

Values in Migrant Sāmoan Parenting

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### **Abstract**

In the United States, one in four children is raised with at least one immigrant parent (Migration Policy Institute, 2016). Children of immigrant families inhabit developmental niches and experience activity settings that are meaningfully different from their local and native peers (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993; García Coll & Marks, 2009; Super & Harkness, 1986). One feature underlying this difference is that of cultural values— trans-situational, affect-laden beliefs concerning desired goals that can motivate action (Schwartz, 2006). Little is understood regarding how children of immigrants develop a value system amid multiple, sometimes competing value systems.

In this study, one large immigrant community to Hawai'i—families from Independent Sāmoa and American Sāmoa – are examined using ethnographic methods to understand the role migrant Sāmoan parents have in their children's value development. The study sketched a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the cultural values parents want their children to learn. Data came from participant observations in the field and four parent interviews revealing that migrant Sāmoan parents want their children to learn 1) how to be Sāmoan, 2) the primacy of family, and 3) the importance of looking to role models for learning. Interviewees reported that the value of being Sāmoan in a Hawai'i context was mainly organized around language use and participation in Sāmoan traditions. For interviewees, the central components of the value of family were family support, family time, and use of respect scripts in deference to family members. And finally, the value for role modeling was observed and then validated by confirmatory interviews.

## **Introduction**

Underlying the decisions we make and the actions we take are our values. Our values guide us to what is right and avoid what is wrong; they help us to construct specific goals and motivate behaviors towards achieving them; and they allow us to uniquely identify ourselves and create communities of common ground. Values are at once universal experiences and yet they are differentiated by cultural group. Given the ongoing process that values enact in our daily lives, psychological science has lent considerable attention to the question of what values are and how values develop. Despite this attention, the science is in its early stages as paradigms shift, and it contains gaps in information that warrant inquiry. Centrally, much of our understanding of normative value development has been built on the assumption that parents are singularly involved in the value development of their children, and these data have been derived and informed by inquiry within singular cultural groups-- generally Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) cultures [see Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, (2010)]. WEIRD monocultural thought has textured current research with specific expectations about what specific values are and how they should develop within one value system leaving other possible processes unexplored. With increasing cultural mixing and forces of globalization, like that of growing rates of immigration, people have been often exposed to more than one cultural group offering more than one value system (Greenfield, 2018). This presents a unique developmental challenge: maturing with more than one cultural value system from which to choose to adopt specific values. Thus, one key thematic question that bears more attention is: how do children's values develop in the face of more than one value system? In the following thesis, I have aimed to take one incremental step towards locating initial answers to this large

question through focus on the value development of children of Sāmoan migrants to O’ahu, Hawai’i.

### **Defining What Values Are**

First, it is important to identify what is meant by the word “values” and review what is known about their development. Efforts to define what values are and exactly how they develop have been accomplished by numerous separate literatures and thus has been difficult to satisfyingly elucidate. Most of the work in defining what values are have come from the personality and social psychology traditions, in which the major preoccupation has been with establishing a taxonomy of the types of possible values and understanding how each value type might be prioritized against one another (Cieciuch, Schwartz, & Davidov, 2015; Oyserman, 2015; Rohan, 2000). There have been several working definitions of values that different psychologists of different traditions have recognized (Rohan, 2000). Values have been considered many things including facets of personality (Allport & Vernon, 1931) and representations of the mind (Rokeach, 1973; Oyserman, 2015). Acknowledging this diverse set of definitions, Clyde Kluckhohn (1951) stated:

Reading the voluminous, and often vague and diffuse literature on the subject in the various fields of learning, one finds values considered as attitudes, motivations, objects, measurable quantities, substantive areas of behavior, affect-laden customs or traditions, and relationships such as those between individuals, groups, objects, events (p. 390).

Social psychologist Shalom Schwartz, in recognizing the varied efforts of past research to conceptualize values, determined five key themes of their definitions which suggested that values:

(1) are beliefs linked to emotions; (2) refer to desirable goals that motivate action; (3) transcend specific actions and situations; (4) serve as standards for evaluating actions, policies, people, and events; and (5) form a relatively enduring hierarchical system ordered by importance. (Schwartz, 2006 as summarized in Cieciuch, Schwartz, & Davidov, 2015)

Given the lack of formal consensus on a definition, I adopted this set of five key themes as defining features referring to values; recognizing that they are trans-situational, affect-connected beliefs, the content of which concerns desired goals that can motivate action and serve as criterion for evaluation of many different domains. These beliefs are often prioritized against one another in a stable order. An additional key dimension of note missing from Schwartz's (2006) (yet later acknowledged in Schwartz (2011)) summary of definitions was that values exist at both individual and group levels (Oyserman, 2015). Cultural groups can construct and maintain shared beliefs concerning ideal goals and behaviors. For this thesis, I was primarily concerned with the values individuals derive from their cultural group membership.

This sense of the values construct has been examined in various ways. Values have been studied: (1) quantitatively as a continuum based on a set of statements endorsed on surveys or questionnaires (Glazer et al., 2018; Wu et al., 2018); (2) qualitatively in a top-down manner with researchers imposing an expectation of value types on semi-structured interviews (Mercado & Trumbull, 2018); and (3) qualitatively in a bottom-up manner in which values are inferred as part and parcel of the daily lived experience through ethnographic observations and interviews (Tovote & Maynard, 2018).

Given the lack of a formal definition, it is unsurprising that there are numerous methods of value measurement. Different types of inquiry of the construct have lent themselves to different measurement techniques. As will be discussed in this thesis, I chose not to deploy any

one value survey, but rather I chose to openly ask participants to nominate values important to them that they derive from their cultural group in order to construct a bottom-up description of the content and hierarchy of values recognized by the participants. Put another way, I aimed to sketch a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the values of my participants, given their unique position in inhabiting multiple cultural systems as is consistent with my type of inquiry and project aims.

### **Value Development: Theoretical Considerations**

What do we know about value development? In a separate extensive literature, the development of values in children has been studied most predominantly by researchers of socialization. Traditionally, socialization was thought of as a unidirectional process—from parent to child—of transmitting social thought, cultural ideals, and values to be internalized. It was presumed that children were born into a world of predetermined systems of meanings and parents were charged with ensuring that these were passed down to them successfully. To this end, research focused on effective methods for parents to transmit values to their children. To review this entire literature is beyond the purposes of this thesis, but a brief review of theory development is included here, derived mainly from Grusec (1997).

Grusec (1997) shared that much of early socialization science was informed by John Locke's notion that the child's mind is *tabula rasa*, a blank slate, referring to the idea that humans are born without innate knowledge and all that they are and all that they know is accumulated through nurture and external experience. Thus, if children are born without knowledge content and the external world is saturated with the very knowledge they need, then it is unsurprising that the bulk of early socialization literature focused on parent discipline

strategies as the transmission medium through which children learned from the environment what they should. Early learning theorists applied lessons from stimulus-response learning and fear conditioning to understand discipline strategies. For example, it was proposed that a specific punishment schedule of deviant acts would produce a reasonable and sufficient conditioned fear response or anxiety thus discouraging such acts and regulating preferred behaviors (Mowrer, 1960). These ideas were elaborated upon for the next few decades including such concepts as permissive/restrictive parenting styles (Sears et al., 1957), parental warmth (Hoffman, 1970; see Grusec & Lytton, 1988 for a review), and modeling/observational learning (Bandura, 1986).

With the exception of Bandura's (1986) account of behavior change and values acquisition in children, the above-mentioned socialization literature was foundationed on the assumption that children passively receive and accept their parents' values as they are transmitted, contrary to constructivist accounts of child-constructed knowledge. Kohn (1983) was among the earliest to identify that socialization science assumed parent/child value similarity and had sparing empirical evidence to support such a claim—a gap that could be accounted for by a secondary directional force of child agency in value acquisition. The 1980s and '90s can be characterized by a paradigmatic shift towards parent-child bidirectionality in value acquisition that has been productive. Maccoby and Martin's (1983) classic review asserted the need to recognize that behaviors of parents and their children give rise to “cycles of recursive causality” (Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997, p. 24). This bidirectionality informed how I have decided to conceptualize the role of parents in the value development of their children as I interview them—as agents involved in an interaction or transaction of values knowledge, rather than the originator of knowledge that is passively absorbed.

In addition to bidirectionality, the surrounding environmental context has been a theoretically salient dimension of consideration in value development. Ask parents what good parenting entails and you will receive a spectrum of different, valid answers. This is because parents are raising children in different local environments informed by different cultural structures with different goals in mind as to their child's developed competencies. Super and Harkness (1986) provided a theoretically useful framework for thinking about the variations in these different environments, which they call developmental niches. The developmental niche is composed of:

(1) the physical and social settings in which the child lives; (2) culturally regulated customs of child care and rearing; and (3) the psychology of the caretakers," (Super & Harkness, 1986, p. 552).

Component 1 acknowledges that the physical and social environment of a child delimits what competencies are or are not possible for a child or the pace at which they may develop that competency. For example, the availability of chairs in the physical environment of the home affects the percent of time an infant spends sitting in a caregiver's lap rather than lying down, which predicts how quickly that infant will learn to sit up independently (Super, 1981 as cited in Super & Harkness, 1986). While sitting up independently is a universal skill in typically developing children, the available space to practice this skill will certainly affect how quickly it is acquired. Further, the presence of threats/danger in the physical environment will affect how parents adapt certain caregiving strategies, like how closely they watch over a child throughout a day.

Component 2 recognizes that parenting occurs within a system of meaning that implicitly endows parents with specific care strategies. These endowed behaviors, "customs," are



commonplace activities that are given little explicit thought because they are regarded by cultural-insiders as normal or natural. Super and Harkness (1986) provided the example of differing infant-carrying traditions. Whether in arm, or on a parent's back, tied with cloth, different carrying techniques have different consequences for the developing child, like their "pattern of visual experience, social interaction, and physical exercise" (p. 555).

Component 3 captures the final form of variation in this interactive system, the contribution of the psychology of the caregiver. While parents are implicitly informed about caregiving strategies from affordances of the physical/social environment and customs from the greater surrounding culture, there are still individual parent differences at play. One aspect of these individual differences is known as parents' cultural belief system or parental ethnotheory (Harkness & Super, 2006; 1996). Informed by D'Andrade & Strauss (1992) and Quinn & Holland (1987)'s sense of "cultural models", "parental ethnotheories are cultural models that parents hold regarding children, families, and themselves as parents" (Harkness & Super, 2006, 62). Said another way, parental ethnotheories are caregivers' organized thoughts and beliefs about parenting, parent-child relationships, and family dynamics that are also shared by other cultural-insiders. Taken together, the three components of the developmental niche helped me to situate parenting and child development within its greater context for a more accurate understanding of value development. In particular, each component details the type of data I collected.

Thus far, I have reviewed evolving theoretical ideas surrounding value development at the level of the individual, but value development and change has also been examined at the level of cultural groups. Greenfield (2009) reviewed robust empirical evidence supporting her

theory of social change, cultural evolution and human development that possessed macro-level implications for this study. Greenfield's theory of social change acknowledged that the dominant direction of social change is from *Gemeinschaft* small scale, rural, folk communities to *Gesellschaft* large scale, urban societies (Tönnies, 1957, as cited in Greenfield, 2009). As societies' sociodemographic character shifts so too do the cultural values that are adapted to that environment-- from collectivistic values to individualistic values. This movement in cultural values thus perpetuate further change in specific, local learning environments, and further implicate change in the specific pathways of human development that adapt to those local learning environments. Recognizing that my study concerns immigrants who have presumably made the move from *Gemeinschaft* communities to a more *Gesellschaft* society, I anticipated some movement in their values and their adaptations of those values in their local learning environments.

### **Value Development: Empirical Findings in the United States**

Acknowledging this theoretical history, a rich understanding of the diversity of child socialization values and goals in the United States has been investigated. For most White/European-heritage Americans in the last half of the 20th century into the 21st century, the uniquely organizing theme of child socialization has been one of "concerted cultivation" (Lareau, 2011) especially that of self-esteem (Miller & Cho, 2018). "Concerted cultivation", according to Lareau, refers to a parenting strategy that "actively fosters and assesses [a] child's talents, opinion, and skills" and has been contrasted against a strategy she called the "accomplishment of natural growth" in which parents "care for [a] child and [allow the child] to grow" without major intervention (Lareau, 2011, p. 31). While Lareau (2011) focused on the

cultivation of skills in her ethnographic study of 88 families in a northeastern metropolitan area and outlying suburban areas, Miller & Cho (2018) presented the underlying cultural value that motivates such behavior-- the cultivation of high self-esteem-- with their ethnographic study of 70 families in a Midwestern college town. Taken together, these ethnographies paint a picture of the idealized (and for some families actualized) child-rearing environment in which children are encouraged to speak up, to self-express, and to explore and build skills in leisure activities like sports or music; all for the sake of growing and maintaining a strong, positive sense of self.

For Black/African Americans, the uniquely organizing theme of child socialization has been one of racial socialization and educational attainment to overcome racial barriers. In an interview study of Black mothers, Suizzo and colleagues (2008) found that for these parents, teaching their children what it means to be Black and to know the history of shared struggle from slavery and Jim Crow was of utmost importance. Black parents also reported valuing educational attainment as a means of overcoming modern day racism and believed that active parental intervention and constant communication with educators was thus an essential practice to uphold this value.

For Latinx families in the United States, *respeto*, *educación*, and *familismo* have been central values (Halgunseth et al., 2006). *Respeto* refers to a constellation of verbal and nonverbal behaviors that confer esteem and well-regard for others in order to maintain harmony in interpersonal relationships. Importantly, the respect is conferred upon every member of the family for the unique role they inhabit. *Educación* refers not to educational attainment in the academic sense, but rather to a comprehensive understanding of training moral behavior. And

finally, *familismo* refers to maintaining strong relationships with family and committing to the needs of the family above the needs of any one individual.

For Asian Americans, desired values for inculcation have been derived from Confucian thought (Kim & Wong, 2002). “Confucius taught that a person does not become a competent human being unless educated through deliberate efforts,” and of supreme importance is filial piety, a “devotion of children to the parents... showing respect and warmth” (Kim & Wong, 2002, p. 190). Taken together, these two values of deliberate education and filial piety have been reflected in specific notions of training, *chiao shun*, which have been extensively documented by Ruth Chao (1994; 1995; 2000).

### **Immigrants: Subjects of Study**

In the United States, one in four children live with at least one parent of immigrant origin (Migration Policy Institute, 2016). The literature demonstrated that for children under such conditions, distinctive pathways of development are organized in stark contrast to their peers of native-born parents. Often, these pathways have been rife with serious difficulties in education, health, economic growth, and overall adaptation to new social, cultural, and ecological surroundings (Suárez-Orozco, Abo-Zena, & Marks, 2015). With rising rates of both global and U.S. migration (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017), the imperative to attend to and understand these unique pathways grows. Burgeoning literature highlighted the variation in the pathways and characterizes distal demographic relationships to outcomes of these so-called immigrant youth -- individuals from birth to age 17 living with at least one immigrant parent. While these studies have set a strong foundation for understanding how we may set out to improve outcomes for immigrant youth,

gaps in this literature have delimited an opportunity for further research that is the focus of this thesis. One limitation is that these studies often focus on experiences of migrants from Europe, Latin America, or East Asia to the United States-- leaving out experiences of individuals coming from the Pacific Islands, a demographic reality of our local Hawai'i population that bears attention.

One of the largest cultural migrant communities to Hawai'i comes from Independent Sāmoa and American Sāmoa, and documentation of their migration experiences showed that they have experienced some of the worst health, economic, and educational outcomes (Bloombaum, 1973; Hanna & Fitzgerald, 1993; Okamura, 2008; Valdez et al., 2007) Previous research has demonstrated how differences in values and beliefs about how values should be acquired have been at the core of some of these poor social outcomes. For example, in an interview study Valdez and colleagues (2007) found that despite strongly shared values for education, Sāmoan parents' expectations for how those values should be introduced, transmitted, and reinforced differed from those of the teachers. Sāmoan parents believed teachers were wholly responsible for their children's education; teachers believed that Sāmoan parents needed to be more involved. The two stakeholder groups had different ideas about what constitutes good parenting and good teaching practices. In the United States, it has been known that parental involvement is moderately correlated with student success (Fan & Chen, 1999). One would be remiss to assume that the disinvolvement was simply due to parent disinterest or negligence. Valdez's thick description gave us important insight into why Sāmoan parents in her sample did not find typical involvement behaviors necessary to their children's education: Sāmoan parents' ethnotheory, or cultural belief system, held that teachers were experts in academic education and should therefore be wholly in charge of their children's education. This was consistent with the

way in which Sāmoan parents in the sample believed the church and church leadership were experts in moral/good citizenship education and were therefore wholly in charge of their children's moral education. Sāmoan parents in Valdez's study believed their role was in providing all the necessary resources and home structure to give a foundation for that growth, not be conduits of that growth themselves. Using this knowledge, Valdez advocated for educator strategies that involve cultural sensitivity to differing parental beliefs on good parenting practices and education; with the belief that educators can leverage this knowledge to bridge performance gaps, rather than create pejorative calls for more parental involvement.

The key strength of Valdez's account is that it illustrates an opportunity for improvement from a perspective of cultural dignity. Rather than explain parent disinvolvement under a common predicate of poor racial/ethnic relations, prejudice/discrimination, or resource access deficits, Valdez put forth a problem dignifying both cultural groups (i.e., laying out their valid expectations/ beliefs of U.S. teachers and Sāmoan parents) and suggested non-pejorative solutions for both parties. This account is one I call an account of cultural fit. Valdez's work developed a thorough description of two cultural belief systems closely related to a singular issue and described where it converged and where it diverged—how well it “fit” with one another—to discern places for improvement. It is possible that there are other places where cultural fit of the Sāmoan migrant population on O'ahu undermines performance and success. This work inspired a litany of questions concerning value development: what other beliefs and values do Sāmoan parents have regarding good parenting practices and what is good for their children? In what ways do they want these values to be taught to their children? How is this achieved in everyday life? What might this mean for cultural value development in Sāmoan children? How well do these values fit/align with the cultures of institutions like schools on O'ahu? How can we

measure the extent to which a Sāmoan family can comfortably perform and develop their values? Valdez's insights combined with an Ecocultural theoretical perspective may provide a viable avenue for locating ways to answer these questions.

### **Using Ecocultural Theory and an Activity Settings Approach**

Ecocultural Theory probes the extent to which ecological and cultural dimensions of a given environment affect an individual's experience. The theory centers around the ontological claim that ecology and culture "are mediated through the activity settings of the daily routine," (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993, p. 538). An activity setting is a discrete unit embedded within everyday life in which there is shared activity involving actions with intended goals. A parent reading to their child at bedtime would be one such activity setting among many that could happen within the daily routine of a child. Gallimore and colleagues (1993) argued compellingly that activity settings are a prime analytic unit in parsing daily life because these units are imbued with "opportunities to learn and develop through modeling, joint production, apprenticeship, and other forms of mediated social learning" (p. 538). The intersubjective experiences among actors within an activity setting can be meaningfully parsed and operationalized into several elements: 1) the personnel involved in the activity, 2) the task demands of the activity itself, 3) the scripts of acceptable linguistic and behavioral action for the situation, 4) the motive of the personnel in the activity, and 5) the principle values and beliefs invoked (Gallimore et al., 1993). It is this final imbued element, "principle values and beliefs invoked", which makes the Activity Settings Approach such a compelling and tenable method for measuring cultural values.

How would one go about embarking on such an investigation? How would one measure an activity setting? Thomas Weisner (1997) provided the answer: Ethnography. Ethnography is a set of mixed social science methods that attend to social interactions and practices. By virtue of its attention to the daily life experiences of the individual, ethnography is the perfect methodological foundation for embarking on an ecocultural investigation. Unlike many of the survey-based methods that constitute the majority of migration and values literature today, ethnographic methods retain the ability to identify and organize contextual elements while keeping intact the complex relations that imbue meaning to these elements. Further, it grounds data which can map onto previously developed constructs like acculturation and acculturative stress in meaningful and identifiable life experiences.

### **Present Study Aim and Central Question**

Taken together, my study aimed to explore elements of the dynamic process of child value development as it pertains to the navigation of multiple value systems within the understudied population of Sāmoan migrants to O’ahu, Hawai’i. My central research question was: Given that there are multiple cultural value systems available, what cultural values do Sāmoan parents believe are important for their children to learn?



## Method

To appropriately address the study aim and research question, I conducted ethnographic semi-structured interviews and participant observations. In the section that follows, I discuss the participants included in the study sample, the design and method of data collection, and the details of my analytic framework and how analysis progressed throughout the study.

### Participants

Participants in the study sample ethnically identified as Sāmoan and lived on O’ahu, Hawai’i. Four participants comprised the sample-- two migrant Sāmoan mothers (ages 34 and 47 years), one migrant Sāmoan grandfather (age 61), and one local<sup>1</sup> Sāmoan mother (age 25). All participants were given pseudonyms for the purposes of reporting. Teuila, the 34 year-old migrant Sāmoan mother has four children (ages 17, 10, 7, and 2 years). Sina, the 47 year-old migrant Sāmoan mother has five children (ages 19, 19, 16, 13, and 11). Mataio, the 61 year-old grandfather has 3 children (ages 25, 24, and 20). And finally, Moana, the 25 year-old daughter of Mataio, has two children (ages 4 and 1). Teuila and Sina both resided just west of urban Honolulu, and Mataio and Moana cohabitated in a multigenerational family home just south of Laie, located on the north shore of the island. Teuila, Sina, and Mataio were all interviewed before I organized data and wrote up preliminary results. Moana read those preliminary results and was interviewed providing a confirmatory account -- detailing where my written results converged or diverged from her experience. Discrepancies in my written account and Moana’s experiences were minimal and were resolved through discussion.

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<sup>1</sup> Broadly, “local” refers to an identity adopted by individuals born and raised in Hawai’i. This identity refers to a unique set of norms, values, and behaviors and sets these individuals apart from Hawaiians/Native Hawaiians. See Okamura (1980) for a review of this identity.

## **Sampling**

I recruited a purposive sample using a combination of flyer notices and social network snowball sampling procedures. The original inclusion criteria targeted recruitment of individuals who had migrated from Independent or American Sāmoa and had at least one child under the age of 14. Given my somewhat limited and new network connections within this community, however, the sample inclusion criteria were broadened to include any ethnically-identifying Sāmoan parents. A key informant helped initiate the snowball sampling, leveraging her long-running connections to the current community. To supplement, I posted flyers in key community gathering locations. Participants were compensated \$20 for their participation in this study.

Initially, I planned to recruit until reaching theoretical saturation, which is about a target of 20-30 participants (as estimated by Creswell & Poth, 2018). Unfortunately, a combination of factors led to low recruitment numbers in the final sample. Twenty-one eligible families were approached between Spring 2018 and Summer 2020. A majority of these families expressed initial interest in participating, but were unable to set interview times in their busy schedules. A small number of families refused to participate because they were not sure they had anything of value to contribute. In Spring 2020, in-person interviews were halted by University administration due to the risk of spreading the SARS-CoV-2 virus (which causes COVID-19 disease). In light of these difficulties, the current study was approved by the thesis committee to proceed with data analysis. The following analysis detailed ahead carefully considers that theoretical saturation was not reached.

## **Procedures**

The procedures included an introduction to the field to become immersed in the study population and the development of interview questions and observation protocols.

### ***Introduction to the Field***

To make this endeavor possible, I was introduced to a key informant, Elisapeta “Peta” Alaimaleata by my advisor Professor Ashley Maynard in August 2017. Peta was the co-founder and director of Le Fetuao Sāmoan Language Center (LFSLC), a non-profit organization whose mission was to bring Sāmoan language and culture education to the youth of O’ahu. LFSLC primarily operated from West O’ahu in Waipahu and serviced dozens of first through third-generation Sāmoan children and their families in connecting them to their Sāmoan roots through weekend Sāmoan language education and cultural enrichment activity. My relationship began with Peta as a volunteer coordinator, helping to organize a symposium hosted at the University of Hawai’i on Sāmoan culture for local Sāmoan youth and their families (September 2017). I continued acting as a volunteer through several other projects affiliated with LFSLC including a summer bilingual education workshop that took place over the course of several hours on a single day (May 2018) and two summer education booster camps for children entering kindergarten that took place over the course of five hours a day for three weeks (July-August 2018 and 2019). Between these workshops and booster camps, I have also contributed to several grant writing efforts and have attended some of the weekend Sāmoan language classes that occur throughout the Fall and Spring semesters since my first engagement with Le Fetuao in Fall 2017. Throughout this process, I had become increasingly familiar with the vibrant and ever-evolving Sāmoan language and culture as well as the experiences of migrant Sāmoan families on O’ahu.

### ***Interview Question and Observation Protocol Development***

Development of the interview questions (Appendix A) was inspired by two main sources: the developmental niche of Super and Harkness (1986) and the activity settings approach of Gallimore and colleagues (1993). In particular, I took up Super and Harkness’s parental

ethnotheories idea and Weisner and colleagues' concern for the meaningfulness of a family's daily routine (constituting different activity settings) as foundational theoretical assertions for designing my interview questions.

The interview questions started with concrete questions concerning past experiences with migrating to O'ahu. This helped to ease participants into conversation about a concrete topic with which they were readily familiar and could speak about at length. This also helped to contextualize the main purpose of the interview which followed. In the next section, participants were asked to make explicit the details of their daily lived experiences—with prompts to relay as many details as possible. This concern for the daily routine was rooted in Gallimore and colleagues' (1993) theoretical assertion that cultural learning is primarily mediated by participation in cultural activities that make up the daily routine. If we are to successfully discern what values parents intend for their children to learn, then we must probe for specific details about how those values are being expressed, realized, and communicated throughout a child's day. As an intuitive example for WEIRD (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010) audiences: a value for learning responsibility may be reflected in the inclusion of a household chore like washing dishes throughout a typical week. Finally, the interview moved to abstract questions concerning what Super and Harkness (1986) would identify as the content of a parental ethnotheory, which is part of the developmental niche. I asked participants to identify as many values that they would like their child to learn as they could. And I asked participants to reflect on how they believe they are achieving this throughout their daily routine. From Kuczynski and colleagues (1997), I also asked parents to reflect not only on the goals and reality of their value transmission but the bidirectional state of their child's reception of those values. The interview protocol ended with a reflection of what other parents had said—as a means of establishing

trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 as cited in Creswell & Poth, 2018). Following each interview, I authored memos noting the context in which the interview took place as well as reflected on how the details of each interview may or may not have related to other interviews. I used these memos to guide the direction of future interviews, in which I made use of added prompts/follow-up questions that appear to be relevant to the nature of my questions. After conducting as many interviews as I could, I wrote up preliminary findings. I then presented these preliminary findings to one last participant (Moana). I asked that participant to provide initial reactions to the writing and to detail where my synthesized account converged and diverged from their experiences. Through discussion, any discrepancies in my results and Moana's experiences within the Sāmoan community were resolved. There were few discrepancies to resolve -- mostly issues with my Sāmoan spelling.

My originally proposed observation protocol (Appendix B) was written with tenets of Activity Settings Theory (Gallimore et al., 1993) in mind. Activity Settings Theory parses an observational event into several distinct elements that are productive yet easily manageable by a researcher at my current level of experience. Activity Settings are a distinct unit of observational measure in which personnel, task demands, behavioral/verbal scripts, motives, and values/beliefs are carefully described. The original intent was to pair the observation of a discrete unit of time within a family's typical daily routine to confirm elements of the self-report data provided by the interview protocol reviewed above.

Unfortunately, the challenges of recruitment yielded no opportunities for in-person observation of family daily routines. Thus, in lieu of more strategically matched observations, I extracted data from field notes taken on my experiences as a participant observer in the

community in a number of various settings. These observations took place during my time as a volunteer coordinator of the 2017 Sāmoan Youth Symposium, during my time as an evaluator of the 2018 and 2019 bilingual pre-school booster camps, and during my time as a guest and student of the weekend Sāmoan language class. I used the Activity Settings elements (e.g., personnel, motives, etc.) to organize my observations.

### **Data Analysis**

I used appropriate qualitative analytic methods to examine the results of my interview and observation protocols. First, I audio recorded the interviews and transcribed them verbatim using Express Scribe Transcription software and foot pedal hardware. I then uploaded interviews to Dedoose, a web application that aids in the organization and analysis of mixed methods data. In Dedoose, as recommended by Salmons, Lieber, and Kaczynski (2020), I parsed the continuous interview data into separable excerpts (also referred to as “chunks”). These excerpts varied in transcript length and in content, but the goal of the excerpting procedure was to distill distinct moments of meaningful conversation. Essentially, as a topic shifted in conversation, a new excerpt boundary was established. Across the interviews with all participants, 116 excerpts were coded.

Per Creswell & Poth (2018), I reviewed each interview transcript searching for patterns of response that I coded individually. From those codes, I examined possible relations among these codes to organize them into broader themes. Finally, I examined these themes as they interrelate to broaden them into organized categories. There were a total of 34 codes created-- of these codes several of them contributed to three broad themes belonging to the category of Parent Values that are reported in the Results chapter. These three themes are: 1) being Sāmoan in Hawai'i, 2) the primacy of family, and 3) the importance of role models. During this iterative

process, I paid particular attention to any tension in the data, points of disagreement, or disconfirming evidence within a code, theme, or category. Disconfirming evidence or tension in the data is reported in the Results chapter. To establish credibility in coding, I asked one research assistant to independently code copies of each excerpt-divided transcript. The research assistant was a non-Sāmoan, local. Average Cohen's Kappa for the value codes was .50 across codes and transcripts, which can be interpreted as "moderate" agreement (McHugh, 2012). Our moderate agreement was the result of strong agreement among many codes and weak agreement with one code in particular-- the code for family time. Family time was a difficult code to agree upon because there were few instances of explicit acknowledgement within the transcripts, so training for this code was minimal.

### **Author's Positionality**

Before presenting the results, I would like to take a moment to introduce myself and acknowledge the position from which I wrote this thesis-- with the intent of helping readers understand my location, bias, and perceptions that led to this research and my findings. I am a queer, male-presenting, first-generation Indonesian American, born and raised largely in the Midwest of the United States of America. I have had the honor and privilege to receive an exceptional education at both a university in Pennsylvania (undergraduate) and Hawai'i (graduate)-- the first in my family to achieve such educational attainment. As the child of first-generation immigrants to the United States, I have had first-hand experience with the immense learning curve that exists for immigrant families getting to know their new home. I leaned heavily on the support of my peers and their parents to learn how to navigate social institutions like schools and hospitals because my parents did not know how. I learned what I needed from other families and then acted as the bridge between the interests and values of my own parents

and family and the expectations of our surrounding social institutions. Given my experiences, I developed goals to better understand experiences of immigrants to the United States and to leverage that understanding to advocate for their equitable treatment and welfare. I came to this particular project with the notion that ethnographic methods probing for values and socialization goals of participants was the best first step to getting acquainted with the community I want to serve.



## Results

In the following, I sketch a detailed description of the values reported in interviews or that I observed to be important to a sample of Sāmoan parents in the community. To clarify, this sketch is not meant to be considered a comprehensive description by any means, as theoretical saturation was not achieved by the sampling procedures. Nor should it be inferred that all of the values described below are unique to the Sāmoan community; these values could very well be shared among different ethnic groups. What is important to glean from these results is what has been prioritized as valuable to a sample of Sāmoan parents in the community and how those values are demonstrated/made manifest in daily living. Three values are sketched in this chapter: 1) being Sāmoan, 2) primacy of family, 3) and role modeling.

### **Being Sāmoan - E iloa le tamata i lana tu ma aga: Language and Tradition**

One of the most important values identified by parents in the study was the value of being Sāmoan. Above all else, they communicated that learning to be Sāmoan and maintaining a Sāmoan identity was of utmost importance. From what I observed and understood from interviews and observations, being Sāmoan in Hawai'i meant: 1) using the Sāmoan language and 2) participating in Sāmoan tradition.

Language use was conceived of by parents as the gateway to the Sāmoan experience. Learning to command the language connected one to family, the church, traditional practices, and so on. Teuila makes this abundantly clear as she shared her deepest hopes for what she wants her children to learn in this interview:

*Teuila: I just hope that they learn the language. That's most important. Once they learn the language, all the other stuff should come easy. Like umm... Olden days traditions. .... It's the same regular thing—respect your elders, go to church umm... and what else. They can learn about all the other stuff later as they grow up but for the most part, I really want them to learn the language moreso.*

For U.S.-born Sāmoan children, this can be challenging because they are not immersed in the use of the Sāmoan language across many of the activity settings in which they participate. Often, this means learning about both language and traditional practice in the same setting-- whether through regular Sāmoan language school or in Sāmoan church. A common setting is that of religious prayer in which children are asked to memorize and recite a specific prayer at specific times (i.e., a meal time prayer). I have observed that sometimes the children do not fully comprehend the meaning of the prayer but still participate in its recitation. As Sina explained:

*Sina: I taught all the kids how to pray in Sāmoan. Before, they were given strips of paper: 'Okay, here's your prayer for the day to recite.' That was just the beginning, when they were little. I gave them the prayer. And right now, they don't even look at it. They know. They know the words to say; they know what to think and mention in prayer.*

As a participant observer in the Sāmoan school, I had this very experience of learning to memorize lines of Sāmoan prayer before really understanding it. I cannot emphasize enough the joy and pride with which members of the community beamed as they heard me participate in the prayer recitations before a meal. I can only imagine what magnitude of elation they must experience when a child of their own community does the same. They treat the language as if it is a gift to share with others.

Just as knowing the language begets immense positive experience for Sāmoan parents in the sample, not knowing the Sāmoan language can have just as immense negative impact. Take for example this story told by Teuila concerning her children attending Sāmoan church and not understanding the language used in church:

*Teuila: After every Sunday, after every sermon, on our car ride home, I explain to [my children]: so this is what this meant and this is what this meant in the sermon. And every first Sunday, Holy Communion... ever since my kids were born... my kids partook in the Holy Communion. .... Before Holy Communion, I explained to them. "Oh do you understand the reason for First Sunday, Holy Communion, and stuff like that?" And then I explain to them, yeah, okay today is*

*Holy Communion. “What does that mean?” You know, and stuff like that. So they know.*

*But recently, I was told that my 7 year old [daughter] and my [17-year old] son are not allowed to partake in the Holy Communion. So that hurt me bad. Because, you know like I said, I’m into church and I don’t remember that ever happening to anyone. [getting teary] Sorry, umm. It’s so close to my heart because I don’t want my kids to be deprived of that blessing. .... That really hurt because [the pastor] didn’t talk to us. He didn’t talk to me alone on the side.*

*He just told us one day and said, “Oh, don’t. You know, it’s not right for your kids.”*

*So I was like, “No I’m still gonna do. I’m the parent, and I don’t want my kids to be deprived of that blessing.” My kid understands. Okay fine, my young, my two year old, fine I’ll take that. But my 7 year old, she’s smart enough to know His sacrifice.*

*.... the next First Sunday, we went up, cause we always go up as a family. He denied my daughter at the altar. Like he did not give her Holy Communion. And broke my heart. .... Oh man [deep breath] that hurt me so bad. So I didn’t wanna show any emotion in front of the church and I just left. I left. I grabbed my kids and my husband and we left. I was so angry.*

*[The next Sunday] he came up to talk to me. ....*

*So he told me, “Oh, you know, just sorry but I’m not gonna allow—not gonna allow.” He didn’t even give me a chance to explain how I felt.*

*Devin: Did he give you a reason?*

*Teuila: He gave me a reason. It was because the kids don’t understand, they don’t know the true meaning behind Holy Communion. That was the reason.*

As is evident in the above narrative quote, having access to the Sāmoan language is integral to understanding Sāmoan church proceedings and thus accessing cultural tradition. Without it, as was the experience of Teuila and her children, members of the community are less likely to allow them to participate in Sāmoan rituals and practices. Knowing what to say when and how to say it are of supreme importance and from what I have observed really defines what being Sāmoan means to the Sāmoan community.

This notion that you must know what to say and how to say it is consistent with a Sāmoan adage that was discussed with me during my interviewing. Being Sāmoan meant more than merely identifying with the group and claiming the moniker. Being Sāmoan meant: *E iloa le tamata i lana tu ma aga*; learning to stand as a Sāmoan and thus demonstrating to others who you are as participant Teuila pointed out in the following interview excerpt:

*Teuila and I sat across from each other on child-sized benches in the cafeteria of [an elementary school in west O'ahu]. Rows of tables surrounded us on both sides. The adults were having class in the back of the room, while the children were split into two age groups in the front of the room. The doors and windows were all left open to allow for a steady breeze and for natural light to consume the space. The room was abuzz with children and adults alike all wrapping their minds and mouths around the beautiful lilt of gagana Sāmoa-- the Sāmoan language. It was business as usual this Saturday. Teuila had just said something to me that really struck me--*

*Teuila: There's a saying in Sāmoan, but I don't know how to say it in English.*

*Devin: What is it in Sāmoan? [begins writing it down in front of Teuila]*

*Teuila: E iloa - E iloa- E [with emphasis]. [Devin was misspelling it.] E iloa le tamata i lana tu*

*ma aga. Wow, good.*

*Devin: Yeah, I know my spelling is a little rough. [laughs]*

*Teuila: [laughs] No that's good. So, you know-- you are known the way you stand or like you hold yourself and your actions towards other people and stuff like that.*

That said, a talk by Brian Alofaituli, a speaker who presented during the Sāmoan Youth

Symposium I observed, shared a somewhat different perspective on the necessity of knowing the Sāmoan language to truly be Sāmoan. In his talk, Brian said that afakasi children (half Sāmoan children by heritage) will always be Sāmoan no matter what -- that that experience cannot be dismissed or taken away by anyone. He says that an afakasi child needs Sāmoan faith and language, not to be able to define themselves as Sāmoan, but rather to enrich their life -- to enhance it. Thus it seems that while I observed more individuals subscribe to the school of thought that Sāmoan language use is central to defining someone as a Sāmoan, there are others who may disagree to some extent on its necessity.

### **Primacy of Family**

A second important value Sāmoan parents in my sample wanted their children to learn was the primacy of family. Brought up in interviews and evident throughout my participant observation, the strong value for family Sāmoan families in my sample maintained can be thought of as consisting of three main components: 1) family support, 2) family time together, and 3) use of respect scripts.

*Devin: So just to kinda review so then... a good Sāmoan child is very strong in their Samoan identity, can speak the language, is very respectful first and foremost and obedient and they also persevere. Would you add anything to that list?*

*Sina: And they love the family. I think that's very important. I think that's one of the most important things that I have to remind my son when he left. Always remember his family, never forget his family. Yeah. That's what I said to him. And I think it's because of that family love and bonding. It's very important. And if my child chooses not to have that—he'll be lost. He won't have anybody. And when he's lost, he won't have his identity, he won't have his language and culture because he's not connected with his family. And in Sāmoa, family is the foundation of everything. No matter what you do, and where you go, family's always there.*

As is evident from the interview above, somewhat inextricably from identifying with and being Sāmoan is the value of family. As Sina pointed out, family is not only important for “love and bonding”, but also acts as another form of access to Sāmoan culture without which one could “be lost”. This potential for losing access to one’s culture partially explains why many individuals wishing to emigrate from Independent Sāmoa and American Sāmoa often do so only when they are assured that some manner of family is present. Sina says as much here:

*Devin: If you didn't have family support out here, do you think that [you and your husband] still would have moved out here?*

*Sina: We wouldn't be able to stay. Umm, I think for us—anywhere we go, and it's part of being Sāmoan: without family or anyone that you know, you feel very disconnected. Unless you know people. Family was like the backbone or the foundation of everything. If I didn't have family here and [my husband] didn't have family here, we would not decide to stay. Not at all. And it's a norm for any Sāmoan family. Any Sāmoan couple. Wherever they go, they first have to find out who's there. Who's my relative there? Are there people that I know?*

*Devin: Mmmhmm. So it's not very common for people to move out here, just by themselves? Without family, huh?*

*Sina: Yeah, it's not common.*

*Devin: Do you know of anyone who has?*

*Sina: Nuh-uh. If you talk to anybody, they'll say “Oh, I came here because so-and-so.” You know, I knew them. And then later on I moved out on my own. It's always like that. Like my dad's sister—she moved here when my uncle was here. But my uncle, he moved here when my other uncle was here.*

*Devin: So there's always some point of contact, somebody to help. No, that's really important to know. Mmmhmm.*

*Sina: I think with any Sāmoan family, you asked them that question—they'll say that. I don't know of any Sāmoan family that moved by themselves not knowing anybody. Unless, you're in the military.*

In ways perhaps similar to other cultural groups, one manner of demonstrating your value for family is to revere those members by behaving according to specific behavioral and linguistic respect scripts. Teaching these behavioral and linguistic respect scripts is a central priority in the Sāmoan community I observed. For example, in language socialization for second/third generation Sāmoan children on O'ahu, one of the first phrases they learn is “tulou”, which is the Sāmoan word used to excuse oneself while passing in front of an older person. Children also learn the accompanying behavioral script of lowering one's head and bending at the knee while passing in front of an elder. Mataio reported that tulou was the first word he taught his children. And in Teuila's interview, we see further verification of this point; and notice the adage of “E iloa le tamata i lana tu ma aga” (you are known how you stand) being referenced again:

*Devin: What do you think makes a good Samoan child? Like, what does that look like to you?*

*Teuila: A respectable child. He knows when to say—he or she knows—“tulou”, you know, when to say those respectful, respectable words. Umm... And when they say “bye”, it's not just “to fa”, it's “to fa soifua” [the most polite way of bidding someone farewell]. Umm... I guess yeah, respectable. And yeah, that's the main thing I... cause you are known by how you act and what you do.*

In a manner perhaps unique to Sāmoans -- valuing family is most obviously demonstrated by actually spending time together with family members, not simply holding family in higher regard than other priorities and fulfilling family obligations. As part of my interview questions, I asked participants to “walk me through their day” to get a detailed look at how they spend their time. For the two interviewees who were willing and able to share current specific hour-by-hour details of their daily routines with their children, I estimated that the family spends above 90% of their time (outside of work and school) with each other. Particularly looking at weekdays after

school where it might be expected that children participate in after school activities or weekend routines where it might be expected that children may spend time with peers, instead children are most likely with their parents. In particular for these families, they are together at church or A'oga Sāmoa.

### **Learning from Role Models**

A third important value Sāmoan parents in my sample wanted their children to learn was the importance of learning from role models. Sāmoan parents in my study value role models and using role models as a means of transmitting cultural values and contextually appropriate behaviors. This was evident throughout my participant observations and confirmed by interviews with Mataio and Moana. In my observations, both children and adults can be made into role models, so long as they present desirable behaviors for a particular context. Take for example this observation note written about a child in the A'oga Amata bilingual preschool booster camp I evaluated:

*It's not yet noon and it is over 80 degrees today. The open windows and all the fans turned up high are not quite enough to keep us all cool. My iced coffee from this morning is slowly melting and so am I. The students are restless-- it's clearly time to take a break from this morning's lesson on the letter h. "H is for hot". Before the students are allowed to take a true bathroom break, however, they need to demonstrate they can sit quietly and respectfully before forming two lines-- a boy line and a girl line. Today, the students are too active to sit still; all but our reliable two good listeners. "I like how Naomi is sitting," Ms. Tifa says. No response. "I like how Naomi is sitting quietly, ready for lunch!" Ms. Tifa says a bit louder. To our collective delight, a few students catch on and also sit quietly. Gradually more students take the hint, and they sit down until they are all instructed to form two lines and head to the bathroom. Lunchtime!*  
[Tuesday, July 24, 2018; A'oga Amata Observation Note]

As is evident in the above observation, rather than correct the group of students for their perceived misbehavior or address them all for not behaving as expected, the teacher, a Sāmoan parent herself, pulled focus to the student who was acting appropriately. This is not to say that during the pre-school booster camp or other

parenting contexts that I did not observe direct intervention of misbehavior, but rather to highlight that this form of instruction was also valued; and used more often than expected.

This form of value inculcation was most frequently used when older children were present in the setting. For example, in the first cohort of pre-school children in 2018, one Sāmoan volunteer teaching assistant brought her 11 year-old and 13 year-old to hang out in the classroom. During instruction with that cohort, the teachers would often ask them to demonstrate correct behaviors. Direct instructions to the 11 and 13 year-old children included phrases like, “Teisha, show them how to enter the classroom quietly.” or “Show them how to stand with attention, Aydan.”. When looking at notes of the 2019 cohort, these types of direct instructions were less frequent as there were no meaningfully older children for the booster camp students to look up to.

Attention to role modeling also occurred beyond the classroom within the greater community setting. In particular, I was able to witness three events held by the community in which successful Sāmoan adults were honored with the opportunity to share their stories with younger generations in the hopes that they would learn possible pathways to success. The first event was the Sāmoan Youth Symposium that I helped to coordinate. In that event, children were encouraged to admire the work of successful Sāmoan scholars and leaders within academic institutions. The second event was a specially held question and answer session between youth and two Sāmoan brothers-- one who worked as an air traffic controller and one who worked as a military medic. Finally, the third event was again a specifically curated question and answer session with a long allotted discussion period with a Sāmoan actor.



I believe Mataio summarized best the reason Sāmoan parents in my sample viewed role modeling as such an important tool. He said, “It’s hard to teach, if you don’t give examples. You [and others around you] need to act the way you want [the children] to act.” By raising up individuals who display desirable behavior Sāmoan parents in my sample grow the sources from which their children can pull inspiration. By raising Sāmoan individuals in the way that the community does so frequently, Sāmoan parents I interviewed and observed ensure another means of transmitting important Sāmoan values.

## Discussion

In the following, I provide an interpretation of my findings from Chapter 3. In service of supplying an interpretation, I lean on some of the comparative empirical findings cited in Chapter 1 concerning diverse value development experiences in the United States. I also provide an assessment of the strength and limitations of my study before concluding remarks.

This study is among the first of its kind to examine the values and goals of migrant Sāmoan parents. It documents the aspirations and experiences of a largely overlooked cultural group in the literature using a methodology that centers their voices as the focus of attention. Results reveal that to some extent, Sāmoan American families in my study sample value many of the same things that other ethnic minority families value in the United States. For example, there is strong value for family and respect of family/community members in their roles. Like Latinx and Asian American families, this value for family and respect entails prioritizing obligations to family members and displaying respect with specific behavioral and linguistic scripts. Unlike Latinx and Asian American families, however, Sāmoan families in the sample also believe that actually spending quality time together with family above and beyond one's obligation to the family is necessary for demonstrating a value for family. Results also reveal that to some extent Sāmoan American families in the sample bear unique values. For example, the ethos of *E iloa le tamata i lana tu ma aga* ("you are known by how you stand"), means that Sāmoan American parents in the sample have come to value perceivable demonstrations of Sāmoan identity (i.e., command of the Sāmoan language) and recognize a supreme importance in having role models for their children in peers, older children, and adults.

In pursuit of understanding what cultural values Sāmoan parents want their children to learn, Gallimore and colleagues' (1993) and Weisner's (1997) ecocultural theoretical foundation

and methodological recommendations as well as Super and Harkness's (1986) developmental niche framework were paramount. These theoretical contributions aided in answering my study's central question and framing my investigation. Weisner's (1997) recommendation to pursue ethnographic methods as opposed to traditional survey methods, allowed me to unearth important, meaningful, and ecologically valid information that would have been missed by "universal" measures. Further, Gallimore, Goldenburg, and Weisner's (1993) activity settings framing aided in my observations in the field. There is so much to notice in the field-- walking in without an intentional way to parse through all the information that can be collected during an observation period can make the experience confusing and overwhelming. Gallimore and colleagues' activity settings approach helped me to focus my notes and to notice specifically the personnel, the tasks, the scripts, the motives, and the values associated with the activity settings unfolding before me. In analysis, looking to my notes on values helped me pair my observations with relevant value themes brought up in interviews. Gallimore and colleagues' theoretical foundation also helped shape part of my interview protocol, as I probed for daily routine activities. Super and Harkness's (1986) developmental niche also helped me develop my interview protocol. In particular, their conceptualization of parental ethnotheories as one element of the greater developmental niche helped me form questions concerning values -- to get at the content within the parental ethnotheory. The developmental niche also helped me better conceptualize how the values I was examining fit into a broader picture concerning the project of development in a multicultural space for children of migrant Sāmoan parents.

Reflecting on the scope of this study, there are a few strengths to consider. First, the semi-structured interview methodology and collection of self-report accounts allows a depth of understanding not available to survey methods. Paired with the bottom-up, open coding

techniques applied to the verbatim interview transcripts in analysis, the presented results reflect as much as possible the participants' values and socialization goals, not the researcher's assumptions of what those values and socialization goals might be. Because this type of process takes time, it is not often that values and socialization goals are studied in this way. Sometimes for ease of collection and analysis researchers present parents with prepared questionnaires/instruments that presume a "universal" set of values that may not in fact articulate a value that parent holds. Second, my unique perspective as a cultural outsider and non-member of this Sāmoan community with knowledge of comparative empirical information allowed me to observe, inquire about, and document values that were not perhaps noteworthy of Sāmoan parents to discuss or that were perhaps so embedded that they need not discuss it. My work here helps to make familiar the unfamiliar and to highlight experiences of convergence and divergence between the Sāmoan American cultural group and cultural groups already documented in the United States. Third, the guiding theoretical framework's preoccupation with affordances of Sāmoan families' local ecology and resources has provided insight into the environment to which these migrants have adapted.

Similarly, there are a few limitations to this study to keep in mind when thinking about what the study can and cannot tell us. First, sampling bias must be considered. All parents in my study were snowball sampled from the same community-- all involved in Le Fetuao Sāmoan Language Center. This may explain why findings centered around language learning as a value was so prevalent-- because participation in the Center is organized around acquiring the Sāmoan language. It is possible that learning Sāmoan is not as highly valued or of as primary a concern for Sāmoan families who do not participate in Le Fetuao. Future study should aim to include Sāmoan families not involved in Le Fetuao to balance perspective. Second, difficulties in

recruiting the sample means that theoretical saturation is not attained in this study. Thus, the sketches presented are somewhat incomplete. More interviews in the future could help flesh out a more comprehensive sketch of Sāmoan American values. Third, while I recognize that value development is a bidirectional process between parent and child, my study was not able to measure or inquire about actual value development of the child; thus, the scope of the study is merely that of the values and perspectives of the parents and must be taken into consideration with the understanding that this is but one piece of the full value socialization process.

These findings carry both intellectual merit and can be implicated in broader impacts. In terms of intellectual merit, my research begins to bridge a gap in our understanding of migrant Sāmoan experience and unveils more about the context surrounding value development in immigrant youth. My approach here in both methodology and theoretical orientation is novel for this community and affords us an understanding of Sāmoan Americans not yet explored. I use methods prioritizing individual voices in the community to avoid overlooking nuances of the migrant Sāmoan value system that would be lost otherwise with universal measures. In terms of broader impacts, my research is the beginning of a program of investigation. The lessons learned from this project with further study could lead to the development of interventions that can empower members of the community at large to effectively engage with American social institutions and close the disparity gap for future generations. This research process may also be applied broadly to inform researchers and policymakers of other such migrant cultures in other contexts and make impactful change that reflects on cultural value mismatches preventing resource access.

Looking to the future, based on the findings and experience of conducting this study, there are several recommendations for further research I can make. First, I recommend

intentional, direct observation of child care activity settings in further investigation. Pairing these observations with interviews in this study would have bolstered claims and provided a more comprehensive description of the migrant Sāmoan value system. A second future research endeavor that would make good use of the findings presented here would be to devise scenarios/social dilemmas from these themes and present them to Sāmoan Americans. These scenarios could be presented to members of the community that vary in age, gender, acculturation, and years lived in the United States. By gauging their reactions to these scenarios, we could better understand individual variation in the endorsement and experience of these cultural values. [See Manago (2014) for an example of this method.] A final future study I can recommend is to video record child care activity settings of non-Sāmoan families and present them to Sāmoan families for response and vice versa. This technique, most famously used by Tobin and colleagues (2011), would help in creating a deeper comparative understanding of Sāmoan value socialization.

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## APPENDIX A

### Interview Protocol

After introductions and going through the process of consent --

**1. Reason for Move:** I would first like to know a little about you: for what reasons did you move to Hawai'i? Probe questions might include--

- Was your move voluntary/involuntary?
- What expectations did you have of Hawai'i before your move?
- Did you move alone or with someone? Who are they? At what age were you when you moved?

**2. Daily Routine:** I would like to know a little more about what your day with your child(ren) are like:

- Can you walk me through your day?
- Weekends/Weekdays?
  - How many hours do you work? When?
  - What kind of work do you do?
- Meal times (Breakfast, lunch, dinner)?
- Sundays?
- Homework? For fun/leisure?
- Do boys/girls do different activities/responsibilities? How about younger/older? -- What are the expectations?
- Given what you have told me:
  - Who is responsible for doing what? How does your family divide responsibilities?
  - Do your children know who is supposed to do what?
- Are there other caregivers involved in your children's lives?
  - Partners/Other Household
  - Work? How much?
  - Who takes care of whom? When?
  - If I were to ask your partner, other adults in the household, how would their answers differ?
- How does this compare to how you grew up?
- Do you have Lotu afiafi?

**3. Values:**

- What (cultural) values are important for your child(ren) to learn?

- Alternative Probe: When it comes to your children, what worries/frightens you most?
- How are you (or others) achieving this? How well do you think you are achieving this? What challenges/constraints/limitations do you face?
- How are these values similar to/different from the values that were important for you to learn growing up?
- Are these values consistent across all members of your household that provide care? How do manage this?
- What is your relationship with your parents?
  - What would your parents think about the way your child(ren) are growing up?
- How well does your child demonstrate these values? Do they accept or reject any values?

**4. Establishing Trustworthiness of Data:** Other parents have shared that [experiences from other interviews] What do you think of this? Is this true for you?

**Demographics**

1. What is your gender? \_\_\_\_\_ 2. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_ Years

3. Where do you live? (e.g., Salt Lake, Waipahu, etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_

4. How long have you been living in Hawaii?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. How many children do you have? \_\_\_\_\_

6. For each child, please list their age and gender (i.e., 11, Girl):

\_\_\_\_\_

7. What kind of work do you do?

\_\_\_\_\_

8. How many hours a week do you work? \_\_\_\_\_



**Please circle one response for questions 9-11:**

9. What is the highest grade or year of school you completed?

8th Grade or Less    Completed 9th - 11<sup>th</sup>    Graduated High School or GED

Some College    College Graduate    Completed Graduate School

10. What is your annual household income? If unsure, what is your monthly income?

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

Less than \$5,000    \$5,000 - \$9,999    \$10,000 - \$19,000    \$20,000 - \$29,999

\$30,000 - \$39,999    \$40,000 - \$49,999    \$50,000 - \$59,000    \$60,000 - \$69,999

\$70,000 - \$79,999    \$80,000 - \$89,999    \$90,000 - 99,999    Over \$100,000

11. Are you...

Married    Divorced    Widowed

Separated    Never Married    Unmarried Couple

**APPENDIX B**

**Observation Protocol**

Participant Initials: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Observation: \_\_\_\_\_

Observation Event: Lotu Afiafi / Dinner Time

<b>Personnel</b>	<b>Task Demands</b>	<b>Scripts (Linguistic/Behavioral)</b>
<b>Motives</b>	<b>Values/Beliefs Invoked</b>	<b>Materials/Resources</b>

**Notes:**