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*The Lived-In-Experience*

**Of Migration For Samoan Women**

A Cross-Cultural Phenomenological Study

**Bronwen Byers**

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy at Massey University, Albany, Auckland, New Zealand

January 2003



**CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION**

This is to certify that the research carried out for my Doctoral thesis entitled "*Phenomenological Interpretations of Experience*" in the *School of Social and Cultural Studies*, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand is my own work and that the thesis material has not been used in part or in whole for any other qualification.

**Candidate's Name** Bronwen Byers

**Signature**



**Date**

January 2003



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This is to certify that the research carried out in the Doctoral Thesis entitled  
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- (b) that the text, excluding appendices/annexes, does not exceed 100 000 words;
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**Date:**

January 8 2003



**SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION**

This is to certify that the research carried out for the Doctoral thesis entitled "*Phenomenological Interpretations of Experience*" was done by *Bronwen Byers* in the *School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand*. The thesis material has not been used in part or in whole for any other qualification, and I confirm that the candidate has pursued the course of study in accordance with the requirements of the Massey University regulations.

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**Date**

*January 8 2003.*

## Abstract

In New Zealand between 1950 and 1960 rapid industrial development brought about a corresponding demand for workers. Many Pacific Island male and female workers filled the available jobs. Considerable material has since emerged addressing issues relating to migrant workers, the focus however has primarily been on male workers whilst portraying women in supporting roles. The paucity of material acknowledging Samoan women's social and economic contributions within migration literature, acted as the catalyst for this study.

Qualitative research paradigms promote theoretical and methodological liberalism, therefore three paradigmatic constructs, social-constructivism, feminism and phenomenology informed this study's interpretive practice strategies in triangulation. Quantitative data added rigour within the analysis process. The cross-cultural nature of the research and my outsider researcher status also influenced a methodological emphasis for researcher transparency.

To ensure this occurred the piloting stages were undertaken with extensive collaboration with gatekeepers in order to achieve appropriate access to the respondents. From the piloting emerged major themes considered characteristic and integral to the migration process as defined by Samoan women. These themes provided the basis for the semi-structured questionnaire, used to elicit the articulated reflections of the individual and collective *lived-in-experiences* of Samoan women migrants. The extensive verbatim interview material was analysed using interpretive phenomenological data analysis procedures. What was revealed was the significance of the pivotal role and critical impact of the individual and collective social and economic contributions made by the Samoan women respondents.

This unique journey thematic focus, allowed for the revelation of the *lived-in-experience* of Samoan women, commencing from the germination of the idea to migrate whilst still at school, to their reflections on this earlier decision of the migration journey (in some cases) fifty years later. These revelations provide a greater understanding of their experiences in relation to: *Schooling* - the influencing factors; *Choice* - the positive and negative affects; *Expectations and Impressions* - the emotional and physical cost; *Language* - the linkage between self-esteem and identity; *Remittances* - women redefining the parameters of traditional obligation; *Church* - the role in the women's lives; *Employment* - the lived-in-situation work situations and the complexity of *Union* membership; *Dawn Raids* - the hidden affects, and finally *Remaining in New Zealand* - reflections and the question of belonging.

This study celebrates the lives of the first wave of Samoan women pioneer migrants to New Zealand by providing a unique, gendered, cross-cultural representation of their *lived-in-experiences* of the phenomenon/migration.

## Acknowledgements

As this study made its incremental way from the original idea to the finished thesis the following people have provided support in so many ways. I would like to thank: Peter Byers my husband, for his encouragement, support and unequivocal faith in me over the last four years. My supervisors Dr Marilyn Waring for providing the intellectual space to develop and Dr Mike O'Brien for his support and confidence. The Samoan gate-keepers and gate-openers that assisted me with making connections within the Samoan community. The three (unnamed) women who provided rich secondary source material. The two (unnamed) Union representatives for their assistance at the pilot stages. The two respondents (unnamed) for translating the questionnaire into the Samoan language and Tafa Mulitalo for checking their appropriateness.

Bobbie Dubber for transcribing the English version interview tapes and Julie Puia for transcribing the Samoan language tapes. Dr Denny Meyer for technical assistance with the audit material, Kait Johnson for technical support and expertise.

The Samoan women who made this study possible by sharing their lived-in-experiences of the phenomenon/migration. By allowing their rich narratives to be gained throughout the interview process permitted us a brief glance into their world. I owe you each a deep debt of gratitude. Without your contribution this study would not have been possible.

I thank you.

You are an amazing group of women.

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## Introduction

### Engaging with the study

My interest in the lived experiences of Pacific Island women migrant/immigrant workers emerged in 1987 whilst working in a large corporation in Auckland. Late meetings often resulted in my leaving around seven or eight o'clock in the evening. As I left groups of women would arrive and with cleaning trolleys disperse about the building. At times we would smile at each other and a conversation would commence. I was not able to speak the Samoan, Tongan or Cook Island Maori languages and admired the women for the way they struggled to speak with me using the English language. We spoke about their experiences of migrating to New Zealand. Due to the late hour these women commenced work I recall asking,

- 'What time do you go home'? their reply. *'This is only one of my [two or three] jobs; I go to [a named company] after this, don't finish till late.*

The resourcefulness and courage of these migrant/immigrant women made a lasting impression upon me and subsequently acted as the catalyst for this study.

### Defining the research parameters

In 1998 to gain clarification of numbers of female night cleaners I requested statistical information from the Department of Statistics (Christchurch office)<sup>1</sup>. On analysis it was not possible to determine whether the cleaning jobs were during the day or night. Initially there was little literature regarding night cleaners apart from Barnes (1981) who shed some light on the work of women cleaners in Hamilton and Davidson & Bray's (1994) exploration of part time work in New Zealand. This initiated the early pre-piloting partial participant observations at contract cleaning sites within Auckland, with the assistance of two Service Workers Union representatives. As this progressed it became obvious the need to broaden the scope to enable a more in-depth look at the social and economic implications that effected and affected the lives of migrant/immigrant women.

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<sup>1</sup> Categories provided (a) occupation (5 digit) the most extensive breakdown available of job designations, (b) gender, (c) major cities, (d) areas within the cities i.e South Auckland. From these figures I was also able to assess the ratio of male cleaners to female cleaners full time and part time.

This subsequent broadening corresponded with the delimiting of the participant group to Samoan women was not made because Samoan women dominated these industries, as opposed to other Pacific Island women but to allow for more in-depth examination of similarities, comparisons and anomalies that occurred within and between one ethnic group.

### Methodological perspectives and research methods

As the pre-piloting progressed, what emerged as a result of talking informally with Pacific Island women, and reflecting upon the issues they raised, was that they shared similar concerns, had faced similar experiences, and each had been confronted with making life-changing decisions specific to the phenomenon/migration. The data that emerged talking with the women at these work sites, and in collaboration with gatekeepers drove the formation of the fourteen inquiry themes providing the basis for the semi-structured questionnaire. This process had some parallels to grounded theory methods of Glaser (1993, 1995). As the pre-piloting and literature review continued in tandem exploring the methodology and methods used in existing material and searching for parallel studies revealed the paucity of any comprehensive narrative, or action-situated reflective accounts, specific to, and by Samoan women of their experiences of the 'lived-in-situation' of the phenomenon/migration. Many of the women with whom I spoke (at that time) also had not recounted their experiences, for two possible reasons, firstly the women (as revealed in the piloting stage of this study) were often reticent to engage in research; secondly few researchers had taken the approach of

wanting to capture a gendered 'liminal' Hill & Deegan (1991) reflective account of the 'lived-in-experiences' of Samoan women's migration journey.

## Outline of thesis

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part One comprises Chapters 01 to 10 Part Two, the '*Self Audit*'. Each chapter incorporates the literature that informed and supported the theoretical and methodological perspectives. This allows for each chapter to retain its individual identity, but be fully integrated into the overall common theme of the thesis. Chapter 01 *Situating the study in the historical labour market and contemporary literature on migration*, provides the background to the labour market for Samoan women on their arrival in New Zealand, part two gives a concise discussion of the literature covering migration, in order to situate this study within the literature and thereby highlight its unique contribution. Chapter 02 *Methodological perspective and research methods* discusses the *qualitative phenomenological inquiry*, and lays the foundations of the theoretical and methodological perspectives and paradigms, that underpin and inform this study's strategies and research practice, used to elicit the phenomenological interpretations of the phenomenon/migration. Chapter 03 *Cross-cultural research*, provides discussion on the role of ethics within cross-cultural research, addressing the need for and advocating researcher transparency, with more emphasis on the emerging respondent voices in regard to the research process. Chapter 04 *Research methods* incorporates two parts the *Piloting and interviewing processes* and explains the empirical fieldwork; how

the access was gained through gatekeepers to the respondents and the subsequent interview procedures. Chapter 05 *Data management and analysis* covers the strategies of data indexing, coding, and the four-stage process of the phenomenological analysis method used to elicit the 'lived-in-experiences' of Samoan women of the phenomenon/migration. From the original fourteen themes, some of the data is presented in quantitative format as Figures 10, 11 and 12, shown on pages 122-126, this enabled the demographic data to be addressed more concisely, allowing for the structural or 'lived-in-experiences' to be captured in the narratives. The final presentation of the text was faithful to the integrity of the women's (verbatim) words by presenting the interview material with each respondent's coded designation. Chapter 06 is the first of these themed chapters; *School and Migration* address the influences within school days that initiated the women's migration to New Zealand. From the original analysis of this theme further sub-themes emerged that reflect the essential essence of the experience of the women, as young girls, growing up in Samoa. These emergent sub-themes, the *desire* to improve their status, *ability and independence*, and a need to *emulate role models*, women that had provided strong role models within their school days. These three characteristics appeared to distinguish this study's respondents from their peers, and revealed the influences that provided the intentionality of their later decision to migrate. The respondents then reveal three sub-themes that of *personal choice*, *some choice* and *no choice* each relate to the ability to choose the process of migration. Each aspect had a direct affect on the process of settlement within New Zealand and the chapter explores the positive and negative outcomes of these three self-described sub-themes.

Chapter 07 *Expectations and Impressions* reveal how the respondents perceived their new life in New Zealand would develop, and the first impressions of New Zealand revealing some of the major adjustments that were required of them adapting to climate change, environmental from rural to city living, and homesickness. The theme *Language* explores the linkages between language, self-esteem and identity. These interrelated sub-themes expose the levels of difficulty experienced by a number of the women as they revealed their struggle to learn English and issues of alienation and 'aloneness' (isolation) that were manifest as the women strove to up-skill their use of the English language in order to communicate with work place associates. Chapter 08 *Remittances* reveals a diversity of thought on the financial obligations of remittance integral to traditional obligation. The women reveal the changes that were influenced by their resettlement in New Zealand. This topic evokes contention within the Pacific Island community, and this gendered viewpoint, as revealed by the women, to some extent has suggested quite polarised ideas to that of their male counterparts. Chapter 09 links with *Employment* and is supported by Figure 14, on page 212, showing the type of work the women undertook. The perceptions of the benefits of work in New Zealand is explored by the women, and emerging from this is the fact that all respondents considered they had directly improved the lives of their children and grandchildren (of those that had children) by their decision to migrate, in search of work in New Zealand. *Union* membership is discussed in relation to the work situation and the women provide an account of positive and negative aspects of aligning with these workplace organisations. *Dawn Raids* is a sensitive area few researchers have specifically addressed in terms of the

affects upon Pacific Island women. From the interviews it was only possible to briefly address this aspect. The statistical data presented in Figure 13 on page 133 confirms the discomfort this evoked in this study's respondents. Chapter 10 *Reflections* draws together the reflective stories of the women's liminal journey of migration and their original decision to migrate. It provides some clarification as to why they perceived this was the appropriate life path. An anomaly emerged from these reflections in that all respondents who had previously indicated they had *no choice* in migrating to New Zealand each categorically stated they would return to Samoa in the near future.

This thesis provides a cross-cultural, gendered, reflective perspective of the self-defined lived-in-experiences of Samoan women as first wave pioneers. Their experiences have been captured within narratives that allow a brief view into their world, as young women in New Zealand from the late 1940's to the early 1970's.

Part two; The *Self Audit* emerged within the data analysis process from the desire to establish researcher transparency. To date no similar self-audit technique has been found. It provides a methodological/methods strategy by which to conduct self-analysis or work audit of interview procedures.

The term 'researcher' has been used while addressing theoretical and methodological issues. The term 'I' has been used as the research entered the empirical practice stage.

Every endeavour has been made to extract the details of church organisations, respondents' monetary contributions to family, places of employment, respondents' residential addresses, the names of companies and personnel, employment remuneration and length of service, in order to maintain respondents' anonymity and to ensure that the completed work conforms with the requirements for ethical research as set out in the Massey University Human Ethics Committee Application, Clause 2.3, (appendix B).

## Situating the study in the New Zealand labour market and contemporary literature on migration

### Introduction

This chapter is divided into two inter-related parts. The first provides an overview of the labour market since 1950, relating to Pacific Island women's employment in New Zealand<sup>1</sup>. The second part discusses the contemporary literature on migration and situates the study within this framework. Each provided background for the narratives of the lived-in-experiences of Samoan women migrant workers that were gained through phenomenological data analysis methods.

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<sup>1</sup> Deeks, J. Parker, J. Ryan, R. *Labour And Employment Relations in New Zealand* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Longman Paul Ltd., Auckland, 1995). Deeks, J & Rasmussen, E. *Employment Relations in New Zealand*, (Pearson Education Books, Auckland 2002). Rudd, C. & Roper, B. (eds.) *The Political Economy of New Zealand*, (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997). Kelsey, J. *The New Zealand Experiment A World Model for Structural Adjustment?* (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1997). Harbridge, R. & Street, M. 'Labour Market Adjustment and Women in the Service Industry: A Survey' in *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*. 20 (1) p23-34. Chen, M. *Women and Discrimination: New Zealand and the UN Convention*, (Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1989).

## Political and employment connections between Samoa and New Zealand

On 15<sup>th</sup> August 1914, eleven days after the declaration of World War One, the New Zealand Government secured Western Samoa from the German authorities. On cessation of war the New Zealand and Australian Prime Ministers Hughes and Massey, wanted to retain the territories as compensation for the war losses. Under the 'C Mandate' New Zealand governed Western Samoa under the Samoa Act 1921 providing constitutional and legal systems until its independence in 1962 (Ministry of Justice 2000:08). New Zealand and Western Samoa entered into a Treaty of Friendship in 1962 and Western Samoa was treated as a constitutional part of New Zealand. An immigration quota system (into New Zealand) was introduced<sup>2</sup>. Under this system Samoans born between 1928 and 1949 were entitled to New Zealand citizenship, subject to certain criteria, such as age and health.

This quota policy allowed a continuous flow of migrant workers between Samoa and New Zealand on temporary work permits, to fill many of the available jobs in the secondary and service sectors of the New Zealand labour market. The percentage of male to female migrants was greater, 'in the years from 1961 to 1966' (Larner 1991:55). However little historical statistical emphasis has been placed on the role of female migrants/immigrants, and by 1966 'there were actually more women than men in the population resident in New Zealand' (p55).

Pacific Island women were over represented in manufacturing, hospitals and domestic services. 'The feminised nature of the job supply, together with the need for a politically malleable labour force, created a demand for the type of workers represented by migrant Samoan women' (p55).

The migrant workers who arrived in New Zealand, were generally motivated by the chance to earn wages that would enable them to send money to Samoa to support family and the village or local economy. Temporary migrant workers were considered the cheapest source of additional labour for the government in a boom economy, when European New Zealanders did not fill the vacancies offered in this sector of the labour market. Pacific Island workers undertook work that was hard, monotonous and involved long hours of overtime. At the same time there was little initiative from Government or the private sector employers to provide support services<sup>3</sup>. Due to a high turnover and short stay in New Zealand, migrants did not have the opportunity to improve their socio-economic status. Pacific Island community group such as churches and family groups were expected to fulfill the support roles for new migrants. (Auckland University Labour Club 1969 (circa 02-07)<sup>4</sup>).

Many workers, at the end of the three-month work permit period, simply did not have the money for their return fare home, and therefore remained in New Zealand in order to achieve their target savings.

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<sup>2</sup> This was disputed in 1982 before the English Privy Council *Leas v Attorney General* (1982) NZLR 162 when it was argued that if Western Samoa was part of New Zealand then this gave Samoans New Zealand citizenship (Ministry of Justice 2000:04).

<sup>3</sup> In the mid 1970's instructional publications began to appear to assist employers and employees to understand more adequately if working in a multi-cultural workplace. Refer *Understanding Pakehas*, (Vocational Training Council, Wellington 1976) also *Working Together A Handbook For Manager and Supervisors In A Multi-Cultural Workforce*, (Vocational Training Council, Wellington, 1984) two of the many publications available.

Employers and subsequent Governments ignored this situation whilst the economy was buoyant. The economic recession of the 1970's brought rapid change in immigration policies. It is estimated this created as many as ten thousand 'overstayers' working in New Zealand. 'Dawn Raids' were commenced on homes where suspected 'overstayers' lived, by police and immigration officials and many home were targeted as harbouring 'overstayers'<sup>5</sup>. In April of 1976 Tongan lawyer Clive Edwards sought an amnesty for Pacific Island 'overstayers' a submission, *Amnesty Aroha* was made to the government, initiated by Pacific Island communities and inter church groups, to give people who registered as 'overstayers' additional time to resolve employment issues. This did not cover those who already had arrest warrants issued against them<sup>6</sup>.

Between 1950 and 1970, problems occurred in accounting for people (Samoans) who arrived in New Zealand on a temporary basis, as distinct from those who entered as permanent residents. Samoans granted temporary entry to New Zealand, who later qualified for permanent resident status, were not included in the statistics of permanent and long-term migration<sup>7</sup>. The result being, the statistics of migration of Tongans and Samoans into New Zealand were 'under recorded therefore no true statistical data of the net emigration is

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<sup>4</sup> Refer *New Zealand Immigration Policy*, (Auckland University Labour Club 1969 (circa) paper prepared by eight (Pacific Island) students with the aim of changing New Zealand immigration policy.

<sup>5</sup> Refer Tamara Ross, *New Zealand Overstaying Islander A Construct of the Ideology of Race and Immigration*, M.A. (Victoria University, Wellington 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Submission *Amnesty Aroha* refer to Immigration Department, Wellington (1976). de Bres, J. 'The National Party's Immigration Policy and the Need for an Amnesty', (The South Pacific Action Network (SPAN), Thursday 18<sup>th</sup> March 1976 - text of speech given at meeting organised by the Otago University Students Association, (University of Otago).

<sup>7</sup> The definition of permanent and long-term migrants is a person who stays twelve months or is absent for twelve months. The term immigrants defined people who arrive for a period of 12 months or more plus New Zealand residents returning after an absence of 12 months or more. (Definition taken from Dept Statistics).

possible' (Department of Statistics 1980:5-8)<sup>8</sup>. For example, a person may come to New Zealand with the declared intention of settling permanently, but in actual fact may return overseas after a few months<sup>9</sup> or those persons may stay in New Zealand on an expired temporary permit to be classified as overstayers<sup>10</sup> or illegal immigrants. (Department of Statistics 1980:6).

Figure 01 and 02 were adapted from New Zealand *Migration Time Series, 1922-79*<sup>11</sup> provides a comparative over-view of migration and immigration flows of Samoan females between 1953-1975 under various categories.

Females Permanent And Long Term Arrivals And Departures By Nationality 1922 - 1979-Western Samoa													
	1922	1925	1935	1946	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Arrivals					44	78	62	86	260	472	420	436	528
Departures					29	15	51	57	207	272	308	412	416
Females Permanent And Long Term Arrivals And Departures By Country Of Last Permanent Residence-Western Samoa													
Arrivals					75	109	108	128	363	594	572	508	500
Departures		2		38	70	67	107	131	342	462	426	580	512
Females Permanent And Long Term Arrivals And Departures By Ethnic Group 1922 - 1979 - Samoan													
Arrivals				32		87	73	103	246	418	318	280	348
Departures	1		1	9		28	71	87	187	525	242	288	276

Figure 01

Adapted from New Zealand Time Series 1922 - 79 Table A14, 12, 8

<sup>8</sup> Refer *Miscellaneous Series No 17 Permanent and Long Term Migration Time Series Statistics 1922-1979*, (Department of Statistics, Wellington 1980), p1-6.

<sup>9</sup> This position was again confirmed by Ronald Mair via e-mail: [Mair@stats.govt.nz](mailto:Mair@stats.govt.nz) on 30.9.2002 @ 12.34 that Department of Statistics 'had exhausted all information sources both electronically or in hard copy', when the researcher made application for more conclusive data.

<sup>10</sup> See de Bres, J & Campbell, R. *The Overstayers Illegal Migration from the Pacific to New Zealand*, (Auckland Resource Centre of World Development, Auckland 1976).

<sup>11</sup> Refer *Miscellaneous Series No 17 New Zealand Permanent And Long Term Migration Time Series Statistics 1922-1979*, *Statistics Bulletin*, May 1980 (Department of Statistics, Wellington).

Arrivals By Country Of Last Permanent Residence 1959-1960 - Western Samoa, Females		
Tourists		Working Holiday Under 12 Months
177		122
Arrivals By Birthplace and Purpose 1963-1964 - Western Samoa, Females		
Tourists		Working Holiday Under 12 Months
304		335
Arrivals By Birthplace and Purpose 1964-1965 - Western Samoa, Females		
Tourists		Working Holiday Under 12 Months
342		265
Arrivals By Birthplace and Purpose 1965-1966 - Western Samoa, Females		
Tourists		Working Holiday Under 12 Months
399		399
Arrivals By Birthplace and Purpose 1967-1968 - Western Samoa, Females		
Tourists		Working Holiday Under 12 Months
452		293
Arrivals By Class Of Migrant And Country Of Birth - Western Samoa, Females		
Short Term	New Permanent Arrivals	Long Term Arrivals
1677	83	64
New Zealand Residents Returning After Absence		
Long Term Absence		Short Term Absence
17		626

Figure 02  
Adapted from Statistics of Population, Migration and Building Tables 31, 37,32

These tables Figure 01 and 02 show permanent and long term arrivals and departures by nationality in selected years between 1922-1979. Females permanent and long term arrivals and departures by country of last permanent residence and country of next permanent residence of emigrants in selected years between 1922-1979. Also female permanent and long term arrivals and departures by ethnic group in selected years between 1922- 1979 the years 1959-60, 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965-66, 1967-68, and 1971-72<sup>12</sup> show arrivals to New Zealand defined by intended purpose.

<sup>12</sup> Advice from the Department of Statistics confirmed the *New Zealand Migration Time Series* is the most comprehensive data (now out of print) supplying this historical statistical data. (October 2002).

The two most relevant to this study are 'Tourists and Working Holiday' under 12 months, defined by sex and ethnic group. The disparity of the figures between the various tables makes reconciliation impossible and highlights the possible inaccuracy of the statistical records held between 1922 and 1979. There was considerable 'category jumping' therefore confirming what the Department of Statistics advised in 1980 that the 'net emigration' could not be calculated. Therefore it is not possible to gain an accurate assessment of Samoan migrant women entering and leaving New Zealand in the period under consideration.

## Samoan women and the labour market

'Between 1926 and 1936 the proportion of women working in the secondary sector grew from 19 to 21 percent. By 1951 one in four women in the labour force (25%) were employed in the secondary sector' (Davies & Jackson 1993: 93). Figures 03 and 04.

Distribution of women in the labour force across the primary, secondary and service sectors 1926 & 1991

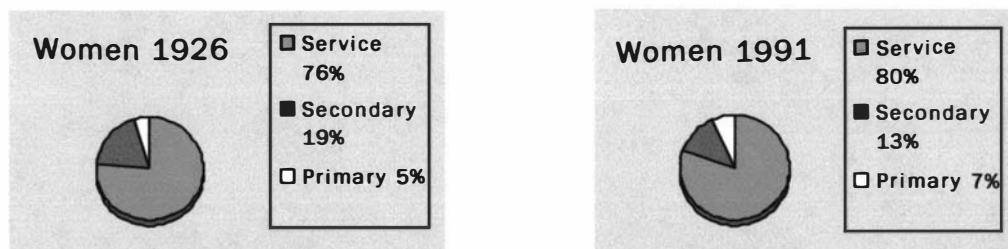


Figure 03  
(Adapted Davies & Jackson (1993: 89))

## Industrial distribution by percentage of the labour force in New Zealand

1926 - 1991

Year	Primary	Secondary	Service
1926	5	19	76
1936	6	21	73
1945	7	24	68
1951	6	25	69
1961	5	25	71
1971	5	24	71
1981	7	19	74
1991	7	13	79

Figure 04  
(Adapted Davies & Jackson (1993: 93))

Subsequent to the end of the Second World War New Zealand's economy went through an economic boom resulting in New Zealand diversifying and expanding into greater levels of manufacturing. This increased the demand for skilled and unskilled labour, which the domestic labour force could not (and often did not want to) fill (Krishan et al 1994:77). Historically emphasis has been placed on portraying males as instigators of migration, resulting in the subjugation of women's experiences both overtly and covertly, by placing the focus on women as dependents, mothers, wives, or often simply by omission<sup>13</sup>. This led (at times) to the assumption that women contributed less economically and socially<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Challis, R. L 'Immigrant Polynesians in New Zealand: Aspects of Stability in Adjusting to Change' in Bray, D.H. & Hill, C.G.N. (eds.) *Polynesian and Pakeha in New Zealand Education*, Vol. 1. (Heinemann Educational Books 1973), p44-53 in which he mentions, 'elders' 'youth' 'children' - no mention of women specifically, a classic example of invisibility by omission.

<sup>14</sup> There are interesting parallels between Simonton's D. (1998) study of domestic service workers in the early 1880's and the lack of data for female cleaners in the late 1990's p96.

Post war work available in industry, manufacturing, the service and domestic sectors such as cleaning, laundry work, hospital nurse aiding, factory and domestic work, brings clearly into focus the fact that many of these jobs were filled by early women migrants from the Pacific Islands. These women were actively sourced by a number of large institutions such as hospitals and cleaning agencies<sup>15</sup>. The portrayal of the family as the migration unit has historically overshadowed the recognition that individual females migrated.

One of the early and interesting revelations that emerged through the data analysis was evidence that a number of single Samoan women between the ages fifteen to twenty five migrated to New Zealand alone, often as the first member of the family to leave Samoa. Larner (1991:55) confirmed that

'usually the migration decision was made for the woman by her extended family. Furthermore, such decisions were made in a cultural setting in which there are strong obligations of family members to one another. In this context, the migrants (young women) were expected to assist their parents and other members of the family through the remittance of substantial proportions of their incomes'.

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<sup>15</sup> Catholic Hospitals were major employers of Pacific Island women between the 1960-1970's. However in Belgrave, M. *The Mater A History of Auckland's Mercy Hospital 1900-2000*, (Dunmore Press, Palmerston North 2000), only on p128 is there mention of the service staff and in particular Pacific Island women. When the researcher met and spoke with Sister.... (one who had employed and managed the service staff, and through the interviews, it became evident there were considerable numbers of Pacific Island women working at Mater (now Mercy Hospital). The focus of the book is the nursing staff, however the Pacific Island women who worked in this sector were an important factor within the hospital's last forty years, as the interview data revealed. This position is also revealed by one of the study's secondary source participants.

With the influx of new migrants sociological studies increased in an endeavour to understand this new phenomenon<sup>16</sup>. Pitt and Macpherson (1984:111) stated that an 'analysis of the political and economic context of migration reveal[ed], or so it is argued, how and why ethnicity and ethnic groups have devolved in the process and the role which their continued existence serves in the maintenance of the capitalist political economy'.

## Trade unions and the participation of Samoan women

Historically women have been less active in unions than male workers<sup>17</sup>. It is interesting to note that domestic workers were not unionised until 1902. A union was formed as early as 1897 to demand a 68-hour week, but it was excluded from the Arbitration Act because domestic workers were not employed for monetary gain (Department of Statistics 1993)<sup>18</sup>. The union existed for six years. In 1908 it failed to provide the Labour Department with an Annual Return and the Labour Department decided to cancel the union's registration. When union delegates attempted to re-register they were told domestic work was not an industrial occupation and outside the jurisdiction of the Arbitration Court (Street 1993:44)

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<sup>16</sup> Macpherson, C. 'Pacific Islands Identity and Community' in Spoonley, P. Macpherson, C. Pearson, D. (eds.), *Nga Patai Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, (The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1996) p124-143. Bedggood, D. *Rich And Poor In New Zealand*, (George Allen & Unwin, Auckland 1980) Refer du Plessis, R. 'Women Feminism and the State' in Rudd, C. & Roper, B. (eds.) *The Political Economy of New Zealand*, (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1997), p220-236.

<sup>17</sup> Street M. *The Scarlet Runners Women and Industrial Action 1889-1913*, (Working Life Communications, Wellington, 1993) provided a comprehensive account of women and union activity.

<sup>18</sup> Refer Simonton, D. *A history of European women's work: 1700 to the present*, (Routledge, London 1998) p96.

Pacific Island women's participation and involvement with unions has not been historically strong. Krishnan et al (1994:20) stated that Samoan workers showed 'passive resistance to the unions [and that] Lerner (1989) [had] found that there had been little change in this attitude towards trade unions'. In August 1999, whilst conducting the pre-pilot (for this study) this situation was confirmed to the researcher by a union representative, whilst this union was undertaking an active drive to enrol more Pacific Island workers both as union members and encouraging them to become union representatives. Since 1980 there have been various amalgamations of unions within the service sector where Pacific Island women make up the greatest percentage of workers.

'The Hotel and Hospital Workers Industrial Association merged with the Caretakers and Cleaners Industrial Association, forming the Service Workers Federation. By May 1991 the affiliates of the Federation (regional hotel workers, unions, caretakers and cleaners unions and theatrical workers unions) formed the Service Workers Union<sup>19</sup>. More recently the former Northern Clerical Workers Union, the Musicians Union and the Community Service Workers Union have also affiliated. The Union has six divisions: hospitality; health (including Rest Homes); commercial (cleaners, caretakers and security workers); education (cleaners and caretakers); entertainment (musicians, theatre and racecourse workers); and COMPASS (clerks)<sup>20</sup>. (Harbridge and Street 1995:26)

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<sup>19</sup> For an informative overview of the Service Workers Union promotion of women's interest see *Short Changed, Retail Workers and the ECA*, (National Distribution Union, Auckland 1996 circa).

<sup>20</sup> Refer Davidson, C. & Bray, M. *Women and Part Time Work in New Zealand*, (SR& D, Wellington 1994) for a insightful study of part time work within the service industries.

At the time of this study's pre-pilot (1999) the Service Workers Union was supporting and encouraging rolling stoppages for cleaners for a better pay deal. There had been a number of recent buy-outs of contracts within various cleaning contract companies. The result was that each time a particular contract was purchased and transferred to another company, the wages of the employees would decline. Some of the women mentioned their take home pay had gone down twice within a short space of time as one contract company had sold to a larger corporation. This situation directly affected the women with whom the researcher was conducting early site visits and often resulted in their having to work longer hours or take additional jobs.

The Employment Contracts Act 1991 abolished the monopoly of unions, and union membership declined. From May 1991 to December 1999 membership fell by 50 percent. In 2001 with the introduction of the Employment Relations Act 2000) and the merger between the CTU and TUF, union membership began to increase (Rasmussen & Lamm 2002:9)

## Situating this study within the literature

This overview does not include specific comparative material in relation to the themes; this is incorporated within Chapters 06 to 10.

At the pre-pilot stage (discussed within Chapter 04), rather than initially conduct a textual analysis or literature search, I chose to engage with (possible) respondents, with the assistance of gatekeepers as shown in Figure 08 on page 100, in order to define issues considered pivotal within the *lived-in-experiences* of migration. From these collaborative gatekeeper encounters, then a progressive extensive literature search, I observed three aspects. Firstly, no previous study had undertaken a cross-cultural, gendered, reflective approach to capture the *lived-in-experiences* of the phenomenon/migration for Samoan women, as the initial wave of pioneers. Secondly, much of the existing material did not incorporate women migrants' perspectives.

Most appeared subsumed within the generic male terminology, or the material had simply failed to recognise the uniqueness of women's *lived-in-experiences* and therefore the significant contributions of these women within the phenomenon/migration. Thirdly, some had failed to be fully transparent regarding the role of the researcher, and in particular inter-ethnic or currently termed cross-cultural research, and to show the 'outsider' status of the researchers. This situation was a product of the theoretical and methodological paradigms and research strategies reflecting particular ideological and philosophical timeframes. What is critical to bear in mind is much of the research prior to 1975 was before extensive paradigm shifts. Denzin & Lincoln (1994:02) described five 'historical moments' with the period 1950-1970 being within the 'blurred genres', when

'a variety of new interpretive, qualitative perspectives made their presence felt, including hermeneutics, structuralism, semiotics, phenomenology, cultural studies, and feminism...[this] produced the next stage the crisis of representation, [1970-1986] where researchers struggled with how to locate themselves and their subjects in reflexive texts'.

This will be clearly shown within the following chronological overview. The combination of these paradigm shifts incorporating more interpretive processes, researcher transparency, collaborative methodology and fieldwork strategies are now (generally) striven for and appropriate, with particular emphasis on cultural safety in relation to cross-cultural research projects.

This chronological presentation of the literature places the material within the context of a developing awareness of theoretical and methodological paradigm shifts over the past three decades, which also indicates a move toward more gendered perspectives. Qualifying this remark however, there are number of classic works that emerged from the readings within the 1970's that were fully aware of the need for researcher transparency, and cultural sensitivity and safety.

Pitt & Macpherson's (1974:01) seminal *Emerging Pluralism* focused on the 'social structures of the Samoan community in New Zealand'. It provided one of the earliest studies to be undertaken in collaboration with the Pacific Island communities. This research did not seek to present a gendered approach nor extensive use of verbatim narrative (apart from addressing work place issues). It was undertaken over a period of two and a half years with a research team, using a triangulation of data from surveys, historical documents, interviews and archival material of how Pacific Island immigrants adapted to life in New Zealand. The authors stated they took particular interest in talking with women, along with youth, yet there is a lack of the *lived-in-experience* narratives from women. This is not necessarily considered a failure in the literature, simply a different focus, within a different era, prior to much of the debate regarding gendered research and the need to present women's perspectives. This text has influenced many subsequent studies, and is an inspiration within the qualitative cross-cultural research arena.

Within the 1970's Auckland was one of the major centers to which Pacific Island peoples gravitated, resulting in the Auckland Regional Authority

Community Development Department publishing *migration into Auckland* (1978), to aid the formulation of regional policies and development. Three inquiry questions were posed; 'what were the characteristics of migrants into Auckland', 'why was Auckland attractive to migrants', and 'why [were] other places were not so attractive'? This study provided a generally non-gendered approach, with the family as the significant focus. It was conducted through the Heylen Research Centre in the form of a survey, therefore quite polarised from the focus of my study's semi-structured interviews and emphasis on the importance of collaboration within cross-cultural research.

Whitehead's M.A thesis in Geography, *Tongans in Auckland* (1974), aimed at 'investigate[ing] the demographic structure and migrant characteristics of Tongans residing in Central Auckland [and] investigate[ing]...[the] residential [and] occupational characteristics...'(p1). This thesis used generic male terminology and referred to all genders as *Tongans*, leaving little definition of women's participation (though one must assume they did). Though Whitehead explained the actual empirical aspects of the fieldwork, there was little mention of Whitehead's 'outsider' researcher status being considered in the text.

The Department of Labour Research Division's (1979) *The Work Experience of Pacific Island Migrants in the Greater Wellington area*, though an extensive exploration of the process of Pacific Island migration, did not differentiate between the different ethnic groups. More particularly it did not provide any viewpoints from Samoan women pioneers in the early migration from Samoa. The identities of women were subsumed within the researcher's interpretations, statistical analysis and non-gendered terminology. However this appeared to be one of the first studies to look extensively or holistically at

the process or journey of migration. The account of the researchers approach to the cross-cultural nature of the study appeared sensitive in the context of their approach. The text did not incorporate respondent's narratives (to any great extent), and if any were used, then gender was not specified.

Graves & Graves (1973), *Culture Shock in Auckland: Pakeha Responses to Polynesian Immigrants* addressed the issue of how Non-Pacific people adapted to the new influx of Pacific Island immigrants. When they commenced this study and spoke with a number of groups, they were asked a similar question as myself (addressed in the pilot stages of this study), *why don't you study [palagi] society?* This study did propose further work with Pacific Island communities, and the progress in this direction became evident in their contribution within the published papers of Macpherson, Shore and Franco's (eds.) and the conference, *New Neighbors...Islanders in Adaptation* (1978) primarily around the 'out-migration' of Pacific peoples and adaptation processes within the global economy. An interesting observation was the conference paper presented by Nancy Graves' *Growing up Polynesian: Implications for Western Education* (p161-176), and how she incorporated the narrative of a Pacific Island child and her experiences coming to New Zealand for schooling. This was the only paper that actively presented a participant's voice.

The Society for Research on Women in New Zealand, published *Immigrant Women A Survey of Sixty-two Immigrant Women in Christchurch* (1979) included fourteen Samoan women (amongst other nationalities). It was interesting to read that the women were given the questionnaire, and then were able to offer to join the research; the study was then said to 'follow the

interests and concerns of the respondents rather than adhering strictly to the design and sequence of the questionnaire' (p4, 5). This accords with the interview processes within my fieldwork. This study reflected the emergence of the feminist ideology and desire for sensitivity and transparency within the research process.

Trlin's (1974) *Immigrants in Auckland*, a Ph.D in Geography, examined 'intra-urban immigrant residential patterns'. This thesis again is a product of its era and therefore there is little evidence of the female definition within the study. However, it is informative in the fact that it clearly shows the centralisation and regionalisation of different ethnic immigrant groups within Auckland and distinguishes these groups in the context of the research focus. This is somewhat different from much other material that (often) took a pan-pacific approach by simply not defining the various ethnic groups.

- [Fairbairn-]Dunlop's (1982) *Samoan Parents Perceptions of Primary Schools*, (though not directly related to migration issues) did highlight a methodological frustration stating that it was the

'writers tendency to group Pacific Islanders together as one group, with common expectations and experiences, a practice which has irritated many Samoans in the past...the most basic criticism of these writings...is the failure to explore the minority group viewpoint, their lack of awareness that minority groups might have a different perceptual viewpoint, and their failure to acknowledge that these viewpoints might be significant'.

This specific admonishment of outsider researchers failure to take into account the voices of the research group had significant parallels to my study, and its

emphasis on encouraging the Samoan women to describe and reveal their *lived-in-experiences* in their own self-defined narrative Dunlop's (1982) study included the verbatim narrative of the parents. [Fairbairn-]Dunlop's comments accorded with Smith's (1999:01) observation 'it galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us'. This is specifically why the need for researcher transparency has so actively been followed through in my own cross-cultural thesis.

Connell's (1980) *Remittances and Rural Development: Migration Dependency and Inequality in the South Pacific* debated the 'determinant of remittances' (p4) in-depth analysis of the repercussions of 'out-migration' and 'social remittances'. It developed a comparative study of the difference between different Pacific nations, within a global structure of remittance obligations. Its focus does not attempt to address women's roles in remittances, and therefore, does not clarify the contribution of women in a gendered approach. Kallen's (1982) *The Western Samoan Kinship Bridge A Study in Migration Social Change and the New Ethnicity*, cross-cultural study is an extensive investigation into social kinship obligations and the implications of 'mass emigration from developing to developed countries' (p19) and how this related to the migration to New Zealand; the social changes that occur in the home country; the transference of the *fa'asamoa* to other countries; and how the new identities evolve. Kallen (1982) provided the background and fieldwork access processes. However there is little discussion of the theoretical and methodological aspects of this cross-cultural study.

In the 1980's there was an effort within labour market organisations to provide more comprehensive advice to employers and employees. One such publication was the Vocational Training Council's (1984) *Working Together A Handbook for Manager and Supervisors in the Multi-Cultural Workforce*, that provided a comprehensive look at the need to 'provide background information on cultural differences in New Zealand' and was aimed 'directly at managers and supervisors' covering issues such as 'cultural backgrounds'. To the study's credit it distinguished the different Pacific nations, into ethnic backgrounds, providing specific information on each ethnic group. This is a breakthrough to some extent, as much of this type of material had previously used the terminology 'Polynesian' or 'Islanders', and there were also many popular more derogatory terms. This text covered issues such as 'communication', attitudes to work,' and 'job selection'. It also provided some basic instruction for the pronunciation of Maori and Pacific words. I have included this within the literature, as its contribution to practical instruction within the work place is relevant to the employment theme of this thesis. Aspects of 'getting along' in the work place was highly relevant and at that time and imperative to ease the growing tensions that promoted 'racist' stereotyping of 'Islanders' in the work place.

Tamasese Masoe-Clifford & Ne'emias-Garwood (1997) affirmed my concern with my initial questions in 1987, when I spoke with night cleaners, regarding the failure to recognise the social and economic contributions of Samoan women migrants to New Zealand. This composition of submissions to the Royal Commission on Social Policy included an oral submission by Albie Williams at Samoa House in Auckland on January 17<sup>th</sup> 1988, which mentioned

'many Pacific Island mothers work in cleaning jobs on night shift for economic survival' (p587). This accords with my early observations at the pre-pilot stage 1998-9, with the highest percentage at cleaning work sites appearing to be Pacific Island women.

What slowly began to emerge in the late 1980's and 1990's was literature that addressed the reflective question, of the treatment that had been meted out to Pacific Island communities and individuals. This reflective reaction was in part fueled by the continual inference that the migrant workers had been solely responsible for the down turn in the economy, and that many of the jobs had been taken from non-Pacific Island workers. It is not the focus of this study to address labour market racism. This material is found in Spoonley (1990, 1999) Loomis (1990), Krishan, Schoeffel & Warren (1994) Macpherson (1991) and Connell (1980). Each of these writers attempted to reformulate the misinformation that exacerbated much of racist misconceptions inherent in inter-ethnic relations within the 1970's and 1980's paradigmatic period that Denzin & Lincoln (1994:02) termed the historical moment of 'crisis of representation'.

Sei Brown's (1995) *Research Partnerships: For the New Age Researcher*, also addressed the issue of 'improving the relationships between researcher and research subjects' [abstract] this research essay focused upon health projects, and the need to make research more collaborative. The 'criticism of *palagi*' researchers doing research on Maori and Pacific Islanders, [is] that they are not culturally suitable because they do not come from that culture', but he stated this could be overcome by learning from each other and 'working side by

side' (p34). It is this sharing and recognising the importance of being fully transparent about this within the research process that underscored the ideology that drove the methodological perspective and strategies considered appropriate to this work.

This stance of collaborative research processes is again reiterated with Laing & Miteara (1994) *Key Informants And Co-Operative Inquiry: Some Reflections on a Cross-Cultural research Team collecting Health Data in the South Pacific*. This paper focused on the way that collaborative, gendered, cross-cultural research can be undertaken. It is concise in the way that it presents both the process of data collection and the relationship between the researchers (p133). It explored the dynamics of a multi-cultural research team, with the fact the interviews and emergent data needed to be confidential, particularly when talking about Pacific peoples residency. The fact that family members could be identified needed a constant awareness to ensure anonymity within research. The researchers' status was also made clear with how a Samoan researcher worked alongside non-Samoan researchers with the assistance of gatekeepers.

Jansen (1990) in *I have in my arms both ways* provided the stories of ten immigrant women, including the story of Novena Petelo from the Tokelau Islands in 1969. This small publication had some similarities to my study, in that it took the approach of addressing the *lived-in-experiences* of Novena Petelo in migration. This study was an endeavour to let the women 'express their other lives, [as] they are like shadows of the people they were in the first country'. This 'shadowy' persona was evident to me in 1987 with the fact that many Pacific Island women worked at night, out of the mainstream labour

market. Barnes (1981) and Kelsey (1997) both commented upon the fact this made the women invisible. This was also one of the very early observations as this study germinated and then was the motivating factors for its progress to gain a more in-depth and self-defined analysis of the *lived-in-experiences* for Samoan women migrants who worked long late hours to earn enough to support family and kinship obligations.

Fleming (1997) in *The Common Purse Income Sharing in New Zealand families* provided an in-depth examination on how the money from employment was allocated within families. This intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic study included a chapter on 'celebrations and rituals' (p93-109) and the role of 'communal ownership' (p71), and the emphasis upon kinship obligations. It was interesting to note how the study 'documents the tensions experienced by Pacific Island families in managing their money' (p xxv); this comment is reflected in a number of my research the respondent narratives.

Within the last decade there has been an expansion of research that addresses evolving identities, or identities in transition, community and identity, reflecting the transformations that have occurred within migrant communities both in New Zealand and elsewhere. Fuamatu (1994), Utumapu (1992), Vasta & Castles (eds.) (1996), Fraser & Pickles (2002), Taule'ale'ausumai (2001), Sua'ali'i (2001), Marsh (2001). The latter three are included within Macpherson, Spoonley & Anae's *Tangata O Te Moana Nui The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aoteroa/New Zealand*, provided varying approaches and perspectives over the last decade.

Anae's (1998) *Fofoa-I-Vao-'Ese: The Identity Journeys of NZ-Born Samoans*, Ph.D study focused upon the 'process of the Samoanising of Christianity, and hegemonic identity discourses...and to provide an understanding...of fa'aSamoa, church, and life in New Zealand' (p i). However her approach or focus was quite distinct from my own. Though it provides a viewpoint of the process over time in relation to identity transition, it is not specifically a gendered focus, nor is it specific to the migration *lived-in-experiences* spanning the period 1950 through to early 1970 for Samoan-born women. Anae's 'insider' researcher status provided her with levels of analysis that are not possible within my own work and 'outsider' status. The transparency of this work provided for an in-depth evaluation of the researcher's position within the research.

The justification for undertaking my study was the critical importance and significance of capturing the *lived-in-experiences* of Samoan migrant women in New Zealand between 1940 and 1960. To reveal from their extensive verbatim narratives the essential elements of their individual and collective journey's within the migration process. No other contemporary study provided this perspective. Therefore this thesis represents a unique viewpoint within contemporary migration literature.

The next chapter discusses the methodological perspectives that underscore and inform this study and the research/fieldwork methods.

## Chapter 02

### Methodological perspectives

### The qualitative phenomenological inquiry

#### Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part situates the study within the theoretical and methodological qualitative framework. This is followed by a discussion of phenomenological methodological perspectives laying the foundations for the emphasis on the methodological and methods strategies used to gain the verbatim interview material.

Historically qualitative research has operated within various interconnected stages: the traditional that emerged between 1900 and 1950; the modernist between 1950 and 1970; the era of 'blurred genre' from 1986 to 1990; and the postmodernist phase that developed around 1990.

This last stage included five overarching inquiry traditions, biography; phenomenology; grounded theory; ethnography and case study and various sub-fields. Qualitative research also had the capacity to be inter-disciplinary, trans-disciplinary and counter-disciplinary and to be used widely across both social and physical sciences. (Denzin & Lincoln 1994:1-3). If a generic definition of the perceived differences between qualitative and quantitative research is possible, then it has been well summed up in the comment 'quantitative researchers work with a few variables and many cases, whereas qualitative researchers rely on a few cases and many variables' (Ragin, cited in Creswell 1998:15-16).

By its very inclusiveness, the nature of the qualitative inquiry within a postmodernist<sup>1</sup> perspective promotes theoretical and methodological liberalism that has provided the wide scope for this study. Within this multi-faceted qualitative focus three specific interpretive perspectives emerged as being those that informed and underscored this study: the constructs, social constructivism,<sup>2</sup> feminism<sup>3</sup> and phenomenology<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive account of postmodernism see Vidich A. J. & Lyman, S. M. 'Qualitative Methods: Their History in Sociology and Anthropology', in Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. *Handbook in Qualitative Research*, (Sage Publications, London 1994), p23-59.

<sup>2</sup> Refer Swandt, T. A. 'Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry,' in Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (Sage Publications, London 1994), p118-137.

<sup>3</sup> See Okin, S. M. & Mansbridge, J. (eds.) *Feminism* Vol 1 & 11, (Elgar Reference Collection, Aldershot, Hants, England, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> Refer Crotty, M. *Phenomenology and Nursing Research*, (Churchill Livingstone, Australia 1996), p158-160, and van Manen, M. *Researching Lived Experiences – Human Science for An Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, (University of New York Press, New York 1990) p77-133, each provided insightful methodological material.

These three perspectives might appear quite disparate, but they provide an appropriate example of the fluidity of qualitative research paradigms. Each of these influenced the researcher's world-view, and therefore directly dictated and delimited what were considered appropriate theoretical or methodological paradigms and research strategies for this study.

### The constructivist paradigm - framing its history and ideology

Delanty (2000:115) named Weber and Mannheim as two of the great exponents of modern constructivism. Mannheim established constructivism as a key methodological issue in modern social science. In '*Competition as a Cultural Phenomena*' (1993) he proposed that knowledge is directly related to those that produce it. In other words, knowledge is always produced from a specific focus and within a particular historical framework. Guba & Lincoln (1994:111) argued that the empirical observer could not be disengaged from the activity of observation and inquiry, and any findings from an inquiry were a creation or construction of the inquiry process itself.

To some extent constructivism replaced more conventional scientific or positivist paradigms of inquiry, with the premise that what was perceived to be 'real is a construction within the minds of individuals' (Swandt 1994:128). Therefore inherent in this is the assumption of the infinite scope and variations within reality as being limitless. This raised some important points. Swandt (1994:125) proposed that constructivism expanded upon interpretive

paradigms and this perspective recognised truth and knowledge were not discovered but created within the structure of social discourse. Researchers and research participants together, construct or create a specific reality within the research process and as a result of this research process (Swandt 1994:128).

The theoretical constructs adhered to in the study, social constructivism, feminism and phenomenology effected and affected the research process. This study is a reality construct of the researcher, in collaboration with the research respondents, covering specific issues that take place within specified temporal and spatially defined limitations.

## The formation of theoretical constructions

Combining what was perceived as an important and fundamental triangulation<sup>5</sup> of three divergent paradigms, social constructivism, phenomenology and feminist theory, and extrapolating on the tensions between and within each, became an important and challenging factor for this researcher. Initially a pre-determined methodology or singular theoretical stance (though recognition of the relevancy of a constructivist framework was seen as appropriate) had not been established. An open-minded approach was maintained simultaneous with progress being made through the early literature search and pre-pilot stage. This schema might be considered loose

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<sup>5</sup> See Robson, C. *Real World Research A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*, (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford 1997), for a succinct definition of research methods, p289-291.

in not limiting the research paradigm parameters, but it should be reiterated that if this had taken place prematurely, restrictions to emergent theories or inquiry strategies/methods precluding or even eliminating some may have occurred and this was not considered appropriate. Working within this wider and more complex framework was demanding, but the ensuing extensive literature search provided the ability to categorically state what needed to be put aside, in favour of more applicable methodology and methods.

With the on-going search for a research design that would provide a complementary strategy to elicit the essence of the lived in experiences of the phenomena of migration of Samoan migrant women in the 1950's - 1970's, the opportunity arose to read Sokolowski's (2000)<sup>6</sup> *Introduction to Phenomenology*, in which he introduced the researcher to Husserl (1859-1938) and philosophical phenomenology. It was instantly seen that phenomenology provided appropriate methodologies and research methods that enabled the researcher to 'understand the complex world of lived experiences from the point of view of those who lived it' (Swandt 1994:118) and to ask 'what is the lived- in-experience in for women migrants from the Pacific Islands'?

(This was the focus of the original researcher's question in 1987).

Behaviour that is taken as a natural given is usually, at least in part, the product of the process of social determination. For example, the limiting assumptions made of the role of Samoan female migrants in the roles of

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<sup>6</sup> Also refer Staten, H. *Wittgenstein and Derrida*, (University of Nebraska Press, London 1984) and Smith, C. *Merleau-Ponty, M.* (Trans.) from French. (Routledge London 2001).

mothers, daughters, and wives of male migrants were widely accepted as the norm in the 1950'-1960's. This is borne out in texts<sup>7</sup> that included women in the male generic terminology, or emphasised the role of the male, therefore relegating women's lived experience to more peripheral roles. When the researcher undertook the initial comprehensive literature search the paucity of material specific to women migrants was abysmal in its quantity. The available quantitative statistics did little to rectify this. An extract from early thoughts in the researcher's journal shows the evolving research focus.

**Journal Note**– (verbatim circa December 1999)

(Extensive reference to this journal occurs within chapter four *Cross-Cultural Research*)

I need to be aware when composing questions of the underlying premise of rewriting history, not in the way of changing conventional major issues, but simply by presenting the women's perspective or social history, on migration and their early work years in New Zealand. I want to challenge the narrative line of political history, as it applies to migration, and introduce a female voice to the male narrative, both in statistical accounts and in the lack of empirical accounts of women, who came as migrants to subsequently take up jobs as cleaners.

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<sup>7</sup> Kallen, E. *The Western Samoan Kinship Bridge* (E.J. Brill-Leiden 1982).  
Pitt, D. and Macpherson, C. *Emerging Pluralism*, (Longman Paul, Auckland 1974).

## Feminism and constructivism

'Constructivists are antiessentialist. They assume that what we take to be self-evident kinds (e.g. man, woman, truth, self) are actually the product of complicated discursive practices' (Punch 1994:125). This raised the question, can anyone actually understand the role of another individual? This draws together the interrelatedness of feminist ideologies and constructivist paradigms. The continuing argument, regarding socially accepted natural givens, has particular relevance to feminist theory and practice and lies at the heart of much feminist debate. It also informed this study.

Feminist writers have questioned how feminists could propose to undertake research on women using the very theories and methodologies that have been argued against, by feminists, as being biased against women and reflecting the status quo of male domination<sup>8</sup>. The researcher suggests that those constructs (historically) utilised more to the advantage of the male gender, could equally be utilised with a feminist perspective. It is not the construct that is problematic, but the way in which it has been formulated in order to benefit one gender rather than the other, a matter of perception rather than definition. The construct in essence, and in itself, cannot be biased, only the process and manipulation of it. Reconceptualising existing constructs could bring on-going change in the former practice. This researcher's argument is that feminist researchers should not disregard quantitative methods 'per se' because they are integral to male practice. Quantitative practice has been incorporated into

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<sup>8</sup> Oakley, A. 'Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms' in *Doing Feminist Research*, in Helen Roberts (ed.), (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1981), p30-61.

and complemented this study. The initial statistical data and quantitative material led to the pursuit of qualitative data to confirm or bring life to the statistical material. This to some extent contradicts my suggestion that the construct is not biased. Quantitative constructs are able to produce data that is biased against females. This is the very reason that this study emphasised the qualitative method, to counter in part, some of the emphasis on quantitative analysis. The combined perspectives of quantitative data, phenomenological essence and feminist ideology are co-jointly complementary to this study.

### Difference with reflexivity/reflectivity

Constructivism informs feminist epistemologies<sup>9</sup> in that feminist theorists (across the broad feminist perspectives) propose that social reality relies upon social constructions in which gender constructions were significant or fundamental.

Social science (as being one contributor to knowledge) should endeavor to deconstruct what is socially presented as normative constructions, in order to discover alternative social constructions. There are various and complex perspectives across the broad spectrum of feminist theory, yet all appear to accept the need for debate about socially assigned roles (Delanty 2000:118).

Reflexivity is one important aspect within feminist research and to some extent feminism is, at its base, is a reflexive and reflective epistemology emerging

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<sup>9</sup> Refer Olesen, V. *Feminisms and Models of Qualitative Research*, in Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1994)

from disillusionment over social norms. It was this reflexive and reflective approach that prompted the deconstruction of existing models or concepts of social reality or normatives through constant reflection to recognise more adequately the female gender within society and the historical bias of male gendered language which by omission whether explicit or implicit diminished the visibility of the role of females within society<sup>10</sup>.

The idea that social reality was a gendered construction prompted feminist theorists to show how the normative or natural state is simply a social construct. As stated, this raised the question in this study of how much of the interpretation of the essence of the migration experience would be generated from social conditioning? There are two ways to approach this question. Firstly to simply debate the validity of all gendered research. Secondly to proceed taking into account the social assumption or premise of a natural order, and attempt to deconstruct and re-discover women's lived experiences from within a gender specific research inquiry. What interested the researcher was Husserl's (1831-1938) notion of the natural or given. Sarantakos (1990:48) commented 'this natural attitude for Husserl [was] an obstacle, a distortion and a bias'. If the natural state is an obstacle to finding out truth, then Husserl provided a very similar argument found within feminist theory, the assumption of gendered (male) normative. Therefore there appeared to be distinct parallels between phenomenological theory and feminist epistemology. Fisher and Embree (2000:105) suggested that given phenomenology originated within a more positive perspective era, it remains a valid and complementary

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<sup>10</sup> Haney, K. 'Edith Stein: Woman and Essence' in *Feminist Phenomenology*, (Fisher, L. & Embree, L. (eds.) Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht 2000) p227-228.

perspective to current feminist theory. They proposed that its origins should not be held against it as a theory. Accusations (from within some areas of feminism) that phenomenology has not considered or attempted to address feminist theory and that it has been the most resistant within its theoretical paradigms and perspectives to incorporate feminist gendered theory within its' tradition, should be set aside in order to gain the positive and complementary aspects of this tradition<sup>11</sup>.

## Phenomenology - recent theorists

As a result of an extensive literature search of inquiry methods within phenomenology, what was revealed were the number of different procedural processes and strategies. While some proposed quite distinct methodological and theoretical perspectives, overall there was more similarity and constancy than difference. As saturation occurred it became necessary to delimit the literature to five more recent theorists, van Manen (1990); Crotty (1996); Pollio, Henley & Thompson (1997); Creswell (1994) (1998) and Fisher & Embree (eds.) (2000).

Congruent to all these was the provision of practical (real life) orientated design strategies within a complex multi-faceted, theoretical and methodological tradition, therefore providing functional frameworks and strategies appropriate to this study.

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<sup>11</sup> For a fuller discussion and debate on a viable relationship between phenomenology and feminism see Fisher, L. & Embree, L. (eds) *Feminist Phenomenology*, (Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, 2000) p01-15.

Van Manen's (1990) *Researching Lived Experiences – Human Science For An Action Sensitive Pedagogy*, encapsulated the ideology that provoked this study. His work provided an extensive appraisal of the nature of phenomenological research and the role of the researcher within the research process. The focus concentrated on the essence of this experience or phenomenon 'what was it like to be a teacher?' Through phenomenological research inquiry methods he probed and questioned how researchers endeavoured to reveal the essence of a lived experience through phenomenological themes. He provided three approaches for 'isolating thematic' (p92) statements. Firstly, the 'wholistic or sententious approach' (p93) where the researcher found a sentence that captured the fundamental meaning or main significance of the text. Secondly, the 'selective or highlighting approach' (p93) where the researcher would read the data several times and ask what statements or phrases gave the essential elements of the phenomenon or experience. Thirdly, 'the detailed or line-by-line approach' (p93) where the researcher asked of each sentence or cluster of sentences, what did they reveal about the phenomena or experience (van Manen 1990:94-95).

In this study the formulation of initial themes was established within the pre and pilot stages. This was done in order to place the phenomenon/migration, with its multi-faceted historical focus, within a contextual framework. These themes were not intended to premise, or imply pre-determined experiences of migration but provided a collective textual description as to what constituted the phenomenon/migration. Background material was constantly sourced and read to place the emerging themes within context. It would have been both irresponsible and insensitive to fail to conduct this background scoping

exercise that informed the researcher of the temporal, spatial and relational experiences of the women involved with the phenomenon/migration. This might however, raise some methodological contentions or debate, in that any presupposition of what might constitute the essence of the phenomenon of migration, could have influenced respondents to consider only those aspects when provided with a prepared predetermined questionnaire. However the cluster of common themes and the possible essence of the many experiences of the women on their arrival to New Zealand became evident throughout the pre and piloting process. The issues of interest and importance emerged within the collaborative process and relationships with gatekeepers and respondents. Ultimately these issues provided the framework for the themed questionnaire.

Crotty's (1996) *Phenomenology and Nursing Research* provided a comprehensive instructional text on phenomenological research. The question he asked was what were nurse researcher's perceptions of phenomenological research methods? and what importance had they placed on its inclusion within the nursing profession?

He examined thirty studies that he considered best represented the wide range of research perspectives among nurse researchers. He concluded each of the studies reflected the analytical styles of Giorgi (1970,1985) and van Manen (1990) in that each 'displayed a common concern to drive themes or categories from the data, which coalesced to form a comprehensive description of the total phenomenon' (p9). Themes emerged from the data that directly influenced and directed the focus of a study.

This also reflected the process that evolved within this study, bearing some resemblance or parallels to grounded research perspectives<sup>12</sup>. One of Crotty's comments was interesting and controversial. He suggested that with a process such as phenomenology that purported to search for individual subjective meanings 'it was curious there is so much linkage with a method that systematically discarded individual subjective meanings unless they were shared with other respondents' (p03). He contended this anomaly was encountered repeatedly within what he calls the new phenomenology, which had emerged in the last three decades and was specific to North America. He drew a distinction between what he termed the old (Husserlian) phenomenology<sup>13</sup> and contended this new approach, influenced by and aligned with Alfred Schutz (1899-1959)<sup>14</sup> attempted to gain the sense people are making of things. This was different from the old phenomenology that aimed to reveal what people were making sense of (Crotty 1996:03).

The researcher understood this as being two parallel theories and therefore manifested in two different research processes. Each of these was used within this inquiry in the following way. The first or new approach, focused on capturing the essence of the lived experience of the respondents within the phenomenon of migration. The second or old approach, explored what constituted migration as a phenomenon, what were its components or integral parts and these were considered in conjunction with each other.

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<sup>12</sup> For an overview of grounded theory refer to Strauss & Corbin 'Grounded Theory Methodology An Overview, in Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks 1994) pp273-285.

<sup>13</sup> Refer Husserl, E. *Ideas pertaining to a pure phenomenology and to a phenomenological philosophy: general introduction to a pure phe-nomenology*. (The Hague. Martinus Nijhoff 1913/82).

<sup>14</sup> Schutz, A. *The Phenomenology of the social world*, (Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1972).

This immediately highlighted the importance of the research themes as they provided the structure of the component parts of the phenomenon/migration and also allowed for the revealing or capture of the hidden notions of what migration as a process actually was. For example, 'alienation' was a sub-theme that emerged from the extraction of the significant statements expressed in terms of 'not belonging'.

This was perceived as being an important factor or component of the phenomenon/migration. Themes therefore, provided an understanding of the constituent parts of the phenomenon/migration and also provided for the discovery of the essence of the collective and individual textual and structural description of the lived experience.

Pollio Henley and Thompson's (1997:60) *The Phenomenology of Everyday Life* provided a diagrammatic schematic summary of the phenomenological research process. Figure 05, shown on page 39 provided a specific framework (with adaptation) of the processes taken in this study.

## Schematic Summary of the Phenomenological Research Process

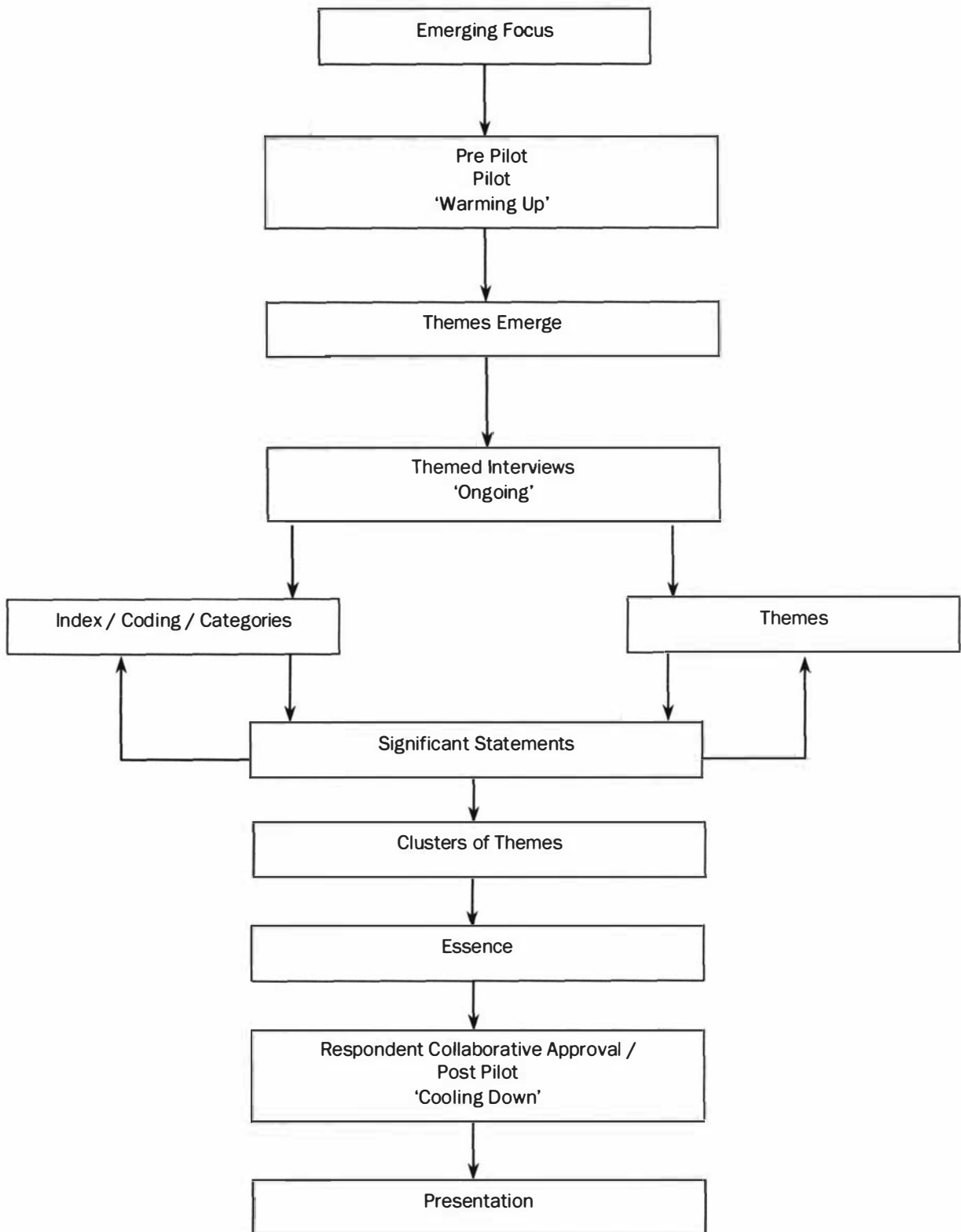


Figure 05  
(Adapted from Pollio H.R Henley, T.B. Thompson, C.J. (1998:60)).

'For a phenomenological study to be judged valid it would have to receive high marks on all four counts' (as shown below in Figure 06) (Pollio, et al 1997:55). This diagram offered a clear picture of the tensions between four important issues, and a framework within which to show what is required in terms of validity within phenomenological research.

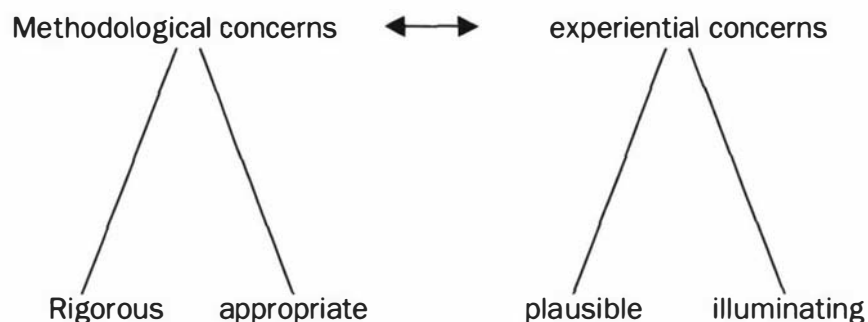


Figure 06  
(Adapted from Pollio, et al (1997:55))

The clarity of Creswell's (1998) material *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions* impressed the researcher, particularly the provision of some insightful instructional material (within this complex field) for undertaking phenomenological research.

Creswell (1998:271) used Doris Riemen's *The Essential Structure of a Caring Interaction Doing Phenomenology*<sup>15</sup> as a comprehensive example of one method for phenomenological analysis. The analysis process or data treatment and analysis of data of Riemens' greatly influenced the researcher with its ability to elicit the essence of the experience in such a way that one could feel the lived experience.

<sup>15</sup> Creswell, J. W. *Qualitative and Inquiry Research Design Choosing Among Five Traditions*, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1998) p280-292.

This analysis of the interviews is based on Moustakas (1994)<sup>16</sup>.

The thematic analysis of the fourteen themes that constituted the experiential and essential elements of the phenomenon of migration for Samoan women goes beyond the specificity of Riemen's (1986) study. The cross-cultural nature of this study involving Samoan women and the fact that the researcher was an outsider also complicated the interpretation of the data. For example, when the respondents were asked to give their opinions about the 'dawn raids'<sup>17</sup> this was often met with silence. When attempts were made to draw out the accounts of these historically sensitive issues, a shrug or silent nod was the only response. The debate surrounding 'overstayers'<sup>18</sup> has not been widely recorded particularly the experiences of women. I wanted to gain an understanding of the lived experience for the Samoan women as grandmothers, mothers, sisters, and daughters, at this time when the police raids were being carried out, as there were few accounts available. When speaking with the women the very nature of their responses indicated it was then and still is a very sensitive issue. One of the respondents however, agreed to talk a little about those times and this is recounted in the analysis. This is where the analysis revealed (a limited perspective) of the essence of this experience.

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<sup>16</sup> Refer Moustakas, C. *Phenomenological Research Methods*, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1994), p120-154.

<sup>17</sup> A term used for Pacific Island migrants, who worked beyond their temporary work permit. The New Zealand Police raided Pacific Island homes in the early morning to arrest Pacific Island nationals who had overstayed their temporary work permit.

<sup>18</sup> See de Bres, J. & Campbell, R, *The overstayers: illegal migration from the Pacific to New Zealand*, (Auckland Resource Centre for World Development, Auckland, 1976).

## Feminism and phenomenology

Fisher & Embree's (eds) (2000) *Feminism and Phenomenology* provided comprehensive debates on the viability of a union between phenomenology and feminism. One of the text's contributors Levesque-Lopman (2000:103-132) admitted to being drawn to phenomenological analysis due to the premise of attempting to discover the meaning or essence of lived experience, and what this might have to offer women in general. As a sociologist she said she did not question whether it was appropriate to use phenomenological methods, but did question whose phenomenological interpretation she would be aligned with. She introduced Kurt H. Wolff's 'surrender-and-catch' approach saying she was 'struck by its potential for its relevancy to women's research' (p123). However she had problems with his 'gender-biased language' and the fact that Wolff 'gives no attention to women's experience' but recognised his work had 'intellectual merit' (p123) and parallels with feminist interviewing strategies. She proposed feminists look beyond Wolff's narrow perspective.

## Phenomenological research practice or methods

As with any research methodological inquiry there are theoretical constructs that sustain the theoretical perspectives and certain fundamental terms that define the ideological perceptions behind any theoretical perspective. In order to clarify some of the complex theory the researcher consulted van Manen (1990:175-187) and with the aid of his interpretations gained an understanding of the phenomenological terminology.

Husserl (1831-1938) focused on *'the things themselves'* getting *'down to what matters'* by the extraction of essences or the Greek *ousia*, meaning the 'inner essential nature of a thing, the true being of a thing, what makes a thing what it is' (van Manen 1990:177). The example van Manen used was the definition of the role of teachers and how there are two perceptions. The first definition is the empirical or actual teacher. The second, or hidden or fundamental or ideal essence of a teacher which every real teacher was 'oriented to', is the very real inner desire to share, impart, and empower those one is teaching; this is the essence of a teacher or the essential essence or 'intentionality' of a teacher. He stated that 'we are not reflectively conscious of our intentional relation to the world. 'Intentionality' is only retrospectively available to consciousnesses (p182). 'It is not possible to experience something while reflecting on the experience (even if the experience is itself a reflective acting') (p182). The example used by van Manen is when a person experiences anger, then stops to consider why they are feeling angry, the very action of reflection upon the experience, makes one react in such a way that the anger soon diminishes. The terms 'bracketing' or 'reduction' are essentially the same process and terms coined by Husserl (1859-1939) from a background in mathematics. There are four interesting aspects to the term reduction and the process by which it contributes as a phenomenological method within the inquiry. It allows the *'...awakening to wonder of world'...* 'to overcome ones subjective feelings'...'and inclinations'...'to strip away theories'...'to see past or through the lived experience toward the universal essence or *eidos*'...'as it is not an end in itself rather a means to an end' (p185). In other words Merleau-Ponty (1996) encouraged us to look beyond the particularity of lived

experience toward the universal essence or *eidōs* that lies on the other side of the concreteness of lived meaning. (p185). This almost sounds like child wonder, to return to a less skeptical perspective to relive life in a less cynical fashion to reduce theoretical ponderings and concepts to return to a more simplistic outlook. So can this be done whilst engaging in a more reflective perspective? The researcher suggests that while one is reflecting upon a particular instance of experience it is not usually possible to theorise simultaneously. Therefore only after the reflective period has passed, however short or long, is it possible to couch that instance in theoretical epistemology. However simplistic this may appear at first glance, its complexity must not be overlooked, because if one is not aware of the role of reflexivity/reflectivity in qualitative research then the integrity of the study's will be placed in jeopardy, as only the researcher's theory and interpretation of the empirical evidence, and not the essence of the lived experience of the individuals or collaborators, will be evident within the study.

Smythe's (1999) article '*Phenomenology a research approach to midwifery*'<sup>19</sup> mentioned she defended her choice of using phenomenological research methods by stating that 'if you choose this path [phenomenology] you will face the critics who ask what is the point, [or] it won't change anything, who throw words like validity and reliability at you confirming for them that it is indeed a waste of time' (p17). Smythe's comments empowered me through some major

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<sup>19</sup> See Smythe, E. (1998), *Being Safe in Childbirth A hermeneutic interpretation of the narratives of women and practitioners*, PhD. Massey University, New Zealand.

Smyth, E. 'Phenomenology - telling a story an interview with Liz Smythe', in *Nursing Praxis New Zealand*, (2002) Vol 17 (3) p 15-26.

Smyth, E. 'Phenomenology a research approach to midwifery', *New Zealand College of Midwives*, (1997), April Vol 16 p16-19.

misgivings generated by such a lengthy, solitary, theoretically and cross-culturally complex journey.

This discussion has allowed for the triangulation of theory to be presented, showing the ability of the qualitative inquiry to incorporate both complementary and diametrically opposed constructs and perspectives to the mutual benefit within a specific study. It also set out the ideology that informed the data inquiry and analysis stages of the study.

The next chapter addresses the complex methodological and ethical issues to be considered when embarking upon cross-cultural research.

## Cross-cultural considerations in the research process

'It's about time someone did something like this, [women's experience of migration] no one has in the Samoan community. There is a lot about the matai, church and not a lot of what the women have done and they have done a lot'. (Respondent 13 - interview material and quoted verbatim).

### Introduction

The methodological approach taken in this thesis is to emphasise the voices of the research respondents alongside other contributors of material regarding cross-cultural research processes. It addresses the complex methodological issue the in/outsider researcher status, the relevancy of language in the interpretive analysis stage of a study, the ethical need for complete researcher transparency, the awareness of the 'bridge building' relationship that occurs with cross-cultural collaborative research.

Researchers have ideological, theoretical, methodological paradigms and method-strategy technique decisions to make when considering cross-cultural research. The most distinct and different or polarised approaches, (however between these two opposed views there are variations and combinations or approaches) would be firstly, to proceed with the research with an implied inference of right to undertake research within ethnic groups different from that of the researcher involved, paying little attention to cultural difference or sensitivity to cultural expectations. Alternatively, the researcher can acknowledge the in/outsider researcher status while clearly stating her/his distinct world-view, examining the ethical perspectives there by positioning themselves within the research process and being aware of how this effects and affects the research process.

### Literature addressing ethical considerations

The following readings/studies addressed some of these issues and the moral dilemmas expressed by some of the writers. Each added a cross-section of theoretical, methodological and practice opinions and debates in the complex cross-cultural research arena. Five were written from an outsider perspective and two from an insider perspective. The reader should decide what consideration the researchers showed toward their research participants and what emphasis they place on the issue of ethics within the cross-cultural research inquiry.

Kallen, (1982) produced an insightful exploration of Samoan kinship but the study resonated with her exposition of western values and perspective that she both overtly and covertly expressed through the study. That is not to say it diminished its authoritative voice, but it magnified the researcher's bias and colonial ideology that was so evident in earlier anthropological material. As an historical text it provided invaluable background information on the theories of migration and the 'multi-causal migration nexus between Western Samoa and New Zealand' and patterns of migration. Research ethics now require a more collaborative stance and this work provided a classic example of an era when terms such as informants and participants, rather than collaborating respondents were in vogue and the question of ethics within empirical explorations was left to the moral outlook of the researchers. This text should however still be recognised for its historical textual, contribution to cross-cultural research.

Barnes, (1981) conducted a short-range exploration of the work of women night cleaners in Hamilton in the early 1980's. This work inspired me with its accounts of visits to cleaning sites and the interactions between the researcher and the participants. This material did not include respondent narrative, nor was it intended as an ethnographic account of the women's lives. The focus of the empirical fieldwork was to gain information for the Labour Department in order to initiate performance criteria and to gain an overview of a specific problematic area of night work. Although not discussed, this was an early cross-cultural study (of employment issues and labour market influences) but it was not specifically acknowledged as such.

No empirical ethical interview guidelines were put in place within this study. It appeared very much a moral issue decision placed upon the researcher, as the Labour Department did not acknowledge that there might have existed a need to address the ethical issues of access, informed consent and harm. Loomis (1993) was of particular interest to me. His study provided an interesting analysis of 'the best and the worst' job categories as perceived by the Cook Island participants in his study '*Pacific migrants labour class and racism in New Zealand*' for the Social Research and Development Trust. He discussed how one group within the fieldwork viewed the work of cleaners (p179). The integrity of the strategies and the effort to provide clarity of his position within the study was impressive. Though not an expansive report, it was a sensitive look at some major issues, 'race' and disadvantage experienced through low-paid low-skilled work undertaken by Pacific Island migrants.

Pitt & Macpherson's (1974) *Emerging Pluralism* positioned within the 70's in an era of more positivist perspectives and methodology and the fundamental issue of ethical collaboration was not then a foundation premise of research within the academy, (as established by the Cartwright Commission 1989). This work is an excellent resource if taken in context. This was not a gender specific study and therefore did not address many of the issues that arose in this study, for example the adjustment to city living and the stress involved in learning how to purchase food for the family, is just one instance that the respondents of this study revealed (that is expanded upon in this study's interview data analysis). Larner's (1991) text was of particular significance to this study with its exploration of employment issues for Samoan women.

What were of additional interest were Larner's comments in the conclusion (p63)

'There is a clear need for more research into the ways in which the experience of different groups of women are constructed and reconstructed in this dynamic context' [and the [need for the] 'diversity of women's experiences [to be] acknowledged, then feminism can develop theoretical analyses that will encompass the concerns of all women.'

There are two interesting points here. Firstly, Larner's (1991) suggestion that the diversity of women's experiences needed to be accounted for reflects the ideology of this study, and the subsequent decision to gain the lived-experiences of Samoan women, through a phenomenological perspective of analysis. The fact that Larner (1991) stated that feminists can then analyse the material, immediately raised some queries, the assumption of the applicability of feminism to appropriately analyse cross-cultural material, may not be a given. However Larner's remark, that feminists (and women) are better able to analyse women's interview data is a stance that I also propose. However, feminist theories originated and were an emergent ideology or construct in (European) positivist era (as discussed in chapter two), and arose from white middle class women's theoretical debates, opposing white male pedagogic authority. Whilst not meaning to unnecessarily exacerbate or present a negative stance, nor discredit feminist writers, caution is appropriate in cross-cultural studies in relation to adaptation or interpretation of respondent's data. The fact I am not Samoan, a female academic, a feminist and an outsider attempting to interpret the lived-in-experiences of Samoan

women within an empirical cross-cultural study, raised the question of how appropriate will the findings be? These issues have been addressed later in the chapter and it is hoped they adequately address Larner's (1991) concerns. More current, is the relevancy of moral and ethical practice in research as exposed by the Cartwright Report (1988). Not only did the report prompt important changes in research practice within the New Zealand medical community, it also generated a renewed focus within the academy regarding gaining informed consent for research with human subjects. Pertinent to this study is that it also addressed the issue of medical research within Pacific Island communities and Pacific Island women, therefore providing relevant overarching guidelines for research of a cross-cultural nature.

The next two writers are addressing the research process from an insider perspective, both being members of the ethnic group of which they are writing, both are academic writers, one a Maori female, the other a Samoan male.

Smith's, (1999) text addressed some rather sensitive areas of cross-cultural research methodology and methods. The fact that it is written by a woman, a Maori academic, highlighted the dilemmas that have been experienced by non-European writers both within the academy and outside. Reading this text impressed upon me the often-overriding assumption of colonial researchers who displayed the inappropriate right to gain cultural intellectual property and to interpret this in a fashion that not only discredits the subjects but was also instrumental, through the texts in incorrectly portraying the community and its life ways.

Identical problems have been experienced within this research, substantiated by comments made to me by Pacific Island people at the pilot stage of the study, that *South Auckland Pacific Island families are sick of being researched by palagi who take the knowledge and give nothing back*. This emphasised the on going need for truly collaborative work, in order to overcome these negative aspects within this complex arena.

Meleisea, (1987) stated, that as a Samoan this gave him an insider perspective and therefore advantage. He explained the problems experienced in attempting to come to terms with the slow disintegration of traditional ways particularly with regard to the economy and community development. At first glance this study may appear to have little in common with ethics. He stated clearly that he struggled with the perception of Samoans as presented in works prior to the Second World War and the way Samoa was used as a laboratory by researchers, this was debated, most notably by Freeman (1983) by his disagreement with Mead (1929) for her misrepresentation of Samoa. Meleisea (1987) questioned the fundamental influence of colonial theory and methodologies that had been instrumental in changing traditional authority and the deconstruction of historical political systems and the results of fragmentation and dispute. Again underlying the text is the frustration expressed at the introduction of European ethnocentric paradigms overlaid over traditional Samoan systems and the question of the ultimate effectiveness of these European systems within the Pacific nations. This was also the focus evident in Smith (1999).

In my M. A. thesis *Socialisation: Child Rearing Practices in Samoa and Tahiti and the Need for Contextualisation in Cultural Interpretations*, I draw attention to the misgivings I was experiencing in the late 1980's

'It is imperative if future research is to be successful, and to be truly advantageous to those people being represented that the reliance on Western universalistic scientific value-laden, ethnocentric paradigms, are replaced, or at least put aside for the concept of research in 'context', pertaining to indigenous resources. I submit that only by using culturally informed information will social science truly be able to appreciate the 'other' regardless of who is participating in or facilitating the research'. (Byers 1994:piii)

In reflecting upon this statement my ideology has not changed, in fact it has developed and broadened (and is evident in the chapters, cross-cultural issues and ethical considerations). However the choice of language, the term the 'other' is indicative of that point in time the late 1980's and early 1990's. The terms 'facilitating' and 'participating' have also to some extent been replaced by 'responding', 'collaborating', and 'in collaboration with' those members of the research group. Empirical research is often couched in terminology such as 'doing' - 'undertaking' - 'carrying out' - 'engaging' - and over the past decade terms such as 'collaborating' or 'in partnership with' have emerged. These, along with other terminology indirectly position a researcher within the process. I experienced within this study process parallel 'liminal journeys' (Deegan & Hill 1991)<sup>1</sup>. First the academic theoretical journey, and secondly a

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<sup>1</sup> Deegan, M.J. & Hill, M. R. (1991) 'Doctoral Dissertations as Liminal Journeys of The Self: Betwixt and Between in Graduate Sociology Programs' in *Teaching Sociology*, 1991 Vol. 19 (July: 322-332), address the issue of the graduate studies. Its insightful exploration into the 'transforming' (p323) experience of undertaking a PhD would assist any prospective candidate.

journey gaining cross-cultural understanding. Arising from this was the understanding that researchers must situate the research respondents clearly in any study, acknowledging and giving credit to their role whether explicit or implicit, as cultural instructors. Couldry (2000:124,125) suggested 'cultural study practitioners can question the conditions under which they come to speak, so too can every one else...it is just as important, if not more so, to think about the reflectivity of others as it is to think about the analyst's reflexivity'. The important role that language plays is paramount in my discussion in the debate on cross-cultural methodologies.

## Ideological paradigms

The term cross-cultural research is a paradigmatic construct. This term has its origins both in academic and non-academic writings. The methodological emphasis of this study is to propose alternative methodological perspectives that allow for the voices of participants within the research process to be evident about the process itself. Within cross-cultural research it is important that the researcher creates a good rapport with the respondents and that a clear understanding of the raw data is achieved so that valid interpretations can be achieved in the analysis. (Pole & Burgess (eds.) 2000:02). All culturally focused research is limited to interpretation.

Constructivists endeavour to understand world realities in their complexity by attempting to gain this knowledge through the lived experiences told by those

that lived them, this is the *emic* or *verstehen* point of view (Schwandt 1994:118).

Within this cross-cultural, social constructivist, phenomenological research perspective, language construction and usage raised some interesting questions and revealed a number of inherent problems regarding the use of spoken word to retrieve the 'essence' of lived experience. How valid would a researcher's interpretation be if the researcher and respondents [did] not share the 'same system of intelligibility, usually a spoken or written language' (Gergen & Gergan, cited in Swandt 1994:127). Language assists in the construction of world-views and life reality.

If reality is constructed as proposed by the social constructivist perspective, through social discourse and social systems that are perceived to contain norms or standards, then the question is whose norms and standards would apply? If knowledge and truth assumed to be normative is the result of 'complicated discursive practice' (Swandt 1994:125), and language the process by which we express our conscious thoughts through the discursive practice of speech, then any attempt to gain the essence of the lived experience of the phenomenon of migration for Samoan women migrants (in which much of women's experiences had been subsumed by either non gendered or male gendered material) presents some interesting challenges.

- How much of the actual expression is the impression of the social construct or normative?
- What is the essence, is it able to be elicited, is there an essence?
- How can the integrity of the essence be maintained in the interpretation?

- How much social conditioning is reflected in and upon the very answers that are gained within a study?
- How much is determined for the respondents, by these very factors influenced by experiences of gender, race and class?
- How much is lost in cross-cultural interpretation or simply in the misunderstanding of cultural context and nuances?
- When a researcher approached a study as an insider from within the academy, what influences does the researcher bring to the construction of reality?
- How do the issues of interview expectations, image identity factors and management, effect and affect the narrative data?
- How much can the researcher enter into the world of the researched?

The restraints and limitations these questions pose in the research disclosure, should not automatically detract from or preclude the research being undertaken. It makes it all the more imperative these questions be addressed transparently, with a reflectivity that promoted a simultaneous analysis of the research process or methodology itself. Each of these questions have been addressed and adequately answered by:

- (a) Framing the study within a discussion of the historical labour market into which the young Samoan women arrived.
- (b) Situating the study within existing contemporary literature on migration.
- (c) Full discussion of the complex methodological and ethical issues that arise in cross-cultural research.

- (d) Adherence to feminist research perspectives that promote women's voices to be evident in the data, with the recognition of the importance of multiple world realities.
- (e) The addition of a self-prepared researcher interview audit, which assists as a distinct methodology, that promotes researcher transparency within the research process.

As discussed previously the concern I had that many of the respondents voices and in particular Samoan women's voices have not been captured in much contemporary material and in particular their view point on the research process or methodological and methods within qualitative research. Therefore to counter balance this Figure 07 on page 59, presents material in a way that enables the exploration of further aspects, including the commonalities and inter-relational nature of quite distinct yet contiguous contributors. It provides a visual exposition (or conceptualisation) of the ideological paradigm in a concept that assigns each distinct group equal value in its contribution, thereby placing no greater emphasis on one group or the other. This allowed for the respondent's voices within the contemporary literature addressing cross-cultural research. There is little phenomenological 'structural' (feelings experienced) evidence about how Samoan women actually felt about any relationship they may have experienced within the research process and in their interaction with a researcher. Placing respondent's comments within Figure 07 on page 59, Quadrant 02 addressed this. Though not necessarily referring specifically to their reactions to 'cross-cultural' research (as the interviews were not conducted to gain this data) each woman, to some degree, engaged in bridging the cross-cultural gap, providing interesting

personal, experiential comments, helping to balance quite polarised opinions within the academy with regard to the appropriateness of conducting outsider research. In addressing cross-cultural issues in this way, and presenting this four-quadrant approach, I acted as a 'bridge-builder', not with any assumption of authority, but drawing together and linking four distinct contributions in order to provide an [w]holistic approach.

Four Quadrants  
Interconnectedness of Contributors

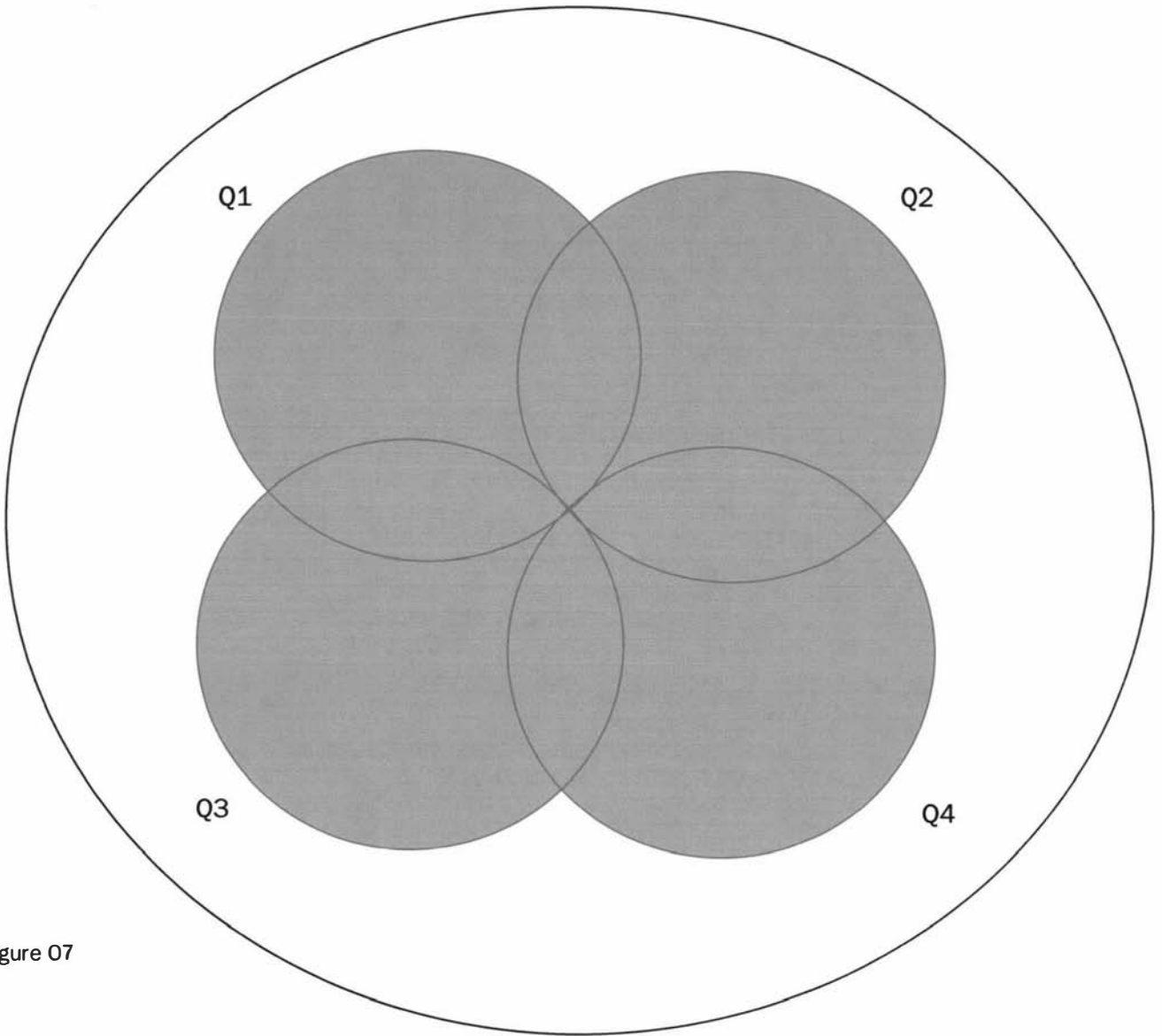


Figure 07

- Q1 Researcher's - Identity
- Q2 Samoan Women Respondents - Gatekeepers/Openers, Secondary Sources
- Q3 Pacific Island - Contemporary Perspectives
- Q4 Academic - Contemporary Perspectives

Smith (1999:01, 02) in '*Decolonizing Methodologies*' stated

'...it galls us [Maori] that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us'...'indigenous peoples across the world have other stories to tell.'<sup>2</sup>

I consider it appropriate therefore to explain my role within the study.

#### Quadrant 01 – researcher's identity - extracts from researchers diary – audiotape extracts

I am a first-generation English-speaking woman of (bilingual) Welsh parents. On arrival in New Zealand in 1957 (initially on holiday) I experienced 'pluralist' identity problems discussed in many intra-inter migrant studies as discussed in chapter one. I am of a similar age to the women respondents, a mother, received early church instruction, and had been living in both rural and metropolitan areas (Auckland) for 44 years when the interviews were conducted. Though an outsider with regard to Samoan culture, I suggest there are some similarities with the lived experience of the research respondents.

Steier (1991:175) stated...'when the observer is placed within her or his inquiry we have a beginning for a reflexive methodology for research. By recognising our own role in research our reciprocators [respondents] are seemingly paradoxically given a greater voice' (p180).

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<sup>2</sup> Refer Smith, L.T. *Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (Zed Books Ltd., University of Otago, Dunedin, 1999) p01-17, for an explicit condemnation of historically inappropriate research.

This comment linked with Mataira's (2001:21) concern regarding providing 'dejargonized summaries back to the community with whom the research was carried out, and the challenge for academic researchers in providing this commitment to the research respondents.'

It is appropriate to mention at this juncture that the terminology researcher and I have been transposed where applicable to the context.

### Bridge building

The following diary and journal entries (extracted verbatim from my diary) reflect both the positive and negative aspects, as they recount the liminal experiential research process and challenges.

#### Extracts from researcher's diary (Verbatim)

28/5/98

I am beginning to see the relatedness of my research to many of the issues - I am taking onboard the importance of viewing my material through cross cultural perspectives, as well as the feminist.

22/6/98

Looking forward to meeting with [a gatekeeper] as this may open doors to the community - I hope?

31/7/98

The fear of the fieldwork has subsided a little. I feel that by the time it is about to be undertaken I will have a clearer picture of the background, and where the women are placed in today's labour market.

22/3/99

Becoming very conscious of the fact, I am not Samoan. I am an academic and the differences between my life and the women with whom I am talking.

8/4/99

Spoke with Hazel Barnes '*Night Cleaners*' study in Hamilton<sup>3</sup>.

12/4/99

I kept thinking while I sat [institution] at 2.00am in the morning drinking tea and talking with women night cleaners' -what am I doing here? - I should be home in bed.

14/4/99

Met union rep. at 11.00pm outside [the institution] to meet night cleaners - feeling very vulnerable.

20/4/99

I am feeling very unsure what I am doing. At times it all seems so good until you come to actually do it, then it all seems so vague and unsure. Really questioning whether I should proceed, the night hours, the language problems and access problems have made this research a hard piece of work to do - therefore I need support with it.

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<sup>3</sup> Refer Research and Planning Division - Department of Labour New Zealand 1922-1979.

2/5/99

Use site visits as pre pilot information and procedure and practical issues such as notes, must remember to take notebook or tape, to get informal comments as well.

7/5/99

Ask [mentor] to check themes and questions, are they appropriate for respondents – to confirm I am on the right track.

25/5/99

How am I feeling about research? - well in the beginning I doubted I would get to this stage, and when I did, I was very nervous about it – this is good preparation for the Ethics application.

9/6/99

Met with Union Reps to discuss employment issues for pilot.

1/7/99

Have composed themed questions, will ask [mentor] and [colleague] to check for cultural appropriateness – this is a hard piece of work – have I taken on too much – I am putting myself in some very awkward cross cultural situations that I know little about – help!

16/8/99

Remembering comments of night cleaners about living in the city and not the country – how relevant is this?

24/9/99

How am I going to pull this work through the gauze of feminist theory? This could be a problem as the Samoan women may not see it this way and there will be an ambiguity in the information? how will I resolve this?

22/11/00

I am finding that some women will say yes, then they talk to relatives, and I do not hear back from them, this is frustrating as I am contacting a lot of people – however this is what research is all about. I will find it hard to attend Samoan functions as an ‘outsider’.

I recorded this personal de-briefing after meetings – giving rise to pertinent questions and reflections:

Audiotape extracts

2/8/00

I am thinking PhD was monastic and patriarchal. How will the women who I am interviewing like being presented in this format. The women may not like the content analysis or theory analysis process (would they even be interested)? How would a PhD look with lots of verbatim stories in it – would it look rigorous enough? Well I think it would look rigorous enough, if I have shown the limitation and delimitation and I certainly think it would be rigorous enough if I say that this is why I am doing it and this is why I am not doing it from a positivist approach rather a qualitative interpretive approach. Life is as it is told and as it is lived, so why can't that be recognised in academic papers?<sup>4</sup>

The whole process of cross-cultural research is about partnerships – whose language – academic? How will I finally present this thesis?

1/9/00

I have been to a weaving group, walked into the room and introduced myself to the ‘gatekeeper’ there to meet me. I felt a bit nervous, I was the only palagi in the room, and they wondered why I was there, but their response and welcome was lovely. I sat attempting to weave - it is hard! - attempting to relate the two worlds that have just collided - one the academic research - the other weaving Samoan mats sitting on a church floor...why am I doing this? I have to keep in

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<sup>4</sup> Evidence of what would result in being attracted to a phenomenological inquiry perspective (2.8.00).

mind the perspective, from the feminist perspective, keep gathering women's histories from an anthropological perspective. We need to know from an oral history perspective. We need to have record of the women's lives because these stories however 'mundane or ordinary' these women say their lives are (and many confessed to this idea) these stories will have implications for future generations - and we need to have a record.

However explaining to some of the women in academic jargon is just absolutely incorrect and absolutely impossible, and I wouldn't even think about doing it, but it does make it hard to very simply explain what I want to do and why I am doing it and to an audience that really (a) are they interested (b) are they suspicious (c) do they really want to know (d) or do they want to get involved (e) what is in it for them - and the whole complex issue of where is it going to end up - why was it an issue in the first place?.

20/10/00

I went to [church] where there was a [women's] afternoon was being held to raise funds. I had prearranged with the [organiser/gatekeeper] of the group to speak to the women. When I arrived they had not been informed and so I was confronted with numerous negative comments as to 'why I was there' 'what right did I have to take up their personal time in this way', 'why did I not research in my own community' 'what was I going to do with the information I got'. I thought I had by visiting [the gatekeeper] at her home a week before and speaking with her on the phone twice that I had covered for this type of eventuality. However this was not the case - by simple lapse of memory on her part the afternoon became very much an inquisition, and an embarrassment to both myself and the women at the afternoon function. I was able to explain what had happened and resolve much of the misgivings. However, this was an excellent learning point - it really turned the tables on me - I now more fully understand what it must be like to be 'researched', it can leave one vulnerable, a feeling of 'invasion'... I considered I was being culturally sensitive and appropriate in my actions - but as a result of this it

took the need for sensitivity in my work to a new level –I have incorporated into my research skills. (Subsequently I have reflected on Smith (1999))

25/10/01

Getting women in the demographic group I want is not easy, really why is this? 'cold calling' to start the 'snowballing' effect has been hard – respondents don't come to the researcher – I must go out there 'and be purposeful'. Creswell (1998:118)

## Quadrant 02 - Samoan – gatekeepers-openers/women-leaders/gatekeepers as secondary sources

Creswell (1998:117) stated a 'gatekeeper [is] an individual who is a member of or has insider status with a cultural group'. The[se] gatekeeper[s] [are] the initial contact[s] for the researcher and lead the researcher to other informants.'

Access to respondents within a specific community through gatekeepers is important in order to establish rapport and trust in the initial stages of the study. Gatekeepers were seen as pivotal in this study, not only for referrals to respondents, but also to gain credibility within the Samoan community.

Gatekeepers/openers - 01-05 - cultural instructional extracts from audio-tapes, journal and diary

The following are five commentaries from gatekeepers revealed how each assisted or contributed further to the researcher's cultural understanding and knowledge.

(G01) assisted with suggestions she thought might be helpful when approaching women for interviews.

(as these are Gatekeeper verbatim cross cultural instructions it is appropriate they be defined)

- Samoan women tend to respond more to verbal communication than phone calls, just have friendly chats, just show up.
- Using a table between you and the woman you are talking to is maybe threatening – a barrier – it depends on the woman.
- It is good to build up word of mouth, as some will encourage workmates to be part of your interview.
- Finding a place to interview – some of these women would not like being taken to lunch, they would not be used to it as a palagi would, they would be very quiet and not talk.

I asked what role might the husbands want to play in the interviews?

- It's a personal thing, but the husband may want to know what they are doing as a family thing more than approval to do it.
- It would not be appropriate to ask about their sexual life.

My response

This was not part of the interview or the research focus.

(G01)

- You may find them interviewing you.

As a feminist researcher, it was both a welcome and unnerving remark, when striving for transparency and honesty in the research, to consider that my world-view and lived experiences might be appropriate to share with the respondents.

I asked, what might be a suitable gift to give to the respondents, to show my appreciation for the time given.

- We Polynesians are always eating so something different from food might be appreciated.

We spoke about language and the problems it could inadvertently pose.

G01 commented

- Be careful using double negatives, as in the English language, Samoans find this a problem, because while the answer should be a yes, you get a no, because you have asked in a double kind of way.

(G02)

I visited [women's organisation] to meet with [a gatekeeper] who asked:

- Who was funding me?

My response was to tell her:

I do not have any grants or funds.

This drew the question from G02

- Why was I doing it, why was I not doing research in my own community?

(G03)

Journal entry (22.9.99) [gatekeeper] asked to meet - this was then cancelled but we spoke for some length on the phone, G03 told me she.

- Liked the research focus, and confess that very little of this type of work had been carried out in her community - there was a lot of work regarding men, church, chiefly systems, employment but little on the history of the women as migrant workers in the early days.

I met with G04 (SS01) and G05 (SS02). Both approved of the study and how it was proceeding. My request was that they would act as secondary sources, as both had been active in employing a number of Samoan girls in the 1950-60's both the women were happy to assist. This enabled employment issues to be

discussed in relation to young female migrant workers and to discuss historical labour market influences. It also opened dialogue on the political economy of the 1950-1960's that created and maintained the flow of transient migrant low-skilled labour, for the booming factory and secondary service New Zealand economy.

Journal notes

18/10/00

I made point of talking with prominent or titled Samoan women in the community telling them what I am doing, so they know I am working in their community. Their reactions have been 'great' even though I am palagi they acknowledge no one has done this before, and so it will be interesting to read. Also young Samoan women, some of these are academics and have agreed that it would open up avenues for future research within their own community.

Interesting observation - more women interested and more willing to participate in West Auckland than in South Auckland - there seems to be some resistance and I have discussed this with gatekeepers (two Samoan women on the Samoan Advisory Council) who say that 'Samoans in South Auckland are tired of being researched', however they both gave me the promise of help to get respondents, and thought that my 'angle' was good and they 'supported' what I was doing even though I was a palagi.

It is important to note that the following are comments made by the respondents in the course of the interview process. Their viewpoints about how they felt about the interviews and the research project in general is important in this phenomenological study with its emphasis on methodological perspectives and feminist methods.

Respondent contributions - bridge building extracts from researcher's journal, diary, interviews and informal discussions

R015

It's unusual for you to want to take down my life story.

It was good.

I will do the interview in English - (though a Samoan version was supplied).

I like sitting telling my story, I enjoy the quiet way we just sit here. I remember things that happened, it makes me happy to relive and share.

Not troubled you are a palagi woman, I want to help you.

I attended a women's church weaving group at [church] from which two women agreed to share their experiences of coming to New Zealand in the 1950-1970's where respondent

R014

I have never been asked to tell my story - the family don't do that sort of thing - I do not mind you are palagi, we are both women, and understand some of the same things.

I can still see my home and village when I talk to you - I can see the palm trees and hear the water over the road from my home.

I really enjoy the interviews it makes me question what I think -it is stimulating to discuss and remember experiences.

I want to start to write my own life history for my grandchildren.

R012

I know you don't understand about fa'a Samoa, but thanks for doing this, I hope some others will do this also. You have made me think I could start writing about my own life

These are further comments from meetings with the respondents.

R009

I like the questions.

I like the way they ask me questions about things I have not been able to talk about.

Gate Opener (GO) R009's daughter... relayed that her mother had really liked remembering.

R005

Respondent 05 held three jobs, however she rang and advised she would make the time to meet and that:

[she] I didn't mind helping you.

Again the use of the word help is significant, for time, was at a premium for many of the women.

R003

Was extremely shy woman who spoke little English who told the researcher:

I do not mind speaking with a palagi.

Who did the Samoan questions, it is good.

The women who embarked on doing the interviews showed their willingness to collaborate, sharing their stories '*even with a palagi*' to expand this knowledge base. Therefore they acted in accordance with the ideology of the theoretical paradigm of 'bridging the cultural gap'.

## Journal Extracts

20/1/01

I say this is bridge building – I said to many that I wanted to start something that could be carried on by the next generation, so this is building bridges with the help of the women, it appeared to be collaborative, as it helped some of the women get closure on issues in their lives. They are sharing their cultural insights, doing this with me telling their stories. I see this as reciprocal not exploitive. The women told me they did not feel they were being taken advantage of. The women were strong. We shared many stories that were quite similar to my own experiences in coming to NZ.

19/2/01

Some of the women did not think it necessary to sign the Consent Form as required by the Massey Human Ethics Committee they said they “trusted me.”  
(This is discussed in chapter four)

## Quadrant 03 - Pacific Island – contemporary perspectives

The contributions in this quadrant have been limited to organisations and institutions that have been ‘given’ or ‘assumed’ the mantle of authority to provide and oversee guidelines for research within the Pacific Island/Samoan community.

I requested from The Health Council of New Zealand (07 March 2002) a copy of research guidelines for research in the Samoan community. No guidelines are currently available, however the researcher was advised the Council was working toward formulating such guidelines in consultation with Samoan and non-Samoan interested parties.

Douthett (1988 April) in a paper (resulting from the '*Unfortunate Experiments*' at *National Women's Hospital*'<sup>5</sup> which instigated the *Cartwright Report*) stated 'it [is] essential to involve Pacific Island researchers in every step of the research project that involves Pacific Island people. The Pacific Island researchers should be of the same ethnic background as the participants' (April 1988). No guidelines were discussed should a researcher not be a Pacific Island person (therefore of a different ethnic group from the (participants) respondents). This posed the question - who has the right to assign guidelines and from whose perspective are they speaking? It is reasonable to say that funding agencies would have their own financial and political agenda's. Spoonley (1999:52, 53) addressed this issue and suggested that researchers be aware of the requirements funding bodies and host institutions expect from researchers, and any hidden obligations that might be placed upon researchers, this could cause a conflict of interest between the researchers, respondents and the financial supporters of the research.

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<sup>5</sup> Refer Cartwright, Dame Silvia (1988), Report of the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, The Committee Inquiry, Auckland (section C- p116) for specific debate involving Samoan women. [www.womens-health.org.nz/links.htm](http://www.womens-health.org.nz/links.htm) [Accessed Nov 2000].

The following papers and publications contributed to quadrant three and provided additional insights into current (contemporary) cross-cultural research perspectives.

Tamasese, K. Peteru, C. & Waldegrave, C. (1997) project which culminated in the report, *'Research Project carried out by the Family Centre' 'Ole Taeao Afua'* [presents a] *'Qualitative Investigation into Samoan Perspectives on Mental Health and Culturally Appropriate Services'* addressed the issue of perspective in cross-cultural research inquiry. Their advice is that when undertaking research with Pacific Island communities the researchers should be aware that the focus should be toward the community as a whole 'rather than an individual approach' (p82) that 'the whole person exists not as an individual, but in relationship with other people' (p83).

This study attempted to discover the community perception of appropriate mental health services and stated,

'Western models of methodology when seeking knowledge about other cultural contexts are reputedly by design and habit significant interpreters of the reality of people's lives. Methodological frames should be more rigorous and sympathetic to their participant culture without compromising the inherent beliefs and values that sustain those communities. Research methods therefore must not preempt the unknown witness with conceptual frameworks that anticipate and address non-western cultures from biased perspectives' (p08).

The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs held a '*Pacific Vision International Conference*'. The first stage strategy was released in July 1999 from which four papers were of direct relevance to this study.

Raewyn Good (1999:02) suggested, 'that Anthropology and Sociology fieldwork methods have provided a useful base for the development of more people sensitive research approaches.' [Then], 'while the university training is important much social research craft actually comes from direct experience in undertaking research, from the understanding gained through years of living and from team sharing/learning'.

Dr Airini (1999:01.04) shared how she 'was the learner'. This material covered an interesting approach to life stories with parallels to this study in the discussion of culture and identity. Dr Airini (1999) stated 'We hear life stories - and we discover something more than clear cut reflections of either culture past or present, rather we encounter statements about the human mind and life ways and what it means to engage that mind and life in Aotearoa New Zealand'. This reflected (without actually stating) a phenomenological perspective of Husserl's (1931) 'essence of lived experiences'. Margaret Southwick (1999:01) remarked that, 'the consequence of the 'insider/outsider' framework for research in which Pacific people are always located in the 'outsider' position is that there is limited opportunity for Pacific people to set their own research agenda'. She also expressed concerns about the emerging 'elite' (p02), this reflected the decision to include respondents within the four quadrant format. The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs publication, '*The Piloting Methodology Framework*' A tool for testing innovative

*initiatives for Pacific peoples (1998)* is an informative guideline for piloting procedures<sup>6</sup>.

This framework would not be complete without the contributions from the academy.

#### Quadrant 04 - Academic – contemporary perspectives

Massey University's publication from the School of Social and Cultural Studies (November 2001). *'Negotiating the Boundaries: The Politics of Cross Cultural Research in the Social Sciences'*, edited transcripts of a seminar convened on *'Mono-Bi-Multi Cultural Research: Who Should Do What and When?'* Emerged as a significant contemporary practice orientated publication. In which the panelists reflected on various issues from a 'practice perspective' and the debates surrounding cross-cultural procedures, the expectations within the university system and the 'concerns for the reputation and function of the university in relation to the various communities it studied and served' (p.V). There are a number of issues relevant to this study, I was particularly encouraged when reading this publication that the panel had discussed a number of the issues I considered at pre-pilot and pilot stages of this study. Of particular interest were the comments made by Tafa Multialo, a Samoan matai and lecturer in Social Work at Massey University (School of Social and Cultural Studies).

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<sup>6</sup> Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, (ISBN: 0-477-01856-4, Wellington 1998).

He reflected upon the positive aspect of being an insider within the Samoan community and the fact this enabled him to 'bridge the gap between the Samoan community and the academic community of which he was [also] part (p05).

Hutchings M (1998) text *'New Zealanders By Choice'* presented New Zealand migrant women's life stories. These included the experience of Ulata Alaelua, a Samoan-born woman (p44-50). The authors included a textual description of Ulata's life and verbatim extracts from interviews.

Wendy Larner's (1989) M.A thesis with Samoan women in Christchurch, *'Migration and Female Labour: Samoan Women in Christchurch, New Zealand, (1989)'* and the subsequent article *'Women and Migration'* in Spoonley, P. Pearson, D. & Macpherson, C. provided early insight into some of the issues Samoan women faced in the labour market. Larner's (1989) conclusion in this publication suggested that there is a need to develop a more in-depth understanding of women's lives in New Zealand (Spoonley, P, Pearson, D & Macpherson, C 1991:63). Sei Brown's discussion within his research essay for M.A in Sociology (1995) *'Research Partnerships for the New Age Researcher'* advocated that a 'partnership design holds great value, it is this sharing of knowledge that becomes one of the key ingredients to successful research as researchers we do not know everything that we need to know and to be prepared to asked when we do not understand'<sup>7</sup> (p34).

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<sup>7</sup> Refer to Byers, B. (1994) *Socialization: Child Rearing Practices in Samoa and Tahiti and the Need for Contextualisation in Cultural Interpretations*, M.A, Auckland University - page iii for similar ideology. Note the term 'other' used throughout the text is now considered inappropriate by the researcher (2002).

In Anae's (1998) doctoral study *'Fofoa-I-vao-'ese: The Identity Journeys of NZ-Born Samoans'* she explored 'first generation children from migrant Samoan families' and addressed the issue of the 'tension between culture and Christianity' (p288). Anae's work is informative and quite specific about the Samoan church's role in the daily lives of the Samoan community.

Tiatia (1998) *'Caught Between Two Cultures - a New Zealand - Born Pacific Island Perspective'* wrote of concerns with the 'declining attendance of New Zealand born Samoan youth' [in churches] (p01). This was most informative on the issue of church membership and identity problems experienced by young Samoans who were born in New Zealand who identified more as New Zealanders rather than their Samoan identity. A number of this study's respondents mentioned that they also found they identified as New Zealanders to the expense of their Samoan heritage. Krishnan, Schoeffel & Warren (1994) *'The Challenge of Change: Pacific Island Communities in New Zealand'* provided a brief account of Pacific Island Women Workers (p23-24) where they quoted Larner (1989:23, 24) 'Samoan women in New Zealand have been largely omitted in the literature examining migration.' One of the most comprehensive historical publications is that of David Pitt and Cluny Macpherson (1974) *'Emerging Pluralism the Samoan Community in New Zealand'* who comprehensively wrote on the 'emerging pluralism'. They also addressed this issue in *'Migration and Settlement'* a paper Macpherson presented at the 'Pacific Vision International Conference' (1999). Robin Fleming's (1997) *'The Common Purse - Income Sharing in New Zealand Families'* incorporated reports from the Intra Family Income Study 13 including material from Pacific Island families on the allocation of family money. This

comparative study concluded that extended Pacific Island families preserved a familiar social structure in an alien social New Zealand environment. The study provided an important contribution for its real life approach to how money was perceived within pakeha, Maori and Pacific Island families. Verhoeven J.C in Pole C J & Burgess R.G (eds.) (2000:01, 20) '*Cross-Cultural Case Study*' provided some enlightened discussion on the problems of 'cross cultural interviewing'. He 'warned that cross cultural research more generally is prone to an inevitable ethnocentrism where one of the parties involved believes they and their worldview is superior to the other.'

'The first consideration in cross-cultural research is the safety of the community involved but there is also the safety of the researcher.'  
(Spoonley 1999:50)

In conclusion Spoonley in his paper 'The challenge of cross-cultural research', in Davidson, C. & Tolich, M. (eds) *Social Science Research in New Zealand Many Paths to Understanding* (1999:53)<sup>8</sup> challenged researchers to know:

- 'What is the purpose of the research'?
- 'Am I the right person to be doing it'?
- 'Will the research be compromised by any conditions imposed by funders, host institutions, fellow researchers or possibly the community involved'?

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<sup>8</sup> See Davidson, C. & Tolich, M, (eds) *Social Science Research in New Zealand Many Paths to Understanding* (Longman, Auckland 1999) p51-61.

These methodological aspects are important if collaborative research is to benefit the researcher and respondents. Before concluding this chapter it is appropriate that I address Spoonley's (1999) comments (above) and relate them specifically to this study. His question 'what is the purpose of the research'? (p53). I consider this has been more than adequately addressed within the chapters dealing with historical aspects, pilot, interviewing and phenomenological analysis. 'Am I right person to be doing this'? (p53). From the start of the research I have been conscious of my outsider status. In order to be clear about my role as researcher, in this chapter I have presented the challenges while addressing sensitive cross-cultural aspects.

'Will the research be compromised by any conditions imposed by funders, host institutions, fellow researcher or possibly the community involved'? (p53). The first part of the question regarding funding, as mentioned I chose not to apply for funding. The reason being that as the pre-pilot and pilot stage progressed it became apparent that the women who spoke with me, once they found that I was not attached (or obligated) to any organisations appeared to be much more ready or willing to engage with me and the research project. As far as the community involved, I can only remind readers that the Samoan gatekeepers as shown in Figure 08 on page 100, were extremely approachable and very willing to assist and open doors for me, I was made to feel very welcome. I was completely transparent with each individual I spoke with, taking the time to explain and gain a measure of confidence within the process, resulted in many of the gatekeepers encouraging me and confirming that *'it was a good piece of*

*work and should be done even if you are a palagi*'. I could not have asked for more than this show of confidence.

The next chapter is divided into two parts the first explores the practical processes within the pre-pilot and pilot stages of the study, and how the themes began to emerge in collaboration with members of the Samoan community, and the subsequent complexities of gaining access to Samoan women respondents.

The second part discusses the interview process and provides respondent's reflections that emerged from within the interviews.

## Chapter 04

### Research - piloting/interviewing strategies

'[the] final preparation for data collection is the conduct[ing] of a pilot study. The pilot helps investigators to refine their data collection plans with respect to both the content of the data and the procedures to be followed.' (Yin 1994:74)

### Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts the first, a discussion on the methods used within the pilot stages the second engaging in the fieldwork.

The anthropological term 'rite of passage', Van Gennep (1909)<sup>1</sup> reflected my experiences through the pilot stages of this study. Coming to terms with entering and engaging in cross-cultural research.

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<sup>1</sup> Refer Keesing, R. *Cultural Anthropology A Contemporary Perspective*, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York 1976) p234.

Janesick's (1994:211) 'warming up', 'ongoing' and 'cooling down' had parallels to this study's three pilot stages. The correlation between the ultimate substantive and methodological effectiveness of this study was directly linked to the utilisation of these three pilot stages, each added rigour within the process and validity to the analysis.

### Pre-pilot – initiation - warming up - partial participant observations

The pre-pilot site visits had some parallels with the process of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) 'grounded theory' strategies to gain insights through observation to gain a particular focus, in this case corporate culture for example, night cleaners<sup>2</sup>. This observational method of site visits or partial participant observation had the advantage of being able to get at 'real life in the real world' (Robson 1993:191)<sup>3</sup>. With the cooperation of the union representatives I gained access to work sites to conduct non-participant observations and partial-participation observations. I spoke with the women night cleaners endeavoring to gain information regarding the positive and negative aspects of night work. I was aware that much of this information could possibly provide the framework for the formal fieldwork.

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<sup>2</sup> Refer Hatch, M.J. *Organization Theory Modern Symbolic and Postmodern Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1997) for organizational culture debate, p200-400.

<sup>3</sup> Refer Robson, C. for a fuller account of observational methods in research inquiry, *Real World Research A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*, (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 1993) p190-225.

In hindsight becoming familiar with the culture of night work I also gained an understanding of the complex nature of the role of ethics in research. No formal Ethics Committee approval for this stage of the empirical work was sought, however it was undertaken with the concurrence of the researcher's supervisors and in cooperation with the Service Workers Union representatives. To ensure that no deception occurred on the job sites, my researcher/observer role was made clear. I had constructed a 'forty-five-second-sound-bite' (Tolich & Davidson 1999:95, 96) explaining the level of respondent's participation, and the perceived benefits of the study. These points were explained (without exception) to all the women. I experienced discomfort when women would shrug their shoulders and walk away with apparent disinterest. This was an early lesson in making me aware of how sensitive any research process is and more particularly, cross-cultural research, when language is not shared. As researchers we are passionate about our topic, but this is not always the case with participants. An undated journal note below shows the level of discomfort as a complete outsider both culturally and with respect to job identity and ethnic group.

Journal Note (verbatim circa June 1998)

11.30pm and a meeting had been called for all workers of late shift. Sitting outside on cold concrete wall with twenty women listening to [union representative] and waiting for night security to open the doors, [to the institution] uncomfortable experience so foreign to me this 'culture of night work' I'm debating the rationale of such a complex study. It also makes me conscious of my way of life.

In order to record conversations two audio-recorders were trialed prior to the formal interview. A multi-directional (small enough to be hand held or placed discreetly on a table for interviews)<sup>4</sup>, and a voice-activated model to enable more discreet informal recordings (at the pre-pilot stage) at work sites. I had spoken in depth about the ethical considerations of this practice with my supervisor prior to this strategy being used. At no time in this process was any deception of women on site visits intended<sup>5</sup>. Any potential for this to occur was therefore removed, as prior to engaging in conversation each woman was shown the microphone and her approval was gained<sup>6</sup>. A number of the women wanted to know if I was from income support agencies or government agencies. A number could not understand why I was interested in their work, and with some skepticism engaged only briefly in conversation. An additional precaution was instigated to substantiate credibility, in that, if a woman did not

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<sup>4</sup> This was subsequently posted to Samoa and Wellington and given to the respondent in Auckland who self taped their interviews.

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive discussion refer to Punch (1994) *Politics and Ethics in Qualitative Research* in Denzin and Lincoln (1994) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks) p83-98.

<sup>6</sup> See Tolich, M. & Davidson, C. *Starting Fieldwork an Introduction to Qualitative Research in New Zealand*, (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1999), p95-96.

speaking English fluently enough to understand what was being asked of her I did not record those conversations. This was not meant to preclude women who wished to engage in conversation, nor that I wanted to only record clear English speaking voices, it was done to ensure that all women had clearly understood what I was requiring. Only when I was assured that the women had completely understood the request to audiotape their conversations and no misunderstandings had occurred, was the audiotape activated. The ethical tenet of 'do no harm' was therefore strictly enforced and adhered to. The initial question focus at pre-pilot work site visits were as follows.

Could you tell me please?

- What type of cleaning do you do in this building?
- What buildings do you clean?
- What are the hours you work?
- Do you have another job as well as this one?
- How long have you been a cleaner?
- What made you start working as a cleaner?
- How does it affect your home life?
- Do you have children - how do you manage with the hours you work?

As the pre-pilot developed and sites visits became more frequent, evidence of the high percentage of Pacific Island women in this work was confirmed at the particular work sites visited (it was not assumed it would be the same at other work sites). The following extracts from my diary provide insights into issues

surrounding early site visits and the methodological and ethical aspects that required addressing.

Journal entries of pre-pilot site visits  
(Verbatim)

- 12 April 1999 I have a bit of a dilemma I have been invited to site [institution] and I am concerned that I will be introduced as a [union rep.] is this being transparent? - am I anticipating problems? - just go and see.
- I was introduced 'as a friendly'. Standing in a dark hall at [the institution] at 11.30pm waiting for a lift with [cleaner] not good! I wanted to go to sleep.
- I don't speak their language - it was rather lonely out there.
- The shift was 90% women - this actually reflects the stats.
- What are the ethical considerations here?
- Don't like being locked in a building at night - some women said it is like being in a prison. I agree.
- 5 May 1999 - meeting at 5.30am at (...) airport - so on the road from Devonport at 4.30am - interesting! [from audio recording in car]

Four issues arose from within the preparatory 'observational' pre-pilot to:

- Define - the parameters or focus
- Select - or define which ethnic group
- Decide - the best research instrument for gaining qualitative verbatim material.
- Determine - the most appropriate way of conducting interviews.

## Triangulation of emerging data – defining the parameters

As saturation of empirical information occurred, driven by the participants rather than the literature (at that stage) and the triangulation of data from my journal, diary notes, recordings from job sites, informal conversations, gatekeepers and trial participants, one issue emerged as significant. It was the fact that young women from the age of 16 years had migrated to New Zealand, often alone, with little support networks established on arrival, with the intention of supporting family back in Samoa. They would tell me they came to *'help their families'* and that they *'sent money home all the time'*. Early statistics shown in Figures 01 and 02 on pages 5 and 6, confirmed this small percentage of women, yet did not highlight they were single, nor do these statistics inform that they remained in New Zealand. This is where my study provides (a) the respondent's confirmation that they arrived often alone in New Zealand, (b) through a reflective process of respondents' interview data that many women stayed in New Zealand and (c) their perception of how this affected their lives and that of their families.

Following the informal partial participant site interviews, discussions with friends and associates, consulting with mentors and gatekeepers, ongoing reading of background literature, the initial inquiry themes began to emerge as the range of employment and social issues. To substantiate the emerging material I consulted with secondary sources. A friend who had worked as a night shift cleaner/telephonist; a family member who had worked in a factory on permanent night shift; a Samoan nurse aid who had worked night shift at

(...) Hospital (now (...) Hospital) and a Pacific Island (female) minister who I asked to clarify some cultural issues. Tapes of these conversations were transcribed to hard copy by a commercial typist who had signed a Confidentiality Agreement (appendix A). This enabled two aspects firstly:

- Gaining of comprehensive cultural, employment and personal background information and gain answers to some of the questions resulting from earlier site visit observations.
- Ascertaining the competency of my fieldwork recording skills.

Margin notes were made on each transcripts covering conceptual issues; how best to structure questions; searching for emergent categories or themes; or questions that needed further discussion or clarification. More practical issues focused on my verbal interviewer skills.

## Human Research Ethics Approval

‘Because the objects of inquiry in interviewing are human beings, extreme care must be taken to avoid any harm to them’. (Fontana and Frey 1994:361)

Concurrent with this pre-pilot stage an application was made to the Massey University Ethics Committee (appendix B to J) in order to move on to piloting the emerging themed questionnaires. I was requested (by letter 14<sup>th</sup> June 1999) (appendix K) to meet with the Committee to clarify issues regarding the cross-cultural nature of the study and respondent and researcher cultural safety. The fact I was non Pacific Island and the issues that could arise from this (if any). Committee members posed questions regarding what considerations and measures had been put in place by the researcher to address the issue of appropriate access to the focus community. Following the meeting of 30<sup>th</sup> June 1999 amendments were sought by the Committee (appendix L) to Information Sheets, with additional directives as to specific wording. These were considered seriously but rejected as the Information Sheet wording had been thoughtfully composed in collaboration with gatekeepers to encourage respondents to dictate the length of time they wished to commit to the interview stage. This was also considered appropriate practice in line with feminist ideology of providing a non-threatening fluidity in terms of time contribution. By not setting exact temporal parameters for the interviews, this was seen to neither encourage nor discourage possible respondents. The Committee raised the question, ‘*would I be asking women*

*what they were paid and would this be included in the final report* or *would the researcher reveal to employers those women who had participated in the research*'. Surety was given to the Committee that neither would be disclosed in the final thesis. The details for contacting the researcher's supervisors were included in Information Sheets, should prospective respondents wish to clarify any issues. The supervisors recorded no contacts throughout the duration of the research.

#### Pilot - rite of passage - on going preparation of the primary data collection instrument – themed questionnaire

Janesick (1994: 213) suggested 'the time invested in a pilot study can be valuable and enriching for later phases in the study' and that the 'pilot interviews may be used to test certain questions'.

The categories that emerged from the preparatory pre-pilot then provided tentative themes. For instance, night work was a category, but within this were a number of sub-themes such as 'identity' - working as a cleaner. In order to gain an understanding of this within the interviews I asked women that identified they had worked as cleaners - how did they feel telling friends about their job? One reply was *'I have status in the church so cleaning doesn't worry me'*. This was considered an important issue to address within the interviews.

Five important points emerged while drafting and re-drafting the primary data collection instrument, the themed questionnaire, to reach the final version:

- What were the problems associated with using English language as a medium for gaining information in a cross-cultural situation? (as discussed in Chapter 3)
- Would the questions have cultural significance to the respondents?
- Would the questions be able to elicit correct or adequate answers?
- Was my background knowledge of Samoan culture sufficient to produce appropriate questions?
- What degree of immersion in the Samoan community was required in order to be familiar not only with the more overt knowledge, but also with an understanding of the subtle nuances?

It was considered inappropriate that I learn the Samoan language, as this was not possible under the constraints of this project. Nor was it considered appropriate for me to be engaged in total immersion<sup>7</sup>. However it was important that I gained an understanding of specific cultural issues such as the importance of non-verbal communication, culturally sensitive behavior, so as not to cause offense to the respondents and the community.

The final interview themed questionnaire (appendix M & N) was considered capable of extracting and understanding certain individual and collective behaviours that constituted the women's understanding of the phenomenon of

migration. I wanted to gain the feelings they experienced in the process of migration, attempting to understand how the respondents viewed their every day situations, and therefore to establish a comparative perspective to some historical material about the *lived-in-experiences* of Pacific Island women who arrived in New Zealand and undertook low-skilled, low-paid work. I undertook piloting the (emerging) and final draft themed/questions with this network of individuals chosen for their specific backgrounds to provide broad base conceptual and practical perspectives for the final primary instrument for the empirical fieldwork, the themed questionnaire.

- Language: Gatekeepers and secondary sources in the Samoan community, a Samoan friend and academic colleague.
- Labour relations and employment issues: S.W.U, Department of Labour, Equal Employment Opportunities Trust, and the Ministry of Womens' Affairs.
- Night-shift work – a network of family, friends and colleagues, who had, or were working night- shifts. Also women from the night-cleaning sites.
- Cultural appropriateness: three Samoan (prominent) women.

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<sup>7</sup> This term indicates when a researcher undertakes long term fieldwork for example Malinowski' Trobriand Island study (1914).

- Translation of questions to Samoan: a Samoan interpreter who acted as a gatekeeper and respondent also providing confirmation that the questions were worded in a culturally appropriate manner for academic purposes.

When the final English language questionnaire was approved in collaboration with a Samoan mentor and gatekeeper, arrangements were made to have it translated into Samoan. While reading the questionnaire (appendix N) one gatekeeper mentioned it was too formal and would have the affect of alienating the women as opposed to encouraging them to participate. We agreed she be remunerated at current rates to translate another version. I had unwittingly requested the English version be translated literally, striving for integrity and cultural appropriateness. However this literal translation did not provide the appropriate informality. All but two respondents preferred to conduct the interviews in English, however two chose to be interviewed using the (second and later) Samoan language version.

## Reflecting on the pilot

Conducting the pilot stages within the study provided the framework to establish the conceptual and practical aspects in order to commence the empirical fieldwork.

- It established trust and rapport and collaborative relationships with gatekeepers and respondents.
- It gained (for me) an understanding of the culture of night work, by going to work sites.
- It encouraged confidence in my role as academic researcher in a cross-cultural research situation. With comments '*even if you are a palagi*', and the implied positive or negative connotations, reconfirmed the need for absolute integrity and transparency, to establish effective networks within the Samoan community.
- It enabled me to ascertain conceptual understandings, through the constant process of triangulation. To constantly assess the soundness of the information being gathered, until saturation occurred, or as Morse (1994:230) stated 'repetition in the information'.
- It assisted me to develop the practical arrangements of interviewing and audiotaping and experimentation with different technical equipment, and to produce a chart for recording each individual's place within the study.
- It enabled me to consider how I would proceed with the analysis of the large volume of fieldwork data that would be generated.
- It allowed for time to address the issue of the ethical requirements mandatory within the research process and to apply for ethics approval.

What became apparent as the piloting of the study progressed was the subtle and constant refocusing of perspective. What had been the original idea of the research, that of a study of the social and economic implications of night work particularly night cleaning with more focus upon the employment issues, altered as a result of speaking with Samoan women. What emerged was the importance of a wide range of supporting and influencing factors within many areas of their lives. The focus then both broadened and narrowed simultaneously. Firstly, it broadened to incorporate issues of migration and resulted (in collaboration with various groups and women) in the fourteen themes generated for and incorporated within the questionnaire. Secondly, it narrowed, in that it ultimately included only Samoan women, from within the broader context of Pacific Island women (appendix O).

### Engaging with the fieldwork

'The basic premise of phenomenological (hermeneutic) is that humans attempt through consciousness, to make sense, or interpret life experiences carried out often reflectively, through narrative, story or conversation' (Cohen et al 2000:59)

### Delimiting – the defined demographic group

As previously discussed work, whether day or night does not occur in a vacuum separate from other social influences and experiences. This informed the decision to expand the parameters of the study to incorporate an exploration of

more social issues as they specifically related to women. Coinciding with this was the refinement of the group to Samoan women, not as a result of observing a higher percentage of Samoan women working as night cleaners, but to delimit the ethnic background of the respondents to allow for a more commonly shared social context for all participants. At this stage also I began to meet with gatekeepers. Creswell (1998:117) stated that these individuals 'have insider status with [in] a cultural group', to explain why I was undertaking this study. It was paramount I be observed working ethically in this community so as not to disadvantage the respondents.

### Role of gatekeepers/openers and respondents within the process

I introduced myself to a number of women leaders within the Samoan community. I received encouragement from a number of gatekeepers who contacted women they thought might fit the study's demographic criteria. At this first meeting with either a gatekeeper or respondent each was given a copy of all the research forms, both in Samoan and English. All forms were read through thoroughly with each of them, and informal discussions took place, often over a cup of tea or coffee. The focus of the research generally met with enthusiasm, the women saying they recognised the need for such research *even if you are a palagi*. Two gatekeepers however were somewhat skeptical about why I wanted to undertake this research, asking *why did I not research my own culture? was I doing it because the women were not able to refuse?* This raised both moral and ethical questions for me. What could the

reasons be, as to why the women felt they could not refuse to participate? This made me very aware of my role as an outsider academic researcher, and the perceived power differential that can exist within research. Therefore the answer to this was to ensure as much knowledge was imparted to the respondents by entering the community through gatekeepers, and referrals, so that they could if required explain the study to the respondents to overcome any confusion that might arise. It was paramount to the success of this study that I be observed working ethically in this community so as not to disadvantage the respondents. Fifteen gatekeepers were telephoned (only/not visited). These communications did not proceed: either they did not know women in the demographic group (required for this study): indicated they did not have the time available: did not appear to consider the study relevant: or were cautious about agreeing to be involved. Thirty-three gatekeepers were telephoned and visited personally, they were interested suggesting they may know of women who fitted the criteria or were in the demographic group. Five prominent men were contacted, I met with two with one providing two telephone numbers of women leaders, whom I rang, and also that of a pastor of a local church, who invited me to join in a fund raising (dance) afternoon, which I thoroughly enjoyed. Neither of these led to respondents, but provided further valuable cultural knowledge. One gatekeeper/respondent did not proceed though showed initial interest but due to her prominent position within the Samoan community she thought it inappropriate to continue. Four (possible) respondents did not proceed further after the initial discussions. The reasons given were, sickness in family; a death in family; insufficient available time (night worker) and privacy issues.

The schedule presented as Figure 08 on page 100, shows the interview procedures. Its original purpose was to keep an accurate record of the diverse process of gaining respondents. However it also provides a strategy or method by which in reflection an assessment of the effectiveness and role of gatekeepers can be made.

# Gate Keepers/Openers and Respondent Schedule

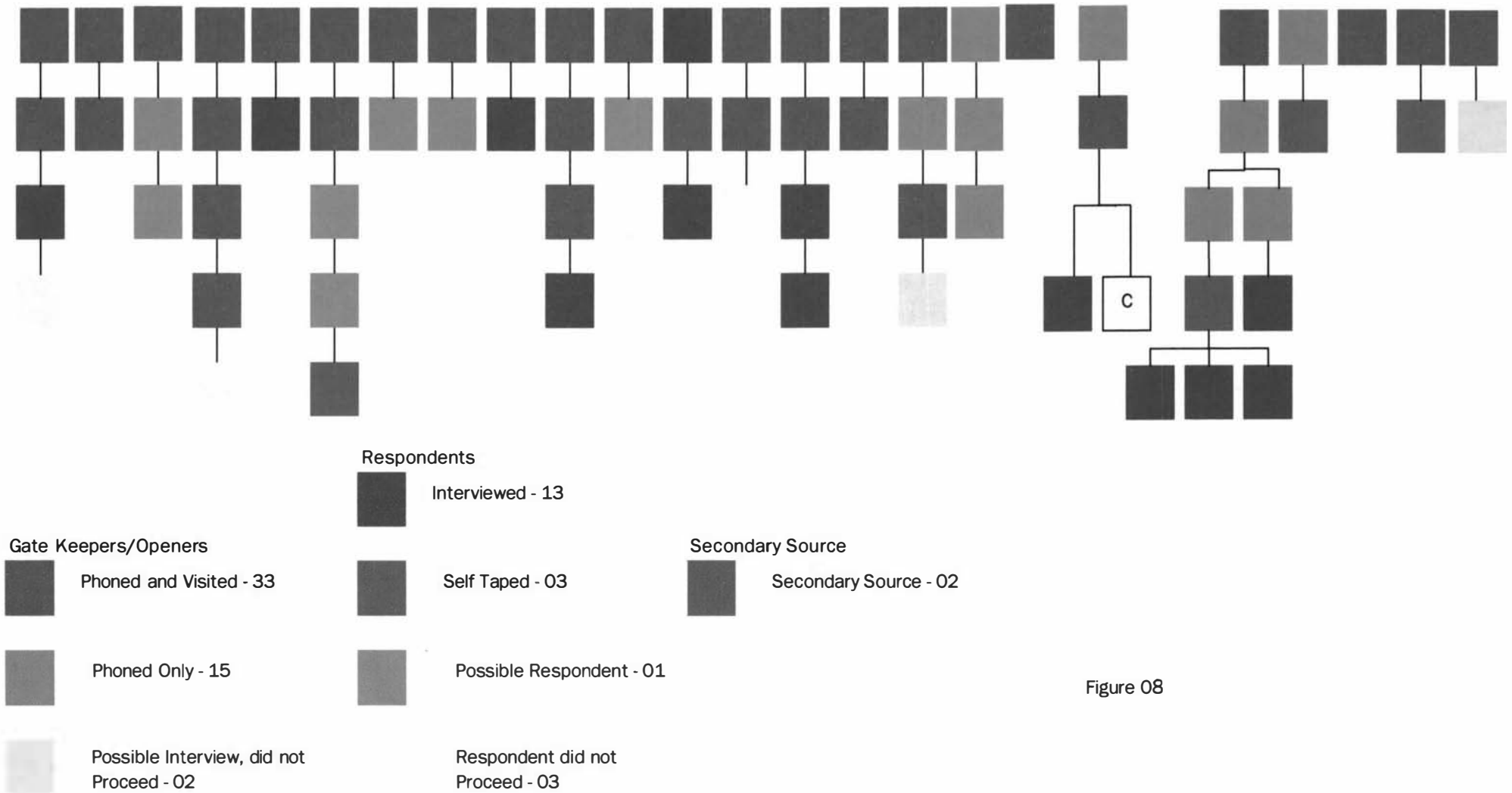


Figure 08

The identity of all participants in this schedule is protected (even though the original has the names of each participant). To retain their anonymity (beyond a brief description of their designation) is paramount to the ethical precepts of this study. They were:

- A women's health counselor who subsequently put me in touch with two friends one living in Samoa (who self taped).
- An administrator within an aged concern group; a newspaper publisher who referred me to two prominent women leaders all three encouraging me and showing particular interest in the study.
- A close friend (non Samoan) with a Samoan daughter (who has grown up as a close friend of my son).
- A counselor/social worker who referred me to her mother.
- A student/counselor who opened the door for interviews with her mother.
- A manager of a cleaning company who introduced me to a colleague.
- A colleague who referred me to a student and subsequently her mother.
- A church minister (male); a female minister; a relative (of mine) who introduced me to a colleague who is a social worker.
- A colleague who introduced me to a clerk of the court.
- A friend who had contacts with a minister who had contacts within a 'mothers group'.

- Two union representatives who assisted and introduced me to two women.
- A local body representative who made it possible to connect with two women.
- Two Catholic Sisters who were instrumental in opening doors within a work place.
- Personal friends who had connections within the Samoan community.
- A matai (title excluded) who was very active in promoting Pacific Island (Samoan) women's status within the community.

There were three others women with chiefly titles, however to designate these women might identify them, therefore they are not included in the bullet points above.

The individual squares indicate the status of each person's relationship within the study. It is interesting to reflect on the many levels of introduction encountered prior to gaining some of the respondents, for instance column 20 - 3 x 1 x 1 x 3 the respondents were five levels from this original gatekeeper. Though the first line may look as if it indicates these introductions all occurred around the same time, they were in fact staggered, and ranged between August 2000 and February 2001. However, it does indicate (from top left hand side) that contacting respondents occurred vertically, horizontally and simultaneously. The chart also shows the relationships between and among the individuals in the study. This pragmatic approach to details of the

interviewing strategy reflected a desire to substantiate quantitatively, by providing a complementary statistical perspective for the empirical functions of the interview process. Two women agreed to be interviewed as Secondary Sources. One provided information about the introduction of the Samoan language into hospitals and government departments and law courts. The other provided information on the employment of migrant workers within hospital in the 1950-1960's. They also provided additional rich cultural background information. Seventy-two persons were actively involved. Many more contributed informally and also a number of participants within the pre-pilot stage assisted in forming the final draft of the questions. Many are unaware of this and therefore it is appropriate they be acknowledged. Three of the respondents chose to self-tape as one was living in Samoa (initially in New Zealand on holiday), one lived in Wellington (having recently moved) and one wanted to maintain her privacy (as parents living with the family).

When I had engaged in conversations with night cleaners as early as 1987, I had always been impressed with the strength of these women, therefore I approached this study with the positive view of the role of these women both within their communities and families. A number of gatekeepers asked '*what organisation is funding you?*' The cynicism of some of some women to government and welfare organisations was evident. Some women mentioned quite categorically that *Pacific Island people were tired of being researched by palagi*. Evidence of this has been confirmed by a number of gatekeepers who shared their concerns, in that people take from the community and give nothing back and in the process they have portrayed Pacific Island people

falsely, often doing irrefutable damage and exacerbating the stereotypical image of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. Some asked *what was the study going to do that was different and why should they help?* Predominantly the women were quite receptive to the idea of the study. The hours spent speaking with prominent Samoan women achieved a depth of welcome that was to some extent overwhelming and unexpected.

### Ethical expectations within the interview process

Punch (1994:90) suggested that professional codes of ethics are 'beneficial as guidelines' but they also have the opposite effect of constraining informal research. He saw the strict adherence to them as being problematic in some cases. I experienced this dilemma in the early part of the empirical pre-pilot fieldwork when talking informally to women on work sites, with questions about the justification for the fact these conversations took place when prior approval clause 1.3 (informed consent) had not been sought nor granted by the University Ethics Committee? Subsequently fourteen of the sixteen respondents signed the Consent Form, with two refraining giving an explanation that they *'trust me and therefore didn't see the need to sign it'*. This made me all the more aware of the moral and ethical implications of respondent trust in a researcher, and more specifically within feminist research. Only after these extensive introductory briefings where confirmation was sought from the respondents, did the fieldwork interviews commence. I

ensured that under no circumstances had the women been coerced into participating in the research, all participated of their own free will.

To ensure anonymity and confidentiality (as set out in clause 2.3 of the ethics application), information that included details regarding employers, family members, or other respondents did not automatically remain in the interview data. Respondents were asked to reconfirm their approval prior to the follow-up formal interviews at the fieldwork stage. Any secondary source material gained through discussions with Samoan women, either providing clarity or confirmation of data gained in the fieldwork has had prior approval for use from the persons supplying the information. In order to protect the identity of all participants, the audiotapes; computer discs; typed transcripts, will be returned to them personally on completion of the study.

All possible respondents were asked to discuss their participation with support or family over a two to three week period. No pressure was placed on prospective respondents. Opinions differ as to whether it is advantageous to the research if respondents are permitted to withdraw from the research if they have signed the consent form and have participated in the interviews. The way this was resolved was that I consider that every individual has the right to decline as set out in clause 2.7 of the ethics application. Unforeseen circumstances arise that can override any presumption on the part of a researcher to expect respondents to continue. It may not be appropriate for the respondents to tell the researcher why they wish to take this action, and it is not the right of any researcher to expect to be confided in by the respondent. There is always the potential to do harm to participants within research

therefore it is important to guard against this occurring. This was ensured as required in clause 2.4 (appendix B).

Tolich and Davidson (1999:71) pointed out the apparent harm Whyte (1981) did to participants within the *Street Corner Society*. The accusation that his work was too personal now threatens to dispute the integrity of his work. Fontana and Frey (1997) also stated that on reading the work the participants of the study said that what was written about them did not reflect the vision they had of themselves. All research has the potential to harm those involved. I was conscious of the harm that can arise within a cross-cultural study when the researcher is an outsider. Harm can be construed and occur in various ways, cultural, emotional and physical.

With regard to cultural safety, and the premise of 'do no harm' (Tolich and Davidson 1999:71), I gained prior approval of gatekeepers/openers within the community, who opened doors to a number of the respondents. No respondent was considered for inclusion in the study unless I had met with her at least twice, and had spoken with her about the study and read over all forms and discussed any concerns she may have. For example some respondents thought their lack of English would or should prevent them from participating. I overcame this in two cases by having the interviews conducted in Samoan (one respondent had her daughter with her, it was her daughter who had been a previous gatekeeper/opener) and the transcripts were available in Samoan and English. I gained appropriate cultural advice in consultation with colleagues, Samoan mentors and prominent women of the community. Emotional safety issues were handled sensitively.

If emotional stress occurred in the interviews the tape recorder was turned off and any data that could be construed as sensitive or inappropriate was removed from the transcripts, in accordance with the women's wishes, after I had personally returned transcripts for each woman to read and approve prior to subsequent interviews. At all times I reminded respondents that they could withdraw for any reason if they did not wish to continue. One respondent withdrew early in the interviews, her transcripts have been returned.

Having considered all these issues throughout the course of the fieldwork, I still had cause for concern about the personal nature of some of the thematic analysis. All attempts were made to minimise directly disadvantaging women through an over emphasis on negative issues that arose within the interviews. This could be considered premeditated researcher bias. Alternatively the integrity of the respondents is maintained. If this resulted in the loss of some of the interview data, then this was a moral dilemma that was resolved by considering the long-term effects such negative reports could have upon the women involved. Feminist research emphasises the need for trust empathy and non-exploitative relationships.

Punch (1994:89) stated 'it implies a standpoint epistemology that not only color[s] the ethical and moral component of research related to the power imbalance in a sexist and racist environment, but also inhibits deception of the research subjects.' This research promoted cooperation and collaboration, whilst establishing and maintaining a personal commitment to both moral and ethical behaviour. No physical harm occurred to the respondents over the course of the research (interviews). Additional to the Committee application

and approval, permission was requested (September 2000) (appendix O) to widen the demographic group.

## The Interviews

The questionnaire was structured as themes and prompts within themes. Within these themes were incorporated direct questions. It was not intended that each question be asked then followed in succession with the subsequent questions, (this would be more in line with a survey). The intended ideology of themed questions was that a logical progression of important issues would be incorporated into the interviews and each subsequent question would flow through to the next, generating and producing a more spontaneous flow of conversation that included and encapsulated those themes. Each respondent had been given the questions a number of days/weeks prior to the interviews, and was therefore informed of the general direction of the interviews. Once in the interview process itself, I took the necessary steps to ensure that all major themes were addressed and as many of the sub-questions answered to ensure similar information was gained, in order that a comparative thematic analysis could be undertaken of the verbatim interview data. The themed prompts/questionnaire instrument were chosen to encourage the respondents to determine the course of the interviews, leaving sufficient scope for the respondents to expand and even largely change the thematic context of the interviews. By not dictating the outline of the questions too stringently, it was hoped this would encourage or elicit accounts of their *lived-in-experiences* and

this could be better achieved through a conscious effort to maintain constant fluidity and an informal conversation style throughout the interview. Fontana and Frey (1994:367) stated that 'because the goal of unstructured interviewing is understanding, it becomes paramount for the researcher to establish rapport'. It was considered that a more structured approach would have undermined the very reason for engaging in this study, a semi structured and open ended format allowed for a 'greater freedom in the sequencing of questions, in their exact wording, and in the amount of time and attention given to different topics' (Robson 1993:237). Tolich & Davidson (1999:113) suggested 'themes maybe a list of concepts germane to the topic', or 'as a checklist' (p113). The women were asked where they would like to conduct the interviews; eleven respondents invited me to their homes. Two women had me arrange private rooms at a local library and a Citizens Advice Bureau office. An important part of the fieldwork was how to 'present myself' (Fontana and Frey 1994:367). Having met with each woman once or twice and having spoken by phone to each other, once the interviews commenced we were more at ease with the situation. However due to the complexity of undertaking cross-cultural research total transparency, honesty and cultural safety for both myself and the respondents were the criteria for this part of the research process.

The interviews ranged from one hour to two hours dependent on the length of time the women chose. This was left as flexible as possible. This is where Levesque-Lopman's (2000) 'surrender and catch' theory is applicable to this study. Some respondents kept strictly to the designated hour/s. Others took a more informal approach and offered a coffee or tea and suggested some time

to talk after the tape recorder had been turned off. It became apparent early on that some of the women wanted to extend the themes to include issues that were of importance to them. They had been made aware (prior to the interviews) that the themes on the questionnaire were a guide, and that they did not preclude the women adding their own additional information. This to a great extent drove the interview focus, and in the analysis provided such rich additional narratives and sub-themes within the major initial themes, such as traveling to religious festivals, information about their children's achievement, Samoan well-being (health) and medicine. A gift was given to each respondent at the first interview, a pot plant, flowers or vegetable plant for their (at times) large vegetable gardens). Having gained prior consent to audiotape the interviews, the multi-directional battery-operated tape recorder was used. The reason for this was to ensure seating flexibility, to ensure the flow of conversation was not hampered by the fact that the tape recorder had to be placed in an unsuitable position, and to ensure that no usage of the respondents power supply was required.

The following tables show - interview timetable - individuals involved - transcription process.

---

Breakdown of Individuals Involved in Figure 08

Gate Keepers/Openers

33 Telephoned and Visited at home, work or organisations

i.e. churches, community groups

15 Telephoned only

2 (Possible) Gate Keepers/Openers (did not proceed)

Respondents

13 Proceeded to interview stage

3 Self Taped Interviews

3 Did not proceed - 1 possible only

Secondary Sources

2 Provided clarification of background data

Total Participants 72

---

Breakdown of interviews

Eight respondents      Three interviews

Five respondents      Two interviews

Three respondents      Self-taped interviews

Two respondents met with personally prior to self-taping

One (posted) self-taped interview

Two secondary sources      Interviews taped

(total of four interviews)

Total number of transcript pages (1025) (not including secondary source material estimated, including pilot material 400 pages).

---

## Interview and transcription timetable

The time frame for:

- Gaining respondents (with Ethics Committee approval)
- Conducting interviews
- Transcribing interview data
- Respondents checking all transcribed data for approval to use in the study extended from 01.09.2000 to (approx) 16.03.2001

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Figure 09

## Respondent comments within the interview context

Certain comments emerged from the interview data that related to the actual methodological process, and how the women felt about being asked to reflect on their experiences giving some insights into how they perceived the interview process, that revealed some emotional responses. The first three comments elicited positive aspects of reflectivity.

It is good to remember those things.

I haven't thought about that for so long.

It brings back memories of Samoa (often with a tear).

This aspect was not originally the focus but emerged as a creative aspect of the interview process by the women recognising the need for memories and identity by staying connected to their cultural roots.

The second two comments however reflect a more negative reaction.

Nobody has asked me that before.

No one has been interested before.

The two women who expressed these comments were both expressing surprise and curiosity about the fact that firstly, they had not been approached to reflect their experiences of migration previously, and secondly, that no one had apparently been interested in their experiences (particularly their immediate family).

These two further comments reflect a rather denigrating attitude to their achievements on their arrival and the courage needed for the challenges to adjust to a new culture.

It is not important what I have done

It is too ordinary

This apparent negative reflection on their achievements posed the question, what are they basing this comparative analysis upon? The scope of this study does not allow for such in-depth analysis this should be undertaken possibly using an inter generational analysis framework to compare what the daughters of these women say about their lives as first generation New Zealand Samoan women and compare this to the reflective status of their mothers and grandmothers. The findings would be extremely interesting and useful within the wider context of the phenomenon/migration in respect to women.

The last remark was actually voiced by two other women (off tape) and since the interviews these women have commenced their own life history.

I am going to start writing my own history

## Post pilot – cooling down – analysis and presentation

This phase extended over two specific areas.

- The analysis of interview data
- Keeping in touch with the respondents

In 2001 I gained a place at Oxford University as a Study Fellow in the Centre for Cross Cultural Research on Women. Whilst there I undertook an extensive literature search to gain an overview of migration of Samoan women to the United Kingdom, specifically between the corresponding years of their migration to New Zealand. I was able to confirm after extensive communication with both the Statistics Department in Samoa and the (corresponding) UK Immigration Department (whilst in the UK), that few Samoan women had immigrated to the United Kingdom during the period being examined in this study.

I kept in touch with respondents advising them of my invitation to Oxford and progress in the UK. On my return I arranged meetings over the space of seven days from 4th December to 11<sup>th</sup> December conducted at their homes.

I chose not to conduct Focus Group meetings as I considered them inappropriate to this study (appendix E was approved by the Ethics Committee, but subsequently unused). The reasons for this were: I had promised anonymity (refer clause 2.3, appendix B) for the women involved. This also meant I did not speak with any of the respondents about another respondent's involvement in the study (though some knew of others that may have been involved). Most respondents had been visited individually; therefore to request at the conclusion of the study they meet collectively would have negated the anonymity promised them. I chose not to place the women in this situation.

Once I met with the respondents they were (a) shown how the work had progressed to near completion (b) asked if they wished to clarify any points, for example, one respondent's being identified as a nun within the text (was approved by the respondent with her saying she welcomed the additional perspective it brought to the study) (c) asked again if they were still happy with being involved in the study and that their data could be included in the final copy (d) were reminded each would receive a copy of the study.

The next chapter explains the methods used in the analysis of the verbatim interview material, along with the four stages of phenomenological interpretive analysis of the ten themes emerging from the fieldwork.

## Data management and the four stages of phenomenological analysis

### Introduction

This chapter explains the process of transcribing the interview data, the data management indexing and coding, and the four stages involved in the phenomenological analysis process.

### Process of transcribing data

The importance of transcribing the interview material accurately was an important factor. For this reason I chose not to undertake this procedure for two reasons, it was considered more appropriate to pay for a professional transcriber to undertake this complex and extensive work, to ensure complete accuracy in the verbatim transcripts. I was then able to concentrate fully on organising, preparing for and conducting the interviews.

The instructions to the transcribers were to: format the font as follows, the respondent's words be placed in Times Roman 14 font, the researcher's words in Times Roman 14 font italics, so that the different contributors could be easily distinguished in the analysis. Additional to this was that the interview tapes be transcribed verbatim. That all words such as - um, ah, and any other indicating noises be included; that pauses be defined with (...), along with laughter and tears; that all Samoan names be typed if possible; but if any data was not clear then a line of dots be placed to indicate the need for further inclusions or corrections; that one and a half spacing provide for hand written notes, along with wide margins to provide for hand written side notes. Two academic transcribers carried out the transcription of the interviews data, one for the English version and one for Samoan. Each had previously signed the Transcriber's Confidentiality agreement. When the (typed) hard copies of the audio recording were completed I returned them to each respondent. The respondents were asked to check for errors, (appendix P), such as Samoan words, family or place names, parts of the conversation they may have wanted to delete, also for any gaps in the data where the recordings were not so clear. These were indicted with .....? Further interviews were not arranged until each woman had approved the content of previous transcript that I delivered to each respondent.

Early in the research consideration was given as to whether the data should or could be analysed using a computer software programme. The most viable

programme for qualitative research is NUD\*IST<sup>1</sup>. To make an informed decision I attended a workshop<sup>2</sup> to assess what NUD\*IST might offer. I decided that the programme in its present form would be too restrictive. Its capabilities for analysis of larger more comparative studies<sup>3</sup> is not disputed, but its ability to facilitate capturing the essence of the lived experiences of the women within this study was questioned.

### Procedural steps for data analysis - indexing/coding

The development of indexing/coding categories for retrieval was the first step. This was approached in a pragmatic way after careful consideration of how the process would impact on the final outcome of the data; therefore a few weeks were given to deciding what might be the best procedure. The raw data was assigned to one of the original fourteen themes, they initially provided a comprehensive description of issues that would be relevant to the phenomenon of migration and therefore it was appropriate that these be the first thematic division of the raw data.

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<sup>1</sup> NUD\*IST – Non-Numerical Unstructured Data Index Searching and Theory-Building  
Refer Robson, C. *Real World Research A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*, (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 1997) p390.

<sup>2</sup> Dr M Neville's seminar on her use of NUD\*IST for analysis for doctoral thesis in Education at Massey University (24.07.98).

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of computer programmes for qualitative analysis see Richards and Richards (1994) in Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, 1994) p445-462. For an interesting explanation of innovative indexing and coding see Waldergrave, C. (1999) in Davidson, C. & Tolich, M. (eds.) *Social Science Research in New Zealand* (Longman, Auckland) p239.

There was the some concern that the initial themes (gained in collaboration prior to the composing the questionnaire) would be instrumental in predetermining the parameters of the interpretation or analysis. However, their relevancy as specific to Samoan migrant women and their experiences, were established through rigorous collaborative piloting and therefore was considered valid initial categories.

- Each respondent and transcript was assigned a number from 001-016. All transcript pages were consecutively numbered. Each interview was numbered 01, 02 or 03 dependent on the number of times each respondent was interviewed.
- A colour-coded chart was drawn up with the theme and corresponding colour, for example family green, migration purple. To some extent the transcribed raw data coincided with the format or progression of the questions considered within the semi-structured open-ended interviews. For example, the questionnaire commenced with issues relating to the family and extended family background, therefore the first data read was (mostly) those issues relating to the family. The colour green was assigned to family and so highlighted those portions of the scripts.

As the scripts were read each major paragraph of each script was then numbered.

- Using Index Book – Collins Idea double Cash 6424 book pages were assigned for the fourteen themes. The named themes were entered at the top left of the page and the assigned colour code beneath it (appendix P). The practice of assigning one of fourteen different colours continued throughout the complete initial reading of the interview data, eventuating in all scripts being extensively highlighted with the thematic assigned colour code.
- As the scripts were read, the themed data was recorded on the specific page of the Index Book under one of the fourteen themed, colour coded categories. Each respondent's number was entered under the corresponding theme, each time that particular theme was mentioned within the transcripts. The scripts page and paragraph was entered alongside each respondent's number and name (appendix Q).
- Simultaneously my contributions are highlighted in bright yellow to contrast with the fourteen colour coded themes (this was invaluable when the audit was conducted, however its relevancy was not obvious at that time).
- The themes were flagged with green stickers. This was for ease of retrieval once the analysis of the data commenced. An index page of content enabled easy cross-reference and access to respondent's individual interview scripts, to any specific page or paragraph or colour coded themes within the scripts.

- Concurrently another record was kept of specific statistical profile facts, in an additional Index Book for coding statistical facts - Guildhall Account Book 14 columns as summarised quantitatively in Figures 10, 11 and 12, shown on pages 122 - 126.

Respondent Profile Figure 10

	Samoan Born		Family Titles				Left School	Finance		Marital				Children	Age H. NZ
			Father		Mother			From NZ		Status					
	Vill.	Town	Yes	No	Yes	No	Age	Yes	No	M	D	Sgl	P		
Respond 01	*		*				17		*	*				5	20
Respond 02	*			*		*	18		*	*				5	8
Respond 03	*						15					*		0	
Respond 04	*		*				15			*				4	
Respond 05	*		*				18	*							?
Respond 06	*		*				?	*		*				2	13
Respond 07	*		?				20	*		*					15
Respond 08	*											*			
Respond 09	*		*				17			*				2+2	
Respond 10	*						15	*		*					13
Respond 11	*						18	*		*					15
Respond 12	*		*				15	*		*				2	07/08
Respond 13	*			*		*	?		*	*				2	16
Respond 14	*						15 to18			*				3	19
Respond 15	*			*		*				*				3	1946?
Respond 16	*					*	15	*		*					

Respondent Profile Figure 10

	Migrate / Immig											Expectations		
	To NZ		Choice			Transport		Accommodation		English Language			Impressions NZ	
	Age	Year	Yes	Some	No	Sea	Air	Friends	Family	Yes	Some	No	Like	Dis Like
Respond 01	23	1957			*	*			*	*				
Respond 02	19	1967			*		*	*		*			*	
Respond 03	18	1967	*				*				*		*	
Respond 04	25	1972			*		*		*	*			*	
Respond 05	23	1974	*				*	*		*			?	
Respond 06	13	1970			*		*				*			
Respond 07	25	1962	*				*	*				*	*	
Respond 08	17	1952			*	*				*				*
Respond 09	23	1957	*				*				*		*	
Respond 10	15	1952			*		*		*		*		*	
Respond 11	25	1970				*				*			*	
Respond 12	20			*			*		*		*		Some	
Respond 13	18	1958		*		*		*			*		*	
Respond 14	20	1967	*				*	*			*		Some	
Respond 15	1956?		*				*	*			*		*	
Respond 16	21		*			*					*			*

7 2 6

Average age of Migration 19/20 years

Respondent Profile Figure 10

	Employment		Unions		Church				Dawn Raid		Stay in NZ	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	C	P	M	Mth	Yes	No	Yes	No
Respond 01					*						*	
Respond 02	*		*		*				*		*	
Respond 03	*		*		*						*	
Respond 04	*							*	*			*
Respond 05	*		*			*			?		?	
Respond 06					*						*	
Respond 07	*				*				*		?	
Respond 08	*				*						*	
Respond 09	*		*		*							
Respond 10	?		?		*							*
Respond 11	*		*		*				*			
Respond 12	*		*		*				*		*	
Respond 13	*		*		*				*		*	
Respond 14	*		?		?				*		*	
Respond 15							*					
Respond 16					*						*	

12 1 1 1

80% of Catholic Faith

- C - Catholic
- P - Protestant
- M - Mormon
- Mth - Methodist

## Accommodation Figure 11

In order to maintain anonymity for respondents (...) have replaced employment/accommodation/residency.

Respondent	Year of Arrival	Stayed With Relatives	Rented a House	Lived at Hospital (now (...))	Own Home	Marital Status
01	1957	Brother in Law			1958	M
02	1967	Aunty	State House		1973	S
03	1967			(...)		S
04	1972	Husbands Aunty	Flat		*	M
05	1970	Sister			1992	S
06	1971	Undefined			*	S
07	1962	Husbands Cousin	1962		1963	M
08	1953	Aunty - Short While		Short While		S
09	1957	Aunty - Short While		(...)	*	S
10	1952	Cousin			*	S
11	1970	Cousin			*	S
12		Undefined			*	S
13	1958		1958	(...)	1973	S
14	1967	Brother in Law			1967	M
15	1956	Undefined	Rented/Family		1957	S
16	1960			(...)	1962	S

\*

Year Undefined



- Having completed the initial colour-coding indexing of the raw data into fourteen designated colour-coded themes it was then important to retain the thematic integrity of the data as it was then transferred to individual themed files.
- This was done by re-reading each script in detail and typing all data verbatim to the individual named/themed file. In this phase many of the extraneous words were eliminated.
- At the same time care was taken to refer back constantly to the themed Index Book to ensure all themed data was transferred in its entirety to the individual files. No attempt was made to use the 'Edit' capabilities of Microsoft Windows at this stage of the formulation of clustered themes. The reason for this was my awareness that re-typing the material provided a growing and more in depth familiarity with the data so important for the final phenomenological analysis procedures.
- On completion of this procedure fourteen individual themed files had been created, containing comprehensive verbatim narrative with which to commence the last stage of the analysis, the phenomenological data analysis. The deconstruction of the data had been carried out in such a way as to ensure that it had not become so fractionated that it invalidated or 'severed' Creswell (1998:280) the connection to the initial themes.

- No file was made specifically for my comments even though they had been highlighted; as it was determined that this would fracture the data unnecessarily. My contributions were placed in reference with the respondent's verbal contributions.
- Within this second stage I revisited the audiotapes and listened to parts of the interviews that needed clarification for example, names or cultural information or sections on issues of specific interest. One such issue of additional material that appeared to be of great importance to the respondents and quite outside the themes was the influence of the nuns at (...) Hospital.
- In the margin early observations of the textual/actual happenings and the structural/values, attitudes and emotions were highlighted for consideration in the third stage analysis.

'In our efforts to make sense of our lived experiences with theories and hypothesizing frameworks we are forgetting that it is living human beings who bring schemata and frameworks into being and not the reverse. Some argue that phenomenology has no practical value because you cannot do anything with phenomenological knowledge.

But to paraphrase Heidegger, the more important question is not: Can we do something with phenomenology? Rather, we should wonder: Can phenomenology, if we concern ourselves deeply with it, do something with us'? (van Manen 1990:45)

Van Manen (1990:167) provided an interesting discussion 'working the text', in which he suggested that the structuring of a phenomenological study or organising it 'is a search for organizational form and organic wholeness of the text that is consistent with the methodical emphasis of the research approach'.

He provided six possible structures or processes. To organise the material 'thematically' where emerging themes provided a generative guide for the writing in which the text is divided into chapters, parts or sections, which elaborate on an essential aspect of the phenomenon. The phenomenon is then further subdivided into sub-themes. While van Manen (1990) recognised this as not being exhaustive of a phenomenon it does permit systematic investigation. These are the six strategies:

(1) In-depth conversation interviews that may be reworked into reconstructed life stories. (2) A singular description of a particular life situation or event the focus to show a puzzling and depthful nature of a research question. (3) Or to reveal a more thoughtful understanding or analysis of taken for granted assumptions. (4) The exemplificative approach is done by 'rendering visible the essential nature of the phenomenon and then filling out the initial description by systematically varying the examples...by considering various modalities of [the specific topic] (p171). (5) The exegetical approach 'orients itself first or primarily to the available phenomenological human science literature and organizes itself in terms of a discussion of those texts and the structural themes that their authors have already identified and discussed' (p172). (6) The existential approach is to, 'weave one's phenomenological description against the existentials of temporality (lived time), spatiality (lived space), corporeality (lived body), sociality (lived relationship to others)...how parents experience time differently from non-parents...how parents experience their pedagogical relationship to their children and with their spouses' (p172). Each contributed in part and could be presented as inventing an approach where 'a combination of the above approaches may be used' (p173). It is

important to recognise that the analysis structure 'should largely be decided in terms of the nature of the phenomenon being addressed and the investigative method that appears appropriate to it' (p173). It is important to reiterate the fact that the themes emerged in collaboration with individuals that played a pivotal role in the pre-pilot and pilot to some extent determined the thematic focus utilised in the 'working of the text' or analysis of the data.

'Phenomenology is a systematic attempt to uncover and describe structures, the internal meaning structures, of the lived experience...(p10) when you listen to a presentation of a phenomenological nature, you will listen in vain for the punch-line, the latest information, or the big news...(p13)...phenomenological research is a search for the fullness of living, the for the ways a woman possibly can experience the world as a women, for what it is to be a woman'. (van Manen 1990:10-13)

Migration cannot exist without certain aspects. In this instance the phenomenon of migration consisted of fourteen (possible) factors (themes) for these women as defined by a variety or triangulation of sources within the study. Each of these factors impacted upon and influenced the process or possibility from early germination of the idea to the actual process of migration and the multi faceted experiences that constituted the lived phenomenon migration.

The ages of the respondents ranged from 15 years to 25 years of age, migrating from 1952 through to 1974. It became apparent while conducting the interviews that the respondents were a strong vibrant group of women who simply did not fit the profiles or stereotypical negative images historically

evident in popular writings and dialogue, within an era in which progressive New Zealand Governments encouraged migrant workers to fill jobs within the service sector of the secondary labour market.

My use of the term stories and narratives places the focus on the lived experiences. Often through the interview process the women told me that this was the first time they had been asked to reflect on their experiences in coming to New Zealand. This was confirmed with a literature search prior to, and alongside the empirical stages, that showed the paucity of any gendered studies, as stated, predominantly the historical emphasise centered upon the males as initiator within the phenomenon migration. By bringing forward the experiences of the women and attempting to gain a collective thematic analysis of the multi faceted nature of the phenomenon of migration for women adds another dimension (in reflection) to the existing knowledge and aspects of lived experience as understood and experienced by women, that have been missing from both qualitative and quantitative empirical historical texts.

From the commencement of the study, I struggled with the way in which the respondent narratives might be presented within the thesis, how best to place them within the framework of an academic presentation. It was envisaged initially that the thesis be made up of two separate components, firstly addressing my peers within the academy, secondly presenting the women's self-defined interpretations. As the work progressed each developed in parallel. The constant dilemma of how to retain the essential integrity or essence of the stories became paramount. It is proposed the way in which the

methodological phenomenological perspective has proceeded, has allowed for a distinct separation of the two aspects of the thesis, yet each complement the other and without each working in close union neither would have developed with such clarity. In addition to Figures 10, 11 and 12, on pages 122 - 126, Figure 13 on page 133 shows the contributions to the themed questions within the interviews.

Contributions to interview themes Figure 13

Respondent	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Family																
School																
Remittance	*		*													
Marital Status			*					*								
Children			*	*				*								
Migration																
Accommodation										*						
Language								*								
Expectations																
Employment																
Unions	*					*	*	*	*	*				*	*	
Dawn Raids	*		*		*	*	*	*	*	*				*	*	*
Church																
Remain NZ					*	*	*		*		*					

Where indicated by \* this is where the respondent has chosen NOT to contribute to this particular theme. No precise comparative analysis can be drawn from the results above.

Cohen, Kahn & Steeves (2000:97) suggested that it is useful for the overall rigour when presenting findings, 'to tell the reader how many informants contributed to each cluster of categories'...'for two reasons'...'to demonstrate different patterns of experience and to establish the robustness of a category'. Figure 13 shown on page 133<sup>4</sup> was possible by referring to the Index Book and noting under each theme the contribution or lack of contribution of each respondent to a particular theme. However it is interesting to note:

- Respondent 08 appeared to contribute less in all areas as she had taken holy orders as a nun a short time after her arrival, therefore many of the issues of family and children and (service work in secondary industry) did not relate to her experiences.
- All appeared to contribute less to the theme Dawn Raids.
- Few spoke about Unions.

The silences with which these questions were received were interesting (as discussed in unions and dawn raid themes).

- All contributed to family, schooling, migration, expectations and impressions of New Zealand on arrival (the structural description within phenomenological analysis).
- All contributed to the role of the church in their lives.

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<sup>4</sup> Refer Cohen, Z., Kahn, D. L. & Steeves, R.H. *Hermeneutic Phenomenology Research A Practice Guide for Nurse Researcher*, (Sage Publication, Thousand Oaks, 2000) p81.

- All contributed to employment issues.

## Four stages of phenomenological data analysis

The four phenomenological thematic analysis procedures used in this stage of the analysis were influenced by Creswell (1998:281-295) and van Manen (1990:45-51, 167-173) and adapted as appropriate for this study. To enable the essence of a lived experience to be transformed or to emerge from the raw data the following stages have been systematically worked through. Each major theme was considered through these four stages, to gain the essence of the lived experience for women of the multi-faceted identity of the phenomenon of migration. Having placed all the data within themed files (as previously discussed) the next phase, the four phenomenological interpretive stages of the analysis, commenced.

1. The reading and re-reading of the data (from the themed files as previously discussed) was then reduced further to specific issues within those themes, for example 'attitudes' to the idea of migration and impressions of what New Zealand might be like (these are discussed in the themed analysis).
2. The next step was to carefully consider each of these significant statements, in order to allow for the emergence of additional data or significant sub-themes. The term 'sub' theme requires some definition. It is not meant to indicate lesser emphasis, in fact the 'sub' themes emerged as critical to understanding the additional

revelations. The term indicates those themes that emerged from the data as opposed to the initial themes that were gained collaboratively and in triangulation for the composition of the questionnaire. For example from within the school theme the sub-themes *desire*, *ability/independence* and *emulation* of role models began to be revealed. This was due to the fact that the women mentioned these particular words or similar significant words inferring these emotions as affecting and effecting their intention to migration. These were then extracted from the data by explicit exemplars and placed within a separate file. These exemplars provided the descriptive interpretation of the structural experience for the women. It also provided a strategy to show the clusters of comparisons; similarities; differences and anomalies with the experiences for the respondents.

3. The extraction of these and their formation into common clusters (shared experiences) looking for comparison, similarities, difference and anomalies revealed aspects of the emotional and personal aspect of the migration process that provide a unique view of the women's experiences. These common clusters are discussed as sub-themes within each major theme as being part of the collective and individual *lived-in-experiences* of the respondents. (Creswell 1998:280-292).
4. Meanings were formulated through constant comparative analysis from these collective clusters, in that the expression of *desire* was interpreted as one of the intentions to better themselves – this

emerged in conjunction with and was highlighted by the fact that the women all very early on in their lives had wanted to better their status. This was interpreted as the emotion or feelings the phenomenological structural factor that eventuated into the actual or textual factor of migrating.

I constantly referred back to the original transcripts to ensure that the extracted text did not fracture or misinterpret the original textual and structural perspectives. Each of the respondents had already lived through the migration experience, therefore understood the explicit perspective. However the essential structure or implicit reflective essence emerged through this analysis, and was allowed to speak for itself as the essence of their lived-in situation.

The intent of phenomenological analysis is not to present the 'punch line' or to find conclusions (van Manen 1990:13) but to present the *lived-in- experiences* and the essential elements that emerge from within data and to endeavor to formulate or capture the essential theme.

The phenomenology approach endeavours to reveal more than what the respondent actual did as a migrant, but to reveal how and to expose the feelings and intentions behind the aspects of an experience.

Creswell (1998:292) in his summary of the 'essential structure of caring' explained

'each subject already understood what was involved in a caring and a non-caring interaction, each subject in order to explicitly realise and describe the caring and non-caring interaction, had to be already living

an understanding of the meanings...this study sought to understand the client's way of being-in-a-situation as it was actually lived and experienced...the research remained faithful to being-in-the-situation...the phenomenological analysis process...is arrived at [using] reflective activity'.

This reflective phenomenological process allowed this to occur.

'The procedures [of phenomenology has] been recognized as a project of various kinds of questioning, oriented to allow rigorous interrogation the phenomenon as identified at first and then cast in the reformulation of a question'. (van Manen 1990:131)

The research question - what was the *lived-in-experience* of migration for Samoan women?

This question is answered in part throughout the respondent's following descriptive verbatim narratives.

## Themes and emergent revelations

**School** - School and influencing factors that contributed to the intention to migrate. (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124) - In order to be faithful to the verbatim narrative accounts grammatical changes have been kept to a minimum)

This chapter is divided into two parts firstly the revelations of the influences at school that influenced the later decision to migrate and secondly the process of migration and the relevancy of choice.

From the thematic analysis of the interview material relating to school day experiences, certain characteristics manifested themselves, or emerged as three self-described additional sub-themes (those aspects shared by the respondents) *desire; ability/independence; emulation* (not mutually exclusive). The women described these within the narratives as informing their later decision to migrate. These three aspects or characteristics that informed the process of migration have not been previously defined in conjunction with school days.

However the 'propensity' (Connell et al 1976) and 'motive' to migrate (Pitt & Macpherson's 1994) had some parallels with the essential elements revealed by this study's respondents.

The poignant observation by R1:

I give up now, what am I going to do tomorrow'? R1

revealed her uncertainty of how her future might be shaped if she stopped attending school. At this young age she was able to draw comparisons between her ability to attend school, and her contemporaries and her desire to achieve more was evident in these following exemplars.

We walk to my village school every morning. I go to bed at 10 o'clock and get up about half past four, and get ready to walk back to school at five. It is hard to walk by myself in the morning. If no one walk with me, my mother go with me. Some kids walk about a month and they give up, too lazy, I think I give up now, but what am I going to do tomorrow? R1

I look at some other young ladies they go with a husband and kids. I think, I don't want to be in that life, walk around with three children and they so young. That is what is coming to me in my own mind. [intent] I think, I try my best, do whatever I can, for my future life, instead of this life. R1

There was clearly a distinction being made and evidence of dissatisfaction with the (self-chosen) situations of her contemporaries. In R1's opinion, they appeared be too young to be responsible for children. This appeared to indicate that R1 considered her peers could not, or had not realised their potential. This early ability to compare and judge appeared to initiate early

aspirations to attain or achieve. This appeared to be one of the motivating factors influencing the subsequent (at that time) unrealised decision to migrate.

R's 12 and 13 revealed that their families could not afford to pay for schooling. Their desire to attend school, and the fact they understood and appreciated that gaining an education would prepare them and improve their chances to attain a future status. The frustration expressed was evident in the following revelations about missing out on the chance to further their education.

I wanted to go to St Mary's College but I didn't have a chance. They reckon I was too old. Now I know. I thought anybody can go to school, whatever age. I thought to myself how stupid, how stupid the way things worked and I don't know why. I was disappointed not going to school. My parents wanted me at home to help. I stayed home for a few years. It was boring. R12

We lived on a plantation till I was about eleven. Because we were so poor we couldn't afford any expensive school. The Catholic Church school was very good. They would take in all the poor children who can't afford a uniform. I left at sixteen, as we could not afford me going to school. I was really glad that I was able to read, Samoan especially. R13

Each of these women felt the loss of not being able to take advantage of an education, not through any lack of intent on their part, but due to the parental influences and economic situations within the family.

(This woman is now a manager within a large institution with the control of a number of staff).

I went to a Catholic boarding school in town. I think that's where I learnt to be independent, and to learn things about living by yourself. I learned English because we weren't allowed to speak Samoan when we entered the convent. I used to cry a lot when I first went. My mother used to come if she happened to be in town. She made me more homesick when she left. My brother started going to school and my mother asked me if I could, you know, find a job, to support my brother. The Sisters give me job to teach the young kids. My brother he went to college, I wanted to go too. R11

The fact that the opportunity to attend college appeared to be taken away from the respondent and given, or provided for the brother made it obvious to this respondent (R13) as a young girl, that in her family the role or position of the brother was paramount to her desires. This aspect was not pursued in-depth within the interview, however there is strong cultural evidence (at this point in time) that male education was considered of more significance than that of their female family members. Schoeffel (1979) and Holmes & Holmes (1974) studies address the issue of preference being given to the male members of the family and the girls (at this point in Samoa) being overlooked.

Six of the respondents professed to speak confidently in English, with nine speaking a little English and one unable to speak English. The ability to read and write in English was aspired to and a valued commodity for opening up possibilities for the future. R11 showed how her desire and then ability to read was one driving factor at school, if this meant she had to disobey the teachers then she revealed she was fatalistic about the punishment that followed.

We got no letterbox so letters come through the school. The Sisters give you your letters, but every letter I got they open. But nothing wrong, it's not a boy, it's a girl. I love reading love comics but Sister caught me sent me to Matron to get a punishment. It's a sin to read comics. Comics make me understand English. R11

Reading (English language) romance comics appeared to project and stimulate a desire to succeed and this was done by continuing to struggle and teach herself to understand a foreign language (English). However this was not appreciated by the Catholic Sisters perhaps for two reasons: these comics were viewed as not suitable for young girls within the period 1950 to 1960 particularly in the more traditional religious schools. Looking at comics at school (under an up-turned desk lid) was perceived (by the teacher) as not attending to the lessons at hand. The school's disciplinary procedures required some corrective process. This was administered by corporal punishment. The revelations of such situation accords with other claims within Samoan school in that secular literature for example 'romance comics', within religious schools, at that time was discouraged.

The perception of *ability/independence* was established in a number of the respondents at an early age. R11 mentioned this occurred as a result of boarding at school, away from home. This forced them to look after themselves (there are similarities to the tradition of church boarding schools world wide). Those that did not go to boarding school, spoke about how far they walked to school each day; the long hours; the length of the school day and then the additional responsibility and involvement with family and

household duties on their return home each day. These routines, though considered hard at the time appeared to stimulate and encourage a strong work ethic. These respondents reveal some of the manual work expected of them in the course of a school day.

It took one hour to walk to school, cause no bus. You start away at 7 o'clock. The girls plant taro and fish at school sometimes. I stay in the village and help the pastor to teach the kids when the pastor and his wife go they leave all the kids in the village for me to teach. R15

We build a school in another village. We done a lot of work in that school picking up stones. We go to school, but we also go and work in those days at the school. If you naughty you pick up stones. R1

We mostly in those days at school, we do a lot of work around outside, you know, cleaning and tidying and weeding and things like that. R13

This revealed how at times these young girls undertook manual and semi-manual work whilst growing up, and the length of time and distance covered while walking to school indicated a resilience, and displayed the importance they placed on their education.

Two of the respondents revealed their desire to *emulate* the Catholic Sisters who taught them.

When I was quite young, at that time we had a Sister from America. She was very pretty. She had very dark hair and rosy cheeks. She was

beautiful. I used to look at her, and thought when I grow up I'm going to be like her. RB

This resulted in this respondent taking holy orders shortly after she arrived in New Zealand and is still in the order. The Catholic Church had a strong influence on the respondents as girls. This is confirmed in the statistical analysis. Figures 10-12 on pages 122-126 show twelve of the sixteen women still profess to follow the Catholic faith and attend church. This positive female role of the Catholic teaching Sisters was an inspiration to the girls who attend Catholic schools. It was not always expressed in a positive manner. However the influence and strong identity with the church and successful women was seen or perceived as being a status that was desirable.

What is significant about these sub-themes is the essential element that emerged, that this particular group of women as young girls, were aware, as they compared themselves with their contemporaries, that they wanted to achieve more than their peers. The sub-themes of *desire, ability, independence and emulation*, all present positive self-images as each lived or experienced these emotions on a daily basis. The women were conscious of status, and the implication for women of dis-empowerment if they remained in Samoa into adulthood. This drive to better their self, acted as a strong impetus to aspire toward a situation, where they could improve their status and attain those benefits they perceived were possible, by disengaging themselves from family and country. This is what sets these women apart from their peers temporally and spatially. It provides clear evidence that they perceived the

advantages of migration as quite young girls, and their awareness and internationality for self-improvement.

A number of studies have concentrated on migration for education, one significant study being Dunlop's (1982) *Samoan Parents Perceptions of Primary Schools* in which she questions forty families on 'their views on the choice of school for their children'. She stated that previous studies have been undertaken yet there was a 'failure to explore the minority groups viewpoint'. My contention is that few studies have centered on the hidden philosophical influences of school life as important or pivotal in the early formulation of the 'intentionality' to migrate plus the influences of role models particularly the teaching nuns, are significant revelations emerging from the data exploring the germination of the idea of who or what were the influences in the young women's lives whilst still at school. The respondents within this study primarily preceded much of the immigration for education era, therefore more current literature does not capture the *lived-in-experiences* of these young girls as far back as 1930-40. No previous study has provided this approach (a) the journey focus (b) a gendered perspective (c) a reflective interpretation of the underlying processes that occurred within the *lived-in-experiences* of these women as young girls. Lonise Tanielu<sup>1</sup> (2000 p49-60) provided an insightful reflection on her school days in Samoa, yet did not specifically address the role of the three sub-themes in the emergent findings. Jones (1985) also provided an informative expose on the achievement levels of Pacific Island girls within the

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<sup>1</sup> Jones, A, Herda, P. & Suaalii, T (ed.) *Bitter Sweet*, (University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2000) p48-60.

New Zealand education system<sup>2</sup>. More contemporary material such as *Pasifika Education Research Guidelines* (2001) proposed research guidelines and directed that Pacific Island researchers develop more research expertise. The Ministry of Education's *Pacific Peoples and Tertiary Education Issues of Participation* (2002), Finau I Mea Sili's (1992) unpublished thesis and Kerslake & Taylor (1993) are but some of the texts that help define the role of children within the school system. Bloombaum's (1973) extensive exploration of the educational achievements of Samoan children, and his questioning whether family environment and acculturation had significant influences, showed some linkage with school and early influences. However it was not the intention of my study to address the extensive issue of education achievement of Samoan children within schools in Samoa or New Zealand. This is better undertaken by research focused on educational issues and is therefore beyond the scope of this study.

With the study's focus on women, I posed the question - how did the phenomenon of migration germinate within their consciousness? -migration did not occur in a vacuum. The women (as young girls) did not simply say one morning, '*lets go to New Zealand and work.*' What then began to emerge were significant experiences through school days, specific to the lives of the respondents as women that were instrumental or effective in generating an intention or consciousness of life beyond Samoa. What was it that made these respondents, as opposed to others in Samoa, decide to make this life-changing move to New Zealand? What was it about their characters that defined their

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<sup>2</sup> Jones. A (1985) Which Girls are learning to loose? Gender, Class, Race in the Classroom in *New Zealand Women's Studies Journal*, August, 2,(1); 15-27.

perspectives to migration that was possibly not apparent in other members of that community within this period? Through the interview process solid evidence was gathered that a majority of the respondents had arrived as young girls alone, some with no or few family in New Zealand.

What emerged showed from their school days were significant sub-themes the women described as informing their later decision to migrate. What was critical was the essential element that emerged about the disposition and sub-conscious decision on the part of the women as young girls to improve their status. The three sub-themes *desire*, *ability/independence* and the need to *emulate* role models, (not mutually exclusive) appeared to distinguish these respondents from their peers, each perceiving themselves as achievers. The emerging positive self-image was the motivation for and acted as a strong impetus for their decision to migrate. What appeared to set these women apart from their contemporaries (this period in time) was that they could clearly see the advantage of moving from Samoa, (though this meant leaving family, friends and country) but this awareness and intentionality for self-improvement, extended beyond the emotional and physical discomfort that they knew would occur and that many initially experienced on their arrival in New Zealand.

Existing literature has failed to make this link between the experiences of school and the germination of or the intentionality to migrate. Therefore for these respondents these self-defined perceptions were the underlying factors or personal traits that influenced their later journey. It is these collective and

individual clusters of characteristics that played a major role in their later *lived-in-experience* of migration.

### Migration – the positive and negative effects of ‘choice’ in the decision to migrate (refer to Figure 10, shown on page 122-124)

The findings that emerged from within the data divided the respondents into three groups, with three different perspectives in relation to the discretionary power each was perceived they had within the migration process. The first group appeared to have been able to make an individual choice to migrate; the second group had some ability to choose, but appeared to be influenced by family members or family members played an important role; the third group appeared to have no ability to choose. By taking the demographic data Figures 10-12 on pages 122-126, and overlaying it on the interpretive analysis, what the findings revealed were three different reactions to each process. Firstly those that revealed they had *personal choice*, spoke of empowerment and autonomy that resulted from an independence, producing (for those women) self confirming identities and a perceived control over their lives. Secondly the apparent ambivalence experienced by the women for whom *minimal choice* existed, appeared to be balanced by referring to outside relationships that provided the support or the relational ties that had been severed on their move to New Zealand. Thirdly and significant was the group for which *choice was not an option*, and the fatalistic attitude adopted towards their situation. These revelations produced the evidence of three distinct, self-described, lived-in-situations with settling in New Zealand. The respondents spoke about the fact

that they were able to make the decision or had the ability or flexibility for individual *choice*, each spoke positively about the experience of migration.

I want to come to New Zealand. I'm the first in the family. I support and send money home. R7

I just wanted to come and see what New Zealand was like. It is easy to get a job here. R5

I decided there was no way I get a job. I had to go somewhere. We didn't have family here. I go to the office [in Samoa] all the time to find out if I get a work permit. If you have plenty of money you can afford a cabin, if you don't you kip on the seat. R11 [this respondent slept on the deck of the ship].

They call your name on the radio for immigration. They call my name. I don't want to be a slave for anyone in the village. I go to New Zealand. R12

I was about sixteen when I thinking about coming to New Zealand. I was thinking how poor we are. I decide that I got to go to make a living, go to New Zealand. After three months I came over with another girl of the same age we came on the Matua<sup>3</sup>. R13

What is most significant in these five emergent revelations is the finding that the respondents who made the *choice* to migrate spoke less of the negative influences of homesickness and culture shock.

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<sup>3</sup> Matua, name of shipping vessel.

It cannot be assumed the women did not experience these, but it was significant that they appeared to assign less emphasis to it in comparison with the other two groups. The question might be, could this be taken as an indicator that if an individual has the ability to make such a life changing decision and is able to act independently? Could this help lessen the negative effects within a process, in this instance the negative impact of the phenomenon of migration? Essentially the women appeared to be confident of their individual *choice* and the self-generated repercussions of their decisions. Bonisch-Brednich (2002:170) provided a further interesting aspect to how women make decisions to migrate, stating the interviewees within her study 'added a second dimension to the discussion: that of a pre-determined destiny'.

For some of the Samoan respondents the migration was 'preordained' during childhood or puberty; with others mentioning they experienced a 'spiritual' aspect on arrival in New Zealand This was also reflected in the emergent theme *desire*, and draws some parallels between the experiences of the Samoan women and the German women of Bonisch-Brednich's (2002) study.

The second reflective revelation were women who stated they had experienced *limited choice*, or that the decision was greatly influenced by family, expressed or revealed, more emotional distress about the process to migrate to New Zealand. The separation grief these two respondents have suffered in being separated, to some extent against their wills, from children [in Samoa]. R1 revealed she went for medical help.

I don't want to go. I love my parents. I got two boys. I don't want to miss my family and my own land. It is very bad time when we left. My parents have my children. I cry I miss my boys I was really sick very bad every week. I go see the doctor and he said there's nothing wrong with you. R1

I had two kids, I leave them with my parents I came over on my own. R9

The physical signs of grief were evident. The fact that the patient doctor relationship was a cross-cultural, cross-gender exchange added to the misinformation and R1's distress. Separation anxiety is now also known to be a common symptom of homesickness. Grief counseling would have been an appropriate measure for this respondent. However little evidence exists of the recognition of the adjustments to the New Zealand lifestyle of the early migrant women between 1950 and 1960. Any support and network groups for new Pacific Island migrants were perceived as best established by their churches and other Pacific Island organisations. In some circumstances (as this revealed), exposing one's perceived inability to cope with this type of separation within a close-knit community, that traditionally encouraged the care of children within the extended family, was not considered an appropriate option for this respondent. R1 it appeared was expected to make these sociological and emotional adjustments with little assistance outside immediate family, which she chose not to discuss.

My Aunty said you going to New Zealand. We taking you with us on holiday. When we arrive my Aunty went off and make arrangement for me where I was going to work. She said you are going to work at the (...). I didn't know what the (...) was. She took me to the hospital and I went,

Samoans always obey your parents, she was like a mother. I was absolutely homesick. I was seventeen. R8

My girl friend met me on the wharf. I came on the Matua, for a week. I was really homesick. My grandmother say don't stay you go for your life. My Grandmother die the week before I get the Tofua<sup>4</sup>. R16

It was first time on a plane. When the plane coming up, oh make me scared. It's an adventure. You put on a dress and lipstick you stay in hotel in Fiji. I got my own room and single bed. R9

These women expressed emotional and environmental sickness. It was significant that each spoke about friends or family as providing compensatory support and familiarity or security on arrival in New Zealand.

Anae (1998) in her study addressed how important these affiliations were as a 'coping mechanism'. The respondents indicated also that going to live with family (if able) assisted them in overcoming, (by reliance on members within the community groups), some of the alienation they experienced in the new culture. This is widely confirmed in contemporary literature, naming specific centers and regions that Pacific Island peoples gravitated to in order to live with relatives. A small publication *Sione Comes to New Zealand A Samoan Migrants Story* (1971) provided an 'instructional' story of one boy's journey to New Zealand and how he had to adjust to the many 'strange ways' he found in New Zealand. It was aimed at non-Pacific writers in an endeavour to gain understanding for migrant children. It is also interesting to read Fairbairn-Dunlop's (2002:144) account of *Emele-Moa Teo Fairburn's* migration journey

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<sup>4</sup> Tofua, name of shipping vessel.

in 1943. They bought a house in Kilbirnie Wellington and *'were the only Samoans in Kilbirnie, and for many years it seemed like we knew every Samoan in Wellington, and in New Zealand'*, how the family *'built a large shed at the back of our house to fit all the people'*, who arrived to stay with them as the first point of contact in New Zealand. The ambivalence the women expressed to problems experienced on their arrival is balanced by the fact they were able to draw support from extended support groups to counter the feelings of disjuncture and the cross-cultural adjustments that were required initially. Except for R16 these women stayed with extended family on arrival.

The five women who revealed they had *no choice*, also revealed it was authority figures within their immediate family, or parents who decided they should come to New Zealand.

It was a hard; I was caring for my mother. We needed the money. R4

I didn't have a choice. I didn't feel sad because I always thought of going back. My parents think it best. R2

My parents decide it was best. R10

I left school to train as a nurse. My parents cannot afford to help. They want me to come to New Zealand. R9

No one left in Samoa [all family migrated]. R3

Four of the five women in this category revealed their parents made the decision that they would be better off in New Zealand and so either accompanied them or encouraged them to migrate. Larner (1991:55) stated that the 'migration decision was made for the woman by her extended family [and]...such decisions were made in a cultural setting in which there are strong obligations of family members to one another'. The respondents testified to this with some adopting an almost fatalistic attitude to the fact that the decision was made for them. The fact that none of the women spoke about homesickness and the problems of adjustment raised the question. Did they simply deny the existence of negativity within the experiences in order not to draw attention to any perceived personal inadequacy on their part to justify fulfilling their obligations? What was significant about these three revelations was that the women, who revealed they had personal *choice*, spoke of an experience of empowerment and autonomy that resulted from an independence to choose, establishing self-confirming, positive self-identities with perceived control over their lives. They spoke less about any negative influences such as homesickness and cultural shock. It cannot be assumed that the women did not in fact experience both of these as a result of migrating. However, they appeared to assign much less emphasis to these in comparison with the other groups that revealed they had limited or no choice in the decision to migrate. The question of coping with the situation they were in, or had actively chosen possibly represents the self-empowerment they enjoyed.

depth interviews and verbatim narratives giving a unique contribution. By allowing the Samoan women respondent's revelations of issues of *choice*, *little choice and no choice*, to surface and be shown as a different and distinct expression from that used by Pitt & Macpherson (1974) of 'motive'. The linkages between *choice* and 'motive' in the migration experience are strong, but the significance of these findings revealed by the respondents added the dimension of *choice* and revealed how the women perceived this directly affected the way they were better able to cope with the new life in New Zealand.

On completion of this part of the data analysis I noticed an interesting anomaly. Those respondents (above) that claimed they had '*no choice*' did not in fact appear in the narratives projecting positive images in early days. There was a lack of positive exemplars. This then raised the question, if they did not reflect on experiences that were positive might this then indicate they lacked or did not attain the three sub-theme categories? Might this be seen as contradictory evidence that could appear to negate the assumption of my first assessment of the women's '*desire, ability and emulation*' qualities? After consideration I consider it does not, as the women did not state they actively refused to come to New Zealand, or that they sought other ways of avoiding the move. However it does reveal or confirm, the limited positive narrative from these respondents to the initial move to New Zealand. The evidence of their emergent self-confidence is still an important and integral part of the attitude and decision-making process they went through. Few expanded upon this aspect of the process.

The invisibility of Samoan women's *lived-in-experiences* could be perceived as not wanting to draw attention to ones self, as emerged within the interviews and to some extent confirmed within these comments:

'I don't want to make a fuss'

I don't want others to know'

'I just keep quiet about it'

'It's nothing'

## Themes and emergent revelations

**Expectations and impressions - the cost of undertaking the phenomenon migration** (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124)

This chapter is divided into two parts first the revelations of the expectations and impression of migrating to New Zealand and secondly the role of language within the migration process.

What emerged from the thematic analysis were four self-described sub-themes that revealed the adjustments the respondents were required to make as part of this phenomenon/migration. Each is interwoven and therefore frames much of the *lived-in-experiential* adjustments required of the women. The rural to city living adjustment; the often hidden implications of the different weather patterns; the often critical issues of identity that emerged when arriving in the era when New Zealand held suspicions '*about people that were different*'.

One of the respondents used the term '*skin colour*'; and indicated how the fact that she had suddenly become more aware, and had been made to consider her different ethnic background had come as a shock to her. The women stated they engaged in a 'coping mechanism' using Anae's (1998) terminology, they '*just got on with it*', in order to function amidst very new and unfamiliar surroundings. Spoonley et al (1995), Pitt & Macpherson (1974), Fuamata (1994) and Jansen (1990) each addressed this issue and in particular Jansen (1990) showed some parallels to this study, in that it is the gendered narratives of ten ethnically diverse women. None of these studies took an historical reflective viewpoint or approach, or endeavoured to discover or reveal through phenomenological analysis the *lived-in-experiences* specific to women. Each of these sub-themes (above) revealed the *lived-in-experiences* of the *unfamiliar*; *strange*; often *alienating*; and sometimes *frightening* experiences on entry to the New Zealand way of life. The determination and degree of confidence that emerged from within the respondents' narratives revealed their ability to take a risk in leaving family and country in order to actuate their ambitions to improve their status and directly and indirectly the status of their families in Samoa. For the respondents, where the average age at the time of migration, was nineteen years in this study, showed an impressive attitude to 'perceived' responsibility. This aspect of kinship obligation is well documented in contemporary literature, (Connell 1980, 1976), Ahlburg (1990), Fleming (1997), yet none of these writers highlight the ages of the women. The Samoan women within this study revealed not only that they had to deal with major adjustments on arrival in New Zealand, were

also still nearly all teenage girls. There has been a failure to acknowledge this within previous studies.

#### The adjustment from rural to city living coming to terms with change

One of the most difficult adjustments (for the women) was the move from the (rural) village in Samoa to the metropolitan cities of New Zealand. Twelve came from rural Samoa, four from within the vicinity of a town (Apia). These next exemplars provide significant insight into issues that have not been expanded upon in many other studies particularly in the voices of the participants or respondents.

In my mind I think I am stupid. Why I leave my family and my job. I start crying. In the night I look outside, another new thing for me the lights on the whole night, the lights outside. I look in the middle of the night, and I think, oh the lights never turn off till the morning. I can't sleep. Why I come here. It was so quiet in Samoa. In the night we still play outside the moonshine in Samoa. R1

I thought [NZ] all concrete no trees no grass. The closed buildings, I found that really difficult. I thought goodness just like prisoners. It took me a year to settle. It was scary. I find it hard to adapt to fit into palagi society. I thought goodness the way they do things, they like to own a home it is very important. R6

I thought New Zealand no grass. I shocked it's the same as the island, but island poor. R7

I arrive in New Zealand and see beautiful homes on the street. Everything was nice and clean beautiful manicured lawns and gardens and each house so neatly placed and fenced off from the house next door. I found it exciting. R10

We live with relatives. I think back my home. Four kids and two bedrooms, every day and night I cry I want to go back. We sleep on the floor four months. We sleep on the floor in Samoa but in New Zealand the floors are hard not soft like in Samoa. R14

Coming from a small village, it was noisy here. Lots of traffic all day. I missed the silence and the birds in the morning. We live in Penrose by the factories. R11

I didn't know how to use a phone, it ring, and you look at it, and pick it up sometimes, but we put the phone upside down [to our ear]. Also alarm clocks, did not know how to turn it off. We don't have that sort of thing back home. It is the chickens and birds, they sing early hours of the morning that is how we know it daylight, our rooster, our alarm clock. R12

Few studies have actually presented the women's *lived-in-experiences* of the environmental, spatial and situational changes moving from rural Samoa to inner city Auckland required self confidence and the ability to adjust quickly to new surroundings; living with friends or relatives in a New Zealand style house rather than an open Samoan *fale*. Pitt & Macpherson (1974:81) provided illustrations of the difference in accommodation, yet little has been asked of Samoan women about the emotional and physiological costs as a result of this dramatic and instant spatial adjustment on arrival in New Zealand.

Fairbairn-Dunlop's (2002:144) poignant comment 'we learned to live with windows and cold' also reflected the difficulties for the women of this study. In addition to these was the experiences of; applying for work; organising individual accommodation; learning to cook on Western stoves; (one respondent told me how she continued to *cook on an open fire in the garden until it got too cold*), beginning to recognise food types, particularly in the supermarkets as the purchasing of food was (more so) considered a basic female responsibility at that point in time. One respondent revealed the ongoing hardship of attempting to read food packaging, and how this once simple job had now turned into a stressful exercise negotiating the shopping at the local supermarket. One respondent stated that she would walk into a *large shop and not know where to go*. In the early 1950's there were few Pacific Island specialty stores selling taro, green bananas and other familiar and important components of the Samoan diet.

'It's the noise!'(...)

The women frequently revealed, what was particularly hard for them, was the apparent level of background noise (which is part of any city environment now known as 'white noise') the constant drone of the city activity. The women mentioned this caused them varying degrees of depression, exhaustion and anger, particularly as they were not used to the pervading, constant, low droning background sound that was present in many of the work and living areas some Samoan came to such as Penrose, Ellerslie and Mt Wellington. Many of the women also went to work in noisy factories, working at machines all day being subjected to constant and at times deafening noise levels. The

respondents revealed how tired they constantly were, (there was no early afternoon rest period traditionally observed in Samoa). Some of the women found this disruption to their body clock extremely hard. The combination of the noisy work place and surrounding city noise exacerbated and further alienated some of the women from and within their new surroundings. Many of the respondents had to walk (long distances) to work, then stand all day on concrete floors, often not being used to this type of ground surface. One aspect of working at night was the fact that often the women were alone in either office blocks or large institutions.

One respondent mentioned that the *buildings were like prisons* and that she *found it hard being locked in at night*, each woman was required to lock herself in the building while working for security reasons. A number of the respondents who worked as night cleaners, mentioned that this lack of freedom of movement and the concrete structures of the buildings appeared to make the women fearful of being alone in these spaces, yet they were expected to continue and adjust. It appeared no formal agency sponsored advice for new women migrants, unlike the current plethora of advice provided by government and non-government agencies. After a considerable literature search I was only able to access some early work place documents provided by the Labour Department (1978) that provided some background information on how to work with *palaigi* Metge (1978) late in the 1970's attempted to allay the misunderstanding within the work place by publishing this small booklet. The Vocational Training Council (1976) and the Polynesian Advisory Council (1985) published two instructional booklets in an endeavour to assist with inter-ethnic relations within the work place one aimed at non-Pacific peoples,

the later for Pacific peoples. This lack of support information was a direct result of these workers being perceived as peripheral to the main workforce. Being migrant, transient and often in work that made them invisible to the majority of the work force, such as night shifts, exacerbated the lack of support and formal advice on how to cope with such situations when they arose. This is confirmed extensively within the existing literature. Larner (1991:21) stated ...'governments...expected that Samoan migrant workers would pack up and go home should their labour become superfluous', therefore little was initially undertaken to assist migrants with resettlement. A number of the women spoke about the weather and its affect upon them mentally and physically.

We look at all the people walking with long overcoats, scarfs on their heads and hats. R1

I like New Zealand but when winter comes I don't like it. R4

I didn't have many clothes for the climate I couldn't afford them. It was cold at night when we sleep on the floor. R14

It was so cold. I had to wear all my clothes. It was hard for me to move. I don't want to tidy anymore. I am too tired of leaning, all new things, and different things every day. R12

This revealed some of the discomfort and ongoing stress experienced in adapting to environmental changes. The continual effort that was required to perform even some of the small daily routine tasks and the conscious effort to overcome these stressful pressures in order to function. This situation was exacerbated for those respondents who were employed under contracts to

either private companies or institutions such as hospitals (where they often had live-in positions) and had to reconcile the aloneness and isolation and unfamiliar surroundings, with the need to earn money to support family both in Samoa and New Zealand and this appeared to generate a fatalistic attitude, with comments like we:

'Just got on with it' (...)

'We learn to cope' (...)

In addition to the environmental changes six of the respondents revealed how the rising racial tensions made them feel. What emerged was evidence that prior to arriving in New Zealand, their Samoan identity was the norm, rather than the exception, however in New Zealand they began to be aware of their ethnic difference.

'We see the way New Zealanders' look at us' (...)

I meet Maori people and European people not used to them because not such people in my life in Samoa. R9

There wasn't many Samoan around the factories in those days (1968).  
R11

I wasn't happy the way people treated my being Polynesian. I didn't want to bring racism. I didn't want to be Samoan I didn't want to be palagi I didn't want to be Chinese. I just wanted to be me. R13

Some people were nice and some people not nice. They don't like our colour, our way. R15

There is considerable material that addressed in-depth issues of racism, and the media's role in producing, maintaining and exacerbating the often overt racial tension, Spoonley (1995:11) discussed the problems that were encountered by Pacific Island peoples and the emergence of racism. He argued that 'the contemporary expression of racism relate[d] directly to the political economy of labour migration in the post-war period'. The findings or revelations emerged through the analysis of the *lived-in-situation* of this racism for some of the respondents. Anae (1998:230) addressed this stating that 'the theme of racism permeates members recollections and experiences of the 1970's'. The respondents revealed how they had not previously had to consider their ethnicity or *skin colour* and that on arrival in New Zealand they became conscious of the fact they were *dark skinned*. Often Pacific people experienced overt racism. Spoonley (1995:14) addressed the problems Pacific Island peoples encountered with the derogatory terminology 'Islander', and the stereotypical way they were defined as a 'problem' with taking work from non Pacific Island workers. However this term combined the many nations of the Pacific together under this racially motivated and maintained title that then disadvantaged individual ethnic groups. Krishnan, Schoeffel & Warren (1994:21) addressed the issue of stereotyping of Pacific Island workers, and the negative affects it produced with both the community and for individuals, yet little opportunity was taken in the early days to define which Pacific Islands were migrants. They were simply lumped together and the negative racist attitude that prevailed was directed across the board. The women stated this added a further dimension of uncertainty as to how New Zealanders would react to, and subsequently did react to them as individuals as belonging to a

migrant group as they did not like being called Islanders with the inherent racist overtones.

Many of the women revealed they were contracted on two-year employment contracts, or working out work permits, meant few had a freedom of choice to go home, even when they felt terribly homesick. They strove to honour their commitments, whilst (in not all cases), experiencing the emotional and personal stress and the frustration and disempowerment that the comments revealed. Little emphasis has been placed on this aspect of women's lived-in-situations.

I promised to stay two years [at the catholic hospital], they good to me bring me over with a contract in those days it was easy. R16

In those days you don't have organisations to support you, you learn to cope as you go. R2

I took me about a year. All the time I wanted to go home. R14

I did not have to send money home. I just spent it on myself, buy pretty clothes all those things and shoes. Samoan people here at the Orange Hall [a dance and function venue in Grey Lynn in the 1950-70] were very protective and caring of me. I get mad, I think I'm not a baby, but it was lovely. R8

The women's *expectations* of the new life they aspired to in New Zealand, was to some extent countered by the early impression of New Zealand and the actual *lived-in-experiences*. The women revealed some of the adjustments

they were required to make both emotionally and physically, involved the adjustment from rural living to city living, particularly as many of the women resided with family or friends either in the inner city areas or situated alongside industrial areas of metropolitan Auckland. The feeling of alienation that occurred with the women is a common factor with this form of upheaval and is widely documented in international feminist studies, Benmayor & Skotnes (1994), Momsen (1999), Knorr & Meier (2000), yet few studies in New Zealand have focused upon this issue as one factor of migration adjustment for Samoan women, and from their own perspective. Pitt & Macpherson (1974:81) illustrated within their text the difference between the city and rural environment of Samoa and Auckland, yet little was expanded upon on how women adjusted to the enormous changes that were required to adapt to this structured, concrete-filled gray dwelling situation. Few studies in this period attempted to gain the actual participants viewpoint, or attempt to reveal the particular stress level caused to women migrants when living within a city environment, as opposed to the (mostly) rural background of their childhoods. The words the respondents used within this study described their feelings, *unfamiliar, loneliness, being alone, fear, and inferiority*. Many of the women were under contract (for a specified period) and not able to return to Samoa, irrespective of how homesick they became, *'It took me a year (to settle)* R14 mentioned, reflecting the general opinion of many of the women.

Fairbairn-Dunlop (1996) on the front cover of *Tamaitai Samoa Their Stories*, aptly quoted *'In times of adversity, they literally shrugged their shoulders and kept going, adapting to every life event'*. This is the philosophy these

respondents brought with them to New Zealand, and it was this attitude that so impressed me in 1987 when considering the need for this research, the women did actually shrug their shoulders and tell me, '*I just have to do it get on with it*'. Ravuvu (1992:334) briefly touched on this issue stating these 'pioneer settlers became the source of encouragement and security for the next wave', little recognition has been given to a gendered view as emerged from the respondent narratives, and how as first wave pioneers for family with the critical aspect of their youth (average age 18 years) they often struggled alone. This important issue has been historically subsumed within the context of the existing material.

#### Language - linkages between language self-esteem and identity (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124)

From the thematic analysis, three self-described sub-themes emerged: firstly the women's ability to speak and read English; secondly their attitudes to and their linking language use and their identity; thirdly their efforts to preserve the Samoan language by insisting children and grandchildren spoke only Samoan when addressing them. Of the sixteen women, six could speak English reasonably fluently prior to their arrival in New Zealand. This ability obviously helped as it became apparent in the succinct statements each gave.

I speak Samoan and English. In school you take both languages. Most of the nuns are English ladies. The nuns they talk in Samoan but some

words you can't understand. The generation before us there was no English at all up until 1920. R1

This respondent was born in 1934 and was first generation bi-lingual in English and Samoan. It was interesting to note the effort she subsequently made to ensure her children and grandchildren retained the Samoan language.

Before I came to New Zealand I spoke English in school. R4

I just pick it up. I speak more Samoan. Some mothers wanted their children very much to speak only Samoan and not much English. R5

I learned English at school. I could read a little. R9

We were encouraged to speak English at school but when we got home we reverted back to our mother tongue. R10

I went to a boarding school. That's where I learn English because we weren't allowed to speak Samoan. We stopped as soon as we entered the convent. R11

The fact some students (this did not appear to be the situation expressed by all the respondents) who attended convent schools, were not permitted to speak Samoan within the convent compound appeared to some to have a detrimental affect, rather than a positive effect on their learning abilities. Few of the women could communicate in English, with even less being able to read to any extent in English or Samoan. It appeared that the authoritarian approach to learning English (in some instances) by forbidding them to discuss or practice

articulating English amongst their peers might have had a negative result. This situation was also enforced at some employment sites in Auckland. It is suggested that a more interactive learning process whereby they could speak their own language and exchange comments whilst practicing English, would have produced a more supportive learning environment. The non-inclusive approach to incorporating Samoan whilst learning English, acted as a barrier rather than a benefit.

There is an extensive amount of texts addressing the complex question of language and identity (Vasta 2000), Challis (1973), Tamasese et al (1998); yet no writers provided the narratives of the *lived-in-experiences* of the research groups. It was interesting to note that they were at times stopped from using their own language whilst at school and this was repeated in the work place in New Zealand. They indicated it had both a negative affect 'we stopped speaking Samoan' or drove others to ensure they retained their language and encouraged their children to use the Samoan language.

In school days I love reading comics. I collect them. Sometimes I open my desktop and read comics. Sister caught me and give me a strap. We not allowed to read comics because it's a sin, would you believe that? Anyway I didn't read at school after that. I read at home. I learn. R16

Painful emotional memories still remain with this respondent (shared off-tape) over the fact that as a girl she was attempting to improve her reading ability (in a somewhat unorthodox way) by reading English comics and was frequently punished for this. Her determination was not diminished, by this corporal

punishment she continued to want to improve her English reading fluency when removed from the authority of the teaching nuns.

The level of English language usage and ability of new migrants, particularly the migrant temporary workers, was not aggressively pursued or actively assessed by the Immigration Department between 1950-1970. This is evident with the number of women stating they spoke very little English and one not at all. The ability to speak English could possibly have been over-estimated at that time. Few of the women would have understood the finer nuances of the English language, therefore would not have been in a situation where they could assess for themselves their own competency level. The fact they remained in manual jobs, expressing the fact that their English was not good enough to get 'office' work, few were able to greatly improve their English language skills. At the time of the interviews, this group's English language ability greatly exceeded that of the women, who revealed they spoke little or no English on arrival in New Zealand.

Three women self-taped and therefore the answers to the questions were brief and they did not mention how they learned English. R6 and R8 both had excellent English. Both women were raised in bi-lingual, bi-cultural families. Four spoke a little English. Two women spoke about '*picking up*' factory English.

When I arrive here I understand when people speak slowly, but it was very hard for me to understand if they speak fast. My English was very

poor when I arrived. When I went to work here, I pick it up from the girls at work. We could not get into an office job, our level of English and education not good enough. So service work is all we can do. R12

I learn my English when I come here, as the nuns were all from France we teach them Samoan. R7

Often the language skills they were able to *'pick up from the other girls'* known as *'factory'* English. This did not help to improve their vocabulary to any great extent. Whilst remaining in these occupations, further reduced their opportunities into other areas of the labour market, requiring a good grasp of the English language.

One respondent spoke no English.

I worked in the kitchen [hospital] which was a really hard job because of language problems. I was so scared, because I don't know what this and what that, and everything. You are on your wits end, in case you have done something wrong. I think to myself, the most important thing to learn the language was to listen to the radio. So I made an effort to hear the radio, just to listen to the sound, you know, the sound of how to say. Then finally you pick up different words to say, but you don't know what they mean. The one I like was Aunt Daisy [morning talk host on 1ZB radio in the 1950'-1960's]. I can remember one thing that really hurt me. I was asking a guy about the name of a street because I can't read. He turned to me and said 'cant you read'? I was so ashamed to tell him 'no I can't read', I just went frozen, it really hurt me. I remember walking down the street and crying. I thought isn't that bad when you can't read. I was blaming myself. I wasn't blaming the guy for being rude. I thought

this is why is so important to read you don't have to ask anything. I go to a coffee shop I recognise the word 'tea' 'meat'. R13

I got this shy feeling you know to talk to palagi in English. I take the kids to school. I was nervous but I have courage I talk to teachers I think they understand me. R14

A number of women mentioned how nervous they were of communicating in English and also of being scared to talk unless people were Samoan. What emerged was how physically and mentally exhausting it was to constantly think in Samoan and translate and speak in English, a point few studies have developed in relation to the *lived-in-experiences* of Pacific women. The fact that the women were performing manual jobs (they stated) enabled them to watch what was taking place and copy. This lessened the need to communicate in English. What was revealed was the 'aloneness'<sup>1</sup> and isolation many experienced, created and exacerbated by the barriers faced in all areas of communication. This further decreased their self-confidence and any attempt to practice speaking in English. Added to this 'aloneness' was the fact a number of the women had not previously worked in factories or large manufacturing plants or building where commercial cleaners are employed. The language problems increased this disorientation in the work place.

I work in a factory some boss they understand how to explain slowly. I cannot understand unless they know how to explain slowly and by doing the action. They allow us to talk in Samoan but soon they make us stop

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<sup>1</sup> Refer Barrell, J. E 'Feeling Alone' in Pollio, H. R. Henley, T. B. & Thompson, C. J. *The Phenomenology of Everyday Life*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997) pp157-19.

for six months, then the manager said 'it's not fair' and we allowed to talk in Samoan again. R9

Seventy five percent of the women were from rural areas, where predominantly (at that time) the Samoan language was spoken; therefore (they stated) their inability to speak English effectively stopped them from forming friendships on the job sites, this increased the feelings of *separation* and of difference, many revealed they had experienced.

When I come here they have night classes for people but I have no time, who is going to look after the kids? My husband work at night. R7

The respondents revealed that their inability to communicate in English was mistaken as them not wishing to cooperate, or being too lazy to try. Being unable to speak with other migrants (as directed by supervisors and managers) during work hours, also hindered their ability to improve their English, as the women said that as they joked about and laughed, they were sometimes telling each other what not to say and slowly learning from the other Samoan girls who spoke more fluent English. Being told not to speak your own language appeared to have a detrimental affect on the women, as language and identity are closely linked. There has been extensive material written on the desire to retain and the resurgence of languages in this case Pacific languages.

Hunkin-Tuiletufuga (2001:197) stated 'Professor Spolsky's 1988 report on the Samoan language in New Zealand and Samoa...noted...the Samoan language is fundamental and important to the maintenance to the Samoan culture in

New Zealand...it is also critical...in maintaining...traditional ethnic social, religious and cultural values'. The women indicated that by being refused to speak their language they felt 'cut off' from their familiar Samoan identity yet had not become familiar or able to communicate in English. Therefore experiencing a frustration in not being able to establish a new identity in New Zealand, and slowly losing their ability to speak Samoan. Each woman revealed the problems encountered when attempting to read bus timetables; finding the street name for their work place; filling in English written employment and union forms; adhering to company rules often explained in English; then having to perform a long hard day's work in addition to all these energy sapping lived-in-experiences of orientation. They revealed that on arrival the familiar cultural cues (both environmentally and emotionally) they took for granted (in Samoa) disappeared. This acted to some extent to disempower them (if only for the initial period after arrival). A number revealed it took about a year to lose the feeling of 'aloneness'. Some spoke about the frustration and subsequent anger that overcame them, experiencing disorientation with their new surroundings. The fact of being misunderstood caused discomfort and emotional sensitivity, making them further aware of the existence of racial tension. A number of the respondents had not previously been exposed to this situation, (having been protected to some extent) whilst growing up in Samoan villages, with Samoan families. A feeling of inferiority that was revealed as experienced by the respondents was directly linked (by them) to the fact they were refused permission to speak Samoan in many New Zealand work places. In some instances this made the women more

determined to ensure their children and grandchildren spoke both Samoan and English.

Five of my children were born here. When they small I never ever talk to them in English. I always talk to them in Samoan. When they start to go to school I think that's the only time you can speak English, when you come back home we are Samoan so we talk in Samoan. Some Samoan kids come together with family and they just sit there just like deaf people they just don't know what other people are talking about. When we are laughing they just sit there and stare. I think some people have lost their culture lost the language not from the children it's from the parents. My grandchildren I tried to teach them I said if I talk to you in Samoan you try to speak to me in Samoan, I'm a Samoan not a palagi lady. I talk to you in Samoan so you speak to me in Samoan. R1

The following verbatim narrative was gained through interviews with a Samoan secondary source/gatekeeper. It is used here with the permission of the secondary source providing a women's perspective of some of complex issues of language and identity that arose in the early period of migration.

'...It was hard they were so determined and so happy to have a job and to be paid they really worked hard and if someone else who understood the language was there they would ask of the person. Everything was sort of done slowly or by instruction methods. [English speaking people] some were very impatient they had this belief that these people should understand. This happened in the 60's but I became aware of it in the 70's. Some of the supervisors thought they should not speak in Samoan to each other during work time, but that was how they were learning from the ones who could pick up very quickly. Samoans very happy people when amongst themselves, smiling and laughing, this is what the

palagi objected to, they thought they were being ridiculed, but they were not, they [young women working in the hospital] were laughing at themselves for being so stupid with some of the things they were doing. We learnt by watching, by using our skills of observation by using our hands...I think New Zealand's took [young migrant women workers] for granted, we are good workers. In Samoan society the men sit in conference nearly every day, the chiefs of the village and they dictate what happens in the village while the women and young women and the young girls go about their work. I think we were very brave. I think those people that first pioneered a lot of these jobs that they were asked to come to I think they were very, very brave and it's their children now who are the graduates in New Zealand'.

Pitt & Macpherson (1974) briefly touched on 'language competence and status'...competence in English. This also implies an understanding of European culture and the European social and economic system. However they pointed out that 'a person who speaks English badly often becomes the butt of jokes...prestige is also derived from a knowledge and correct use of Samoan'. They also noted that some Samoans could not speak their language. The respondents of this study confirmed this when they drew strong distinctions between their children who are able to speak Samoan and other families who have let their language slip. Hunkin-Tuiletufuga (2001:208) stated that 'over the last thirty or forty years there has been a downgrading of Pacific languages, brought about in part, by their neglect and relegation and, in part, by uncertainly and misguided advice given to Pacific communities in New Zealand'. The respondents confirmed their concerns with their children losing the ability to speak Samoan. The level of English language ability and usage was not aggressively pursued or assessed by the Immigration Department

between 1950 and 1960. This resulted in some women speaking minimal English on arrival. Many Pacific Island workers arrived at this time on temporary work permits, and were therefore viewed as a transient work force. The Government(s) provided few agencies to address settlement criteria; it appeared to have been primarily left to church and community groups. Within this study a number of women recalled how they had picked up '*factory English*', which did not ultimately assist in greatly improving their English vocabulary. This acted as a barrier to improving their work status. Larner (1991) credited the fact that the women could not speak English well assigned them to the more menial jobs and this was a factor that kept them within this employment. This was confirmed by the respondents when a number revealed that by watching the job/s being carried out, this enabled them to copy the process involved, and by this system of observation they were then able to perform and maintain their jobs, but did not need to understand the verbal instructions for the work involved. Of additional significance is the fact that the women were not able to speak sufficient English to gain friends and they therefore experienced varying degrees of '*aloneness*' that was exacerbated by the fact that many of the women undertook jobs that required primarily working alone, such as evening and night cleaners. This often resulted in women maintaining strong ties with a church and affiliated groups within which they already had assigned status and self-identity.

The revelations within these sub-themes has shown the *isolation* and *disjuncture* that can be and was felt by the respondents and the questions of identity that arose due to the fact that they could not communicate adequately in English nor read English to an extent that enabled them to move seamlessly

between the two cultures. A number of the women addressed this issue, as did Hunkin-Tuiletufaga (2000:28) when he commented upon Fishman's (1991) theory of 'intergenerational mother tongue transmission' stating that it was a mechanism used to ensure the next generation did not have to experience the same alienation. The use of this mechanism (though not the respondents terminology) was evident with the comments made by R1 and the driving force behind her unwavering desire to ensure her children and grandchildren retained their ability to speak Samoan in her words:

'Not lose their heritage'

## Themes and emergent revelations

### **Remittances - women redefining parameters of traditional obligations** (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124)

This chapter is in two parts firstly addressing the issue of monetary obligations secondly the role of the church within the lives of the respondents.

The findings that emerged from the analysis showed from the original sixteen respondents, four stated that when growing up they remembered (but could not confirm) family in Samoa were receiving financial support from New Zealand; ten stated that no remittances were being received. The majority revealed they were the first in their immediate family to migrate and send monies home to support family (R3 and R8 no information). There is extensive literature dealing with an infinite variety of questions and interpretations of the importance and place of kinship reciprocity and traditional obligations within the migrant communities.

For example Connell (1980:04) refers to the 'determinants of remittances'. Ahlbury (1991), Fleming (1997) Tiatia & Deverall (1998) each covered specific time frames, each being some thirty or more years after the women of this study migrated to New Zealand. The thoughts of early Samoan women migrants of their *lived-in-experience* regarding the reciprocal economic system that underlined much of their social economic decisions once in New Zealand has failed to be included or transparent. Pitt & Macpherson (1974:13) refer to the 'basic institution of Samoan life - the aiga', and how the 'aiga stimulated migration in several ways'. They state 'for some especially the women, a prime motive was simply to be able to live with relatives - children or parents'. The respondents in this study provided a different perspective that adds another dimension to Pitt & Macpherson's (1997) earlier findings. My study did not seek to provide extensive expose on the actual process or usage of remittances.

What emerged from the analysis was the emergent ideology of how early in their re-settlement in New Zealand a number of the women voiced their disagreement with traditional monetary obligations. The critical emphasis that emerged was the respondent's significant attitude to kinship reciprocity. Extensive analysis of the literature on remittances and in particular Samoan women highlighted the lack of information of women's *lived-in-experiences* and feelings and subsequent justification for the re-defining this traditional reciprocal economic exchange system. I also found none emphasised how young these women were. What these findings revealed was the unique position of the respondents as pioneers in economic terms within the migration process, which then confirmed my original assessment of the women in 1987

that worked two jobs including night work, in order to sustain their kinship obligations. These revelations from the respondents showed how they actually felt about providing economic assistance to families. This has previously appeared to be subsumed within the male generic term, or non-gendered text, or collectively within statistical tables that overtly made these young women almost invisible. This point is critical to show how this study's narratives provided the emergent voices of young women, providing one of the important underlying premises of this study, therefore representing one of the most importance factors within this descriptive presentation. The respondents revealed the *lived-in-experiences* of these decisions and how they viewed the traditional obligations and how this influenced the redefining of their role within this cultural expectation of reciprocity.

We got our own money our father went fishing and sell it. We dry copra and bananas. I left two children with my parents, so we send the money to them to buy what they need. We open an account for them so my mother can get tins of milk and food for the boys. R1

R1's need to support her children influenced her to migrate. The respondent's seemingly unemotional remark about leaving her boys hid a deep grief (this respondent shared off tape) leaving her children to come to work in New Zealand. A number of women both single and married, suffered similar losses in order to earn the money needed to support them in Samoa. What emerged was the question, how does a mother resolve the ensuing emotional stress (if experienced) particularly if this was a long-term arrangement? There appeared to be few avenues for counseling or support and the wages the women earned

coupled with their financial obligations, it could be assumed there would be little money left to pay for these services. Fewer would have considered it their right to seek assistance for the emotional stress caused and experienced by separation from their children. The fact they revealed they would not have been able to support their children if they stayed in Samoa appeared to leave them with little option but to seek work elsewhere. Leaving children in Samoa for any length of time resulted in a slow and painful estrangement from their children. Some mothers did not return who remained in Samoa to be raised by grandparents.

We didn't have any family in New Zealand at that time. I send money now my parents are both deceased I send remittance to my sister and brother as gifts for mass or any other time they need financial help. R2

I'm first in New Zealand and I support, whatever I get, I send some money. R7

When I stood on the land in New Zealand I was happy because I could have a good life. Not only I knew I could help my parents and my brothers and sisters. I worked and sent money to Samoa. I helped bring over my brothers and sisters. New Zealand is a land like a father of the family, because it helps all people that come here to strengthen the help for their family in Samoa. I think and feel about New Zealand it is a good place, a very good place, especially the Pacific people. They have good lives here in New Zealand. R9

We send money when we arrive. People say, [you] I work at the ( ) for twenty three years some people say that is a long time. I say, well we didn't come looking for careers we came to look for a job to help our families. R11

I got an older brother, he here before the girls, he didn't help much. My sisters the ones sending money to help rebuild the family home. R12

I was first one in family who left. So I had every month to send money home to my parents. I had two jobs when I moved out of living in jobs. I had to get a job and place to live. I had to do all the commitment by sending money home and keep myself. I got sick, I know if I don't do something I lose my children and husband and my family and of course my loyalty to my parents of sending money. I would go without things. I would lie to my husband. R13

The women revealed (in varying degrees) their disagreement with the *matai* system and the burdensome obligations to the church. Some considered their giving as a 'weakness' in their outlook, 'too generous', and considered it a negative aspect of their personalities that they could be made to feel obligated. This emerged as the element that defined the 'intentionality' toward the re-defining of traditional obligatory ideology of giving for these women. The fact that the respondents stated how family still impinged on their privacy and expected this form of assistance frustrated and often angered some of the women. They portrayed it as a 'no win' situation, if they didn't give they lost standing in the family and community, but if they did give their immediate family suffered and had to go without things. The emotional dilemma was evident.

In New Zealand some women waste money for the church and their children no shoes, no school lunch. They go to social welfare, because

no money left for family. It is harder to grow food in New Zealand, you have to earn money to provide help and it is harder to do this so some people are trying to change the traditions to suit the new monetary system. In my own understanding, because most of the family in New Zealand they hardly go back because some women I work with they live here, they say too much things to do for other people. Their family first now, I work hard for my family not for others. R5

My three sisters and brother send money especially the girls send more money to my parents. The money went to my father he was the head of the family. He would decide he give money to the church and some to the village matai, that's where the money goes always to support the matai and village funerals even if you are not related. R12

I was working at ( ) Hospital. I was getting six pound a week for eighty hours, sometimes it went up to ten pounds. I had to pay this woman my fare back. I had to send money home. I had to keep some for myself for clothes. We need shoes and young girls like pretty things. But by the end of the week there's nothing left. You start again and next week it is the same thing. You have no money for bus fare so I used to walk every morning for forty-five minutes [similar to the walk to school]. I managed to save enough to bring one of my brothers here and help the family look after my parents. I wasn't happy it was hard I was scared to tell my husband [married to a European]. I keep away from the Samoan church because they always ask for money you have to donate so much money. I don't approve. I keep to the Catholic Church because palagi church they don't demand money. R13

Family, [from Samoa] write letters and phone me to ask for a little more money. I told home I'm sorry I can't afford it I haven't got a husband to look after me and the kids. R16

(From the sixteen women twelve attended still attend a Catholic Church).

This clearly shows the ambivalence of the women to the obligations of monies to family in Samoa. The women were attempting to distance themselves from what was being perceived as unfair obligations, whilst being emotionally torn between love of family, supporting non-resident New Zealand family and the obligations to their family in New Zealand. Their comments indicated that these women were the initiators for change within the traditional Samoan system, as a result of living in New Zealand and adopting its economic systems. This indicates the changing identity and values that came in direct conflict with their ethnic background and philosophies. The fact the findings show they voiced their disagreement with traditional systems and specifically mentioned the *matai* system indicated emergent female voices. In contradiction and contrast to the predominantly traditional male perspective this provided a different perspective to much of the contemporary literature. Pitt & Macpherson (1974:38) use the terminology 'life crises' as a heading and examined how 'in life crises such as marriage and death and the rites of passage which accompany them...kin provide a labour force for the preparation of food, and a pool of capital to draw on...status [is] gained for the family involved in sponsoring and organising a large, extravagant gathering'. The respondents expressed the complex problems or burdens this placed on some of them. It became very clear that a number of them wished to distance themselves from these traditional obligations, and therefore re-defining traditional boundaries was being explored by the respondents as early as the late 1950's.

After considerable reading it is not clear why the existing literature does not make this distinction and acknowledge the influence that these early pioneer women had within the ongoing changes that occur within the process of migration and resettlement. These narratives revealed the lived-in-situation and the significant and changing attitude of Samoan women to tradition in respect of kinship and reciprocity networks that had historically underpinned the remittance flow. Essentially these early women migrants were suggesting that consideration should be given to reconceptualising this male institution or traditional custom and its relevancy to the changing situation that living away from Samoa can bring. The ideology of traditional obligation now emerged to be in direct conflict with the newly accepted ideology that focused on the nuclear family unit. A number of these women were in fact the first members of their family to migrate to New Zealand.

In view of their youth, I questioned how many young women between the ages of 15 and 20, in the mid 1950's, were required to, or offered to migrate to a foreign county, in order to provide financially for their (often) extended family remaining in their country of origin? This finding would make a good basis for a comparative inter-ethnic gendered study, as what became evident in these findings is the redefinition of traditionally held ideas. Since the period these women arrived in New Zealand there has been considerable contemporary material (within the last ten years) addressing the issue of new identities, and the transformation of identity (Spoonley (2001), Feiloaiga Taule'ale'ausumai (2001), and Anae (1998). Yet little attention has been given to the issue of the young Samoan women's role, in re-defining by reassessment of their and others unacceptable burden placed upon them. They questioned the cultural

and ethnic ideology and the appropriateness of the continuance of this form or kinship reciprocity.

## Religious affiliations – the role of the church in women's lives (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124)

Every endeavour has been made to extract the name of churches and affiliated organisations, the amount of monetary contributions, specific locations and designated names or employment personnel, in order to maintain respondent anonymity.

From the analysis three critical sub-themes emerged that revealed the women's affiliations with the 'church'. Firstly the influence of religious teaching in childhood and how this effected and affected the respondent's behaviour on arrival. Secondly the seeking out of similar social and religious environments that evolved into '*live-in*' at the hospital hostels. It is important to note, that often the women were not in service work, within the hospitals, due to the fact that was the only work that would become available. Rather, they actively sought this living environment, as it provided secure accommodation within the precinct of Catholic Hospital hostels. This aspect of resettlement has not been considered in the existing literature. Thirdly those that did not support the traditional form or obligation of monetary giving within the church.

Each respondent attended a church school or the village pastors school. All parents (except R13) appeared to be active in the church of choice. The religious identity of each woman appeared to be integral to all areas of her life, with little distinction drawn between secular and religious aspects. The distinction between the respondents were those who attended the Catholic Church, R's 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 16 who were of the Catholic faith prior to, or became Catholic shortly after arrival in New Zealand. With a number of

the women this was as a direct result of working at a Catholic Hospital (...). Non Catholic, R's 14, 7, 12 and 15. R5 not attending church as she works through weekends. 'The influence of the churches in Samoa extends from the daily lives of the people right through to national politics...[and] in the migrant community the position of the church and its ministers is as central and its influence as great as they are in Samoa', (Pitt & Macpherson 1974:50,52). This publication was written in some cases ten to fifteen years after this study's respondents had come to New Zealand. The issue raised by these writers focused upon the church organisations and groups and the authority of the ministers. What is interesting is Pitt & Macpherson (1974) did not address the issue of extensive financial support provided by the young women respondents and the critical decisions they were required to make, as to how much financial support they could provide. It became obvious from a number of the respondents comments how divided, as a group, they were to this traditional form of kinship reciprocity.

Those influenced by early religious instruction

Once a Catholic always a Catholic. R2

When I was born into my family my life was dedicated to the church. This is the way of life in Samoa. When you born, you are born into the church. Until I arrive here in NZ I still went to church and obeyed the church. R9

I support the church, it's a Catholic church, all my family attend church. I enjoy it. My family is from old Christian. Everyone gets dressed up on Sunday. I never miss they give me a hard time, give me smack. I am

happy to go to church every day. I still attend church I go willingly. I devote a lot of time to the church and to work of the gospel. R3

My mother is very religious, she is always talking to us about it, but she was the first to say no to me becoming a nun<sup>1</sup>. Too many girls go into the convent in a hurry and have to come out. They can't commit to it long term. R11

I have been raised to do good things, don't do the devil's stuff. I went to the Congregational church in (...) as it was close to home. My sister and husband and kids went there to. At church it was boring in a way and I thought to myself, okay as long as I be good, I don't have to go to church, just show I'm a good person, you know, I can stay at home and still be a good person. R12

#### Non-Catholic

The church is like a village. That's the way we brought up in the islands. Every Sunday we be involved with all part of the church. [1940-50] Methodist church. R14

Support Samoan Methodist Church I am Sunday school teacher. R4

We go to the Samoan church once a month (...), but go to church once a week at three o'clock. We have service in Samoan until 1983. We have only Samoan people under Methodist conference in NZ in our own language since 1983. R7

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<sup>1</sup> Designation of occupation approved by respondent

The next group of respondents showed their efforts to establish similar social and religious environments in New Zealand or (familia replacement criteria – within a church organisation)

This respondent shared how the Mormon Church had helped her when she first arrived in New Zealand, providing instruction in how to adjust and cope with her new life in New Zealand. The church held classes to teach Pacific Island women how to use a stove, how to use household utilities such as vacuum cleaners.

Catholic on arrival. R6

This respondent took holy orders shortly after arriving in New Zealand as a result of working at a Catholic Hospital (...) and attending a Catholic school in Samoa. R8

R12 was 22 years of age and fell very ill (it appeared from exhaustion due to working long hours and not eating correctly nor wearing adequate clothes for the climate). She revealed a Catholic priest came to spend time with her to try and help get her back to health.

I was a workaholic I was not happy unless I work. I was first to come here alone. The Catholics they treated me very well and I joined to a Samoan Catholic group. I feel very uncomfortable with my own people because I part Chinese. I break ways from the Samoan. I went to C.C for social things. R13

We hardly do any work in Samoa on Sunday. We arrive here, we see it's a big place and we decided we would keep on going in the same way, what we had in Samoa. I always go every Sunday take my kids to Sunday school. When they grow up they go their own ways. We came here in 1957 there was a church called Pacific Island church that's in (...) then only a small building in (...) Street, Auckland. R1

[I had lived in Grey Lynn between 1959-1963 and knew the church this appeared to encourage the respondent to continue].

When we arrive we decided to go the same church as the people we stayed with. When we come here, we decided we would keep on going in the same way we had in Samoa. It was reassuring to go and meet people at church when you are new. [she was active in various groups within the church] We raise the money fundraising every week but is only a small group of people not many Samoans in those days. We move out from the Pacific Island Church now because of five of us we joined the Presbyterian not far from us now. We have our Samoan service twice a month. Most of the church palagi the minister is Samoan. About nine to ten Samoan families there. We have Samoan hymns bibles and sermon. I like it. I go there because it is near us. R1

I think women are very proud of the way they go and do things. When we live in Ponsonby we use to have a cup of tea after church it was just great because everybody come around and you talk. Maybe the church not a substitute for family but church becomes family. When you've come from Samoa you come as the village, the church is the village. I became Catholic in Samoa I still have friends there. Christianity in Samoa some say are brainwashing, but people doesn't realise they educate us. Took us under their wing and taught us to count one to ten and abc. I went to boarding school. We wake up at five and kneel down

to say prayer, then at six you walk to the plantation and work until the sun come up. Then you stop working, you go back to the convent and have some food about 500 girls there. My heart bleed for the girls that do the cooking they would never eat until everybody eats, and whatever was left they would eat, if it's nothing they would go hungry. The nuns would take us to the classroom and teach us sewing and knitting. The only food they get was from the plantation and what people donate to the school. They would teach us to read and write also. We would grow taros, papayas, coconuts and that what you eat. The church teaches you a lot. The church is like family, it brings people together. R13

What the analysis found was there were two distinct attitudes to obligations within the church, those who wished to continue giving, those who objected to this ongoing obligation. Firstly, those respondents who revealed their feelings regarding continuing to uphold traditional obligations within the church.

I was in the mothers group the choir. The churches have split up now, Samoan Catholic Presbyterian and Congregational. [I asked 'did you help to build your church'] oh yes we had to raise the money fundraising every week, as it was only small group of people. Samoan people in those days, not many Samoans. We had mixed dances every month. We used the Maori community hall down in Victoria Park. We collect say 50 pounds a night, each month. R1

I belong to a women's fellowship group. Twenty-two women, they look after the church. We raise funds for new toilet and kitchen, it cost (\$X,XXX) and they asked women to do it, we raise the money (\$X,XXX) approximately. I donate (\$X,XXX). One lady (\$XXX) and other lady cleaning with me, donate (\$XXX). All the women give (\$XX) a week to go to whatever needed at the church. My husband looks after the church, but he resigns, long time sick and too old. They want him to start again,

as he is so good with money and look after it, not like other people not so good. They ask me, but I got my cleaning job, I don't want to do it. I work for six years now since 1995 I go, I like to do the thing well. We give it to Jesus. He give me the money, he give me the money this job. He give me the money cause he give me the strength to go to work. If I can't go to work, well Jesus give me the money, so I give it to him. My husband is 70 years old, he donate a (\$X,XXX). R7

[When her daughter graduated they donated (\$X,XXX) to the church.]

I love giving the money to the church. I give it for God. God give me the life give me luck. He gives me the strength. I give some for him leave some for me. R7

[There appears to be perceived social and economic status achieved through how other people view their giving of money to church work]

If you don't empty the glass of water, then it won't be filled up again. R7

[This respondent spoke at length about a trip to Israel and its effect upon her]

I have changed churches because I married a catholic man. I do lot for the church, choir and mothers meeting. I don't mind what task. I do honestly for my religion. I help support all church things, by helping in the building of the hall, that the church uses, not only that, but raising funds to help other things. I help the church and also by helping your minister, and whoever else in needed within our religion. R9

I work two jobs when I finish at ( ) and then I go to another job. To work for money for the church, for the opening of the church. [in the 1970's] I also sew for two hours in the night for money for celebrations. R14

I never know how to be a mother I never how to when my kids born. R15

[This respondent had a prayer book and Samoan Bible open when I arrived; she was doing Bible study]. She spoke alot about building the temple in Hamilton and the manual work both she and her husband did in its construction. This respondent shared her religious experience on a very personal level, therefore it was considered inappropriate to leave it within the data. Secondly those who objected to the continuing traditional obligations (monetary) within the church

[This respondent self-taped the interview]

I still go to church. I give by church envelope I give whatever I can. That is one good thing about being a Catholic you can give what you want and what you can. R2

The church thing, there is too much in the Samoan church, like reading or raising money for church things. It's not their things. They come and talk to us, too much involved in the church thing. Too much raising of money. They give a lot of money in our church. We have our envelope we put donation in our envelope, to give, like (\$X) to (\$XX), that's all. But some women, working in (...), I feel shock when they say that every some Sunday they give a (\$X,XXX) in the envelope to the minister, in the Presbyterian Church. That's too much. Most of the church too much money go to the church. The thing about your family you have to work

hard, because I don't want my family have no food. When the children come, no food I don't want to borrow money from anybody. I can cope on my own two feet. R5

[This respondent works full time job five days a week and works at (...) on Saturday and Sunday].

I can work hard for my family now. I work hard for my own life. I can work hard to do the shopping very week for my family and never empty cupboards.

Sometimes [Samoan] children don't have school lunches. In the Catholic Church now you only go with your envelope. Its very bad I feel sorry about those families, you no food for the kids, come borrow money. One of the lady I worked with in there borrow money they give her some money (\$XX), she give me back the other day for the children's school lunches. We have shopping first, pay the bills, pay the phone and rates, insurance. I not happy with how much money go to the church and the minister. The minister they got new car. [I went to women's card afternoon - this is fund raising so how different is this] R5

[I asked about giving money to the church]

I think because what there is it's like a competition. I mean, they announce how much you give, and how much you're not giving. With all my heart maybe you are not giving for a reason. In the Catholic Church you just put in an envelope. It is hard because you are sending so much money back to Samoa. They build all the different flash churches and then some of them end up being unable to pay back, you know, like that one in Mt Albert. Your family should come first. I went to Catholic Church in (...) when I came. Hardly any Samoans here in those days I

didn't go to many groups in those days, not like do now. I am involved in prayer groups and donating things for fairs. [this respondent donates to the church hall in Mangere. She lives in (...)]. R11

In Samoa we didn't have much money to go around. My father put so much into the church. He leave just a little bit for us to live on. I said to my mother, the church like God you give but you don't have to give all you know, you got kids to look after, you give a little bit, you don't give all. It's like a competition that is what happened. People show off, you gives to show off, but after you show off you have no money left. [She appeared upset as she spoke about this] If your name not on the list at church three or four times you sort of disappear. Then the next minute they not coming to church like they ashamed to go to church because they haven't got the money to put in, it how it called buy of time, when I back, I feel sad, I can understand now, its like competition, instead of giving it from your heart. It like they give it for show. It is a big show and they give so much they realise they haven't got enough for the family to support.

[I witnessed this form of giving at a church fundraising dance when a considerable amount of money went into the bowl at the front of the hall where families would get up and dance and then others would donate].

After you go sit down and that pride. You think you give it all because you got to so you know pride. When you get home you realise, I should not have given all that money. My family, sometimes at their home, there's no food in the fridge they give it all. They ask to borrow money from me. I don't think they give it to God, but to the minister, the minister makes a business out of them. The minister get the money build church and hall. R12

[She mentioned her (...) suggesting she go to church and how she refused on the principle that the giving to the church funds was not right as far as she was concerned].

[I asked about women's position in the church]

I think it the same at home they always second from the husband they never like to go ahead always behind. It like they got no choice of doing it, they just accept it. R12

What the findings revealed was the critical choice the respondents made by their decision to attend a Catholic Church. The fact that they revealed that the monetary obligations were fewer, provides an aspect that has not previously being found in the existing literature. There has been the suggestion they enjoyed or sought more multi-cultural services, as a number of the women were of mixed ethnicity. However the respondents in this study were all Samoan, yet still considered it a better option to join the Catholic Church. Each placed considered emphasis on the fact they:

'Were not made to feel so guilty if I could not afford to give any money' (...)

One respondent mentioned the fact that as 'a young girl and supporting family she was:

'Embarrassed at the reading out of the amount of money I could put in the plate at church – so I left and went to the church down the road' (...)  
(a Catholic church).

The majority of the respondents mentioned the conflict with the traditional giving that had simply been transplanted from Samoa to Auckland<sup>2</sup>. Eleven women had originally arrived alone in New Zealand with the sole purpose of supporting family in Samoa and they resolved the dilemma of not being able to budget for the extensive obligations by simply removing themselves from Pacific Island church groups to attend non-Pacific Island church groups where often (in the 1950's) they were (at that period 1950-early 1960) still the minority group. This display of attempting to balance the guilt these young women felt and '*trying to do the right thing*', provided a glimpse of the '*no win*' situation some of the respondents were placed in. Therefore, these findings contradict prior assumptions that the majority of Pacific Island peoples attended the Pacific Island church on arrival between 1950 and 1960, and as a number were the first to migrate from Samoa they were then instigating or changing traditional expectations with the move away from the Samoan churches. They were also instrumental in bringing a different perspective to supporting the church, even if it emerged often through disillusionment with the traditional obligation of giving or donating money to the church organisations and therefore the subtle change in identity.

Anae's (1998) *Fofoa-I-Vao-'Ese: The Identity Journeys of NZ-Born Samoans* focused upon how the Samoan people define their identity. She addressed the issues of the church, Christianity and culture and how each impacts upon the identity of an individual and community, 'drawn from [her] own ways of knowing as a NZ-born Samoan' (1998:03). This work is illuminating and was

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<sup>2</sup> Considerable material is available upon the Matai system that was transported to New Zealand and how it is maintained throughout the church groups.

able to examine in more depth the Samoan identity and church affiliations from Anae's 'insider' perspective. She debated the question of identities in transition. Anae's (1989) study differed in focus and had the capability to delve in-depth into issues of Samoan identity, whereas I acknowledge the cross-cultural limitation of this study and my 'outsider' status. However, it is apparent from the revelations of the respondents in this study that there was a distinct linking of the church and monetary obligations as reflected upon by the women and these two factors appeared (for the women in reflection) synonymous with early life in New Zealand, and their reactions and resolutions to the complex problems.

Catholic Hospital (...) - its' influence on the respondents.

R6's father was a deacon in Congregational Church. We spoke about the changes made to Samoan traditions when the Christian missionaries arrived in Samoa. We talked about the role of the nuns at a Catholic Hospital (...) where she worked as nurse aid (Y-Y) years and then in an administrative job at the hospital, this appeared to have influenced toward the Catholic faith.

Cause of Sister (...).there's very much a feeling of family there, looking after everybody. Whereas now it is been replaced with more management and more bosses. It has been taken out of the hands of the Sisters.<sup>3</sup> I enjoy going to mass at 6.00am in the morning [at work] wonderful atmosphere walked in there and didn't want to walk out I used to go with the girls when they go. But I used to mock quietly in my heart. I used to say goodness what do they make the sign of the cross like that. Gradually I enjoying it and went up there every morning. I felt comfortable it was about how you able to help others. R6

Two Sisters who really took me under their wing and sort of looked after me and everything like that, I almost sort of became part of their well very much part of their family. R8

This is revealed by a number of the women who found or had job waiting for them at a Catholic Hospital (...).

R8 revealed how she 'received' her calling to the Church shortly after arriving in New Zealand.

I was told I possessed 'mamalu'. [this respondent shared how she had received her calling to the church – off tape]. I went back to a Catholic Hospital (...) residence after the epiphany that happened one night at the Orange Hall dance. I went back to work, and just carried on with living. I always go to mass in the mornings. I joined the Little Sisters of the Poor.

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<sup>3</sup> Refer Belgrave M. The Mater A History of Auckland's Mercy Hospital 1900-2000, (Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 2000).

I was 18 years. But it didn't work out and I went back to a Catholic Hospital (...) to work. R8

R13 worked at a Catholic Hospital (...) on arrival.

I keep away from the Samoan church because they always ask for money I could not afford it. I got my parents to look after and my sisters and brothers I couldn't afford it. They say these things about you have to donate so much money, which I don't really know where it goes to. It go to somebody's pocket and I don't really approve of that because at home where we live poverty was very strong my mother would go hungry but she would give money to the church and I felt very against that because that not what God wants. The palagi church they don't demand money, there you just put in five cents and nobody notice. But in Methodist church I grow up with they let everybody know how much you donated. A lot of people on low income and some donate (\$X,XXX) to the church. They go to the doctor and can't afford the fees. So I keep away my parents my first priority not the church. R13

The Catholic Hospital (...) was like a home to me. When I met my husband, I said if you want to marry me you got to marry my church. I go to church if I got some money in my purse I give. R16

The fact the women went to Catholic Schools made the transition easier between Samoa and employment in New Zealand in particular a Catholic Hospital (...). The connection between the work or employment and work ethic and early religious upbringing is tenuous, but connections are evident. The fact of obligation to the Hospital, to work out their contracts; the fact a number of the women remained at the Hospital, the longest two over thirty years and

twenty five years (specific years eliminated to maintain anonymity). With that their religious faith had helped shape their lives and therefore their identities.

The following verbatim narrative was approved for inclusion by Sister (...) (secondary source). It is significant that no other research focused upon and revealed the extent of the influence of the church based hospitals within the lives of the young Samoan women, and how many of the young women simply considered the *hostels as home* and the *nuns as family*, to the extent that some of the women chose to marry within the grounds of the hospital or included the nuns as family at their weddings. The contribution of Pacific Island women within hospitals on the service staff was considerable yet few records are found showing how reliant these hospitals were upon migrant labour. The secondary source above provides some insight into the complex and extensive nature of staffing the hospitals with migrant Pacific Island women in the 1950's and 1960's.

Sister (...) brought them over from Tonga. She had an arrangement with the Cardinal in Tonga and the Sisters in Tonga and then later on in Samoa. They would ask, could you take x number of girls this year or this month. That is how we got our staff. We were constantly getting letters from the Bishop or the Sisters, can you take this girl, she's now 18, she's done couple of years at (...) and she wants to get out. So we'd try and employ those girls in the laundry, in the kitchen, down in the cleaning of the hospital. It was an opportunity for them, to get out, which was very different to the popular concept [then] in palagi NZ. They were looked upon a bit like cheap labour [by other people at that time] that is an ugly word. We wanted to give them an opportunity.

Sister (...) brought them, she started it with the Cardinal and the Sister down in the islands. They wanted to get out of the island we wanted somebody to do the manual work. They were given a home, food, uniform security and they were paid, and they didn't have to pay any board. They had to be trained, they came as 15, 16 year olds. We would meet them and they [would stay] in the nurse's home. They had the bottom floor of the nurse's home. The nurses were on the top floor, so they kind of didn't mix in those days. The nurses treated them very casually, callously and rudely on many occasions. That was the way it was in the 70's. They didn't know any better. I would fight against it. If they'd ring up and speak rudely to the girls, I would always say, please don't you speak to these ladies like that if these girls weren't here the hospital wouldn't run.

There would be three in the kitchen proper and one in the diet kitchen. Every three girls you had on you have one off. They had their days off. We organised good rosters.

So we had quite a number of Polynesians. The advantage of employing Tongan and Samoan women was they were biddable. They weren't experienced of course but they were always biddable and because of the family contacts they would bring over family and be responsible for training them. I couldn't speak Samoan and they couldn't speak English very much and they taught each other. I taught one and they passed it on. It wasn't wonderful, at time they got annoyed because they hadn't done something right.

When the girls came they weren't trained they were just brought from Samoa, which was free and easy so I started sending them to ATI. Most did not know how to cook on a stove. I sent the best of them off to ATI we paid the initial fee.

Then the government brought in that they could only stay in the country for a certain time. Samoans could get in quite easily, but the Tongans had to have, every six months, they had to have their visas, their

passports stamped. Samoans could get permanent residency. I think there was a lot more Samoans here than Tongans. I used to have to go every six months to the immigration place because we could bring like half a dozen every six-month. We might bring somebody if one got married or wanted to leave.

I used to go whenever their permits were due and get them stamped. I built up a very good rapport with the immigration offices. I used to say, you come to the hospital, to my department any time of the day and night, please just come and check it you feel you need to come, I guarantee all my girls will have their permits. I used to say look now we must do this, this is the rule of the land we have to do these things and you know as well as I do if you want to keep your job your have to tow the line. They would come and ask if we could take their sister and cousins. The relatives were very demanding, they would be standing waiting for them to be paying the money.

That was another problem, there was about 30 in the laundry, kitchen, servery, Sister's dining room and cleaning when I first came, but then the contract went to (...)... a contract company. They changed the contracts and the staff.

The lives the women live now they all have their own home they all have educated their children through university I don't know any of them that haven't had wonderful education opportunities because these women are still working. Now with the contract (...) company this changed the culture of the hospital where before it was a large family now it is very formal.

This reflective revelation from one of the women involved in employment and working with Pacific Island women provides a wonderful insight into the work culture, but also it shows the almost '*motherly*' attitude of this person toward

the young women *'in her care'*. This aspect of the 'caring nuns' emerged from the data and shows to some extent the other side of where the *'home'* away from *'home'* or the *'familia replacement'* concept that existed within the culture of the religious hospitals at that time. Belgrave (2000) includes a brief overview of the service workers contribution within the then Mater (now Mercy) Hospital. Apart from this work little has been found in existing literature.

## Themes and emergent revelations

### Employment – beyond the economic theories (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124)

Every endeavour has been made to extract the details of Companies, the amount of remuneration, length of service and designated names or employment personnel, in order to maintain respondent anonymity, in line with Ethics Application Clause 2.3, as discussed in chapter 04.

This chapter is divided into three parts firstly the revelations of the work place, with the question of union membership and lastly the effects of the 'dawn raids' on the respondents.

The intent of this chapter is to bring out, or reveal, some of the *daily-lived-in-experiences* of the women. It is neither an examination of labour relations within companies; an examination of relationships between company management and the women; nor does it seek to provide an in-depth expose on the political/economics of migrant labour.

However it provides (limited to this study's spatial and temporal processes) an analysis of some of the positive and negative aspects for Samoan women *lived-in-experiences* of working (as many did) within the service sector of the secondary industry. In order to reach this point in the analysis there has been considerable (often reluctant) reduction in the material gained through the interviews. What remained are the revelations of what is considered to be the most defining or the 'essence' of the work experience emerged from the data. From the thematic analysis, eight specific occupations emerged as the predominant employment (between 1950-1975) of this study's respondents. The designation of work follows in figure 14, shown on page 212.

### Occupations Past and Present Figure 14

This does not indicate the full extent of the jobs the women undertook

Respondent	Sewing	Manufacturing	Packing	Fruit Picking	Laundry Work	Service Sector	Food Prep (airline)	Nursing / Secretarial
R01	*	*	*					
R02		*						
R03						*		
R04		*		*				
R05	*					*	*	
R06						*		
R07						*		
R08						*		
R09	*	*				*		
R10					*	*		*
R11		*				*		
R12		*				*	*	
R13			*			*		
R14	*							
R15	*				*			
R16			*			*		

The following are exemplars of the respondent's significant statements of experience and attitudes to work. I have presented these so they speak for themselves, keeping my interpretation of the experiences brief, so as not to diminish the voices of the respondents.

Each respondent has been included within Figure 14 on page 212. Many of the respondents remained in jobs extending beyond 20 years service, a fact lost by the endeavour to maintain anonymity. By the placing of the following symbols where required provides the following key.

(...) company name

(Y) = year

(M) = months

(\$) = wage received

Respondents have been grouped in similar occupational designations

### Sewing

Garments, soft toys, sports equipment, safety clothing and footwear

Worked (sewing) for six months in (Y) in the island we just used our hand machine, not industrial, they taught me how to use the industrial machine. R1

My aunty got me job sewing because I was a good sewer. I worked in a small factory in (...). I get about (\$) dollars a week, its big money (\$) compared to (\$) dollars in Samoa. R5

I look in the newspaper and go and ask for a job. They asked if I could use a domestic machine, they asked me what you doing in Samoa, I told them I was a teacher over there. They asked why do you want to change jobs? I said if I could sew I could sew the kids clothes and save money. I enjoyed the work, because at night when I go home I cut the kids clothes at home, then in the morning I come in, and in my spare time I sew the clothes in the factory. When I come I bring the kids in the morning, we all come together in the morning, then I leave them outside (in a child play area provided by the company) I start at 8.00 [o'clock], the school start at 9.00 [o'clock], so the boss allow me to have the kids there before school. I pay for them to have a cup of tea in the cafe, and then they go to school. I still like teaching but when I change my job I think its different job. It was useful coming but I sacrifice myself. I think better stick there for the sake of the kids and family, not enough money to buy the clothes otherwise. My kids know I am a teacher in with the kids from the island, as we didn't have much money. It was hard being a machinist sometime I think about it, it not like the job I aim for from a little girl. Samoa and then I come here, I work in a factory as a machinist for their sake. R14

The women recognised the benefits of learning a new skill in order that this might and did eventually benefit their families, in respect that they were able to then sew the clothes for their children, reducing the costs of buying ready-made clothes. Learning to sew on industrial machines is not a particularly easy job if you have not had any previous experience.

I think sewing is the first job. I was scared thinking worry so I might do something wrong and they kick me out. I get tired because I have four kids to get ready for school in the morning before work and after work. I make soft toys. They used material velvet when you sew the ears the

ears not stay together when you sew the nose with tiny little pieces very hard time in the toy factory, I don't want to stay there. You sew the whole toy ears; nose and the lady come up and say your nose is not straight. [at this point both the respondent and myself were uncontrollably laughing as she described exaggerated attempts to straighten the very tiny bear's nose onto the middle of the bear's face]. I'm not going to make toys for my grandchildren. R15

Not only was physical effort required to continue with this work but the emotional aspects as revealed by R14. R14 was a trained teacher and she 'sacrificed' her own desires in order to provide for her children. She reflected on the fact that this is not what she had intended to do with her life. She did not expand on the issues of identity, but it appeared she was sensitive to the fact that her status as a machinist was not the status she had enjoyed in Samoa. R15 indicated a fear, or being 'scared' of losing her job, as did a number of other respondents, due to their lack of English and an understanding of New Zealand ways and employment standards. In order to continue working these women had to quickly learn to understand sufficient English to be able to take instructions. At the same time they were required to produce product and maintain a high level of efficiency. Some were supporting family in New Zealand as well as children in Samoa. Some of the women indicated they were prepared to work extra hours in order to (a) establish their loyalty within the companies, (b) earn over-time wages (c) reinforce their desire to retain their jobs. This accords with Larner's (1989) *Migration and Female Labour: Samoan Women in New Zealand*.

### Manufacturing - assembly factory work

Electrical components, soldering light engineering equipment, stationery.

I worked in (...) we soldered and assemble TV's. There wasn't many Samoans around the factories in those days. We got a flat in Newton and you just walk up the road to the factory. R11

I work at (...) I was packing, it was very very cold there. You stood all day on concrete floors. I move to (...) I went to work for three things. I left my parents and two children one was (Y) the other (M) with my family, [in Samoa], we send money home to pay and buy what they need. Work long hours in New Zealand start early in the morning sometimes you work overtime and finish late in evening you stand the whole day. In six month we bought a house over here by saving money. I walked a lot to save bus fare, I walk from Ponsonby to Parnell to (...), in the summertime I would also walk home. R1

This last respondent had shown perseverance as a young girl walking many hours to attend school, it appeared she still maintained this in her employment situation. The walk to work would have taken her approximately an hour and a half.

### Packing work

Chocolates, confectionery, footwear and greeting cards

I worked in a cigarette factory (...) I think I worked there for a few months in the factory. It's funny now, because you were allowed to smoke as much as you wanted. I was packing. The workers were all Maori and Pacific Island. You were allowed to also take the loose cigarette as well in a box, fill the box up and take it home you were not allowed to take any packets. I never smoked because my parents did. R13

When I left the (...) I went to pack egg in a factory. It was different. I look for a job, any job, as long as they pay me, I don't care. I went down to Hobson St there was an egg factory. I work there for one month and then I got pregnant, I get morning sickness all the time and the supervisor didn't like that, she didn't understand. I had to leave she made it very unpleasant. R16

#### Fruit picking Strawberries

Wanted to help my husband he was a taxi driver so went to work after kids went to school. Worked 9.00 [o'clock]to 3.00 [o'clock]in (Y) I could be home for the kids after school. I rang a place in Swanson and started the following day. I picked strawberries from 7.am to 2.pm everyday except Sunday it was very hard work picking strawberries I had to do it to help my husband because he was on a low income. R4

In all these jobs there was the factor of health from three distinct areas. Firstly the fact women were encouraged to take loose cigarettes. Secondly the problems experienced when pregnant and being forced to leave the company. Thirdly the heavy manual labour involved in strawberry picking.

#### Laundry work Contract hospital laundry

I work in a laundry in (...), we wash the hospital laundry. I see a job in a laundry in the sewing department so I ring and go for an interview and get the job. R15

Each conveyed the fact that this type of work was relatively easy to get.

### Service sector

Hospital wards, service areas, nurse aides, food preparation, cooking, kitchen hand and serving of meals.

I worked after I had the children I worked cleaning, nothing to like about the job of cleaning up after someone else mess. I would tell others if they asked me what job I did because I support my family like that, when they need money for a Fa'alavelave. R2

These respondents all shared a similar involvement with hospital employment.

I worked at the (...) for (Y) years, in the kitchens, then (...) cleaning [contract cleaning company] for (Y) years. R3.

I am scared on my first day it was like a prison [Mental institution] I worked there for (Y) years. It was dangerous at times we used keys for security while moving around the building. I liked working there it was my best job. We go because Helen Clarke and the Labour Party sell the hospital. We were made redundant. I went to work in (...) Hospital as a cleaner. I worked for a month and the boss asked me to come and relieve the cook on the weekend so I work there until (...) Hospital close down. I worked there for (Y) years. We all got a letter to make us redundant the whole kitchen staff. When I went to the meeting on Saturday the boss give me my envelope and it was red, so I stay. [a contract services company took over the hospital services contract]. R5

In the holidays [school holidays] I went to (...) hospital and fixed the flowers or changed the water in the vases in the wards [arranged through a contact who sponsored Pacific Island young people to work in New Zealand]. She collected all the pay and give everybody (\$) dollars to live on she set herself up in business. She wasn't even matai just an ordinary woman. She arranged for me to have a job in the kitchen (...) hospital making the salads and sweeping the floors. I went to work at

(...) in (Y). I started off as kitchen assistant for (M-M) months and got promoted to third cook after (M) months. They then promoted me to 2<sup>nd</sup> cook because everyone else had left. I had no experience, but when I was first there I would watch the cook putting something else in different in the recipe and I used to go and test it and thought gosh that is nice. Islanders do things differently from Europeans. The nuns asked me if I would like to do nurse aiding. I never done that before, I said all right they gave me some form and two weeks later moved into the (...) I was nearly (Y) years they gave me (M) months trial period, we wore blue uniforms. The nuns were like family to use they were like mothers and they advise us where we live in the nurse's home, they look after us. The nurses were hard workingwomen I admired them and respected them they sacrifice themselves for the church. It felt like home to me and the Sisters were more like family and the girls I associated with. Management has now replaced this more systems, it has been taken out of the hands of the Sisters. I was offered a job on the switchboard. So I took off the uniform and wore my own clothes. I was made redundant from this job. I work there for (Y) years all together. R6

This respondent's progression from arranging flowers in school holidays, through a series of jobs in the kitchens and service area of the hospital, to that of administration staff I propose indicates three things. Firstly an ability to be adaptable and possessing qualities that were not readily recognised when she commenced at hospital. Secondly that over the years performing the duties in the service sector gave her an advantage of learning new skills and therefore assisted her in confidently taking on the different functions in the administration area of the hospital. Thirdly that the stereotypical characteristics that were assigned to many migrant workers in the 1950's/70's

possibly acted as a barrier to this young women reaching her potential earlier in life.

My aunty said I have arranged for you to stay behind [her aunt returned to Samoa after a short holiday here] she said you are going to live at (...) I didn't know what the (...) was either so I asked. She said it is a hospital that run by Sisters, and I say the Sisters and she told me she would take me to the hospital. The hospital was shorted staffed so I had to go in, in January. So I went and Samoan way, obey your parents I don't know how I did it. I worked in the laundry. There were so many Samoan girls. I was (Y). R8

R8 took holy orders and entered the convent at 18 years of age.

The following respondents R9, R13, R16, and R12 all reveal their strong work ethic.

When I left school I just going to be a trained nurse in the hospital. I did not finish. My mother and father can't afford to help me they want me to stay home and my parents then want me to come of New Zealand. I live with my aunty first in (...) I live there for two weeks and then I told my aunty I want to go live in at (...) hospital. I told my aunty I want the phone number of the hospital and then I ring because I want to be a nurse, but no vacancy just only a wards maid and a kitchen hand job. I got the job as kitchen maid. I say that's all right, I forget nursing, I just wanted a job. I like kitchen maid. I came to live in they had a lovely house in (...) in the park. I live there just two girls in a double room. At that time a lot of girls leave jobs in Samoa to try to come over here because at that time its nice here, everyone is talking about New Zealand and saying it is good. We wake up at 6.00 [o'clock] and we go and start about 8.00 [o'clock]

the lady give me a uniform. I was very happy in my heart. I think about my first pay I want to send some money home for my parents because I know my parents feel sorry for me when I leave them especially my two kids in Samoa. When I left (...) I went to work at (...) [sewing/packing positions] I went to work at (...) [another packing and assembly stationary factory]. I work there for (Y) years. This was my last job, I leave and stay home because I am sick. R9

When people asked me how long have you been in the hospital I say (Y) years that's a long time they say, well we don't come looking for careers we came to look for a job to help our families and I think that's the attitude we all have we all of us working there. One has been there for (Y) years. You get comfortable and loyal to the people. R13

I was working at (...) when I arrived as a wards maid. When I see the food like the waste you know the waste like whatever is left over it goes in the rubbish. I think my parents are hungry and this is what they throw away and there nothing you can do about it, when you come from a poor place. You look at the way these people waste food and some people go hungry. It is sad. As a wards maid you had to have everything spotless and clean, like we dust and cleaned the floor and make the beds. It was a hard job. My sister in law was one of the supervisors I think she was a very good worker so it made it easy for her to employ someone else. There were a lot of Samoan women doing this sort of work 7.00 [o'clock] it was freezing. I also worked at (...) for (Y) years as a kitchen hand, then I went to (...) I applied it was in the paper. I ring and they want me to come for an interview I just go and get the job straight away, I was surprised it was my experience. I was there for (M) months and the boss pick me to go to (...) cooking then. I think it was the only thing we could get. We get up at 6.00 [o'clock] and start at school. I was in charge of a shift at the (...) I worked hard because I got a family. I was there for (Y) years. R16

In this job I got to travel to Australia and around New Zealand. I got this job and my independence it was so beautiful to me I enjoy the travel I never get bored. I was so excited. My boss told us how to present ourselves. I was loyal to the company, and saved the boss a lot of money he make a good profit. I work and he benefit. He gave us free accommodation. I was devoted to the job for all of this. When I was young I dream about a good life, something in my mind I want a better life because I always remember my father saying to me *'don't forget you don't want to burn yourself you know in the way Samoans do everything, you don't want to go to the bush and you don't want to marry someone around here, you don't want to be a slave'*. R12

This next respondent was employed in a telecommunications company.

I just only cleaner, because I only that time suit me. When I come I see women cleaning I ask about the job, they say go and learn something to do. I say I can't learn. I have to look after the kids. I work two jobs. I clean the (...) then when finished I work at (...) till 11.30 [o'clock]. My friend give me a lift home if no bus. I do night work until my son (Y) years old and he go to school. My daughter take him to school so I go full time work then. I work two jobs for (Y) years. I started at 6.30 in the morning and work till 3.00. My husband he get the kids off to school as he started at 7.00. I worked three nights a week from 5.30 to 7.30. I work for (Y) years on shifts from 6.30 to 3.00 or 12 midday to 8.00 [o'clock]. I was made redundant after (Y) years. R7

The comment that this respondent was told to *'go and learn something'* was interesting. The fact she chose to remain in cleaning to enable her to structure her job around her children and family routines was not that easy to organise, revealed with her comment that she and her husband would literally exchange

the children at the bus stop enable the respondent to continue on to her night job.

What was significant that emerged throughout all the later respondent's comments regarding work was their loyalty and commitment in the length of time they were employed within some of the jobs. This commitment to employers was also expressed as a way of achieving their own advancement revealed in the following: (a) they considered the hospital to be '*home*' or to provide the environment that replaced or functioned as a '*home*'. The role of the Catholic Sisters was perceived as guardians or in a number of cases '*like our mothers*'. This has been reflected in the attitude shown by the secondary source participant in chapter six (b) that family members had arranged work or that they were introduced to it through contacts. A number already knew on their arrival in New Zealand that there was work for them at the hospitals if they applied. In fact in two particular hospitals it was to their advantage to be a Pacific Island female as this assisted in them actually being successful in gaining a position, the fact that as young single women they could find jobs with accommodation and support in a foreign city acted as the catalyst for actively seeking this work. A number indicated that because board, food and clothes were provided this gave them the ability to save money and to send money to Samoa. They looked upon this as a distinct benefit at the time. This reflects what might be considered a family replacement desire, a need for security within a familiar context, particularly with the nuns who were in many case instrumental in providing the jobs as indicated by the gatekeeper who provided an insight into the application and securing of jobs for these young

women. I have so far found no reference to this connection in the literature on migration or in the economic theories of migration in relation to Pacific Island young women or that era.

### Secretarial/Nursing

In (Y) I left school and started a job as a shorthand typist. I was (Y) years in an insurance company. I saw a notice for the (...) Hospital wanting nurses for training. I remember I really wanted to change my direction in life and I wanted to become a nurse it was something I had always wanted to do. I qualified as a nurse (Y).

[she met her husband and moved to the UK in early (Y)]

I had been homesick for my own family. My father had died in (Y) and my mother was still in Samoa. I was working as a cleaning lady at night and during the day cleaning other people's homes to earn money to come back to New Zealand. I would push the pram with my youngest baby the third child was a toddler and we would go from say two to three houses in the neighborhood and I would do their chores, washing dishes, vacuuming, cleaning walls whatever was required. I cleaned at night for a contract company also and all the money I earned I saved toward coming home. I then went to work at (...) [UK] as nurse on the twilight shift [in the factory] I was pregnant with my fifth child I worked until two weeks before the baby was born and stayed home for three months and then started looking for another job. I worked in a mental hospital (...) I was able to work shifts three nights on and three off. R10

[R10 returned to New Zealand and went to work at (...) in the (...) ward three nights a week for (M) months she was there for (Y) years until she retired in (Y)].

In order to draw together some of the major issues the women have revealed it is appropriate that I return to the exemplars and expand upon some of the actual phrases and words the respondents used. In this way it is hoped to establish some of the defining qualities of the women, in relation to their lived-in-experiences of employment, as one factor within the phenomenon/migration. Monetary skills were a positive factor amongst this group of women. They worked with the intention of supporting family in New Zealand and Samoa, an obligation that was expected of them while many were still teenagers. One of the most interesting defining aspects that emerged from the data was the *choice* of working in the hospitals, (from the sixteen women nearly three quarters at one time or another worked within a hospital environment). This gave them the ability to save more money and at the same time gave them the security that it appeared they desired, remembering that these women were quite young girls who had not prior to arriving in New Zealand (except for one at boarding school) left home, or lived away from the village environment. This significant finding of the respondents connections with the hospital and church has not been addressed elsewhere. The hospital appeared to act as a family or *aiga* replacement structure or support network that has some similarities to the reciprocal situation that is evident in other traditional obligatory systems. Maintaining these close affiliations with the church, particularly their relationship with Catholic nursing Sisters, it appeared

made some seek out these jobs, preferring the familiarity it provided whilst away from Samoa.

The incentive to learn new skills to enhance their work position was also a dominant motivating factor. All the respondents undertook new learning skills in order to advance their ability to earn better money. In some cases personal aspirations and desires appeared to take second place to that of providing both the contributions and obligations to family in Samoa, and the intention to aspire to provide for their children opportunities they had sacrificed. The word that springs to mind is pioneers. I suggest each of these women was indeed that. This emphasises the importance of gathering these self-defined *lived-in-experiences* of the women.

Figure 14 on page 212, confirms that many of the early migrants filled jobs within the service sector of the secondary industry. What is significant here is that there is extensive statistical data published each year by the New Zealand Department of Statistics and Labour, readily available. These are essential to examine in order to gain any statistical analysis of the types of work migrant women undertook. What is critical in addition to this statistical analysis is the provision of the actual *lived-in-experiences* that coincide these figures. Therefore the exemplars that emerged through out the analysis of the interview data provides a window into the work place experiences of the women by the women and a brief glimpse of the *daily-lived-in-experiences*. The comment made by R13

‘When people asked me how long you been in the hospital I say (Y) years that’s a long time they say, well we don’t come looking for careers we came to look for a job to help our families’

provided insight into how the women perceived the advantages for their families of gaining employment in New Zealand.

### Unions – the complexity of membership (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124)

This was possibly the most unproductive of the themes, and the question had to be asked, was it because of the women's non-activity in unions, or was it an ideological problem they had toward joining these work based organisations? There is little existing material that relates specifically to Samoan women and their role within unions at the time of migration in the late 1950's early 1960's, therefore it was not possible to gain an in-depth understanding of a perceived difference in membership between non-Pacific Island women and Pacific Island women, and then specifically Samoan women at the time of the early migration days.

When engaged at work sites with women night cleaners, (1999), a union representative told me that Pacific Island women '*have to be encouraged to join unions*' and '*that the church does not like them to join as they have to pay money that could go to the church instead*'. All respondents were asked, if they knew (in the wider context) if the church agreed with Pacific Island peoples being involved with or joining a union. responded they were unaware of any particular stance the church might recognise. Lerner (1991) raised this issue of Samoan women's union participation and concluded in her study they appeared to show passive resistance to such work based groups. Whilst there is some text on the participation of women within unions Davidson and Bray's (1994) study *Women and Part Time Work in New Zealand* only briefly

mentioned the current situation, there was no mention or differentiation from whom the two short narratives were gained. The *Research and Planning Department of Labour, New Zealand's (1979) study, the work experience of Pacific Island migrant in the Greater Wellington area*, provides an insightful examination of union membership, the perceptions of the value of trade unions, (p74) the information, attendance, acceptance of Pacific Island workers (p77). However apart from there being any evidence of Samoan involvement, there was the comment that 'the level of participation by females...is markedly lower than that of males'. Again there appeared to be no focus on a specific ethnic group. The conclusions of this study stated that at that time 'the majority of those interviewed saw a need for Pacific Island workers to hold positions within the union movement but a smaller number were willing to hold such positions'. This again confirmed what this respondent stated and what the findings of this part of the themed analysis provided showing the complex confusion that appeared to exist for the respondents. This may not indicate that all Samoan women expressed these sentiments, but taken as across the board reflections upon union involvement and activity, there appears to be a reluctance to be involved with organised unions, as they appeared to not fully recognise the benefits of union membership.

From the thematic analysis R's 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 16, 12 and 13 revealed they joined the unions; eight either had not joined the union or chose not to speak about it within the interviews.

## Support expressed for the unions

I am a Catholic. I joined a union to speak for me. I am still a member. I don't know what they, the Catholic Church view about union. I always know the church's view about working people, they stand for the poor. R2

I supported the union at other jobs, but there is no union at the job I am at now. R3

Yes I joined union every job I got in. The union will help us, because if anything happen from the employer you ring the union. I join the union all my jobs I had to join. I deduct my money for the union, because I believe in the union. They help. R4

I know the standard of the union for the working people because the day I started working the foreman explained to all the workers about the union. They helped us by trying to get a pay increase for all of us, which equaled the hours we worked. The union also tried to have loans available. The union also wanted to help us all get overtime, not only that bit, they also helped sick people to get sick pay allowance. The church people say, good enough to be a representative of the union, because they help to increase the salaries because of family commitments, and the life we have within the church. R9

I joined, we all had to join the union we Islanders. I think it was just for our argument, I think that our nature in the islands, you know, when we want something we argue, we can't argue or ask for a raise or something, so I think it was the union was a voice for us. R11

[This respondent was leaving a job after 17 years and asked the union rep about long service pay]

I was in a union right through every job I had. They take it off automatically. I paid the union from the time I start working. The union come back to me, they go to the boss and they come back and say sorry, they side with the boss, and not the workers. That's why I hate the unions now, because they not help. They brings the rule book, no redundancy, no nothing. They said I was getting nothing. I asked what about my long service, nothing, only holiday money and a week pay. So from my heart I not joining any more unions. I had trusted them they not help, why I pay for their wages and they not help you. R16

#### Not initially familiar with functions of unions

I had no idea what is called unions, no idea, I went to the catering rally there is where I discover how strong the union is in NZ. A lot of Samoan women don't join because they don't understand they frightened. R12

Not heard of unions on arrival. Nobody told me, all they do is just come out every week and take a few shilling or a few dollars from your wages. They would never explain to use what it was all about. I never understand until very late, I think it was my husband was the one who explained it to me. I can't remember signing anything, I remember they used to come every eight days and ask you for union money. R13

Each of the women provided an insight into their understanding or misunderstanding of union activities and obligations to them as workers. What is evident is that many of the women were not correctly informed about the union procedures when they started work in New Zealand. It cannot be assumed they were not spoken to in Samoan or by Samoan interpreters, (I did not pursue this), which in hindsight would have provided further understanding

to the level of instruction and information that was made available to these early migrant workers. It was interesting how one respondent mentioned *that Samoan women were frightened to join unions*. The question arose therefore, to what extent could this relate to all women in the workforce between 1950-1970? This could provide an interesting basis for a comparative study. As the interviews revealed, some of the women were unsure about their rights in regard to *union* membership and this raises the issue that new migrants should be instructed in New Zealand specific work place affiliated groups such as unions. The interest the Service Workers Union showed in assisting Pacific Island workers to become members (2001) and to take positions of authority within the unions was admirable, however the interviews revealed few women on arrival understood the role of unions. A number mentioned how unions had subtracted money from their pay packets, but the women *did not understand what benefits they got from being members* of a compulsory union.

There are a number of publications on union membership and involvement that spans the era within which the women worked. The New Zealand Department of Labour (1978) provided a statistical analysis of the private sector unions between 1951-1976. However there is no mention of women specifically in this work and certainly no mention of the Pacific Island women's role within the trade union of industry. Street (1994) provided some invaluable historical background to the situations of trade and service unions specific to women, whilst covering the period 1889-1906, gives an insight into the type of labour conditions the women inherited in the late 1950's early 1960's and where much of the progress to providing better working conditions for women

has arisen. However there is no focus upon the role of minority ethnic groups such as Samoan women. Therefore these revelations provide an account of the very early involvement of women within the service, industry, manufacturing and social services unions.

### Dawn raids – the hidden effects (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124)

All the respondents arrived before 1974 and therefore were subsequently affected by the controversy and stress (if not personally) these 'raids' inflicted upon the wider Pacific Island communities.

This material revealed the respondents' attitudes to the infamous '*dawn raids*'. There is currently a paucity of the literature addressing this issue from women's perspectives. The reticence shown in discussing this sensitive period in New Zealand/Samoan relations was revealed throughout the interviews as shown in Figure 13, on page 133. The limited amount of verbatim material became evident at the indexing and coding stage, and confirmed after an extensive literature search, that little is available from the viewpoint of women in this critical period of New Zealand's immigration. Some respondents simply refused to engage in any conversation, even to reply either by ignoring the question. R's 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, and 16 acknowledged the question, but avoided any further discussion, one example of this being R7 who told me '*I want to talk about the church*'.

The silence and visible protective body language (as far as could be perceived in a cross-cultural situation) expressed vividly the dilemma the women

experienced in talking with me about this controversial time in New Zealand's immigration history. The (by association) emotional disruption to Samoan women was increased within the period of the 'dawn raids', often fuelled by misinformation that arose from various sources, including the media. Spoonley (1990) examined the media's engendering of misunderstanding within this period by reporting incidents with Pacific Island 'overstayers' whilst not reporting other groups within New Zealand who were of non-Pacific descent

After an extensive literature search for women's narrative regarding the affects on Samoan or Pacific Island women I was only able to find some incorporated within non-gendered material. de Bres (1976) speech to the Otago University Students Association in his address *The National Party's Immigration Policy and the Need for an Amnesty* was intended to provoke an in-depth debate on the need to challenge and change the immigration laws, and urgently address the situation that exacerbated the complex and sensitive issue of the 'overstayers'. He pointed out this targeted group were not only Pacific Island peoples. There is little reflective material, of the women as mothers, grandmothers, aunts and sisters (within families) that were affected, or who knew male members, brothers; fathers; sons; cousins and female members as above, that were being threatened by deportation back to Samoa. Therefore no comparative analysis could be gained on previous explorations into the effects specifically on women, within this era and political governance in relation to migration. This is why I included this theme within the interview questions. There has been a failure to record Pacific Island women's

perspectives in relation to this aspect in New Zealand immigration within historical material.<sup>1</sup>

The following narrative provides quite disparate opinions on the 'overstayer' situation from the women's point of view.

I am the kind of person who always tries to do the right thing. I don't want a hassle. When I come to NZ, I fill all applications, answered question, follow procedure so that I can stay in NZ. I feel about these Dawn Raids, is not a very proper way to deal with the matter. They deserve what come to them. If I can obey the law so can they and no harm will come to you. R2

There is a strong moral expression in this statement about safety in doing things correctly. This interview was self-taped and rather limited. The daughter of this respondent (who had acted as a gatekeeper) had previously said her mother takes a fairly pragmatic approach to life and expected things to be 'done by the book'. This appeared to be reflected in the foregoing statement

Yes I remember but I don't know anyone. R5

Not in my family but I know some other people but you know we worry. But I not worry cause I'm free. But still other people, you know, worry about those things. R7

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<sup>1</sup> Currently there is a publication in process that addresses the issue of Dawn Raids, however access to this has not been possible at the time of this study.

I very fortunate I not know anyone well. But when you hear about these raids you know raids in the early morning it makes your heart go, you know. You feel terrified and sad and you know all terrible feelings, it's not the way to be treated one time when someone...who was already a permanent resident and they thought it was one of the overstayers. R11

To me I can understand because it's not a nice feeling. It ah, it's like murder sort of thing. It's like that how when they attack people, but it didn't happen to me or my family. It didn't happen to us...[respondent's focus abruptly changed clearly indicating she was not prepared to discuss that theme any further]...we can talk about the church because it very important to us. R12

This group appeared to be affected but denied they were closely involved with anyone specifically.

I remember the Dawn Raids, when we heard this hard bangs and knocking on our door and they called out my brother-in-law's name. We saw through the window, police with dogs surround our house. We were scared we never opened the door to them. The following week my brother in law left for Samoa. R4

This is where they have all the trouble with the overstayers because they not really looking after themselves they looking after the people at home.

R13

This comment revealed the dilemma some of the migrant workers were placed in, committed to providing for family in Samoa but having to break immigration laws to continue to do this. de Bres (1976) is most explicit in his condemnation of a system that actively encouraged and promoted jobs in Samoa and the New

Zealand life style by a labour market that was really looking for 'factory fodder' (p4) and then held them responsible for the 'recessions and unemployment' (p4) and attempted to send them back until the boom times returned when another group would be targeted to fill the jobs in industries where non-Pacific Island workers were simply not applying for the work. There is limited material from the communities involved. However what is pertinent are the inclusions within de Bres (1976) material of four Tongan men and their experiences. There is a brief insight into how two Tongan women felt about the raids and the fact they were 'overstayers'. However the brevity of this material does not expand upon the experiences of Samoan women as this study. It is hoped that there will be a study undertaken that will be able to capture what it was like to live-in-those-dawn-raid-experiences as a Samoan woman.

Of critical significance is *Amnesty Aroha*, the submission to the Government in 1976 as the result of a public meeting drawing groups such a Council for Civil Liberties, the Pacific Island Advisory Council and individuals who were concerned about the 'infringement of civil liberties' (p3) in relation to the 'dawn raids' on 'overstayers' migrants workers from the Pacific including Samoan workers. The important question put to the government was the need for a condition of amnesty for these groups or individuals. This urgent and poignant plea to government provided some insight into the emotional stress that was being experienced by many Pacific Island people. The respondents highlighted the *lived-in-experiences* and personal costs for them whether they were directly or more indirectly involved with 'overstayers' and 'dawn raids, and their revelations bring to life the textual interpretations within that submission and provided a limited approach but the basis for a more extended study that

should be undertaken from within the Samoan community and in collaboration with Samoan researchers.

## Themes and emergent revelations

### Remaining in New Zealand – reflections on the journey (refer Figure 10, shown on pages 122-124)

This chapter draws together the reflective elements and thoughts of the women's *lived-in-experiences* of migration by asking firstly, what did the women think about the choices they had made earlier in their lives? Secondly what were the repercussions both the benefits and the problems? Thirdly how had it shaped their lives and how did they see those earlier choices as defining their identity some as long as fifty years later?

From the thematic analysis two self-described sub-themes emerged. R's 2, 3, 4, 9, and 10 had previously revealed in chapter 6 three distinct sub-themes, *choice*, *limited choice* and *no choice* to migrate to New Zealand. It is interesting to note those who stated they considered they had *no choice* in coming to New Zealand, adamantly stated they would return to Samoa.

Where as the women who to varying degrees, had been able to make the decision for themselves as to whether they would migrate, appeared to consider New Zealand home.

From existing material there appeared to be no study that has taken the approach of providing a reflective account of the process of migration for Samoan women. In this I mean, this study commenced with the *lived-in-experiences* of the women as young girls, moved through each process of the migration phenomenon and their lived-in-situations taking a holistic approach, by not presenting one aspect of their lives (for example employment, or kinship reciprocity) but the progressive journey from its commencement in Samoa to current historical reflection. This final theme encapsulates what the women felt or about their earlier decision to come to New Zealand, and their appreciation of the outcome of this decision.

Feel happy to be living here in New Zealand, here with my parents. But I will always want to go to Samoa. I think that each time I go to Samoa, it will only be for a holiday and then I will return to live in New Zealand. My family are all here. R3

This respondent recognised the fact that she would prefer to live in Samoa, but because her family is in New Zealand she remains. When the respondents made comments such as this there appeared to be a constant dilemma as to where they would rather be living, the constant pull of Samoa drives them back for holidays each year.

At the moment we are thinking of going back to live, but we have to wait for my grandchildren to grow older. The only reason why we came to New Zealand was for the children to get a better education and better life. R4

This respondent has been prepared to remain in New Zealand until the second generation family members (grandchildren) get an education, this amounted to some thirty years they have lived in New Zealand for the benefit of family, this accords with many of the comments made in other studies.

The ways of the New Zealand people when I arrive, they were not happy with me. I thought as I was a new person they would look at me, as they weren't used to me. I don't like people I am not used to either. But after I had been here a while things came together and I felt happy. I miss Samoa. I miss my nice island. My parents buried there that's why my heart is I never forget Samoa I think about it all the time. R9

R9 is nearly 70 years of age and in poor health and therefore cannot travel to Samoa. She became very upset (off-tape) about the fact she will never see Samoa again. After forty years in New Zealand she still felt homesickness, and this appeared to be exacerbated by the fact her ill health did not allow her to travel.

After retirement from work my husband used to come to Samoa for three months of the year so I could look after my elderly mother as she was so old and getting sickly. We spent three months in Samoa and nine months in New Zealand. My mother give me a piece of land so we decide to build a small retirement home in Samoa and in 1997 we

finished our little house and now we live in Samoa nine months and New Zealand three months. R10

I day dream about Samoa and one day I will go back there but my kids here and so I stay in New Zealand. R14

I wanted my mother when I had my first born, but we cannot afford to pay for her fare. So I have to cope on my own, and my husband of course, he is a good husband, you couldn't ask for more. We raise the children through thick and thin. We didn't have much money, but teamwork. Do the right thing and always in control. Make your own decision, you won't go wrong. I love New Zealand I thank God for my parents, they think the best for me, now I do the same for my children. What New Zealand provided for me and my family is jobs, loving environment. New Zealand is my second home. I feel I belong. We own our own home, the children can come and go just like Samoa, you always come back home. In those days [when she came in 1967] Samoa was a far away land from New Zealand. Now I don't have to go to Samoa to learn culture it is well and alive in New Zealand, not like when I came not many Samoans here. R2

From the group who had some choice, R 1 and 16, each indicated they were staying in New Zealand as they now considered it home.

I'm still active and healthy and only my life going play golf with my husband going to Samoa or Australia. My husband went three times to USA, but I don't want to go there, I rather go to Samoa and visit my family, aiga, my village fega and then back to my lovely country I love New Zealand very much. R1

I don't think I will go back. All my life I live in New Zealand was only 21 years when I came. I am sixty-two now. My kids here this is their home. Really feel Samoa is still my homeland. I born there I never forget I still go there for holidays. If one of the children decided to go there maybe I go too. But it's not good if I am in Samoa and children here. R16

R12 who had freedom of choice at the start left me in no doubt she was happy to stay and it had been a good decision to come to New Zealand.

I don't want to go back to Samoa. My husband want to go home and I said no, we break up. He go back to get land and build a house and a business. But I said there is not future there. I grow up there, but he never listen, he want to go back to Samoa. If you grow up in this village you can leave there, or grow old, no excitement, no nothing, you know everyone. If you get out of the village you get a life, there are lot of things to do elsewhere a lot of experiences. In New Zealand you go a change for all this stuff. Back home you stuck in village and you die there without going anywhere. That's why when we grow up you want to get out of the village. It was a change for my future coming to New Zealand to give me a better life other wise be still there and probably be a big fat mama. I am very happy how it turn out. R12

I'm sixty now NZ is my home feels like home. We stay in NZ. R5

The drawing together of the interview data with the question of whether the women will remain in New Zealand brought to light the fact that those women who previously stated they had *no choice* in coming to New Zealand revealed they would like to go back '*home*' if possible, and some were actively planning to return to Samoa in the near future. This aspect has not been revealed

within other work within the period the women arrived, for example Trlin (1974) in *Immigrants in Auckland*, Whitehead (1974) *Tongans in Auckland*, Macpherson, Shore & Franco (1978), Loomis (1990), Pitt & Macpherson (1974) addressed the issue of how they Pacific peoples (not specifically women) felt when they arrived, but these studies did not present a journey approach, specific to women, and ask the question for reflection upon their earlier decisions. This could be qualified however, by the fact these studies were undertaken within the early period of migration. Now that a period of forty to fifty years has elapsed these reflective historical revelations are more pertinent. The revelations of the women bring together some conclusions to the early and seminal work of Pitt & Macpherson (1994). Anae (1998:353) in her work posed the question of 'the construction of identity', each of the women in this study identified with Samoa, yet had transferred their perception of their own identity to one of being New Zealanders and that New Zealand was home.

The reflective process allowed for the uniqueness of a journey perspective to reveal the spatial, temporal and environmental identity changes that took place within the women's lives and the subtle changes that occurred with the question of identity for the women over time.

The wonderful final comment is given by Emele-Moa Teo Fairbairn quoted by Fairbairn-Dunlop (2002:148) encapsulates the ideology held by many of the wonderful women who contributed to this study

'I never really thought about my life until [a reporter] started asking me questions. I just worked...and usually there was some church activity in the night...each of my children has had a good education, they serve the church, and they know who they are. That is what matters'



## Summing Up

This representation of the journey of the Samoan women at the forefront of the phenomenon/migration from Samoa to New Zealand revealed how they defined their journeys through extensive narrative of their *lived-in-experiences*. Phenomenological analysis strategies allowed for the reflective capturing of the essence of *lived-in-experiences* or submerged 'knowledges' (Oakley 1981) or the 'voices of women' (Olesen 1994) of Samoan women to emerge to highlight their social and economic contributions of Samoan women within the 1950-1960 period of New Zealand's migration history.

One of the significant findings of this study, was that few studies had centred on the hidden or submerged influences that were taking place whilst the women were still at school, and how these played an important or pivotal role in the formulation of van Manen's (1990:177) 'intentionality,' toward succeeding.

This revealed how an intention toward the phenomenon/migration germinated within their consciousness as the essential elements *desire, ability/independence* and to *emulate role models* that acted to formulate a self-image that would later influence their decision and success as migrants. Also integral to these three elements emerged the varying power differentials displayed, those that had *personal choice to migrate*, those for whom the *choice was either influenced by family*, and those for whom there appeared to be *no choice*. Connell's (1976) 'propensity' and Pitt & Macpherson's (1974) 'motive' have some linkage with the ideology revealed by the women, but is different in that it highlighted outside influences rather than the sub-conscious aspect of personal decision making. The respondents who were able to make a *personal choice* to migrate spoke less about the negative influences of homesickness and culture shock. It is not assumed they did not experience each of these, however it was significant that they appeared to assign considerably less emphasis upon these experiences. Evidence of a linkage between self-determination and the ability to adjust within this phenomenon/migration accords with Benmayor & Skotnes (1994) and Momsen (1999), yet few studies have focused upon this specifically in relation to women and migration, in relation to Samoan women in the New Zealand context.

Bonisch-Brednich (2002:170) provided an interesting assessment, stating some migrant women considered their paths were 'preordained'. This spiritual inference was also alluded to with the respondents in the category of *freedom of choice*. For the Samoan women for whom the *choice was greatly influenced*

by *aiga* revealed their reliance on support networks, referring to them as providing the compensatory factors for the loss of children, parents, culture and loved ones. These respondents did not deny the existence of any negative feelings, but appeared to balance them with incorporating family extensively within the narratives. Comparing these two groups showed the group for whom *personal choice* was a factor, appeared to talk more about their self-defined achievements and less about the need for supportive groups around them.

From the data of the third group who stated they had *no choice*, few positive narratives emerged from within in the interview material, and an apparent avoidance of speaking about any problems they encountered, and then the subsequent categorical claim they would (if they could) return to a Samoa reflected a long held homesickness and longing for home, and that they still identified with their place of birth. The notion of *shrugging your shoulders and carrying on* emerged constantly within the themes *Expectations and Impressions* was commented upon by Fairbairn-Dunlop (1996) with the women's ability in the face of difficulties to keep going. Little recognition of this aspect of dealing with the *lived-in-experiences* of migration has been afforded these women, who were at the forefront of the migration process. Many simply did not have the opportunity to change their situation and therefore conceded to *do their duty* with an almost fatalistic and ambivalent attitude. This should not be considered a negative; in fact the way in which the respondents expressed this ability within the interviews displayed a show of absolute determination and strength to overcome any obstacles they encountered. It is important to emphasise this aspect, as it is one that has

been constantly ignored and therefore is a failure within the literature to take into account how young these women were (the average age being 19 years) and to give recognition and acknowledgement to the enormous responsibilities some of the respondents assumed.

What was critical within the findings of the theme that incorporated traditional kinship reciprocity and church affiliations was the very early evidence of *women* re-defining traditional obligations highlighted through the revelations of the respondents as being *burdensome*. Considerable material has emerged regarding kinship networks (Loomis 1990), Connell (1980,1993), and Kallen's (1982) 'kinship bridges') yet few focused on the role of women within the early migrant community and the women's re-conceptualising of monetary and remittance obligations and how women questioned the status quo and found it not conducive to how they wanted to live their lives in New Zealand and then began to identify with changing social and economic ideologies. Another important finding was the close association some of the respondents had with the church in relation to how this affected the way they sought work in New Zealand. A number of the respondents revealed how they wanted to *emulate* role models, the teaching nuns at their schools. A number of the women later chose to work in the hospitals and to live-in at the hostels. This was not always because (as often assumed), they could not gain other work. What emerged was the fact these young women sought the familiar surroundings of the Catholic institutions, in this case the hospitals, as on arrival in New Zealand this made them feel more *secure, at home, looked after, and like ours mothers* (the nuns). This may not seem significant, however if taken in relation to the

church affiliations and also the fact that many of the women moved from the more traditional Samoan churches on arrival to *avoid* donating money they could ill afford to support the growing church organisations in New Zealand, and join Catholic churches, clearly showed the strong links between religious ideologies and identification with the church both in spiritual and secular aspects of the women's lives.

The findings that emerged in regard to 'overstayers' and 'dawn raids', elicited limited response within the interviews. What did emerge was evidence of attitudes held by women in this period in New Zealand immigration history. The fact there is little material that examines how Pacific Island women experienced being associated with or involved with individuals of groups for which deportation was a certainty if they got 'caught', raised the question: why has there been no recording of the *lived-in-experiences* of Samoan women of that stressful period in New Zealand's history? What is required is further work to be undertaken in order to record this moment in history as defined by Samoan and by Samoan researchers in order to gain more than the limited response within this study.

As the study progressed I was often engaged in discussion with the daughters and granddaughters of this study's respondents, (acting as gatekeepers/openers). Their comments were *'that this type of study had not been done before to their knowledge and they considered it was an excellent start'*. I strongly advocate and encourage further work in this direction, with the proviso that any future research might be undertaken by Samoan women,

in the Samoan language and women who have extensive understanding of Samoan culture, in order to be able to place the lives of the respondents in context to their culture. The restrictions and limitations placed on this study to a great extent, (though consideration was given to the problems encountered within cross-cultural studies) was manifested by the continual frustration I experienced, due to the fact that at times I was not able to capture some of the subtle underlying cultural nuances. This study might also be extended to an in-depth comparative analysis and examination of how the daughters and granddaughters of the migrant women perceive their lives in relation to the lived-in-situations of their mothers and grandmothers. To address this and other cultural issues in more depth required a deeper understanding of Samoan mother/daughter relationships, than I was able to bring to the study. I suggest they be conducted either by a Samoan language speaking palagi researcher, or a Samoan, female researcher or in collaboration with English/Samoan speakers. I have raised this issue but in no way do I consider this has diminished my work, in fact being so very aware of the limitations has allowed me to be that extra sensitive to the nature of cross-cultural research. Subsequent to completion of this thesis, a web site was found, *Daughters of the Pacific*, a forum established in April 2000, which meets regularly and provides a medium for Pacific women to contribute stories and to become involved with cultural and social activities<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.pacificdaughters.org.nz> accessed on 02 February 2003 at 10.05 am.

It is important now to examine the issues revealed by the respondents, and explore their relevancy in current debates of immigration. These points provide ample grounds for future comparative studies, with specific focus on women in the phenomenon/migration, with the additional examination as to what progress has been made to address issues relevant to women (possibly a gender specific study) in the intervening years between the initial migration of the Samoan women respondents to the present. This is being addressed to some extent by the 1999 New Zealand Immigration Service in conjunction with the Department of Statistics where it initiated the *Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand Te Ara O Nga Manene (the Pathway of the Migrants)*<sup>2</sup>. The aim of this survey is to gain the experiences of new migrants by way of interviews that will provide information that will be collated and used to improve the selection of immigrants and to improve the settlement policies. The first of the interview procedures were to have commenced in July 2003, however as at May 2003 notification was given that this study had been postponed until mid 2004. The similarity of this survey to this study is of interest, as the questionnaires raise for further debate some of the issues the women respondents proposed (within the interviews conducted for this study)

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<sup>2</sup> Refer *Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand Te Ara O Nga Manene (the Pathway of the Migrants)*. Accessed on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2002 at 2.00pm from:

[www.immigration.govt.nz/research\\_and\\_information/lisnz.html](http://www.immigration.govt.nz/research_and_information/lisnz.html)

Refer *Migrant Settlement A review of the literature and its relevance to New Zealand*, also accessed on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2002 at 2.10pm from:

[www.immigration.govt.nz/research\\_and\\_infomation/reports/pdf/migrant\\_settlement\\_literature\\_review\\_Sept\\_1999.pdf](http://www.immigration.govt.nz/research_and_infomation/reports/pdf/migrant_settlement_literature_review_Sept_1999.pdf)

Refer *Local Government New Zealand*, accessed on 31<sup>st</sup> December 2002 at 2.13pm from:

<http://www.localgovtnz.co.nz/news/pr1008735803.html>

Neither of these reports is discussed in-depth within the thesis as each was accessed after the final copy of the thesis had been completed. However each addresses the issues raised in this thesis with the New Zealand Immigration *Longitudinal Survey* and the Local Government New Zealand *Regions target skilled immigrants* (including Samoans), addressing many of the issues raised by the respondents in this study.

would have been of assistance to them as new migrants at the time of their arrival between 1950 and 1970.

The respondents recommended the assistance should be provided for women migrants/immigrants in the following ways; (a) that language classes be structured to accommodate women's (mother's) timetables by offering classes through-out the day, maybe when older children are at school, and that at the class venue provide a suitable crèche for women with younger children; (b) that the health of new migrants/immigrant women be made a priority, many of the Samoan women respondents were affected so badly by homesickness and culture shock that this affected the way they were able to function on a daily basis; (c) that all new migrant women are provided with information that explains some of the side effects of culture shock so that they are prepared for the complicated mixture of emotions they experience and that can have a detrimental affect on their lives and their families; (d) the possibility of (initially) assisting migrant women, (also men if required) who (may) originate from rural areas, and who may not be familiar with the New Zealand process of shopping for food, clothes and household commodities by providing some basic information (or even personal or group instruction if not available to them from other sources) to assist them to perform these important functions; (e) one of the most important issues raised by the women was the resettlement from a rural area to metropolitan Auckland. Many of the respondents found the city an alienating place. The women spoke about how they experienced feelings of *aloneness* and at time fear of their new surroundings. This aspect of ~~resettlement~~ appears to have been overlooked to a great extent (whether this

reflects the city-dweller perspective of the researcher's, is hard to assess) but the point made by the respondents was particularly relevant at whatever period the migration/immigration might occur. The respondents recommended that more recognition should be given to this aspect of migration/immigration, and the juxtaposition of a rural background and tradition with the new city dwelling experience. It could be proposed that rural migrants be encouraged to move to rural areas, not to isolate them from work or social interaction but to provide a similar environment from which they originated, and therefore assist in the assimilation process that occurs for all new settlers. This was addressed in the paper *Migrant Settlement*, (footnote 2) in which it is proposed, that particular regions be targeted as possible areas where migrant skills could be used, and where these regions would benefit from the economic and social contributions of these workers. A further comparative study, into the on-going outcomes for regional placement of migrants is proposed would make a credible future study. Each point raised above, provides adequate material for further research.

Finally, this study celebrates the achievements of these early (and many other unnamed) young Samoan-born migrant women, who found the personal courage, stamina and positive independent strength of attitude to move to a foreign country, to establish a life for themselves (some as young as 15 years), and to be the initiators of change over the past fifty years, between 1952 and 2002.

Familiarity with the comprehensive theoretical and methodological debates regarding reflexive and reflective research had provided me with an awareness of a basic dichotomy. It is one thing to be informed and to purport to conform to certain methodological strategies and theoretical paradigms, but this does not necessarily mean it will generate into research practice. I required confirmation that the strategies used in the interviews demonstrated the ideology advocated theoretically. Some reflexivity and reflection was therefore required in order to ascertain this. Marcus (1994:569) discussed 'four styles of reflexivity'. He questioned whether 'reflexivity is not so much a methodological matter, as an ideological or derived one'. In my opinion reflexivity is (or should be) integral or intrinsic in methodology. The very nature of reflexive/reflective research is fundamentally a methodology as the perception of the researcher's status within the research informs the choice of methodology and subsequent research methods or strategies. This then raised the questions,

- Could a researcher aspire theoretically to those paradigms without implementing them in the practical component or strategy of the research and interviews?
- How could additional credibility as interviewer be obtained in a clear transparent way, to assist accountability?

These ideological questions became phrased in more practical terms.

- How do I account for my role as interviewer/researcher?

This resulted in and acted as the catalyst for the design of an interview 'role' or 'skills' audit. This is not to discount that there are other ways of gaining credibility, simply this is a self-audit imposed by me as researcher on myself as the researcher.

Reinharz (1992:145-163) work addressed a comprehensive range of topics under the feminist heading. She debated issues raised by feminist interview processes or research and the various interview strategies used within ethnography, case studies and biographies. Pertinent to this study is her discussion on 'feminist content analysis or deconstruction' and issues of 'qualitative or interpretive content analysis'. This self-audit is and was part of a deconstruction technique, as it actually gathered, or combined, the whole interview strategy, then set about deconstructing it, using the actual conversation process or interviewer/respondent roles. Reinharz (1992:32, 33) material addressed the issue of the feminist researcher status and role within the research process and discussed the issue of 'transparency' in feminist traditions. However her material did not go in-depth into the strategies involved in the analysis of interview data. This audit has added a further analytical technique or a strategy by which to assess, by statistical analysis, the researcher role and interaction within the interviews process.

A few months after I designed this audit construct, a reference was found to 'the enquiry audit' in Robson (1997:405). However the focus of this audit was toward outside (imposed by other groups) audits, more in line with an 'examination of [research in total] processes used' that Robson addressed as the 'dependability' [and the] 'criteria for assessing [the] validity of qualitative research' (Altheide & Johnson 1997:485-499). The basic difference between the two perspectives is that this study's audit is a self generated or personally imposed performance and abilities analysis within the context of reflexivity/reflectivity. It is specific to this study's interview procedures, rather than that of an outside audit of instruments used and assessment independent of the process.

So far I have not found similar statistical analyses or self-audit analysis. This statistical format could add to the already comprehensive range of analysis strategies in qualitative methodological techniques by clearly displaying, in a statistical or quantitative format, the interaction between interviewer/researcher and respondents. Researcher/interviewer bias will always be present, as in all socially constructed formulae, and academic research constructs are no exception. This audit could assist in elucidating all aspects of interviewer participation whether positive or negative.

The initiation of this audit process subsequently gave rise to four sub-questions:

- Why would I want to undertake such a laborious task?
- What would such close scrutiny reveal about my abilities?

- Did I want others to know the results of this audit?
- Could I acknowledge any negative results?

Mason (1996:117) suggested 'in order [to] convince others, you must provide some sort of account of how you achieved the degree of reliability and accuracy you claim to be providing'. Mason is referring to the respondent data but this still remains a very valid point in relation to my self-audit and its aim. She also suggested that as a 'general dictum you should explain how you came to the conclusions that your methods were valid, [as it] is a better way to demonstrate validity to others, than some of the more specific methods which are sometimes recommended' (p146). This self-audit could assist to show validity through transparency. This then raised two further questions -

- Did it only apply to my working data?
- If I were to advocate the inclusion of my audit in other research as an additional reflective tool, would the issue of transferability then become important?

### Transferability of audit

If this audit was to be judged 'dependable', (Robson 1997:405), credible and trustworthy and able to be transferred and used by other researcher interviewers, it was imperative to address not only certain ideological questions but also to evaluate some of the methodological assumptions made.

'Exposing practice to reflection allows for inquiry, criticism, change and accountability...reflection on actions and the reasons and rationales and justification for them may assist the practitioner not only to identify specific practices and theoretical assumptions implicit in her or his work but also to articulate the basis for intuitive actions'. (Fook 1996:5)

Intuitively I wanted to affirm my role or interview practice and considered this audit could identify and confirm categorically my implicit theoretical assumption for transparency in research. Further questions then arose; could this audit be replicated (therefore transferable) to other studies such as case studies and ethnographies? Would other qualitative researchers conducting semi-structured or open-ended interviews, (possibly where the themes may or may not have been assigned initially or where themes or categories emerge throughout the process) be able to replicate this audit process? Would they want to?

### The background assisting to generate the design of the audit

The piloting of both self and techniques (tools) and the validity of the research topic, extensive background reading, partial observations, discussions with gate keepers and possible respondents with utilisation of secondary material (statistics records) over a two-year period, resulted in the formulation of initial themes. This enabled the construction of a semi-structured interview

questionnaire. This process was not dissimilar to the grounded theory methods conceived by Glaser and Strauss<sup>3</sup>.

All transcript data was colour coded into themes. At the same time, my verbal contributions to the interviews were also highlighted. It would have been advantageous if a clear concept of the final audit design had been possible, but it was not. The progress was more tentative, partly knowing what needed to be achieved, but not knowing exactly how an affirmative answer to such a philosophical question was to be achieved. The fact that I was using a similar technique to analyse my role, similar that is to the technique used to analyse the respondent data, was not immediately apparent.

### The practical audit process

Two working transcripts were chosen for the experiment. These already had extensive working margin notes and extractions for themes/category construction. After reading these transcripts through twice, formulations or patterns of questions, prompts began to emerge, similar to the themes in the fieldwork data transcript analysis. When this process was completed I had eight specific headings or categories that defined my role within each interview. The next step was to place a stroke under the appropriate attitude or role definition heading. It must be noted that these were specific and appropriate to this research.

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<sup>3</sup> Refer Strauss, A. & Corbin, C. (1994) *Grounded Theory Methodology: An Overview* in Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks 1994) p273-285.

## Part Two

### Chapter 11

#### Self audit – the need for researcher transparency

##### Introduction

This section being Part Two of the thesis explains the process of the ‘auditing’ of my role as researcher. It provides a completely distinct approach or process to enable a closer examination of the how any researcher can and does effect and affect and research process. When embarking on cross-cultural research there should be acknowledgement of the importance or recognition of, the outsider (researcher) status, both with regard to cultural issues and language. It is therefore appropriate that the researcher’s relationship with research respondents, particularly in respect of this study’s interviews, is clearly stated. This and other ideological and methodological issues are some of the underlying debates that have both informed the research questions and underpinned the theoretical and method strategies of this research.

Smith (1999:166) focused on the challenge to recognise 'reflexivity' in research, particularly in cross-cultural research (in the New Zealand context). She claimed the historical lack of 'reflexivity', and the predominant lack of researcher 'transparency' led too much of the 'colonial' mentality in research. She advocated the need for more researcher transparency<sup>1</sup>.

### Influencing factors in the desire for research transparency

While coding, indexing and isolating initial themes within the interview transcripts, I conducted a constant debate with myself regarding the ideological, philosophical and ethical constructs that underpinned the data collection process and data analysis. These were contained within a simple question –

What type of interviewer/researcher had I been, or was I?

Prior to the interviews no definitive answer was possible<sup>2</sup>. Although even an attempt to answer this could be perceived as unnecessary, or as seeking too much attention, or placing too much focus on methodology rather than the actual respondent data analysis, it became increasingly important for me as a researcher to ascertain if the research that had been conducted had been in accordance with the espoused ideology of transparency and reflexivity.

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<sup>1</sup> Smith's (1999) approach is to provide a 'counter-story to Western ideas' of research focusing on research and Maori.

Other researchers would choose or define their own specific headings dependent on the type of interview and focus of individual researchers. When all the transcripts were completed and all respondents included within a specific table these were then divided further into eight initial headings as in Figure 15, shown on page 270. The strokes entered on each interview's interaction were then added to find the number of times a particular formulation or pattern of speech or prompt had been used revealing certain patterns of interview practice. Robson (1997:400-401) stated that this 'patterning' was the 'recurring patterns of themes' and therefore could be applicable to a wide range of research traditions. In hindsight, placing the corresponding heading numbers one to eight beside each comment on the transcript for reference would have been a good strategy record.

However, the systematic way in which the audit was conducted was conducive to accuracy and provided intellectual rigor to the process of interviewing. This process then evolved into three further stages - first to interpret the eight headings under definitions, second to propose some conclusions under results, and third to present two graphs to provide a statistical analysis of the audit process.

## The definitions of the headings/variables or categories of the audit

### The Initial Questions/introductions - (1)

This indicated how conversations were initiated, while attempting to put both the participants and myself at ease prior to the interview, bearing in mind communication with each woman had occurred on a number of occasions prior to this.

### The Direct Questions - (2)

The questionnaire consisted of eighty-five questions defined in specific themes<sup>4</sup>. Although eighty-five questions were prepared, it was not intended to ask each respondent all these individual questions. These questions covered the major topics, gleaned throughout the preparatory work, for example, throughout the pilot, gatekeepers, reading, and other informal conversations, and acted as prompts for myself as interviewer.

### The Prompts From Original Question - leading to more in-depth discussion - (3)

In additional questions or prompts arising from the direct questions, an attempt to use the respondent's terminology was paramount in order to gain more in depth information. For example 'did you go to a catholic or Samoan school'? respondent (06) replied '*when I was small I start the primary school inside the village, when I grew up I spend the other half of my life schooling at the catholic school?*' prompter: 'did you board at the catholic school'? My aim

was to ascertain the relationship with and influence of the teaching nuns, as a number of respondents' had indicated that they had been influenced in their decisions to come to New Zealand by these women.

#### Brief Confirmers/rephrase - (4)

The women's comments were rephrased in a brief way, while endeavouring to retain an accurate meaning. For example respondent (01) commented '*I miss my boys. I was really sick. I was very bad. Feels like you throw them in the rubbish you know you leave them was so young.*' I rephrased the comments, 'you didn't want to leave them and you felt guilty about leaving them' respondent's reply '*that right*'.

#### The Basic Prompts - (5)

These were words such as - 'yes', 'ok', 'is that so', 'go on' to be expanded under results of the audit.

#### Explaining - Clarifying to Confirm - (6)

A number of Samoan names and terms needed clarification to ensure accuracy when analysing interview data. For example respondent (13) referred to the '*pastors school in the village*' a fuller explanation was required to establish the distinction between the various types of schooling available to Samoan children at that time.

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<sup>4</sup> Refer to appendix M

### Interviewer/Researcher Stories and Anecdotes – (7)

At times I considered it appropriate to share my own experiences. For example respondent (01) commented *'in the night I look outside and the lights on the whole night'*, it then seemed appropriate to share my experience of moving from a rural environment to the city and the white reflection of the city lights on the sky at night. Respondent (12) spoke about *'We didn't need clock we had the rooster'*. I (researcher) had a rooster so we could both identify with this and laughed together about our rooster's names and compared the times they woke us up in the morning.

### The Additional questions – (8)

At times it was necessary to add to a question - for example one of my theme/prompts only covered one issue. This occurred when respondents alluded to an issue not anticipated. For example in the original themes there were no specific questions about work permits – this was then addressed with an additional question *'Who helped you get a work permit?'*

### Results of audit of the analysis – defining, from the statistical evidence, the researcher's role in the interview process

The results posed a number of sub-questions.

- What did this say about my role within the interviews?
- How did this conduct effect and affect the interview outcomes?

- To what extent was the role of both myself as interviewer and respondent managed?

There is one qualifier, three respondents self taped. One respondent lived out of New Zealand, the second in another major city and the third wanted to record at a time when she had privacy in her busy household. Therefore these three were not counted in the mean or average.

#### The Initial Introductions - (1)

The mean (or average) four (04) indicated introductions were kept to a minimum thus not extending the interview with unnecessary greetings.

#### The Direct Questions - (2)

The mean (or average) thirty-six (36). The questionnaire was composed of fourteen themes comprised of eighty-five individual questions, (or prompts). This result confirmed an adherence to the ideology of semi-structured open ended interviewing techniques, using the questionnaire themes only as prompts, rather than concentrating on a structured consecutive questions approach to interviewing. It would have been disappointing had these results shown that eighty-five questions had been actually asked in succession.

#### The Prompts from original question - (3)

The mean (or average) twenty-seven (27), these were directly related to the direct questions intended to encourage more in-depth discussion.

#### Confirming (briefly) – (4)

The mean (or average) twenty-six (26). These were generated from a respondent's replies to my question or 'prompt'. This result indicated a good correlation between the direct questions and the 'prompters' used to follow up, constantly attempting to clarify new data.

#### Short prompters/words – (5)

The mean (or average) nineteen (19). The basic words such as – 'ok', 'yes', 'go on', 'is that right', and 'I don't understand', coupled with body language and verbal expressions all acted as prompts. However, a query rests over the relevancy of English spoken prompts within cross-cultural studies. Tolich and Davidson (1999:114) also addressed this issue. It could be argued that there is some disparity between prompts which are acceptable, and appropriate, if the researcher and respondent are of the same language group. The meaning of prompts when engaged in cross-cultural research, where both the verbal and body language can alter considerably. This is not to say that Tolich and Davidson's (1999) directives are not informative, but gender and culture have a major impact on the applicability of prompts. These results clearly shown are less than columns 3 and 4. A larger number would have indicated too many (non directive) words had been used, this would then not have had the same impact as rephrasing or clarifying the respondent's information.

#### Clarification related to cross cultural issues - (6)

The mean (or average) twenty (20). This was responding to respondent's comments using their words in order to confirm the understanding particularly in respect of cross-cultural issues as mentioned above. Metge and Kinloch (1978) raised an interesting point in her work '*Talking past each other*,' in that any situation where women were hesitant or experienced language difficulties, concentration was required to ensure clarification and accuracy in the interview content. This corresponded also with the time needed to assist those women for whom English was a second language. A low frequency result would have indicated that I had not displayed sensitivity to the (language) problems posed by outsider status interviewers.

#### Interviewer/Researchers' stories and anecdotes - (7)

The mean (or average) eight (08). It was not the intention to dominate the interviews with my experiences. I wanted to avoid any objectification of the respondents. I encouraged them to ask questions of me regarding my life if they so wished. 'In feminist research methods, the goals are to exhibit collaborative and non-exploitative relationships, to 'police' their research within the study, so as to avoid objectification and to conduct research that is transformative.' (Steward cited in Creswell 1994:253). The results of column (08) eight, showed a willingness to share my lived experiences without being too expansive within the interview process. If the frequency had been greater than column (03), (04) or (06), too much talking by and about myself would have been evident.

#### The Additional questions to confirm expanded responses – (8)

The mean (or average) twenty-three (23). Some of the respondents appeared to be reluctant to expand on a statement for various reasons. An attempt was made to drive the conversation forward with some very direct/added questions. This proved a difficult challenge. I would ask a direct question and if the reply was very economical (for various reasons not always obvious) the need to 'push' that little bit further arose.

The initial quantitative analysis shown in Figure 15, on page 270 (prepared in basic excel format by myself) was then transferred to the Chi-Square, Figure 16, on page 271. In order to gain a comprehensive percentage analysis the Pie Chart, Figure 17 shown on page 272, was prepared (technical assistance was required in this area).

The combined results providing a clear indication and statistical analysis of the interview process.

The loosely based questions below emerged prior to and from initial researcher ponderings, leading into the final detailed analysis. Direct correlation is not intended. It was an 'overview' of the emerging process.

**Initial Analysis/Self Audit** Figure 15

Stat No. - Res No.	Initial Questions	Direct Questions	Prompters	Confirmers	Prompts	Explainers	Researchers Role	Additions	Total Pages
01	03	29	34	45	28	32	11	27	120
02 - R3	Self Taped in Wellington								
03	04	09	09	07	04	05	04	06	012
04	Self Taped for Privacy								
05 - R7	01	32	37	35	22	22	13	18	072
06	03	36	35	36	21	27	13	29	126
07	02	25	21	28	14	16	08	06	057
08 - R11	03	09	11	15	08	09	05	14	036
09	03	26	17	29	12	14	08	27	045
10 - R13	Self Taped in Samoa								
11 - R14	05	31	26	18	12	21	14	22	067
12 - R15	10	34	38	37	18	25	11	43	103
13 - R16	04	30	27	10	09	24	08	27	107
14	06	59	36	25	36	32	04	49	095
15	03	33	34	40	37	19	06	34	048
16	09	52	64	52	31	43	09	30	121
Mean	04	36	27	26	19	20	08	23	

The questions to address - (subsequently all issues raised here are addressed within the body of the thesis).

- What does this say about the way I conducted the interviews?
- How did I effect and affect the outcomes?

Analyse the outcome and explain the figure above points of interest in the process:

- 85 questions/themes composition but look how many direct questions this reflects the semi-structured focus I wanted to achieve - this confirms this for me.
- The personal stories I told were kept to minimum.
- Those for which English was hard I seemed to reply more to the things they said I appeared to help those who were shy and did not find it easy to open up initially.
- Look at the individual respondent to analyse how I approached each interview.
- Important look at the issues of rural/urban theory.
- Look at the page count and see if there is any relevancy to the statistical split of above.
- What are these figures telling me about my role in this research - look at this carefully.
- Remember each respondent and find out how the interview went in retrospect.
- Do they tell me anything - yes write this into your methodology chapter.

(verbatim pondering 2000) So I am looking at skills - techniques - to interview - role - bias - strengths - weaknesses - positives - negatives, refer to Figure 16 Chi Square analysis and Figure 17 Pie chart.

Most important is the fact that this has been done afterwards and therefore is a better judge or assessment of how I conducted the research. Had I planned this in the first instance it would not have been unbiased. This way it has shown what I did, how I did it, a way that could not be contrived, therefore it is an unbiased reflective record of my skills and results.

**Chi-Square Test: Direct Q, Prompters, Confirmers, Prompts, Explainers, R Role, Addition.**

Expected counts are printed below observed counts

	Direct Q	Prompter	Confirm	Prompts	Explain	R Role	Addition	Total
1	29 38.32	34 36.81	45 35.67	28 25.64	32 27.35	11 10.79	27 31.42	206
2	9 8.19	9 7.86	7 7.62	4 5.48	5 5.84	4 2.30	6 6.71	44
3	32 33.30	37 31.98	35 31.00	22 22.28	22 23.76	13 9.37	18 27.30	179
4	36 36.65	35 35.20	36 34.12	21 24.52	27 26.15	13 10.32	29 30.04	197
5	25 21.95	21 21.08	28 20.43	14 14.69	16 15.66	8 6.18	6 18.00	118
6	9 13.21	11 12.69	15 12.30	8 8.84	9 9.43	5 3.72	14 10.83	71
7	26 24.74	17 23.77	29 23.03	12 16.56	14 17.66	8 6.96	27 20.28	133
8	31 26.79	26 25.73	18 24.94	12 17.93	21 19.12	14 7.54	22 21.96	144
9	34 38.32	38 36.81	37 35.67	18 25.64	25 27.35	11 10.79	43 31.42	206
10	30 25.11	27 24.12	10 23.38	9 16.81	24 17.92	8 7.07	27 20.59	135
11	59 44.83	36 43.06	25 41.73	36 30.00	32 31.99	4 12.62	49 36.75	241
12	33 37.77	34 36.27	40 35.15	37 25.27	19 26.95	6 10.63	34 30.96	203
13	52 55.81	64 53.61	52 51.95	50 37.34	43 39.83	9 15.71	30 45.75	300
Total	405	389	377	271	289	114	332	2177

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Chi-Sq} = & 2.268 + 0.214 + 2.438 + 0.217 + 0.792 + 0.004 + 0.621 + \\
 & 0.081 + 0.165 + 0.050 + 0.398 + 0.121 + 1.248 + 0.075 + \\
 & 0.051 + 0.786 + 0.517 + 0.004 + 0.131 + 1.403 + 3.167 + \\
 & 0.011 + 0.001 + 0.104 + 0.506 + 0.027 + 0.698 + 0.036 + \\
 & 0.423 + 0.000 + 2.801 + 0.032 + 0.007 + 0.537 + 7.996 + \\
 & 1.341 + 0.224 + 0.595 + 0.080 + 0.019 + 0.442 + 0.929 + \\
 & 0.064 + 1.926 + 1.546 + 1.254 + 0.757 + 0.154 + 2.224 + \\
 & 0.662 + 0.003 + 1.930 + 1.959 + 0.186 + 5.533 + 0.000 + \\
 & 0.488 + 0.039 + 0.049 + 2.278 + 0.201 + 0.004 + 4.272 + \\
 & 0.950 + 0.343 + 7.656 + 3.625 + 2.062 + 0.123 + 1.997 + \\
 & 4.476 + 1.159 + 6.710 + 1.200 + 0.000 + 5.888 + 4.081 + \\
 & 0.601 + 0.142 + 0.668 + 5.445 + 2.344 + 2.017 + 0.299 + \\
 & 0.260 + 2.015 + 0.000 + 4.288 + 0.253 + 2.866 + 5.423 = 123.9
 \end{aligned}$$

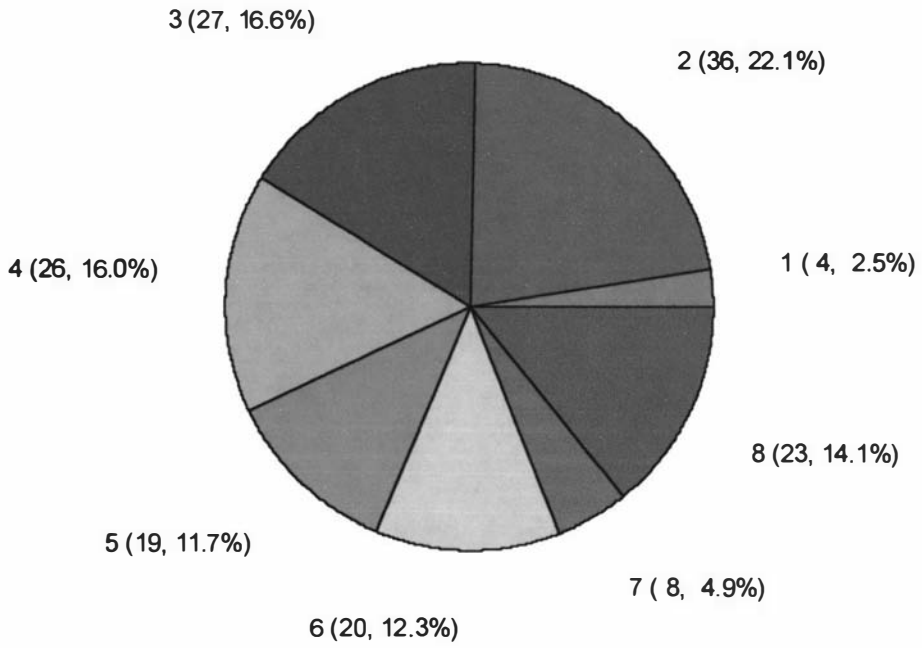
82

DF = 72, P-Value = 0.000

2 cells with expected counts less than 5.0

Technical assistance provided by Dr D. Meyer

Pie Chart of Interviewer Role Figure 17



Role count

1	04	5	19
2	36	6	20
3	27	7	08
4	26	8	23

The Chi-Square and Pie-Chart test provided the statistical analysis or quantitative analysis of qualitative methods or interview strategies and raised the questions:

- Was it a good interview audit technique?
- Was it consistent?
- Did the obvious and significant participant/respondent differences relate to each other?
- Could the differences or anomalies be accounted for?

#### Practice queries and discussion of the 'generalizability' of this strategy

- Could others manipulate and incorporate this audit as a reflective tool? Robson (1997:66, 72-74) names this 'generalizability' or 'replication'.
- Could this design be another quantitative strategy or technique to incorporate within the qualitative tradition?
- Could this audit of analysis design be utilised to add to practice of further transparency, reflexivity and reflectivity, within feminist traditions?
- Could this assist other interviewer/researchers to determine the type of researcher they are, using this statistical measure – in that, at a glance one could assess one's performance. Would anyone other than the researcher be interested or care?

- Could it assist by informing research respondents about the researcher's role in collaborative inquiry?
- Could this be undertaken only after the transcripts had been completed? If one were using grounded theory approach, or long term ethnography or case study approach, how would this apply to continuous data collection and reassessment of theory and method?
- If a researcher carried out an ongoing audit analysis after each entry into the field – be it participant observation or interview, how would this technique be juxtaposed alongside the researcher's working notes?
- Would there be a danger of [the researcher] becoming more focused on performance criteria than the actual interviews?
- What safe guards are there in place to counter any possible unethical procedure in such an audit, in line with the Human Ethics Committee Guidelines?
- If a researcher adopted and used this audit, would it only be applicable to qualitative researchers conducting semi-structured interviews?
- Would it be viable for more structured interviews?

The formula and process for undertaking a self-audit are demonstrated in Figures 15, 16 and 17, shown on pages 270-272. These practices and features could be replicated in other studies. In promoting this strategy

emphasis must be made that there are built-in risk factors that need addressing. On completion and evaluation a researcher may not like the results of the self-audit. There appears to be five ways in which this can be handled, but it would be an individual choice.

- The research might need redesigning.
- One may refrain from using it.
- The researcher could present only positive results, which could be considered to be inherently unethical.
- The researcher could present both positive and negative results, addressing each issue and suggesting solutions to problems, emphasising the positive subsequent benefits to research methodology that could be achieved using this collaborative, transparent, reflective research audit method.
- If a researcher chose to use the audit as an ongoing strategy, then what specific interview skills (themes) might be chosen from this initial design?

In reflecting upon each theme, the question arises which could be transferred to other research? Seven of the eight could be transferred:

- The initial questions or introductions.
- The direct questions as these constituted the original theme as a specific question.
- The confirmers enabling clarification of incoming information.

- The basic prompts to encourage and proceed the interviews.
- The explaining and clarifying back to respondents; necessary particularly in cross cultural research situations.
- The interviewer stories are to some extent governed by the fluidity of interaction with the respondents.
- The additional questions which act as a lead into more in-depth information or elucidation of existing material.

If researchers adopt a practice of on going interview analysis the question of researcher honesty must then be paramount to the process. Using and reporting on this process (if used as an on going strategy) must conform to the ethical requirements of integrity, transparency, reflexivity and reflectivity espoused in qualitative research methodology.

If this audit were done in an on going fashion would it help to improve subsequent interviews? The possibility is that the researcher could become overly focused on the audit criteria to the detriment of the interview. The researcher could place more emphasis or focus on attempting to obtain a better performance criteria in order to present an impressive audit. This could jeopardise interview integrity and that would skew the results. Therefore it is very much a question of an individual researcher's honesty and transparency in the research process.

Further issues also emerged regarding an on going assessment of interviewer skills. How could the researcher keep a record of points or a numbers system of their performance, particularly if conducting semi-structured interviews?

Researcher/respondent interaction involves intense relating and listening and empathy. As a researcher I could not have covertly recorded performance criteria nor entered the interview process with a shopping list of points required for an audit. It would require particular concentration to stop and list attitudes while engaging with respondents. If a choice was made to self audit throughout the interview process, the researcher should advise the respondents that they were simultaneously undertaking this self-audit. While the Code of Ethics may not require such disclosure, the principles of transparency would. Respondents are entitled to assume that the information they have about their experiences is the reason the researcher is there in the first place. A hidden agenda could prejudice the whole process. The researcher must accept the possibility and the eventuality of losing some respondents from the research. As mentioned previously I did not approach this study with an audit in mind and therefore acted with integrity in that I have presented quite transparently what course of action has been taken throughout the whole of the interview process. The question of when the audit might be conducted is very much the choice of the individual interviewer/researcher.

Completing the interviews and then carrying out the audit helped me to assess over-all, the interview strategy integrity. Comparisons could be drawn, conclusions and reflections of the interviewer/researcher/respondent interaction within the interview process. As a further step, inviting research respondents to comment on the completed audit once presented in an easy to read format such as the Figures 15, 16 and 17, on pages 270-272 would encourage and enhance the collaborative perspective of the research project.

It could also provide feedback of the respondent's perception of the interviewer/researcher. The responses could assist in on going research. Hall and Hall (1996: 257-277) suggested that the 'reason for the methodological report [is] to enable the study to be set in a sociological context and to report problems and dilemmas in the conduct of the research'. Hall and Hall (1996) also raised the issue of validity and reliability of analysing ethnographic data and the need for 'plausibility and credibility' (p209) and the use of a 'triangulation' of evidence. This statistical audit may provide a pivotal point for triangulation within the methods process, as it is an assessment of the 'dependability' (Robson 1997:405) of my role as interviewer/researcher within the interview data.

There were certain anomalies that arose within the analysis.

### **Anomalies that emerged within the audit analysis**

(Chi square numbers do not correspond with respondent due to the extraction of three self taped, refer numbers in brackets) From an analysis of the Chi square results some anomalies arose in relation to some of the respondent's interaction within the interviews, (the fact that the statistical analysis allowed for the three self taped interviews altered the number process therefore the corresponding Respondent numbers are placed alongside the statistical Chi square numbers)

(No2/R3, Col. 1-8) The low percentage overall is explained by the fact that this respondent was extremely shy, had suffered a house burglary having just moved into a new flat. She also initially wanted to conduct the interview in English but then choose to complete it in Samoan. I was aware of all these factors and therefore out of consideration for respondent 3, kept both interviews to a minimum. On reflection, had I anticipated how shy this

respondent was prior to the interviews, I may have suggested that a support person be present and that a Samoan speaker also (possibly the support person) undertake the interviews. However having interacted with this respondent a number of times since the interview stage it has become apparent that her English language skills are better than first appreciated. Therefore two assumptions could be reached. Firstly, the interview process itself, and the revealing of personal information may have posed a problem. Secondly, the respondent's familiarity with me and how the research has progressed, had provided further confidence and an understanding of what was involved in being part of this type of project.

(No5/R7, Col. 7) The low percentage of additions here was as a result of the respondents choice to talk at length about a trip she had taken to (.....) this appeared to have been so important to her as she became more excited as she talked about it. I chose to include this in the interview, rather than interject with questions that she may have considered of less importance. In reflection upon the interview the respondent digressed at length upon a subject, not actually included in the themes. For instance her role in the church. I could have avoided this digression by returning constantly to the specific theme of the questionnaire. However, I was happy that I did not, as the importance of the church to all the respondents was revealed, when the collective interview data of church experiences was analysed.

This respondent's contribution allowed for an in-depth look at the interconnectedness of the respondents' secular lives and the church and spiritual lives. This could provide data for further study.

(No 8/R11, Col. 6) This respondent also spoke about a trip she had taken and the emphasis placed on it by her, to some extent, overshadowed the other issues that I had attempted to raise, overlooked as she continued to return to this one incident in her life. Again the returning to the subject of the church again emphasised the importance of the church to this respondent.

(No10/R13, Col. 3 and 4) The fact that few confirmers and prompts were used in this interview was due to the fluency in English of the respondent and the clarity with which she spoke. She talked about her time living in England. As I was born in England, I was familiar with the subjects she spoke about and needed less confirmation, as I had understood the information. This respondent and myself shared an immediate rapport making the interviewing easier, her ability to explain complex issues in English allowed for an easier interaction between us and therefore was reflected in less prompts taking place.

(No11/R14, Col. 1, 3, 4 and 7) This respondent at first waited for me to ask all the questions, until she became more familiar with what was required. She also talked a lot about her life in Samoa, both before she came to New Zealand and on her frequent trips back to Samoa. I needed to clarify a number of

issues under confirmers. I also needed to ask additional questions that arose from the initial data. My role was minimal within this respondent's interviews.

(No12/R15, Col. 4) This respondent was elderly, and she found the interviews tiring. I needed to patiently and thoughtfully prompt her to continue throughout the interviews. I was particularly conscious of the age of this respondent and the frailty of her health. This emphasised for me, the effort that these women exerted over the years to raise families, support husbands and to work in a number of jobs that were arduous and often involved long hours, to gain the benefits that she had aspired to when she first made the decision to migrate.

(No13/R16, Col. 4 and 6) This respondent spoke at length about Samoan health care and medicinal preparations; I found it particularly interesting and therefore prompted her to continue as it also gave me further insights into how this had shaped her life as she grew up with a close relative, practicing herbal medicine in Samoa.

Again this theme Samoan medicine was not incorporated within the questionnaire, however its importance to the respondent and the fact that it allowed for a better understanding of how Samoan women view Western medicine and medical procedures could encourage further study in this area.

## Conclusions

The audit gave rise to some interesting conclusions. Patterns and categories emerged providing performance evidence. A strategy had been devised which

can be replicated. This statistical account of the interviewer/researcher role explored, and in part confirmed the theoretical, methodological and ideological focus intended in this study. As a process it had the possibility of contributing as a practical strategy to the theory of reflexivity, reflectivity and transparency, and assessment can be made as to whether ethical requirements have been attained. This audit has helped to verify coherently and conclusively, how the research interview stage was performed and it lends considerable quantitative validity to the interpretive qualitative work<sup>1</sup>.

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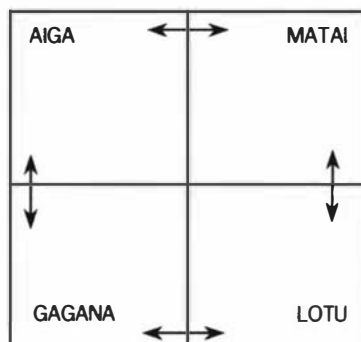
<sup>1</sup> Since completing this audit Marilyn Strathern's text became available, *Audit Cultures: Anthropological Studies in Accountability, Ethics and the Academy*. (Routledge, London 2000).

## Glossary

The following diagram shows the interconnectedness of Samoan live-ways.

Each plays a pivotal role in defining Samoan traditions

### *Fa'asamoa* Social Structures



(Adapted from Pa'u Tafaogalupe III Mano'o Tilive'a Mulitalo-Lauta 2000:27)

*Aiga* is the term that indicates family either members of the nuclear or extended family grouping. Not all members of an *aiga* live in close proximity.

There are large Samoan communities situated in the United States and Hawaii.

Each of these family groups has an elder person who as a representative of the particular family grouping known as a *Matai*.

The *Matai* title is bestowed on a person indicating close connections with God. The high chief being *Ali'i*; the *Tulafale* is an orator who is chosen to speak on the *Ali'i* [s] behalf. Each *Matai* has an additional title of *Suafa Matai* that gives the right to authority over the family. The influence of the *Matai* is not restricted to the village it can extend to other countries and effect and affect both social and economic situations distant from the Samoan village.

*Lotu*, is a term that indicates a belief in Christ or God and is the foundation of social and religious conditions for the Samoan people. Christianity was and still is a very important factor in Samoan life.

*Gagana 'E le mou le tatou gagana aua tatou te le'i folau mai vasa - our language will not vanish as we originated in Samoa and did not sail from oceans afar' (Nu'uiali'i Mulipola Mailo Saipele 1994:1) (Pa'u Tafaogalupe III Mano'o Tilive'a Mulitalo-Lauta 2000:27, 31).*

Additional Samoan words within the text.

*Fa'aSamoa* - the Samoan way, customs and traditions

*Fale* - traditional (open sided) house or dwelling.

*Palagi* - white man, or European foreigner (papalagi)

(This portion of the glossary was informed by van Manen (1990, p35, 36 & p175-187)

### Essence

A word derived from Greek *ousia* conveying the inner essential nature of a thing. Van Manen provided a definition, the empirical essence of actual teachers, as opposed to the fundamental or ideal essence of a teacher, that which every actual teacher aspires toward.

An example of this is: The term female Samoan migrant worker provides the empirical essence, however, the essence is the person shaped by the phenomenon/migration and this is captured by reflection upon the experience as revealed in the phenomenological analysis interpretation.

### Intentionality

Indicating the inseparable connectedness of human beings to the world they live in. Intentionality is (however) only retrospectively available to the consciousness.

An example of this is: It was this internationality of the Samoan women to migrate, that was only revealed by the emerging essential essence of the experience of the phenomenon/migration.

### Lived meaning

Referring to the way a person experienced or understands their world as real and meaningful. Situations that at the time they occurred, the person involved, may not be fully aware of the actual process, how it is perceived.

An example of this is: This is evident in the early comments of the respondents in relation to their school days, and the influences that manifest themselves later as the sub-themes, desire, ability/independence and emulation.

### Phenomenology

A study of essences, phenomenology always asks, what is the nature or meaning of something? It describes the immediate experience without it being obstructed or by it being predetermined by pre-conceptions and theoretical notions. This was the aim of this study, letting the women's voices emerge through verbatim reports.

### Reflective/ity

To gain an insight into the essence of phenomenon by reflectively (or reflecting upon) and clarifying and making explicit the structure of the meaning of the lived experience.

### Reflexive/ity

The process of self-given awareness - (reflexivity)

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#### Conference Papers

(Audio tapes of this conference are also available but not accessed for this study)

Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs - (1999) Stage 1 July  
Pacific Vision International Conference.

Dr Airini – ‘*Women and Identity paper – Pacific Life in New Zealand Policy*’  
(this paper has a life story component) look in detail later.

Margaret Southwick – ‘*Pacific Research Partnership – Navigating a Way Forward*’.

Raewyn Good – ‘*Society for Research – Why is Research Important?*’

Diane Mara – ‘*Women and Identity – Pacific Identities in Aotearoa - New Zealand – Pacific Women in Tertiary Education*’.

Professor Cluny Macpherson – ‘*Migration and Settlement*’.

**TRANSCRIBERS CONFIDENTIALITY CONTRACT**  
**PILOT/INTERVIEWS**

Information about this study:

- Pilots/interviewees in this study have provided private interviews with the researcher for up to two hours.
- They have negotiated with the researcher the time and venue for the interview.
- They have given permission for the interview to be taped and for the transcript to be typed, by a Secretarial Service providing this Contract is signed to guarantee confidentiality of the information gathered.
- The real name of the participant will not be recorded in the typed notes.
- The participant has been given the option to turn off the tape recorder at any time during the interview.
- The participant has made a choice as to whether they want to review the typed notes in order to have an opportunity to make corrections or additional comments.
- The information shared will be in hard copy and computer disk form and both will be locked in a cabinet to which the only access can be made through the researcher.
- The researcher is interested in the common, personal and professional experiences and attitudes of the topic in common. The researcher, supervisors and transcriber will be the only people who see the type transcripts.
- On completion of the research any computer disks and hard copies of the study will be returned to the researcher.

Declaration

- I have read the information provided by the researcher and I am clear about the points stated above. I understand that all information in the transcripts is confidential and that this is necessary to protect the participants privacy and for the ethical and legal safety of the research, the researcher and the transcriber.

Transcriber \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment (1)

Appendix A

**MASSEY UNIVERSITY**

**HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE**

**To: Committee Secretary  
Human Ethics Committee  
Principals Office  
Albany Campus**

Appendix B

**MASSEY UNIVERSITY**

**APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF PROPOSED RESEARCH PROCEDURES**

**INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS**

**APPLICANT:**

**Name:** Bronwen Byers  
**Department:** Social Policy and Social Work  
**Contact Numbers:** (09) 446 1229 & (012) 622 594  
**Status:** PhD Student

**PROJECT:**

**Title:** 'Invisible Women' – Night Cleaners  
**Status:** Doctorate

**ATTACHMENTS:**

Transcribers Confidentiality Contracts (1 and 2)  
Information Sheets (3 and 4)  
Consent Forms (5 and 6)  
Translator/Interpreter (7)

**SUPERVISORS:**

Dr Marilyn Waring  
Dr Mike O'Brien

**SIGNATURES:**

**Applicant:** .....

**Supervisors:** .....

.....

**Date:**

## 1. DESCRIPTION

### 1.1 JUSTIFICATION

The purpose of this research is to explore (a) the economic drivers (b) the social implications for women, who work (at night) as cleaners.

My interest in night cleaning originated in the mid-1980's, when leaving meetings in corporate offices at about nine o'clock, I would speak with women arriving to start cleaning those offices.

When preparing my research proposal, I examined the Department of Statistics 'Labour Statistics (1994/5)' which sets out a statistical analysis of occupations. This data however did not differentiate full-time night work, from full-time day work, within the service cleaning industry. I therefore requested the Department of Statistics' 'New Zealand Census of Population Occupation (NZCO95-5 Digit Level)' which is the most defined analysis of occupation. I had this data adjusted by region, city, gender, ethnicity, and hours worked, again this data did not differentiate between full-time day and full-time night work. I suggest therefore we have no current official analysis, which enables us to establish how many women are employed at night in the cleaning industry. This assumption has also been verified in correspondence I had with the NZCTU (3 March 1998). Therefore, to achieve any concise data will be problematic, yet historically cleaning has been undertaken at night between the hours of 9.00pm and 7.00am.

This general lack of information in this area of employment and related issues became even more apparent, as I progressed with my literature review and found only two earlier studies. Barnes' (1981), a study of women cleaners in Hamilton and Wellington and Davidson and Bray's (1994) study of part time work in New Zealand, which examined the Secondary labour market, which includes the service sector, in which cleaners are situated. Since the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act (1991) and subsequent changes to the New Zealand labour market, such as flexible work hours; a decrease in Union participation; an increase of contract work and part-time work, makes this a very different labour market to Barnes' study (1981). Also my research aims to examine in more depth, issues which were briefly raised in Davidson and Bray's (1991) study.

I question, why do we not have official labour market statistics of the number of women who work permanently at night as cleaners? And argue therefore we also have little understanding of the collective and individual economic, social, personal, and identity implications for this (quite large) sector of the labour market.

**The justification for this study is the current invisibility of this workforce, both in statistical quantitative studies and in empirical qualitative studies.**

## 1.2 OBJECTIVES

**The objectives of this research are:**

- To examine the perceived advantages and disadvantages of night work.
- To explore how the women organise their lives around night work.
- To explore the effects on the families, children, partners, leisure time, health, community responsibilities, social/voluntary work, church commitments.
- To look at how women identify with the work they are engaged in.
- To look at migration patterns in relation to how and why some Pacific Island groups dominate this sector of the service industry.
- To examine the affect of the Employment Contracts Act (1991) on working conditions and pay structures for women cleaners.
- To examine the role and influence of the Service and Food Workers Union, historically and currently.
- To look at the role of the church within the lives of the women, particularly within the Pacific Island community.
- To explore the possibility of establishing a statistical database of the numbers of women employed as cleaners at night.

**To promote visibility of the economic and social issues arising from this employment.**

## 1.3 PROCEDURES FOR RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS AND OBTAINING INFORMED CONSENT

### **Procedures to date**

This research poses some problems in regard to (a) access to workers at job sites and (b) the time of night when initial observation and informal conversation can take place. Free access to research/observational sites is restricted, as the women work after close of business and security of buildings at night is a major factor.

I have therefore, over the last year, liaised with the Service and Food Workers Union and accompanied Union organisers to Union site meetings. I have also made contacts networking with management at the Auckland International Airport to gain access to both 'land-side' the terminal, and 'air-side' where a security pass has been issued to give me access to planes with the cleaning crews, to observe what and how the work is carried out.

Over the past three months I have visited three sites, four times, between the hours of 10.00pm to 3.00am, and 4.00am to 8.00am.

These preliminary meetings have been important to gain access to participants.

The intention of these initial visits has been to firstly, confirm my assumption of existence of this work and women's participation in it, and secondly, to establish

credibility and rapport with the women, prior to requesting their involvement in the study. These meetings have identified women who have expressed an interest in joining me in the research.

Concurrently, I have carried out pilot interviews, with referrals from colleagues and friends at homes and other venues, assessing the practical issues of the fieldwork. Also gaining an understanding of how best to approach and structure the research questions so that they have particular relevance to the research participants.

To maintain confidentiality throughout the whole research process a Confidentiality Contract (attached as 1 and 2) has been signed by Albany Village Secretarial Service in respect to transcribing pilot interviews, site observations, and informal discussions.

#### **1.4 PROCEDURES IN WHICH RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS WILL BE INVOLVED**

1. Work site observation to inform me what type of work and the conditions that exist on specific job sites.
2. Tape recorded semi-structure interviews
3. Focus groups
4. Reading and checking of alterations and deletions before approving the transcribed interview data.

Not all participants will be involved in procedure (1) – (3) however all participants will be offered involvement in (4). The particular procedures in which participants will be involved will be negotiated individually as the research proceeds.

5. All participants have been advised there is to be a month's lead time in which to process Ethics Committee approval.

From Ethics Committee approval date, women who have already given the researcher their phone numbers, or who have verbally expressed an interest will be contacted by the researcher and advised the study has ethics approval. The process will then proceed as follows:

As the researcher I will:

- 1) Advise participants by phone or in person
- 2) Personally give the Information Sheet to each women interested
- 3) Explain fully the process of the research and the rights of the participant on set out in the Information Sheet (attached as 3 and 4) depending on English literacy levels
- 4) Leave the Information Sheets with the participants for up to two weeks for them to feel completely comfortable with its demands or to discuss where appropriate with support persons
- 5) Make contact to gain approval after that two week period
- 6) Have participants sign the Consent Forms (attached as 5 and 6) where required
- 7) Gain verbal approval if appropriate
- 8) Establish times and venues for research interviews

#### **1.5 PROCEDURES FOR HANDLING INFORMATION AND MATERIAL PRODUCED IN THE COURSE OF THE RESEARCH INCLUDING RAW DATA AND FINAL RESEARCH REPORTS**

Albany Village Secretarial Services, familiar with Massey University research methodology, will transcribe the interview tapes. The Transcribers Confidentiality Contract (as attached 1 and 2) will be signed by the transcriber.

The transcribed data will be returned to the participants to read, correct or delete information if required.

No person shall be identified in the research material.

All information will be confidential to the researcher, supervisor and the transcriber.

Dissemination of the study findings will then be determined as appropriate by the researcher and participants.

## **2. ETHICAL CONCERNS**

### **2.1 Access to Participants**

Access is sought by the researcher who is the only person working with the participants. However, if necessary arrangements for interpreters/support people to attend interviews, will be agreed upon by the participants and researcher prior to interviews taking place. Interviews will be conducted off the work site at mutually agreed places so as not to jeopardise workers with their employers. I will use the Translators/Interpreters Confidentiality Contract to ensure confidentiality.

### **1.3 Informed Consent**

The participants will be all adult women, capable of giving informed consent. Participants involved in the interviews and observation will be asked to sign a Consent Form. I anticipate that I may need to have these translated into Samoan and Tongan, or require an interpreter in some cases, and will therefore require the tapes to be translated into English when transcribed. Interpreters who undertake translations will be asked to complete a Confidentiality Agreement (attached as 7). The choice of Translator/Interpreter will be flexible, chosen by participant or researcher if the situation arises.

### **2.3 Anonymity and Confidentiality**

Every effort will be made to maintain anonymity and confidentiality, however this cannot be guaranteed, at some women have already on site, in the presence of others, openly offered to join the research, therefore indicating, some may appear not to be concerned about confidentiality at present.

No participant will be named in the research at any stage of the study or compilation of the data. Interview tapes, observational results, questionnaires and transcribed data will be stored in secure separate places. Key words and codes will be used to maintain confidentiality for participants. All data will be destroyed, when it is no longer required for the research. Prior agreement for interpreter/support person at interviews will take into account the information given is to remain confidential to that interview.

The participants will be offered the tapes on completion of this study.

### **2.4 Potential Harm to Participants**

Participants will be asked to check interview transcriptions. The Information Sheet will advise participants of their rights.

They will not be subjected to any circumstances that may harm them.

Should language or literacy problems arise the Information Sheet will be discussed orally and agreement to participate will be recorded on tape therefore

not jeopardising important information that can only be accessed orally from participants. No interviews will be conducted on site, as this could jeopardise employer/employee relationships. No information given by participants will be provided to employers.

## **2.5 Potential Harm to Researcher**

I anticipate no potential harm. However as a precautionary safety measure, I have and will continue to employ a 'Securitas' guard to accompany me, when I travel between work sites, such as Auckland University – Auckland Airport – home in Devonport between the hours of 11.00pm and 4.00am.

## **2.6 Potential Harm to University**

There is no potential harm to the University.

## **2.7 Participant's Right to Decline to Take Part**

All participants have the right to decline to take part in the study. The Information Sheets explain that participants have the right to decline the invitation to participate, and once involved in this study have the right to withdraw at any time without providing a reason. They also have the right to have the tape recorder turned off at any time and to refuse to answer certain questions if they so desire. If focus groups take place certain conditions will need to be discussed prior to the focus group taking place these are:

1. All participants must agree to be part of the group
2. Participants must agree upon what happens to information given in the group if one of the participants leaves the group before the finish of the research.

## **2.8 Uses of the Information**

The data collected will be utilised for the fulfilment of the requirement of a Doctorate of Philosophy. The data collected will make an important contribution to our understanding of night work. If required a final copy of the thesis will be made available to NZCTU, NACEW, EEO, SFW Union, however distribution will be guided by participants at all times.

## **2.9 Conflict of Interests/Conflict of Roles**

There will not be any conflicts of interest between the researcher and the participants.

## **2.10 Other Ethical Concerns**

There are no other ethical concerns regarding this study

## **3. LEGAL CONCERNS**

### **3.1 Employment Contracts Act 1991**

That I adhere to the legal obligations as set out in the above Act.

### **3.2 Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992**

That I adhere to all the safety constraints required of me on specific job sites i.e. (reflector jacket air-side at Airport)

## **4 CULTURAL CONCERNS**

Women from the Pacific Island communities will participate in this study, therefore I have involved members of both the Samoan and Tongan communities to assist me in meeting women and to act as mentors in matters of cross cultural research. My Social Anthropology Masters Degree has informed me in appropriate cultural awareness and understanding of the ethical issues involved in cross-cultural research. The Information Sheets and Consent Forms will be in Samoan and Tongan languages if so required. An interpreter will also be available, interviews may be undertaken in Samoan and Tongan, with those transcripts being transcribed into English, by a typist who has signed a Confidentiality Contract.

Culturally appropriate behaviour and networking will be adhered to at all times during the course of this study.

## **5. OTHER ETHICAL BODIES RELEVANT TO THIS RESEARCH**

### **5.1 Ethics Committee**

No other ethics committees have been approached for approval.

### **5.2 Professional Codes**

There are no other professional bodies involved in this research.

## **6. OTHER RELEVANT ISSUES**

There are no other relevant issues.

## INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Bronwen Byers and I am a Doctoral student at Massey University Albany Campus Auckland.

I am looking at why women work at night as cleaners.

Not a lot is known about this type of job and what is involved for women and their families. The information you will give me may be used to change government policies to do with women in the service sector.

I would like to talk to you so that I can, with you, tell your story.

I would like to meet you at your home or somewhere you may choose close to your home where we can talk without being disturbed for about an hour and maybe two or three times over a period of six weeks.

I want to tape record the meetings if this is okay.

If you would like someone to be with you, I am happy about this.

Any information you give me will be held in a safe place where only I will be able to get them.

**I will not interview you at the work site**

I would like to talk over the points shown below:

- You can decline to participate in this research.
- If you wish you can leave the research when you want to
- You can refuse to answer some questions
- When we tape the interviews you can ask me to turn the tape recorder off at any time
- I will give you the typed interview to read and correct
- I will hold the interview tapes until the end of the research
- You can ask me to destroy them at the end of the research, or you may like to keep them
- Please feel free to ask any questions during the research
- Your name will not appear in any of the written information unless you want it to
- I will give you a copy of the research when it is finished
- I will only publish parts of this research thesis that you have participated in after I have your approval.

The supervisors of this research are Dr Marilyn Waring and Dr Mike O'Brien. They can be contacted at Massey University Albany on Phone number 443-9700. If you should wish to get hold of me messages can also be left with the Secretary of the Social Policy and Social Work Department, Massey University, 443-9766, or you could phone me on (021) 622 594.



## INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Bronwen Byers and I am a Doctoral student at Massey University Albany Campus Auckland.

My research interest lies in talking to Samoan women who were migrants to New Zealand starting in the 1950's.

I would like you ask you to help me gather individual stories, by agreeing to talk with me about your life.

I would like to meet you at your home or somewhere you will feel comfortable.

The interviews will take one to two hours each time.

I will need to meet with you about three times over a period of six weeks.

I will ask you to sign a Consent Form before we start the interviews.

I would like to tape record the interviews if you agree.

If you would like to have a friend of interpreter with you I would welcome this.

Before we start I would like you to understand the following.

- You can decline to join the research
- You can leave the research when you wish

- You can refuse to answer some of the questions if you do not feel happy about them
- You can ask me to turn off the tape recorder at any time
- You will be given a copy of the taped meetings when they are typed
- I will hold the tapes until the end of the research then give them to you if you would like.
- Your name will not appear in any of the written information unless you agree.
- I will give you a copy of the research when it is finished
- I will only publish parts of the research that you have participated in with your approval.

The supervisors of this research are Dr Marilyn Waring and Dr Mike O'Brien.

They can be contacted at Massey University Albany on phone number 443-9700.

If you should wish to get hold of me, messages can be left with the Secretary of the Social Policy and Social Work Department, Massey University 443-9700 or you could phone me on my mobile (021) 622 594.

**Hello**

**My name is Bronwen Byers**

**I am a doctoral student at Massey University Albany**

**I came to New Zealand in 1957**

**I am fifty-three years of age**

**I have one son – he is 28 years - married living in London.**

**I am interested in hearing the stories of Samoan women who came to New Zealand from the 1950's to the mid 1970's.**

**Many Samoan women worked in hospitals, in factories, often working at night with sometimes two or three jobs to support aiga here and in Samoa.**

**I am asking women if they will agree to tell me their stories of why they came to New Zealand and what life was like for them once they arrived.**

**Some women say to me 'their stories are too ordinary' – I do not agree - I think it is important to gather women's life or oral histories and to write them down looking at all the issues that affect women's lives.**

**I would like to interview you at your home or somewhere quiet**

**I would like to meet you for about 1 hour maybe two or three times**

**I would like to tape record our interviews**

**The questions are not embarrassing - you can refuse to answer any questions**

**I will give you a copy of the interview notes and ask you check them**

**When the study is complete I will give you the tapes, the notes and a copy of the final thesis which you helped to write**

**To help protect your privacy your name will not appear anywhere in the final thesis**

**Faafetai**



**CONSENT FORM**

I have read the Information Sheet and/or have had the details of the study explained verbally to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have a right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission.

*(The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project).*

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet or as discussed verbally.

**Signed:** .....

**Name:** .....

**Date:** .....

Attachment (5)

Appendix F

**CONSENT FORM**  
**FOCUS GROUP**

If I agree to participate in a focus group, I will have the right at the groups first meeting to discuss and contribute towards the setting out the group rules.

The discussion will cover:

- The need for confidentiality for all participants to remain within the group.
- The need for confidentiality of all information discussed to remain within the group.
- The right to leave the group at any time without giving a reason
- The right to take personal information with me, or to decide to leave it to contribute to the groups findings and the final thesis

I have read the Information Sheet and/or have had the details of the study explained verbally to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have a right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission.

*(The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project).*

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet or as discussed verbally.

**Signed:** .....

**Name:** .....

**Date:** .....

(Attachment 6)

**CONFIDENTIALITY CONTRACT**  
**INTERPRETERS/TRANSLATORS**

I have been invited to act as Interpreter, Translator by .....

I agree that any information discussed and tape recorded at this interview will remain private and confidential to the participant, researcher and myself as Interpreter/Translator.

Signed .....  
Interpreter

Signed .....  
Translator

Date .....

Attachment (7)

Appendix 1-1

## Talofa Lava!

O lo'u igoa o Bronwen Byers.

O au'u o se tina fa'auuina mai i le Iunivesete o Massey, Albany Campus, Auckland.

E fa'avae mai la'u sailiiliga i lo'u fia feiloa'i ma talatalanoa i ni tina Samoa na amata malaga mai i Niu Sila i le 1950's/1970's.

Afai e te finagalo malie – Pe mafai ona ou fesili atu ma ta talatalanoa i nai tala otooto o lou soifuaga.

E mafai ona ta feiloa'i ma talatalanoa i lou fale, po'o so'o se nofoaga lava e te silafia e lale ma to'a a filemu.

Pe tasi i le lua itula le umi o le ta talanoaga i taimita'itasi ta fe feiloa'i ai.

Ou te mana'o fo'i fa'amolemole e tusa e ta'atolu ona ta feiloa'i i totonu o le ono vaiaso.

Ou te fesili atu fo'i ia te oe ina ia sainia lenei pepa, a'o le'i amotaina le te talanoaga.

Ou te mana'o e pu'eina le ta talanoago i le lipine (tape recorder) pe afai e te fingalo i ai.

Afai fo'i e mo'omia sau ua e feasoasoini mo le fa'aliliuina o le gagana, o le mea sili lea, ou te talia me le fiafia.

A'o le'i amotaina le ta talanoaga, e lelei ona e malamalama i mea nei:

- E mafai lave ona e le taliaina lenei sailiiliga.
- Afai e te mana'o e ta'atia lenei sailiga, lo lea pule pea oe.
- Afai lava e i ai ni fesili e te le faifia e tali i ai, e le afaina lea.
- E mafai lava ona e fa'apea mai, e tape le laau pu'e leo i so'o se taimi.
- Ou te avatua ia te oe le tala o lenei talanoage pea uma ona pu'eina.
- Ou te taofia le lipine o le sailiiliga lenei, se ia maea lelei ona avatu leaia te oe pe afai e te mana'o i ai.

- E le mafai ona tusia lou suafa i so'o se tusitusiga o lenei sailiga, se'i vagana lave ua e finagalo malie i ai.
- Ou te tu'uina atu ia te oe se kopi o lenei sailiiliga pe afai e maea.
- Ou te tusia na'o se vaega o lenei sailiiliga o lo'o e i ai, pe afai ua i ai lou talitonuga i lenei fa'amoemoe.

O e o lo'o fa'auluulu i ai lenei sailiiliga o:

Dr Marilyn Waring

Dr Mike O'Brien

E mafai ona fa'afeso'ota'i atu i Massey University i Albany. i le telefoni 443 9700. Afai fo'i e te mana'o mia a'u, tu'u ane sau feau i le failautusi a le Social Policy Department i Massey University, i le telefoni 443 9700, po'o la'u telefoni feavea'i 021 622 594

## O Le Pepa Fa'amaonia

Ua ou faitau i fa'amalamalaga o lo'o lomia i nei pepa. Ua ou taliaina fesili i lo'u lava loto malie, ua ou iloa fo'i e iai le avanoa ou te fesili atu ai i so'o se taimi.

Ua ou iloa fo'i e i ai la'u aia tatau e aveese mai ai a'u, i lenei su'uesu'ega, pe ou te le taliaina fo'i nisi fesili.

Ua ou malie fo'i e tu'uina atu la'u fesoasoani i lenei sailiiliga ma lo'u talitonuga, e le mafai ona tusia ai lo'u igoa, e aunoa ma so'u maile i ai.

(O fa'amatalaga ua na'o lenei lava sailiiliga, a'o le lolomiina ma le fa'alauiloaina o lenei sailiga o le a i ai lea i le ofisa Tu-totonu).

Ua ou malie/Ou te le malie i lenei talanoaga, ina ia pu'eina i le laau pu'eleo.

Ua ou malamalama fo'i e i ai la'u aia tatau, ou te fa'apea atu ai e tape le laau pu'eleo i le taimi a'o fai pea le talanoaga.

Ua ou loto malie ou te i ai i totonu o lenei sailiiliga ma mea o lo'o fia malamalama i ai, e ala mai i nei fesili ua tusia i nei pepa, po'o ni fesili fo'i e fia fesili mai ai, ma talanoaina.

Saini \_\_\_\_\_

Lou Suafa \_\_\_\_\_

Aso \_\_\_\_\_

14 June 1999

Bronwen Byers  
C/O School of Social Policy & Social Work  
Massey University, Albany

**Office of the Principal**  
Massey University  
Albany Campus  
Private Bag 102 904,  
North Shore MSC,  
Auckland,  
New Zealand  
Principal: 64 9 443 9799 ext 9517  
Campus Registrar: 64 9 443 9799  
ext 9516  
Facsimile: 64 9 414 0814

Dear Bronwen

**'INVISIBLE WOMEN' - NIGHT CLEANERS**

Thank you for your application which we recently received.

Your application will be addressed at the **30th June 1999** (moved from 24<sup>th</sup> June) meeting of the Albany Human Ethics Committee. Should you be required to attend this meeting I shall contact you as soon as possible, I would ask that you be aware that this may happen and, therefore, keep time available between 9.45am and 1pm on the day of the meeting.

If you have any queries do not hesitate to contact me, quoting your application number:  
**MUAHEC 99/038**

Yours sincerely



Catherine Lidgard  
**Committee Secretary**  
Human Ethics Committee  
Albany Campus

09 July 1999

Bronwen Byers  
C/O School of Social Policy & Social Work  
Massey University  
Albany

Dear Bronwen

**HUMAN ETHICS APPROVAL APPLICATION – MUAHEC 99/038**  
**'INVISIBLE WOMEN' - NIGHT CLEANERS**

Thank you for the above application, which was received and considered by the Massey University, Albany Campus, Human Ethics Committee at their meeting held on 30 June 1999. The Committee raised the following points regarding your application:

Information Sheet (1):

- Please amend the following sentence to read: '*.....I would like to meet you at a place that you would find most suitable, maybe your home or somewhere close to your home that you can nominate, .....*'
- 5<sup>th</sup> Sentence - Please amend to say '*.....may assist....*' instead of '*.....will assist.....*'.
- Please re-word the last bullet-point to make clearer.
- Please state clearly how long and how much involvement will be necessary/anticipated for participants in this project.

Information Sheet (2):

- Please amend the following sentence to read: '*I would like to meet you at home or somewhere close to your home that you can nominate, where we can talk.....*'
- 3<sup>rd</sup> paragraph - Please re-word to state that the information *may* be used to change Government policies, and remove the 3<sup>rd</sup> sentence.
- 5<sup>th</sup> bullet-point - Please add '*.....to read and correct if you wish*'.
- Please re-word the last bullet-point to make clearer.
- Please state clearly how long and how much involvement will be necessary/anticipated for participants in this project.

For your consideration:

- It is suggested that the work of Russell Bishop may be of help to you with regard to cultural issues.
- It is suggested that during your writing up you clearly state that only cleaners were involved in this project not all types of 'night-workers'.
- Consideration should be given to ACC legislation.
- Consideration should be given to your position with regard to conflict of interest should you encounter unsafe working conditions.

Subject to the above amendments and inclusions being received, the ethics of the application will be approved.

Any departure from the approved application will require you to return this project to the Human Ethics Committee, Albany Campus, for further consideration and approval.

Yours sincerely



PP

Dr Mike O'Brien  
**CHAIRPERSON,  
MASSEY UNIVERSITY, ALBANY CAMPUS  
HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE**

cc. Dr Marilyn Waring, School of Social Policy & Social Work, Massey University, Albany

Themes

Respondent Questions

Family Background

Were you born in Samoa

Where did you live

Did your father or mother hold a prominent/chiefly title

Schooling

What schools did you go to

At what age did you leave

What school diplomas or certificates did you get

Remittances

Growing up in Samoa did you know if remittances were being from New Zealand

Who was sending them

Which family member looked after the money

Would you be able to tell me who got the money

How did it help

Are you still able to send remittances to Samoa

Marital status/Children

Are you married

How many children have you cared for in your family

Migration to New Zealand

When did you hear about New Zealand

Who first talked about coming to New Zealand

Why did you come to New Zealand

What year did you come to New Zealand

How old were you

Did you choose to come

How did you feel about leaving Samoa

How did you raise the money needed to come to New Zealand

How did you travel here –ship or air travel

Who met you when you arrived at the port of airport

Accommodation

Where did you stay when you first arrived

Who owned the house you lived in (if it was in the city)

How did you feel about living in the city.

Did you shift around much

How did you get places to rent or buy

Where do you live now

How long have you lived there

LanguageDid you speak English before you came to NZ - if notHow did you learn English – did family help (if not)What organisation helped -church workplaceWhat do you speak mostly - English or SamoanHow important is it to still speak SamoanDo your children/grand children speak SamoanExpectations – Impressions - NZ lifestyle- fa'a SamoaWhat did you think New Zealand would be likeWhat were some of the things you likedWhat were some of the things you did not likeHow did New Zealanders behaviour to youDid you miss SamoaWere you home sickDid you have support from familyEmploymentWhat type of work did you do in SamoaWhat type of work did you want to do when you came to New ZealandDid you or a family member have a job to come to in NZWhere was this - which companyWere family already working thereWhere did you workWere other Samoan women working thereHow did you get the job

When did you start working

What hours did you work

Did you work at night

Did you have more than one job

What did you like about this/these jobs

What did you dislike about this/these jobs

Did you tell people what work you did

Did you support family by sending remittances to Samoa

Did you support family in New Zealand

What work are you doing at the moment

Were you asked at any time to show your passport at work

Work/Unions

How did you hear about unions

Did you join a union

Did you think the union helped you – in what way

Are you still a union member (if working)

Can you remember what the Church thought about union membership

' Dawn Raids'

Do you remember the 'Dawn Raids'

Did you know any one who was involved

Would you be able to tell me how this made you feel

**Church**

**Did you join a church when you arrived**

**Which church**

**Which family members were at the church**

**Could you tell me how you felt about going to church**

**Do you still go to this church**

**What groups are you in**

**How much time do you spend doing church activities**

**Do your children go to the church**

**How do you support the church**

**Staying in New Zealand**

**Have you ever thought of going back to Samoa**

**What keeps you in New Zealand**

**Looking back over the years - could you tell me how you feel about coming to live in New Zealand**

## O lou talaaga

Sa e fanau Pe soifua mai i Samoa  
O fea sa e nofo ai  
Sa fa'asuafaina lou tama, poo lou tina i se suafa matai

## Aoa'oga

O lea le a'oga sa e a'oga ai  
O lea lou matua na uma ai lau a'oga  
Sa maua ni ou tusipasi, po o ni tusi faamaoni mai lau a'oga

## Lafoga-o tupe i Samoa

A'o e soifua ma ola a'e i Samoa, sa e iloa na lafo atu e se isi ni tupe mai Niu Sila mo outou  
O ai lea tagata na lafoina atu tupe  
O ai le tagata o lo outou aiga na vaaia ma teuina nei tupe  
E mafai ona e fa'ailoa mai ia te au, po'o ai na mauaina le tupe na lafoina mai i Nui Sila  
Sa fa'efefea ona fesoasoani, pe fa'aaogaina lea tupe o le a se fesoasoani na mafai ona fa'atine e lenei tupe  
O e lafoina pea ni tupe i Samoa

## Aiga

Po ua e fa'aipoipo  
E to'afia ni tamaiti o lo'o e tausia ma vaaia i totonu o lou aiga

## Malaga ese mai-mo Niu Sila

O anafea sa e fa'alogi ai e uiga ia Niu Sila  
O ai sa talatalanoa muamua e uiga i le malaga mai i Niu Sila  
Aisea ua e malaga mai ai i Niu Sila  
O le a le tausaga na e malaga mai ai i Niu Sila  
O le fia lena o tausaga o lou soifua na e malaga na i ai i Niu Sila  
Sa e manao e te sau o sau lava filifiliga na e sau ai i Niu Sila  
O le a se lagona sa o'o ia te oe, ina ua e tu'ua Samoa

Na fa'afefea ona fa'atupeina lou pasese mai i Niu Sila  
Sa fa'apefea ona e malaga mai i inei, o le va'aalalo, po o se va'alele  
O ai sa fa'atalia oe i lou taunu'u mai i le uafu, po o le malae va'alele

### Mea sa e nofo ai

O fea sa e nofo ai i lou fa'atoa taunuu mai  
O ai e ona le fale sa e nofo ai (Afai o le taulaga)  
O lea sou lagona e uiga i lou nofo i le taulaga  
E tele ni nofoaga sa e sifi solo i ai  
Sa fa'apefea ona maua fale sa e nofo totogi ai, po'o sou lava fale fa'atau  
O fea o lo'o e nofo ai nei  
O lea le umi talu ona e nofo ai i ina

### Gagana

Sa e iloa tautala i le gagana Peretania (igilisi) ae e te le'i malaga mai i Niu Sila -( afai e leai)  
Sa fa'apefea ona a'oa'o lau gagana Peretania (igilisi). O nisi o lou aiga -(afai e leai) ia po'o se isi fa'alapotopotoga, e pei o le lotu po'o le fale faigaluega  
O lea le gagana tou te fa'aogaina so'o pea fai tou talanoaga- o le fa'a-Samoa po'o le fa'a Peretania (igilisi)  
O lea le taua e alai pea ona tautala i le gagana Samoa  
E iloa e lau fanau, ma fanau a lau fanau, ona tautala ile gagana Samoa

### Mafaufau i le olaga fa'a Niu Sila ma le fa'a Samoa

O lea sou lagona me lou mafaufau pe fa'apeii ia Niu Sila  
Sa i ai ni mea sa e faifia i ai ina ua e taunuu mai i Niu Sila  
O a ni mea sa e faifai i ai pe ete lei fiafia i ai ina ua e taunuu mai i Niu Sila  
Sa fa'afefea uiga o tagata Niu Sila ia te oe  
Sa e misia Samoa  
Sa e teo fia fo'i i Samoa  
Sa fesoasoani mai lou aiga ia te oe

## Galuega

O le a le ituaiga galuega sa e faia i Samoa  
Ole a le ituaiga galuega sa e mana'o e te faia ina ua e sau i Nui Sila  
Po o oe, po o se isi o lou aiga na avatu ai se galuega ete sau ai i Nui Sila  
O fea e iai, a'o ai foi le kamupani  
O iai se isi o le aiga o lo'o galue ai i lea fale faigaluega  
Sa e feigaluega i fea  
E iai nisi fafine Samoa i lena galuega  
Sa faafefea ona maua lau galuega  
O anafea sa amata ai lau galuega  
O a itula sa e faigaluega ai  
Sa e faigaluega i le po  
Sa i ai nisi galuega sa e galue ai, e sili atu ai i le tasi le galuega  
Sa o'o ia te oe se lagona fiafia e uiga i lenei galuega – po'o nei foi galuega  
Sa i ai se lagona le fiafia ia te oe e uiga i lea galuega – po'o nei foi galuega  
Sa e tau atau i tagata lau galuega sa fai  
Sa iai sau fesoasoani i lou aiga i le auina atu oni tupe i Samoa  
Sa e fesoasoani i lou aiga i Niu Sila nei  
O le a le galuega o lo'o e galue ai i le taimi nei  
Sa fesiligia oe e fa'aali atu lou Tusi-Folaun i lau galuega

## So'ofaatasi i le galuega

Na fa'apefea ona e iloa tulaga tau i iuni a tagata faigaluega  
Sa avea oe ma sui o se iuni  
Sa e manatu sa fesoasoani le iuni ia te oe – O a auala sa fesoasoani atu ai  
Afai o lo'o e faigaluega – O lo'o e iai pea o se sui o le iuni  
O le a sou lagona e uiga i Ekalesia po o Lotu foi, i so latou finagalo, e uiga i  
e o loo avea pea ma sui o le iuni  
Ole sailia o tagata ua ova aso i Niu Sila

## D/R

O e manatua le taimi na fa'atino ai e leoleo ma le ofisa o femalagaina le ave  
fa'amalosi ma le sailia o tagata ua ova aso i Niu Sila  
Sa e iloaina se isi sa aafia ai i lea mea  
E mafai ona e ta'umaia ia te au, o le a sou lagona sa i ai i lea ituaiga  
gaoioiga le lelei

### **Lotu or Ekalesia**

**Sa e au ai i se Lotu i lou faatoa taunuu mai i Nui Sila  
O le a le Lotu po'o le Ekalesia  
Sa iai nisi o lou aiga i le Lotu  
E mafai ona e faamatalaina mai ia te au, sou lagona e uiga i lou auai atu, po  
o lou alu atu i le Lotu  
O lo'o e alu pea lava i lenei Lotu po'o lea Ekalesia  
O le a le vaega o le Ekalesia o loo e i ai  
E tele ni ou taimi o lo'o e faaaluina i lou auai atu i nisi galuega faa – le  
Ekalesia  
E o lau fanau i le Lotu  
E faapefea ona e fesoasoani i le Ekalesia**

### **Nofo tuma i Nui Sila**

**O i ai pea sou lagona e te toe fia foi i Samoa  
O le a le mea o lo'o taofia ai oe i Nui Sila nei  
Toe tepa i tua i tausaga e tele ua tuanai. E mafai ona e faamatalaina mai ia  
te au sou lagona e uiga i lou malaga mai ma nofo ai i Nui Sila**

15th September 2000

Chairperson

Massey University Human Ethics Committee

Private Bag 102 904

North Shore MSC

Auckland

Dear Chairperson

**Re MUAHEC 99/038 – Bronwen Byers**

As my research has progressed it has become apparent that I should slightly widen my respondent group, to include other women service workers.

My interviewing is progressing along these lines.

Apart from this change, the original research Objectives 1.2 and Research Procedures 1.3 – 1.5 and the Ethical Considerations 2.1 – 2.10, as approved by the Ethics Committee have not changed.

Yours sincerely

Bronwen Byers

Social Policy and Social Work

Appendix O

## Interview - Returned to be checked:

### What happens next:

- Would you please check these typed notes do not worry about spelling errors, I will correct these.
- Please put a line through parts you want to take out.
- If you can remember your words where ..... has been typed please write in these words as they were hard to hear on the tape recording.
- I would like to collect these from you when you are happy with them – I would like to pick them up in the next two weeks if possible ( )
- Over the next year I will continue with the research.
- In this time I will keep you up to date with what I am doing and how the work is going along – I may need to check some of the interview notes with you later on.
- I will have completed the thesis by late 2002.
- Don't forget I will be giving you the tape recording of the interviews, the computer discs and a copy of the finished work. If you would like a copy of these first notes please tell me.

Thank you very much for your time and help sharing your life story with me.

I have really enjoyed sitting and recording your experiences.

### Dates

Checking interview notes 1 -2 weeks

Interviews all completed by March 2001

Finished thesis late 2002.

Faafetai

Bronwen

Reminances (30/5) Themes:

Receiving: Who, What, Control of: assistance: now

Respondents

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Reminances

urch

Themes

Joining: which: why: how: who: groups  
support (money time) energy

parents

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