. Although most of these migrants originally intended to reside only temporarily in Laie, some saw advantages in working for wages and decided to remain. Security in Laie was provided by the Church's interest in the economic welfare of its members and by the villagers' cooperativeness. As time passed, Church supervision of Laiens became less paternal, and prewar Samoans were gradually compelled to work out their own adjustment to their new situation of relative economic independence. As they acquired more experience in various occupations many of these Samoans were advanced to more remunerative positions. Eventually their attitudes were modified to the point where they considered the sharing of economic gains as required by the matai system to be an infringement on their now more highly valued economic independence. During the two decades immediately preceding World War II the economic situation in Laie changed slowly enough that Samoans living in the community during that period had sufficient time to become adjusted to each new condition. Though employment was not readily available to Samoans in Hawaii at that time, there was at least greater opportunity for economic advancement in these terms in Hawaii than in Samoa.

Postwar Samoan migrants to Laie, on the other hand, have undergone an entirely different experience. Prior to World War II the economy of most of Samoa had remained basically unchanged for centuries, and the influence of capitalism in the form of jobs for wages in the Pago Pago area was minor. With the advent of the war in the Pacific, the economy of Samoa was drastically changed in a very short period of time. Within a few years practically every Samoan family, regardless of where it lived in the archipelago, included at least one wage earner. Samoans soon developed a dependence on a money economy. The postwar withdrawal of military and naval forces, the main source of money income, introduced a new condition of economic insecurity which was aggravated by a phenomenal increase in population with a consequent land shortage. Some Samoans tried to overcome this loss of economic security of the kind they had become accustomed to during the war by seeking it elsewhere. Those who migrated to Laie have apparently not found what they wanted. Limited job opportunities in the Laie area are a disappointment, and since a primary motivation to leave Samoa was to seek wage employment, postwar migrants remain dissatisfied.

At present, postwar Samoans retain favorable attitudes toward the matai system because they have not as yet experienced in a non-Samoan setting the personal independence derived from a well-paying job. They left their homeland in order to participate in a prosperous capitalistic economy like the one they had been introduced to in wartime Samoa, and, in contrast to prewar Samoan migrants, they apparently find the small, conservative community of Laie with its rural atmosphere not progressive enough. The problem of the postwar Samoan migrants in Laie is, therefore, that economically they have achieved somewhat less than they had

expected. They have attempted to solve this problem by leaving Laie for areas that offer greater promise, such as the more urbanized areas in Hawaii and on the mainland. They have not returned to Samoa when disappointed by their Laie experience.

The prewar Samoans, who were motivated primarily by religious reasons to come to Laie, experienced no particular disappointment in the economic situation they found, but rather were able to adjust their attitudes slowly as the conditions changed with the years. To some extent they have remained more conservative than those Samoans who came after the war, for the prewar migrants are basically satisfied with their life in a rural community.

However, from the social and religious point of view, residence in Laie is just as advantageous to the postwar migrants as it has been to those who came earlier. In Laie the great step from Samoan to American culture is bridged by a social and religious environment that lies somewhere in between. Samoans arriving in Laie find a community in which their Samoan customs are acceptable during the time they familiarise themselves with the non-Samoan cultural elements on the Laie scene. Almost immediately a Samoan can become a fully participating member in community activities. And what is of greater importance, Samoans find in Laie an integration of religious and social aspects of life that may be less than in Samoa, but is certainly more than in urban America.

The case of the prewar Samoan migrants illustrates the fact that a gradual rather than an abrupt indoctrination into an alien culture results in a better adjustment to the new situation. Thus, under the conditions described, residence in Laie may be expected to continue to

function well as a transitional experience for those who come from Samoa with intentions to enter urban life in Hawaii or on the mainland. While in Laie the Samoan newcomer is surrounded by much that is familiar to him, and may thus continue to behave generally as he did in Samoa while at the same time he is afforded the opportunity to become oriented toward the American way of life.

Comparison With Samoans In New Zealand

If there are patterns of cultural phenomena, then similar series of circumstances should result in similar concluding events. Such appears to be the case in the analogous situations of Samoans coming from American Samoa to Laie and Samoans going from Western Samoa, a United Nations Trust Territory under New Zealand administration, to that country. Samoans from Western Samoa, who for several decades have been oriented toward New Zealand, have been the subject of investigation, along with other Pacific islanders, by R. L. Challis (1953, 1955). Though the two studies by Challis and the writer were made independently, research among Samoans in New Zealand and Laie has resulted in similar conclusions concerning certain aspects of Samoan acculturation outside of Samoa.

The postwar economic crisis in American Samoa was paralleled in Western Samoa by a serious economic recession that reached a climax in 1951. As in American Samoa, available land in Western Samoa was becoming scarce owing to population increases (1953, pp. 2, 3-4; 1955, pp. 11, 2). Thus many Western Samoans, faced with the same problems as their neighbors, chose to solve these problems in a similar manner, viz., emigration to some center of capitalistic economy. Within

three years after 1951 the Samoan population in New Zealand had increased 57.7 per cent, from 2,265 to 3,571 (1955, p. 2). Before 1951 Samoans who went to New Zealand were those who originated primarily from the urbanized Apia area. After that time, however, many more Samoans came from outlying rural areas (1955, p. 3).

Samoans have migrated to New Zealand because of the greater opportunities to achieve economic security by means of wage employment. The largest Samoan settlement in New Zealand is in Auckland, and an important factor in attracting Samoans to this city rather than to other urban areas in New Zealand is the more congenial climate (1955, p. 9). Many Samoans have received the fare for their passage from Samoans already living in New Zealand (1955, p. 5). Upon arrival in New Zealand most Samoans move in with friends and relatives and, as in Laie, remain with them until they are able to establish independent households (1953, p. 7). Newly arrived Samoans tend to change residence and job much more frequently than those who have been established in the country for some time (1955, p. 11).

It is noted that Samoans unaccustomed to steady work day after day may find the adjustment more difficult, but because the Samoan in New Zealand has no land to return to should he decide to leave his employment, he is forced to realize the importance of holding his job (1953, p. 12; 1955, p. 20). The Samoans in New Zealand tend to avoid agricultural work and choose employment in industry (1955, p. 6). Contrary to popular opinion among New Zealanders, Samoans have shown that they are not lazy but are good workers, their employers often favoring them over the Maoris (1955, pp. 7, 12).

Each of the above observations illustrates similarities in the experiences undergone by Samoans residing in two different areas, viz., New Zealand and Laie, both of which have forms of Euroamerican culture with a capitalistic economy. The fact that New Zealand and Hawaii aboriginally were both areas of Eastern Polynesian culture carries the analogy even further. The Maori of New Zealand is analogous in many respects to the Hawaiian. Like the Hawaiian, the Maori realizes that there is a cultural connection between him and the Samoan, but nevertheless he seems to stress the differences between himself and the Samoan and does not easily interact with Samoans. There has been very little intermarriage between Maori and Samoan (1953, p. 13).

It is appropriate to mention here that from time to time Mormon Maoris from New Zealand have gone to Laie to do Temple work, and some have lived there for months. On several occasions Hawaiians have expressed to the writer favorable attitudes toward the Maori in contrast to the generally unfavorable ones they hold toward the Samoan. They say that the Maori is more like the Hawaiian in language and culture, and that for this reason members of these two groups are always quite friendly. The similarities between Hawaiian and Maori and the differences between these two groups and the Samoan will be discussed in more detail below.

Conclusions

The most important conclusions arrived at by the writer as a result of the study of the Laie Samoans are the following: when similar attitudes are held by members of both acculturating and donor groups in aspects of culture that involve interaction of both groups

and which are considered to be important by members of either group, then tension and conflict between the two groups are minimized; in other areas of culture, which either are considered to be unimportant or do not involve interaction between members of the two groups, there is no pressure on the acculturating group to make the change, and tension and conflict are avoided.

If acculturation is considered to be the process whereby the members of one society tend to assume the cultural patterns of another society, it can be readily understood that the more similarity between the cultures of the two societies at the beginning of the process the less difficult it will be for the acculturating group to approximate the other. Similarities provide points of common reference whereby members of both groups may achieve some mutual understanding.

However, previous cultural parallelism will probably have taken place in only a few aspects of the two cultures concerned, and the relative importance of these aspects then plays a crucial role in the success or failure of the acculturation process. Because the Samoans of Laie have evinced a greater interest and ability in economic matters than the Hawaiians, and since both have a Polynesian cultural background, it might be claimed that the Samoans have become more readily acculturated in the economic aspect than have the Hawaiians. However, there are fallacies in this reasoning. It has been clearly demonstrated by others that at least two types of Polynesian culture which differed considerably in many aspects existed in aboriginal times. Western Polynesian includes Samoan, while Eastern Polynesian includes Hawaiian and New Zealand Maori (Burrows, 1938, passim). Also, in dealing with problems of culture contact, the observed similarities between two cultures, e.g., Samoan

and American, are not necessarily the result of acculturation. According to Buck, "The business methods acquired in dealing with Fijians affected the psychology of the western Polynesians, for cloak it with ceremony as they may, they have a keenness to acquire goods and a hard commercial instinct that is absent in the rest of Polynesia" (Buck, 1938, p. 311). Thus it might be said that the Samoans aboriginally developed values approximating the American value of business acumen more than did the Hawaiians, and were thus that much "further along the road of acculturation" at the beginning of contact with American culture. Rather than having to develop new attitudes, the aboriginal Samoans were merely stimulated in their attitudes toward wealth accumulation by the contact situation.

Though similarities may exist in the attitudes of Samoans and Americans toward the accumulation of wealth, the economic systems of these two groups differ considerably. The small village with an agrarian economy based on cooperation was the Samoan norm. The industrial urban community with an economy based on competition is the modern American pattern. Contemporary Mormon culture lies somewhere between these two extremes, and thus tends to bridge the gap for Samoan Mormons. Because aboriginal Samoan socio-economic ideas are more similar to those expressed in Mormon culture than "standard" American culture, the Mormon Samoan is introduced to this very important aspect of American culture in a less abrupt way than is the non-Mormon Samoan.

Religion assumes an important role in the daily life of Samoans of all faiths, and has been well integrated with the socio-economic aspects of modern Samoan culture. On the contrary, in most of the Euroamerican scene except for a minor segment represented by Mormonism and other relatively small sects, religion has been relegated to a minor role and

has been set apart from normal socio-economic activity (Bailey, 1955, pp. 51, 74-76, 85, 124-125; Williams, 1952, pp. 339-341). As the result of various missionary programs in Samoa in which restrictions on social behavior have been stressed, Samoans have become acculturated to a brand of Christianity that is not typical of Americans in the United States. Though there is some difference between Mormonism in Hawaii and Mormonism in Samoa, probably it is not of a degree ordinarily found between a religious group in the United States and its corresponding mission in the South Pacific. Most Mormon attitudes toward the role of religion in society agree with those of Samoans whether they are Mormons or not. The Mormon Samoan who has migrated to Laie can keep intact many of the stabilizing ideals of his religious frame of orientation at a time when he needs them most, i.e., during the period of adaptation to an alien environment. Challis has pointed out that a major cause of difficulties in the adjustment of Samoans to life in New Zealand is the entirely new religious atmosphere with which they are confronted. The incidence of Mormonism among New Zealanders and among Samoans who go to New Zealand is very low. In New Zealand religion does not pervade other spheres of activity as it does in Samoa, and Samoans find both the religious services and the people attending them difficult to understand (Challis, 1953, p. 11).

Since religion is important in the lives of Samoans, and in the Laie situation involves interaction between them and Mormon-Americans, and since members of both these groups have similar attitudes in this aspect of culture, there is little opportunity for conflict to arise. In a like manner, because wealth accumulation is important in the lives of Americans, both Mormon and non-Mormon, and involves interaction

between Americans and Samoans, and because members of these two groups agree in their attitudes toward wealth accumulation, there is likely to be little conflict.

Another aspect of culture that is of utmost importance to Samoans is the preparation and consumption of food. Their types of food, their techniques of preparation, and their attitudes toward eating are very different from those found in Euroamerican culture and, for that matter, are also distinct from those in Hawaiian culture. However, even though these traits continue to play an important role in the daily lives of Laie Samoans, they do not result in conflict during the acculturation process because interaction between Samoans and non-Samoans is not ordinarily involved in this activity.

It is a popular assumption that the goal of an acculturating people should be complete assimilation. Assimilation has been defined as "an essentially unilateral approximation of one culture in the direction of the other" (Social Science Research Council Seminar, 1954, p. 988). However, Laie Samoans, particularly those of prewar origin, apparently have achieved a satisfactory adjustment to their new social environment without having become completely assimilated. Since they can retain much of their Samoan culture without tension in Laie, they have no need to make many of the radical changes that have to so often be made by immigrants in order to adapt themselves to new conditions.

Another factor preventing complete assimilation is the Samoan attitude toward American and Samoan cultures. The Samoan in Laie is never apologetic about Samoan culture (whereas the Hawaiians often make derogatory remarks about their own way of life). Some Samoans have the philosophical attitude that Samoan culture is best for Samoa and that

American culture is best for America, but no Samoan was ever heard to say that American culture was most advantageous for Samoa. The writer never observed any Laie Samoan, adult or child, male or female, who gave evidence of having what could be interpreted in Euroamerican terms as an inferiority complex. Laie Samoans lack the desire to become completely assimilated.

Furthermore, Samoans in Samoa have a long history of selective cultural borrowing, i.e., for the most part they have had the choice of accepting or rejecting Euroamerican cultural traits that have been presented to them in the past. Though at present Laie Samoans are in a different situation in which there is somewhat more coercion to make them conform to certain Euroamerican cultural ideals, they still exhibit an independent attitude with regard to adopting new culture traits.

It is, moreover, doubtful that members of any non-Euroamerican society can become fully acculturated within less than several generations when the conservative influence of the parental generation persists. The socialization of the child has a strong effect on the development of adult attitudes which in many cases can hardly be eradicated in later life. Second-generation Samoan children in Laie are being introduced to many Samoan cultural patterns by their parents, but unlike their parents they are also being exposed to considerably more Mormon-American culture in the schools. Thus, according to the writer's observations in Laie, second-generation Samoans culturally resemble Mormon-Americans more than their parents do, but they still remain identifiable as Samoans, i.e., they have not been completely assimilated to Mormon-American culture.

Even if the Samoans had the motivation, it is probable that they could not become fully assimilated into contemporary American society. In many areas of Euroamerican culture non-Caucasians are prevented from full participation by discriminatory barriers of race or color. Since these barriers are based on physical characteristics, no amount of cultural adaptation will make the non-Caucasian a full-fledged participant in the culture until these attitudes held by members of the donor group have changed. The Samoans have experienced discrimination in varying degrees in Laie, in the mainland United States, and in New Zealand (cf. Challis, 1953, p. 13). Normal social interaction based on a completely mutual acceptance of the interacting parties is thus hindered by the discriminatory attitudes of members of the dominant group as well as by the reactional attitudes of the Samoans. Samoans living in Laie have again a special advantage. The Samoans of the village have been given equal opportunity for recognition and advancement in the Church organization of the village, and since religion is one of the more important aspects of community life in Laie in which the major part of the community is also non-Caucasian, the degree of discrimination there is not as detrimental to Samoans as it is in other areas.

Thus it can be seen that in Laie conditions are favorable for the gradual adjustment of the Mormon Samoan to the American way of life. The conditions described in this thesis prevailed in 1955. A new era has been inaugurated in Laie by the establishment of the Church College of Hawaii in the village, and the pre-College conditions will undoubtedly undergo appreciable change.

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULE ITEMS

A. Personal History

1. Name
2. Sex
3. Place of birth
4. Age
5. Ethnic Group
6. Date of arrival in Laie
7. Previous place of residence
8. Other places of residence
9. Who is head of your household?
10. What is your relationship to the head of your household?
11. How many members are there in your household?
12. Of what ethnic group is your spouse?

B. Religion

1. To what religion do you belong?
2. Are you a convert?
3. If so, where were you converted?
4. If so, when were you converted?
5. How regular is your church attendance?
6. What is your favorite church meeting?
7. Why?
8. Which church meeting do you like second best? Why?
9. Which church meeting do you like least? Why?
10. Do you attend meetings of the other ward?

11. Have you been in the Temple?
12. Have you been to Salt Lake City?
13. Have you non-Mormon friends?
14. If so, what are their nationalities?
15. What is your opinion of other religions?
16. What do you like most about the Mormon religion?
17. What would be your reaction to someone in your immediate family marrying outside the Church?
18. What would be your reaction to someone in your immediate family marrying someone who is not of your ethnic group?
19. What Church offices do you hold?

C. Samoa And Hawaii

1. What was your reason for coming to Hawaii?
2. Do you plan to return to Samoa?
3. In which area, Hawaii or Samoa, do you believe Mormonism is better?
Why?
4. What do you like most about Hawaii?
5. What do you like least about Hawaii?
6. Are you a matai?
7. What is your opinion of the matai system?
8. Where do you think that people work harder, in Hawaii or in Samoa?
9. In which area were you more satisfied with your personal economic situation, Hawaii or Samoa?
10. Do you believe that children enjoy themselves more in Hawaii or in Samoa?
11. Do you belong to the Samoan Civic Association?
12. What language is usually spoken at home?

D. Children

1. How many children do you have?
2. What is the age and sex of each of your children?
3. Where do you find that it is more difficult to raise children, in Hawaii or in Samoa?
4. Who reprimands the children in your household?
5. For what reasons are the children in your household reprimanded?
6. How often are the children in your household reprimanded?
7. What method of chastisement is employed in your household?
8. What is your opinion of the Samoan method by which children show respect for adults?
9. Do the children in your household employ the Samoan method of showing respect for adults?
10. What kind of marks do the children in your household get in school?
11. How many days of school did the children in your household miss last semester?
12. Who signs the report cards for the children in your household?
13. How much education have you had?
14. How much education do you think children should have?
15. Are you a member of the P. T. A.?
16. What is your opinion of the Church College of Hawaii?
17. What kind of jobs do you think the children in your household should get?
18. Would you expect your children to take care of you when you are old?
19. How many children do you think parents should have?

E. Laie Community

1. Whom would you ask to help settle a dispute that you had with a neighbor?
2. With what persons in Laie are you most friendly?
3. With what persons in Laie are you least friendly?
4. What person in Laie do you admire most?
5. What is your opinion of the Hawaiians? (Samoans?)
6. Why are you living in Laie?
7. Do you plan to live in Laie for the rest of your life?
8. Who is your best friend?
9. For what reason do you go out of Laie?
10. How often do you go out of Laie?
11. Whom do you consider to be the most successful person in Laie?
12. Why?

F. Economy

1. What is your present occupation?
2. What was your occupation in Samoa?
3. What sources of income does this household now have?
4. What is the total income of this household?
5. What kind of occupation would you like to have?
6. Do you do any farming?
7. If so, what product do you raise?
8. How much of this product do you raise?
9. Do you sell any of your produce?
10. Do you do any fishing?
11. Do you sell any fish?

12. Do you gather limu?
13. Did you gather limu in Samoa?
14. Who is in charge of the family money?
15. Have you ever bought anything on the installment plan?
16. What is your opinion of the Territorial Welfare program?
17. What is your opinion of the Church Welfare program?

G. Conditions Of Interview

1. Date of interview
2. Time of interview
3. Place of interview
4. People present during interview
5. Condition of informant (clothing, etc.)
6. Condition of house (neatness, etc.)
7. Type of furnishings
8. Activity during interview
9. Respondent's ability in English
10. Attitude of informant toward interview

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