

SERVING SAMOAN YOUTH IN HONOLULU:
CULTURE, RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

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By

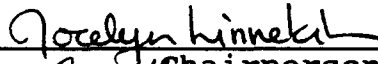
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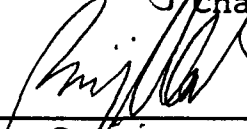
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is twofold. The first part is to examine the immigrant Samoan population of Honolulu in light of Samoan behavioral norms, Samoan Christianity, and the history of Samoan migration to Hawai'i. The second part is to analyze the role of Roman Catholic religious education programs in the social adjustment of immigrant Samoan youth with a view to propose enhancements for those programs based on the insights of the first part of the study.

Research consisted of extensive exploration of library materials on the aspects of Samoan culture and history pertinent to the purpose of the thesis; interviews in Samoa and Hawai'i with Samoan families and with people in religious, educational, and social-service organizations which serve Samoan youth; and administration of a lifestyle questionnaire to a sample survey group of Samoan youth in Honolulu.

The research revealed much desire on the part of religious educators to improve the effectiveness of their programs in building faith and self-esteem among Samoan young people. It also revealed a general lack of knowledge among the predominantly non-Samoan religious educators about Samoan culture and history and a lack of understanding of the

cultural and psychological forces at work in the immigration difficulties that Samoans in Hawai'i endure.

The thesis concludes with proposals for the enhancement of Catholic religious education programs in those parishes heavily populated with Samoan youth. The proposals cover the areas of theology and culture, teacher recruitment and training, curriculum development and methodology, and parental involvement in the religious education process.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Hawai'i's Samoans Fail to Excel in School"
(Honolulu Star-Bulletin, July 13, 1987)

"Samoans Suffer Dashed Dreams"
(Honolulu Star-Bulletin, July 13, 1987)

"Conflict from Traditional Ways:
Kalihi Family Services Eases Samoan Family Rifts"
(Honolulu Advertiser, October 10, 1988)

The Concerns

The above headlines appearing in recent Honolulu newspapers reflect some of the difficulties which immigrant Samoans in Honolulu endure. Educational, economic, and social problems often characterize foreign immigrants struggling for better lives in the large urban centers of the world. Since World War II, Pacific Islanders in large numbers have moved from subsistence on tiny atolls or remote high, volcanic islands to a cash economy in cities such as Los Angeles, Honolulu, or Auckland. This continues to create problems for immigrant and native alike. Many late-twentieth-century Pacific men and women are struggling with the lifestyle options of a future already here while they tenaciously cling to cultural values and practices deeply rooted in a past that extends thousands of years and

which does not always easily complement the demands of the islanders' chosen "new" environment or aspirations.

Hawai'i's Samoan population is estimated (Hawai'i 1988b:42) to be at least 14,000. Two-thirds (Franco 1984:5) of these people are immigrants from American Samoa or Western Samoa, the balance being children of immigrants, or members of Samoan-American families with a strong value base in Samoan culture. Relative to the total population of Samoans in Hawai'i and as I report in more detail in Chapter III, a disproportion of convicted criminals, poor achievers in school, youth gang members, and recipients of public assistance are Samoans. As a consequence of these facts and the general tendency for Samoans to live and socialize apart from the other ethnic groups which make up the highly multi-ethnic population of Hawai'i, a perception of Samoans as a people driven by irresponsibility and violence pervades much of Hawai'i's non-Samoan population.

All people aspire to quality life. This would include such basic needs as decent housing, adequate clothing, nutritious diet, satisfying employment, and an education to make realization of these and other, "higher" needs--such as mutually-agreed-upon just social norms--possible. High self-esteem and regular (though often small) practical successes in daily life are at the heart of achieving and maintaining quality life. For many Samoans living in Honolulu, failure to achieve such practical successes as

bringing home a decent paycheck, passing the test at school, or establishing a relationship of trust and mutual affirmation with a non-Samoan can often lead to the low self-esteem that erodes a person's potential for achieving this quality life. Additionally, the dominant ideology of American life, with its strong emphasis on individualism, may not always adequately be a receptive and supportive context for the nuances of Samoan personal identity, which finds strongest meaning in terms of social relationships. I explore this point further in my discussion of behavioral norms in Chapter II.

The Proposal

Many dedicated people and organizations are working to assist Hawai'i's Samoan community in resolving its problems and to improve the accuracy of the non-Samoan population's perceptions of their Samoan neighbors. Among these workers are religious educators, both Protestant and Catholic, Samoan and non-Samoan. In Honolulu neighborhoods such as Kalihi and Pālolo, where many Samoan families live, large numbers of Samoans attend their local churches. Many of the volunteer religious educators at Roman Catholic churches have only a superficial, and often erroneous, understanding of the cultural values and faith experience of the Samoan people. Thus, as I show in Chapter V below, these religious educators do not address as effectively as they might the real problems and daily needs of their congregations.

Dr. Zeni Fox, a professor of pastoral theology and youth ministry, has identified (1987:34-38) two basic dimensions of religious education: the evangelical, or the proclaiming of the Gospel; and the diaconal (derived from Scriptural roots), or the service of the human need. It is in the spirit of the diaconal dimension of religious education that I address the concerns mentioned above.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the Samoan community of urban Honolulu against a backdrop of the immigrant experience, Samoan Christianity, and current secondary-level religious education programs in several Roman Catholic parishes in the community, and then to offer proposals that may enhance the effectiveness of religious education, beyond the nurturing of faith, as a tool to foster a better-adjusted Samoan community in Honolulu. The focus here is on religious education for Samoan "youth," defined as teen-age through early twenties. The rationale for this focus is in part the fact that religious education programs are usually structured with teen groups separated from children and adults. Also, Catholic religious education in this segment of the population comprises my primary interest and expertise. These limitations guard against an unwieldy breadth of material in the thesis.

While the ultimate focus of the conclusions and suggestions of this thesis is from the perspective of the adolescent and young adult, the integral value here of

childhood religious education and adult ongoing religious education and practices cannot be overlooked. Indeed, family relationships and response to opportunities for worship, study, counseling, and sacramental expressions of commitment play an essential role in the development of all family members' self-esteem. However, in the interests of space and clarity, I maintain the focus on "youth" as much as possible.

The Methodology

There are four major aspects of the research for this thesis. First, a familiarity with Samoan behavioral norms, Samoan Christianity, Samoan migration and settlement in Hawai'i, and the history of adjustment difficulties among Samoans in Hawai'i required exploring documentary resources housed primarily in the Hawaiian and Pacific collections at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa graduate library. Other materials relevant to the project were available at the Department of Religious Education of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Honolulu and from various churches in both Hawai'i and Samoa. Further documentation from various State of Hawai'i governmental offices was also necessary.

Second, personal interviews with people in a variety of positions in the community provided valuable insights. These people include Catholic religious educators and those responsible for the religious education programs serving Samoans in several Catholic Churches in urban Honolulu, people serving in social service who monitor and address

adjustment problems among Samoans, people in the State of Hawai'i Department of Education and the State Corrections Division, Samoan parents, and Samoan youth themselves.

Interviews, in Samoa, with several religious leaders and with former immigrants in Hawai'i who have since returned to Samoa yielded some interesting and valuable perspectives.

Third, a survey of a sample group of Samoan youth at one Honolulu Catholic parish, via a written questionnaire, provides an anonymous profile of some of the problems, concerns, attitudes, and activities of the target group of the project. The same questionnaire, given to a non-church group of Samoan teenagers organized by the Samoan Service Providers Association at a public housing project, broadened the input of the survey. While historical records reveal the evolution of Samoan life and problems in Hawai'i, this survey, which is reported on in Chapter IV, adds a current perspective on that evolution and lends additional substance to proposals for effective religious education.

The fourth aspect of the research is my own nearly eight years of personal, social, religious, and educational participation in the Samoan community of Honolulu as well as over a dozen visits of from one week to two months duration to both Western Samoa and American Samoa. While this component may be somewhat subjective, it does lend the perspective of yet another religious educator to the range of

professional observations so much a part of any community service-oriented study such as this.

Analysis of the data derived from the above aspects of research yields a clearer perspective of the concerns, and application of the research insights to current religious education programs presented in Chapter V lends direction to the development of the proposals in Chapter VI.

The Literature

The literary context in which I have formulated this thesis consists of five major areas of research. They are Samoan Christianity, Samoan migration to Hawai'i, immigrant Samoan adjustment problems in Hawai'i, Samoan behavioral norms, and Catholic religious education.

Samoan Christianity, which lends itself to chronological examination in the historiography of Samoa, has been the subject of numerous extensive studies. The references which I have used include such primary sources as the 1830 and 1832 journals of the Missionary John Williams (edited by Moyle 1984) and first-hand accounts of the nineteenth-century transition from pagan indigenous religion to Christianity in Samoa by the missionaries Turner (1984) and Stair (1983). Siikala (1982) and Williamson (1933) provide me with a background on pre-European-contact Samoan religious beliefs and practices. I also use Garrett's (1982) history of the Christian churches all across the Pacific Islands in the nineteenth century and Gilson's (1970) particularly

comprehensive history of nineteenth-century Samoa, an insightful effort which integrates the political, social, and religious dimensions of the Samoan society of the time. Freeman's article (1959) on the Siovili Cult contributed further insights. These detailed narratives of the evolution of Samoan response to the early missionaries are complemented by the work of such researchers as Sevaaetasi (1978), Ta'ase (1971), and Sala (1980) who provide the perspective of the mid-twentieth-century Samoan Christian. Forman's (1982) volume on the growth of the Pacific churches in the twentieth century and Franco's (1976) thesis on the contemporary Catholic Church in Western Samoa balance the span of Samoan Christian history. These perspectives, then, have provided me with a portrait of Samoan Christianity from which I have been able to derive insights into the religious practices of Samoan Christians in late-twentieth-century Honolulu.

Much of the literature on Samoan migration to Hawai'i and the subsequent social problems which ensued consists of studies done in the 1960s and 1970s in efforts to resolve those problems. While an early study by Eyde (1954) traces the initial major migration of Samoans to Honolulu, researchers such as Fay Ala'ilima and Vaiao Ala'ilima (1965, 1966), Douthit (1974), David and King (1974), Higginbotham and Marsella (1977), and Hoskinson, et al (1978) explore the motives of Hawai'i's Samoan immigrants in their decisions to migrate and the public and private resources available to

serve these immigrants in their adjustment needs. Mildred Bloombaum's (1973) study of acculturation and enculturation provides valuable insights into the Samoan immigrant experience in Hawai`i. Complementing these historical/sociological reports are Franco's practical booklets (1984, 1987) on Samoans in Hawai`i in the 1980s. This information in addition to the recent State of Hawai`i youth gang report (Hawai`i 1989a) and numerous articles in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and the Honolulu Advertiser complete a diverse portrait of the immigrant Samoan community in Hawai`i.

An important consideration in a study of Samoan immigrant adjustment problems are the behavioral norms which characterize Samoan society in Samoa and which would reasonably find expression in any Samoan community. The body of literature which provides insights into these norms includes the above-mentioned works on Samoan Christianity and Samoan migration in that no discussion of religion or social adjustment is complete without reference to such norms. In addition to those works, then, I add Grattan's (1948) particularly detailed volume on Samoan custom and Keesing's (1934) portrait of mid-twentieth-century Samoa. Mead (1930) and Gilson (1963) contribute considerable detail on Samoan social structure. Gardner (1965), Keene (1978), and Sutter (1980) all provide dissertations dealing with Samoan values and behavior, Keene's work being especially valuable in its

exploration of the topic of social control in Samoan society. Gerber's (1975, 1985) work in ethnopsychology in the Samoan context enhances this presentation of Samoan behavioral norms. Shore's Sala'ilua (1982) has become an essential scholarly resource in any serious study of Samoan culture; and Mead's (1973) early anthropological efforts, complemented by Freeman's (1983) critical evaluation of her work and Holmes' (1987) overview of that academic conflict, complete my list of resources on Samoan behavioral norms.

The final component of literature essential to this thesis is that dealing with Catholic religious education. Three essential documents provide the primary criteria for evaluating the religious education efforts of the Church in Hawai'i. They are Sharing the Light of Faith (United States Catholic Conference 1979), which is the National Catechetical Directory produced by the U.S. bishops for Catholics in the United States; To Teach As Jesus Did (National Conference of Catholic Bishops 1972), an earlier pastoral message on Catholic education from the U.S. bishops; and Catechesi Tradendae, an early encyclical of Pope John Paul II (1979) in which he exhorts the global Church to a vigorous renewal of evangelical and catechetical efforts with detailed and comprehensive guidelines. A succinct definition of "Total Catechesis" from the National Conference of Diocesan Directors of Religious Education (n.d.) and a report on symposium proceedings from the National Catholic Educational

Association (Fox 1987) also provided guidance in this aspect of the thesis research.

In this thesis, I gather the literature to create a context conducive to formulating particular practical suggestions. The objective of these suggestions is to improve the effectiveness of Catholic religious education efforts among immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu. Because it is topical and it addresses serious social problems, the thesis finds its place, not as a redundant addition to an already extensive body of literature, but rather as a responsive record of a cultural phenomenon only reflected in part by the various relevant documents.

The Major Components

The general components, then, requiring major discussion in this thesis are Samoan culture and behavioral norms and the history of Samoan Christianity (Chapter II); the history of Samoan migration to Hawai'i and adjustment problems among Samoans in Hawai'i (Chapters III and IV); and the goals of Catholic religious education, its relevance to the concerns, and the current extent of expertise in Samoan culture among Catholic religious educators (Chapter V). Analysis of these components has enabled me to suggest projects and policies in Chapter VI which have the potential to enhance the value of Catholic religious education as a tool to foster the successful adjustment of immigrant Samoan youth to life in urban Honolulu. The essence of these suggestions is my call

for the Catholic Church in Hawai'i to invest considerable effort and resources in enhancing its religious educators' familiarity with and sensitivity to Hawai'i's immigrant Samoan community.

CHAPTER II
SAMOANS AND CHRISTIANITY

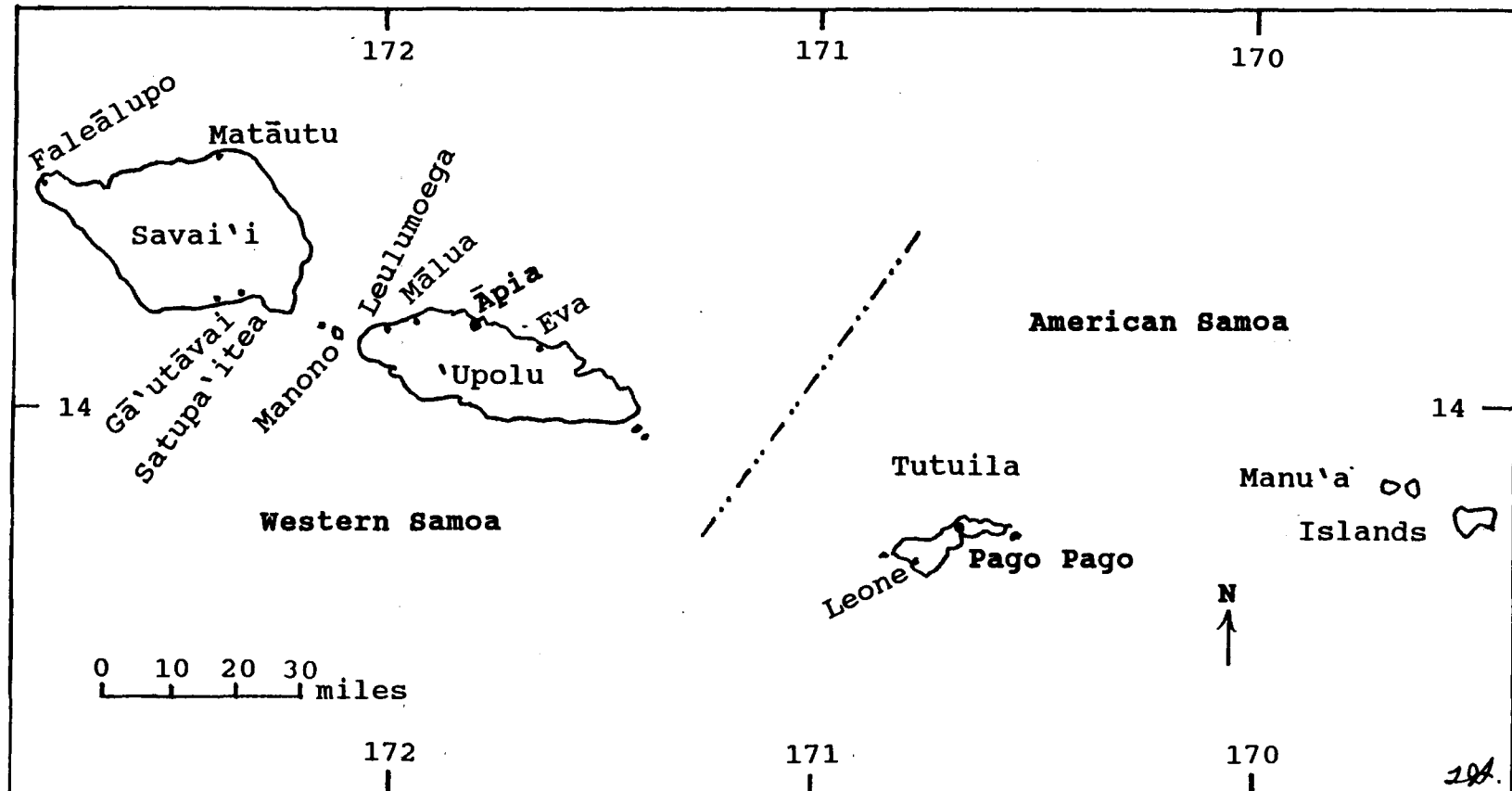
Who are the Samoans?

The Samoans are a Western Polynesian people inhabiting an archipelago located at 13 to 15 degrees south latitude and 168 to 173 degrees west longitude in the South Pacific Ocean. These primarily high and fertile tropical islands are of volcanic origin and have the islands of Tonga, Fiji and Tokelau as their closest neighbors. The Samoan language, sharing its origins with other major Pacific languages such as Tongan, Maori, Tahitian and Hawaiian, belongs to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language group.

Samoa is politically divided into the larger Independent State of Western Samoa and the smaller Territory of American Samoa, administered by the U. S. Department of the Interior. Western Samoa, composed of nine islands with an area of 1097 square miles or 2841 square kilometers, has an estimated population of 155,000. American Samoa, six islands of only 76 square miles or 197 square kilometers, has an estimated population of 33,400 (Crocombe 1983:194, 233).

European and American struggles for political and commercial power in the South Pacific at the end of the nineteenth century resulted in the partitioning of Samoa

Figure 1. SAMOA



between Germany and the United States (Davidson 1967:58-67). The Berlin Act of 1899, after later amendments, gave the U.S. formal jurisdiction over the eastern islands, U.S. administrative control there being established in early 1901 (Gilson 1970:431-433). Tutuila and the tiny Manu'a group are the main islands in the territory. This jurisdiction still holds today, with Pago Pago the administrative center on Tutuila. The larger western islands, composed primarily of 'Upolu, where the capital Āpia is located, Savai'i, and the small islands of Manono and Apolima, remained under German control until the beginning of World War I in 1914 when New Zealand troops took control (Davidson 1967:90-91). These islands became a League of Nations mandated territory of New Zealand in 1920 (Davidson 1967:101), and later a United Nations Trust Territory (Davidson 1967:167), until the emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa in 1962. Western Samoa was the first Pacific Island state to gain its independence in modern times.

While a largely subsistence existence in Western Samoa and a limited cash economy based on employment with government or the two fish canneries in American Samoa provide for the basic needs of the majority of the people of the Samoas, migration to the large urban centers of the Pacific has become characteristic of modern Samoan life. Western Samoa's continuing close ties with New Zealand facilitate regular migration of Western Samoans to Auckland

while Honolulu and the U.S. West Coast have drawn thousands of American Samoans over the past four decades. I explore further below the extent of and rationale for this migration in the Samoa-Hawai'i corridor, with particular focus on the persistent problems encountered by Samoan immigrants in Hawai'i. It is this phenomenon of Samoan migration to Hawai'i that has generated the population of troubled Samoan young people living in Hawai'i today. First, however, I present a general portrait of some norms of behavior which scholars have found characterize the Samoan people. It is impossible to begin to explore and understand the problems of Samoans in Hawai'i without a consideration of these insights.

Keesing (1934:25) says that the Samoans are a strongly social people. This statement has profound meaning in that nearly every aspect of Samoan life is reflective of this characteristic. From the structure of the society to the structure of Samoan houses to the subtleties of Samoan language and moral values, the social or relational perspective is dominant. An understanding of the attitudes and behavior of today's Samoan young people requires a special examination of the extent to which Samoans, even those living outside Samoa, are immersed in this perspective.

In traditional Samoan society, every person belongs to many groups. The foundation of the society is the extended family, or 'āiga, the completely reliable source of one's food, shelter, and assistance (Mead 1930:40). It is composed

of parents and their children as well as all those persons related to the family by either blood or marriage and choosing to live as a part of the extended family group. The `āiga may also include members by adoption and may embrace persons who have affiliated themselves with the family for a variety of reasons. The head of the `āiga is the matai, one who holds a traditional title bestowed upon him in democratic discussion and election by the members of the extended family which he heads. The primary distinction in chiefly rank is between chiefs (ali`i) and talking chiefs (tulāfale). Ali`i bear certain responsibilities and merit special courtesies in the village. Tulāfale, generally of lower rank than ali`i, represent the positions of their ali`i and participate most actively in village discussions. Tulāfale also are responsible for the distribution of food and resources to the `āiga (Mead 1930:12).

Samoan kinship structure and the diversity of terms which Samoans use to describe these relationships are complex relative to the structure and terminology of American kinship. Samoan references to a relative often involves a circumlocution such that, for example, one's cousin might be "the daughter of the brother of my mother." Furthermore, a man's daughter would be referred to by a different term than that used to refer to a woman's daughter. The inherent tediousness of such references is limited in daily usage,

however, by the fact that Samoans usually address others, including their older kin, by name or title (Mead 1930:126).

Another complexity of the 'āiga is the reflection of the relationship between a brother and sister in their respective offspring. The responsibilities, limitations, and potentialities for leadership of an individual vary according to the sex of the individual and according to which parent's descent group is under consideration. Descent is central to one's identity in Samoa; in one's parents is found a confluence of two genealogies; and there are responsibilities and obligations inherent throughout Samoan kinship structure--these facts form only part of the complexity of Samoan social structure (Gilson 1963:376).

Beyond the extended family groups, which, together, comprise the village, or nu'u, are various groups within the village which, in effect, are the vehicles for all political, social, and religious expression in the community (Shore 1982:99-107; Holmes 1987:38-43). Matai, or chief/orator heads of extended families, manage the affairs of their own families as well as, collectively, the affairs of the village. The 'aumāga, or organization of untitled men (taulele'a), perform building, harvesting, or other tasks requiring collective manpower, particularly in association with village-wide celebrations or ceremonies of welcome for important visitors. The Women's Committee, composed of all village women, bears responsibility for the public

presentability of the village. An organization of chiefs' wives, which meets separately for weaving sessions and meals, exercises leadership in the Women's Committee. There is also an organization of the wives of untitled men. The aualuma, or organization of a village's women, are responsible for supporting and exhorting one another in weaving of the various types of mats essential to cultural activities and daily life and in serving the village in various capacities. There is also the `autalavou (youth group), composed of male and female members who would also comprise the membership in the above-mentioned traditional Samoan village organizations. The `autalavou, an organization introduced by the Christian church, meet to learn Samoan customs, serve the village, and participate in recreational activities. Everyone belongs to one church or another, and within the churches are also the choir groups, educational groups, and other groups formed to serve special functions. All of these groups form the fabric of Samoan village life.

The very structure of traditional Samoan houses reflects the communal nature of Samoan life. The open fale, a strongly constructed domed roof with pole supports and no exterior or interior walls, renders practically non-existent any sense of personal privacy in the Samoan village in the light of day. As a symbol of the centrality of external or social control in Samoan society (Shore 1982:179-180) which I examine more closely below, the open fale permits no

wrongdoing or immodesty in the privacy of one's own home as might the typical European-style house. The sparsity of furnishings and the physical closeness of family members accustomed to sleeping in groups on mats under one large mosquito net further emphasize the social nature of Samoan life (Puni, p.c.).

The subtleties of Samoan social relations and, again, the central importance of the group are reflected in the Samoan language. Shore (1982:139) reports on the significance of the inclusive and exclusive forms of the plural (referring to three or more persons) pronouns. In a personal encounter in Samoa, the speaker tactfully communicated mild disapproval of an oversight on the part of the listener by use of the pronoun mātou, "we," effectively excluding the listener from the speaker's "group." Later, the speaker's use of the inclusive tātou, "we," reflected the renewed inclusion of the listener in the speaker's "group," to the relief of the concerned listener. This linguistic flexibility easily accommodates expression of group loyalties in one of the most frequently used components of language, the pronoun.

Sutter's study (1980:111-123) of the effects of a Western-style individually-oriented school program on the communally-oriented student in Western Samoa at one point takes a physiological approach to the social nature of Samoan people. He found that levels of stress, measured by amounts

of norepinephrine in urine, were higher in those students experiencing the Western-style classroom expectations of individual initiative. An interesting consequence of the study occurred at the homes of the study children. As the children increased their self-focused behavior in school, they also increased it at home. This change elicited an increase on the part of family members in communal expectations of the study children. In effect, the family members instinctively compensated for the shift away from communal behavior on the part of the study children by increasing their own emphasis on communal expectations.

Morality for the Samoan finds a strong point of reference in not just the guidelines of Christianity but also the expectations of the society in which he functions. Shore suggests that Samoan behavior,

rather than originating in a central core of personal responsibility, rises or jumps up within the broad plane of possibilities or tendencies, prompted by external forces. (1982:174)

The emphasis placed on obedience to authority from the earliest age in a Samoan's life establishes the framework in which responsibilities are defined. Caretakers such as parents or parent figures, even Satan or the spirits (aitu), are strong points of references for acceptable behavior.

Moral decision making based on external controls may be reinforced in the Polynesian school setting. Use of corporal punishment usually yields compliance with rules after only one or two incidents (Macpherson, Shore, and Franco 1978:51).

Moral autonomy, or reliance on internal self-control through feelings of guilt, does not seem to be strongly characteristic of Samoans, although Polynesians in the American environment, where corporal punishment is not practiced as a rule and extensive communal supervision does not exist, tend to grow impervious to the control effects of corporal punishment when such punishment might again occur (Macpherson, Shore, and Franco 1978:52). The dynamics of external versus internal behavioral control are complex, but the tendency of Samoans to respond primarily to external controls is clearly manifest in the indicators discussed above.

Shore's analysis (1982:140-143) of the Samoan sense of identity highlights the idea of the person as a many-faceted personality with particular traits surfacing in particular situations. This explains, he says, the tendency for Samoans to become easily bored or distracted, often lacking the desire to lend their attention to a singular subject for a long stretch of time. This behavior would be the result of years of experiencing external controls. Prestige for the Samoan, says Keesing (1934:30), is derived, not from the accumulation of wealth or material possessions but rather from generous distribution of one's wealth, e.g., the matai's effective management of his family's resources for the benefit of the whole 'āiga, or his generosity in village church affairs.

Equal opportunity, personal privacy, women's rights, individual initiative--all such things are foreign to the traditional Samoan (Keesing 1934:30). This dominant orientation to the group, above and beyond the individual, is a central characteristic of Samoan thinking and Samoan behavior. The power of this orientation is not lost on the immigrant Samoan. There are other characteristics of traditional Samoan behavior, related to the above-mentioned orientation to varying degrees, that can contribute to a broader understanding of the Samoan community which is the focus of this thesis.

Samoan child-rearing practices involve the participation of many adult figures, or caretakers, including biological parents, grandparents, siblings, and other adults (Gardner 1965:35-36). While a parent-child bond may be there, the child early becomes accustomed to these many faces and establishes a strong social orientation. Children's chores may begin as early as age three and increase in frequency and difficulty with age. Discipline in the form of rock throwing at small children is common, this method giving way to beating, which tends to be more severe through mid-puberty (Gardner 1965:29-31). I have observed Samoan parents disciplining small children who are crying because of the corporal punishment just received. The parents or other caretakers often threaten further punishment if the crying does not stop. By Western standards, Samoan discipline seems

severe. Freeman reports (1983:259-260) that physical punishment may continue well into the teen years. While Samoan adults seem to hit a lot, however, they also talk a lot with children. Gardner (1965:145-148) has also observed much affectionate physical contact between children and adults, with indiscriminate leaning upon and lounging with each other. Children also are called upon by adults to provide lengthy and vigorous massages, to which the children respond enthusiastically. Undoubtedly, the severity of corporal punishment is tempered by the diversity of caretakers and the open expression of affection.

Macpherson and Macpherson (1985:56-58) call Samoa a gerontocracy in reference to the genuine respect paid to the elderly by the young. This respect finds expression primarily in the emphasis on authority in the society, challenged little in Samoa by the young, those required to exercise the most deference to authority. The breakup of this authority among Samoans in Hawai'i has not only resulted in social problems among the young but also threatened the welfare of older Samoans in Hawai'i. Church attention to this problem (Puni, p.c.) cannot recreate the social structure of Samoa in Hawai'i, but it can provide guidance to families in this area of need. When Samoan adults in Hawai'i exercise what they see as their proper authority, young Samoans often resist with a behavior called musu in Samoa.

Musu is a type of avoidance behavior in which the person becomes moody, distant, aloof, or seemingly disgruntled with those around him. He may refuse to speak or answer questions, and he may rant like a child (fiapepe) or be regarded by others as irresponsible (lē māfaufau) (Macpherson and Macpherson 1985:56-58). This negative attitude often results in the musu person being left alone to pout, effectively relieving him of otherwise pressing duties (Gerber 1975:231). What seems like an effort to avoid strong Samoan authority may be, on a deeper level, a psychological adaptation to a world where personal privacy is at a premium. The musu person has created his own inner, though temporary, privacy. Freeman (1983:216) suggests that the concept of musu is an important key to understanding Samoan character. He also suggests that the musu attitude may reflect feelings of deep resentment and anger on the part of the young against authority (1983:218). This could lead to violent behavior on the part of young Samoans, including suicide, which in the early 1980s occurred at a high, rapidly increasing rate in Western Samoa (Macpherson and Macpherson 1985:37). Oliver (1985:77) reports that Western Samoan authorities strongly resisted early efforts to publicize the suicide problem in that country as a part of a broadbased plan to deal with the problem. He cites this as an example of the "avoidance behavior" characteristic of Samoans.

Musu is only one of an extensive range of emotion terms in Samoan which carry subtleties of meaning unique to the Samoan psyche. Gerber's (1985) proposal that the study of emotions is an important means by which social values and behavior are linked, particularly in her application of this study to Samoan subjects, establishes the relevance of such study to the concerns of my thesis.

Another interesting behavioral consideration is what Gardner (1965:118-120) calls the dichotomous attitude Samoans hold toward the people and world around them. The village is "good"; therefore, anything outside the realm of village affairs is "bad," or at least not so good or important. Family is better than non-family. Outsiders rank far below insiders, an extreme example of which would be the Samoans' fear of the spirits of dead relatives, now outsiders by virtue of the grave. Samoa is better than America, of course. Witness the overwhelming majority of Samoans who at least say that they will one day return to Samoa.

Although I more thoroughly examine the relationship between Samoan culture and religion in later chapters, Gardner (1965:16-17) points out a typical behavior on Sunday in the Samoan village which reveals, in a simple way, the precedence that traditional cultural activities take over the religious. It is usual practice for one person to stay behind to guard the Sunday meal from pigs while the rest of the family goes to church services. This is a practical

consideration, in light of the considerable damage foraging pigs can do in a short time. Frequently in Hawai'i I have seen Samoan parents instruct a boy or two to stay home from church in order to prepare or watch over food to be consumed later in the day. In these situations there are no foraging pigs to fear, and the boys miss an opportunity to participate in church activities. Traditional culture has taken priority over religious obligations. I consider this topic below in my discussion of the value of religious education in the socializing process.

Green (1924:134) says that in the old days the aitu (gods) ruled everything in the Samoan's world. Freeman (1983:223-225) traces the roots of ma'iaitu (a spirit sickness characterized by hysteria) to what he calls a type of psychophysiological disturbance endemic to Samoan society. While this analysis may or may not approach the truth, more benign manifestations of traditional spiritual beliefs still occur. My mention of a particular village in American Samoa elicited an excited response from two Samoan teenagers who informed me that spirits are quite active in that village when certain conditions are met. Gardner (1965:20-21) also reports that, while religious leaders in contemporary Gā`utāvai, Western Samoa, say they are not supposed to believe in the spirits or in their power to enter human beings, the leaders do show great discomfort in speaking about the subject.

Perhaps the conservative, leisurely life of the Samoan people, even at work, is due to the tropical climate and the fertile, isolated environment of Samoa (Keesing 1934:29). The strong traditions of etiquette, ceremony, and respect for old age evident among Samoan residents of Hawai'i reflect the slow pace of change in the Samoan culture, yet the enthusiasm with which thousands of Samoan people migrate to Hawai'i reveals their willingness to adapt to a new environment for what they consider to be good reasons. All of the various behaviors discussed above which generally characterize Samoan people may find a common point of reference in Keene's extensive study of external versus internal social control in the Samoan context (1978).

Keene's basic premise is that Samoans exercise primarily external social control rather than internal social control. This distinction can also be made in terms of moral decisions based on the prospect of shame (social consequences for certain behavior; therefore, social controls) versus the prospect of guilt (anxiety produced by a sense of personal failure; therefore, personal responsibility) (Mayer, p.c.). One religious educator (Reichert 1985:70-74) formulates a definition of conscience as a powerful human response to psychological, social, and religious stimuli with the religious dimension only complementary to, not dominant over, the others. This definition of conscience affirms the possibility of diverse perspectives in morality and the

necessity for those who would judge standards of behavior to embrace this diversity of perspectives as a basic premise. Thus, I measure the examination of Samoan migration experience and the proposals for religious education which form the practical aspects of this thesis against the fundamental insights into Samoan life presented above. A discussion of the Samoan Christian tradition completes the context in which I formulate my proposals for religious education of immigrant Samoan young people in Hawai'i.

Samoan Christianity

The history and nature of Samoan Christianity are at the core of this effort to assist the Catholic religious educator in service to Samoan youth in Hawai'i. As has been suggested above, the role of religious activity in Samoan life and the very nature of Samoan perceptions of this role are quite distinct from these aspects of religion in Western culture (Mayer, p.c.). If the religious educator is going to be an effective agent of positive change in the lives of Samoan youth, an early concern is for the educator to become steeped in at least a general knowledge of Samoan Christianity and its role in the socialization process.

The following overview attempts a middle ground between historical detail and broad generalities. I present, rather, key personalities, events, circumstances, and relationships that have, over the past century and a half, contributed to the evolution of Christian faith and church among Samoans.

The themes of this chronology, however, often do communicate important elements in the religious education process under study here. While the scope of the contemporary section of this paper has been limited to Roman Catholic religious education in Hawai'i, the powerful and lasting effects of the initial and still dominant Christian denomination in Samoa--once the London Missionary Society (LMS), now the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa--warrant an emphasis of that Church in this historical section. In truth, much Samoan Christian expression today derives from the LMS theological and religious foundations of the nineteenth century.

The spiritual context in which Christianity set down roots and eventually flourished in Samoa is a rich tapestry of gods, spirits, concepts, and practices which effectively renders the pre-European-contact Polynesian reference to the "godless Samoans" to be quite inaccurate (Sevaaetasi 1978:30). Certainly, the abundance of material evidence of elaborate and long-held religious beliefs and practices among the various peoples of Eastern Polynesia which the first European adventurers in the Pacific encountered made the relative lack of such evidence among the Samoans a striking point of contrast. However, as contemporary studies such as those by Siikala (1982) and Sevaaetasi (1978) and earlier works by authorities such as the missionaries Turner (1984) and Stair (1983) show, the difference is one involving

sociological evolution and nuance rather than merely the existence of temples, idols, and public rites.

Traditional Samoan spiritual beliefs consisted of an array of gods (atua) and spirits (aqāga or aitu) derived from the mists of antiquity. Ta'ase (1971:29) distinguishes between gods inferior and gods superior as does Turner (1984:23-77), those inferior being individual and family gods associated with objects, animals, people, or actions. Each child at birth was dedicated to a protective and providential god of this type. Gods superior such as Moso, great god of the land, and Nafanua, hidden in the land, were revered for their great influence and were sought for help. These gods, venerated on the village or district level, were, however, all inferior to the one great creator god of all Samoa, Tagaloa i Lagi (Stair 1983:212). It is the Samoans' belief in the singular superiority of Tagaloa i Lagi that may have contributed to their rapid acceptance of Jehovah, the Creator God of Christianity. The similarity of these two ultimate forces of the spiritual realm is clear.

Stair, in his chapter on mythology and spirit lore (1983:210-241), provides a detailed presentation of the great variety of gods and spirits in traditional Samoan belief and describes their diverse involvement in Samoan national and family life. Of particular interest is the dwelling place of the gods, `O le Fafā being equated with Hades, Sā-le-Fe`e, the dread place of punishment, and Pulotu, the abode of the

blest. Reflection of Samoan social structure in traditional spiritual beliefs finds that, upon death, chiefs gained entrance to Pulotu directly while commoners were required to pass through Sā-le-Fe`e. This clear sense of the afterlife in Samoan belief is prominent in Williamson's discussion of ancient Polynesian religions and beliefs (1933:321-323). He cites Turner, Stair, and others as he says that, in Samoa, souls of the unburied and victims of violent death wandered across the land. And souls entered the world of the spirits at Fafā, in Faleālupo, Savai'i. People lowered their house blinds at night in fear of the aitu, and the destructive deeds of the dead who had reason to be angry with the living were not to be discounted. Traditional Samoan spiritual beliefs were rich, and they elicited fear as well as hope in everyday life.

The concept of mana, a dynamic, living force (Ta'ase 1971:27) believed to be in the essence of objects as well as behind events and human achievements, is a common phenomenon across Polynesia. Shore (1982:248) distinguishes the sacred power of mana, the term used in modern times almost exclusively in relation to God, from the secular power of pule traditionally held by ali'i (chiefs) and exercised on their behalf by tulāfale (orators). It is the Samoans' acknowledgement of and sensitivity to these powerful forces that may have contributed, and may still contribute, to the appeal of Christianity in Samoa. The ubiquitous nature of

the Holy Spirit lends yet another parallel dimension here to the relationship between traditional Samoan spiritual beliefs and Christianity.

Sevaaetasi suggests (1978:31) that the two primary characteristics of pre-Christian Samoan religion are 1) fear, as manifested in the various acknowledgements and supplications of the gods, the deferential regard paid to the spirits, and the belief in the ubiquitous presence of the powerful mana; and 2) a kind of monotheistic regard for the superiority of the god Tagaloa i Lagi. These two elements undoubtedly have strongly affected the posture of Samoans in their approach to Christianity. As will be explored further below in a summary characterization of Samoan Christianity today and in a discussion of the ramifications of this character in the responses of Samoan youth in their religious education processes in the Honolulu communities, the importance of the cultural factors in the sensitivities of the religious educators of Samoan youth cannot be overlooked.

Among the various traditional Samoan practices related to the spirit world are several which reveal, by their nature, both the intimacy with which the spirits were engaged in the social and political affairs of the people, and the ease with which these same practices can reflect basic Christian beliefs and values. They are the tautoga, the kava ceremony, and the ifoqa.

Tautoga was a practice in pre-Christian Samoa by which those accused of a crime were brought forth and, made to hold the physical object believed to embody the village god, asked to declare their innocence or suffer accordingly (Ta'ase 1971:36). Of course, the objective was to ferret out the guilty party through manipulation of fears. This form of social control correlated the consequences of lying with a curse (Sevaaetasi 1978:22-23) and may easily be related to Christian teaching regarding the consequences of behavior summed up by such phrases as "by their fruits you shall know them" and "the fruits of the Spirit versus the fruits of the flesh." Perhaps a sense of accountability is at the heart of this practice, a basic Christian value.

The kava ceremony is a formal ceremony of welcome, a reaffirmation of Samoan social order, and a recognition of the dignity of Samoan titles. It is among the more familiar of Samoan cultural events because of its relation to many similar ceremonies done for much the same purpose across the Pacific. While the ceremony itself is somewhat complex, with clearly defined roles and actions centered around various speeches and the consumption of a drink prepared from the 'ava plant (Piper methysticum), the essence of the ceremony was traditionally sprinkled with references to the traditional gods of Samoa. Asking forgiveness in a penitential spirit for any offensive words in a speech, praying for the blessings of the gods, and especially

acknowledging the power of the gods (Sevaaetasi 1978:64), all find comfortable expression in Christian terms. Indeed, the kava ceremony is today extensively employed in Christian church events as an expression of great dignity. London Missionary Society leaders may have prohibited the drinking of kava at one time because of its supposed intoxicating nature (Gilson 1970:97). However, a parallel may be seen between the stability and validation which the church lends to village life and the cultural affirmation of the kava ceremony (Gilson 1970:28). Both are deeply embedded in Samoan life.

One of the Samoan traditions most complementary to Christian values and practices is the ifoga. If any society is to maintain order and preserve its existence, there evolve methods of dealing with wrongdoing, particularly seriously harmful acts such as murder, destruction of valuable property, or other harmful offenses. The traditional Samoan act of humility known as ifoga has served to maintain a sense of order and dignity in the Samoan society and to strengthen that society's own sense of justice for centuries.

Simply stated, if someone offends a member of another clan or extended family through an act such as those mentioned above, and if the offender and his family have a strong desire to express remorse to the offended family and to effect a reconciliation, the highest chief of the family of the offender, along with other family chiefs, prostrate

themselves before the house of the offended family as an act of repentance and request forgiveness and reconciliation (Sevaaetasi 1978:24-25). The chiefs cover themselves with highly valued fine mats (ie tōga), and the duration of their prostration may be many hours. In years past the offended family members might refuse to respond with a forgiving hand and instead reject the ifoga with their own vindictive act of violence. In modern times, however, the power of this public act of remorse usually brings the result desired by the offending parties. If the ifoga is accepted, the offended family invites the representatives of the offender into their house to receive the formal apologies of the offender's talking chief and to accept gifts of fine mats and food. The deep regard which the Samoan people hold for the ifoga has often made the difference between resentment and reconciliation in the community, and the extent of testimony, prosecution, and sentencing in criminal cases involving Samoans in Hawai'i has even been effectively diminished by an ifoga performed thus outside of Samoa (Guy 1982). Stewart, in his discussion of the ifoga from the legal point of view (1975:183-197), reports that this traditional act of remorse and reconciliation in American Samoa has often been the sole method of resolving misdemeanors and has also affected the outcome of more serious crime cases involving the attorney general. Unfortunately, there are also contemporary examples of the failure of the ifoga to have the desired effect,

particularly outside Samoa. In Hawai'i, the forced dispersal of family members and, particularly, village members, and the consequent loss of chiefly authority, renders extremely weak the possibility of accepted and effective ifoga.

The clear relevance of the ifoga to Christian values and even theology make this particular tradition a rich point of departure for any discussion regarding the relationship between Samoan customs and the establishment of Christianity in Samoa. The power of an ifoga, duly executed and accepted, speaks eloquently of the depth of commitment the Samoans have for not only an orderly society but a generous and forgiving one.

While the earliest Samoan awareness of Christianity occurred through close Samoan links with Tonga and, consequently, the early Wesleyan presence there (Gilson 1970:68), John Williams, the first European Christian missionary to Samoa, arrived there in 1830 (Moyle 1984:67). Within just two decades Samoa became one of the most solidly Christian island groups in the South Pacific. At the turn of the twentieth century most of the various Samoan Christian churches were firmly established, some well on their way to national autonomy. This rapid adoption of Christianity by virtually the entire Samoan people is one of the keys to the nature of Samoan Christianity today. Rapid though it was, however, the conversion process unfolded amidst the often turbulent confrontation among the various European powers

ving for influence and advantage in the South Pacific, the perhaps 3000-year-old political and social traditions of Samoa, and the turbulent confrontations of village rivalries based on denominational differences (Garrett 1982:122-123). The major personalities involved in the religious dimension of this historical and cultural mix were various representatives of the prominent Christian denominations of the day--the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Roman Catholics; various South Pacific indigenous missionaries--Tahitian, Rarotongan, Tongan, and even Samoan--previously converted, recruited, and trained by the various church groups; and the most influential chiefs of the Samoan polity, men with keen political insight whose traditional authority held strong sway over the clans, villages, and districts of Samoa. The great interaction among the above-mentioned participants, and the contributions of the Samoan people in their responses, resistance and collective adaptations and commitments, established the foundation for Samoan religious expression today.

John Williams is the most renowned missionary in Samoa. In 1830, when he first arrived in Savai'i (Moyle 1984:67) from his pioneering missionary efforts in Tahiti and other islands to the east, little did he know--although there was undoubtedly an abundance of hope--that his enthusiastic commitment to the conversion of Samoa would result in such overwhelming success.

Williams, born in London in 1796 and apprenticed to an ironmonger for six years before converting to evangelical Christianity and being accepted into the London Missionary Society in 1816, arrived in Tahiti in 1817 (Moyle 1984:2-4). To his work in Tahiti, Raiatea, the Cook Islands, Samoa and Tonga he brought practical skills, evidenced by his building the ship Olive Branch (Moyle 1984:7-8), and much common sense. He used Polynesians as his first missionary contacts among indigenous peoples (Moyle 1984:4); he was open to cultural factors at work, daring to use the "materialism" ploy as an initial attraction to Christianity (Gilson 1970:73-74); and he displayed a hearty ego as he was "driven . . . in the cause of Christ" (Garrett 1982:30), wanting to make a great contribution to the conversion of the "heathen." His death in November 1839 at the hands of hostile natives on the island of Erromanga in what is now Vanuatu by no means ended the phenomenon of evangelization that he had set in motion.

Williams' initial success in establishing a rapport with Samoans (Gilson 1970:69-72) can be attributed to the diplomatic efforts of Faueā, a Samoan chief who had joined Williams' party in Tonga, and to the seemingly supernatural navigational capabilities of his transport which so deeply impressed high-ranking chief Malietoa Vaiinupō to whom Williams had gained access through Faueā upon first debarkation. Divine providence also seemed to be on his side

in the death of powerful chief Tamafaigā just prior to Williams' arrival. The extent to which Tamafaigā may have resisted Christianity is questionable; however, the additional advantage of Williams' employing several Tahitian and Aitutakian native teachers in this initial mission endeavor undoubtedly smoothed over some of the cultural and linguistic problems at contact. Some problems with immorality among the native missionaries notwithstanding (Garrett 1982:122), the message and ritual of Protestant Christianity began to take root in Samoan life even before Williams returned in 1832 with a high chief of Rarotonga as an additional, and highly respected, indigenous missionary (Moyle 1984:4).

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Williams saw "mixed motives" in the Samoans' response to Christianity (Garrett 1982:85). The missionaries used the natives' fascination with such things as beads, watches, and even the "magic" of writing to the advantage of the missions. Williams himself even threatened withholding mission ships from Āpia if a particular chief and his people did not become Christian (Gilson 1970:73). The perception inherent in this phenomenon was that the white man's gods provided advanced technology and a grand diversity of material goods. This factor, and the generally autonomous nature of traditional Samoan villages, would long play a significant role in the place of church and religious expression in Samoan life.

The astuteness of John Williams in his missionary work must not be underestimated. In addition to his management of personnel resources both European and indigenous, he quickly gained an effective grasp of the nature of Samoan chieftainship and used it to his advantage. He was careful initially not to proscribe too much non-Christian behavior beyond the obvious transgressions of warfare, wild dances and the like in order not to discourage the people from Christianity. And his trust in the Islanders to apply Gospel values to their own daily lives as they learned the new religion is a reflection of the diversity of Williams' efforts to establish Christianity in Samoa (Gilson 1970:74-81).

By the late 1830s, the London Missionary Society had clearly established its objectives in Samoa (Gilson 1970:95-97). They were to Christianize the Samoans in belief and action through 1) literacy (through translating and teaching the Bible); 2) slow, intensive training of people in the faith, especially deacons to serve the church; and 3) establishment of the foundations of a national Christian moral code. The LMS also played up village rivalry for foreign missionaries in order to secure its place in village life (Mayer, p.c.).

By 1838 there were a good 23,000 Samoans under instruction with the London Missionary Society churches (Garrett 1982:125). In addition to this widespread growth of

the Christian population and the establishment of many village churches, a significant development in the Samoan mission territory was the establishment of two important mission stations on the island of Upolu, one at Malua which provided ministry training for Samoan aspirants to Christian service, and one at Leulumoega where the production of printed religious educational materials complemented actual Christian education classes (Garrett 1982:125). Of course, the translation and printing by 1855 of the first Samoan Bible by LMS missionaries, especially George Pratt at Matautu, Savai'i (Faletoesse 1977:52), along with Pratt's first Samoan grammar and dictionary, gave great impetus to the movement toward literacy in Samoa. This, too, contributed to the steady growth of the London Missionary Society in Samoa.

While the Samoan way of life began to manifest, at least outwardly, the rather conservative characteristics of nineteenth-century Christian ethics and style, the London Missionary Society Church in Samoa took on a decidedly Samoan flavor. The same respect given the village fono, or council, composed of matai, or chiefs, representing the village's extended families and duly elected by each family, found expression in the high regard extended to locally trained and ordained Samoan faife'au, or pastors, and deacons. Some villages, in the interests of strengthening themselves politically, adopted one lotu (in this sense, denomination),

the London Missionary Society, rejecting all others (Gilson 1970:79). As various villages became primarily one lotu or another, the missions set themselves up to inadvertently take sides in any violent disputes that might arise between villages or districts. This indeed happened between 1847 and 1857 as the complexities of Samoan politics incorporated the allegiances of the lotu into its dynamics (Gilson 1970:115-121). While untangling these complexities is an inappropriate endeavor for this paper, it is important to take note of the extent to which Christianity had become entrenched in Samoan affairs in fewer than thirty years. During this time, also, the other two Christian denominations which were to find a strong and permanent place in Samoa were setting down roots--the Methodists and the Roman Catholics.

Wesleyan Methodism, which had arrived in Samoa before John Williams and the London Missionary Society, was undoubtedly strengthened by continuing Samoa-Tonga ties (Gilson 1970:82). Beginning with the village of Satupa'itea in Savai'i, and owing to marriage, descent, and trade with Tonga, Methodism--the lotu toga or Tongan religion--became the primary Protestant complement to the London Missionary Society in Samoa (Gilson 1970:83).

Roman Catholicism was brought to Samoa in 1845 by French Marists. Wesleyans and London Missionary Society leaders prepared the Samoan people to reject Catholicism with stories of "Mary worship" and threats of a French invasion. The

Catholics began with early, limited work in Savai'i and Āpia, gaining some following through the conversion of high-ranking Chief Mata'afa Fagamanu. The Marists also gained followers from the decline in Methodism in the mid-1800s (Gilson 1970:124-126). Catholic conservatism reflected in teachings regarding marriage and an early slowness in providing teachers and school somewhat matched conservative restrictions in the London Missionary Society, and so proportional commitments to the major denominations remained stable (Gilson 1970:127).

The European missionaries, for their part, oversaw the activities and growth of the churches and carefully guided them along Samoan cultural lines out of an awareness of the tenacity of the culture and, it could be assumed, a certain sense of adaptation in the spirit of St. Paul and the early Christian missions among the non-Jews of the first century. A sign of the coming autonomy of the Samoan churches came in 1854 with the insistence by the LMS churches on the island of Tutuila that separate offering collections be made for the local churches and support of the missions in general (Gilson 1970:130). This sense of the Samoans owning their church resources and affairs, interestingly, was characterized in part by the local teachers' exploiting the competitive spirit of chief and village rivalry through appeals for contributions. A deeper level of religious experience reflecting local autonomy can be seen in two

significant developments among Samoan Christians during the early mission years of Samoa. They are the Siovili Cult and the Tutuila Revival. However, it is not merely "owning" the experience that is reflected in these movements; it is also very possibly the effort to reconcile new religious practices and beliefs with traditional beliefs and mores that emerges as equally significant. A closer look at these movements offers some insight into the Samoan response to religious phenomena and may shed some light on the religious responses today of a people still deeply committed to their cultural traditions.

The Siovili Cult was a millenarian movement originating with Joe Vili, a Samoan from the village of 'Eva on the eastern end of the Island of 'Upolu (Freeman 1959:187). Joe, or Sio, Vili had witnessed London Missionary Society work in Tahiti as well as Methodist work in Tonga. He had also been in Tahiti in 1827 at the height of an indigenous millenarian movement there called the Mamaia movement, characterized by spirit possession, pseudo-Christian rites, and belief in the imminent Second Coming of Christ. Influenced by this movement and by the bits and pieces of Christianity that he had picked up on shipboard, Sio Vili established an indigenous expression of "foreign" religion in Samoa. With claims of spirit possession (a strong element in traditional Samoa beliefs) and healing powers, and gifted with a charismatic style, he drew people to his own version of the

new lotu (Freeman 1959:188-189). His promises to deliver the material goods of the foreign cultures attracted many people, as did the prestige they had to gain through being associated with a foreign lotu (Ta'ase 1971:143). While it became well entrenched in Savai'i and 'Upolu by 1832 and lasted about three decades with up to 6,000 adherents at one point (Freeman 1959:197), the Siovili Cult eventually faded. This mixture of some of the externals of Christianity and the mysterious powers characteristic of traditional Samoan pagan beliefs seems to have served as a syncretic experience for those Samoans struggling with the transition from the old beliefs to the new.

The Tutuila Revival of 1839 to 1841 was a period of intense religious excitement in the London Missionary Society community of Tutuila. Times of extreme emotional fervor were characterized by events or conditions such as a death, a catastrophe of some sort, or the disruptive influence of foreigners. It also included so-called spirit possession reminiscent of the involvement of the spirits in traditional Samoan beliefs. The missionary Murray, stationed on Tutuila at the time, had a background in revivalism in Britain and undoubtedly either encouraged or at least did not discourage the revival. And the London Missionary Society leaders took advantage of the revival to strengthen the church in numbers and cooperation among the chiefs. The revival lasted only a few years, but the depth of feeling which ran among the

people at that time reflected what Murray saw as the deep commitment and extreme spiritual need of the people, a need perhaps unmet with the disappearance of much of traditional religious expression in Samoa (Gilson 1970:109-114). In effect, the revival may have represented the people's transference of spiritual enthusiasm from the traditional pagan context to the Christian context.

The Siovili Cult and the Tutuila Revival are just two examples of religious phenomena that were born, in part, of the trauma of the impact of Christian evangelization upon a Pacific island spiritual tradition itself born of other historical and spiritual challenges.

The twentieth century brought movement toward church autonomy among the Protestant churches in Samoa, particularly the London Missionary Society Churches. The Roman Catholic Church, of course, with its worldwide structure, centuries of tradition, and permanent ties to the Vatican in Rome, did not even consider a question of local autonomy, although the daily realities of Samoan existence rendered that denomination necessarily sensitive and adaptive to social and political imperatives. The Catholic community, while never more than twenty percent or so of the Samoan population, eventually embraced a commitment to education, preparing many in the afakasi, or part-European, community for positions of leadership in society. This tradition continues today. The long episcopacy of Joseph Darnand (1919-1953) also

contributed to the stability of the Roman Catholic Church in Samoa (Forman 1982:26).

The distinction of Western Samoa's Cardinal Pio Taufinu'u being the only indigenous Pacific Islander in the College of Cardinals, and Cardinal Pio's visionary implementation of the spirit and policies of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council (1962-1965) have made the Catholic Church of modern Samoa a dynamic force in the Pacific (Franco 1976:43). Cardinal Pio is particularly open to culture change as a part of the evolution of the Catholic expression of Christianity in Samoa (Franco 1976:46). The establishment of the separate Diocese of Samoa-Pago Pago in American Samoa, with Most Rev. J. Quinn Weitzel, MM, selected in 1986 as the Diocese's first bishop, is indicative of the Catholic Church's flexible response to evolving economic and cultural differences between the Samoas.

While the twentieth century brought continued introduction and growth of various Protestant churches including the Methodist, the Mormon, the Adventist, and others, the London Missionary Society Churches, long the dominant church in Samoa, gradually evolved into what would later be the completely autonomous Congregational Christian Church of Samoa. This process, begun in 1875 with the establishment of the Fono Tele, a council of all Samoan pastors given powers of decision as well as advice, continued in the early twentieth century with the London headquarters

of the LMS officially expressing a move toward autonomy in Samoa. In 1906, the 'Au Toea'ina, or council of elder pastors of all subdistricts, was given more local authority by the LMS. Local financial autonomy followed in 1916. Through the turbulent years of the 1920s, when Western Samoa, politically separated from American Samoa in 1900, struggled with questions of nationalism and political autonomy from New Zealand, its League of Nations-designated trustee, LMS church autonomy grew slowly but steadily. By 1942, the church was, for all practical purposes, completely under Samoan control, and in 1962, soon after Western Samoa's newly re-established status as an independent nation, a new church constitution established the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa, no longer associated with the London Missionary Society (Forman 1982:128-130).

The autonomy of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa has not served to isolate the church but rather to provide it with a local identity and a clearly Samoan voice in the more recent regional developments in church and religion. It has been particularly active in the Pacific Conference of Churches (PCC) (Forman 1986:2-4) which was established by constitution in 1966 by representatives of several churches and countries and grew out of years of meetings, discussions, and planning. The Pacific Theological College was established in Suva, Fiji, in 1966 (Forman 1986:21-23) to serve the peoples of the Pacific Islands, and

important products of the comprehensive PCC effort has been its Christian Education Programme and its Women's Programme (Forman 1986:26-30). This effort to lend substance to youth work and family life education on a regional level is a source of hope and inspiration for those people and organizations today struggling with the complexities of youth problems among large and highly mobile immigrant communities across the Pacific.

An example of regional cooperation from a Samoan base is the Christian Education Office in Pago Pago, American Samoa, which continuously develops and produces materials and programs for youth groups of the Samoan Congregational Christian Churches in Hawai'i and the U.S. Mainland as well as for their local congregations (Tofaeono, p.c.).

The birth and growth of the Christian churches in Samoa over the past century and a half has led to a Samoan Christian theology that is strong in its irreversible and comprehensive presence in the daily life and values of the Samoan people and yet somewhat weak in its effort to fully and effectively address the needs of a Samoan community dispersed far from the familiarity of Samoan shores and the stability of the 'āiga, or extended family. The very character of Samoan Christianity is necessarily steeped in the perspectives and values of a people whose relatively isolated cultural traditions go back more than 3,000 years.

The basic structure of the Samoan society, with its extended family and village-oriented organization and its matai system of governing, lent a structure to the Christian church systems that still today, perhaps by village choice, serves more to reinforce the structure of the society than to facilitate the spread of the Gospel. While the hierarchy of authority and order, from ali'i down through tulāfale, `aumāga, and other groups of regular villagers, facilitated mass commitments of questionable depth to one lotu or another, it also contributed to the relatively accurate identification of Jehovah as "Le Ali'i Sili-Sili `Ese," or "The Chief above all Chiefs" (Sevaaetasi 1978:57). A perhaps exaggerated emphasis on service as the vehicle to heaven, tied into the concept of tautua, or traditional service to chief and family, has left Samoan Christianity again with perhaps greater focus on cultural activity than on conversion of heart and personal commitment to God. The timeliness of John Williams' arrival in Samoa and his subsequent success in establishing Christianity in Samoa under the influential auspices of Malietoa Vaiinupō, however, demand a measure of indebtedness on the part of the church to the Samoan political structure. The fact that the teaching that necessarily came after the acceptance of Christianity has embedded itself more slowly into the Samoan culture than the culture has embedded itself into Christianity is an essential aspect of the concerns and proposals under discussion here.

The particular values which are derived from the traditional Samoan spiritual beliefs and from many cultural practices have facilitated an understanding and acceptance of Christianity that provides a firm base for continued theological and catechetical development. The value of forgiveness as seen in the ifoga and the value of respect as seen in the traditional Samoan approach to "the gods," for example, mirror the Christian ideal.

A connection can be made between the initial appeal of Christianity to the Samoans based on the material goods and skills so evidently associated with the bearers of this new lotu and the rapid adaptation of the new lotu to the structure of Samoan society. Thus, the failure of the pioneering Christian missionaries in Samoa to establish initially a faith with a theological depth comparable to the breadth of its adoption is understandable. And, of course, the years of theological process that have intervened have brought Samoan Christianity to expressions of faith comparable to the challenges of modern Pacific Island life. Witness the expertise and eloquence of the Samoan scholars upon whose work much of this study is based. The concern of this thesis is the relationship between religion and daily life. Indicators such as consistency between professed values and behavior, and the prioritizing of religious values against conflicting cultural values, must be considered in the context of Samoan history and behavioral norms. This is

the position which religious educators among Hawai'i's Samoan youth must assume.

The many Samoan youth who gather each week and often more frequently at the various churches in Honolulu, as well as those youth who, for many reasons, have not yet found their way to a sanctuary, church hall, or religious education classroom, live in a world vastly different from the village life of most of their parents and relatives. These youth possess minds and spirits that are finding expression in contemporary Hawaiian-American society while, all around them, the traditional Samoan value system continues to demand their attention and commitment, primarily via kinship ties. The religious educator of young Samoans in Hawai'i will find that the formulation of relevant materials and effective methodologies, not to mention a theology reflective of the realities of the struggles, failures, risks, and accomplishments of the youth, requires a knowledge of Samoan tradition as well as a vision of the future.

A sense of Samoan tradition can begin to emerge with a careful consideration of the dynamics of Samoan Christianity presented in the presentation above. A growing number of scholars, educators, pastors, counselors, and members of the community have entered into the contemporary discussion examining the tension between social change and religious continuity in the Samoan context. Faith is an extremely personal matter, but religion, by its very nature, is in many

ways public and frequently under scrutiny regarding its relevance to people's lives. In order to broaden the context in which the relevance of religious education to the lives of Samoan youth in Hawai'i can be fruitfully examined, the components of Samoan migration and Samoan youth problems must also be considered.

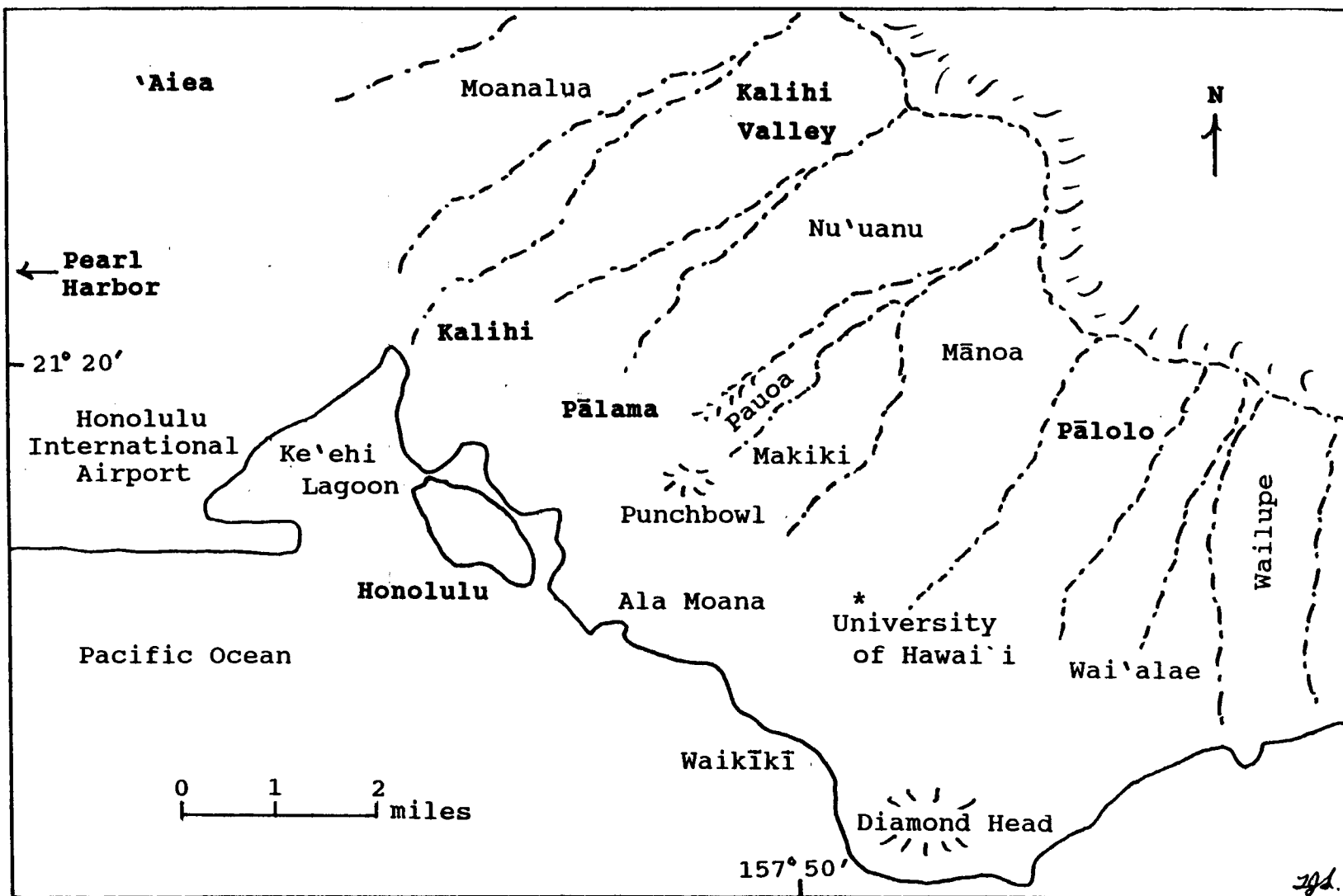
CHAPTER III
SAMOAN MIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT

Samoa Migration to Hawai`i

During the 1940s, with the recession after the war, a shipping strike, and population growth in American Samoa, there was some migration to Hawai`i and the U.S. Mainland in response to those post-war problems (Bloombaum 1973:4). However, major migration of Samoans to Hawai`i began in 1952. When the U.S. Navy, which had transferred administration of American Samoa to the U.S. Department of the Interior in 1951, offered passage to up to 1,000 people to Hawai`i aboard the U.S.S. President Jackson, 958 Samoans accepted the offer. Those who stayed on the Island of O`ahu lived in low-income housing or housing previously used by veterans, and they cited as their reasons for migrating, in descending order of importance, desire to enter the U.S. Armed Forces, need for work, desire to see family, and desire for education (Eyde 1954:1-6).

Migration continued steadily over the next decades, with economic reasons for the move cited most frequently (Bloombaum 1973:4). Education, also frequently cited, is an indirect route to economic benefits. The 1960s and 1970s found large numbers of Samoans settling in the Kalihi/Pālama

Figure 2. URBAN HONOLULU



section of Honolulu, one of the most ethno-culturally diverse neighborhoods in the U.S. (Higginbotham, et al 1977:6). By 1980, the three largest public housing projects in this area--Kuhio Park Terrace, Kalihi Valley Homes, and Mayor Wright Housing--found their Samoan residents to number 53.6 percent, 43.6 percent, and 30.2 percent respectively (Franco 1984:15-16). Appearing on the U.S. National Census as a distinct ethnic group for the first time in 1980, Samoans in Hawai`i numbered 14,000 with their places of birth equally divided among Western Samoa, American Samoa, and Hawai`i (Franco 1984:1,4-5). It can safely be assumed that the numbers of Samoans in Hawai`i have increased since that time. The median age for the Samoan population in Hawai`i in 1980 was 17.5 years, and 46 percent of the Samoan population in Hawai`i then was under 16 years of age (Franco 1984:10).

Samoans still generally give the same reasons for migrating to Hawai`i--kinship, educational and economic advancement, and the benefits of superior health care. (Franco 1984:10). They also use Hawai`i as a stepping stone to the U.S. Military, citing patriotism and employment training as primary reasons for enlisting (Franco 1984:55-57). Thousands of young Samoan immigrants or young Samoans born in Hawai`i into immigrant families, however, face a complex variety of culture shocks, barricades to achievement, and struggles for mere survival that have become a permanent part of the fabric of life in Honolulu.

Adjustment Problems of Samoan Youth in Hawai`i

Young Samoans, whether recently arrived, long-time residents, or Hawai`i-born, are disadvantaged members of Hawai`i's society. Immediately recognizable problems of Samoan youth in Hawai`i are crime and poor achievement in school. A close look at the problems reveals the disturbing facts of maladjustment and discontent. However, the discerning observer of the problems sees also some of the complexities of Samoan immigrant life that not only contribute to the problems but also provide rich context for developing potential solutions.

Before looking at some of the adjustment problems of Samoan youth in Hawai`i, it is helpful to consider the cultural context in which most of these youth live. Reflecting on the communal character of Samoan life examined above, one can begin to imagine the impact a move to a large American city like Honolulu might have on a typical Samoan family. Even those young Samoans who have lived most or all of their lives in Hawai`i often live in a family many of the members of which are immigrants who foster Samoan values and practices among all family members. The following general portrait, drawn from the above research and from my own experience, summarizes some of the realities of life in Samoa today.

In Samoa, the family, or group, is of greater significance than the individual. Many extended families of

a dozen or more people live together in Samoa in large open houses on spacious grounds. Sharing is a primary characteristic of the society, and private ownership of what Americans would call personal items is of much less consequence than in American culture. Thus, clothing, combs and brushes, radios, rings, pencils, satchels--a myriad of items exchange hands frequently. Older children are expected to take extraordinary responsibility for their younger siblings, cousins, and other relatives such that a very young child's perception of "parents" may include a multitude of faces. Family, village, and/or church commitments invariably take precedence over any individual dates or meetings. Life in Samoa tends to be leisurely, even with work, and the largest of villages or towns are very small by American city standards. There are no traffic lights anywhere to be found in Samoa, and street addresses with numbers are unheard of. In Western Samoa, a majority of the populace engages in subsistence agriculture, and one large meal at the end of the day only, for young and old alike, is usually the custom, with what might be called a mid-day small snack most days. Nearly everyone goes to church on Sunday. Health care is improving regularly, but the quality is still far below American standards. And the generally universal facility with English among most American Samoans and many Western Samoans notwithstanding, Samoan is the language of choice for

the majority of the Samoan people whenever possible. Elders, particularly matai, exercise universally respected authority.

This sketch of Samoan life, when contrasted with typical American daily life in Honolulu, reveals some of the potentially frustrating conflicts that immigrant Samoans in Hawai'i must constantly manage. Some of them require relatively easy adaptation. Others wreak havoc on the most stable families at one time or another. The outside observer of immigrant Samoan life may find consideration of the kinds of factors found above helpful in beginning to understand some of the more serious problems that Samoan youth encounter in Honolulu.

Crime and the consequences of crime affect many people in direct and painful ways, and the Samoan community in Hawai'i is statistically over-represented in the area of crime in the community. In 1980, Samoans represented an estimated 1.5 percent (Hawai'i 1988b:42) of the population of the State of Hawai'i. The Hawai'i prison population in 1986 was 5.2 percent Samoan (Hawai'i 1988a). According to the State Corrections Division, the statistics in this regard show consistent Samoan over-representation through the decade of the 1980s. A May 1986 count at the Hawai'i State Youth Correctional Facility revealed that 13.4 percent of its population was Samoan. This percentage is a gross over-representation, given the two percent Samoan portion of the general population of 14 to 21-year-olds in Hawai'i in

1987 (Hawai`i 1989a:26). A January 1989 State of Hawai`i report on youth gangs states that, in 1987, a full 26 percent of the 14- to 21-year-old youth gang members active in Hawai`i were Samoan (Hawai`i 1989a:26). Additionally, seven of the 21 gangs studied had a membership 50 percent or more Samoan (Hawaii 1989a:33). The report states that the criminal activities associated with the gangs in general ranged from graffiti to murder, and the sale and distribution of illegal drugs also played a significant part in the gang activity. Several young Samoan informants told me that they are often afraid to go to their intermediate or high schools because Filipino gang members there, armed with guns and knives, threaten them. This may be just one of the several factors responsible for another characteristic of the young immigrant Samoan population of Hawai`i--poor academic performance at school.

Samoans students, along with other Pacific Islanders, make a poor showing academically relative to other ethnic groups in Hawai`i. Hawai`i Department of Education Stanford Achievement Test reading and mathematics scores for grades eight and ten in the Fall 1984 test show Samoans scoring among the lowest in a State-wide stanine profile by ethnicity (See Tables 1 and 2). Dr. Selvin Chin-Chance of the Test Development Section of the Hawaii`i Department of Education confirms that this level of Samoan achievement has been consistent over the last decade (p.c.). In 1987, Honolulu's

Farrington High School, which has a student body that is 13 percent Samoan, graduated 70 Samoans. Of the 48 who responded to a career questionnaire, only four indicated plans to attend a four-year college. Fourteen indicated interest in a two-year college. Sixteen said they had no plans at all. Farrington sends 65 percent of its graduates on to higher education, but only 26 to 37 percent of Farrington's Samoan graduates go on to higher education. Poor reading ability is cited as the major problem, with 60 percent of one Farrington sophomore division scoring below average in reading on the Stanford Achievement Test ("Hawai'i's Samoans Fail to Excel in School" 1987).

A shining exception to poor achievement among Samoan students is Edmund Unutoa (Hosek 1987b) who, while maintaining a 4.0 grade point average at Farrington, also played all-star football and participated in a "Just Say No" anti-drug program for elementary-age children. Significantly, Edmund credits his success to caring people, from his parents and family who supported his school work at home, to a committed reading teacher who gave him helpful guidance, to his football coach and local church community.

In 1974, less than 50 percent of Hawai'i's adult Samoans had finished high school; only 5.5 percent had some college education (David and King 1974:11). In 1980, Samoan females had the lowest high school completion rate among Asian/Pacific Islanders in Hawai'i, and Samoan males were

Table 1.--State of Hawai'i, Stanford Achievement Test,
Stanine Profile by Ethnicity (Selected), Fall 1984, Grade 8.

Ethnicity (Number)	Total Reading Stanine (Percent)									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chinese (385)	.5	1.0	8.6	10.1	19.2	18.2	18.2	14.8	5.7	3.6
Filipino (2452)	.9	2.6	10.2	16.7	27.4	22.7	12.2	5.1	1.7	.6
Part-Haw`n (1983)	1.5	3.5	10.7	19.6	29.2	21.4	8.8	3.7	1.2	.5
Japanese (2056)	.1	.7	2.5	5.5	14.5	24.0	23.6	17.5	7.7	3.8
White (2150)	1.0	1.0	3.9	8.0	16.5	23.7	18.8	13.6	7.8	5.8
Samoan (328)	1.8	7.0	20.7	29.0	22.9	13.1	4.6	.3	.6	0

Note: Stanine 0 = Missing Data

Ethnicity (Number)	Total Mathematics Stanine (Percent)									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chinese (385)	1.3	0	2.3	5.7	9.9	14.5	21.6	15.8	10.1	18.7
Filipino (2452)	1.1	2.2	7.0	13.9	22.2	22.9	16.4	7.3	3.7	3.3
Part-Haw`n (1983)	3.0	3.6	11.2	17.4	23.8	21.0	11.1	5.3	2.1	1.4
Japanese (2056)	.4	.5	2.0	4.6	8.7	16.9	20.0	16.3	12.5	18.1
White (2150)	2.1	1.8	5.0	8.9	17.1	19.8	18.9	12.2	6.7	7.4
Samoan (328)	3.4	4.3	17.7	25.6	22.9	17.7	6.4	1.2	.9	0

Note: Stanine 0 = Missing Data

Source: Hawai'i Department of Education

Table 2.--State of Hawai'i, Stanford Achievement Test,
Stanine Profile by Ethnicity (Selected), Fall 1984, Grade 10.

Ethnicity (Number)	Total Reading Stanine (Percent)									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chinese (438)	.5	2.1	8.7	10.7	19.9	14.8	17.8	12.8	7.1	5.7
Filipino (2206)	1.2	2.3	10.1	23.7	26.6	20.0	8.9	5.0	1.4	.8
Part-Haw'n (1883)	2.0	2.1	10.9	24.0	30.2	16.7	8.0	4.4	1.1	.6
Japanese (2070)	.5	.6	1.6	5.7	15.5	23.4	20.2	17.0	9.0	6.6
White (1904)	1.0	1.1	3.7	8.6	15.4	19.5	19.0	18.7	7.1	5.9
Samoan (300)	4.3	4.0	25.0	36.3	18.3	7.7	2.3	1.3	.3	.3

Note: Stanine 0 = Missing Data

Ethnicity (Number)	Total Mathematics Stanine (Percent)									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chinese (438)	1.6	.5	2.1	7.1	12.8	14.6	18.0	17.6	15.8	10.0
Filipino (2206)	2.7	1.1	5.5	19.2	24.1	20.8	14.6	6.2	4.9	.9
Part-Haw'n (1883)	5.2	2.3	8.0	20.6	27.8	19.0	10.0	4.3	2.3	.5
Japanese (2070)	1.7	.2	1.0	4.5	12.0	16.9	21.4	15.3	19.6	7.2
White (1904)	4.4	1.1	2.5	9.5	19.2	21.4	19.0	9.7	9.9	3.4
Samoan (300)	9.7	4.0	13.7	29.3	21.0	12.7	5.7	3.0	1.0	0

Note: Stanine 0 = Missing Data

Source: Hawai'i Department of Education

second lowest (Franco 1984:34-35). The employment trend for Samoans who find work is typically toward physical labor for men and laundry and waitress work for women. Wages remain on the low end of the scale (David and King 1974:33-35).

Samoans are also over-represented on State welfare workloads (Hoskinson et al 1978:2-3). The effects of poverty--teenage crime, illiteracy, child abuse, and reliance on welfare--are worsening among Hawai'i's Samoans although National efforts to recognize American Samoans as native Americans may qualify them for special job programs at some time (Brewer 1987).

A recent effort in Honolulu to assist young people, including Samoans, with educational and job training objectives is the Kalihi Teen Project. This after school project, which provides work experience and some income for teens in such businesses as cable television program production and thrift shop management, also provides professional guidance and opportunities to build self-esteem through responsibility (Blackwell, p.c.). I recently visited the Project office and found a friendly group of a dozen teens, all but one of whom were Samoan, preparing work assignments, discussing personal and family problems, and generally making productive use of their afternoon. The need for such projects designed for Hawai'i's immigrant Samoan youth is very real.

Samoans are frequently the brunt of ethnic jokes and derogatory remarks born of an attitude shared by many

non-Samoans in Hawai`i that Samoans are generally violent people who are not to be trusted. This attitude is commonly encountered at the mention of Samoans in an average crowd of people in Hawai`i, and the alienation and defensiveness it generates among Samoans, particularly the youth, is understandable. Betty Ah Soon, who represents the governor of American Samoa in Hawai`i, spends much of her time trying to dispel the stereotyped images (Hosek 1987a) which keep Samoans at the bottom of the ethnic ladder in Hawai`i. The practical effects of this negative image are such indignities as refusal of house rentals to Samoans or disconnected public utilities because of misunderstandings.

Of course, the sociological facts represented by the crime, youth gang, and educational statistics continue to contribute to the creation of an image in the public eye of a Samoan community that seems to be violent, irresponsible, and untrustworthy--in short, incapable of managing successful lives in the Hawaiian-American context. Prominent successful Samoans in politics, business, and entertainment notwithstanding, the general Samoan population in Hawai`i finds its successes and fine qualities overshadowed by a cloud of negative expectations and preconceptions that Samoan young people must contend with in their daily interactions with the world. Hawai`i media tend to portray the negative side of Samoans and, since Samoans usually keep to themselves in their lifestyle, they remain a mystery to non-Samoans who

have few or no avenues to learn more about them (Mayer, p.c.).

A less public but perhaps more painful and pervasive problem among Samoans in Hawai`i is what might be called a breakdown of the traditional family values that strongly govern society in Samoa. As early as 1954, conflicts in Hawai`i were evident between those Samoans who continued to value matai authority and those who felt that matai titles lost meaning outside of Samoa (Eyde 1954:20). The consequent breakdown of matai authority in Hawai`i continued into the 1960s (Ala`ilima and Ala`ilima 1966:2-4) and the 1970s (David and King 1974:52), and it remains a source of frustration of Samoan efforts to adjust in Hawai`i today (Mayer, p.c.; Puni, p.c.). Many of the immigrant Samoans' practical problems stem from this more fundamental problem.

The American custom of building housing units primarily for the nuclear family and the consequent physical and legal limitations placed upon the majority of families in this regard do not accommodate satisfactorily the typical Samoan extended family of sometimes a dozen members or more. Frequent visitors travelling through or to Hawai`i to visit family or attend weddings or funerals add to the numbers of people to be housed. The frequency and importance of these trips in Samoan culture preclude refusals of hospitality (Grattan 1948:25-34, 35-52, 63-68). Also, the low-income status of many Samoans results in their gravitating to these

large complexes of public housing consisting of "single-family" apartments. The frequent and illegal overcrowding and consequent evictions and the simple lack of space result in increased tension among family members and their matai, struggling to manage extended families spread out across Honolulu or even across the Pacific.

The pressures of living in a cash economy in Hawai'i instead of in an at least partly subsistence economy force many Samoan adults to reduce the contact and control they would normally have over the younger family members as the adults seek low-skill jobs that often require irregular work hours. Efforts such as the Samoan Demonstration Program (Douthit 1974) have been designed to provide basic language and skill education in the context of trade training to help alleviate the employment problems of Samoans in Hawai'i. Franco, however, reports (1984:16-18) that in 1980 Samoans had by far the largest civilian labor force unemployment rate in Hawai'i (10.2 percent).

The conflict between the Samoan and American cultures is also exemplified in Honolulu in the life of lawyer Arthur Ripley, Jr. (Hosek 1987c), who has had to modify his participation in the Samoan culture in order to survive financially. He limits giving money to family members or the church but admits there are still some pressures on him to share his "wealth." His Samoan clients have diminished in

number because of his insistence that they pay for his services. Ripley, however, has chosen the American way.

Parental expectations of youth, and vice versa, in the Samoan context are often different from those in the American family, and many Samoan children and young adults in the U.S. find the duties of home conflict with the responsibilities of school and the expectations of American friends. As is evident in the extensive research done by Sutter (1980), Gardner (1965), Freeman (1983), and others, the strongly authoritarian posture of Samoan parents, chiefs, and other caretakers in relation to the young people in their charge contrasts sharply with the characteristic permissiveness of American parents and teachers.

Kalihi Family Services Unit, assisted by Catholic Charities, provides some help to Samoan families who are experiencing the stresses of culture conflicts (Killelea-Almonte 1988). A typical case might involve a child resentful of a parent's stern use of corporal punishment and a parent up against Hawai'i's child-abuse laws. The bilingual, bicultural service helps parents to identify and understand their value conflicts and teaches communication skills effective in the American cultural context.

Additionally, the complications that result from the compounding of these conditions with the anxieties and demands of occasional criminal activity, academic pressures,

and ethnic conflicts of some family members make the maintenance of high self-esteem quite difficult for many Samoan young people. Margaret Mead (1973) notwithstanding, adolescence itself--Samoan or American--makes its own demands on the emerging personalities of young people.

Joining a youth gang may be just one method for a young Samoan to hold onto a sense of self-esteem, falsely founded though it may be. The 'aumāga and aualuma, or formal groups of young men and women in Samoan society (Holmes 1987:42-43), may be traditional parallels to the youth gang phenomenon--a phenomenon rooted in the need to belong. We must consider, however, that, while Samoan youth gang activity may be determined in part by cultural needs, and criminal activity may be the consequences of a "need to belong" gone awry, the defensive posture of some Samoan youth gang members who face the real threat of violence from gangs of other ethnic groups stands to reason.

One of the most logical and promising vehicles for assessing and solving many of the adjustment problems of immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu is the church. Of the many institutions which compose the Samoan culture, the church is perhaps the one which remains most securely intact in the transition from Samoa to Hawai'i. The majority of Samoans in Hawai'i belong to a congregation of one of the mainline denominations--Roman Catholic, Methodist, Seventh-Day Adventist, Mormon, or Congregational. The values

and activities which characterize religion in Samoa can be found at these churches: choir membership and regular participation, youth groups, regular weekly worship as a community, collective rallying around the pastor as leader and advisor, fund-raising efforts involving considerable coordination and group work, collective responsibility for the seemingly unending details involved in weddings and funerals, etc. Especially the use of the Samoan language and practice of cultural activities at these affairs reaffirm the participants' Samoan identity and lifestyle.

In the midst of this phenomenon are the youth, expected to participate and accepted as integral parts of the community. Certainly, one institution cannot be expected to solve all the problems of society. The potential, however, for the various Samoan congregations and the larger Christian context to be catalysts for healing the social ills and nurturing the finest qualities in young people has yet to be realized. Many talented and caring people who have little or no knowledge about or contact with the Samoan community at large but who are actively involved in religious education in the Roman Catholic Church can greatly enhance their impact in the lives of Samoan young people. This may be accomplished through a deeper understanding of the goals and objectives of religious education in the immigrant Samoan context and an appreciation of the socialization and educational role of the church in the Samoan culture. A brief immersion in the

world of the Samoan immigrant can also be valuable. A look at the Samoan youth of today's Honolulu through raw data gathered via a questionnaire follows in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV
SAMOAN YOUTH--A PERSPECTIVE

In order to broaden the base of information from which this thesis is derived and to clarify the directions in which the proposals of Chapter VI might lead, I have formulated and administered a simple Samoan Youth Questionnaire (Appendix A). Rationale for question selection is below followed by an analysis of selected results.

The Questionnaire

The Samoan Youth Questionnaire consists of eighty questions covering a variety of categories pertinent to the daily lives of Samoan teenagers in Honolulu in 1989. I also took into consideration some of the major Samoan behavioral norms discussed in Chapter II above.

The questionnaire categories consisted of the following: church, parents and family life, ethnic segregation and integration, teachers, money, clothing, transportation, sex, drugs, youth gangs and crime, self-image, and living in Hawai'i versus living in Samoa. The sample questionnaire attached as Appendix A presents the questions in the order in which they were given to the Samoan teenagers in the survey. In order to elicit more spontaneous responses from the

teenagers, I mixed the categories in this version of the questionnaire to avoid the digressive thinking that questions grouped in categories might have prompted. The version of the questionnaire attached as Appendix B groups the questions according to category to facilitate analysis.

The group of Samoan youth surveyed consisted of twenty students from a Catholic religious education program at a Kalihi church and eleven participants in an after-school work program for Kalihi teenagers. The youth ranged in age from 11 to 21, with the mean age being 15 for the entire group of 31. There were 14 females and 17 males. While I, of course, desired accuracy and completeness in the subjective content of the teenagers' responses, I also assured them that it was all right to skip questions that they did not want to respond to. The relatively few discrepancies between the number of possible responses in a category and the number of actual responses in the results indicate the generosity with which these Samoan youth responded to the questionnaire.

The questions called for simple checked responses in four degrees--never, sometimes, often, and always. Interpretation of the raw data combining the numbers of responses for two questions or more required determining whether a response at one end of the spectrum, e.g., "never," was either positive or negative. I first took into consideration the behavioral norms of Samoan society discussed at length in Chapter II above as well as the

positive values generally embraced by society today in Hawai'i. With these values in mind, I established the primary criterion for interpretation of the responses to be whether or not a response at one end of the spectrum represented an attitude or situation that is supportive of social adjustment in Honolulu. For example, an "always" response to the question, "Do other people besides your mother, father, sisters, and brothers live at your house?" would be considered negative in this context. While relatively permanent residence of the extended family together in one household would be considered a positive value in Samoa, the limited housing space and the need for a quiet place for students to study in Hawai'i render this response negative. The response choices on the sample questionnaire in Appendix B, therefore, are marked with a plus sign (+) to the right of the response choice "always" if this response represents the positive end of the value scale. Consequently, "never" would represent the negative end of the value scale. Those items not marked with a plus sign, therefore, are questions for which a "never" response represents the positive value and "always" the negative value. In compiling the data for interpretation I have simply reversed the order of the responses for those items not marked with a plus sign to facilitate meaningful integration of the data. I then assigned values of 1, 2, 3,

and 4 to the four responses, from left to right, 1 representing low or negative value.

A variety of possibilities exist to shift and combine the raw data of the questionnaire for analysis. The two groups surveyed could be compared or contrasted in any of the categories. Male responses could be compared with female responses. Various age levels could be compared and contrasted. Also, the length of time the respondents have been living in Hawai'i could be considered. For the purposes of this thesis, I chose to limit the analysis to the total group response of 31 Samoan teenagers on just three levels--all questions combined; questions in eight categories slightly adapted from the original categories; and analyses of several specific questions alone or in tandem.

Table 3 below is a compilation of the data for eight categories and the overall total responses. The variation in numbers of questions per category accounts for the differences in the number of total responses per category.

Overall Patterns

The most general pattern given by the data is represented by the grand totals of the four value categories for the entire questionnaire as reported in Table 3. The highest total of 753 responses (35.4 percent) at value 4 on the scale may indicate that these 31 youth are a relatively well-adjusted group, although the next highest number, 591

(27.8 percent), appears at value 2, indicating strong response lower on the scale in some categories.

A glimpse at the individual rating totals for the eight categories in Table 3 reveals the especially high value rating under Church. Ratings for the other categories seem to indicate some strong showing on the lower, or negative, end of the value scale under Teachers, Gangs and Crime, Sex, and Self-Image. A closer look at each category follows.

Categories and Questions

From the original twelve categories on the questionnaire, I have derived the eight major categories on Table 3. Responses for the first, Church, clearly indicate that for these young Samoans, church plays a significant role in their lives. A full 83 percent of the youth indicate that they always go to church on Sunday. This high rate may be the result of parental prodding or typical family practice which reflects the Samoan norm of church attendance. However, the high ratings given to the attitudinal questions regarding church--it is always fun and interesting and never boring or scary--suggest a more personal commitment than mere church attendance might indicate.

The category of Parents and Family shows a balanced response with ratings 2, 3, and 4 nearly equal. While this shows no particular weakness in family values and experience, the responses to several specific questions reveal some interesting facts. Over 45 percent of the respondents

Table 3.--Lifestyle questionnaire responses in eight categories, 31 Samoan youth aged 11 to 21 years

Categories	Low Value-----High Value			
	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)	4 (%)
Church	6.2 (19)	21.8 (67)	14.0 (43)	58.0 (178)
Parents & Family	17.0 (78)	27.0 (124)	26.3 (121)	29.8 (137)
Integration & Segregation	20.5 (81)	27.8 (110)	23.7 (94)	28.0 (111)
Teachers	8.2 (15)	45.7 (84)	24.5 (45)	21.7 (40)
Gangs & Crime	18.7 (23)	8.1 (10)	34.1 (42)	39.0 (48)
Sex	30.8 (66)	20.6 (44)	14.0 (30)	34.6 (74)
Drugs	13.0 (24)	28.1 (52)	11.9 (22)	47.0 (87)
Self-Image	7.4 (19)	38.9 (100)	23.3 (60)	30.4 (78)
Total Responses	15.3 (325)	27.8 (591)	21.5 (457)	35.4 (753)

indicate that other people besides immediate family members either often or always live at their house. Nearly 55 percent often or always have visitors from Samoa or the U.S. Mainland. The Samoan norm of crowded homes offering frequent hospitality is indicated. Regarding educational expectations, nearly 84 percent of the youth say that their parents always tell them to do well at school, but only 13.3 percent of parents often help them with their homework, none always. Perhaps this low rating is an indicator of an inability on the part of Samoan parents to offer practical support for their children's educational objectives. It may also indicate that Samoan students do not ask their parents for help with homework.

The category representing the extent to which the Samoan youth in the survey either integrate themselves into, or segregate themselves from, the non-Samoan community has the most evenly distributed ratings of all the categories under analysis. Eight (61.5 percent) of the 13 questions in this category ask about actions rather than attitudes. Theoretically, the percentage of attitudinal questions is large enough to balance the distribution of responses, therefore disguising indications of dominant integrating or segregating behavior. The low to high value spread, however, of the responses to just the action questions--18.2, 34.3, 19.0, and 28.5 percent respectively--reveals no significant

differences. It seems that the survey group makes a reasonable effort towards openness to other ethnic groups.

The fourth category, Teachers, shows nearly half (45.7 percent) of the responses at value level 2 with the 8.2 percent at value level 1 carrying the total to over 50 percent. This is a significant level of negativity that warrants a closer look at responses to specific questions. One question asks whether the respondents' teachers understand how they feel, and one asks if the teachers understand the Samoan way of life. The value level 2 responses for these two questions were 58.1 percent and 46.7 percent respectively with very few responses on level 4. This would indicate a belief on the part of the youth that there is a significant personal and/or cultural block between them and their teachers. However, the responses to the question asking if the teachers believed the respondents can do good work at school showed a 54.8 percent level 4 high rating. Apparently, there is a significant bond of mutual respect and openness between the teachers and the youth in the survey. The Samoan regard for the authority of the teacher and the hope that Samoans place in education may be at work here. The lack of understanding which the young people perceive, possibly a reflection of typical adolescent rebellion, may also indicate a need for the teachers to become more knowledgeable of Samoan custom and behavioral norms. 83.9 percent of the respondents indicated that their

teachers never or only sometimes gave them extra responsibilities at school.

Regarding gangs and crime, although 73.1 percent of the responses are at levels 3 and 4, indicating a rejection of this negative social behavior, level 1 carries nearly one-fifth of the responses. Individual questions show that while most of the respondents neither think Samoan youth gangs are good nor think about joining a Samoan youth gang, 45.2 percent of the respondents indicate knowing members of youth gangs. This survey group, strongly associated with church and taking active part in employment opportunities, may not be prime candidates for membership in young gangs, but the high level of familiarity with gangs may derive from the Samoan propensity to establish their personal identities through group associations and activities. Good or bad, youth gangs provide that opportunity. Another possibility for familiarity with gangs is simply the opportunities for such contact that high school attendance provides.

The area of Sex finds the survey group's responses largely split with peaks at levels 1 (30.8 percent) and 4 (34.6 percent). An overwhelming majority (74.2 percent) indicate that their parents never talk about sex at home, and 89.3 percent indicate that their parents never teach them about sex. This finding is not surprising considering the modesty with which Samoan families generally deal with this sensitive subject. This same modesty may have influenced the

level of openness in the responses to the questions in this category. 64.5 percent of the respondents report never having had sexual intercourse, while 41.9 percent say that they often or always engage in other sexual activities. The problem with this latter question is that the teenagers may understand "sexual activity" to be anything from kissing to much more intimate behavior, thus opening up interpretation of this particular survey response to broad possibilities. Clearly, however, Samoan parents are not directly providing their children with guidance in sexual matters.

The category of Drugs finds response levels 2 and 4 the peaks, with 47 percent at the high 4 level. This group does not seem to be deeply involved with drugs although the 28.1 percent of the responses at level 2 indicate possible cause for concern. 74.2 respondents say they have never used marijuana, and only 3.2 percent say they always use it. (This percentage represents only one person.) While 76.7 percent of the respondents report that drugs are never fun, a significant 71 percent indicate that drugs are never or only sometimes scary.

The final category of questions involves the respondents' self-image, a basic consideration in adolescent psychology. The overall responses in this category find 38.9 percent at low level 2 next to only 7.4 percent at the lowest level, 1. Levels 3 and 4 together comprise 53.7 percent of the responses, perhaps indicating a rather positive

self-image considering the self-conscious preoccupations of adolescence. The sharp drop from level 2 to level 1 allows for this preoccupation without indicating undue trauma to the self-image of the survey group. In response to the question, "Are you proud to be a Samoan?" 74.2 percent of the group indicate a value level of 4, a strong statement of ethnic pride. Ethnic pride, however, does not necessarily translate into high self-esteem in the general context of daily life for the young Samoan immigrants in Honolulu.

General Conclusions

The strong showing of church, family, and group values in this survey confirms the most basic behavioral norms in the Samoan context. The indication of strong ethnic pride reflects the strength of the Samoan personality which has endured more than a century and a half of intensive contact, involvement, and also conflict with the Western world. The young Samoan respondents to my questionnaire, while daily growing as products of, and contributors to, the American community of Honolulu, also reflect, in their choices and values, their Samoan heritage.

The survey group is a reasonably well-balanced sample of Honolulu's Samoan youth community. The survey reveals indicators of possible weak areas in the social adjustment of the respondents, but their general success in daily living may be attributed to the fact that all of the respondents are members of a strong church community and/or an organization

designed to provide successful community and work experiences for young people. Are these youth reasonably well-adjusted because they participate in the above-mentioned organizations, or are they members of the organizations because of the positive supports in other areas of their lives that led them to such participation? There is merit in both considerations. The absent voices in this study are the young Samoans incarcerated at the Hawai'i State Youth Correctional Facility; the young Samoan gang members wandering the streets of Kalihi or Palolo seeking outlets for frustration or shields for defense; the young Samoans burdened with fears of beating from parents struggling with severe problems of health, unemployment, or culture conflict; and the young Samoans recently arrived in the strange new world of Hawaiian-American Honolulu.

In Chapter V I review the efforts that Catholic religious educators in Hawai'i are making to address the needs of Hawai'i's young Samoans, particularly those most disadvantaged.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE SAMOAN IMMIGRANT

A major component of this thesis is religious education. It is the point of view from which I look at the Samoan community in Hawaii and the context in which I approach the social adjustment problems of the youth of that community with a desire to make some concrete contribution to their alleviation. A succinct statement of the general goals and objectives of Catholic religious education, followed by a measure of rationale for centering an approach to the concerns under consideration in the religious education context, will facilitate a critical analysis of some of the work that has been done in this field. Based on this analysis, I propose theoretical and practical steps that may be taken to enhance the effectiveness of the contribution of religious education to the overall quality of life of Honolulu's young Samoan community (Chapter VI).

The Goals of Religious Education

It is important at the outset of this section to restate the denominational focus of this study. While the focus is on Roman Catholic religious education programs in order to avoid a breadth of material beyond the practical limitations

of the study, I gratefully acknowledge the contributions of various Protestant religious education programs, particularly those of two Samoan churches in Honolulu (Sataraka, p.c.; Puni, p.c.). Also, the conclusions and implications of this study may be of interest and help to religious educators of various denominations and churches who are dedicated to serving Samoan youth in Honolulu.

In the broadest sense, religious education falls into two categories: evangelization and catechesis. These are not completely separate or merely complementary endeavors. While evangelization "has the aim of bringing the Good News [of Jesus Christ] to the whole of humanity," catechesis is the ongoing, lifelong fostering of a mature faith based on "a deeper and more systematic knowledge of the person and the message of our Lord Jesus Christ" (John Paul II 1979:17). The conversion process, of which initial evangelization is the beginning, by nature involves innumerable moments of discovery and confirmation of faith throughout the stages of growth in a person's life. Catechesis informs and builds on faith even as new depths of faith emerge. Thus, in catechesis we continue to evangelize.

The National Conference of Diocesan Directors of Religious Education (n.d.) has succinctly gleaned from the U.S. National Catechetical Directory the basic components of catechesis. They are message, community, worship, and service. The goals of catechesis can be identified within

these four components. The catechist strives to communicate to the students placed in his or her care the message of God's revelation of Himself through the person of Jesus Christ. Fostering of Christian community enhances the context in which the message is realized. Opportunities for creative worship foster the student's receptivity to the Holy Spirit and deepen the person's conversion experience, while encouragement to live the values of Jesus in service to the community, at home and abroad, furthers the cause of justice and peace in the world.

Of course, these general goals lend themselves to innumerable objectives which are formulated in light of the character and needs of the local community. The final component is of particular interest here in that the inclusion of service as an integral aspect of catechesis renders the concern of this thesis a valid consideration in an analysis of the nature and effectiveness of catechesis in the Honolulu parishes under consideration. To again extend the line of thinking of Zeni Fox, touched upon in Chapter I above (1987:34-37), the diaconal aspect of ministry is no less relevant in the parish than it is in the Catholic School. It is possible, then, to narrow the focus of the discussion here to an application of the resources of Catholic religious education to the specific circumstances of immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu.

The Relevance of Religious Education to Samoan Youth

As has been clearly demonstrated in Chapter II above, religion is as integral a part of Samoan life as any other aspect of that culture. It is again important to clarify here the distinction between what is considered religion in the Western sense of the word and lotu, the term most frequently used by Samoans to refer to both the distinction of denomination and the act of worship (Mayer, p.c.). Western thinking in light conversation often does not clearly distinguish between faith, religion, and theology; and use of the word religion in the Western context might often carry theological implications absent from the Samoan conception of lotu when this term is applied simply to the act of worship, be that a personal prayer, a family evening prayer gathering, or a community Sunday service.

The ubiquitous nature of the spirit world in traditional, pre-contact Samoan culture yielded an expression of Christianity that still pervades the daily lives of most Samoans. The strong support which the Christian endeavor lends to the Samoan values and practices of community, family, and chiefly/priestly authority makes the religious/lotu context a primary forum for considering community problems and seeking solutions. It is the only congregating activity that consistently attracts adult Samoans; they often do not respond to public meetings or other social organizations in Hawai'i (Mayer, p.c.). Thus,

membership in a cohesive church group is an important step toward resolving social adjustment problems among Samoan youth.

The value of religion/lotu among Samoans in Hawai'i, if not manifest in as orderly a fashion as in the traditional arrangement of Samoan villages, nevertheless finds expression all across Hawai'i in a myriad of Samoan churches and congregations. The haste with which immigrant Samoan families associate themselves with one church or another upon arrival in Hawai'i and the dedication with which they maintain that commitment speak clearly of the dependability of the church context as a forum for ongoing dialogue with and service to the Samoan community.

A characteristic of Samoan society that is of particular relevance here is the tendency for men, women, young girls, young men, and various other segments of the society to group themselves in order to learn skills and social interaction as well as to celebrate particular stages or states in life (Holmes 1987:42-43). The youth group is a part of the life of every Samoan village, and this value continues to find expression among the Samoans of Honolulu. This grouping tendency is as prevalent among Catholic Samoans as it is among Protestants. As I have suggested above, the overrepresentation of Samoan youth in current youth gangs in Honolulu could be partially a result of this grouping tendency which is so natural to Samoan youth. However, in a

related but very positive sense, the appeal of church grouping to Samoan youth gives the religious educator a distinct advantage in his or her approach to young Samoans.

Among specific church activities, then, which might lend themselves to the particular concern of this paper is the educational component, an area rich in sociological and psychological resourcefulness as well as theological content. Early in Samoan Christian history John Williams and the missionaries of the London Missionary Society discovered the responsiveness of Samoans to Christianity through education in catechism and Scripture. Samoan culture is strongly characterized by educational endeavors. Children must be taught to build houses, weave mats, and prepare food. They must also learn deference to elders, hospitality, and oratory. Samoan material culture and history as well as the values of the Gospel and Samoan tradition are largely available to Samoan children through the church. Religion is a means not only to spiritual but also to cultural ends, and through the church Samoans reaffirm their traditions and language, show service (tautua), maintain the order of their society, and learn group harmony (Mayer, p.c.). Thus, the general areas of response to human need outlined in the description of Catholic religious education/catechesis in the first part of this chapter--composed of message, community, worship, and service--must be translated into pedagogical

tools in order to be manifest in the community and effect positive change.

A central tool, if not concretely observable then certainly noticeable by the philosophical chaos which would ensue in its absence, is theology. Within the broad context of Christian theology are the ever-emerging theologies of particular peoples in particular places at particular moments in time. If Jesus is the incarnation of God in the Jewish context of first-century Palestine, then a central message of this truth is the potential for any culture at any time to manifest the Gospel. Sala's (1980) effort to produce a theology of the Samoan immigrant is a fascinating and constructive exercise in just this vein. The writer's characterization of the immigrant Samoan church as an "Exodus Church," in the process of becoming (1980:101), derived from the New Testament Letter to the Hebrews, is a moving theological approach to immigrant problems which flows from a basic posture of hope. And hope is universally acknowledged to be as effective a tool as any in fostering human growth. But Sala goes beyond the mere academic exercise of drawing philosophical parallels between Israelite and Samoan migrant wanderings to offer concrete suggestions for strengthening the adjustments and modifications to Samoan culture necessitated by migration. For example, he advocates avoiding building large, showy churches as pagan-like "monuments to the gods" (1980:91) in order to alleviate the

immigrant Samoans' financial woes. Such practical suggestions place Christian care for the person above sometimes unreasonable cultural demands that actually create hardship for people. The foundation for this particular example of helpful adaptation is theology.

Materials and methodologies are the hands-on tools of the educator, and the potential for the "stuff" of the moment, manipulated by the creative imagination, to establish connections pregnant with insight in the experience of the participant, contributes to the value of the educational milieu in the pursuit of higher quality of life for the immigrant Samoan youth. A fuller discussion of appropriate tools in this aspect of religious education follows below in the section on curriculum development in Chapter VI.

Religious educators, guided and supported by directors of religious education and pastors, bring all of the potential for human compassion, reconciliation, and instruction to the religious education endeavor. If self-esteem, as I suggest, is the absolutely essential ingredient in the healing and personal growth of immigrant Samoan youth in the Honolulu community, then the importance of the human element in religious education cannot be underestimated. Raw humanity, however, is only a resource of potentiality. The selection, training, and on-going support of religious educators, also enlarged upon below, must include careful attention to those human qualities which make

teachers effective agents of positive change in the lives of young people in need of affirmation.

Complementing the teachers are the family members of the youth, the parents in particular, siblings, and many other members of the 'aiga, blood relatives and otherwise, who compose the one most influential context in which the youth live and grow and shape their attitudes and aspirations. Incorporation of this dimension of the community into the religious education project is yet another subject for fuller consideration below. The family is, indeed, essential in any discussion of youth problems, and the religious education program has a place for this most important "tool."

The National Conference of Diocesan Directors of Religious Education seems to have written its description of "Total Catechesis" (n.d.) with the immigrant community in mind. While pointing out the four basic components of complete catechesis--message, community, worship, and service--the description goes on to characterize this endeavor as holistic, inclusive, indigenous, integrating, and life-long. Each of these characteristics speaks directly to the nature and needs of the immigrant Samoan community in Honolulu.

Holistic catechesis is concerned with the entire person--values, knowledge, hopes, and fears. An inclusive catechesis overlooks no one, values everyone, with a message of the uniqueness of persons. The indigenous nature of true

catechesis celebrates the cultural and ethnic fabric of humankind as a worthy context for evangelization. And as an integrating catechesis fosters dialogue among all the members of the community--youth, family, parish, etc.--the commitment to life-long growth in faith as well as contented living rounds out this fertile forum for addressing the problems of immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu.

Concrete proposals for enhancing the effectiveness of parish religious education as a tool to foster the social adjustment of immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu require, first, an overview of some of the work already being done in this field in the city in order to assess the need. Some programs show creative and sensitive outreach to the immigrant Samoan community while other programs are only at the initial stages of formulating and integrating theologies and outreach to Samoans in their overall parish work. An examination of some of these programs, with a touch of perspective gleaned from the Protestant Samoan churches, completes the establishment of a relevant context for the proposals of Chapter VI.

Many dedicated and qualified people are serving the Samoan community in Honolulu through the various Protestant and Catholic churches in the community. While the integrity of the Samoan churches and congregations, both in their reflection of Samoan Christianity and in their commitment to the dignity and happiness of the Samoan people in Hawai'i,

has been and will continue to be a source of inspiration for all religious educators in Hawai'i, the focus here on the Catholic efforts is designed to inform and assist religious educators in that denomination.

Roman Catholic Efforts

Of the numerous parishes in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Honolulu which are home to significant numbers of Samoan immigrant families, most are located in urban Honolulu. St. John the Baptist parish in Kalihi, St. Theresa parish in Pālama, Our Lady of the Mount parish in Kalihi-uka, Cathedral parish in central Honolulu, and St. James parish in Pālolo Valley are particularly heavily populated with Samoans. Outside of town, St. Joseph parish in Waipahu, Sacred Heart parish in Wai'anae, and St. Elizabeth parish in 'Aiea also are home to many Samoans.

Primary informants in this study have been the leaders of religious education efforts in these parishes. These include the pastors and associate priests, the directors of religious education (DRE), and the teachers and assistants, some few of whom are Samoan. My informal interview/discussions with these people yielded a picture of current services as well as their desires for expanded efforts to serve Samoan Catholics in Hawai'i.

The Director of Youth Ministry of the Diocese of Honolulu contributed a diocesan perspective to this study (Rezentes, p.c.). The Youth Ministry office provides

workshops, conferences, and guidance for youth as well as training and support for adults involved in any way in youth ministry. The director echoed the concerns put forth by this study and expressed a need for continued work among all religious educators in Hawai'i to explore avenues to enhance the effectiveness of their work among Samoan youth.

The annual diocesan Youth Day, put together by the Youth Ministry staff, is an all-day session of workshops on communication and other skills, lectures on topics such as sexually transmitted diseases, sharing sessions on teen problems, and worship opportunities for youth from all over Hawai'i. Youth Day has drawn a noticeable participation by Samoan youth. The director attributes this participation to the organizing skills of the various parish leaders and recognizes the positive effect that such multi-ethnic experiences can have on the self-esteem of the Samoan youth. The structure, activities, and objectives of Youth Day echo the essential socialization aspect of the church in Samoan culture. This event should be employed as a continuing source of affirmation of Samoan young people.

The various parishes under consideration in this study all provide religious education programs along the guidelines of the National Catechetical Directory (United States Catholic Conference 1979). These programs generally include religion classes for children from kindergarten age through secondary level. The scope and sequence of these programs

are adapted to the readiness of the participants and cover all aspects of religious formation including Scripture, the Sacraments, moral decision-making, Church history, worship and prayer, and justice and peace. A variety of pedagogical tools are employed as the numbers of available teachers and the quality of their expertise permit. Special classes are provided to prepare children for initiation into the Sacraments of the Eucharist and Reconciliation, with high-school-age youth offered special preparation for the Sacrament of Confirmation. These sacraments bring the youth into full participation in the Catholic Faith, with Confirmation being the youth's personal and public commitment to the practice of the Faith, a religious coming of age.

The parish religious education programs are designed primarily for those young people not attending Catholic schools, which provide substantial religious education as a standard part of their curriculum. Parish classes usually meet on weekends or on weekday evenings. Those youth who have reached the age of majority and who have not been fully initiated into the sacramental life of the Church may participate in the RCIA program, the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults. As explored below, the numbers of youth participating in parish religious education programs are far below those eligible. This would also apply to Samoan youth, with perhaps a greater absenteeism due to

periodic family or community activities the priority of which is culturally dictated.

The pastoral leadership in these parish communities is clearly dedicated to the spiritual and material welfare of all the parishioners. This dedication reflects a particular concern for the Samoan community. Each parish maintains an active Samoan choir, special service activities of the Samoan parish community at the church (e.g., constructing elaborate Nativity scenes at Christmas), regular inclusion of some Samoan hymns at regular Mass, etc.--all with the support and encouragement of pastors and directors of religious education.

Some pastors and religion leaders have been successful in establishing relationships of confidence and trust with Samoan youth. One DRE regularly hears expressions of frustration from her female students about the demands of the Samoan culture, a way of life many of the girls say they will try to abandon as they achieve what they hope will be the freedoms of adulthood. A pastor shares a close counseling relationship with a young Samoan man whose brother is in prison. Another DRE, a religious Sister, maintains close ties with parish Samoan families involved in a stabbing death and a subsequent fatal assault and battery; all the while she lives in a house protected with iron bars against burglary by many of her young Samoan neighbors. The element of risk with which some religious educators choose to live bears witness

to the depth of their commitment to, and hope for, Samoan youth in Honolulu.

A level of ethnic integration exists also in the parishes. The regular cooperation of Filipino, Samoan, and Hawaiian young people in various social and religious activities, such as dances, retreats, and youth Masses, at St. John the Baptist parish provides Samoan youth with the opportunity to build self-esteem in the warm acceptance of their peers. The multi-ethnic character of Hawai'i's population is, to some extent, reflected in all parish communities. This ethnic mix is especially significant in light of the strong ethnic segregation characteristic of Hawai'i's current youth gang phenomenon (Hawai'i 1989:25-26, 32-33). The basic values of acceptance of others and aspirations to peaceful community inherent in Christian teaching may account for the success of this parish integration.

Honolulu's professional medical community's efforts to heal social as well as physical ills have not been lost on the community's religious educators. A recent "Culture and Family Conference for Mental Health Professionals" sponsored by the Family Institute of the Pacific (1989) of the St. Francis Medical Center drew a Honolulu DRE who found the sessions provided valuable cultural insights of relevance to her service to the immigrant Samoan community in her parish. One health care professional in a conference talk explored

the behavioral norms of Samoans in comparison and contrast with those of the other main ethnic groups in Hawai'i. The need for, and ability of, religious educators to bring the expertise of professionals in various fields of social service to bear on the goals and objectives of religious education is a part of the Church's effort to embrace the total person in the complete catechesis discussed above. I include this aspect of building strong religion programs in my proposals in Chapter VI.

One non-Samoan Catholic pastor plans an upcoming visit to Samoa to enhance his understanding of Samoan culture and to deepen his sensitivity to his Samoan parishioners in Honolulu. The Diocese of Honolulu retains, as of May 1989, at least two priests of Samoan ancestry and cultural expertise who serve as resource people for pastors. Also, the Honolulu bishop visited Samoa in 1986 to participate in the ordination of the new bishop of Samoa-Pago Pago. All of this, of course, in addition to the professional social services provided to many Samoans by the Church's own social service agency. These efforts give central, positive, caring focus to Samoan people and culture in Hawai'i.

In considering, then, the theoretical and practical contributions to the quality of life of immigrant Samoan youth by Hawai'i's Catholic religious educators, one must recognize that learning more about Samoan culture and its relationship to faith and daily life is already a significant

part of current catechesis. Embedded in the above characterization of Catholic religious education in some of Hawai'i's parishes populated by Samoan people is both the desire and the effort of religious educators on all levels, from the bishop through the pastors and priests, DRE's, and teachers and aides, to reach out to the Samoan people, particularly the youth, with sensitivity and helpfulness.

Emerging from this effort and the forces of time is what might be called a theology of the Samoan immigrant in Hawai'i, a theology complementing the thoughts of Ulises Sala (1980) referred to above, a theology finding expression before our eyes and providing additional food for thought for its own growth and articulation. Some questions might be asked: What has the Samoan immigrant experience in Hawai'i been telling us about God? What challenges does Hawai'i's immigrant Samoan community present to Honolulu's Christian community? What unique perspectives on religious continuity and historical change does Hawai'i's Samoan community possess? Theology lends clarity and direction to human endeavors.

A very brief look at the Protestant Samoan Churches in Hawai'i provides a broadening of our perspective and highlights a resource for ecumenical efforts in dealing with the concerns of this thesis.

Protestant Perspectives

The history and central role of religion/lotu in Samoan life has resulted in the establishment of numerous Samoan churches and congregations in Hawai'i. Methodist, Seventh-Day Adventist, Mormon, and other mainstream churches besides the Roman Catholic Church generously accommodate their Samoan communities with special hours for Samoan-language services, Samoan choir practice, and the like (Etuale, p.c.). There are also many churches in Hawai'i which are wholly Samoan-led and operated, some of them associated with the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa the Assemblies of God, or other denominations (Puni, p.c.).

A typical Samoan Congregational Church operates much the same as the Congregational Churches in Samoa with a Samoan pastor and his family in residence. One such Church in Honolulu (Sataraka, p.c.) is attended by a strongly committed congregation consisting of families from all over the Island of O'ahu. In addition to the regular Sunday service in the Samoan language, the Church provides a Sunday School program for young children; a Samoan Sunday lunch, or to'ona'i, for Church members; a formal catechism lesson for older youth and adults; an adult study group; and an evening youth activity session. This all-day affair is conducted completely in the Samoan language, in part to foster knowledge and use of the language among the young members born and/or reared away from Samoa. Weekday evening choir practices and other meetings

also occur. Samoan family values and the Bible are stressed in all activities, and the pastor takes understandable pride in the integrity and dignity of his community and Church. While the pastor admits that the negative forces of materialism, illegal drugs, and values contrary to Samoan values abound outside his Church in the world in which his congregation lives, he is hopeful that the strong community and various activities of his Church are making a positive difference in the lives of his people, particularly the youth.

One might raise the question as to whether or not a Church community such as this is realistically addressing the very serious problems that Samoan youth face today in Honolulu. Does the religious education program in a small Samoan Church include bringing Christian values explicitly to bear on the problems of gang violence, illegal drugs, teen sexual activity, and parent-child communication problems, particularly in the immigrant Samoan context? Furthermore, Samoan values emphasized in the Samoan churches may themselves conflict with the American values in which Samoan youth are immersed in their daily lives at school and in their neighborhoods. Samoan culture teaches unquestioned parental authority over children based on biblical citations, whereas Americans encourage their children to question authority in a spirit of openness with an emphasis on the centrality of the individual in society. Is the cultural

exclusiveness of such churches counterproductive to the adjustment of Samoan immigrants in Hawai'i? Or does the positive reinforcement of cultural identity and tradition strengthen the Samoan churchgoer's self-esteem and thus his potential for successful adjustment in the community?

Perhaps the various Samoan Churches and congregations in Hawai'i have a great deal to be learned and gained from each other in responding to the needs of the Samoan people whose religious affiliations embrace so many Christian denominations and styles.

Pastor Siieli Puni (p.c.) of the Samoan-Tokelau Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Honolulu shared his thoughts with me on several topics relevant to effective service to the immigrant Samoan community. Pastor Puni insists on being open to teen discussions on sex, drugs, or any other of their concerns because his church is their church. He integrates Bible study and study of nature, science, and other topics of interest to the children of various age levels in the church in order to maintain a broad educational perspective and, thus, maintain the interest and involvement of the youth.

Pastor Puni recognizes that, in Hawai'i, the question of parental authority is challenged by adolescents and can result in rebellious activities on the part of youth. It is important for religious educators, he says, to recognize the cultural forces at work and to address in a direct and open way the conflicts which arise.

Adults also play an important and active role in religious education at Pastor Puni's church. The pastor has made efforts to involve the adult members of his congregation in discussions to come to grips with the rebellious attitudes of some of their children. His ministry includes a sensitivity to the frustrations of parents and the embarrassment of Samoan adults unaccustomed to discussing topics such as sex or drugs with their children. He also takes active steps to address the needs of elderly Samoans who have lost much of their family contact or chiefly authority due to the fast-paced life of Honolulu.

Many of Pastor Puni's programs are designed specifically to provide a forum for adults to discuss their concerns and frustrations. He advocates bringing into his programs experts in parenting in the American context to provide his congregation with some of the tools they need to cope more successfully with the difficulties of adapting to family life in Hawai'i. He also encourages the adults to live a clean lifestyle free of drinking or other activities that might undermine the moral example adults must set for youth.

Pastor Puni's use of police officers, counselors, and other professionals to enhance his own expertise in ministering to the Samoan people in Hawai'i is complemented by his suggestion that Samoans, themselves, be utilized as much as possible in key positions of guidance and education in the churches. This sharing of resources, then, would

include the cultural sensitivities essential to comprehensive religious education.

Pastor Eddie Laulu of the Central Samoan Assembly in Honolulu ("A Pastor's Plea: Go On To School" 1987) strongly encourages the members of his congregation to participate in the world beyond their Samoan interests, to get involved, to make something of themselves, especially the youth. His arrangement for guests such as Honolulu Community College administrators to speak with the young people in his congregation about educational and career planning is an example of church in the service of the total person, i.e., in the service of young Samoans inextricably immersed in the multi-cultural world of Honolulu.

Measuring the Efforts

How does one evaluate the efforts of Roman Catholic religious education among immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu? What is the yardstick for success? The area of personal religious faith is perhaps impossible to measure, although establishment of various Gospel-based indicators may satisfy some catechists' desire to justify inclusion or exclusion of a lesson here or an activity there. "By their fruits you shall know them" (Matthew 7:20) perhaps comes closest to this tool which may also be applied to the qualities of everyday life to which every human being aspires and to which this paper gives primary attention. The question here, however, is more accurately, "How effectively are religious educators

addressing the needs of immigrant Samoan youth in Hawai'i, and what are the strengths and weaknesses of their tools?"

The above overview of many of the various dimensions of the Catholic religious education effort to respond in service to the immigrant Samoan youth community reflects the depth of commitment and the breadth of expertise that the religious educators bring to this endeavor. The decades-long presence of substantial numbers of Samoan immigrants in Hawai'i has provided the Catholic community with many insights into Samoan life and religious practices. These insights are reflected in the diversity of the Church's responses to the character and special needs of this community, e.g., the establishment of Catholic Samoan choirs and liturgies. Many deficiencies, however, may also be discerned, especially when the broad behavioral norms and historical and theological realities of Samoan life, which emerge from the resources I have examined in Chapters II, III, and IV above, are brought to bear on the problem areas.

Several problems in parish religious education pointed out by the U.S. Catholic Bishops in their 1972 message on Catholic education (National Conference of Catholic Bishops 1972:25) still exist today and are relevant to the educational ministry to today's youth in general and to Honolulu's Catholic Samoan youth in particular. The religious education programs are still not reaching large numbers of youth who are not in Catholic schools. This lack

of numbers among Samoan youth may be the result of the weakening of Samoan matai or parental authority in Hawai'i as well as by the simple fact of parents' irregular work schedules conflicting with religious education program schedules. Also, frequent Samoan cultural demands (fa'alavelave) such as entertaining visiting guests, organizing large funerals or weddings, or attending choir practices, may take precedence over religion classes as the youth are needed to provide the labor and voices for such affairs.

The existing programs may not be appealing to the youth in their structure or content. Most Catholic religious education programs in Hawai'i lack the kind of disciplinary component to which Samoan young people are accustomed. Thus, a youth who is enrolled in a religion class may not feel compelled to be at every class session because he knows there will be few, if any, consequences if he is absent. I saw no evidence of, nor do I propose, the use of corporal punishment, e.g., sharp hitting with a stick, in the religion programs I investigated. However, such discipline is common in Samoan culture. Lack of appeal may also ensue if Samoan youth find few, if any, religion teachers to be knowledgeable about and sensitive to the problematic realities of immigrant life.

Some parents are indifferent to the activities and youth programs offered by the Church. Here again, the parents'

overwhelming concern about economic needs in the family may preclude involvement in their children's evening and weekend activities. A more subtle possibility is the lack of responsiveness of Samoan adults to community affairs in Hawai'i due to the lack of "village" unity among Samoans in Hawai'i. The Kalihi neighborhoods, for example, which are home to many Samoans cannot accommodate unified housing of entire extended families or large groups of people originating from the same villages in Samoa. Thus, the family and village social structures which foster productive group activities in Samoa do not exist in Hawai'i.

Some youth lend their loyalty to other communities or activities which they may find more fulfilling or appealing than religion classes. Here again, lack of matai and parental authority may result in young people not being effectively channeled into participation in religious education programs. The consequent guidance vacuum then may allow young Samoans to seek group affiliation in youth gangs or other communities reminiscent of the 'aumāga experience in Samoan culture. There are also the overwhelmingly diverse and available urban attractions of Honolulu such as video recordings, electronic games, friends' fast cars, and illegal drugs that can easily distract Samoan youth, particularly the newly arrived and inexperienced, from even thinking about the religion program at church.

Some DRE's either overlook the special problems and demands of Samoan teenagers or are often at a loss as to how to deal with them because dealing with the question of a young Samoan's time schedule means dealing with a complex set of family priorities often foreign to the DRE. However, the problem here is more than just a matter of "time." Most DRE's in the parishes under consideration here, while they may be knowledgeable in varying degrees about Samoan culture and parent-youth relationships, may not know how to elicit parental involvement or effectively communicate with a young Samoan torn between family expectations in the Samoan context and the expectations of friends and teachers in the religion program. The DRE's current knowledge of the subtleties of Samoan religious expression and other behavioral norms may not be sufficient to adapt materials to the perspective of the Samoan youth or to train his or her staff to function effectively in the Samoan cultural context.

Another important problem then, both in 1972 and today, is staff training. Most DRE's head a staff of volunteers who represent a wide diversity of backgrounds, all linked together by a commitment to the Faith and a desire to serve. Given this desire and a minimal aptitude for educational work, an effective teacher would be well trained in catechesis and, in this particular circumstance, enlightened about basic Samoan cultural values, family life, and immigrant struggles. Most of our religious educators lack at

least some of these qualifications, due in large part not only to the volunteer nature of their service and their consequent time limitations, but also due to the lack of parish funding for religious education. Of the seven parish religious education programs that I explored, one had several active Samoan participants in teaching or assistant positions and three had one or two participants. The others had none. A typical staff consists of a dozen or more people.

Poor curriculum development sometimes results from the lack of a well-trained, experienced, available staff in touch with a broad variety of possibilities in materials selection and adaptation, materials considered in part for their potential appeal or relevance to immigrant Samoan youth. This consideration does not imply that materials are the heart of a program; neither does it imply a disregard for the human "heart" that finds expression in the abundant compassion, patience, and concern of the volunteer religion teacher. It does raise the question of content in programs which should have overlapping, mutually supportive cognitive and affective objectives relevant to the community at hand.

If there is no reflection of Samoan culture in the materials used in religion programs for largely Samoan groups of teenagers, and if methodologies do not take into consideration the power of such Samoan expressions of community as the ifoga or the kava ceremony, then these

religion programs are neglecting to manifest one of the fundamental guidelines of the Church regarding religious education--the indigenous nature of true catechesis, which I mention above as a part of "Total Catechesis." If the parish program uses texts researched and written on the U.S. Mainland and designed for the "average" American teenager, then it is incumbent upon the religion teacher to adapt these materials to the local situation. The local situation in many Hawai`i parishes includes a strong Samoan presence.

I have found that very little work has been done thus far to effectively adapt religion materials and methodologies in Hawai`i to the needs of Samoan teenagers. The director of the diocesan Department of Religious Education, however, expresses a strong desire to close this gap in Catholic religious education efforts as soon as possible (Shields, p.c.).

Perhaps the most pervasive deficiency of Catholic religious education in the area of service to immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu is, as I have discussed above, the formulation of a theology of immigrant Samoan youth which articulates the realities of the lives of these people in light of the Gospel and provides a perspective and vision for the future. Words, of course, are of little value in the human struggle if they do not lead to some resolution of difficulty and achievement of positive goals. The decidedly clear goal of the diaconal dimension of religious education

here is the establishment of a measure of self-esteem among Honolulu's Samoan youth. High self-esteem provides the universally recognized fertile ground, then, for the growth of human qualities, not the least of which for the concerned religious educator is what might be called holiness. A theology of immigrant Samoan youth would have self-esteem at its heart, and it would be the readily recognizable, culture-specific force at work in our churches.

However, a theology of immigrant Samoan youth can only emerge from concomitant efforts along several lines of development. These lines of development comprise the proposals of chapter VI following.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE-- THE THESIS AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE

The expressed concern of this thesis has been the difficulty in social adjustment experienced by many immigrant Samoan youth in urban Honolulu. The two broad components brought to bear in an analysis of this concern have been Samoan life (i.e., Samoan Christianity, cultural practices, behavioral norms, and immigration experience) and Catholic religious education (i.e., the Church's efforts to build faith and form Christian character among youth while, at the same time, responding in a spirit of service to the concrete needs of youth). The conclusions that may be drawn as a result of this analysis, with a view to effectively addressing the concern, also focus on two components--culture and youth.

In spreading the Gospel and building faith, the Church has, from Apostolic times, been sensitive to culture in accomplishing its evangelical objectives, and the Christian faith continues to flourish twenty centuries later. Any success on the part of the Church in alleviating the difficulties of the immigrant, anywhere, derives in large part from this sensitivity to and embrace of culture while at the same time transcending all cultures.

In the Acts of the Apostles, St. Luke describes one of the most significant events in Apostolic times, the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15). This, the first major meeting of Church leaders in the first century, established from the very beginning a clear precedent for dealing with cultural differences among Christians. The question raised at that time by Christians who had been Jews and who had practiced circumcision and many rituals for religious purposes was whether or not gentiles who became Christians had, also, to circumcise their boys and practice the dietary and other rituals to which the Jews were accustomed. The Council decided, based in large part on the Apostle Peter's previous observance of God's effect in the lives of gentiles without preconditions concerning the traditional Jewish Law, that following these traditional laws was, in nearly all cases, not necessary. The main question resolved here was one of culture, with the essence of Christian faith effectively divorced from the Jewish culture, into which Jesus had been incarnated, but not removed from the idea of cultural context, the vehicle for all human experience.

The above Scriptural analysis clarifies the posture expected of the religious educator in his/her approach to catechesis. We function within culture, all the while rising above culture when the basic dignity of the human person is under consideration. This perspective provides the religious educator with an essential tool in sorting out the complexities

of immigrant Samoan life in an effort to approach the person as person.

The other major concluding focus of this thesis is youth. Throughout the entire foregoing discussion there has been a particularly pervasive dynamic at work--the painful process of coming of age. All young people must contend with the awkwardness of physical growth, the unpredictableness of emotional growth, the discoveries of intellectual growth, and the promises of spiritual growth. The trauma of migration to new cultural, economic, and social contexts compounds the already challenging adjustments of normal human growth and leaves its mark in sometimes quite permanent and debilitating ways. Immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu have become, over the past forty years, a significant segment of the community, and their numerous adjustment problems are increasingly evident. The dynamic coming of age of this particular group of young people demands the caring attention and aggressive expertise of all service professionals in Hawai'i, including religious educators.

The following four areas of consideration form the basis for what can develop into a continuing, dynamic process of assessment, suggestion, and implementation in the service aspect of Catholic religious education among immigrant Samoan youth. While these areas do not exhaust the possibilities for enhancing current religion programs, they are basic building

blocks in religious education, and they are particularly subject to cultural considerations.

The limitation of discussion here to Catholic programs should not keep the Catholic religious educator from exploring the Protestant Samoan congregations and Churches as valuable resources in the continuing effort to formulate a theology of the immigrant Samoan community and to share and experiment in the implementation of practical tools in the catechesis of Samoan youth. The paramount rules here, on all levels of religious education, are for the religious educator to explore as many avenues of learning about the immigrant Samoan community in Hawai'i as possible, to persist in his or her efforts to interact with the Samoan community, and to involve Samoans in the work of the Church.

Area One: Theology and Culture

Theology attempts to explain what religion expresses. In any Christian endeavor, there is a theology underlying the particular attitudes and actions of the participants. The relationship between the two realms is quite intimate, with theology forming much of the basis for religion all the while religious activity generates ever-new theological perspectives. In the circumstances of the immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu there is rich food for theological thought in the dynamics of environment, family, adolescence, culture, and morality.

The cultural dimension of the concerns addressed by this paper, rather than only deepening the complexity of the

problems, has great potential to contribute to their solution. A practical, comprehensive educational program for diocesan and parochial leaders in religious education must be established to steep those leaders in the Samoan culture, the Samoan expression of Christianity, and the realities of the Samoan immigrant experience. The religious leadership must form the broad base of expertise from which local educators can draw direction and substance.

I suggest:

- 1) A designated, knowledgeable "Samoa resource person" in the diocesan Department of Religious Education (a Samoan Catholic or someone who works very closely with Samoan Catholics).
- 2) A yearly comprehensive workshop of substantial duration (perhaps two weeks) for DRE's from the "Samoa parishes" and covering the following areas:
 - a) Samoan culture and behavioral norms.
 - b) Samoan Christian history.
 - c) Samoan migration history and difficulties in Hawai'i.
 - d) Comprehensive review of all social programs and agencies serving the immigrant Samoan community in Hawai'i.
 - e) Establishment of a network of DRE's and resource persons in the community, especially Samoans, who are knowledgeable of Samoan culture and life in Hawai'i.

f) Field trips to Samoan events in the community or pre-arranged social sessions with various Samoan groups.

g) Workshops on Samoan home/family life in which the participants actually live with an assigned Samoan family for a weekend or spend a considerable amount of time with a Samoan family. Clearly defined written goals and objectives would be a part of the structure of the live-in experience with written observations required as a part of a follow-up report. This type of workshop would require a delicate balance of trust and openness in order for the Samoan family to provide the visitors with a genuine taste of Samoan lifestyle.

3) Incorporation of the DRE's Samoan expertise into his or her parish programs through teacher training, curriculum development, and parental involvement (See areas two, three, and four below.).

4) Periodic workshops in all parishes on "the Samoan Catholic in Hawai'i" for all DRE's and religious educators in order to heighten the awareness of the entire Catholic community of the facts of Samoan life in Hawai'i.

5) Continued and more extensively visible facilitation of Samoan liturgical celebrations in the diocese. This would also include home Masses at the homes of Samoan parishioners with all parishioners invited to participate. (This activity has been initiated at St. John the Baptist parish in Kalihi.)

6) Formal establishment of an organization of combined Catholic clergy and Samoan Protestant clergy to share expertise and facilitate ecumenical service projects, social events, and worship.

7) Formulation, by a selected committee, of an official diocesan theology of the immigrant Samoan experience in Hawai'i with a focus on youth and self-esteem and subject to periodic review and clarification.

8) In conjunction with item 7 above, periodic statistical analysis of the Samoan immigrant experience in Hawai'i through questionnaire surveys similar to the one reported on in Chapter IV above. I recommend the Chapter IV survey as only a point of departure for other surveys covering a broader segment of the Samoan community and exploring a more diverse spectrum of topics.

9) Involvement of Samoan young people as much as possible in all of the above seven proposals. Primary sources of recruitment here would be Samoan young people already active in their parishes and prominent Samoan students at Hawai'i's Catholic high schools.

An appropriate forum for the facilitation of some of the objectives of items 2 and 4 above might be the annual summer Diocesan Catechetical Institute which offers an array of classes to update and develop religious educators.

Area Two: Teacher Recruitment and Training

A very practical consideration in proposing more effective service to immigrant Samoan youth is teacher training. The financial and personnel limitations of most parish religious education programs render the programs quite weak in comparison to what would be possible with a committed, well-prepared, properly paid staff. The sense of urgency with which the U.S. bishops addressed the area of religious education for children and young people who attend public and other non-Catholic schools reflected (National Conference of Catholic Bishops 1972), and continues to reflect, the deficiency of the Church in this area of catechesis. The lack of qualified teaching staff and the extremely limited educational outreach of some parishes continues to demand our attention and resourcefulness in order to move more dynamically toward a community of truly knowledgeable and spiritually formed people. What is true for the general population also is true for the Samoan community, with the additional deficit in cultural awareness among most religion staff that hinders growth of a teacher-student rapport conducive to more effective building of self-esteem and leadership qualities among the youth.

Therefore, I suggest:

- 1) Intensive DRE recruitment of teachers, both volunteer and paid, according to the practical financial resources of the parish, to commit themselves in particular to Samoan youth.

2) Teacher training in both general curriculum development and methodology and in Samoan culture and problems, drawing on the expertise and resources of the diocesan Department of Religious Education, DREs, and other professionals in the community (e.g., health care professionals and social workers familiar with immigrant Samoan needs). Particular emphasis must be placed on developing classroom management skills with the effort made to strike a balance between firm discipline, to which Samoan youth effectively respond, and informality, which fosters openness.

3) Parish commitment to recruit and train Samoan religious educators in order to integrate the staff and thus benefit from "built-in" Samoan experts and advisors.

4) Training of older Samoan youth as aides and teachers for the younger levels of religious education. Recruitment here would be among the parish's own Samoan youth.

5) Review of parish financial resources and budget in light of the above four objectives.

6) Exploring the possibility of building a network of "teacher exchanges" among parishes in order to disseminate expertise in Samoan culture and religious expression as widely as possible.

The value of a religion teacher's familiarity with Samoan culture is not necessarily found in the teacher's ability to speak Samoan or show an exhaustive knowledge of cultural practices to the youth. The greatest value for some teachers

may be the teacher's awareness of some of the Samoan youth's attitudes, expectations, family obligations, etc., all of which the youth brings to bear in the religious education situation. Here the underlying strength of catechesis may be, not in what is said, but in what is not said but sensed and taken into consideration. For example, a teacher may know that it may be inappropriate to invite Samoan brothers and sisters to an overnight retreat, chaperoned though it may be, due to the adherence of some Samoan parents to the brother-sister avoidance taboo (Gardner 1965:35-36) as the youth mature. An implicit communication of this sensitivity to the participants, and the making of more appropriate arrangements to facilitate a retreat, could avoid conflict and a lack of participation in the parish. This is only one example of the kind of knowledge of Samoan culture needed by religious educators to respond fully their young Samoan parishioners.

Area Three: Curriculum Development and Methodology

This most practical and concrete aspect of religious education may not be as deeply affected by cultural considerations as it might appear necessary. Of course, all religious educators have the responsibility to choose those materials and methodologies which are most suitable to the community being served. Indeed, regarding materials, some religious educators develop most if not all of their own materials, carefully designing them against a measure of catechetical goals and objectives and student receptivity.

Other teachers or DRE's make use of the many resources available from commercial sources.

The extent to which cultural considerations are in order in curriculum development depends very much on local needs. In the case of immigrant Samoan youth in Honolulu, English language ability is a high-priority consideration, given that many Samoan youth speak English as a second language, learn a non-standard Hawaiian-creole dialect of English in Honolulu, and progress very slowly in academic achievement as evidenced by the achievement scores cited earlier in this thesis. Care must be taken by the teacher, however, not to presume low intelligence on the part of the students simply on the basis of poor language skills. Since the religious educator's task is primarily catechesis, adapting materials for the students at hand, through rewriting, presentation through activities, or other creative alternatives, may be an important aspect of the job. Complications include having a diversity of ethnic groups and academic abilities represented in a single class. While materials development may challenge the teacher a great deal in such a situation, the potential for developing a greater openness and acceptance among members of various ethnic groups, including young Samoans, is of equal if not greater value in the current climate of ethnic conflict which exists among urban Honolulu youth.

Two other comments are appropriate here. First, the vast area of curriculum development in education in general,

including the years of training and experience incumbent upon professionals in this area, need not intimidate the volunteer religious educator. As the Church strives to enhance the quality of religious education programs in the parishes, a steady provision for teacher training, as suggested above, must continue to ensue.

Secondly, including specifically Samoan activities in the religion curriculum, e.g., song and dance, presentation of mock ifoga, or the like, may be valuable both in bridging the gap between Samoan and non-Samoan youth in the program and in deepening the young Samoans' understanding of and appreciation for the Christian values underlying many traditional Samoan practices. Care must be taken, however, not to trivialize such practices in efforts to please the Samoans or teach the non-Samoan youth about Samoan culture. In an important perspective offered by educator Gertrude Chun (p.c.), which is explored further below, too much energy spent on specific cultural activities to "highlight" a youth's "Samoanness" may deprive that youth of the satisfaction of a deeper need--simple affirmation as a human being of worth, regardless of his ethnic background.

In the area of curriculum development and methodology, I suggest:

- 1) Careful examination, by personnel knowledgeable of Samoan culture and life, of religion materials to determine where Samoan cultural expressions might both

enhance the Christian teaching as well as highlight the positive values of the Samoan culture and also extend familiarity with Samoan culture to non-Samoan students in the program.

2) Periodic workshops on the parish level for all teachers to facilitate the enhancements to materials mentioned above.

3) Use of invited Samoan guests from other parishes or churches to participate in lessons, activities, and worship in the parish program.

4) Use of film and videotapes of Samoan events to trigger discussions on the application of Christian teaching to cultural, particularly Samoan, situations.

5) Research and development of bilingual, bi-cultural, Samoan-English religious education materials to boost the comprehension of newly arrived Samoan students in the program. These materials would help the new students to feel at home, and the use of the Samoan language would foster involvement, to some extent, on the part of the Samoan young people who are longtime Hawai'i residents and whose own skill in the Samoan language may be limited. Teachers must be careful, however, to limit the use of Samoan to these objectives and to work at moving all students towards greater and greater facility with English in order to foster the acculturation that life in Hawai'i demands.

6) Involvement of Samoan youth in activities focused on the values and cultural practices of members of other ethnic groups in the program to foster among the Samoan young people knowledge about and openness to non-Samoans.

7) Out-of-parish retreats and excursions in which Samoan youth participate in planning and facilitating all aspects of the activity in cooperation with youth of other ethnic groups and involving parents and other family members of all the youth in the program. A suggested retreat activity might pair up Samoan parents with non-Samoan youth, and vice versa, providing all participants with opportunities to clarify their own values as well as heighten their awareness of the sometimes quite different values of others, all in a non-threatening setting of relaxed acceptance.

Area Four: Parental Involvement

Parental involvement in not only religious education but also education in general is an extremely important and perpetual concern among educators. All teachers welcome the parent who takes an active interest in his or her child's progress in school, and the value of such interest cannot be overstated. A supportive educational environment in the home often makes the difference between success and failure. The additional parental role-model dimension of education and growth in faith and morals makes this concern especially crucial in a young person's growing sense of stability and self-worth. Naturally, then, religious educators of young

Samoans would welcome interest and involvement on the part of parents.

The structured character of traditional Samoan Christian practice, with clearly defined roles for children, youth, men, women, and elders, usually does not translate into strong parental involvement in their children's religious education. The second Sunday of October in Samoa is White, or Children's, Sunday. On this one day of the year, parents and children reverse roles with parents serving the children instead of the usual reverse (Sutter 1971:67, 89). Beyond the genuine expression of love and appreciation for children that this day represents, it is special precisely because it is a radical reversal of social roles. Throughout the year, however, in Samoa and in Hawai'i, parents may deliver their younger children to religion class, and older youth may participate in the program, but frequently, when extended-family obligations demand a young person's service at a wedding or funeral, or when the older youth are expected to participate in the parish's Samoan choir practice, the religion class is not of primary importance and the result is a sporadic religious education at best.

Prior to parental involvement must come parental education in the goals and objectives of religious education beyond the practice of such valuable but limited structured activities as choir, Samoan Catholic Society meetings, or the like.

The strong Samoan commitment to community, be it family, village, or church, is a pillar of stability for the individual Samoan as well as the Samoan community. This value is sorely tried in the adverse conditions which many Samoans face in their status as immigrants or members of immigrant families in Hawai'i. The point here is that Samoan youth, often feeling alienated from other ethnic groups in the community in overt or subtle ways, and often struggling with the dangers of illegal drugs, illicit sexual activity, alcohol, poor achievement at school, and unrealistic family expectations in an alien land, would benefit greatly from the personal affirmation offered by the Church if their parents were to more fully participate in the parish religious education program.

In my many discussions with Samoan parents over the years, and in informal interviews with some of the parents of respondents to the Samoan Youth Questionnaire discussed in Chapter IV above, the parents of young Samoans in Hawai'i invariably cite education and a good job as top aspirations for their children. They also mention a desire for their children to be close to God, to be safe from the violence of the streets, and to return eventually to Samoa. The genuine concerns of these Samoan parents, however, seldom translate into active involvement in parish religious education programs.

A recent one-day retreat at a Catholic Church in American Samoa provided a recently-returned Samoan nuclear family--father, mother, five children--with the opportunity to

participate in an affirmation activity. Each family member had the opportunity to express appreciation for a personal quality of the father of the family in an environment of meditation and peace. The parents, as informants, later told me that the sense of openness and trust which this retreat fostered among their family members was deeper than they had experienced before or that they had thought possible. It is just this kind of affirming experience that is so seldom available to Samoan families in Hawai'i who are not involved together in some regular way in the religious education process.

Structuring a parent-youth dimension into the religious education program, avoiding schedule conflicts with other Samoan activities at the parish, could begin to provide a channel of communication between Samoan parents and youth which can foster the kind of personal trust needed in times of youth crisis. Efforts to design on-going adult religious education classes and activities for Samoan and mixed groups is also worthy of consideration.

Therefore, I suggest:

- 1) Parish meetings of the pastor, DRE, Samoan parents, and other leaders to discuss the value of parental involvement in parish religious education.

- 2) Establishment of a well-publicized parent-teenager night to begin to give families a taste of the benefits to be had in activities such as the retreat experience described above.

3) Use of Samoan adult facilitators, perhaps to include matai who possess a particularly high profile of respect and authority in the Hawai'i community, to communicate to Samoan parents in the parish the value of parental involvement in the religious education program and to help plan religious education activities that do not conflict with the time schedules of Samoan cultural activities.

4) Small-group discussions among Samoan teenagers, facilitated by religious educators, on the topic of parental involvement. These discussions, done in a spirit of confidentiality, would provide the young people with opportunities to air their feelings and opinions regarding their parents, family life, and church involvement. They would also be important sources of information and insight for religious educators as they plan strategies for parent involvement with sensitivity to the cultural and personal realities of the parishioners' lives.

5) DRE use of Samoan resource people such as Pastor Sioeli Puni in researching parental-involvement strategies.

6) Initiating a yearly youth Mass in which all parish young people, Samoan and non-Samoan, express publicly and in acts of rich liturgical symbol deep appreciation for their parents.

7) Organization of a door-to-door canvass of all parish families by teams including active young Samoan parishioners in order to personally invite inactive Samoan

Catholics to participate in parish life. The presence of young people in the canvassing teams may encourage other young Samoans to risk becoming involved.

A Final Perspective

Gertrude Chun, an American Samoan educator, mother, and active member of the community on many levels in both Hawai'i and Samoa, speaks very strongly about the needs of Samoan youth today in Honolulu. She has determined (Chun 1987) that self-esteem, rooted in personhood above and beyond Samoanness, is a key--perhaps the key--factor in the struggles of Samoan youth to come into their own on a truly equal basis with the rest of society in Hawai'i. There is great merit in this perspective. There will continue to be conflicts for young Samoans--cultural and otherwise--and there will be many more struggles for them to achieve a respectable position in Hawai'i's society. Resolution of difficulties may not be close at hand, perhaps not for a generation or more, but creative survival, survival characterized by building one's own life as a complement to that of others rather than in conflict with others, depends on a deep, genuine love for oneself founded on values such as those espoused by Christians.

While Catholic religious educators do not propose to possess the solutions to all of the problems of Hawai'i's Samoan youth, they do offer supports which hold promise and proven value for these young people. Yet there is much room for growth in the Catholic programs. This thesis provides a

detailed overview of Samoan culture and Christianity, Samoan immigrant life, and the goals and objectives of Catholic religious education in order to stimulate the imaginations of religious educators and generate creative alternatives and enhancements to what has been a two-thousand-year endeavor, relatively recently manifest in the American and Samoan contexts. Complete catechesis nurtures the total person. Religious education with the total person at the heart of an ethnically sensitive effort of both theological and practical dimensions holds some promise for the immigrant Samoan youth of Honolulu.

APPENDIX A

SAMOAN YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete the following:

Age:_____ Grade in school:_____ Sex: M___ F___

Were you born in Samoa? Yes___ No___

How long have you been in Hawaii? _____

Please check the word that applies to you:

* Do you go to church on Sunday?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

* Is church interesting?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

* Do your parents help you with your homework?

Never----- Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

* At school, do you ever eat lunch with people who are not Samoan?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

* Do your parents give you an allowance (money)?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

* Do you ride the bus to school?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

* Do you use marijuana (pakalolo)?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

- * Do you do your best at school?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you sing in the Samoan choir?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you live with your biological mother?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do your parents tell you that they want you to do well at school?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * At school, do you play with others who are not Samoan?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Since you have been in high school, have you ever had a job in order to earn your own money?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you ever steal?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you use any drugs other than marijuana?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you really believe you are good looking (handsome if you are a boy/pretty if you are a girl)?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you participate in a youth group at church?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you live with your biological father?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you think about what job you would like to do when you grow up?
Never----- Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

- * At school, do you study with others who are not Samoan?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you carry money with you?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you ride in a car to school?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do your parents ever talk with you about drugs at home?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you like your personality?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you attend religious education classes?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do other people besides your mother, father, sisters,
 and brothers live at your house?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you fight or argue with your brothers or sisters?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * At school, when you are free to sit where you like, do
 you ever sit next to someone who is not Samoan?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you have more money than most of your friends?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * In general, is sex a problem for you?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you ever discuss drugs in class at school?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

- * Do you like your body?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Does church activity help you with your family life?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do you ever have visitors from Samoa or the Mainland?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do your parents understand you?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do your teachers help you with your schoolwork?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Are your clothes good enough for you?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do your parents ever talk about sex at home?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Are drugs scary?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do you like to be with only Samoans most of the time?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Does church activity help you with your school life?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do your parents or older brothers and sisters ask you to do work around your house?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do your parents give you what you need?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do your teachers understand how you feel?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

- * Do you ever wear an 'ie-lavalava or puleyasi in public in Hawaii?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do your parents teach you about sex?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Are drugs fun?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do you like to mix with people from other racial or cultural groups?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Does church activity help you with your personal life?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Does your family ever have fa'alavelave (weddings, funerals, etc.) to go to?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * At home, do you play with neighbors who are not Samoan?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do your teachers give you extra responsibilities at school?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do you like to wear 'ie-lavalava or puleyasi in public in Hawaii?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do you learn about sex in class at school?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Have you ever met anyone who is in a youth gang in Hawaii?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___
- * Do you like living in Hawaii?
Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

- * Is church scary?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you ever receive a spanking for doing something wrong?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * At home, do you study with neighbors who are not Samoan?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do your teachers like other students more than they like you?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do people ever laugh at you because you are wearing an 'ie-lavalava in public?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Have you had sexual intercourse?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Are Samoan youth gangs good?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Would you rather live in Samoa?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Is church fun?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you have a quiet place at home where you can do your homework from school?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you visit inside the houses of neighbors who are not Samoan?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do your teachers believe you can do good work at school?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

- * Do others respect you when you wear an 'ie-lavalava in public?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Have you had other sexual activity (not intercourse) with other people?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you think about joining a Samoan youth gang?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Are you proud to be a Samoan?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Is church boring?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you have enough school supplies (pencils, pens, paper)?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Have you had a really good friend who is not Samoan?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do your teachers understand the Samoan way of life?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you walk to school?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Have you studied about AIDS and other diseases that you can get from sexual activity?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Are you smart?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- * Do you make plans to live in Samoa when you are older?
Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

APPENDIX B

SAMOAN YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE
WITH LETTERED CATEGORIES

Please complete the following:

Age: _____ Grade in school: _____ Sex: M _____ F _____

Were you born in Samoa? Yes _____ No _____

How long have you been in Hawaii? _____

Please check the word that applies to you:

A1. Do you go to church on Sunday?

Never _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____ Always _____ +

A2. Do you sing in the Samoan choir?

Never _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____ Always _____ +

A3. Do you participate in a youth group at church?

Never _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____ Always _____ +

A4. Do you attend religious education classes?

Never _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____ Always _____ +

A5. Does church activity help you with your family life?

Never _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____ Always _____ +

A6. Does church activity help you with your school life?

Never _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____ Always _____ +

A7. Does church activity help you with your personal life?

Never _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____ Always _____ +

- A8. Is church scary?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- A9. Is church fun?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- A10. Is church boring?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- A11. Is church interesting?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- B12. Do you live with your biological mother?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- B13. Do you live with your biological father?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- B14. Do other people besides your mother, father, sisters, and brothers live at your house?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- B15. Do you ever have visitors from Samoa or the Mainland?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- B16. Do your parents or older brothers and sisters ask you to do work around your house?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- B17. Does your family ever have fa'alavelave (weddings, funerals, etc.) to go to?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- B18. Do you ever receive a spanking for doing something wrong?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- B19. Do you have a quiet place at home where you can do your homework from school?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

B20. Do you have enough school supplies (pencils, pens, paper)?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

B21. Do your parents help you with your homework?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

B22. Do your parents tell you that they want you to do well at school?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

B23. Do you think about what job you would like to do when you grow up?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

B24. Do you fight or argue with your brothers or sisters?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

B25. Do your parents understand you?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

B26. Do your parents give you what you need?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

C27. At home, do you play with neighbors who are not Samoan?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

C28. At home, do you study with neighbors who are not Samoan?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

C29. Do you visit inside the houses of neighbors who are not Samoan?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

C30. Have you had a really good friend who is not Samoan?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

C31. At school, do you ever eat lunch with people who are not Samoan?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

- C32. At school, do you play with others who are not Samoan?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- C33. At school, do you study with others who are not Samoan?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- C34. At school, when you are free to sit where you like, do you ever sit next to someone who is not Samoan?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- C35. Do you like to be with only Samoans most of the time?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- C36. Do you like to mix with people from other racial or cultural groups?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- D37. Do your teachers help you with your schoolwork?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- D38. Do your teachers understand how you feel?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- D39. Do your teachers give you extra responsibilities at school?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- D40. Do your teachers like other students more than they like you?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- D41. Do your teachers believe you can do good work at school?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- D42. Do your teachers understand the Samoan way of life?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- E43. Do your parents give you an allowance (money)?
 Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

- E44. Since you have been in high school, have you ever had a job in order to earn your own money?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- E45. Do you carry money with you?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- E46. Do you have more money than most of your friends?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- F47. Are your clothes good enough for you?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- F48. Do you ever wear an 'ie-lavalava or puleyasi in public in Hawaii?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- F49. Do you like to wear 'ie-lavalava or puleyasi in public in Hawaii?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- F50. Do people ever laugh at you because you are wearing an 'ie-lavalava in public?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- F51. Do others respect you when you wear an 'ie-lavalava in public?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- G52. Do you walk to school?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____
- G53. Do you ride the bus to school?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- G54. Do you ride in a car to school?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +
- H55. In general, is sex a problem for you?
- Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

H56. Do your parents ever talk about sex at home?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___ +

H57. Do your parents teach you about sex?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___ +

H58. Do you learn about sex in class at school?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___ +

H59. Have you had sexual intercourse?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

H60. Have you had other sexual activity (not intercourse) with other people?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

H61. Have you studied about AIDS and other diseases that you can get from sexual activity?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___ +

I62. Do you use marijuana (pakalolo)?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

I63. Do you use any other drugs other than marijuana?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

I64. Do your parents ever talk with you about drugs at home?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___ +

I65. Do you ever discuss drugs in class at school?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___ +

I66. Are drugs scary?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___ +

I67. Are drugs fun?

Never___ Sometimes___ Often___ Always___

J68. Do you ever steal?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

J69. Have you ever met anyone who is in a youth gang in Hawaii?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

J70. Are Samoan youth gangs good?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

J71. Do you think about joining a Samoan youth gang?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

K72. Are you smart?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

K73. Do you do your best at school?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

K74. Do you really believe you are good looking (handsome if you are a boy/pretty if you are a girl)?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

K75. Do you like your personality?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

K76. Do you like your body?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

L77. Do you like living in Hawaii?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

L78. Would you rather live in Samoa?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

L79. Are you proud to be a Samoan?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____ +

L80. Do you make plans to live in Samoa when you are older?

Never____ Sometimes____ Often____ Always____

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