

Impacts of inter- and intra- ethnic partnerships / relationships on traditional gift giving in a cohort of Pacific mothers

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Abstract

Traditional gift-giving (TGG) is an important element of familial obligations among Pacific families. Migration from Pacific homelands to New Zealand and other countries has had an impact on participation in TGG. Many anecdotal accounts have suggested that TGG diminishes when Pacific persons marry outside their ethnic groups. While TGG is an indicator of social cohesion TGG can have direct influence on disposable income. The practice of TGG impacts on health as Income and social cohesion are key determinants of health. Thus TGG Health and social cohesion are closely interrelated and interdependent.

The data for this paper is taken from a longitudinal cohort study of 1,398 Pacific children and their families in South Auckland, New Zealand. The study sought participants' responses to questions pertaining to the amounts gifted, the frequency of giving, recipients of the gifting and their reasons for participating and not participating in TGG. The assumption explored in this paper is that as Pacific peoples move outside their social sphere and become more acculturated with other ethnic groups, TGG was more likely to diminish rather than increase.

This paper addresses the TGG participation rates among Pacific peoples in inter-ethnic relationships and intra-ethnic relationships. It argues that couples in an intra-ethnic intimate relationship are more likely to participate in traditional gift-giving than those who are in inter-ethnic intimate relationships. While this is true for most PI inter ethnic relationships the level of participation increases further with inter-ethnic intimate relationships among Tongans and Samoans who are also the largest participators of all ethnic groups in traditional gift-giving.



Introduction

Pacific peoples have been migrating to New Zealand since World War One and in larger numbers since World War Two. Historical constitutional ties between New Zealand and Pacific states and territories provided the platform for this movement. Of the independent states, Samoa, which was administered by New Zealand first under a UN Mandate and later under a UN trusteeship, enjoys a special constitutional relationship with New Zealand which is embodied in a 'treaty of friendship' that was negotiated at independence. This special relationship allows for 1100 Samoans and their families to migrate to New Zealand every year. (Immigration New Zealand, 2011) Although Tonga and Fiji, like Samoa, are also close to New Zealand, their citizens' access has been more restricted. Their numbers are limited by way of temporary migration schemes since WWII. The citizens of Niue, Tokelau and the Cook Islands however, enjoy the privilege of unrestricted entry into New Zealand as they have New Zealand citizenship status (Pitt & Macpherson, 1974). This set of relationships has facilitated the relatively free flow of people from the south-east Pacific. Although this relieved the pressure of population growth in these countries and was a loss to the homelands, it generated a significant stream of income and government revenue for the host countries (Macpherson, 1992; Brown & Connell, 1995). However, dispersal and integration within the host communities also resulted in loss of language and cultural maintenance for the migrant communities (Ministry of Education, 2006)

Historically, Pacific parents sent their adult children to New Zealand in the hope that they would find employment and send money back to support them and their extended families. They looked to their migrant children for monies and goods to assist them in their obligations to family, village and church (Taule'aleausumai, 1991 and 2001). Remittances became a valued element of some island states' GDP. The flow of goods from New Zealand to the islands, in the form of new foods, produce, tools, machinery and cash, became increasingly incorporated into these exchanges (Bedford, 2000; Macpherson, 1994). Besides remittances, migrants supported their families by paying for family members including parents to migrate to New Zealand and found jobs for them so they could assist their non-migrant family members. The links to the 'homeland' through familial and customary obligations to family here and in the islands continues but as expected it is also decreasing (Cowley et al., 2004). One of the reasons for this is the changing attitudes of the younger New Zealand born and raised generation who are putting the needs of their own children above the needs of the extended family (McCallum et al., 2001). Nevertheless, traditional gift-giving (TGG) remains an important feature of Pacific migrant life and expenditure. It allows for familial, religious and cultural obligations to be met by Pacific peoples who have migrated to different countries throughout the world (Macpherson, 1994).

Remitting is seen as one of the principal benefits of having family members living and working in countries like the USA, Australia and New Zealand (NZ). Their access to higher incomes and credit facilities, along with access to technological resources, is considered a huge benefit to those back in the homelands who are the recipients of this resource flow (Macpherson, 1992). For the migrant givers it creates a stronger sense of purpose and capacity to make larger donations than would be possible if they were living and working in their island home country. However, the ability to give is not always easy for Pacific peoples living in New Zealand. Many early migrants who earlier earned high incomes in a protected economy which were secured by an active labour movement bore the brunt of the economic restructuring of the manufacturing and service industries in the 1980s and earlier 1990s. Pacific families were disproportionately affected by the economic restructuring because they predominately occupied the unskilled labour force and could not easily be re-employed in the newly structured economy. It was during this period of economic instability that Pacific populations experienced high levels of unemployment and declining real incomes (Macpherson,



1992). However, New Zealand's economy has seen immense improvement for a particular section of the Pacific community since the mid-1990s.

The last twenty years has seen Pacific peoples participating and succeeding more in education, the performing arts, music and business (Statistics New Zealand, 2006; Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs, 2002). The upward social and economic mobility particularly among the migrants' New Zealand-born descendants has resulted in higher incomes and the steady growth of both the size and breadth of the Pacific middle class. (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) However, Pacific peoples in New Zealand are still more likely to be at the lower end of a number of social indicators than the general population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The more recent global economic climate has meant that Pacific people in many western countries are once again in tougher financial times; experiencing increased unemployment, debt and associated stress.

Recent statistical data (Statistics New Zealand, 2006; Ministry of Social Development, 2011) shows Pacific peoples remain less successful than Palagi (European New Zealanders), Māori and Asian peoples in two important areas of wealth creation and maintenance: education and business. However among the Pacific NZ born there is more economic mobility and educational success- a trend which has been occurring for the last twenty years (Ministry of Education, 2006). Another trend is in the area of inter-marriage and inter-ethnic relationships (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Whilst economic gain is not everything, the phenomena of inter-marriage and inter-ethnic relationships (putting economics aside) provides elements of social capital and cohesion.

Inevitably, as people migrate they forge new relationships with people of their adopted countries. This is more likely to happen if people are similar to each other in culture, language and physical appearance. The likelihood of inter-marriage and intimate partner relationships occurring increases as migrants become more acculturated and begin to share the same social spaces as local populations. International literature suggests that intermarriage between different ethnic groups is increasing especially in countries like the USA, Britain and Canada. According to New Zealand demographers Cook, Didham, and Khawaja (1999) this overseas trend is also becoming evident in New Zealand. The 2006 census data shows marriage between Pacific peoples and Māori is becoming more common as is marriage between Asians and Europeans. The data also suggests factors such as age, education and whether a person was born in New Zealand influence the likelihood of ethnically diverse inter-marriage. These findings also suggest that highly educated Pacific and Māori people who marry outside of their ethnic group are also more likely to enter into relationships with people who are also highly educated. As females are more likely to achieve academically (Fergusson, 1997) more Pacific and Māori women are likely to gain academic qualifications than their male counterparts and enter into relationships with non-Pacific and non-Māori males.

This paper reports on the prevalence of TGG and how it is affected by inter-and intra-ethnic partnerships. Historically, marriage outside one's own ethnic group was used to strengthen political alliances with members of elite families e.g. the Tongan royal family and the Samoan aristocracy. More recently, other than the normal romantic notions of love, inter-marriage for some Pacific families to Palagi have been for more economic reasons. Marriages to Palagi who were thought to have smaller and less demanding kin groups, were seen by some to offer material benefits to the Pacific family in the way of monetary and consumer goods, to provide access to additional cultural capital, and to provide opportunities for migration of family members to other countries for employment purposes (Macpherson, 1970). In some instances intermarriage with Palagi also provided an opportunity/excuse to justify the non-practice or reduced



practice of TGG obligations to family and church, due to their spouses' reluctance to contribute to extended families requests (Macpherson, 1970).

Earlier writers have identified that the strength of the connection to the 'homeland' that has inspired and motivated Pacific families to remit back to the islands may over time be decreasing (Bedford, 1997; Vete, 1995, Apple-yard and Stahl, 1995). Demographers suggest that after two or three generations the 'connection' with the original 'homeland' becomes more distant especially if the successive generations have also become more ethnically diverse (Bedford, 1994). Traditions in which the parents and grandparents may have participated in become less viable as those born and raised abroad have found other ways of expressing their cultural connections to their 'Pacific-ness'. Numerous writers have alluded to these changes taking place with New Zealand born and raised children and their families. (Taule'aleausumai, 2001; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2003; Cowley-Malcolm, 2004) Although TGG is a concept still practiced, the approach to which families express TGG is likely to change and be increasingly diverse over time.

Traditional gift-giving will have a direct impact on income. Income is the most important determinant of health as it is a pre-requisite to gaining sufficient nutrition, shelter, warmth, and healthcare when needed. Traditional gift-giving can place finances under strain when contributions are needed, however, can also relieve financial pressures when reciprocated. Social-cohesion is also another determinant of health and participation in TGG may be indicative of levels of social cohesion. (National Health Committee, 1998)

The Pacific diaspora continues throughout the world and as with other ethnic groups contact with different ethnicities bring with it connections that have far reaching implications. These include changes to language, dress, cultural practices, values, beliefs, familial obligations and reciprocity. Sociologists (Macpherson, 1994; Bedford, 1997; Hauofa, 1993) explain these changes as being part and parcel of the trans-national and global population that exist in today's world. This paper will analyse data from the Pacific Islands Families Study (PIFS) in relation to inter-marriage and traditional gift-giving. Furthermore, this paper will examine how socio-demographic characteristics including couples ethnic composition, age, education, religion, birthplace and income may influence the practice of traditional gift-giving.

Design

The Pacific Islands Families study (PIFS) is a longitudinal, multi-disciplinary, quantitative cohort study of Pacific children and their families. Data were collected as part of the PIFS. The PIFS was designed to follow a cohort of Pacific children and their families over the first six years of their lives. This cohort is made up of 1,398 infants (22 pairs of twins) born at Middlemore hospital in South Auckland between the months of 15 March and 17 December, 2000, and their mothers and fathers. Middlemore hospital was chosen as the site for recruitment of the cohort as it has the largest number of Pacific births in New Zealand. The ethnic groupings of the cohort are broadly representative of the 2001 Pacific census figures. Eligibility criteria included the child having at least one parent of Pacific ethnicity (self identified) who was also a New Zealand permanent resident.

After the 6-week visit, approximately 12 months after the birth of their child Pacific interviewers, fluent in both languages (Pacific and English), visited the mothers again in their homes. Once eligibility criteria were confirmed and informed consent was gained, mothers participated in one hour interviews concerning the health and development of the child and family functioning. This interview was carried out in the preferred language of the mother. Ethical approval for all procedures and measurement tools was gained from the



appropriate national bodies prior to the commencement of the study. At the 12 month interview, primary respondents were asked if they or their partners made traditional gift commitments. If the mothers answered yes to this question they were then asked to identify who they usually gifted to: their family in New Zealand and /or to the church. They were also asked to describe the nature of the gift and the effect that these gift commitments had on the household. They were also asked if people had gifted back to them (reciprocity). The most common form of TGG made by participants was in the form of money. The average amount of money gifted per month was asked of participants and is referred to as the magnitude of TGG. Detailed information about the PIFS cohort and procedures is described elsewhere (Paterson et al., 2006). Only the participants who stated they were married or had partners were included in the data analysis for this paper.

We have used several classifications to differentiate co-habiting or partnered couples in terms of their ethnicity in relation to the findings. Classification one differentiates couples based on intra- and inter-ethnicity of the couple: an 'Inter-ethnic couple' is defined as a male and female of different ethnicity to each other living together as a couple; whereas 'Intra-ethnic couple' is defined as the same ethnicity living together as a couple. Classification two assigns classification according to the couples Pacific Island (PI) or other non-Pacific ethnicity: Both from PI or one from PI and another from non-PI. Classification three categorises couples into seven main ethnicity-based sub-groups: these being 1) both Samoan, 2) both Tongan, 3) one Samoan and one Tongan, 4) both Cook Island, 5) one Samoan or Tongan and one other PI, 6) other PI couple, and 7) one PI and one non-PI. Due to small numbers in some sub-groups, some groups described in classification three were combined to form five main sub-groups that is the basis of classification four. Classification four comprises couples of: 1) Samoan ethnicity, 2) Tongan ethnicity, 3) Tongan and Samoan ethnicity, 4) one Samoan or Tongan and one other ethnicity and 5) all other types of couples.

Statistical analysis

The magnitude of overall TGG was reported as the median and interquartile range (IQR). Comparison of the magnitude of overall TGG by mother's ethnicity and types of couples was done using the Mann-Whitney U test or Kruskal-Wallis test where appropriate. Chi-squared tests were employed to investigate associations between mother's ethnicity and gift giving and between different types of couples and gift giving. All possible interactions between the types of couples and other selected socio-demographic risk factors such as mother's age, mother's born status (NZ born versus overseas born), mother's religion (no religion vs some religion), mother's education and household income in predicting the prevalence of TGG were examined in bivariate analysis. Multivariable logistic regression was used to examine the variation in odds of gift giving according to the types of couples (classification four), after adjusting for the demographic characteristics listed above and any interactions found in the stratified analysis. Crude odds ratios were adjusted for risk factors that were significantly related to the outcomes.

All analyses were performed using SPSS version 14.0 statistical software package and a significance level of $\alpha=0.05$ was used to determine statistical significance for all calculations.

Results

In a cohort study of 1376 Pacific mothers in Manukau City of whom 1,137 responded to the question regarding traditional gift giving at the 12 month follow-up phase. Of these, 977 participants stated they were married or had partners and 974 partner's ethnicity was obtained for this analysis. A description of the socio-demographic characteristics of this sample appear in Table 1. (see next page)



Table 1. Frequencies (percentages) of socio-demographic variables for participating mothers

Socio-demographic variables	n	(%)
<i>Age (years)^a</i>		
<20	23	(2.4)
20-29	483	(49.6)
30-39	420	(43.1)
≥40	48	(4.9)
<i>Highest educational qualification</i>		
No formal qualifications	360	(37)
Secondary	324	(33.3)
Post-secondary	290	(29.7)
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Samoan	488	(50)
Tongan	211	(22)
Cook Island Māori	144	(15)
Niuean	40	(4)
Other Pacific ^b	29	(3)
Non-Pacific ^c	62	(6)
<i>Born in NZ</i>		
No	675	(69.3)
Yes	299	(30.7)
<i>Religion</i>		
No religion	59	(6.1)
Some religion	915	(93.9)
<i>Household income (NZD)</i>		
≤\$20,000	227	(23.3)
\$20,000-\$40,000	585	(60.1)
>\$40,000	131	(13.4)
Unknown	31	(3.2)

^a 1 observation missing^b includes mothers identifying equally with two or more ethnic groups^c includes non-Pacific mothers who were eligible through the Pacific ethnicity of the Father

Table 2 presents TGG overall, TGG to church and TGG to family by mothers ethnicity, as well as the couple ethnicity based classifications (1-4). Overall 56% of mothers reported that they and/or their partner usually gifted to any recipients, 46.7% to family (40.9% to family in New Zealand and 27.4% to family in the islands), 38% to the church and 1.7% to 'others'. Of all the ethnic groups in the study, 68.7% of Tongans reported overall TGG, the highest percentage, followed by Samoans at 57.2%; for all other ethnic groups less than 50% participated in TGG. Similar trends were found in terms of TGG to family and to church. In all accounts gifting was most common to family than church.



Table 2. Numbers (row percentages) of mother's traditional gift giving (TGG) by mother's ethnicity and types of couples

Category	Total	Overall TGG			TGG to Church			TGG to Family		
	N	n	%	P value	n	%	P value	n	%	P value
Section one: mother's ethnicity				<0.001			<0.001			<0.001
Samoan	488	279	57.2		184	37.7		248	50.8	
Cook Island	144	62	43.1		45	31.3		39	27.1	
Niuean	40	16	40.0		9	22.5		11	27.5	
Tongan	211	145	68.7		110	52.1		125	59.2	
Other Pacific	29	14	48.3		8	27.6		11	37.9	
Non-Pacific Island	62	29	46.8		14	22.6		21	33.9	
Section two: types of couples										
<i>Classification one</i>				0.756			0.895			0.071
Inter-ethnic	519	288	55.5		196	37.8		228	43.9	
Intra-ethnic	455	257	56.5		174	38.2		227	49.9	
<i>Classification two</i>				0.032			0.027			0.025
One PI, one non-PI	133	63	47.4		39	29.3		50	37.6	
Both PI	841	482	57.3		331	39.4		405	48.2	
<i>Classification three</i>				<0.001			<0.001			<0.001
Both Samoan	300	170	56.7		114	38.0		153	51.0	
Both Tongan	110	65	59.1		47	42.7		56	50.9	
One Samoan, one Tongan	148	107	72.3		79	53.4		93	62.8	
Both Cook Island	34	15	44.1		10	29.4		12	35.3	
One Samoan or Tongan, one other PI	229	117	51.1		78	34.1		84	36.7	
Other PI couple	20	8	40		3	15.0		7	35.0	
One PI, one non-PI	133	63	47.4		39	29.3		50	37.6	
<i>Classification four</i>				<0.001			<0.001			<0.001
Both Samoan	300	170	56.7		114	38.0		153	51.0	
Both Tongan	110	65	59.1		47	42.7		56	50.9	
One Samoan, one Tongan	148	107	72.3		79	53.4		93	62.8	
One Samoan OR Tongan, one other (PI or non-PI)	320	164	51.3		108	33.8		123	38.4	
All other couples	96	39	40.6		22	22.9		30	31.3	
Total	974	545	56.0		370	38.0		455	46.7	

There were similar proportions of inter- and intra-ethnic couples (53.3% and 46.7% respectively). There was no difference observed in the prevalence of overall TGG, TGG to family or TGG to church between these groups (classification 1). Comparing couples of one PI and one non-PI ethnicity to couples who both are of PI ethnicity (classification 2), the latter group were significantly more likely to participate in all forms of TGG.



Classification three showed that couples of one Tongan and one Samoan had the highest participation in overall TGG (72.3%), followed by Tongan couples (59.1%), Samoan couples (56.7%), and Samoan or Tongan with other PI as a couple (51.1%).

To increase the sample size within each sub-group, the seven groups were reclassified into five (classification 4). Of the 320 couples that included one Tongan or Samoan and one other ethnicity, significantly more (51.3%) participated in TGG compared to all other types of couples (40.6%, $P < 0.001$). The comparisons of TGG to family and to church across these sub-groups were also significantly different.

Table 3 presents three multi-variate logistic regression models to determine what factors may influence the traditional gift-giving Overall, to Church, and to Family. Couples classification type Four has been used for these analyses. Results showed that couples of Tongan and Samoan combined composition were significantly more likely (3 times) to participate in TGG than All other couples. Mother's birth place and religious practice were significantly associated with overall TGG. Mothers born overseas were 1.6 times more likely to take part in TGG than those born in New Zealand; mothers who had some religion were over 3 times more likely to take part in TGG compared to those who did not have any religion (OR: 3.27, 95%CI: 1.73 – 6.19). Higher income was significantly associated with higher levels of TGG. The TGG to Church had exactly the same associations to the Overall TGG model; however the model of TGG to Family differed in two respects. Most notable is the absence of the Household income variable, and the other difference is the addition of the 'Both Samoan' (OR: 1.88) couple group to the 'One Samoan, one Tongan' (OR: 3.10) couple group as being significantly more likely to participate in TGG to family than All other couples.



Table 3. Adjusted odds ratios for mothers' Overall TGG, TGG to Church, and TGG to Family and other socio-demographic factors in a multivariate logistic regression model

Variable	Category	Overall TGG		TGG to Church		TGG to Family	
		OR	(95% CI)	OR	(95% CI)	OR	(95% CI)
Types of couples	Both Samoan	1.49	(0.91, 2.44)	1.56	(0.89, 2.71)	1.88	(1.13, 3.11)*
	Both Tongan	1.46	(0.81, 2.63)	1.67	(0.88, 3.15)	1.71	(0.94, 3.10)
	One Samoan, one Tongan	3.08	(1.75, 5.42)†	3.15	(1.73, 5.74)†	3.10	(1.77, 5.43)†
	One Samoan OR Tongan, one other	1.48	(0.92, 2.41)	1.72	(0.99, 2.99)	1.30	(0.79, 2.14)
	All other couples	1.0		1.0		1.0	
Mother's age	<20	1.0		1.0		1.0	
	20-29	0.74	(0.31, 1.80)	0.54	(0.21, 1.37)	0.79	(0.32, 1.93)
	30-39	0.94	(0.38, 2.31)	0.74	(0.29, 1.91)	0.87	(0.35, 2.17)
	≥40	1.13	(0.39, 3.31)	1.24	(0.41, 3.71)	0.87	(0.30, 2.54)
	No formal qualifications	1.0		1.0		1.0	
Highest educational qualification	Secondary	0.99	(0.72, 1.36)	1.03	(0.74, 1.43)	0.97	(0.70, 1.32)
	Post-secondary	1.27	(0.90, 1.78)	1.20	(0.85, 1.69)	1.13	(0.81, 1.57)
Born in NZ	No	1.62	(1.17, 2.23)†	2.05	(1.45, 2.91) †	1.42	(1.03, 1.96)*
	Yes	1.0		1.0		1.0	
Religion	No religion	1.0		1.0		1.0	
	Some religion	3.27	(1.73, 6.19)†	3.39	(1.47, 7.81) †	2.77	(1.40, 5.47) †
Household income (NZD)	≤\$20,000	1.0		1.0		1.0	
	\$20,000-\$40,000	1.41	(1.02, 1.94)*	1.30	(0.93, 1.82)*	1.25	(0.91, 1.73)
	>\$40,000	1.50	(0.94, 2.38)	1.23	(0.76, 1.98)	1.50	(0.95, 2.37)
	Unknown	1.40	(0.61, 3.20)	0.64	(0.25, 1.62)	1.27	(0.56, 2.88)

* P<0.05; † P<0.01; ‡ P<0.001



The analysis of the monetary amount (NZ\$) given per month or magnitude of overall TGG by ethnicity and types of couples is presented in Table 4. Samoan mothers reported the highest magnitude of TGG with a median of NZ\$240, followed by Tongan mothers (median of NZ\$150); the median for other ethnicities was NZ\$100 or less. In terms of the types of couples, Samoan couples gave the largest amount followed by couples with one Tongan and one Samoan. Other PI couples without Samoan or Tongan ethnicity gave comparatively smaller amounts.

Table 4. Median and IQR of the money given per month or magnitude of overall TGG by mother's ethnicity and types of couples

	N	Median (NZ\$)	IQR (NZ\$)	P value
Section one: mother's ethnicity				<0.001
Samoan	279	240	150-350	
Cook Island	62	100	40-200	
Niuean	16	100	40-200	
Tongan	145	150	85-270	
Other Pacific	14	100	58-305	
Non-Pacific Island	29	70	32-105	
Section two: types of couples				
<i>Classification one</i>				0.002
Inter-ethnic	288	155	80-300	
Intra-ethnic	257	200	100-300	
<i>Classification two</i>				0.002
One PI, one non-PI	63	100	50-250	
Both PI	482	200	100-300	
<i>Classification three</i>				<0.0001
Both Samoan	170	245	148-363	
Both Tongan	65	150	95-250	
One Samoan, one Tongan	107	200	100-300	
Both Cook Island	15	100	80-160	
One Samoan or Tongan, one other PI	117	120	60-290	
Other PI couple	8	125	55-223	
One PI, one non-PI	63	100	50-250	
<i>Classification four</i>				<0.0001
Both Samoan	170	245	148-363	
Both Tongan	65	150	95-250	
One Samoan, one Tongan	107	200	100-300	
One Samoan OR Tongan, one other (PI or non-PI)	164	123	50-300	
All other couples	39	100	50-150	
Total	545	200	100-300	

When mothers were asked why they participated in TGG, most stated that they gave due to family expectations (n=270, 49.7%). The most common reason for not engaging in TGG 'because of financial reasons' (n=193, 44.8%).



Discussion

This study clearly indicated that Traditional Gift-giving (TGG) is still widely practiced in the Pacific community of New Zealand. However, there are important differences based on Pacific ethnicity and the ethnic composition of couples. Tongan followed by Samoan mothers and couples were most likely to practice TGG when compared to Niuean and Cook Islands groups. Niuean and Cook Islands communities have on average resided in New Zealand for a longer period of time which may explain their lower level of TGG. (Sundborn, 2006) This infers that with increasing acculturation there is a decrease in the practice of TGG by communities – a view reflected in the literature (see Cowley et al., 2004; McCallum et al., 2001). The significant association of diminishing religious affiliation and being NZ born with TGG supports this view. Pacific people and communities that have lived in NZ longer are more likely to be NZ born and less likely to be religious. (Statistics New Zealand, 2006) The relative larger size of the Cook Island and Niue populations in New Zealand compared to their respective home nations is likely to moderate the level of TGG in the form of remittances that these groups participate in and may explain the lower participation of TGG by Cook Island and Niue ethnic groups compared to Samoan and Tongan groups. The Niue and Cook Islands populations in New Zealand are 10.3 X and 2.7 X larger than their respective populations in the Islands. In contrast the island populations of Samoa and Tonga are both larger than their respective populations in New Zealand. (Statistics New Zealand, 2006)

Couples of Samoan and Tongan composition reported the highest TGG followed by Tongan only, and Samoan only couples. Further research is required to understanding why mixed Samoan-Tongan couples are most likely to participate in TGG and whether this places these couples under greater financial pressure. It may be that these families have greater social cohesion and the act of TGG being reciprocated means these families may not experience any greater stress as a result.

Whilst this study focuses on the inter-marriage aspect of TGG, it is clear from other research with Pacific families that aspects of Pacific culture remain fairly steadfast in some ethnic couples and where inter-ethnic marriage has taken place with other Pacific cultures like Samoan and Tongan, and a mutual strengthening of cultural practices has been found.

Although Pacific peoples are dispersed throughout the world the practice of TGG continues for many even though they may have lived overseas for more than 10 years. Hauofa (1993) alludes to 'expanding kinship networks through which they circulate themselves, their relatives, their material goods and their stories all across their ocean'. These take on many different forms as Pacific peoples seek out new horizons and adapt to their new surroundings (McCallum et al, 2000). In some cases the new generation of younger Pacific peoples have reconstructed their own ways of meeting these demands by prioritizing their giving on a smaller scale, and in different ways to meet familial obligations (Cowley et al, 2004; Tiatia, 1998).

Alongside these inter-generational changes are the changes involved when different couples with different values and worldviews form intimate partnerships. Couples who are more entrenched in their Pacific ways such as Tongan and Samoan couples practice TGG more than other Pacific peoples in NZ and are more likely to continue this practice, even more so if they are recent arrivals to New Zealand. Their obligations to their families remain stronger than those who were born and raised in NZ or other parts of the world.

The median monetary amount that was given per month for those that practiced TGG was NZ\$200. Samoan only couples gave the most (median \$245) followed by Samoan and Tongan couples (\$200) and then Tongan

only couples (\$150). Couples of a Tongan or Samoan and any Other gave a median amount of \$123 (from Classification 4). All other couples gave less \$100 or less. Samoan couples may be more likely to give a higher amount for a number of reasons when compared to the Tongan and mixed Samoan and Tongan couples. They tend to have higher income (Sundborn, 2006) allow for a greater financial contribution and/or may experience higher demand for TGG. It is proposed that a quite different decision making process would be employed to determine whether to gift or not, and also what amount should be gifted for most non-Tongan and non-Samoan participants generally.

Some limitations of this study include the inability to incorporate into the analysis length of stay in NZ, time people have been 'couples', and absence of quantifying non-monetary forms of TGG and possible association these variables may have had. For this study the ease of quantifying monetary gifting has made it the sole measure of TGG even though it is widely known that monetary donations are just one way Pacific peoples and those who are inter- and intra-ethnically partnered contribute to TGG. To address some of the gaps in relation to 'in kind' TGG, it is recommended that a qualitative investigation with Pacific parents be conducted.

In this study the majority of people stated their main reason for not giving was financial and the likelihood of participating in TGG was found to be significantly associated with household income. Those ethnic groups who have resided in NZ longer and participants who are NZ born participants, you may expect would more able to give, however this is not the case. The more recently settled communities (Tongan and Samoan) and non-NZ born are most likely to give. Acknowledging the significant differences in Pacific nation sizes relative to their NZ population size it may be that with acculturation and greater time spent in New Zealand priorities that dictate expenditure in terms of TGG change (demand may also decrease). These changes may also be the result of lived experience and an evolution of culture rather than a dislocation from it.

Conclusion

Pacific peoples have a long history of migration to New Zealand. Inter-marriage is an inevitable occurrence in any society when people arrive, interact and socialise with people in the host country. Pacific people living in New Zealand are no different from their counterparts across the globe when these migration and acculturation events occur. The results of this study confirm the anecdotal evidence of diminishing traditional gift-giving when Pacific peoples are partnered with Māori, Asian, Palagi or other Pacific groups, other than Samoan and Tongan. As individual subgroups Samoan and Tongans are most likely to practice TGG, however, when combined their participation of TGG is significantly higher. The growing trend of inter-marriage within our society is bound to impact on the cultural dynamics and inter-ethnic relations within New Zealand. This is therefore of crucial importance to the social, political and economic fabric of our society. Further studies to explore these phenomena in more depth would add to the body of knowledge produced by this study and coupling these investigations with health outcomes is recommended.



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*“Strength does not come from physical capacity.
It comes from an indomitable will.”*

Mahatma Gandhi

