PROTECTION OF AUTHOR’S COPYRIGHT

This copy has been supplied by the Library of the University of Otago on the understanding that the following conditions will be observed:

1. To comply with ss56 of the Copyright Act 1994 [NZ], this thesis copy must only be used for the purposes of research or private study.

2. The author's permission must be obtained before any material in the thesis is reproduced, unless such reproduction falls within the fair dealing guidelines of the Copyright Act 1994. Due acknowledgement must be made to the author in any citation.

3. No further copies may be made without the permission of the Librarian of the University of Otago.
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of Samoa’s annual Teuila festival in contributing to the development and maintenance of Samoan music, and discusses the function of music and the festival in the expression of Samoan cultural identity. It draws its theoretical and methodological framework from the field of ethnomusicology, and it is further informed by research discourses drawn from the fields of indigenous studies and tourism studies. Samoan music has been the subject of numerous studies over the course of the last century, but less research has considered the relationship between performance and identity in the context of contemporary culture. This thesis approaches the topic from an ‘insider’ perspective, drawing on the author’s history of participation in Samoan music and experience as a person deeply involved in the development of Teuila itself.

Following an introduction to the topic, this thesis provides a discussion of the key issues involved in ‘insider’ research, and the ways in which these have been approached in ethnomusicology and indigenous studies. It then discusses the role of fieldwork in research and outlines the research process undertaken for this thesis. This process involved literature surveys and ethnographic case study fieldwork at the 2008 Teuila festival. The thesis concludes with a comparison of prior and current research, and indicates the potential for music research to illuminate discussion of cultural identity.
PREFACE

This research has been made possible through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the University of Otago and the National University of Samoa. I am delighted to acknowledge a large number of people who gave their tremendous support through prayers, encouragement, kindness, mentoring, and especially practical assistance that made this dissertation possible. My sincere thanks to the University of Otago Vice Chancellor, Prof David Skegg, former and current Pro-Vice Chancellors of the Division of Humanities, Prof Alistair Fox and Prof Majella Franzmann who both actively facilitated and supported my studies, and to Dr Judy Bennett for her support and guidance. My sincerest thanks to former NUS Vice Chancellor Tafafuna’i Magele Mauiliu and current Vice Chancellor, Le’apai Lau Asofou So’o for the opportunity to pursue my studies.

To the Honourable Prime Minister of Samoa, Afioga Tuilaepa Lopesolai Sailele Malielegaoi and wife Gillian and family: since you initiated the Teuila Festival, our friendship has led me to conduct this research with confidence. Thank you for your blessings and also the informative interview. To my mentor, the Honourable Minister of Works and Infrastructure, Afioga Tuisugaletaua A. Sofara Aveau for his honourable encouragement and advice at all times including his advice with my translations of the Samoan text. You inspired me to take whatever challenge that crosses my path and I am forever grateful to you.

To the Music Department of the University of Otago, Dr. Dan Bendrups who has done more than being my Supervisor and also my mentor and friend as well as his wife Kerryn and son Boriss. Special thanks for inspiring me to pursue this concept of the Teuila Festival as my topic. To all the Otago Music Department Staff, Dr Henry Johnson, Peter Adams, Sue Court,
Dot Duthie, Mary-Jane Campbell, and to all that I have not mentioned, thank you for your kind support.

To the Director of the NUS Research and Planning; Afioga Gatoloaifaana Tilianamua Afamasaga who was my former boss at the Faculty of Education and still writes to check up on my studies. To the Chief Executive Officer of the Samoa Tourism Authority and Staff, Afioga Matatamalii Sonja Matalavea Hunter, thank you for the interview. To the Dean of the Faculty of Education, Epenesa Lafi Esera, and my colleagues Lumaava So’oa’emalelagi and Lina Tone Schuster, my HOD; Dawn Rasmussen and to all my FOE friends. You gave me a challenge that sometimes I wished I had not taken but you were always there for me when I return for the holidays. To my friends at the Faculty of Arts: Isalei Vaai Sioa, Susana Taua’a, thankyou for being my friends.

To the Manager of the Otago Pacific Island Centre, Afioga Tofilau Nina Kirifi-Alai, husband Falepauga Eti Alai, and staff: thank you for your support and positive reinforcements I would not have managed to complete this thesis with your challenges and word of confidence. To Archbishop Afioga Alapati Mataaeliga, Bishop Etuale Etuale, Sister Akenese Nun Toon for their blessings and support through prayers. To the Archdiocese of Dunedin: Father Tauanau Mariano Niusila, Father John Mullin, Bishop Collin, Sister Denise and Jude Lowe. You inspired me in keeping the faith in God and I am forever grateful to God for leading me to you. I was almost convinced that I had taken the wrong vocation as a teacher.

To the Corstorphine Samoan Catholic Community: to Leleisiuao and family, to my friends Aunty Vise and Gilbert McKinlay, Maggie and Tiotala Tupu and children Gabrielle, Soni and Rita; Malia and Etuale, Tasileta Pua and Lemi and Son, Epifania and son Emanuel and also to
my youngest friends, Aunty Agnes Laufiso, Tagiilima Lemalu and Ioana Cordtz. You
became my immediate family in Dunedin and I never forget your kindness and friendship.

To my families and friends in Samoa, American Samoa and New Zealand especially,
Falanaa’ipupu Julie and Tolovae Nanai, Auelua Samuelu Enari, Atalina Enari and daughter
Lise Aberina, Afioga Seinafolava Talalupelele Solomona in Auckland who never stopped
sending me a weekly allowance and her love, my cousins Victor and Mary Keil, Valelia Tuala
Lafaele, Virginia and Tracy Solomona, Melvin Snr and Hemi Solomona, Iosefo and Moe
Solomona, Konelio and Faga Solomona, Amanda and Joe, and Malama and Iakopo and to my
classmate Felisha Ott Devoe for her prayers and love.

To my mother So’osemea and Eddie Ulberg, to my brother Hemi Mata’utia Pene Solomona,
wife and son Emma and Dwayne, my brother Pene and to my dearest nephew Gibson
Mata’utia Solomona for looking after Mum, to Joan & Jim Williams and family, Maiava
Hemi Solomona and Tusipepa Solomona, Ueta Solomona ande family and also to aunty
Annie and uncle Steve in Dunedin. These people have contributed and sacrificed everything
in order for me to continue my studies.

And finally, to my late Grandparents, Mata’utia Pene Solomona and Vaemoa Ana Solomona
to whom I owe my gratitude, they made an impact on my life, raised and taught me well
especially with the musical talent that my grandfather had bestowed upon me. I wish that I
could turn back the clock to have them here to savour what I have achieved so far in life.

To all of you, Ua se togi le seu na lagatila ma le fa’apulou i le tuālima. Se ua fa’amālō
fa’afetai le agalelei i le auaua nei. You have made an enormous contribution to my thesis.
and studies. I therefore offer my sincere thank you for all you have done for me (thank you Taupañ Fiso Evelini Fa’amoe for this wonderful quote).

May God Bless You All,

Soifua,

Salā Seutatia Telesia Mata‘utia Pene Solomona
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract..........................................................................................................................................ii
Preface ..............................................................................................................................................iii
Table of Contents.........................................................................................................................vii

Introduction ......................................................................................................................................1
  Research Framework..................................................................................................................3
  Scope and Limitations...............................................................................................................4
  Chapter Outline.........................................................................................................................7

Chapter 1: Theory and Method .................................................................................................9
  Insider Ethnography and Indigenous Epistemology............................................................10
  Insider Research – A Samoan Perspective ..........................................................................12
  Ethnomusicological Research Methods ...........................................................................16

Chapter 2: Samoan Music in Historical Context ..................................................................25
  An Insider’s View of Traditional Samoan Music ...............................................................25
  Colonial Era Ethnographic Surveys of Samoan Music......................................................28
  Ethnomusicology and Samoan Music ................................................................................35
  Encyclopaedia Sources ..........................................................................................................43
  Conclusion...............................................................................................................................48

Chapter 3: Festivals as Research Subjects............................................................................49
  Festivals in Contemporary Cultural Research ................................................................49
  Art and Identity in the Pacific – A Theoretical Framework .............................................53
  Festivals and Tourism ............................................................................................................59
  Conclusions.............................................................................................................................62

Chapter 4: Teuila in Historical Context ..................................................................................64
  My Involvement with Teuila .................................................................................................69
  Teuila from the Festival Founder’s Perspective .................................................................71
  Teuila Performance Categories.........................................................................................72
    Dance Competitions..............................................................................................................72
    Ma’ulu’ulu (Group dance)....................................................................................................73
    Faataupati (Slap dance)........................................................................................................74
    Sasa .....................................................................................................................................74
    Taupou (solo maiden’s dance) .............................................................................................75
    Aiuli (a dance by young men) .............................................................................................75
    Siva Ailao Afi (fire dance) ....................................................................................................76
    Choral Singing......................................................................................................................76
    Brass Bands..........................................................................................................................78
    Stringband Competitions ...................................................................................................79
    Clowning (Faleaitu) in Music and Dance ..........................................................................80
    Miss Samoa Pageant and Parade .........................................................................................81
    Cricket (Kiri kiti) ...................................................................................................................82
    Fautasi Race ........................................................................................................................84
    Other Cultural Events ..........................................................................................................84
  Conclusion...............................................................................................................................86
Chapter 5: Teuila 2008 – A Case Study ................................................................. 89
Opening .................................................................................................................. 90
Jazz As Contemporary Mediation ......................................................................... 96
Cultural Performance Competitions .................................................................... 99
Songs As Vehicles of Cultural Maintenance and Change ...................................... 104
Variety Show ......................................................................................................... 109
Conclusion ........................................................................................................... 112
Bibliography ........................................................................................................ 116
Appendix 1: Teuila 2008 Table of Events ............................................................. 121
Appendix 2: Glossary of Samoan terms ................................................................. 124
Appendix 3: Ethics ............................................................................................... 125
INTRODUCTION

Since 1992, Samoan music and dance has been celebrated in an annual festival called Teuila, held in the first week of September. Like many cultural festivals around the Pacific, Teuila provides spectators and participants with a range of cultural activities that are taken to be representative of Samoan tradition, effectively fusing the past with the present and demonstrating the ongoing relevance of traditional practices in the daily lives of the Samoan people. In the context of Teuila, visitors to Samoa would be likely to encounter many aspects of Samoan culture that are deemed authentic or traditional, such as the choir competition, brass band competition, traditional group singing competition and string band performances of folk music. They would also witness cultural art in tattooing and carving, and performances in solo dances of a taupou or manaia (Samoan maiden or young gentleman), mixed group performances of the ma'ulu'ulu (group performance), fa'ataupati (slap dance performed by men) and siva afi (fire dance). Alongside these performances, they would find traditional sports such as cricket, fautasi (long boat) races and a coconut palm climbing competition. Each of these activities presents a different aspect of Samoan culture, but they are all deemed to be part of Samoan tradition.

To Samoans, Teuila is an opportunity to compete for prestige, for cultural expression and entertainment. Many of the events in this week-long festival are intended specifically for ‘insider’ audiences, though they are also marketed to tourists through the State Tourism Bureau. The festival incorporates other events, such as the ‘Miss Samoa’ pageant, that are hotly contested and especially relevant to contemporary cultural life. This is reflected in the fact that the Miss Samoa pageant includes contestants from American Samoa, continental USA, Australia and New Zealand, reflecting the broad spread of Samoan migration and acting
as a conceptual reunion point for the diaspora. Competitions such as the brass band and choir competitions also reflect contemporary social structures, providing a way for particular villages and Church congregations to exert their presence and identity in a visible national forum.

One of the unifying factors of Teuila is the extent to which the diverse performance and competition categories of the festival either include or rely on music. The music of Teuila ranges from traditional chants through to church hymns, band marches, and even pre-recorded pop songs, but in every case, the function of the music is to promote the sense of Samoan identity associated with the event. Therefore, music may be seen to be a key factor in the success of the festival, and it is worthy of study as an element of Samoan cultural practice. In considering music in this way, it is important to note that existing studies of Samoan music, while comprehensive in many respects, do not necessarily provide any information on the role of music in high profile, contemporary public events like Teuila.

This thesis contributes to the study of Samoan culture by providing an overview of the little-researched role of music in the annual cultural festival Teuila. In this thesis, I argue that, in the context of contemporary Samoa, music provides an important means by which Samoans perform and express issues of identity, tradition and belonging, resulting in the development and maintenance of collective consciousness regarding the role of performance and tradition in contemporary life. The festival comprises various traditional and modern activities, but the most important ones are all musical activities. Therefore, music plays a vital role in sustaining both the festival and the festival’s significance in terms of fa’a Samoa (the Samoan ‘way’ of being). I arrived at this argument after a long consideration of the contested concept of tradition in ethnomusicology research, and through my own attempts to combine my many
years of practical experience as a culture bearer of Samoan music with academic frameworks
drawn from the field of ethnomusicology. The result is a new approach to the way in which
music is viewed and understood in Samoan context.

Research Framework

The research method for this thesis draws on the field of ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicology
is an appropriate discipline for the study of music in contemporary Samoa because it provides
the necessary framework for considering music in the context of broader cultural practices,
such as competitions and festivals. It is also appropriate because the ethnomusicology
tradition of ‘insider ethnography’ applies to my own situation as culture bearer studying the
music of my own culture.

Teuila was chosen as the main subject of this study because it is a long-standing annual event
that is the highlight of Samoan cultural performance. As such, Teuila provides a ‘snapshot’ of
Samoan culture, encapsulated within a week of frenetic activity. Teuila was also chosen
because, up until recently, it has not been covered by academic research, despite its clear
importance to contemporary Samoan culture. Teuila was an appropriate research subject
because the festival format made it possible for short-term participant-observation fieldwork
to be conducted in 2008, well within the scope of a Masters thesis that had to be completed
within the course of one year. Finally, Teuila was an appropriate topic for research because of
my deep knowledge and experience of the festival: I was involved in the planning of the very
first Teuila, and I have participated in many aspects of the festival over the course of its
existence.
In order to make this research relevant to the area of study, I have developed a theoretical framework based on two important conceptual constructs: the concept of ‘insider ethnography’, and the concept of festivals as representations of cultural practice. Where ‘insider ethnography’ is concerned, I draw from the writing of Chou Chiener, as reflected in her contribution to the chapter ‘Fieldwork at Home: European and Asian Perspectives’ co-authored with Jonathan Stock (Stock and Chiener 2008). This is complemented by reference to certain theoretical frameworks concerning indigenous researchers and indigenous epistemologies, particularly the application of discourse in *talanoa* (‘informal discussion’, rather than formal interviews) mobilised by Vaioleti (2003) and Otsuka (2005). Where festival research is concerned, I reference a range of recent articles that discuss the role of music in Pacific festivals, and focus specifically on the book *Art and Identity in the Pacific: Festival of Pacific Arts* (Yamamoto 2006a). This book is the most comprehensive resource on the Festival of Pacific Arts to date, and it provides excellent models for the consideration of music as cultural practice in the festival context.

**Scope and Limitations**

This thesis is one of the first to examine Teuila as a cultural phenomenon, and it focuses very closely on the description of performances from the Teuila of 2008. While it presents the festival in historical context, it is not a complete history of all the performance practices associated with Teuila throughout its history. Rather, it is intended as an exercise in demonstrating the insight gained from the application of ethnomusicological theory and method to insider research, with the festival as a focal point for discussion. While this thesis discusses a number of significant Samoan performance traditions, it is not intended as a comprehensive taxonomy of Samoan performance tradition. Existing research by Richard Moyle (1988) and Jacob Wainwright Love (1991) provides an excellent introduction to and
catalogue of traditional Samoan music and performance. Instead, this thesis provides insight into the ways in which these traditions are mediated and expressed in contemporary culture.

There are a number of factors affecting the scope and limitations of this thesis. Firstly, it is important to note that this research has been undertaken as part of a partnership between the National University of Samoa (NUS), where I am employed as a lecturer in Education, and the University of Otago, which is aimed at providing NUS staff with opportunities for upgrading qualifications and learning new research techniques. I view my participation in this program as an opportunity for self-development as well as a path to discovering the ways in which I might make my area of expertise (music) relevant to broader discourses of Samoan culture and identity. To date, this program has resulted in my completion of a Postgraduate Diploma in Music, in which I undertook a broad study of Samoan brass bands. Like Teuila, the Samoan brass bands had been largely excluded from academic study, even though they are considered by many people to be central to Samoan music tradition.

The need to situate my research within the broader context of Samoan music research has also influenced the structure of this thesis in that I dedicate a large part of the thesis to the discussion of existing sources for Samoan music in the academic literature. Also, the need to clearly identify the characteristics of research when undertaken by a cultural insider has led me to include a lengthy discussion of this issue, which does not impact directly on Teuila, but which is a necessary step in explaining my reasons for choosing Teuila as a topic of study. Therefore, this thesis is really a work in four parts: a discussion of insider ethnography and ethnomusicological study, a review of literature on Samoan music, a review of literature concerning festival research, and a study of Teuila, with particular focus on the case-study of Teuila 2008.
There are a few areas of research that specifically fall outside the scope of this thesis. Firstly, it is not the intention of this thesis to focus on the transcription and analysis of particular types of Samoan music. Such work has already been completed extensively by Richard Moyle, and is itself a part of my professional practice in the course of my teaching duties at NUS, and in my work elsewhere as a composer and arranger of Samoan music. I hail from a long family tradition of music transcription and arrangement which has informed my pedagogical practice over many years. The objective of this dissertation is to explore new research techniques, and I do this through the application of frameworks that draw on ethnography and thick description as methods for the presentation of cultural knowledge.

Secondly, this thesis does not engage with aspects of Samoan music that are not presented in the context of Teuila. While Samoan music is broader and more diverse than the performances presented at Teuila, I have used the festival format as a way of providing coherent limits to the scope of the research. The presence of music at Teuila is an appropriate parameter for inclusion because of the fact that the festival is designed to be representative of the nation, so it follows that the music presented is deemed to be coherent with this representation.

Finally, the recent expansion of Samoan music in the Samoan diaspora, while significant to the international concept of Samoan identity, falls outside the scope of this thesis because this music is also adjunct to the intention and purpose of Teuila as a cultural festival. Ongoing work by scholars such as Zemke-White (2007) and Sarina Pearson (2004) provides an excellent introduction to many aspects of Samoan musical performance in the diaspora, yet
their specific areas of study fall beyond the scope of this thesis. Perhaps future research will provide new ways for music research on Samoa and on the Samoan diaspora to be integrated.

**Chapter Outline**

Chapter 1 of this thesis presents a discussion of research theory and method. This chapter focuses on research literature from two fields - indigenous studies and ethnomusicology – and provides a rationale for their combination as a theoretical framework. Contemporary indigenous studies emphasises the unique value of research when it is conducted by ‘insider’ researchers, and provides a way of integrating local concepts such as *talanoa* into the methodology. The field of ethnomusicology has been receptive to these sorts of developments for many years, so the integration of ideas from these two fields is a straightforward task. This chapter also discusses fieldwork research methods and outlines the methods used in undertaking the research for this thesis.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of important historical and encyclopaedic sources pertaining to Samoan traditional music. This chapter draws heavily from existing works in order to present my own interpretation of how these works fit into the context of a study about Teuila, and how they may be utilised by insider scholars to enhance our understanding of Samoan music. In contrast, chapter 3 discusses a range of much more recent research into festivals, especially Pacific festivals and the important role of the Festival of Pacific Arts in providing a staging ground for cultural interactions between Pacific Island nations.

Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis present an ethnographic account of Teuila from an insider’s perspective. Chapter 4 explains the inception and early history of the festival, and includes unique research material such as the comments of the festival’s founder, who is now Prime
Minister of Samoa. This chapter then provides examples of the main types of performance that have been included in Teuila over the years, with an explanation of each performance category. Chapter 5 looks specifically at the Teuila of 2008, at which I was a spectator. This was an unusual experience for me, as most other years I have been a deeply embedded participant in Teuila, either as a member of the organising committee or as a choir director, but on this occasion, I have attempted to describe the festival from the perspective of a casual observer. The data presented here focuses on a couple of prominent performances that were held during the course of the festival, presented as research case studies. This thesis concludes with a reconsideration of the roles of events in Teuila in preserving, maintaining and developing performance culture and heritage.
CHAPTER 1:
THEORY AND METHOD

This thesis draws on a theoretical framework that is inherently interdisciplinary. Festival performances incorporate music, dance, oratory, art, and other aspects of material culture, and it is therefore difficult to confine the study of a festival like Teuila to a single discipline. As public performances, there is also the question of who festivals are for, what they hope to achieve, and what reasons lie behind the inclusion or exclusion of particular types of performance, and the participation or non-participation of particular groups of people. The focus on music presented in this thesis provides one solution to the difficult task of festival research, because it limits the extent of the discussion. The fact that music plays such a prominent role in so many aspects of Teuila justifies the imposition of this limitation, as music in this context has the capacity to illuminate broader discussions of cultural practice.

The theoretical framework presented in this thesis draws from the fields of ethnomusicology, indigenous studies and Pacific studies, providing a balanced approach to the topic. Within this framework, two key concepts are presented: the concept of ‘insider’ research, and the role of fieldwork in the research process. Where ‘insider’ research is concerned, this thesis provides an overview of pertinent sources that discuss indigenous epistemologies in Pacific research, particularly Timote Vaioleti’s discussion of talanoa (2003) and the discussions of indigenous research presented by Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2008). It also interrogates the challenges of insider research though a self-reflective discussion of what it means to work from an insider’s perspective and what the benefits and limitations of this are. The research method for this thesis ties very closely to the theoretical...
frameworks discussed, and combines these with ethnomusicological research methods that aim to articulate the interconnectedness of music and culture. Various ethnomusicological sources were consulted in the process of designing this research, which revolves around participant-observation field research undertaken in 2008.

**Insider Ethnography and Indigenous Epistemology**

Since the 1980s, cultural research has increasingly developed a space for the development of indigenous epistemologies, by employing and developing the discourse of critical pedagogy (Denzin & Lincoln 2008a, p.x). Critical pedagogy responds to the Western domination of cultural research by attempting to “…performatively disrupt and deconstruct these cultural practices in the name of a more just, democratic and egalitarian society” (Denzin & Lincoln 2000b, p.8). The position assumed by researchers in this area is one of ‘decolonisation’, most strongly relevant to societies where colonising practices have resulted in the oppression and dispossession of indigenous peoples. The discourse therefore has strong political and social-justice overtones that drive many aspects of indigenous research.

The stance of the indigenous epistemology espoused by Denzin and Lincoln does not necessarily translate completely to the Samoan political and social context, where most aspects of contemporary political and social life are firmly in the control of the Samoan people and where traditional social structures, such as kinship networks and chiefly titles, continue to inform social processes. Nevertheless, there are many aspects of the discussion of indigenous epistemology that resonate with the study of Samoan music. Firstly, if one is to consider the existing literature on Samoan music, one realizes that this literature is written entirely by non-Samoans. This does not devalue the research – much of it is excellent, and certainly researchers like Richard Moyle have dedicated many years to developing knowledge
of Samoan language and culture – but this outsider-research focus has led to a situation where aspects of Samoan culture that are of interest to an outsider audience have been thoroughly researched, while aspects of culture that are of perhaps more insider interest remain outside academic scholarship. My prior research concerning brass bands is a good example of this (Solomona 2007). Brass bands have been active in Samoa for many decades, and it is often the case that particular villages have developed a sense of village pride and identity through their village band, yet there is very little discussion of Samoan brass bands in academic literature. In Richard Moyle’s seminal work (1988), for example, bands are afforded only slight mention towards the end of the work. This observation leads me to consider whether an insider researcher might have a different perspective on what aspects of culture should be studied.

Secondly, the field of indigenous epistemology applies well to music research because of the ways in which indigenous epistemologies validate performance and the arts: “Clearly, the current historical moment requires morally informed performance and arts-based disciplines that will help indigenous and nonindigenous peoples recover meaning” (Denzin & Lincoln 2008b, p.13). Not only do performances convey indigenous languages and modes of expressions, they also offer alternatives to the Anglo-centric conceptualization of what constitutes ‘proper’ or ‘best’ research design. The process of researching could itself be thought of as a kind of performance, as Swadener and Mutua argue: “Furthermore, we would argue that decolonizing research is performative – it is enmeshed in activism... As an overarching schema, decolonizing research recognizes and works within the belief that non-Western knowledge forms are excluded from or marginalized in normative research paradigms” (2008, p.33). In this framework, performance is more than just aesthetic
expression as it also carries signifying power for processes of creating or maintaining cultural identity.

Thirdly, decolonized research provides a clear justification for the use of indigenous research methods such as the concept of *talanoa* developed recently by Pacific scholars. This locally-produced theory enables indigenous scholars to control the politics of interpretation of their cultures. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2000) provides a useful set of questions for the indigenous scholar to consider when planning a research project:

1. *What research do we want done?*
2. *Whom is it for?*
3. *What difference will it make?*
4. *Who will carry it out?*
5. *How do we want the research done?*
6. *How will we know it is worthwhile?*
7. *Who will own the research?*

Reflecting on these questions, it is clear that there is a difference between research conducted by cultural insiders as opposed to cultural outsiders, and that research by insiders can have meaningful practical local outcomes that may not be achievable by outsider researchers.

**Insider Research – A Samoan Perspective**

In Samoa nowadays, with the high level of advancement in education that has been achieved in the past decades, people are now cautious about overseas academics doing research within the country. This caution even extends to dealing with American or New Zealand born researchers of Samoan descent, who, while Samoan, are not always seen as being ‘insiders’ because they have grown up in a different sort of society. Locals sometimes view these people as if they have invaded holy ground, and sometimes the assertion is made that they have no right whatsoever to research their territory. They are not citizens of Samoa, they may speak
the language fluently but they have never experienced how a Samoan lives. These sorts of opinions are rarely expressed openly, but I can recall many instances where I have been in circles where this sort of discussion takes place. I have heard this so many times that now, as a researcher myself, I am very cautious about how I go about conducting the research and writing up the research, even though I consider myself as an insider researcher. Interestingly, in many cases, it can be easier for a palagi (white, or foreign) person to initiate fieldwork in Samoa than it is for a foreign-born Samoan. In the past, and even today, palagi researchers were accepted and respected by the Samoan community because of their difference, because they could speak English (a marker of international standing) and because Samoan tradition dictates the obligation to welcome and look after visitors. Indeed it was often the case that people in rural or isolated areas might feel honoured to have a palagi living in their home, as this had the potential to affect their own status within the village community.

Doing my fieldwork in my own country was an advantage in many respects. I received a lot of support and encouragement from my colleagues, families, and friends who could engage with what I was doing because I was doing it in front of their faces. Knowing the right people to interview was also an advantage to my fieldwork. I often hear the Samoan elders or even my own senior colleagues saying ‘e tautala lava au galuega na fai’ (‘your work speaks for itself’), which is a reference to their appreciation of my own contributions to Samoan music over many decades. At the age of eight I started playing church organ music for choirs that my grandfather taught around the town area, and when I reached college at the age of thirteen, I was then sent by my grandfather to teach choirs in rural areas such the villages of Falefa, Matatufu and Saleaumua-Aleipata. I also began teaching piano lessons to local children and to the children of expatriates living in Samoa at this time. My involvement in Samoan music has not diminished since then. I feel that this recognition and acceptance has had a strong
influence on my ability to undertake fieldwork, and it is a starting position that is simply unavailable to most other researchers. Another advantage that I had as a result of being an insider researcher is that I am recognised in the community as a teacher. Being a good teacher makes you popular among your students and their parents, and this facilitates access to people and information. Also, teaching is essentially about sharing knowledge with others. Being good at what you do and sharing among your people is a firm path to being accepted in Samoan society.

There are other obvious advantages to being an insider, such as knowing one’s own language and culture, but there are other possibly even more important factors. For example, the manner in which you approach a potential research participant could have a significant effect on whether or not they agree to participate. You need to be aware of their status within their community, and of the appropriate time and place to initiate any discussion. These factors can be affected—either positively or negatively—by things that are completely outside of the researcher’s control, such as the place you work, the place you are from, the Church you belong to, even your own identity in the local context.

The down side to being an insider researcher is that potential research participants may have an adverse reaction to someone they already know something about, particularly if there is any history of disagreement or animosity. Overcoming this sort of challenge is something that outsider researchers may not have to deal with, or at least not until they have begun to develop a place for themselves within the culture. On the positive side, the imperative to do the research could be the catalyst for improving relations or dissolving suspicions, but such interpersonal work is a slow and delicate process. As an insider with knowledge of the music culture, another problem might be that potential research participants assume that there is
nothing they could tell me that I don’t already know or that their contribution might not be
highly valued. On the other hand, from my own perspective, I can say that it is difficult to ask
other musicians basic or ‘stupid’ questions, as I worry that this might affect the way that they
perceive me or even my own knowledge base. The teacher must become the student, while
still being the teacher, and this is a difficult situation to negotiate.

The issue of insider research has been addressed in ethnomusicological literature, particularly
in the writings of Chou Chiener, Jonathan Stock, and Bruno Nettl. Nettl, with reference to
Mantle Hood, considers the ‘insider-outsider’ dichotomy as one of his key ‘twenty-nine issues
and concepts’ (now revised to thirty-one issues and concepts) in ethnomusicology: “one of the
major events in ethnomusicology since 1950 is the development of scholars in non-Western
nations who study, if not the music of their personal tradition, then that of their nation or
region” (1983, p.263). Nettl is optimistic about the potential for insider researchers to
contribute to scholarship, stating:

*If Third World scholars begin in large numbers to engage in ethnomusicological
research, one may ask whether this will greatly change the intellectual stance of the
field. Perhaps so. For example, there is a long-standing tradition of musical
scholarship in India, and Indian scholars publish widely. While it is difficult to
characterize, their work has a unique flavor and character. (Nettl 1983, p.267)*

In view of Nettl’s comments, Chou Chiener’s account of her experiences conducting research
into her own culture provide an indication of the unique perspectives offered by insider
research. Interestingly, Cheiner discusses her experience as feeling like an outsider, because
she was learning about musical practices as a beginner:

*In my case, when learning the Taiwanese genre of ensemble music called nanguan, I
was a beginner who underwent a process of musical enculturation without reference
on anyone’s part, my own included, to a researcher’s role or identity. During the five
years of my learning, the treatment I received from older musicians was definitely
distinct from that they gave to outside researchers whom I observed during the same
period and subsequently, and also differed from my later experiences as an academic
researcher investigating other ensembles. For example, as a learner I was not*
expected to keep field notes about who had said exactly what or when they had said it. I was simply expected to pick up the insights that were being offered. Of course, this subsequently left me in the position of not always being able to cite in full formal detail information or observations from this period, unless, of course, I simply cited myself as informant. (2002, p.457)

Chiener uses terms like ‘native researcher’ and ‘insider ethnomusicologist’ to refer to researchers who are experienced musicians from within the tradition they study (2002, p.457). This designation reflects my own position as a Samoan musician researching Samoan music.

Ethnomusicological Research Methods

Ethnomusicology provides a good grounding for the theoretical framework devised in this thesis, and offers clear instructions for the development of an effective research method. While the field of ethnomusicology is already many decades old, it is not taught as a discipline in Samoa, and I am, to my knowledge, the first Samoan scholar to be trained in this discipline. My access to ethnomusicology has been facilitated by the strength of this area at Otago, but also by my memories of observing the ethnomusicological fieldwork conducted by Richard Moyle in Samoa in the 1960s. Part of Moyle’s work was conducted with members of my own family, and it is a unique experience to now be personally contributing to the discipline that he was so central to developing in the Pacific. Also, my interest in ethnomusicology as a discipline is in part due to the fact that it is an extension of skills that I already possess in composition and performance, and will give me new insight into the way I approach my own teaching and professional practice.

As Anthony Seeger notes, one of the strengths of ethnomusicology is its ability to adapt and incorporate ideas from a range of other disciplines (Seeger 1992, p.107). This inherent interdisciplinarity provides an effective way of combining the areas of insider ethnography
and indigenous epistemology that I have discussed. However, there is also the issue that
music as an area of study, is still an open and incomplete area, especially in the Pacific region.

In his introduction to ethnomusicology in Oceania, Mervyn McLean (1993) stresses the fact
that traditional music of Oceania before and during World War II, in comparison with other
areas of the world, had been under-researched and much of the materials came from sources
which were not reliable due to the fact that the information came from outsiders such as
travellers, missionaries, explorers and other casual observers. In many cases, these accounts
were written by people who were not trained musicians. According to McLean, professional
studies were few and Erich M. von Hornbostel and his followers who were called the Berlin
School in the 1920s and 1930s provided some of the earliest reports. McLean stated that the
Berlin School conducted their studies based on ethnographers who were at the time active and
these recordings were submitted to the Berlin Phonogramm-archiv, where researchers
undertook their studies relying totally on fieldwork conducted by others. In regards to Samoa,
the Berlin School conducted and compared the recorded songs to those of the Malayans and
later on they included more items from a Samoan group that visited Berlin in 1910. Peter
Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) provided systematic information on song, dance and musical
instruments of Samoa (Buck 1930), and yet he made no musical analysis.

After World War II, McLean acknowledged that scholarly activities in Pacific music were
expanded through people undertaking higher degree research in this area. McLean lists four
theses that were submitted from 1955-64, seven from 1965-74 and twenty-five within 1975-84. Most of the theses originated from the University of Hawaii, the University of Auckland,
and Australian universities. Within the theses that were submitted, McLean also mentioned
some people who used the ‘armchair’ tradition offering laboratory analyses of materials
collected by others. McLean also mentioned that since he began working in New Zealand (in 1958), his work had been mostly based on extended periods of fieldwork, and this has been continued by others like Richard Moyle, Vida Chenoweth and Kevin Salisbury. McLean also noted the many publications conducted on musical instruments, or organology, in the Pacific. He noted the diversity of approaches with which instruments were studied, and stressed that this continued to be an area that could provide opportunities for many students in this field.

In regards to research opportunities in Oceania, McLean submitted a report to UNESCO in 1979 containing a list of islands and island groups that required research. According to McLean, field ‘restudies’ should also be conducted with New Zealand Māori, first described 25 years ago and he explained that useful work can be done using archival resources, which they will become increasingly important in the future. The study of acculturated forms as McLean explained, has become more important as these forms are now dominating most areas of the Pacific (McLean 1993).

This thesis is, in some respects, an answer to McLean’s call for further research, particularly because of the way that Teuila encompasses both pre-contact traditional and post-colonial acculturated musical forms. The questions that underpin the application of ethnomusicological method to this research reflect those posed by Anthony Seeger as the ‘universal questions’ of music ethnography:

- **What is going on when people make music? What are the principles that organise the combinations of sounds and their arrangement in time?**
- **Why does a particular individual or social group perform or listen to the sounds in the place and time and context that he/she/it does?**
- **What is the relation of music to other processes in societies or groups?**
- **What effects do musical performances have on the musicians, the audience, and other groups involved?**
- **Where does musical creativity come from? What is the role of the individual in the tradition, and of the tradition in forming the individual?**
- **What is the relation of music to other art forms?** (Seeger 1992, p.88-109)
This thesis also conforms to three of the four ‘ethnomusicological paradigms’ identified by Nettl (1983, pp.357-59): “ethnomusicology as the comparative study of musical systems, as the study of music in culture, as the result of field research, and as the comprehensive study of all sorts of music and musical phenomena”. In his discussion of ethnomusicology as the comparative study of musical systems, Nettl refers to the long history of research that has gone into understanding the different music of the world’s cultures, and notes the way that research in the 1880s led to the acceptance of the relative equality of all music’s (1983, p.358). This is the philosophical standpoint that preceded the work of Moyle in Samoa, resulting in a text that provides very detailed information about Samoan musical forms, complete with many notated transcriptions. I consider this work to be, for the most part, sufficiently representative of traditional Samoan music, as many of Moyle’s descriptions still hold true for performances of traditional music as they are rendered today. This thesis does not intend to duplicate the work done in this area, and does not engage with the topic of Samoan music as a musical system. This thesis does, however, reflect Nettl’s other three research paradigms. It is the study of a musical culture, actually, the study of a culture within a culture due to its festival focus. It is a study resulting from field research, and it is an overview of a wide range of musical phenomena that occur in the context of Teuila in performances and competition categories.

This research involves two processes of investigation: the development of literature bases in festival research and Samoan music, and the application of knowledge gained from this literature in the context of fieldwork. The literature survey provided in this thesis covers two areas that have not been subject to much crossover or comparison. The first of these is the body of existing work concerning Samoan music. I provide a critical review of this literature,
which attempts to position the sources in relation to my own inherited knowledge about
Samoan traditional music, and I point to some of the gaps left by this research, including
Teuila itself. For the festival literature, I focus on research pertaining to festivals in the
Pacific, and combine this with a review of the relationship between festivals and tourism.
This review sets the tone for the explanation of Teuila’s history in the subsequent chapter.

The fieldwork for this thesis was designed according to frameworks presented by Bonnie
Wade (2004). As Nettl (1983) observed, fieldwork is a defining characteristic of
ethnomusicology, and it is the subject of a broad range of writing on research methodology.
Thomas Turino describes fieldwork as a process of learning how to describe social structures
embedded in music, and highlights the relationship between ‘theory’ and ‘practice’ that
fieldwork creates. His comments also resonate with the issues that the field of indigenous
studies seeks to deal with:

*The ethnographic representation of other people’s practices reinforces a certain way
of knowing, and is part of a larger process affirming politically situated Western
social categories: a process that has political ramifications within global situations of
domination. The latter issue explains the emergence of so-called “practice theory” as
a response to the current crisis of ethnographic representation.”* (1990, p.399-400)

Jeff Todd Titon describes fieldwork as an epistemology itself, and likens it to prior research
methods like musical transcription as an example of different ways of knowing about music:

*Not long ago, musical transcription was the distinguishing mark of our discipline, not
only as a passage rite... but as a generative practice. Transcription told us what we
could know about music and how we could know it. Music was objectified, collected
and recorded in order to be transcribed; and transcription enabled analysis and
comparison...Today it is not transcription but fieldwork that constitutes
ethnomusicology. Fieldwork is no longer viewed principally as observing and
collecting... but as experiencing and understanding music. The new fieldwork leads us
to ask what it is like for a person (ourselves included) to make and to know music as
lived experience.* (2008, p.25)
In the recent introductory text *Thinking Musically: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (Wade 2004), Bonnie Wade provides a useful checklist for planning and undertaking ethnomusicological fieldwork. As Wade states, "study through fieldwork is a particular hallmark of ethnomusicology, and this chapter guides you in experiencing that for yourself" (2004, p.152). Wade divides her instructions into four sections: picking a project, planning the project, doing the project, and finishing the project. Wade suggests "for your project chose something you can easily manage to do" (2004, p.153). She provides the following possible starting points:

- Is there a member of your family who loves music, with whom you have never talked about it?
- What is the musical experience of someone you know from another culture?
- What has the experience of music of your classmates been, and how has it influenced the kinds of music they like? How does music fit into their lives and why? (Wade 2004, p.153)

These questions are intended for beginner students, but the also apply to my own approach to studying music in Teuila, firstly because members of my own family have been involved in Teuila, secondly because people's experience of participation in Teuila differs depending on whether they are tourists or locals, and thirdly because Teuila clearly plays a role in people's lives in Samoa. Wade also recommends the idea of selecting musical activities in which you are already involved as useful starting points for fieldwork, and this is also the case for my own research into Teuila.

Wade's key piece of advice for planning a research project is to ensure that the project is achievable with the time and resources available. Like Seeger, she returns to the core practical questions of what activities need to be carried out, who is involved, when it is to occur, where
The experience of fieldwork was, in one respect, strange, because while the fieldwork itself was only a few weeks in duration, I have essentially been living in this ‘field’ my entire life, and my involvement in music has been as a child and an adult, as an instrumentalist (piano, clarinet, and other instruments), a singer, and a conductor of bands and choirs. In my role as an educator, I have also provided instruction to a new generation of musicians and teachers who are currently employed in schools throughout Samoa.

While Teuila itself was only one week long, the project involved observing preparations for the festival and talking to people involved in the festival, and this was not always possible during the festival itself. In the lead-up to Teuila, participants were very busy preparing their performances, and often unavailable for discussion. Similarly, after the festival, many participants were exhausted from their efforts and sought to escape to secluded locations away from town. Therefore, the process of talanoa happened over the course of a few weeks, and not always in a planned or structured way. The collective observations of myself and
others are presented in a general way in this thesis, with the only exception being the interview that I conducted with the Prime Minister, which provides his very specific perspective on the purpose, function and meaning of Teuila.

As Wade suggests, the ‘field’ is not just the place itself, but extends to other contexts such as the library, the internet, and other places where information can be found (2004, p.156). In my case, a further example of the broad scope of the ‘field’ was the process undertaken to comply with the research ethics requirements of the University of Otago. The application for ethical approval had to be prepared well in advance of the fieldwork itself, yet had to include discussion of factors that would not become apparent in my research until I was in the field (See Appendix 3). While the ethics approval process centres on obtaining or ensuring personal, informed consent and confidentiality, this is at odds with many aspects of the research process in which I am immersed. As Smith observes, in relation to Māori cultural research:

\[
\text{Research Ethics for Māori and other indigenous communities extend far beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality...these ethics are not prescribed in codes of conduct for researchers, but tend to be prescribed for Māori researchers in cultural terms. These terms ask that researchers how respect for the Māori by exhibiting a willingness to listen, to be humble, to be cautious, to increase knowledge, to not trample over the mana of people. (Smith 2000, p.241-42, in Denzin & Lincoln 2008b, p.15).}
\]

In line with Smith’s comments, which apply equally to the Samoan context, this research project has been particularly inspired by the concept of talanoa as a uniquely Pacific contribution to research methodology. Talanoa literally means informal, face-to-face conversation and was developed at length by New Zealand-based social researcher Timote Vaioleti: “Tala literally means to inform, tell, relate, command, ask and apply. Noa literally means any kind, ordinary, nothing-in-particular, purely imaginary (Vaioleti 2003, in Otsuka 2005, p.3). It is based on a cultural context in with oratory, story telling and verbal interaction
are of primary importance. Setsuo Otsuka describes *talanoa* in the context of Fijian cultural research as follows:

*>Talanoa Research is the most culturally appropriate research design in the ethnic Fijian community in Fiji. Talanoa asks researchers to establish a good interpersonal relationship and rapport with ethnic Fijian participants. Talanoa research expects researchers and participants to share not only their time and interests but also emotions. Researchers need to use culturally effectively.* (2006, p.2)

Otsuka explains that *talanoa* is a way of bridging the gap between ‘researcher’ and ‘participant’ in a way that is coherent with Pacific cultural practice, ensuring that they can communicate with each other ‘openly and freely’ (2005, p.2). This is achieved by following a set of protocols based around the sharing of time, of information, and of emotions; by demonstrating an awareness of cultural beliefs and symbolic meaning; and through the validation of subjective experience. In other words, effective *talanoa* means getting to know the participants, and allowing them to get to know you, in private, personal ways rather than by establishing some sort of ‘professional’ research front. This process may involve talking about seemingly trivial or unrelated things, but it is through these discursive processes that interpersonal connections are experimented, tested, and established. As Vaioleti states, “Talanoa...allows more mo ‘oni (pure, real, authentic) information to be available for Pacific research than data derived from other research methods” (2006, p.21).
CHAPTER 2:
SAMOAN MUSIC IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter presents an overview of key resources for Samoan music, and provides an analysis that demonstrates the contributions and limitations of these sources in relation to contemporary Samoan culture. There are three types of scholarly sources available for Samoan music in the international literature: early (pre 1950) ethnographic surveys provided by missionaries and exploration expeditions, cultural-immersion ethnographies as advocated by McLean, and general surveys in recent encyclopaedia sources. While these sources are the basis for any literature review regarding traditional Samoan music (as discussed in Solomona 2007, and reflected in McLean 1999), the analysis presented here seeks to situate the literature in terms of its consequences for contemporary culture and relevance to Teuila. I have divided the resources into these three categories based on the research methods that underpin them, and because these three different kinds of research have resulted in different types of representation. Reflecting on this variety, I have prefaced the discussion with my own 'insider' description of Samoan music, which serves as a point of comparison for the other written sources.

An Insider’s View of Traditional Samoan Music

Samoa is situated to the north of Tonga in central Polynesia. In 1899 the Samoan islands were partitioned politically and geographically into Eastern and Western groups under the control of the United States and Germany respectively. To the east is American Samoa with its main island of Tutuila and administrative centre, Pago Pago, and as of today it is still a territory of
the United States of America. To the west is the remaining area with its main island of Upolu
and administrative centre of Apia. It was a German colony until 1920, when it was mandated
to New Zealand. In 1962, under the name of Western Samoa, it became an independent state
within the British Commonwealth. In 1996, it dropped the term 'Western' from its name to
become simply 'Samoa'. There was conflict between the two Samoas about this matter, but
the Western Samoa government argued that if American Samoa can become independent and
drop the American name then both can take the name Samoa and the individual island names
would still remain as, for example in Upolu Samoa and Tutuila Samoa. Despite this conflict,
it is unlikely that American Samoa will move for independence in the near future as the
islands of American Samoa remain heavily dependent on the United States as their main
source of income and financial security.

Samoan music is primarily vocal, while musical instruments play a role in regulating tempo
and in signalling. In traditional music, it would not be usual for melodic instruments to be
used to accompany singing. Rather, singing was accompanied by slit drums, a rolled mat,
flicking of fingers on the mats, small rocks or pebbles, coconut shells, sounding boards and
bamboo poles which are inserted into the rolled mat to make it sound louder. Nowadays,
empty large beer bottles have replaced the role of the bamboo poles. The majority of
traditional Samoan songs are accompanied by dance, to the extent that it is difficult to talk
about music without also mentioning dance accompaniment. Actions are used to express the
lyrics of a song in group or solo dancing. Often, chants were composed before or after an
occurrence of significance, such as war, and storytelling of legends are often accompanied by
a short chant. Chants were also used for healing, for farewell and welcoming, and to
memorialize events such as the volcano eruption in the 1900s.
One song genre that is often thought of in relation to Pacific music is the lullaby. There are no standard versions of lullabies in Samoa, though music plays an important role in the context of child minding. A babysitter (perhaps a grandmother) or the mother can easily make up their own short chants to put the baby to sleep or to stop them from crying. But the grandmothers are the best composers in my view because I witnessed one of my great aunts trying to put her grandson to sleep and simultaneously chanting and patting the baby. The chant she composed was all about the mother being lazy and ugly and so on and the poor mother just laughed because she could hear everything and didn’t seem to mind. She prefers the baby to be asleep so that she can finish her chores rather than staying with the baby all day, and that is part of the Samoan sense of humour.

Group songs are mostly sung in village groups (traditionally by young men, though nowadays women are included). These songs are only composed if one particular village is invited by another village to a special function such as a wedding or a funeral. The song is divided into different parts or scenes. For example, part one is a warm up, and it is the quickest part of the song where the conductor shows his skills of conducting and clowning. The second part is thanksgiving, it was added at the time of Christianity and it is sung in a chant or prayerful manner. The third part is singing and praising of honorary names of that village. The fourth part is about the main event to which the village community has been invited, and the last part is either for asking a favour from that village (I believe that this can also be the time to ask for the hand of a spouse for one of a high chief’s or chief’s daughters) or used as a way to sing farewell to the hosts. Not all villages have composers and therefore they may have to hire one from another district. In my view, this is how particular tunes travel from one place to another, depending on the interests of the composer. If the composer can’t be bothered with a
new tune, they may use an existing one, and this is not a problem as long as the honorary names are mentioned correctly and the lyrics suit the occasion.

While some aspects of Samoan music tradition remain in use, others have been modified to suit changes in lifestyle. An example of this is the way that paddling songs have been modified for use as dance or action songs or during celebrations and festivals. Entertainment songs about the environment, Samoan food, nostalgia, or love are now more literal and less metaphorical than they were in the past. Historical episodes once recounted as actual histories are now seen as ‘proverbs’ and are used by Samoan orators for special occasions or by a minister of religion during his Sunday sermon. Chants relating to village feuds within the district and reconciliations are now appearing in commercial popular songs and played by nightclub bands or recorded by singing groups. In my point of view, while the song lyrics are preserved in this way, the actual meaning and significance of the song is lost in undergoing this transition. In contemporary life, the most prominent context for community singing is in Church congregations, and this setting provides one of the most enduring bases for the preservation of tradition. Tunes used for traditional purposes are often transformed into Church songs, and these are now well ingrained into community life through choir groups and other Church activities.

**Colonial Era Ethnographic Surveys of Samoan Music**

A series of studies of Samoan music and culture were undertaken at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century. During this time, both Germany and the United States of America had colonial interests in the Pacific, and both laid territorial claims to Samoa. Therefore, Samoa provided a starting point for both German and American research expeditions at the turn of the century. One of the most detailed works on Samoan music
during the period of German colonisation was by Dr Augustin Kramer (Kramer 1994). Kramer’s book remained an important source for Samoan performance culture, partly because of the lack of subsequent research on the topics he covered. On the American side, ethnomusicologist Frances Densmore was amongst the early visitors to comment on Samoan music, though her short report was only three pages long (Densmore 1932). An English missionary John B. Stair, whose book was published in 1987 by the Religious Tract Society in London, provided another early ethnography report. Other early missionaries and ethnographers such as Turner (1861), Pratt (1911) and Buck (1930) all made observations about traditional Samoan music that inform contemporary knowledge.

The works of Kramer and Stair have been particularly enduring, perhaps because of their efforts at seeking to categorise song and dance forms. Much of the information provided in these sources remains useful and pertinent to contemporary discussions of traditional music. Yet both Kramer and Stair represented professions that were not primarily concerned with music. Dr. Augustin Kramer (1865-1941) was a Surgeon Major of the German Imperial Navy. Kramer was also known as a traveller, an anthropologist, physician, biologist and scholar and he wrote two volumes about the Samoa Islands in the late nineteenth century in German. The English translations of Kramer’s two-volume book were done by Theodore Varhaaren, and were first published in 1994 and 1995. According to Varhaaren, Kramer’s approach and style demonstrated extensive research, massive detail, seemingly inexhaustible cross references in skilfully interwoven German constructions typical of scholarly works of his time, all enhanced by the intermittent use of Samoan words and expressions (Kramer 1994, p.v). While Kramer’s original work was in German, it was highly respected in Samoa, and I have often heard elders praising aspects of his research, such as the details of ceremonial greetings (fa’alupega) and family lineages (gafa) that he collected. Kramer’s work has even been used
as evidence in regards to titles in court cases where people argue over the ownership (*pule fa‘amau*) of a title.

John B. Stair was a London Missionary Society (LMS) missionary to Samoa, who wrote about Samoan culture, including music and dance. In the descriptions of dances included in this book, Stair reveals a perspective heavily influenced by his beliefs and his role as a missionary. In chapter six of Stair’s book (1897, p.132-36), he specified that there were five kinds of dances in Samoa, but focussed on the *Po-Ula* (or *poula* - night of play or pleasure) which he described as an obscene night dance, and a constant source of enjoyment, especially when any visitors were present to take part in it. Stair’s work contains many Samoan words and practices that are rendered incorrectly, but his publication is still important as one of the first in the field, and his alarmist description of the *poula* is perhaps a contributor to the subsequent treatment of this category of performance.

Stair’s work gives the first comprehensive account of Samoan musical instruments. He described a drum, a flute and two or three kinds of pipes as representative of Samoan music. The aerophones described by Stair included *fangufangau, fa‘aalii*, and four other simple pipes that were much used by children: *faa-alii-lau-ti, fa‘a-ili-au-lauti, and pu-masoa*. Conch shells were also mentioned by Stair and he stated that the shells were used for parade and show in times of peace and also for signals or triumphs in war (1897, p.135). The percussion idiophone *o le Nafa* was made from a hollow part with a long, narrow mouth, and even then it was rarely seen. Stair believed it was copied from a similar instrument that derived from Tonga and it was struck with two short sticks with the drum laid on its side and bedded upon coconut-leaf mats which means that better sounds were produced with the drum in contact on the ground. In contrast to Stair’s view, Kramer suggested that Samoan instruments might have
been claimed as ‘authentic’ or ‘indigenous’ by other Pacific Islands such as Tonga and Fiji (1994, p.380-81). Kramer also mentioned a flute with three holes that he claimed was not in tune and it was blown by mouth but not through the nose like the Fijians. He confirmed that Samoa’s main instrument as accompaniment for dancing was the rolled up mat (tu’itu’i) which provided enough rhythm without drowning out the singing. They also used the logo for large group singing and the pulotu as accompaniment to song, and this pulotu drum was struck by the chiefs.

Where songs are concerned, Stair notes the prominence of vocal solos, story-telling and poetry in Samoan society, and described at length the process of a formal performance. According to Stair, when everyone assembled, the performance commenced with the tafua-le-fala, which were performed by the beating of a rolled mat as a substitute for a drum, then followed by a song sung by one of the performers and the rest of the company joined in at the chorus. As Stair described, these songs varied as to the subject, but they usually contained metaphorical allusions to people, things, or local matters, and their force or power was lost in translation. In Star’s description of the performance, when the introductory songs ended it was the children’s turn to amuse the company present with their dance followed by the five men dancing, five women and then after a short break, the whole number started dancing together with each sex forming distinct companies. Singing, as mentioned by Stair, was continued the whole time and all throughout the performance of the same tune and different words. Stair described the last dance performed by a single individual, who might be either a woman of rank or a chief or two other dancers as he called ‘the dancer’s attendants’ then the closing saturnalia, of which a description was ‘inadmissible’ but which was always received with shouts of laughter and approval from the onlookers (1897, p.132).
Kramer was much more detailed in his treatment of songs, positioning them in relation to social practices. According to Kramer, certain songs were not only traditional but it showed proof of identity and ‘pedigree’ or lineage (1994, p.149). He collected a mourning song (1994, p.151) and a series of song texts relating legends (1994, pp.169-77). These songs were part of old legends that many Samoan proverbs originated from. In relation to music composition, Kramer used the terms ‘fatu’ (to write poetry) and ‘fatupese’ (song writer). Although the metrical features and versification of poems were not at all uniform they stayed within certain bounds so that the character of metric language was maintained. Kramer also mentioned that the tunes for the words of presenting a story were reproduced, but the actual songs were the recited poems (1995, p.399). Kramer provided twenty-five ‘modern’ songs, partly with melodies, that he transcribed himself by memory (1995, pp.398-422). A friend of his (Mr. Woodworth), made recordings of several songs from a phonograph on wax cylinders and he hypothesized at the time that this may be used as method for studying the musicality of ‘primitive’ people in the future. Kramer, meanwhile, presented the handwritten samples hoping that they might be replaced by better methods. He divided the songs by textual content into three groups: dance songs, love songs, and farewell songs (1995, pp.409-11). Finally, Kramer suggested that the standard characteristics of Samoan songs were two-part voices, described as one voice beginning by itself at a high pitch on several measures then being joined by the chorus at a low pitch. However, he admitted that the three-part voices were the influence of hymns that were taught by the mission pupils (1995, pp.381-83).

Along with songs and instruments, both Stair and Kramer described Samoan dances as a prominent aspect of public culture. ‘O le ao-siva’ was described by Stair as a ‘day dance’, practised by people of higher social rank. Unlike other dances it was performed with a variety of graceful movements and gestures. ‘O le siva-a-ofe’ was described by Stair as being
‘very popular’ with the young people of the inland villages with each performer blowing a pipe or flute of bamboo to accompany the dances and with actions that were similar to the aosiwa that consisted of throwing the arms and legs into a variety of strange attitudes, leaping up and down, or turning round. He stated that the movements, especially those of the women, were lascivious (1897, p.133).

Kramer goes into considerable detail when discussing Samoan dances. At the beginning of his chapter on dance (sa’a) and music (fati), the first thing Kramer mentioned was his impression of Samoan dances as being graceful and different to Tongan dances, and that Samoan dances stood out due to their graceful movements. With a list of different types of Samoan dances, Kramer also provided the definitions and descriptions of how each dance were performed, along with the help of information presented in the early dictionary compiled by Pratt. This resulted in a simple and clear description of dance types, which is of interest because of the terms provided, but otherwise limited in detail. Many of the dance genres described by Kramer (such as the vila and soa) are not usually present in contemporary performances of traditional music. However, Kramer mentioned a Samoan dance that is still commonly used by the Samoans, the ma’ulu’ulu, and his definition of the dance was a type of ‘night dance’. Kramer also noted Pratt’s list of the names of old dances: amomalie, solilemogamoga, soso and tauātane.

Kramer acknowledged the existence of dances that were frequently performed called ‘ula’ involving women and children who sang and beat the rhythm with their hands. Among them was always some person or several who determined the rhythm with drum-like blows on a few rolled up sleeping mats into which some short bamboo pieces were pushed on the side not struck with the two sticks, or sometimes a bottle, to act as sounding boards, the tu ‘itu’i. The
tuʻituʻi as described by Kramer were wooden drums and then he went on to bamboo devices that were formerly also used as accompaniment, but he never saw them at dances (1994, p.367). Kramer also described a dance party where singing was part of an introductory scene where the village maiden, or taupou, made her entrance and the music gradually stopped as she sat down in the middle of other dancers and as Kramer described, the laulausiva was a short form of dance with actions all in unison (1995, p.368).

Stair and Kramer’s observations, while dated, provide some grounds for consideration in terms of the contemporary function of Teuila. For example, many of the dances that they describe were then part of every day life. That is no longer the case now, but Teuila provides a space for some of these dances to be performed, and therefore provides a reason for contemporary youth to seek to learn them. Furthermore, there are elements of performance culture described in these early works that could play a role in informing contemporary performance practice. For example, Stair provides details concerning the traditional costumes and performance dress in Samoa. He describes that the hairstyles of men were long and allowed to hang loosely over the shoulders, and as for the women they had theirs short and stiffened with pulu, breadfruit pitch, or else dressed it with pomade of a certain kind of light-coloured clay that made the hair brown and was washed off with lime water afterwards, followed by accessories of armlets, frontlets, or garlands of flowers when procurable. Some large blue or other beads, completed the gala dress for both sexes, also coconut and other scented oils with which the company were seen to anoint themselves (1897, p.132).

Meanwhile, Kramer’s inclusion of dance and music alongside games and sports (1995, p.385-87) gives some indication of the historical inter-relation of these aspects of culture, and this is exactly the format of contemporary Teuila – where the most prominent competitions revolve around music, dance and sport.
Ethnomusicology and Samoan music

Two important works based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork were undertaken in Samoa, by Richard Moyle in the 1960s and Jacob Love in the 1970s. The ethnomusicological research undertaken by Richard Moyle in the 1960s remains the most detailed and important body of work on Samoa to date, though Jacob Wainwright Love’s 1991 study of Samoan performance culture provided new perspectives on some things that were not so closely covered by Moyle. The importance of these works is illustrated by their use by Mervyn McLean for his book, Weavers of Song (1999), where the chapter on Samoa is almost entirely informed by Moyle and Love.

Moyle’s book (1988) is an all-encompassing work that aims to provide a complete overview of traditional music through the Samoan islands (including American Samoa). Love, meanwhile, based his research on the documentation of one particular village, providing an in-depth and focussed experiential account of the place of performance in village life. The key difference between these two works, however, is that, while Moyle presents an account of long-standing traditions, Love focuses more on the processes of change and adaptation that the music has gone through. Consequently, the two works complement each other, even though they are structured and focussed differently.

Richard Moyle made an exhaustive effort to document the most important features of each Samoan traditional song he collected from his recordings, which were his primary method of data collection. Through his introduction to this book, he provided the information on locations where his research was based. Moyle visited Samoa between 1966 and 1969, and between these periods, most of his visits were based in the East coast of Upolu (the Atu-
Aleipata), the Manu’ a islands and Savaii. While the scope of Moyle’s fieldwork was immense, he did not manage to cover the whole of Upolu, and some districts of Upolu might have been able to provide him with information that is underrepresented in his book.

Moyle supported his writing with comprehensive song texts and translations but some of these translations miss the metaphoric meanings that are deeply embedded in the texts. While Moyle acknowledged the role of Christian missionary movements in generating change in Samoan music traditions, his research is optimistic towards the possibilities for future research. Moyle’s work was a great initiative, and provides inspiration for Samoan researchers, who he himself called on to continue, not only in the field of music but in all areas concerning Samoa. It should be recognised that Moyle not only dedicated his time and effort towards producing his important book but he also contributed by donating the royalties from that book to the Nelson Memorial Public Library in Apia.

Where Moyle’s fieldwork was multi-sited and broad-based, Jacob Love’s fieldwork was focussed specifically on the village of Falealupo on the Northwest of the island of Savai’i. Love’s thesis sought to provide a detailed account of tradition and change in a small island community by restricting the scope to this one village. His detailed descriptions cover what he terms the ‘oral arts’ – song, oratory, poetry – and his analysis tends towards a quantitative approach, describing the minutiae of differences between different renditions of the same song, for example.

Moyle’s introduction begins with a brief prehistory of Samoan legends and how they relate to music. He briefly wrote about how song and Samoan mankind are linked in another, and believed to have originated as part of a supernatural creative process. European (Dutch) and
French explorers are also mentioned for their observations of the Samoans including whalers with their trading of meat and musical instruments. He indicated, by way of example, the inventory of American whaler Clay that visited Samoa in 1827, which included trumpets, whistles and a parcel of Jew’s harps.

Moyle writes about the arrival of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and how it changed many aspects of Samoan life through a representative named Reverend John Williams in 1830. These changes included the prohibition of some types of songs that were not accepted by the missionaries. In his work Moyle made references of John Williams’ journals on the Samoans, including vivid accounts of song and dances. Williams according to Moyle, obtained texts and translations of two of the dance songs prepared especially in honour of his second visit to Samoa in 1832 (1988, p.5). These texts have been reconstructed and translations are shown in Moyle’s book.

Moyle describes how he used the basic elements of music such as pitch, tempo, intensity, duration and rhythm to describe formations of Samoan music including translations of musical terms from a Samoan dictionary by Pratt (first printed in 1862). Moyle also described the arrangement of voices in the male choir and how it became a male occupation, (i.e. male voices were only required). He wrote about the Samoan composers and their status within the villages, and how the chiefs’ consensus and input is important in putting a choir together. According to Moyle, Samoan composers are called on to compose multipart songs and these songs are composed for special activities such as celebration of an achievement within the village. He also stressed the special treatment and remunerations that the composer receives after his work is done.
In the manner of teaching a song, Moyle made notes of how each part is taught. The composer begins from the bass part, teaching line by line to the end of the song, then followed in similar fashion by the tenor part. The third part is either sung by the composer or given to a competent singer. This third part, according to Moyle is sung differently from that of the bass and tenor. It is guided by the movement of the bass and tenor parts, and the singer creates his own singing style often filling the breaks between the passages, as well as setting initial pitch and tempo.

Like Kramer and Stair, Moyle reserves a part of his analysis for musical instruments. He differentiated and compared the names of Samoan idiophones from that of other Pacific Islands in order to establish a way of situating Samoan musical forms in relation to the rest of Polynesia. As a way of reinforcing this comparison, Moyle provided an overview in tabular form to verify the similarities of the terms used for slit drums in other Pacific Island countries. His definitions were derived from his recordings and research, along with illustrations of idiophones shown in this chapter. The collections of the illustrations shown in this chapter are taken from several museums in Europe, United States and the Pacific.

According to Moyle, only the jew’s harp and two types of flutes (the nose flute and panpipes) exist as musical instruments in their own right, independent of the dance situation or the generation of audible signals. Only a few nineteenth-century specimens survive in museum collections, and no information was available regarding tuning. He found that some instruments such as the fala, tu‘itu‘i and hand clapping are only used as accompaniments to singing, and that most of the instruments mentioned in this chapter have been replaced by metal bells and empty gas cylinders.
Love, meanwhile, focused more on the detailed analysis and comparison of taxonomies, lyrics and song forms, and his discussion of musical instruments reflects more the contemporary situation than the past. He stated that, while proverbs and riddles provided good grounds for research, the same could be said of popular musical styles, band-music, strumming and plucking of guitars and ukuleles, and especially hymns. Rather than focusing on unchanged traditions, Love was interested in the processes of cultural change and how they are expressed through the performing and oral arts.

To some extent, the taxonomies and frameworks established by Moyle provide the basis for a lot of the later research conducted by Love. Moyle provided clear guidelines for understanding traditional Samoan music, including categories for song types: solo, unison, responsorial and polyphonic songs. Interestingly, while Moyle is known for his deep immersion in Samoan culture, these categories reflect entirely an outsider's appraisal of the music culture, and this is not necessarily the way that a Samoan musician would divide up his or her repertoire. The discussion of polyphony is particularly intended for an outside audience, as this aspect of music analysis is irrelevant to Samoan performers, being more a preoccupation of ethnomusicologists.

Within the category of solo songs, tagi are more numerous than any other Samoan song category. Tagi, as Moyle described, deal directly with personal reflections, lamentations, and other issues. Within the category of solo songs, Moyle also identifies medicinal incantations, which are constructed around traditional rites and performed with considerable care and in deadly seriousness. In the category of unison songs, Moyle writes about Samoa recreational songs such as game songs for adults and children. He named a few songs associated with particular traditional games, and, together with Buck (1930, p.552-74) whom he cited,
stressed that of the adult sports described in the literature, only aigofie or taufeta'iga (club-fighting), te'aga (disc-tossing), and tagat'ia (javelin-hurling) appeared to have been associated with songs. This included his citations of two songs with texts and translations associated with taufeta'iga (club-fighting) by Stair (1897, p.55). The children’s games mentioned by Moyle, focused on domestic activities or scenes, drawing inspiration from agricultural labour or the animal world, and others directly identify the game’s principal activity. According to Moyle some of these game songs are either sung, others are rhythmically recited, and because of the group nature of most of the games, the songs tend to be sung in unison. He added that in all games, songs are essential to the extent that their texture (unison, responsorial, solo) is a reflection of the numbers and organization of the participants.

In the category of responsorial songs, Moyle provided short stories relating to three spiritual songs recorded and notated from two villages in Savaii. He analysed the style and identified the similarities to that of other responsorial items mentioned in the previous chapters. His evaluation of these songs were detailed and explained in terms of their musical aspects. Moyle also provided several texts and recordings of funeral songs called auala. According to Moyle, the musical style of the auala songs accords with other categories of responsorial items. Paddling songs are defined as those songs used specifically for paddling or rowing. Moyle cited several authors that made comments concerning paddling songs. Freeman (1920, p.217-8) reported that rowers felt incapable of giving their best without song. Freeman added that nautical distance was measured not by stages of the sun or moon but by song.

Moyle also identified that some responsorial songs were accompanied by specific dances. He attempted to identify the Samoan dances and songs that are obsolete and extant from texts and
translations, with notations by the aforementioned Kramer, Friedlander (1899) and others. It is obvious that from Moyle’s examination of the texts of dance songs that most are created either in response to, or for the purposes of, particular occasions. Moyle stressed that the medium of dance and song allows the temporary lifting of normal restrictions regarding movement and speech, and, in former times, even moral standards; beneath the heady exuberant spectacle which the nineteenth-century missionaries reported ran a deeper current of serious, often intense competition. His conclusion in this chapter specifically confirmed one of a Samoan dance as indigenous, and that responsorial ula in his field recording collection supported the idea that most songs of this type were responsorial.

In his final chapter, Moyle provides transcriptions from his field recording collection to suggest that traditional polyphony did exist in traditional Samoan music in the form of parallelism. However, from his examination of early writings and his own recordings and enquiries, it appears that polyphony – that is, the simultaneous use of voice parts each independent in rhythm – is not a normal feature of traditional Samoan music. In conclusion to this chapter, Moyle indicated that the origin of polyphony in Samoan songs appears to lie in the introduced music of brass bands and choirs.

In contrast to Moyle, Jacob Love’s structuralist research (1991) is focussed on establishing relationships between performance elements such as speech, metaphor, gesture, music and rhyme, and using these explanations to provide a deeper understanding of the culture. He was particularly interested in song poetry, referring to Kaeppler’s assertion that “Music and dance without poetry are all but nonexistent. Poetry is often the basic element in the composition, and without song texts, the serious student of Polynesian music is in a position comparable to a person studying Western music without the melody” (1971, p.147). And as a result of his
research, he confirmed that the border between speaking and singing caused one of the most excitingly problematic subjects in the study of Samoan music.

In his second and third chapters, Love wrote about meter and rhyme in Samoan poetry. He examined the kinds of variations between different recordings in the tones of a single song, and he also made two kinds of investigations through materials relating to pitch. The first investigation was about the nature of the melodic patterns that may exist in a singer’s mind. The second investigation was seeking the origin of the variation between the patterns that different persons might have constructed for the same song. Love therefore, aimed to compare the ways different persons varied the notes of the same song.

Love’s main contribution through this research is his identification of processes of change in Samoan music over time, and his seventh chapter provides an example of this process through the history of a song typical of a repertory known by nearly every Samoan. According to Love, there were many other aspects of Samoan oral arts that could attract attention, which are proverbs and riddles which are deeply implanted in the character of Samoan verbal expression; popular musical styles that the young people of today promote; the strumming and plucking of guitars and ukuleles; the absolute tempo, or inner tempo of songs; band-music, and other artistic relics of the colonial period; patterns of stylistic preference and popularity, especially hymns, which for more than a century have acted a highly valued part on the Samoan musical stage.
Encyclopaedia Sources

As co-editor of the Pacific volume of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (Kaeppler & Love 1998), Jacob Love contributed to the description of Samoan music that appears in this volume. His contribution is alongside that of Tialuga Sunia Seloti who provides a short ‘insider’s view’ on Samoan music (this is a theme of this volume of the *Garland Encyclopedia*, where each culture area is represented by both scholarly writers and insider commentators).

For this entry, Love draws on his own store of knowledge from his fieldwork, and provides his own word-based classification system as the framework for discussion Samoan music. He takes the opportunity here to make a lightly veiled criticism of Moyle’s classification system, suggesting that a word-based system is more appropriate:

> An alternate analytical process (Moyle 1988), rather than focusing on sounded words, focuses on worded sounds, resulting in a system that classifies songs as entirely or predominantly solo, unison, responsorial, responsorial with dance, and polyphonic. This system is incompatible with the word-based one, and neither would perfectly match a system based on music as a process; word-based analysis, however, because it emphasizes the aspect of performance that Samoans say is most important, proves useful in sorting the repertory. (Love 1998, p.796)

Love then provides descriptions of Samoan vocal music and dancing, with the main conclusion being that the songs comprise short phrases or couplets that are repeated many times over, and these provide a stable, reliable basis for the dancing. He also demonstrates the inner workings of Samoan tagi by providing a good example of how a song text can be manipulated, lengthened, improvised, etc, all within set generic boundaries:

> Through a skilled singer’s voice, the ponderousness of the plot, slowed by the repetitions of the refrain, can evoke an entrancing atmosphere. More practically, these repetitions give the singer time to recall or plan upcoming lines... Each stanza contains a question and an answer. In a more taxing pattern, some tagi have stanzas that gain lines, one by one, until, by the end of the piece, the structure severely tests singers’ faculties of recall and listeners’ powers of concentration. (Love 1998, p.800)
Love also notes the importance of inter-village visiting as a component of Samoan social life, in a discussion that is of clear and direct relevance to the role of Teuila in contemporary society:

*Intervillage visiting (malaga) is a long-standing institution, with cognate activities elsewhere in Polynesia. In varying numbers, but ideally in tens or scores, people travel for overnight visits, sometimes circling an island and stopping at receptive villages en route. These events may involve the youthful members of a church, or the women of a village or neighborhood, or many other affiliation-based groups. Interactions may involve competitive activities, like orating and the playing of games. The hosts provide food and lodging, and the guests provide entertainment. The distinction between guests and hosts plays itself out in the orating, playing, feasting, singing, and dancing associated with the visit. Usually, the drinking of kava (with its attendant oratory and poetry) precedes the feast, and the musical performance follows. Inside a house, the guests take one side and the hosts the other, forming seated choruses, facing each other. Between the choruses, individuals or small groups from one side stand to dance while the rest of their company sings. One side performs and then yields to the other, and the sides alternate through the event. Set phrases mark the shift from one side of the house to the other. These include sung statements, such as 'ua alu atu le afi 'the fire has gone to your side', recalling the practice of illuminating performers by torchlight. The last number of an event is the taualuga, the dance of the hosts' ceremonial virgin. Formerly, when unmarried men went on malaga, this dance paired the ceremonial virgin with the guests' ceremonial beau. Before the late nineteenth century, the event might then have broken down into lascivious dancing, but Christian prudery ended most such displays. (Love 1998, p.802-03).*

Love goes on to note the role of music in socially significant events including Kava drinking ceremonies, weddings, and sports, and he identifies the key song genres associated with each activity.

Tialuga Sunia Seloti’s ‘local view’ approaches the topic somewhat differently. Seloti begins by dividing Samoan music into two types, secular and Christian, and uses this as the basis for her discussion. Seloti describes secular songs as comprising the majority of repertoire remaining in Samoan oral tradition, and discusses the role of musical composition in public ceremony:
Each kind of event calls for a unique type of composition—in wording, melody, and style. The style of choral songs at flag-day celebrations follows that of Samoan oratorical speech. Its diction comes from composers' repertories of legends, proverbial sayings, myths, history, and the Bible; the figures of speech reflect composers' preferences. Personal compositions, by not following a set format, allow for greater variety of texts and melodies, to the extent the composer's ability allows. For each form of music, audiences inevitably encounter differences in the perception of cultural values. (Seloti 1998, p.807)

Unlike the other, outsider writers, Seloti includes some discussion of technological change in her contribution to the Garland Encyclopedia, which is perhaps an indication of how these changes are internally valued, even if outsiders are not that interested in them:

With the influx of modern technology, Samoans are changing their attitudes toward the instrumentation and place of religious music. They accept guitars in church, especially for young people's singing. Electric organs that imitate other instruments have made the sounds of drums and guitars available, and in services, most choirs use their organ's drums and other sounds. The radio plays recordings of hymns daily, and public places with amplifying systems rebroadcast the recordings.

Technology affects Samoan music in other ways. With modern recordings, personal secular songs and religious songs are becoming more developed. Studios record songs (original and unoriginal) by individuals, groups, and choirs, and manufacture hundreds of cassettes. At gatherings for leisure and work, the sounds on these recordings are replacing singing. In these productions, various musical instruments and arrangements accompany singers. In other contexts, brass bands furnish music...

...Some successful musical artists have made recordings a livelihood. As a result, an eclectic contemporary wave of popular Samoan music has arisen. Its components include Christian hymns and gospel music, country, rock, and jazz. From most of these sources, local musicians borrow melodies; leaving the arrangements unchanged, they interpolate Samoan words into the texture. The texts of some songs borrowed in this manner are word-for-word translations. From some sources, musicians adapt melodies to suit local preferences. (Seloti, 1998, p.808)

Of all of the literature discussed so far, these last examples are the closest at indicating some of the reasons why Teuila is important to Samoan culture, as it is in the context of Teuila that issues such as technological change and cultural adaptation, as well as preservation, are mediated.
While Garland presents Love’s perspective on Samoa, *The Grove Encyclopaedia of Music and Musicians* entry for Samoa was written by Richard Moyle. Moyle’s entry is divided into three sections - vocal songs, instruments, and music in society. Indeed, in this short article, Moyle focuses much more directly on the role of music in various social and cultural contexts:

*Samoan music is primarily vocal and is performed on a wide variety of public and private occasions; the songs themselves do not have titles but are identified according to their use. In a few cases (e.g. dancing and paddling), virtually any composition will suffice as an accompaniment to the actions; but in general, textual content restricts the occasions on which a song is performed. Samoan speech distinguishes formal and colloquial systems of pronunciation; in song, however, only the formal type is used. The texts themselves usually have rhyming lines occupying an equal number of bars; non-rhyming lines or lines of unequal length tend to be followed by a refrain. Nonsense syllables are virtually unknown. Older songs often refer to practices now obsolete, such as traditional marriage ceremonies, food homages and some games. Words of unknown meaning are also occasionally found.* (Moyle 2009)

Rather than explaining every single vocal style, Moyle restricts his exposition to the *tagi* and explains its characteristics in the context of story telling, or *fagono*. He does not, however, depart from his earlier (1988) descriptions of Samoan music according to musicological categories:

*Analysis reveals four sub-styles of Samoan song, each distinguished on the basis of musical texture – solo, unison, responsorial and part-singing. Solo songs are characterized by a predominance of stepwise movement, intervals smaller than a 4th, usually rising, and descending intervals larger than a 4th at phrase endings. Unison songs contain a considerable amount of melodic repetition, especially at the opening of a song, and their melodies centre on two notes a perfect 4th apart, with cadences often rising a 4th before falling approximately one octave in a terminal glissando. Responsorial songs also concentrate on notes a perfect 4th apart. There are similarities too between the level opening of the unison song and the melodic repetition of the leader’s line in the responsorial song. The cadential outline of the chorus line in the responsorial song also resembles that of the unison song. Overlap between leader and chorus is rare. Relatively few non-acculturated homophonic or polyphonic songs have been recorded; these songs appear to be characterized by movement in parallel 4ths and 5ths and a cadence formula in which the highest voice remains level above two falling parts. Stylistic features common to Samoan music as a whole include a wide range of tempos, the frequent use of simple duple metre and a dactylic rhythmic figure, and the constant appearance of the perfect 4th, not only as a harmonic and melodic interval but also as the total melodic range and as an integral part of several cadence formulae.* (Moyle 2009)
A third encyclopaedia-style source that bears mention in this discussion is the book *Weavers of Song: Polynesian Music and Dance* by Mervyn McLean (1999). This book provides an overview of music cultures throughout Polynesia, and provides useful grounds for contrast and comparison between them. Some sections of the book reflect McLean’s own fieldwork, others are drawn from existing literature. McLean’s chapter on Samoa draws from both Moyle and Love as data sources. In this chapter, McLean basically reproduced Moyle’s work on Samoan music and musical instruments, with some comments and comparisons to the earlier findings of other authors (Turner 1861, Stair 1897, Pratt 1911, and Buck 1930).

In his discussion of modern instruments, McLean discussed how the Samoans were inspired by European instruments such as mouth organ, and violin in the early period of contact. He also mentioned a brass band being performed in Apia under the conductorship of a Herr Busch, and brass bands became very popular with the Samoans although they still exist as of today but somehow had been outdated by guitars and ukuleles. According to McLean, string bands were also popular to the Samoans, the use of a kerosene drum or empty bucket as *selo* (a one-string bass) or cello combined with guitars and ukuleles and with the increasing interest of the Samoans in ‘pop music’ including the recording industry, string bands had also been outdated by they standard international drums, electric guitars and keyboards. Like Moyle and Love, McLean also mentioned some areas for further research in Samoan music, especially highlighting the lack of research into brass bands and the era of electronic musical instruments in Samoa.
Conclusion

Overall, the existing sources for Samoan music reveal a great deal of attention paid to describing, cataloguing and defining specific instruments, song genres, dance genres, and musical forms. As a result, the work of early authors is included and referenced by subsequent generations of researchers, and there is a history that clearly shows great interest in Samoan music running throughout the period of European contact and colonization, and well into the era of independence. These sources are detailed and comprehensive, though more could be done in the area of translation of song poetry, as there are often more meanings embedded in a song than that which is presented in literal translation.

In the context of my research into Teuila, it is interesting to note that none of these sources make any reference to the festival, even those that have been published since the initiation of Teuila in 1992. However, their references to things such as inter-village visiting, musical adaptation, traditional ceremony, story-telling, competition, music in sport and physical activity, and other matters all support my assertion that Teuila is a culturally significant and important facet of contemporary Samoan culture. This is because all of these activities are present in Teuila, and they are also all combined in Teuila as a coherent set of cultural practices.
CHAPTER 3: FESTIVALS AS RESEARCH SUBJECTS

In the contemporary Pacific, cultural festivals provide important points of contact between people at local, national, colonial and global levels, contributing to the complex processes by which issues of identity and indigeneity are explored and mediated (Bendrups 2008). These processes are manifested at both national and regional levels, either through locally important events or regional ones like the Festival of Pacific Arts. This chapter provides a discussion and analysis of resources that investigate Pacific festivals, drawing from a range of disciplinary perspectives.

Festivals in Contemporary Cultural Research

An interesting aspect of festivals, from a theoretical perspective, is their ability to reflect both tradition and modernity at the same time. For example, Dan Bendrups’ recent (2008) article presents new ethnographic research concerning the annual Tapati Rapa Nui festival of Easter Island (Rapanui) as an example of the role of festivals in contemporary cultural research in the Pacific. Bendrups employs historian Mary Pratt’s theory of ‘contact zones’ to describe specific characteristics of Tapati Rapa Nui as a connection between indigenous, colonial and international cultures. He examines the relationship between cultural performance and international tourism in the contemporary Pacific and argues that festivals like Tapati Rapa Nui are able to cater to the cultural heritage needs of islander communities as well as satisfying the curiosity of outsider audiences.
Bendrups stated that in the contemporary Pacific, almost every island or island group in Oceania now hosts and annual or biennial local festival centring on indigenous and localised performance cultures. Performers throughout the region also participate in regional and international festivals where they perform for, interact with, influence and borrow from each other, and the festival as a conceptual space has therefore become of increasing importance to Pacific ethnography in recent years. Bendrups in addition, provided another perspective by James Clifford (1997) that a contact zone is equally applicable to spatially-mediated interaction in other cultural settings: “the notion of a contact zone...can be extended to include cultural relations within the same state, region or city – in the centres rather than the frontiers of nations and empires” (Clifford 1997, p.192). Bendrups identified four types of contact zone in Tapati: international contact with tourists from beyond the Pacific region; intra-national contact with tourists, authorities, and functionaries from mainland Chile; inter-clan contact between traditional kinship groups on Rapanui; and intergenerational contact between Rapanui islanders. Bendrups therefore explained that these complex interactions demonstrate that an expanded contact zone framework is useful beyond the binary discourses of coloniser/colonised, performer/audience and host/guest. It also reveals that continuing evolution of festival performances on Rapanui as performers adapt to encounters in the contact zone, and it is therefore a useful means for discussing the dynamics of change and adaptation of this unique Pacific context.

Bendrups also considers the importance of festivals in the Pacific, noting that festivals, celebrations, and performance competitions are significant to the cultural practices and histories of many Pacific peoples. In some cases, inter-clan and inter-island competitions are known to have existed since pre-contact times, and versions of some of these events continue in the twenty-first century.
Bendrups' work on ‘contact zone’ of Tapati Rapa Nui serves as a relevant description of the Teuila Festival. The Teuila festival has indeed served as a contact zone for Samoa. Tourism contact began to increase within the country and inter-island connections to American Samoa and the whole Pacific has made Samoa as their meeting venues coincided with the festival. American Samoa on the other side, has also managed to participate in entertainments and contemporary dance group competitions against Samoa at Teuila. Pacific island students attending the University of the South Pacific in Alafua have also contributed by performing their own island dances during the Teuila Variety Show. The Teuila has also encouraged overseas born Samoans to participate in the Teuila festivities including an opportunity for them to visit their families through cheap airline group fares.

Competitions existed in Samoa in terms of sports and entertainment before the arrival of missionaries. In the past, Moyle (1988) described *poula* as a form of entertainment. I would say that there is an aspect of the *poula* that has not been fully expanded, as it was also a time where each *manaia* (Chief’s son) from different villages compete by wooing a *taupou* (Chief’s daughter) from another village to be his wife. This *taupou-manaia* relationship is preserved in the format of Teuila competitions. *Ta ga ti’a* is also known to be a festival season for Samoa where villages compete against each other and the winning team is celebrated with a big feast afterwards. Dancing and singing is the highlight of these activities, and the Teuila could itself be seen as incorporating *ta ga ti’a*.

The concept of festival is one that has always played an important role in Pacific societies, as Stevenson states: “one need only peruse the ethnographies to find volumes on feasting traditions associated with social, economic, political, agricultural and funeral rituals” (Stevenson 1999, p: 29). Therefore, the South Pacific Commission (SPC) decided to use the
concept of festival in their attempts to perpetuate and encourage the traditions and cultures of the Pacific. According to Karen Stevensen (1999), it is strange that a concept so integrally linked to a very diverse population has not inspired greater dialogue. Academics have, for the most part, remained entrenched in their own disciplines, and have not looked to broader pan-Pacific ideas. Stevensen made reference to some prominent authors' views and perceptions about Pacific societies formation of ethnic identities and political interest groups, and how this has created an atmosphere for "the resistance to colonial domination, racism, and exploitation" (Jolly 1982, p.338), "the identification of common cultural themes and the maintenance of tradition" (Tonkinson 1982, p.309), and "the emergence of an objectified concept of indigenous lifeways and more rigid notions of identity" (Linnekin and Poyer 1990, p.13, in Stevensen 1999, p.29), all of which lead to the creation and organization of political structures whose goals are to preserve and develop cultural heritage. As political consciousness develops, culture becomes a subject of public discourse (Linnekin and Poyer 1990, p.14). The perceived necessity for this type of cultural affirmation demonstrates a desire "to retain crucial features of indigenous lifeways and world view" (Linnekin and Poyer 1990, p.15). According to Stevensen (1999), these beliefs often resulted in negative self-images and cultural images that are now being displaced by the strengthening of positive cultural ideologies. Therefore, Pacific Islanders now reflect on the strength of their cultural heritage, which, regardless of colonial and missionary zeal, has remained a vital part of contemporary society. Cultural values and traditions have been sustained and supported by means of the festival.
Art and Identity in the Pacific – A Theoretical Framework

In *Art and Identity in the Pacific: Festival of Pacific Arts* (Yamamoto 2006a), Matori Yamamoto provides a collection of essays that seek to situate overarching questions of culture and identity in relation to performances at the Festival of Pacific Arts. Since 1972, the Festival of Pacific Arts has been held every fourth year, in the same year in which the Olympic games are held, in one of the Pacific countries or territories. Over approximately a two week period, delegations from each Pacific country participating in the Festival display their performing and visual arts in various forms. The purpose of the Festival is a cultural exchange to build up mutual understanding and friendship among those living in the region.

The various art forms of the Festival range from the traditional to the modern. Traditional song and dance, contemporary music and dance, drama, fashion show, and opera are performed, as well films being shown. There are various types of exhibitions. In the Festival Village, one may find casual cultural performances, tattooing, carving, and craft-making. These products are sold as souvenirs, while visitors taste cooking products. However, the main delegations are largely composed of dancers and singers who perform traditional arts. Ethnomusicologists and anthropologists have visited the festivals to record the arts performed, using video and audiotapes, and photography. However, rarely have they approached the festival as the principal object of study – their research is mostly focused on a comparative study of the songs and dances of each and Pacific society, and forms part of the study of the performing arts of each country.
Matori Yamamoto describes the background to the book as follows:

After having a chance to observe a part of the seventh Festival of Pacific Arts, the author came to consider the possibility of making sociological observations on these performances and exhibitions in general, besides the basic study of traditional songs and dances. The cultural policy of each country regarding the balance of traditional culture and new creative art forms is shown in the performances and exhibitions in the Festival. (2006b, p.1-3)

She states that the sorts of questions that researchers raised included: How do the peoples and politicians perceive their own culture? How significant is the influence of the artistic activities of the Polynesian immigrants living in circum-Pacific countries on their home countries? How did the Pacific island nations that gained their independence recently are represented in the art form? Finally, how do these nations shape their own identities in the arena of the Festival where all the Pacific countries come together?

This research for the book is divided into five sections and each five section and has its own researcher with a different topic. Its aim was to observe and to analyse the art items of the Festival of Pacific Arts from a sociological perspective the sociological observations of the Festival rather than to focus on the artistic aspects of traditional performing arts in the Festival. This collection of papers was mainly the result research funded by a Japanese Ministry of Education Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research. It was at first written as a research report to the Ministry of Education although the English version has been elaborated on and improved prior to publication in 2006.

The first chapter, ‘The Eighth Festival of Pacific Arts: Representation and Identity’ is by Matori Yamamoto (Yamamoto 2006c, p.5-28). It is used as an introductory chapter to the collection. It presents a short overview of the history of the Festival of Pacific Arts, and examines the eighth Festival in its politico-social situation in the host country, in comparison
with other Festivals. It also analyses the representation of some delegations. Yamamoto concluded her paper by saying that each Festival has a face of its own and that the situation of the host country is a strong factor in the determination of the nature of the Festival and subsequently it is important to analyse the Festival within the context of the society and nation. In the same way, each delegation has its own characteristics.

Yamamoto composed a brief history of the Festival prior to her analysis of the eighth Pacific Arts Festival in Noumea, New Caledonia, 2000 as a case study. Yamamoto described and compared each festival from a sociological perspective and therefore, Yamamoto’s comparison between the seventh and eighth Festival covered Samoa’s participation as a host country and the motto of ‘cultural exchange between the Pacific people’ that the Samoan organising committee sought to engender. Yamamoto observed that the events of the seventh Festival were all free and the entertainments were open to all the Samoans, rich or poor. Yamamoto expressed that this seventh Festival in Samoa truly showed the Festival spirit and the aim of why the Pacific Arts Festival was initiated in the first place.

According to Yamamoto, each festival is formed according to the same rules and structures, however, each Festival has its own features depending on the intentions of the host country, the particular traditions of the host, the geography of the town and the venues, the budget, the organization of the government and, above all, the sociological and historical framework of the society. Yamamoto explained the importance of social structure of the festival and how social identity is important to all the Pacific nations.

In the case of New Caledonia, who hosted the Festival in 2000, there were particular reasons why the New Caledonians wanted to hold the festival. Because of the costs associated with
travel, New Caledonians were somewhat familiar with their near neighbours (Australia, New Zealand, Vanuatu), but were not so well acquainted with Papua New Guinea and the Solomons since it is very rare that New Caledonians travel there. They also do not know anything about Samoa, Tonga, or Micronesia, Rarotonga, because they are otherwise looking towards France, Europe for lines of contact and cultural influence. Therefore they insisted on hosting the eighth Festival to show people about New Caledonia’s own identity as people belonging to the Pacific.

Yamamoto noted that the political situation was a major factor in this Festival, and that France played a prominent role in the festival. The funds for the Festival came mostly from the French Government and the European Union, and admission fees for some modern performance occasions were necessary to supplement the funds, because of the much higher prices in New Caledonia than in other Pacific countries.

On the seventh festival in 1996, which was held in Samoa, Yamamoto observed that Samoa had conspicuous transnational participation of Samoans, because overseas migrants were integrated into the country as a whole. Remittances from expatriate family members support a great proportion of the Samoan population, and Church organizations from the homeland often have their branches in overseas communities. She stated that these networks were such a part of the Samoan world that emigrant painters, sculptors, novelists, photographers, pop musicians, and even those not connected to the performance industry went home and affiliated with festival. Samoan emigrants came home and worked towards the coordination and betterment of the festival. In this case, the difference between Samoa and New Caledonia is that Samoa is an Independent country and its decisions are made through one avenue, one Government. As for the Samoan emigrants, there are two Samoan sayings that sum up the
expectations of migrants: ‘e lele le toloa ae ma’au i le vaivai’ (‘no matter where it flies, the toloa bird always returns to its pool or puddle’) and ‘e iloa lava le Samoa i lana tu, savali ma lana tautala’ (‘you can distinguish a Samoan by the way he/she stands, walks and speaks’).

There are two main reasons why Samoans migrate: jobs and education. Samoans carry their titles, culture and traditions with them wherever they migrate, and wherever they are they tend to stick together as a community, in church communities and as a village community. Excluding the fact that they migrate for better work and good education they return to Samoa with something to take back, or they contribute towards families, church and community.

While people living in Samoa ‘hold the fort’ (looking after families, land, and other assets), emigrants work towards improving the welfare of Samoa by sending home monetary donations. They also share their professionalism of any kind when it comes to major activities within the country. In reference to what Yamamoto referred to as Samoa being trans-national, there is another proverb that states ‘e lele le toloa ae ma’au le vaivai,’ that ‘wherever a Samoan migrates, he/she will always return home’.

The second chapter, ‘Art and National Identity: A case of Papua New Guinea,’ (Toyoda 2006, p.29-50) is a case study of Papua New Guinea’s contribution to the Festival of Pacific Arts, written by Yukio Toyoda. It explores how Papua New Guinea is trying to create national symbols to construct a national identity. Toyoda examines cultural shows, decorative building facades, and Festivals, in order to show us different ways of constructing national symbols out of the collection of such a variety of different styles of art especially ‘traditional’ art. According to Toyoda, art in Papua New Guinea is diverse, and it is difficult to make generalizations. However, art in this area is famous for its range of sculpture and decorated material culture, such as masks, figurines, drums, canoe artefacts and so on. Some specific areas have a rich and diverse artistic tradition and in most areas, decorated materials are ritual
objects, such as figures of ancestors, gods, and supernatural beings. Since there are a large number of ethnic groups, and each ethnic group has its own culture or tradition, it is hard to choose one cultural item or one ethnic group to represent the nation so that all people identify with it.

The third chapter ‘Expressing Pacific Identities through Performance: The Participation of Nations and Territories of Western Micronesia – in their representation as a nation’ (Yasui 2006, p.51-78), focuses on the four new nations and regions in Micronesia – Palau, Guam, Northern Mariana, and the Federated State of Micronesia - and how they are represented as a nation. The fourth chapter by Makiko Kuwahara, ‘Dancing and Tattooing the Imagined Territory: Identity Formation at Heiva and the Festival of Pacific Arts’ (Kuwahara 2006, p. 79-110), discusses the politico-social manipulation of different levels of identity. Heiva is the festival for all French Polynesia while the Festival of Pacific Arts is for the whole Pacific Region. For Heiva, competition and differentiation are the key terms. The participants establish their own identity by competing and differentiating each other by the originality of each of their own styles. Similarly, in the Festival of Pacific Arts, different styles of dancing among the archipelagos within French Polynesia are incorporated into a musical-style performance to represent the whole of French Polynesia.

The fifth chapter, ‘Performance and Mediation: A Historical View of Traditional Music and Dance Presented in the Festivals of Pacific Arts 1972-2000’ (Konishi 2006, p.111-132) is an overview of the history of the Festival of Pacific Arts by experienced Pacific music researcher Junko Konishi. Konishi summarised each Festival by utilizing the Festival programs, reports, papers and her observations from those that she attended. In Konishi’s conclusion, she expressed that the Pacific Festival of Arts, intended to establish a Pacific identity, has
negotiated problems of authentic-versus-tourist performances since the beginning of its history, and yet this has not impeded the success or continuation of the festival.

Together, these five different approaches to the study of the Festival of Pacific Arts provide a meaningful framework for the theorisation of Teuila in relation to Samoan culture and identity. They demonstrate, firstly, that while the festival may have different characteristics depending on where it is held, it nevertheless serves similar purposes in terms of providing a forum for the expression of cultural identity that is shared by all participants. Furthermore while music is not always the sole focus of festival performances, it is nevertheless a factor, even in events where music is not necessarily the main object of display.

**Festivals and Tourism**

As noted by Konishi (2006, p.111), the question of whether a festival performance is intended for a tourist audience or for an audience of ‘insiders’ opens a minefield of debate and interpretation. Even in a context like the Festival of Pacific Arts, where various groups of Pacific islanders congregate, there is still an element of ‘putting on a show’ by islanders for other islanders, regardless of whether there are even any other foreign tourists in attendance, as exemplified by Kuwahara’s description of dances being constructed to represent the whole of French Polynesia (2006, p.79). There is an inbuilt assumption that anything intended for a tourist audience is therefore fake, inauthentic, or deprived of meaning, yet tourists do play an important role in the existence and perseverance of these festivals, and they probably would not occur without input from a tourist economy. It is therefore prudent to consider the festival from the perspective of tourism, to see what areas of discourse overlap or conflict.
In their book *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change* (Picard & Robinson 2006a), David Picard and Mike Robinson provide a broad description of the interplay between tourism and cultural festivals. They note that “the observance of and participation in festivals, and what we may broadly term ‘celebratory events’, is an increasingly significant aspect of the contemporary tourist experience,” (2006b, p.1) and assert that “historically, festivals, carnival processions and pageants have always provided points of meaningful connectivity and spectacle for visitors” (2006b, p.1).

Picard and Robinson place festivals in the broader context of European exploration and expansion, comparing them to instances of European middle-class touring in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where “the concentrated time-space frame of the festival helped to make visible the social life of ‘foreign’ townscape and landscapes that while rich in historic and architectural significance, often lacked animation” (2006b, p.1). They then compare this to the contemporary situation, where processes of globalisation have made all of the world accessible:

*In [this] context, new webs of social relations seek to make themselves visible by adapting or reinventing forms of meaningful narration. International travel and tourism, as both a driver and an outcome of globalisation, have had, and continues to have, a significant role to play in the re-formulation of social relationships and structures for the processes of exchange as practised within a festival context...Tourists encounter festivals in a number of ways. In some instances festivals, particularly large and spectacular events, become the key motivator for tourism and occupy a large part of the tourist time-space budget.* (Picard & Robinson 2006b, p.3)

Picard and Robinson make further observations about the commercial characteristics of festivals, and the ways in which these commercial imperatives might affect cultural processes. They note that festivals are often included in tourism packages where the festival itself is a principal attraction that opens the way to subsidiary promotion of places, people, or products. In these contexts, the festival often becomes a means for supporting the overall culture of the
location, even if this is not the way that culture has traditionally been supported. They also note that, having attended one festival, tourists may stumble upon or be directed to other events, and that this affects the relationship between these events. Also, they note that, from an organiser’s perspective, festivals are often thought of more in terms of money, people-management and logistics than cultural coherence. They frequently rely on volunteer labour and support, and these volunteers are motivated, if not for economic reasons, then because of their own feelings of cultural or personal connectedness to the event. As they argue:

> Despite the dominance of [purely economic] models in contemporary academic festival literature, human relations - the essence of any festival - cannot (nor should not) be reduced, nor confined, to a consequence of political action and to a utilitarian model of individual behaviour...Such approaches are more akin to a political programme seeking to mould social relations in terms of societal and economic ideals rather than establishing an epistemology that aims to understand what is going on when people celebrate festivals. (Picard & Robinson 2006b, p.4)

Picard and Robinson offer, instead, the observation that “there has been a long tradition of communities using and devising festivals as opportunities for social and commercial exchange, the displaying of wealth, royal authority, and political/militaristic posturing, which frequently involved, and focused upon, travellers as naïve and willing observers” (2006b, p.1) Meanwhile, Abrahams speaks of festivals as celebrations of community pride and opportunities to boast to one’s neighbours, whether this be through displays of economic success, cultural solidarity or some other factor (Abrahams, 1982). Handelman describes festivals as ‘events that present the lived in world’ (1998, p.41), and includes all sorts of ceremonies and public performance traditions within this. In all, the researchers in the area of festivals and tourism tend to fall into three groups: those that view festivals as events that benefit culture by providing a context for the maintenance or reinvention of tradition (Arnold 2000; Getz 1997), those who prefer to see festivals as components in complex webs or systems of economic and cultural exchange, or those who see festivals as apolitical act of reassertion of identity in the face of rampant globalisation (De Bres & Davis 2001). With
reference to the work of Falassi (1987, p.4) Picard and Robinson explains this complex field as follows:

Alongside managerial and economic literature on festivals, different anthropological and sociological schools have for a long time been implicated in studies of various a priori festive phenomena including cultural performance, ritual, sacrifice, celebration, pilgrimage, play and war. Approaches to these phenomena share the necessity of having to define a limited time and space frame in which a multitude of social interactions, aesthetic signs and narrative discourses can be observed. Within this however, defining festivals and the typology with any precision is problematic, and to an extent will always fall short of corresponding realities (Falassi, 1987: 4). (Picard & Robinson 2006b, p.4)

Conclusions

A concept that is constantly reinforced in these discussions is the idea that cultural festivals simultaneously cater to domestic and international needs and audiences. Where tourism is a factor, festivals must always be responsive to the needs of tourists, and if this means modifying the performances or festival content in order to make it more appealing, then that is something that festival organisers must consider with great care. Another important observation is that, while festivals occur in many places, it is only in the last fifty years that mass transportation has made the world as accessible to tourism as it is, and it is only in the last twenty or thirty years that this kind of easy access has been a reality in the Pacific. Indeed, there are still many Pacific islands that are not serviced by aircraft, and that rely on ferries or small transport companies for their connection to the rest of the world.

It is therefore not so surprising, considering the context of this discussion, that Teuila is such a recent phenomenon in Samoan performance culture, as its development coincides with the expansion of tourism and the growth of a tourist economy in the Pacific. This said, Teuila is not necessarily a big drawcard for international tourism, and perhaps appeals more to the market of expatriate Samoans who might see it as an opportune occasion to visit Samoa, so its
development can’t simply be construed as a tourism-oriented economic initiative. Rather, Teuila should be recognised as both a ‘contact zone’ for the establishment, re-establishment or strengthening of cultural and international links, and a focal point for tourism to Samoa that provides the casual observer with an introduction to Samoan tradition as well as other aspects of social life that are highly valued by Samoan society, whether deemed traditional or not.
CHAPTER 4:
TEUILA IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This chapter introduces the historical and cultural context of Teuila and how it developed and became a national event for Samoa. It also explains the situation surrounding why it took so long for the Government of Samoa to begin accepting tourism in the country. The Government of Samoa was reluctant to encourage tourism development in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, they were reluctant to building a full-scale airport for wide-bodied jets (Meleisea & Meleisea 1980). As Regina Scheyvens states, “while expansion of Faleolo international airport did begin in 1983, and the Western Samoa Visitors Bureau was then established in 1984, tourism remained low on the Government’s official list of priorities” (Scheyvens 2005, p.5). Active promotion of tourism by the government did not begin until the 1990s when they were spurred on to find development alternatives after the devastation caused by two cyclones (in 1990 and 1991) and taro leaf blight (in 1993) which destroyed almost the entire crop on both main islands (Twining-Ward & Twining-Ward 1998, p.262). Yet even then they did not want to encourage mass tourism or the development of large-scale resorts, rather, they implemented the 1992-2001 Tourism Development Plan (TDP) which stressed that “tourism in Samoa needs to be developed in an environmentally responsible and culturally sensitive manner, follow a policy of ‘low volume, high yield,’ and attract discerning and environmentally aware visitors” (Scheyvens 2005, p.5).

Visitors numbers to Samoa grew from around 20,000 in 1970, to almost 48,000 visitors in 1990 (Page & Lawton 1996, p.297). Although the numbers increased around the 1990 and with two cyclones within two consecutive years did not help the economy of Samoan but
gradually the visitors numbers increased to over 92,000 in 2003 (Page & Lawton 1996, p.297) eleven years after the commencement of the Teuila Festival.

The Teuila Festival was first launched on the first of September 1992. The Festival is named after a plant that grows wild in Samoa, which belongs to the family of ginger plants and which has a flower that blooms in red and pink with a light gingerly scent. It is often referred to as ‘red ginger’. Literally, *teuila* is comprised of two parts, *teu*, meaning bouquet, and *ila*, which is a shortening of *iila*, meaning ‘to glow’. So the word *teuila* can be taken to mean ‘glowing bouquet’. The *teuila* flower blooms all throughout the year, and the Samoans use the flowers for decoration of churches, halls, homes, event venues, making garlands for social activities, flower bouquets for funerals and general functions like school social activities. Pink *teuila* is rare in Samoa, far less common than the red variety, yet ever since the beginning of the festival, flower growers began to take an interest in cultivating the pink flower as well. The hibiscus is also very common in Samoa but since the Fijians named their festival the Hibiscus Festival, the Teuila festival committee chose the *teuila* as Samoa’s national flower to represent the nation. Indeed, the Fijian Hibiscus Festival is a precursor to Teuila, established many years before in 1956, and some of the events included in Teuila are similar to the Hibiscus festival, such as the inclusion of a beauty pageant.

As Samoan Minister of Tourism (also Minister of Finance) at the time, Afioga Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi initiated the idea for a festival. This initiative followed the 1990 establishment of a National Beautification committee chaired by Tuilaepa and his associate Ministers Gaiga Tino and Unasa Mesi. Tuilaepa subsequently formed a committee to plan and structure the festival, aiming to work towards a strategy of sustainability for the festival. The former Chief Executive Officer (General Manager at that time) of the Western Samoa Visitors
Bureau, Vensell Margraff and staff were all involved in the committee along with representatives from government ministries, the private sector, local businesses, hotels and their major sponsor, Polynesian Airlines.

The idea came from Fiji’s Hibiscus Festival but with different objectives. Malielegaoi regarded that the Hibiscus Festival’s aim was towards raising money for charity, while the Teuila festival was aimed at developing tourism, economy and culture. Given the relatively slow pace of tourism to Samoa in the early 1990s, the Teuila committee considered a range of options for increasing the attractiveness of Samoa for tourists. Consequently, the committee examined culture more closely, and sought to develop cultural performance as a means to boost tourism. In order to do this, they needed incentives and strategies for getting indigenous culture bearers involved in preparation of the festival, and this resulted in the idea of structuring the festival around a series of competitions with prizes in a range of categories. This meant that funds were needed to finance prizes on top of the money required to set up the festival as a whole, so local sponsorship was actively sought.

The activities included in Teuila made use of many urban spaces, and even required the construction of temporary buildings to house certain aspects of certain events. The setup for Teuila required the hiring of halls for a choir competition, and as a backup location for the Miss Teuila pageant in case of bad weather. Good locations and facilities were also required for outdoor activities, tents for stalls to sell handicrafts, food, clothes, and other items. Much of this was organized by the Women in Business in Samoa working party. The building of a temporary Samoan village for the festival required the construction of several small fale. For the church choir competition, extra tents were needed outside the hall where the choirs could wait and prepare themselves before going on stage. Samoan cricket competitions were held
around the Apia area with villages that have cricket fields like Tanugamanono and Lepea. The variety show needed a good stage, lighting and sound system for the performances. Demonstrations of Samoan cooking (umu) required dry areas away from traffic; and even such events as the coconut climbing competition, were staged with tall poles erected behind the Samoa Tourism Authority (STA) fale, as any suitable coconut trees were too far away from the other festival venues in the centre of town. Other demonstrations like coconut husking, coconut grating and making of coconut cream (pe'epe'e) were to be held within the artificial village created for the festival.

Since the Samoan tourism industry was only gradually developing in the early 1990s, the only regular clients of Apia hotels were businessmen, travelling salespeople, and representatives of organizations attending conferences in Samoa. Occasional tour ships provided a further tourist market, though not one that provided much income to hotels. However, the attraction provided by Teuila demonstrated to Samoans that the development of a tourism economy was possible, and it is perhaps in response to Teuila that local villages began to build beach fale (open air huts) on private or communally owned land, to attract tourists to longer stays.

Despite the commercial overtones, the first Teuila was also aimed at the revitalisation of Samoan culture, using tourism as the pretext to do so. This included demonstrations of traditional sports, dances and singing that had not been a regular part of urban Samoan life since the introduction of Christianity. Alongside Teuila, other events have drawn on a festival format to boost their popularity, including fishing events, a beer festival, Youth Week, White Sunday, World Mothers' Day, and World Food Day.
Over the course of its development, Teuila has remained a state initiative. A number of
government bodies and non-government organizations have been heavily involved with parts
of the preparations for Teuila, including the Chamber of Commerce, the Apia Beautification
Committee (which was lead by a Member of Parliament Unasa Mesi), churches, sporting
bodies, schools and cultural groups, non-profit organizations, including the Western Samoa
Visitors Association and Women in Business. The content and regulations pertaining to the
festival have changed over the years, depending on available budgets, committee interests and
initiatives based on experiences from previous years. An example of this process of change is
the manner in which 'village performances' are now integrated into the celebrations. It was
once the case that each competing village had to have a traditional song, a *taupou* and
*manaia*, a *ma'ulu'ulu* and a *sasa* within their repertoire. All these items had to be presented
and performed by participants from the same village. In recent years, however, as
participation has grown, these performance categories have been separated and may be
contested by any group, organization or village, who are free to choose from any of these
categories of which they can compete. Other activities including games are now also open to
any group whereas in previous years, the focus of these events was village development.

The Teuila Festival has now become part of Samoa’s National Day instead of the
Independence celebrations. Before the Festival ever commenced, Independence Day in
Samoa (1 June) took a whole week of celebrations which is now limited to two days.
Activities that once were part of the Independence celebrations since 1962 are now part of the
Festival. Preparations for the festival begin after Independence Day in Samoa (1 June). The
main committee, including the Minister of Tourism, decides on the programme for each
year’s festival. It is then passed down to sub-committees to fulfil and follow-up the
requirements of the programme.
My Involvement with Teuila

I have been involved in planning and performance for Teuila since the very first festival in 1992. In that year, I was approached by the former Minister of Finance and Tourism, the Honourable Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi to be the choir director for the Siusega Catholic Parish. It was through my association with him in the choir that I became involved in the Teuila Festival main committee. Each member of the committee was given a task for the festival. For my task, I was asked to coordinate the performance spaces for the choir competition, entertainment, and other competitions such as the traditional group singing and individual and group dancing performances. I was appointed this task because the Minister needed a musician's opinion on how a stage should be for choir competitions. The first choir competition, for Teuila 1992, was held at the Catholic hall, the Feiloaimau. It was one of the biggest halls at the time, but as the acoustics of the building weren't designed for this type of competition, a good sound system and good foldback set up for the stage were required.

My first introduction to the concept of the festival was when I was casually informed by Malielegaoi that the choir he had asked me to direct was to be entered into a new competition, and that a special repertoire would need to be prepared. I was informed that each choir must provide their own original music arrangement for a text from the Congregational Christian Church hymnal. The selected text, 'Lo Ta Nuu Moni' (‘My True Country [or Village]’), is very popular and commonly used as an anthem or patriotic song in Samoa, and is an example of the kind of repertoire that appeared in this context. While the Teuila festival preparations and promotions progressed, the tension within the country was overwhelming in a sense that each community or village were keen on entering in different competitions and practises were pursued daily after working hours. As it was the first time such an event was to be held,
people were also nervous from the tension of not knowing what the format or expectations of
the event were going to be, but could do nothing more than merely prepare their performances
as much as possible.

Before commencing choir rehearsals for my own choir I had to compose a piece that was
appropriate to the text, but catchy for the competition, and it took me three weeks to
complete. The following is the prescribed text for the choir competition held in the first Teuila
festival. Lo ta Nuu Moni is an unattributed hymn from the Congregational Christian Church
of Samoa Hymnal. Each choir that entered the Teuila competition was required to provide
their own original tune in choral arrangement using the text. I composed a choral piece for the
Siusega Roman Catholic Choir for the competition and this composition ended up winning
first place. The composition was created with each verse in three sections while the chorus
remains the same.

Verse 1
Lo ta Nuu moni ta te fiafia ai
Ou te saili mea e manua ai
Ia e ulu ola fai ma nuu tumau
Samoa ia moemia I nuu e mamao

Tali (Chorus)
Tama Samoa sauni mai viiga
Ia fai le fa'afetai,
Lo tatou nuu,

Verse 2
Lo tatou nuu ia talosia
Lo tatou nuu ia mamua
E uiai nuu uma ou te taua oe
Ona o aiga, uso, ma tama
Pei o ma'a pupula i le vasa nei
Ou motu e sefulu
E! ua lalelei

I rejoice in my country
I seek for your good fortune
May you still remain in prosperity
May Samoa be needed by country from afar

Prepare praises oh countrymen of Samoa
Let us give thanks
Our country

Our country be praised
Our country be blessed
Out of all countries I name you
Because of families, brothers and fathers
Like glittered rocks in the ocean
Your ten islands
Oh! They're beautiful
Verse 3
O le siomia ou motu i se pa
Ua avea mona, lota nuu lelei
Lana Afioga, tausi pea mai
Ia ia te oe, Le Alii Samoa

A fence surrounds your islands
You are being a good country
Keep us in your guidance, your Highness
May the Lord be with you Samoa

Teuila from the Festival Founder’s Perspective

For the purposes of understanding further the inspiration of the development of the Teuila festival, I conducted one formal interview in the context of my fieldwork with the now Prime Minister of Samoa, the honourable Susuga Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi. I initiated this discussion by asking Malielegaoi about his perception of the role of music in Teuila, to which he replied in a manner that emphasised the connectedness of music to other aspects of Samoan cultural life:

Culture is music, how we live the day-to-day activities how we prepare our food, how we govern our villages by the authority of the Matai, how Samoan women meet and discuss daily affairs, how we get together and assist group tasks, how we make a living through carvings, weaving, handicrafts, these are all part and parcel of our culture and it reflects our way of living, and shape the way we feel, the way we think. Our preparations of food, our games, that’s why the Teuila programme is structured in this way, that all the different activities of our daily life reflects are reflected through the programme. We demonstrate to the tourists how we make a umu [ground oven] right from the beginning how we heat the stones for the umu, how we pile wood in between the stones, and then we look at the food that’s going to be cooked in the umu...Our dances, with the backing of our own songs, these dances are all done through explanatory songs, [movements such as mimicking] the preparation of extracting coconut cream out of the coconut - all these become part and parcel of our expressive arts, how we dance, explaining not only our action songs but also the lyrics that we sing. (Interview with the author, 13 September 2008)

Malielegaoi was a particularly strong advocate for the inclusion of church music within Teuila. His reasons reflect the desire to use the festival as a kind of community development project:

The reason why I wanted church music to be included in the Teuila Festival was to improve the Samoan Choirs that are used in churches, improve their singing and expose the choirs to appreciate other genres of music and that also includes traditional music. When I look at music and choirs of different church denominations the Congregational Christian Churches in Samoa were the only ones with high quality
of music in terms of harmonic melodies, I'm able to say this because I was a CCCS and later converted to Catholic. The Methodist Church were next to the CCCS, it is the harmonisation of the hymns there were no musical rules applied to their singing, meaning one person leads the choir with the melody and everyone puts in their own part in harmony, in a capella style. There were no strict notations, people put in their own part of voice creating beautiful harmony. But the worst choirs out of these denominations were the Roman Catholics. In 1960 there was a [positive] change when your grandfather [referring to my own grandfather] introduced the protestant music style to the Taufusi and Matautu Choirs...

...When I initiated the Teuila Festival I wanted everyone to improve on their music and the only way to go about in achieving my aim is for the choirs to compete. And monetary prizes are a way of motivation to every choir that will be competing. I was amazed for the first time at the competition when there were only two Catholic choirs that competed and the majority was the CCCS and eventually these two choirs shocked the whole of Samoa because they took the first and second positions in the competition. The Siusega Catholic Choir took the first place and Aleisa Catholic choir took second place and this, I believe, was because these two choirs implemented proper notation. (Interview with the author, 13 September 2008)

Teuila Performance Categories

The performance competition categories for Teuila include various types of dances, choral and brass band music, Samoan cricket, and the Miss Samoa pageant amongst other things. These categories have changed from year to year, depending on the availability and expertise of competing groups, though the Miss Samoa (sometimes referred to as 'Miss Teuila') pageant has been a constant part of the celebrations. Aside from the specifically musical performance categories, music also plays a role in supporting the dance competitions, and as an accompaniment to certain sports. The following discussion covers the main performance categories that include some sort of music, which have been included in Teuila over the course of its existence.

DANCE COMPETITIONS

The Teuila dance competition groups consist of young men and women, mostly from youth groups of particular religious orders or representing a particular village. In each group are
dancers and a small number of older people who forms a small choir to accompany the dancers. The use of CDs DVDs or any electronic instrument or device is prohibited, though Samoan instrumentation is allowed. This includes *fala* (rolled mats), guitar, *selo* (or ‘cello’, made out of an empty keg of lard/salted beef with a stick of two to three inches thick and a string tied from one end of the stick and down around the front of the barrel or keg), and *pate* (slit drums that come in different sizes piled up on a stand that holds three to four pates from small to a bigger pate).

Solo dance in Samoan tradition is performed in the beginning or end of an organised entertainment event. It is mostly performed by a Chief’s daughter (Tausala) or son, or by a person of high prestige such as the Head of State, or other Ministers and/or their spouses, depending on the occasion. Technically, this sort of dance cannot be performed by just anyone, and strict attention is paid to protocol in normal performance situations. Solo dances such as the *taupou* and *manaia* competitions are judged on beauty, and on how gracefully the dancer is able to perform.

**MA’ULU’ULU (GROUP DANCE)**

*Ma’ulu’ulu* dance is a group dance and it can be performed in two modes: it can be performed in a mixture of men and women, some sitting, kneeling and some standing or performed by the whole group standing and dancing right up to the end. It is accompanied by a selection of two or three songs combined and sometimes the songs are sung in repetition in order to prolong the dance. The standing up mode is commonly performed by a group of women with a few men dancing in the background. The mode of dancing gradually changed within the years of the festival, but it remains to be a traditional group dance to the Samoans.
**FAATAUPATI (SLAP DANCE)**

There are two types of slap dance; one performed only by men and one other with men and women. The first one by men is performed in a fast tempo with an accompaniment of the pate or mat played in different tones. Nowadays, the drums are added to the *pate* and *fala* as accompaniment to the performance that makes it even livelier. Men wear a short *lavalava* (wrap around) above the knees with *ula laufa'i* (garlands made from banana leaves), and a *tauvaue* (anklet) made of *tifā* (a characteristic round black nut) which are now replaced by bottle tops from fizzy drink bottles. The *tauvaue* is part of Samoa’s traditional accessories worn by men when performing and produces rhythmical sounds when the performers make stamping dancing movements. The *tauvaue* is also part of our percussion instruments as accompaniment for the dance and also to keep the rhythmical movement of the dancers. *The tifā*, which is from a vine that bears round hard black nuts, has become virtually extinct in Samoa. These nuts were formerly used as money for a game called *taulafoga* which was only played by high chiefs. It has also been used for decoration of homes, or for drapes hanging over entrances to ward off insects. The *fa’ataupati* still remains as part of Samoa’s traditional dance and it is now a popular entertainment for tourists in hotel shows, where men with muscular physique are showcased gleaming with coconut oil and dressed only in a short *lavalava*. It is also performed as an introduction performance for cultural entertainment throughout Samoa.

**SASA**

The *sasa* is a group dance performed by men and women and it begins with the performers’ actions and movements while sitting, some kneeling and all ended up by standing at the end of the dance. The dance is accompanied by a *pate* (slit drum) and a *fala* (mat) rolled into a cylinder with an empty beer bottle inserted to produce a good resonant sound. Actions are
based on a selection of themes portraying the daily lives of Samoa and the movement of actions are mimed in a rhythmical mode. This dance is performed in sequence beginning with a welcome and followed by actions depending on which theme the group chooses.

**TAUPOU (SOLO MAIDEN’S DANCE)**

The *taupou* dance is performed mainly by a *tama’ita’i* (a woman of high prestige within a village or family). It is performed at a time of the *taualuga* at the end of a cultural entertainment or special cultural occasion. The dance movements of the *taupou* are gradual and graceful. A *taupou* takes her time with her movements as well that is; she does not have to dance accordingly to the rhythm of the song while the *aiuli* does all the distractions from the background. What is overwhelming about this performance by the *taupou* is that she is so focused on her dance and not disturbed by all the distractions coming from the *aiuli*. Her costumes are also important as it displays heirlooms and wealth of a Samoan family.

**AIULI (A DANCE BY YOUNG MEN)**

Young men perform this dance during a *taualuga*. Their role is to dance energetically in the background while a *taupou* performs her solo dance in front of a choir sitting on the floor, singing, swaying and clapping under the leadership of a Samoan conductor. The *aiuli’s* actions are more brisk in style - he jumps up and down slapping his body, make cheering sounds from the background and rolling from one end of the stage to the other end. If the performance is taking place inside a Samoan *fale* (house), he would be seen climbing up the posts as well. It is one performance that spectators enjoy watching since his actions can be humorous and artistic and not all men are skilful in performing the dance.
**SIVA AILAO AFI (FIRE DANCE)**

This is a dance performed mostly by energetic and athletic young men. The fire is lit on a *nifo oti* that is bound with a cloth followed by wetting it with kerosene before handing over to the dancer. The performance and skills are similar to that of a drum major using a baton except that *ailao afi* is performed with fire and dance form in a rhythmical dance form for as the baton performed by a drum major is used in a marching form of music. In particular, this performance is presented as a prelude to an entertainment or a finale.

Fire dancing has become very popular with every entertainment especially in hotels. The fire dance competition should be held at a much larger house due to fire regulations. Challengers from around the island especially the town area and east coast area of Upolu is where the best dancers are from and these is part of a tradition to the family and as dancers they learn from a very early age. The competition also seeks dancers for the National Fire Dance competition in Hawaii and it has become very popular and has become one of the objectives of the competition and that is develop fire dancers particularly towards this competition. To the Samoans not only the dancers get to travel overseas but the monetary awards can help out with families in Samoa.

**CHORAL SINGING**

Worshiping through music plays a vital role to all different church denominations in Samoa. Any activity or special function within any Samoan gathering has to open with a hymn and benediction. Therefore the organizing committee for the Festival decided to have the opening with a choir competition. In church choirs throughout Samoa, members vary from different age groups beginning from five upwards. Youth groups also have their own choirs and take turns with the mass choir in singing for church services on either Sunday mornings or evening.
services. Choir competitions are also held in youth camps or church conferences. Subsequently, the Teuila Festival choir competition served its purpose by enhancing and improving the standards of the church choirs throughout the country. Teenagers that pretended to be occupied with schoolwork other than their social lives have managed to reschedule their timetables to attend choir practices for the competition. The Festival choir competition might have been initiated for tourist attraction but it has certainly gave the Samoans an occasion to look forward to in September.

Choirs have become part of Samoa’s tradition since Christianity was introduced. It has played an important role in the lives of the Samoans from each religious denomination. Churches have their own choirs and some also have two or three choirs and each take turns in singing either in the morning service or evening, even the youth groups also have their own choir and take turns in singing for the Sunday service. Choir members ranging from 9 years onwards can also be involved. There are also Sunday school choirs and these children are taught at a very early age.

In the beginning of the Teuila Festival 1992, the Choir competition was aimed for the development of local church choirs within Samoa, and these choirs were only qualified to compete if they were used in church services. Each choir had to have at least 30 members and had to pay ST$100 for registration. Monetary awards were offered for the best five choirs including a trophy for the winner and a prize for the best uniform.

Judges were drawn from the community of local musicians, including respected individuals like the former Police Force band Director Sefuiva Sani Epati, Merita Fitiseemanu a local musician who has her own music school in piano teaching, and, Faafetai Alalatoa who is a
Catholic Catechist. These same people were always judging the competitions and no one came from overseas, except in 1996 when Richard Moyle was invited to compose a competition piece for that year and to judge the competition himself.

Teuila has also provided a forum for the revitalisation of traditional Samoan songs sung by village choirs as part of the festival’s ‘cultural evening’. In the very first Teuila, this traditional choir competition ran for more than five hours on the first night, and then continued the following night to accommodate the many groups that registered. Samoan traditional songs from different villages throughout the country comprise the repertoire for this segment of the competition. In general, the requirement is for the song style to be traditional, but for the lyrics to reflect on Samoa in a way that is conducive to the development of tourism. It is judged by the accurate delivery of the lyrics, and by the sweetness of the tune, which should always be harmonious.

**BRASS BANDS**

Brass bands have had some influence on the Samoan community way of life through cultural entertainment and festivities, independence celebrations, church activities, education and government functions. The place of brass bands in Samoan music culture has been highly regarded as part of tradition. Band competitions are held each year during independence and it has now become one of the highlights during the Festival. At least the brass bands are now put to use in two national events during the year: the Independence Day celebrations and the Teuila festival. In the past, before electric bands were introduced, the brass bands were the only source of entertainment used in any social activity within Samoa: church activities where bands accompanied the choir during the service, for funerals where the band leads the procession from the family home towards the church and over to the burial site, and weddings
where the band leads the bride walking towards church and entertain during the reception. These bands belong to the villages and coordinated by the village Matai (chiefs), and members of the band are from the same village. If a village owns a band, it is expected that all the families in the village must become involve and assist the members in any way they can. Brass bands are also used during the Teuila festival for parades especially the Miss Samoa Pageant parade where the contestants are displayed on floats.

Preparations for the brass band competition are taken very seriously by those villages that own a brass or marching band. The village people from Matai (chiefs) to aumaga (young men) all contribute to raise funds for the uniforms and also for food to take to the family in Upolu where they will be billeted for the rest of the Festival. Customarily, practices would be held everyday outside on the village malae (ceremonial ground) for marching and then continue with the competition piece inside the Pastor’s house or a Chief that has a fale talimalo (guest house like a huge Samoan open fale). Every practice is a special event, a feast day where food is always served and women and younger men who cannot be in the band are the ones that cook and serve.

STRINGBAND COMPETITIONS

String bands exist in Samoa, especially in Hotels and resorts out in the rural areas where electric bands are not very popular. String bands are seen as a tourist attraction in Samoa, therefore the festival committee included a competition in order to develop it more. These bands are consisted of men and hardly a female is involved except for the dance performance part. Singers are mostly men and they perform old Samoan folk music to contemporary including some old Western pop music just for the fun of it.
Each band has men of either six to eight members with guitars including twelve strings, and
percussions such as pate in various sizes and pitches. In the competition each band should
provide its own composition relating to what Samoa can provide for the tourists, praising and
especially about its environment. It is also based on the relevance of the tune and its lyrics
and how well the band presents the song along with the arrangement of the voices.

CLOWNING (FALEAITU) IN MUSIC AND DANCE

Clowning is an important facet of traditional Samoan performance, as noted by Vilsoni
Hereniko: “Every chief needs a clown. Thus, in Tonga and Samoa, two Polynesian societies
marked by hierarchy in the social order, chiefs had in their retinue one or two clowns, who
were an integral part of their court” (Hereniko 1999, p.15). Hereniko continues that:

Clowns amused the chiefs (and their subjects) by providing an alternative view of
humanity that was normally suppressed in the interest of group harmony and
cohesion. Because of their low position in the social ladder, clowns were more in
touch with the common folk and their preferred linguistic code and down-to-earth
view of society. And they were able to present a populist view (humorous or absurd)
that would otherwise be inaccessible to chiefs. (1999, p.15)

Any activity without a faleaitu (literally ‘house of the spirit’, but referring to comedians or
clowns) is boring to the Samoan people. They enjoy good humour and wherever a
performance involving clowning is held, it is guaranteed to be crowded. For this reason,
clowning has become an integral part of other types of acculturated performance, such as
brass bands and choirs, where the conductor sometimes assumes the role of faleaitu, amusing
the crowd while also conducting the ensemble.

Comedians are also used as MCs (masters of ceremonies), and people love to hear jokes while
the comedians make fun of each other (Hereniko 1999, p.17). If the clown is an integral part
of a formal dance, then he or she usually acts as a kind of master of ceremonies, calling out
instructions, weaving in and out among the dancers, livening things up and acting as a link with the audience. The aiuli mentioned earlier is a form of dance that is often performed by a clown. It takes a skilful dancer with a good sense of humour to perform this dance. In the Samoan siva, the male dancers who clown around at the periphery pay respect to the dancer(s) at the centre. Their disorderly behaviour enhances gracefulness and the control of the middle dancer(s). Amusing dancing and singing is also part of the show and their themes are always based on the daily lives of the Samoans. The Samoan people love and enjoy this kind of humour, they laugh at their own lifestyle being imitated by the comedians and therefore, it is acceptable within the Samoan society. Music is used as a prelude, where the comedians begin with dancing (clowning) as they enter the stage.

MISS SAMOA PAGEANT AND PARADE

The Pageant is one of the highlights of the Teuila Festival, a finale at the end of the week to wrap up everything after the Prize Giving of all the events that took place during the week and this is held in the morning. Contestants come from New Zealand, Australia and Hawaii to compete for the Miss Samoa.

The aim of this competition is to find a Miss Samoa to compete for the Miss South Pacific, which is held annually in October. The Contestants are either sponsored by the companies that they work for or by the Samoa Visitors’ Bureau who, with the assistance of the Samoa Visitors’ Association, recruit ladies that are willing to compete and helped them to find sponsors from several companies around the country. The recruiting begins two months before the actual event in September and Samoan New Zealanders hold their competition on every second week of May each year in Auckland. The competition is based on beauty, level of education, culture and talent.
Floats have been also one of the highlights of the Independence and subsequently, it is now very much part of the Teuila. It is held as a competition and each float is displayed on the main street of Apia while transporting the Miss Samoa contestants. The number of floats depend on the number of contestants competing and therefore the Samoa Visitors Association along with the Bureau are responsible for recruiting organizations and villages to prepare floats for each contestant. The competition displays begins from the Vaisigano bridge down the main waterfront road of Apia, around the town clock and then assemble in front of the Government building at Matagialalua.

For 2008, The Miss Samoa Pageant included contestants from the United States, Hawai‘i, American Samoa, Australia and New Zealand. The contestants are formally introduced to the public on the first day of the festival. On the last day of the festival, they are displayed once again before the evening of the Pageant. ‘Honouring the past and embracing our future’ was used as a theme for the 2008 pageant. On the night of the Pageant the contestants were judged on; talent, evening and formal wear, the best sarong and the best interview. A couple of contestants used singing as part of their talents while others performed dancing, storytelling with a Samoan music as background and recited poems. Music was predominantly used throughout the whole pageant and some contestants also sang Samoan hymns as part of their talent performance.

**CRICKET (KIRIKITI)**

*Kirikiti*, the Samoan version of cricket, was developed by the Missionaries at Malua Theological College. Villages now challenge other villages to a game of cricket during Independence Day celebrations and around the holiday seasons, and it remains a popular
sport. Men’s and ladies’ teams from the big Island of Savaii, Manono, and Apolima are all regular participants of the tournament. The Ministry of Sports and Culture (now merged with the Ministry of Education) are the ones responsible for holding the tournament. They are the ones that go out to the selected fields to manage the games and bring in the results.

One of the things that makes Samoan cricket distinctive is the spectacle and performative nature of the game. On the day of the game, players adorn themselves in the colourful uniforms of a *lavalava* (wrap around), tee shirts of various colours and bandanas or caps around their heads. Bats for the game are made out of carved wood about three feet high (depending on height of the player) and then a braided cord is tied around the handle in order to get a good grip of the handle when batting.

The game is played between two teams of fifteen players and after a toss of the coin one team takes to the batting and all the players get to bat and try to score higher points before the other team that’s out on the field takes their turn to batting. The fielding team must meet the points of the other team and then try to score extra points to finish off the game and that if they succeed, otherwise the team that took the batting first wins.

While the game is in progress singing, dancing and cheering are performed by the team that’s batting and the team that’s out on the field get to do their own cheering with the leader doing actions on the field with the rhythm of the whistle while the rest of the team follow. Apart from the competition between the two teams, the best part of the game is watching the players dancing, rolling on the ground, kicking the air and jumping simultaneously to the rhythm of the whistle. This is why Samoan cricket differs from formal or official international models.
**FAUTASI RACE**

The *faautasi* race has always been the most popular entertainment in any celebration in Samoa. These are long boats consisted of thirty rowers including the captain and the person playing the drum. Tongan teams, at some Independence celebrations, were able to compete with the Samoan *faautasi* boats, and they were the first ones to introduce modern fibreglass boats, although the Samoan boats were carved from wood and therefore they were heavier than the Tongan boats. It has been a tradition for the Samoans to prove strength among the village men through rowing prowess, and also display their skills of crafting and knowledge on how well they design the boats. Training begins three to four months before the actual race and the village crews are camped together with strict rules that they are not allowed to go outside the camp within the training period.

**OTHER CULTURAL EVENTS**

Food is an important facet of the Teuila competitions. For gastronomic competitions, contests are held during the day so that tourists can watch the demonstration of preparing a Samoan ground oven (*umu*) and other competitions such as climbing the coconut trees, tug of war, eating races, coconut husking race, and making coconut cream. These are all followed by food tastings when the *umu* is ready. The first step in making of the *umu* is to find the items that will be needed to wrap the food such as banana leaves, *taamu* leaves, and breadfruit leaves. These are used to cover the oven. The cooking stones for the *umu* are sorted in piles from bigger to the smallest and there should also be plenty of firewood to heat the stones in the sealed ground oven.

The fabrication of *palusami* (a Samoan delicacy made of taro leaves and fresh coconut cream) is often a feature of Teuila gastronomy. *Palusami* takes about almost an hour to prepare, and
consists of husking of the coconuts, scraping, and squeezing the coconut flakes to make cream, onions, ginger or lemon leaves for flavour then a layer of taro leaves are placed on the palm of the hand making a hollow pouch for the coconut cream to be poured in and then wrap the top using the top half of a young banana leaf to cover the pouch of taro leaves and cream then the next layer of a breadfruit leaf to cover and that makes one palusami for the umu.

Other food items that might go into the umu include a whole pig, whole chickens wrapped in banana leaves, fish, taro, bananas, and ta’amu. The taulelea, or ‘young men’ of the family or village were traditionally charged with the task of umu making in the olden days - nowadays both genders have taken the responsibility of making it. It is shameful for younger men if they do not know how to make the umu, but it also depends on which environment they were brought up in with regards to their exposure to this cultural practice.

Entertainment is also involved where string bands along with a group of singers, and dancers, taking turns in the entertainment during the games and while waiting for food tasting when the umu is ready. This entertainment is important, as an umu might take various hours to cook.

With the coconut tree climbing competition the Electric Power Corporation assists this competition by providing longer posts for the competitors and each competitor should have their feet tied with aufaga (a long piece of cloth). The ankles are tied and this will keep the feet together, then the climber will have to jump against the coconut with hands around the pole, arms stretched with locked fingers. The arms therefore drag the body up the coconut while the feet control the balance of the body and pushing the body upwards and it continues on until the climber reaches the top of the coconut. This is followed by the eating race of a
group of food put before you for the competition. People especially children enjoy this activity very much when it comes to food.

Another game occasionally seen in the context of Teuila is called *si’aga afi* which is the making of the fire with a piece of wood and a stick rubbed together. When smoke comes out, the men blow while simultaneously rubbing then put lint from a coconut husk to kindle the fire. This task is hardly performed now that matches and cigarette lighters are widely available in Samoa.

In addition to these games and cooking activities, a marching competition has been part of the Independence Day celebrations of the past and is now very much part of the Teuila Festival. The marching competition for Independence Day first began in 1972 with both Primary and Secondary schools competing. Nowadays the majority of marching groups are either from Sunday schools of different denominations or villages and only a few Primary schools are involved in the competition as it can be very time consuming.

**Conclusion**

Teuila emerged as a response to a number of diverse issues that all relate to defining *fa’a Samoa* in the contemporary Pacific. In various ways, it addresses the following themes: tourism, diaspora, village ride and local identity, and the conceptualisation of tradition. Prior to Teuila, Tourism in Samoa was driven by individual hotels and cruise ships, in conjunction with the State Tourism Authority. While both of these industries rely on aspects of Samoan performance culture (eg. dancing and string bands performing on cruise ships), they do not necessarily help to generate meaningful knowledge of Samoan culture. Teuila therefore began as a way of providing new areas within the tourist industry that made it possible for tourists to
engage with *fa’a Samoa*. Subsequently, Teuila has encouraged the wider population to
develop their own facilities for tourist accommodation, sightseeing and developing good
swimming areas.

Where the diaspora is concerned, Teuila provides a fixed, predictable and culturally enriching
point of return for many expatriate Samoans, and for visitors from American Samoa. A
large Samoan community exists in NZ, in many cases represented by two or three generations
within particular families. Many members of this community grow up disconnected from
Samoa itself, as they lack opportunities to return to Samoa. Teuila provides an opportunity for
these people to reconnect with Samoa through music, dance and sports. Kinship ties bind
Samoa and American Samoa together, despite political boundaries. Teuila provides a way for
American Samoa performers to re-engage with Samoa, and to maintain and strengthen these
links. It also provides a way for performers from American Samoa to assert cultural identity
and difference from mainland USA.

Where village pride is concerned, Teuila has succeeded in providing villagers with a focus for
performance. Traditionally, ceremonial occasions provided numerous opportunities for village
interaction. This is still the case, but modern life has reduced the number and frequency of
these occasions. Teuila provides communities throughout Samoa to relive rivalries through
competition, and this has much social value.

On the issue of tradition, Teuila provides a context for the performance, teaching and learning
of ancient tradition alongside reinvented culture and modern practices. It includes modern
performance practices that are of high significance, such as the Church choirs and
Performance competitions – especially traditional ones – require live music and live singing.
This helps in the preservation of musical knowledge as it gives the musicians an incentive to continue performing. However, in other cases, singing groups, individuals and dance groups might perform with CD accompaniment for shows but not for competition, and Teuila has therefore also been influential in the development of the local recording industry as some recordings have been made specifically for use in Teuila.

For all these reasons, Teuila provides a context for examining – on an annual basis – *fa’ā Samoa* and reaffirming Samoa links to American Samoa and New Zealand, Australia, the United States and wherever the Samoans reside overseas. *Fa’ā Samoa* has encouraged Samoans residing overseas to develop the traditions and culture within the communities they are involved in overseas.
CHAPTER 5:

TEUILA 2008 – A CASE STUDY

Traditional and contemporary music both play a vital role in expressions of cultural identity through performances in Samoa. Church choirs have also become a tradition to the Samoans since the arrival of Christianity. This chapter discusses select music phenomena and repertoire choices in traditional and contemporary performances held for the 2008 Teuila Festival and investigates how the process of change affected some of the origins and perceived authenticity of the cultural performances. It is important to note that not only has the Teuila Festival played a major role in reviving some of the cultural activities that have long been discarded from Samoan society, but also that the festival has played a clear role in helping the Samoan people to regenerate and educate the future generations on some of these traditions.

The week long 2008 Teuila Festival programme offered three to four activities per day throughout the week. This was a little shorter than previous years, and certain performance categories (such as brass band performances) were excluded from the 2008 programme. This was in part because of the expense that the Samoan Government had gone to in hosting the South Pacific Games not long before – an effort that resulted in a budget than was far smaller than usual for Teuila. The first night, or official opening, was shortened to simply include the Benediction, Special Address by the Prime Minister, and performance by seven choirs selected from various religious denominations in Samoa. This time there were no participation of overseas Samoan groups, though in previous years, groups from New Zealand and American Samoa have participated in Teuila.
In 2008, before the actual event transpired, preparations for the festival began at least two months ahead. Villages began to busy themselves with dance rehearsals, church choir practises, group singing, trainings for the fautasi race and cricket teams playing preliminary competitions in order to ascertain who would play off in the finals during the week of the festival. Village women's groups including the Faifeau's (Pastor's) wife meet to discuss the uniforms, choosing the colours and of what style they should wear. Everyone in the village including children are all excited with the preparations of the festival and even before it has begun the event has demanded a lot of time and effort out of the people. Students that attend the city schools (especially Tertiary students) make apologies to leave early to catch the last bus in order to make it back to their village in time for rehearsals.

Opening
The 2008 Teuila festival marked the seventeenth consecutive running of the festival since its inception in 1992. People gathered from all around Upolu and Savaii to celebrate the first night of the Teuila. Buses could be seen on the road to Apia heading towards the Maota o Tupulaga hall on this particular Sunday for the opening of the Teuila Festival week. The hall belongs to the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa and its location is at Sogi, just before the Mulinu'u peninsula where the Maota Fono, Legislative Assembly Offices, and Lands and Titles courthouse are located. It is unusual for buses to be travelling towards this part of town on Sundays, except to the bus depot at Fugalei that run up until 5pm in the evenings, so the very sight of so much traffic in this area added to the spectacle of the event, especially for those pedestrians who follow alongside the traffic, heading towards the same destination.

The opening ceremony for the festival always falls on a Sunday evening. Sometimes it falls on the last Sunday of the previous month (August) so that the events coincide with first day of
September as recorded in the annual calendar of events for Samoa. The first Sunday of September is also a special day for the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa and it is a day to commemorate the arrival of Christianity in Samoa. The Teuila festival is therefore invested with a degree of religious importance for those who observe or commemorate this event.

The opening for the 2008 Festival began with a Benediction conducted by the Reverend Oka Fauolo of the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa, followed by the welcoming remarks of the Chief Executive Officer of the Samoa Tourism Authority (STA), who also announced the Guest Speaker for the festival. The guest speaker this year was the Prime Minister Afioga Tuilaepa Malielegaoi Sailele who was the founder of the Teuila Festival back in 1992.

The highlight of the opening night consisted of chorale performances selected from church choirs as representative of each religious denomination in Samoa. This year, this performance has replaced the usual Church Choir competition, which had been cancelled due to financial restrictions. Instead of competing, the committee has decided to invite the choirs to perform two numbers each. Seven choirs performed that evening including a special performance by a New Zealand Samoan musician, Opeloge Ah Sam and his group, accompanied by performers from the Samoa Police Band.

The first choir to perform was the Catholic Youth Group representing all the Catholic Diocese. Their performance was part of what they has performed on World Youth Day in Sydney, Australia earlier that year. Their performance also included the ‘anthem’ of the event. The second choir was the Congregational Church of Jesus in Samoa, Apia congregation. This
church is the only church in Samoa that has their own copyrighted hymn book containing notations and texts of original Samoan hymns composed in four-part harmony by Samoa’s own musicians including the late Mata’utia Pene Solomona, Reverend Doctor Ioselani Pouesi and Siuila Solomona Pouesi who is credited with writing most of the lyrics in the hymn book. Members of this choir developed singing at a young age and this generates the choir members after the elders. As such, they are known to provide a high standard of performance.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church choir performed a chorale, which sounded as if it were a piece constructed from several different musical pieces. This choir is formed from members of the Seventh Day Adventist Church around the town area. The Seventh Day Adventist Church was once known for the quality of its brass band back in the 1960s and 1970s. The Seventh Day Adventist church has made a considerable contribution towards the field of music in Samoa. One of the church leaders and musician; Sauni Kuresa, composed the Samoan National Anthem.

The Nazarene Church is probably the newest religious group of all the choirs performed and they performed rather well. The amazing thing about this choir is how fast the singing developed throughout the years. They performed a choral piece and ending their performance with a contemporary style with good accompaniment from the keyboard. In contrast, the majority of the Foga’a Methodist church choir members were Ministers and their wives along with their grown up children and they few were from the community. The Methodist Church is also known for their contribution to the choir competition each year, and for their choral singing at their own annual conferences. Indeed, the Methodist choirs have had a lot of influence over singing style in Samoan choral music, characterised by a combination of rubato and staccato elements in their singing style. One of the Methodist church choirs from
Savaii, Gataivai, won several competitions in the earlier Teuila festivals, until a choir from Wellington, New Zealand, beat them in the 2007 competition. The Piula Theological College belonging to the Methodist church also had a brass band and the Methodist church in Tonga donated another band in Savaii for the village of Salailua. The village of Nofoaalii choir represented the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa (EFKS). Statistically, this denomination has the most members in Samoa, followed by the Catholic Church.

The opening night for the 2008 Teuila Festival was crowded with people in white attire particularly the choir members that were performing. The Maota o Tupulaga Hall in Sogi, where the opening was held, is less than five minutes distance from the capital city of Apia, so it is easily accessible to the majority of the city population. Each of the seven choirs were selected to represent its own religious denomination; the Catholic Youth choir that represented Samoa on the World Youth Day in Sydney represented the Catholic Diocese of Samoa; the Congregational Christian Church of Jesus in Samoa from Apia (Ekalesia Fa’alapotopotoga a Iesu I Samoa, or EFKIS), the Nazarene church from Lotopa, the Methodist choir from Fogaa at Faleula, the Seventh Day Adventist from Lalovaea, the Congregational Christian Church in Samoa (Ekalesia Fa’alapotopotoga Kerisiano Samoa, or EFKS) from Nofoaalii and the Latter Day Saints choir known as the Choir Institute of Religion and which was consisted of members from different Wards around the town area. Many of Samoa’s most highly regarded musicians have been involved in, and dedicated their lives to, church music, and directed the choirs. Some of these musicians are also well known in the community and are uniquely engaged in other fields of music such as in nightclub bands, private music teachers and as brass band members of the Samoa Police Band.
The Master of Ceremony was one of the officers from the Samoa Tourism Authority and the Leader of the Service was one distinguished Minister, Reverend Oka Fauolo who was also the President of the Leaders of Combined Churches in Samoa. The Honourable Prime Minister and founder of the Teuila Festival Susuga Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi presented the main speech of the opening. His speech reflected on the economic growth of Samoa since the Teuila commenced.

A number of changes have been made to the entire programme of 2008 Teuila Festival programme due to the cost of hosting the 2008 South Pacific Games that was held in Apia just prior to the Teuila in August. The Teuila Festival relies on funds from the Government and local businesses in Samoa and quite a few activities have been omitted from the standard programme due to the lack of funds. Also, the intensity of the efforts of the Samoan people all went towards preparations of the South Pacific Games (SPG). The choirs, however, had been rehearsing for almost a month in order to put up a good singing performance for the opening of the Festival. Most of the members involved in each choir are people working in town, high school and tertiary students and quite a few of those looking after families at home. When it comes to special occasions where a choir is invited, choir rehearsals are held on the daily basis straight after working hours including Sundays after the evening service. This routine continues up to the day of the performance and time is vital when it comes to rehearsals where every member is expected to be on time. Church choirs have become vital and part of the Samoan traditions, and the Teuila Festival has played an influential role in maintaining church choir competitions.

Uniforms are also vital and this is where the audience witness the different designs of fashion in white. Each choir consists of sixty to over a hundred members from children at the age of
five up to sixty. It is not unusual to the Samoans to involve their children in choirs and learn how to sing four-part harmony and hold their pitch at a very early age. They also maintain a very good sense of rhythm from the mastering of the sasa and faataupati (slap dance) and that includes drumming of the mat for dancing. This is not difficult to the average Samoan child. Especially during preparations for Independence Day and the Teuila festival, when boats are out on the harbour training for the races, children often get tins and start drumming the rhythm of the boat drum at the back in their homes. This environmental influence runs through generation to generation.

There is always a shortage of choir directors who are well qualified, but it is mostly those who can play by ear that are encouraged to play for, direct and teach choirs. These people are very talented and with the effect of having portable keyboards that provide fingered chords and all sorts of sound percussion sounds they are able to effectively accompany their choirs. This sort of technology has made it easier for those who play by ear to accompany choirs without the formal playing of an organ or piano.

On the night of the opening each choir was given two numbers to perform on any musical genre whether it be a hymn or gospel song. Each choir put up a great performance as part of their contribution to the festival. However, it did not fully measure up with the expectations of the audience who were expecting the sort of energy generated by choir competitions in previous years. The prospect of winning prize money and prestige is a strong motivator for choral performers, and has often served to enliven this aspect of the Teuila festival. While listening and watching the choirs from the audience, I sensed that there was no challenging spirit around the crowd. It was just like attending a normal church concert raising funds for a purpose and that is exactly how it was that night. Even the choirs that performed only sang
what they had prepared and took their leave but if it were a competition they would hang around cheering other choirs competing against themselves. There was confusion among the crowd on how the choirs were selected to represent each denomination and these comments came out because they were merely unsatisfied with the choir’s performance and particularly when people find a political figure singing within a choir. However, one choir that made a real difference to the quality of the performance was the choir of the Church of Latter Day Saints who sang a spiritual jazz-tinged hymn as one of their selection. Overall, the choir performances were fitting as a ceremonial and formal opening to the festival.

Tellingly, the audience noticed the difference of a choir competition and a choir concert. They find quality singing when choirs perform competitively and they put a lot of effort and enthusiasm on their performance yet there was no anxiety within the crowd. Towards the end of the evening there were hardly any people inside the hall. The seats that were occupied by the choirs were empty and the choirs did not bother to stay on for the closing they left after their own performance and took half of the crowd with them. Hardly anyone stayed to watch the finale and therefore the night ended with an anti-climax of being nothing more than just a casual night of performances.

**Jazz as Contemporary Mediation**

The finale of the opening night was a Jazz group from New Zealand accompanied by the Samoa Police Band and they managed to perform two numbers composed by a New Zealand Samoan musician. While this group only performed briefly, they returned the next day for a more substantial performance. A popular music night was part of the 2008 Teuila Festival programme, and this was held at the Kitano hotel on a Tuesday night on the second day of the festival. However, the music night programme exclusively highlighted the only band from
New Zealand to be participating in the festival, and tickets were sold at the Samoa Tourism Authority office for ST$50 per head. Corporate tables, meanwhile, cost ST$1000 for eight persons on each table. This was quite expensive compared to other events, and had the effect of making this aspect of the festival a little more exclusive. The majority of people that attended were individuals who were curious about the group and those who were fond of jazz music. Indeed, it was a novel event for Jazz to be included in this way in the Teuila, and the Jazz night therefore attracted some attention.

Jazz music has been in Samoa in the late 1950s-1960s but it was only for the elite that could afford LPs and record players in those days. The 2AP Broadcasting service in Samoa was the only station where people could listen to music and communication. This radio station at the time promoted recordings of Samoan singing groups and played them on the radio. Those were the days when people sang at the Radio premises and were recorded live on the radio.

The Jazz group from Auckland New Zealand was lead by a Samoan New Zealand musician, Opeloge Apulu Ah Sam, predominantly performed jazz music and one Samoan song that the female singer in the group sang, though her lyrics were different to the traditional version of this song. The main group consisted of four members; three males and one female who played the keyboard while the others took turns soloing with the electric guitar, saxophone, trumpet and drums. The group performed only one Samoan folk song that night and it was called ‘Musumusu Atu’ composed by the late Mata’utia Pene Solomona. This is a well-known song in Samoa and several local groups in Samoa recorded several versions of it. Although these local groups made recordings and made money out of it without acknowledgement of the composer, it popularised the song and the Samoans claimed it as their own. Two solo vocalists also performed on stage that night: Aggie Hewson who resides in Auckland,
performed a jazz number instead of singing one of the songs from her own which made her popular in Samoa and Daphne Collins who sang the Aria ‘Black Saturday’ recontextualised for a Samoan context.

These performances highlight the extent to which Teuila functions as a forum for entertainment alongside the protection of cultural heritage. While the performers in the Jazz night were (mostly) ethnic Samoans, their performances reflected a performance aesthetic that is somewhat removed from traditional practice. For example, the performance of ‘Musumusu Atu’ gave quite a stir to some of the audience that knew the song well and who tried to sing along with the group. However, the lyrics of the verses were completely replaced by other words, which made it difficult for the audience to join in. Whether this change was accidental or deliberate is difficult to determine, but it stands to reason that the way the song has been learned by performers in Auckland differs from the way it has been maintained in Samoa. It was also hard for me to listen objectively to the changed version because I know this as my grandfather’s own composition, and I had never heard it performed with altered lyrics in this way.

The performance style of the group also affected the reception of the song. The diction and jazzy style of singing that was employed had the effect of muffling some of the words, which is contrary to Samoan musical sensibilities that consider words to be of paramount importance. It detracted from the spirit of the composer’s original work and purpose of why the song was composed in the first place. Although there were Samoan musicians involved in the show and the audience expected a variety of entertainment, the music night turned out to be a reflection of the difficulties of negotiating the different expectations of commercial and traditional performance.
Cultural Performance Competitions

The Cultural Entertainment category of the 2008 Teuila festival consisted of a variety of traditional performances held as competitions such as the *ma'ulu'ulu* (group dance), *siva taupou* (a solo dance by a female), the *siva aiuli* (a dance performed by a male), *siva ailo afi* (a solo fire dance performed by a male), and *siva fa'ataupati* (a slap dance performed by a group of males). Two venues were prepared for the Cultural Entertainment in case the weather turned unpleasant. The main venue was set out in front of the Government Building at Matafele and the second was at the To'oa Salamasina Hall in Sogi. The competition was held for two nights on a Monday and Tuesday and the first two categories for Monday night’s competition were the *ma'ulu'ulu* (group dance) and the International *siva ailo afi* (fire dance).

It was a stunning night with all the groups gathering around the back of the stage waiting their turn to perform. Three judges were sitting at the front just below the stage with the audience sitting all scattered behind the judges on the grass as if in a picnic setting. The majority of the crowd were all supporters of the groups competing that night, along with the tourists blending in amongst them. The stage was set out on the outside steps of the Government Building with tents erected out on the sides for the groups that were competing. It was a spectacular evening with all the groups wearing bright, assorted colours for their uniforms. The women wore colourful *sei fulumoa* (headpieces made out of chicken feathers dyed in either white, red or yellow) and the men all went bare at the top, with coloured prints on the bottom and bodies gleaming with coconut oil.
Each *ma'ulu 'ulu* group provided a small group of singers and string band to accompany their performances. One noticeable thing about the *ma'ulu 'ulu* dance competition was the majority of the groups performed were predominantly female dancers with just a few were mixed groups of men and women. As in previous years, the group members were from village women committees and organizations, Sunday school and Church youth groups. A number of groups performed their own village songs, called 'vii o le nuu’ (which are compositions based on the specific background, environment and pedigree of their own village) as accompaniment to the dance. If the same group had a *taupou* and *aiuli* competing, then the same song would be sung again for these performances.

Over time, the *ma'ulu 'ulu* performances for Teuila have developed into a format consisting of three parts: a slow section, then a moderately-paced section, and finally a fast movement. While visually entertaining, this development has affected the musical accompaniment for the group performance, where the original song is now required to accompany three distinct types of performance. This means that songs for the *ma'ulu 'ulu* are frequently constructed out of fragments of different songs, depending on what is most appropriate for the pace of the performance. Perhaps as a result, some traditional songs have lost some of their meaning in this process, as they are no longer sung in their entirety but cut into fragments for the purposes of performance. These are then sometimes modified further for other *ma'ulu 'ulu* performances. The songs that were performed by each group in this year’s competition had similar melodies, though each groups used different lyrics, depending on the focus they wished to convey in their performance.

The traditional concept of a Samoan *ma'ulu 'ulu* is that it is a dance accompanied by song and movement, but this is meant to be a complete song, not a series of pieces from different songs.
Furthermore, the style of movement with actions has changed. Instead of the graceful swaying of the body and wriggling of the fingers, the 2008 performances seemed to be waving the palms in a manner that is more characteristics of Tongan performance practice. This change may be the result of adaptation and influence from other Pacific Island regions through the Pacific Festival of Arts, which was held earlier in 2008 in American Samoa. With these changes in mind, the *ma'ulu'ulu* competition for Teuila 2008 could be viewed as a cultural practice representing both tradition and change. It can be considered ‘traditional’ because the performance format is itself derived from ancient practices. However, this does not mean that it has been statically preserved, as reflected in the changes in performance practice that I have noted.

The *ailao afi* competition has been a popular facet of Teuila since its inception, not just because of the spectacle of the fire-throwing, but also because the contestants have the potential to be selected to compete in the international fire dance competition held annually in Hawai’i. Whoever wins the competition at Teuila is usually nominated to represent Samoa in this international competition which has been held at the Pacific Cultural Centre in Hawai’i since the early 1990s. The competition is judged on good hand coordination in spinning of the ‘knife’, good rhythmic and synchronized movement of the body to the rhythm of the drums, and the difficulty of actions executed during the performance. Each competitor is expected to dance with one knife in the first half of the performance and then two knives in the second half. None of the competitors use the same group of drummers, rather, they are accompanied by their own drumming team. While inherently music and dance focussed, this dance can also be classified as a Samoan sport since the nature of the dance requires significant physical fitness and agility.
The second night of the 2008 festival was the competition night for the taupou, aiuli, fa'ataupati and the continuation of the siva ailao afi category. It was a remarkable night that featured significant crowd participation.

In these performances, the choir director takes full control of the entire performance from the selection of song repertoire though to the organisation of rehearsals. Strict control is necessary because each performance category is time-limited. Unlike the ma'ulu'ulu performances the previous evening, the songs in the taupou competition were mostly sung to completion, though there were some examples of modernisation and adaptation (discussed below). For the taupou dance, the tempo of the music begins at a moderate pace while the taupou moves gracefully towards the front to begin her dance. The maintenance of the tempo is very important as this allows the dancer to execute her moves steadily and gracefully.

A sequence of songs are chosen for the taupou performance, and the first song, called a fa'atafita, is similar in function to an overture. It is a fast tempo song that is sung as an introduction or warm up, performed by an aiuli while awaiting the taupou's entrance. A new song is selected when it is time for the taupou to perform her siva – her solo dance. Within this category, either two or three songs are combined for the performance. It is also up to the person directing the choir because he/she is the one leading and sings ahead to maintain the choir's pitch. The tempo of the song changes to fast near the ending of the taupou's performance while the taupou remains dancing gracefully on her own pace against the rhythm of the song. This creates tension and maintains audience interest through to the end of the piece. This competition also gives performers an opportunity to display authentic and colourful costumes that are rarely used in contemporary life. These costumes are well kept as heirlooms within families, and whoever is chosen to be a taupou is entitled to wear the
costume. A taupou can be distinguished from amongst a group of dancers by her tuiga (headpiece) and her laei (her distinctive costume).

As the main competition criteria for the dance is that it needs to be graceful, this is the primary concern of the performers. The dancer's actions are intended to follow the lyrics in the manner of an action song. Meanwhile, as discussed earlier, the traditional role of the aiuli is to contrast and accentuate the grace of the taupou by dancing and rolling on the floor, climbing posts and generally clowning around. In this year's Teuila, however, the execution of the aiuli dances was not closely coordinated, and in once case, it involved the aiuli lying flat on his stomach in front of a taupou's feet while she stepped on or over his back or while dancing. This sort of close pairing is not a characteristic of traditional performance, where the male dancer or dancers are expected to maintain a degree of distance from the taupou. Indeed, such close pairing robs the aiuli of performing his customary part, and reflects a change in performance sensibilities.

In the fa'ataupati dance competition, there were only four groups competing in 2008. The dance is similar to the siva ailao afi where accuracy and difficulty of actions are highly regarded throughout the performance, and this requires men with a good sense of rhythm. Every member should synchronise and move in unison to the rhythm of the drums and this also requires good physical fitness since the whole dance is to do with movement. This dance requires no choir for accompaniment except the use of a bass drum and an empty gallon drum to beat the rhythm.
Songs as Vehicles of Cultural Maintenance and Change

As an example of the manner in which traditional music is maintained and reinvented in the context of Teuila, I now provide the transcriptions and my own interpretations of a series of songs used for Teuila in 2008, one each from groups representing the villages of Sinamoga, Lufilufi and Vaitele-uta. These three songs were used by their respective groups for the *taupou, aiuli* and *ma'ulu'ulu* dance competitions, performed multiple times for the different dance categories over the course of the week. I have included these songs because I find them to follow very closely the expectations of traditional music according to *fa'a Samoa*. However, they also demonstrate innovation in the way in which their texts have been adapted to suit the context of the competition. What these songs have in common is the treatment of the text. In each case, the lyrics are mostly composed in a metaphorical language making their meaning difficult to fully render in translation. The most important aspect of Samoan songs whether it is traditional or contemporary is the use of metaphors, and good use of such language by a Samoan composer is impressive to Samoan observers.

As for the English translations, I have not concerned myself with organizing the lyrics according to the meter of the Samoan lyrics. Rather, my foremost concern was to try and clarify the true meaning of the Samoan songs instead of direct translation from word to word as done by other authors in the past (as in Moyle, 1988). Some of the lyrics contain Samoan proverbs and historical figures, places and events that are very important concerning the Samoan culture and following each song translation is a brief description of information about the song.
The song concerns the island of Savaii also known as Salafai. *Puleono* (pule: authority, ono: six) means ‘six authorities’ and it refers to the six major districts that collectively rule the island of Savaii. It is classified as a traditional song commonly used for any occasion. While the song is generally unattributed, there is one famous composer from Savaii that the song might belong to: the late Sio Talitimu whose many compositions of traditional songs are well known throughout Samoa. The last verse is not actually part of the original, but has been added here from another traditional song. The chorus line is part of the traditional song ‘*Vaisafe’e*’ which is about a well-known pool located in the village of Safotu in the North West Coastal area of Savaii. The pool is known to be very cold and the text is all about praises and admiration of the pool.
The village of Lufilufi is located at the North East Coastal area of Upolu. The text of the song chosen by the Lufilufi group portrays the Sa’o Tama’ita’i (a high ranking designation of a chief’s daughter) Seutatia of Lufilufi.

*Fonoti tula’i alo ia i au faiva masani*
Arise and tend to your normal duties Fonoti

*O ou faiva alofi-lima gugu ae aua ete pisa*
Your hand skills at work in silence without sound,

*O lou ala lena ile fale o Tuiatua*
That is your path to being a Tuiatua

*O lou taui lena o le tautua matavela.*
That is your reward for your devoted service

*Seutatia e, afio maia ina sausaumoa*
Welcome oh Seutatia and dance

*Tului vae i pisia*
Be cautious of your paths;

*O loo maimoa le aofia*
That the audience are watching

*Suu i sau faasolo ae teu e le pale fuiono*
Make a garland and decorate it with your crown of six jewels

*Tatala lau auafa taaga uma ia faatausala*
Reveal your gracefulness in a lady-like manner

*E! le Tumua e aua le soona gaoia*
Move gracefully oh Tumua!

*Alo oe i le siva ae ou pese fa’amanata*
You perform your dance while I’ll sing pleasantly

*Tino e ua nenee ua le ole fuma e lau se’e*
I feel emotional with awe as you my flower slide gracefully

*Teine mai Tumua e masani I soo se tautua*
The Ladies of Tumua are competent of any duty

*Le Maota o Tupu; Mulinuu oe si ou muu*
Mulinuu my village; the residence of Kings

*E’e ai papa o le Tamaaiga*
Where the titles of Tamaaiga are bestowed

*A’o le malae fono o ‘Lalogafu’afu’a’ lena*
While the meeting ground is ‘Lalogfu’afu’a’

*Ua iloa ai ita ia Pule ma Tumua*
By which I am known throughout Pule and Tumua

*Malu o le afiafi o mea I le Lagi ia mua ane*
When evening befalls, Heavenly prayers is the first call

*Momoli o talosaga I le Atua ma le faaoalataga*
Giving praise to God and our salvation

*O Ekalesia; Metotisi, EFKS*
The Churches of the Methodist and Congregation of Samoa;

*O le Katoliko Roma faapea foi ma le Mamona*
The Roman Catholics as well as the Mormons
Tali (Chorus)
Seutatia e faa-tausala le ta’aloga
O ni manu ia maua, fiafiaga o le a fa’a uma
Ee oe I fata-lele
Ae ou see I le fata-fola
E lafo o le toe ai le tupe mulimuli o le taulafoga
O le a seu lo’u va’a, seu lo’u va’a mai i fanua
E le o ita o se tua mamao; o
Lufilufi lava lea mai anamua
Hahaha! Ia manuia lau Teuila o le 08 i le 09
Ta’ape I le lagi e mama soifua oe mo Samoa

Oh Seutatia the game is of lady-like
The entertainment is ending, and
blessings be abound
May you remain at the highest plateau
While I remain at common ground
The cast of the last coin shall harvest
the best reward,
My boat turns, my boat turns to return
to my homeland
I am not too far in the rural, as Lufilufi
remains the same from the past
Hahaha! Bless the Teuila of the 08 to 09
May we disperse in goodwill farewell
to you Samoa

METOTISI VAITELE-UTA

In their contribution to the competition, the Vaitele-uta Methodist group made a memorable entrance with a chanted game song and dancing their way to the stage before they sat down in a choir arrangement. Their selected piece, ‘nonu a togi’, is a game song sung in a chant manner. The chant is commonly used as entrance songs for cultural entertainment however it originates from a traditional game similar to the Samoan spear throwing game taga ti’a (as described in Moyle 1988).

The Vaitele-uta group’s entire performance consisted of a combination of five different songs, which were woven together in order to lengthen the song and thereby prolong their contribution to the taupou competition. The first verse of this amalgamated song is taken from a village song composed for sports. It is sung when that particular village competes in inter-village games, such as Samoan cricket, to signify their prowess and success. This song is no longer specific to a particular village: any winning team within Samoa now commonly uses the song no matter which village they are from. It has also become a traditional song to the Samoans.
The second song shows expressions of Samoan humour and it is about an old lady wanting to eat shellfish. Meanwhile, the third song appears to relate the story of a person who is overseas, whose partner, or friend, back in Samoa has no patience to wait for his return. The last two verses end the *taualuga* and they describe the *taupou* dance movements. The last one is about Samoan *siva* (dance), and asserts that it is the ‘best’ dance.

**Verse (fuai’upu) of Song 1**
*Falealili uma i o ma o,*  
*Ta fia fa’aologologo i sou leo*  
*Ua a’ave tala o le malo*  
*Ua leai se manu e toe olo*

To all Falealili people everywhere  
I yearn to hear your voice  
Word has travelled about your victory  
There is no more sound of chirping from the birds

**Verse (fuai’upu) of Song 2**
*Sua maia le tai e, Sua maia le tai e,*  
*Faiga figota le faiga alili e*  
*Fai mai le loomatua e fia ai i se faisua*  
*E tausi ai lona soifua*

Come high tide; Come high tide  
Fishing for molluscs, the sea clam  
The old lady says she craves for clams  
To nurse her health

**Chorus (tali) of Song 2**
*Tofa atu e, soifuaaina la’u pele*  
*Ou te manatua pea lau aifoaga*  
*Foi au i le aoga*

Goodbye to you, farewell my love  
I will remember your highness  
I return to school

**Verse 1 (fuai’upu) to Song 3**
*Le eleele ua le malle i vai*  
*Siufofoga fia fa’aologo ai*  
*O lau amio o le aga vaivai*  
*Sosolo ivi o’o i le faiai*

The earth is unfulfilled with water  
Voices that I yearn to hear  
Your attitude portrays tenderness  
As it permeates the bones to the brain

**Chorus (tali) to Song 3**
*La’u pele ua e polepole vale*  
*Ua e tu i le uta o le vale*  
*Ua e le onosa’i ma faapalepale*  
*O sou tofi ita mai le lagi*

My dear you getting unnecessarily impatient  
You have crossed a fool’s path  
You should have been considerate and patient  
I may be your selected one from heaven

**Verse 2 (fuai’upu) to Song 3**
*Sa ou ta’amilomilo i a’oa oga*  
*Ma lo’u loto ua tumu i le alofa*  
*Fia vaai ia oe Fa’ailoa*  
*O lo’o fa’amuli mai Samoa*

I have been wandering through education  
With my heart filled with love  
Yearning to see you, Faailoa  
Who waits from Samoa
Verse 3 (fuai’upu) of Song 3
Tautalagia ulu lapalapa
Talu le mataua’i o tagata
E tasi lava lo tatou tupuaga
Na fa’a i tatou i le palapala

Verse 1 (fuai’upu) of Song 4
O le taualuga, o le a fa’ai’u mea uma
Olioli malie se’ese’e mai ua matagofie

Fa’avavai lou tino o si au taaga foi e manino
La fa’atamali’i ua na o oe lava e sili

Chorus (talit) of Song 5
Ae ou te ta’utino atu e sili o le siva Samoa
Afai la ete fia talitonu sau ia se’i e maimoa
O si ana faiva e fesuisusia’i
E le tumau is mea e tasi
E le gata i le se’e, tino ‘ao fa’amane ‘ene’e

There has been gossip abound
Because of people’s jealousy
We have only one origin
That we were created from earth dust

The last dance has come to end all
Move gradually and slidesweetly in splendour
Bend your body in tender motion with
gracefulness
In lady-like tenderness you are the greatest

However I must admit that Samoan dance
is the greatest
It you want to believe you are welcome to watch
Variation is its nature
It does not remain the same
Not only the gracefulness of sliding but the body is proud and elegant

Variety Show

A variety show sponsored by fast food chain Mc Donald’s (who secured naming rights for this event) was included in the last two nights of the festival programme as pure entertainment for the festival audiences. The show highlights many local talents who might otherwise not be able to perform in the traditional song and dance categories, including comedy, hip hop dance groups, Samoan soloists and singing groups, and other Polynesian and Samoan dance groups. Singing and hip hop competitions are continuous throughout the year in Samoa, and the high profile of these performances in contemporary culture has led to their inclusion in the Teuila proceedings. In 2008, the performing groups were selected and invited by the festival committee to be part of a showcase for the festival.
Singing competitions are held as television shows on both the TV1 and TV3 television channels in Samoa. TV1 holds the ‘Star Search’ competition, which is divided into categories of a capella, soloists and duets in age groups ranging from 14-35. Meanwhile, TV3 hosts the ‘Golden Stars’ competition, with an age range of 35 onwards, and the ‘Showtime’ contest, with similar participation to TV1 ‘Star Search’. In these reality television shows, variety is the expectation of performers, who are provided with pre-recorded backing tracks, and with the occasional participation of live keyboard and guitar players. These shows reflect the popularity of variety entertainment in Samoan popular culture, which is further reflected in the Teuila variety concerts.

A well-known entertainer, Fa’anana Jerome Gray, and his sons, performed the last two songs for the Variety Entertainment concert in 2008. Gray is from a family of singers and before he went on his own as a solo artist, he sang and played accompaniment in his sisters’ group that was called The Gray Sisters. I chose his performance out of all the performances in the 2008 Variety show as a representative example of Samoan contemporary music, executed with stringband style accompaniment.

The lyrics are also that of a metaphorical language, as demonstrated in the examples of traditional music used to accompany dance. The first of these songs, ‘La’u lupe’, is literally about a ‘pigeon’, though this is a metaphor for the composer’s reference to a woman who perhaps ran away from the composer himself, or who may be simply a figment of his imagination. The second song refers to the good life in Samoa and no matter where you are it is important to return with a humble attitude and never forget Samoa wherever you are. Samoan composers use metaphors and connotations usually birds, flowers and other niceties of nature when referring to a lady.
LA’U LUPE

Tali (Chorus)
La’u lupe o lo ua sola
Ai lava o felelele’a i le vaomaoo
O na’i ona fulu mumu fa’alanulau’ava
O foliga na o si a’u lupe ua sola

Verse (fuai’upu)
O le mamu filemu e fa’apelepele
Sa ou tausia pea lava i aso e tele

Verse (fuai’upu)
O le lupe sa olo tasi mai i le solo
Ua ou le toe fa’alogo i si ana olo

Verse (fuai’upu)
E ese lava o si ona le ope a olo mai
Pei lava ua ou e fa’alogo I se isi o tagi
Pe a tele mai i le taimi o le tauafiafi
Ua le emo loa o’u mata ae tulimata’i

Tali (Chorus)
Tautuana ma oe, fautuaga uma ia
E mo’omia lou toe fo’i mai ma le
taua’afia
Po’o anafa ea, na amata mai ai
Io e ua loa lava tausaga, o soifia ai pea
Samoa
Pe ete alu i Amerika, sole aua nei galo

O le ologa o Samoa, e manaia tele lava
E mavaeva’ea ona tulaga, i le soifua mai
o tagata
Paga lona manaia, aemaise le mamalu
O oe o ia ma a’u, ia iloa ona ava ma
mata’u

OLAGA SAMOA

The life of Samoa is beautiful as ever
It’s demarcated into particular facets, as its
people grow up
How beautiful and dignified it is
You, them, and I live in respect and
harmony

You may consider all this advice
Looking forward to your return with dignity
When did it ever began
Yes it has been many years, of growing up
in Samoa
If you travel to America, please do not
forget
People will respect you, through your
dignified culture

Oh my pigeon has fled
It may be wandering in the woods
Its red and greenish feathers
That is the colour of my pigeon that has fled
me

A quiet bird that is cherished
That I have nursed for many days
The solo cry of the pigeon from the school
I no longer hear her cry
Her cry is distinctive to the ear
Sounding like someone crying
When it flies in the hours of the evening
I blink no more, but follow her flying
CONCLUSION

This thesis has presented an overview of research relating to Samoan music alongside a new ethnographic study of a previously under-researched aspect of Samoan performance culture, in order to demonstrate the continued relevance of Samoan tradition, even in events that are firmly part of popular culture. Overall, the historical sources tend to focus on names and typologies of performance genres, and therefore they provide a valuable resource for current study, as many of these names and performance types are no longer in regular use or have disappeared completely. However, these sources do not necessarily provide a basis for understanding the role and relevance of traditional performance in contemporary Samoan life, nor do they address important cultural developments that have occurred in the last twenty years, such as the development of a tourism industry and the creation of the Teuila festival.

The discipline of ethnomusicology has made excellent contributions to knowledge concerning Samoan music, as reflected in the work of both Richard Moyle and Jacob Love. This thesis demonstrates that contemporary ethnomusicology, which incorporates theories from other fields such as Indigenous Studies, has the potential to inform and generate knowledge about contemporary culture as well. Much of this thesis has been devoted to the development of a research base, informed by theory, method and literature, and it therefore serves as a grounding for my own ongoing research in this area. Nevertheless, the original data presented in this thesis does serve to demonstrate some new conclusions about the ongoing role and relevance of traditional music in contemporary Samoan society.

Firstly, while it is clear that the Teuila festival developed, at least partly, as a response to economic issues, the festival has nevertheless succeeded in using the framework of tourism to
promote other, local needs such as the maintenance of cultural heritage and the improvement of performance standards amongst community groups that are seen as being vital to contemporary society. Where tourism was once viewed suspiciously by Samoan authorities, it is now clear that tourism can provide opportunities for cultural as well as economic development. The careful management and planning of Teuila, with continual reference to fa’a Samoa has ensured this.

Secondly, Teuila provides a conceptual space in which both ancient and modern performance practices can be allowed to coexist. The advantage of this is that it allows performers to create new works while still having the possibility of connecting them to old forms, texts, styles and practices. This is reflected in the songs used for the ma’ulu’ulu and Variety Show presentations in 2008. While the original music at the Variety Show was modernised, the nature of the poetry follows similar patterns to the ma’ulu’ulu competition songs, even though these are very old songs.

Thirdly, Teuila provides a way of getting all sectors of the population interested in culture as it has something for everyone, from sports and parades through to music and entertainment. The Miss Samoa pageant is an important part of this. While the pageant may superficially be seen as merely a copy of Western beauty pageant contests, it is actually an effective way of getting young Samoan women involved in cultural pursuits, and it is a way for Samoans throughout the international diaspora to reconnect. The contestants from the USA, New Zealand and Australia do not participate in a vacuum – they come with accompanying family, extended family, friends and other contacts who are in this way connected to the activities of Teuila.
Finally, in an increasingly globalised world, Teuila has become a reference point for Samoan culture, as much for tourists as for Samoans, because of its regularity and because it is guided by the government itself. To some extent, it has replaced the function once fulfilled by Independence Day celebrations, and its importance has increased over the years since its inception. It is possible that Teuila will become even more important in future as a reference point for an increasingly international community of Samoans.

The year 2008 was stressful for the Samoan people due to the South Pacific games being held in Apia, and this had some impact on the Teuila festival events. Although some of the main and highlights of the festival activities in previous years (such as village choir competitions) were put on hold, they will surely resume in the 2009 Teuila festival as usual. As for music, the events of Teuila reveal the extent to which musical activities are integrated into Samoan tradition. Even events such as the fautasi (long boat) race are part of a musical heritage as the crews continuously perform and row in body movement simultaneously to the rhythm of the drum on board, with the leader (or captain) also dancing in rhythmic movements to direct his/her crew during the race. Teuila festival may be a showcase for the tourists but deep down it reveals the authenticity and continued relevance of musika fa’a Samoa (Samoan music) in contemporary culture.

There is a Samoan proverb, ‘Ua atoa tino o le tama’, which means ‘the man’s body is intact’. The Teuila Festival has become an event where all Samoan culture and traditions are intact from worshipping through choir performances, traditional sports, daily activities of the Samoans, cultural performances through to dancing and singing. Therefore, the Teuila festival has played a vital role in promoting Samoa through its music, culture and traditions. It is part of the socio-economic fabric of the contemporary Samoan tourism industry and it provides a
meeting point for the politico-economic relationship between nations, but most of all, the Teuila festival has found a way of communicating cultural heritage to its own people within the country as well as Samoans residing in overseas countries.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Freeman L. R. (1920) In the Tracks of the Trades: the Account of a 14,000 Mile Yachting Cruise to the Hawaiis Marquesas, Societies, Samoas, and Fijis, London, Heinemann.


Stair J. B. (1897) *Old Samoa, or, Flotsam and Jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*, London, Religious Tract Society.


APPENDIX 1:
TEUILA 2008 TABLE OF EVENTS

Sunday 31st August, 2008

6:00 pm: Official Opening; Venue: Maota Tupulaga Hall
Prayer: Rev. Oka Fauolo
Address: Prime Minister

Hon Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi

Church Choirs Performances
- Congregational Church of Jesus in Samoa
- The Roman Catholic
- The Seventh Day Adventist
- Nazarene
- Methodist Church
- Congregational Christian Church in Samoa
- The Church Latter Day Saints

Finale: Performance by Opeloge Apulu Ah Sam and the Samoa Police Band

Monday 1st September, 2008

All Day: Stalls, Entertainment & Games; Venue: Samoa Tourism Association Village

7:00 am: Kirikiti Samoa (Samoan Cricket); Venue: Lepea Cricket Fields
8:00 am: Fautasi Race (Traditional long boats); Venue: Faleula – Apia Harbour

English Cricket; Venue: Tuanaimato Sports Complex

6:00 pm: Formalities & Introduction of Miss Samoa Contestants, in front of Government Building
6:30pm: Cultural Entertainment, in front of Government Building
- Ma'ulu'ulu Competition (group performance)
- International Siva Afi Competition (fire dance)

**Tuesday 2nd September, 2008**

All Day: Stalls, Entertainment & Game; Venue: Samoa Tourism Association Village
7:00am: Kirikiti Samoa; Venue: Lepea Village Cricket Field
English Cricket; Venue: Tuanaimato Sports Complex
6:30pm: Cultural Entertainment In front of Government Building
- Siva Taupou & Aiuli Competition (female / male solo dance)
- Siva Fa’ataupati Competition (slap dance)
- International Siva Afi Competition
6:30pm: Music Night; Venue: Hotel Kitano

**Wednesday 3rd September, 2008**

All Day: Stalls, Entertainment & Games; Venue: Samoa Tourism Association Village
7:00am: Kirikiti Samoa; Venue: Lepea Village Cricket Field
8:00am: Umu Demonstration (Samoan ground oven); Venue: Samoa Tourism Association Village
7:00pm: McDonald’s Variety Show, in front of Government Building

**Thursday 4th September, 2008**

All Day: Stalls, Entertainment & Games; Venue: Samoa Tourism Association Village
7:00am: Kirikiti Samoa; Venue: Lepea Village Cricket Field
11:00am: Fautasi Race; Venue: Faleula – Apia Harbour
7:00pm: McDonald’s Variety Show, in front of Government Building

**Friday 5th September, 2008**

All Day: Stalls, Entertainment & Games; Venue: Samoa Tourism Association Village

8:30am: Miss Samoa Parade Floats

10:00am: Official Closing & Prize Giving, in front of Government Building

National Beautification Prize Giving

7:00pm: Miss Samoa Pageant; Venue: Maota Tupulaga EFKS

Theme: ‘Honouring our past and Embracing our future’
APPENDIX 2:
GLOSSARY OF SAMOAN TERMS

All definitions provided in this glossary are based on the terminology presented in this thesis as follows:

*aiuli:* A vigorous style of dancing seen on the periphery of the dance floor; usually performed by a young man dancing in the background

*aufaga:* A long piece of cloth used by the Samoans for climbing coconut trees; climbing strap.

*ava:* Shrub (Piper methysticum). A beverage made with the dried and pulverized root of that shrub mixed with water.

*fa'a Samoa:* The Samoan ‘way’: Samoan customs and traditions relating to cultural values

*fautasi:* Long boat that seats 30 rowers

*ma'ulu'ulu:* Group dance genre

*siva afi:* Fire dance

*talanoa:* To chat, converse together

*talavalu:* A kind of war club

*taupou:* Title given to a village maiden (a position held according to Samoan custom by a virgin singled out for her charm, looks, charms and manners; a Chief’s daughter.

*teuila:* Shrub (Alpinia sp.), the red ginger; see also *mumu:* (hedychium sp.) the ginger lily.

*toloa:* A wild duck (Anas superciliosa)

*umu:* Samoan outdoor ground oven
APPENDIX 3: ETHICS

Application to the University of HUMAN Ethics Committee for
Ethical Approval of a Research or Teaching Proposal involving
Human Participants

PLEASE read carefully the important notes on the last page of this form. Provide a response to each question; failure to do so may delay the consideration of your application.

1. University of Otago staff member responsible for project:
   Bendrups, Dan, Dr

2. Department:
   Music

3. Contact details of staff member responsible:
   Sale/Black House, room 206
   Extension: 4025
   Email: dan.bendrups@stonebow.otago.ac.nz

4. Title of project:
   Teuila: An Ethnography of Samoan Music and Identity

5. Brief description in lay terms of the purpose of the project:
   This project investigates the role of music in expressions of cultural identity in Samoa. It focuses specifically on the Teuila festival, held annually in Apia. Teuila provides a unique opportunity to investigate the roles of different types of music in Samoan culture, both in terms of their local significance and in terms of their place in culture tourism. This project hypothesises that such performances constitute an important facet of contemporary Samoan cultural life.
6. Indicate type of project and names of other investigators and students:

Staff Research

Student Research

Multi-Centre trial

7. Is this a repeated class teaching activity?
   Yes ☐ No ☑

8. Intended start date of project: August 2008
   Projected end date of project: April 2009

9. Funding of project.
   Is the project to be funded:
   (a) Internally ☐
   (b) Externally ☑

Please specify who is funding the project:

10. Aim and description of project: (Clearly specify aims)
    This project is the basis for the student’s MA thesis in ethnomusicology. Specifically, this project aims to:
    • Provide the student with a fieldwork topic of substance that is suitable for study at Masters level
    • Provide the student with experience in ethnographic research
    • Provide the student with sufficient data to complete an MA by research
    • Produce a new body of knowledge concerning contemporary performance culture in Samoa.

11. Researcher or instructor experience and qualifications in this research area:
    Research supervisor Dr Dan Bendrups has an established profile in Pacific ethnography and ethnomusicology, with particular expertise in Polynesian ethnomusicology.
    MA student Tia Solomona is a lecturer at the National University of Samoa who is completing an MA at the University of Otago as part of an inter-institutional agreement. She is recognised as an expert in aspects of Samoan music culture within Samoa and
internationally, and her life-long immersion in Samoan music makes her an excellent candidate for this research project.

12. Participants

12(a) Population from which participants are drawn:
The participants in this project will be culture-bearers (musicians, community elders, other knowledge holders in the areas of music and performance) of repute in Samoan music culture. These participants are all established and respected members of their community, and occupy roles of leadership as choir directors, band directors, and leaders of traditional performance ensembles.

12(b) Specify inclusion and exclusion criteria:
Participants in this project will be selected specifically for their knowledge of the area being studied. Social science models of inclusion and exclusion do not apply to this project.

12(c) Number of participants: (where a sample size calculation is appropriate i.e., for quantitative research, it should be provided)
The number of participants in this project will depend on the development of the ethnographic research as it progresses, but will be no less than 10 and no more than 40 in number.

12(d) Age range of participants:
The participants in this project will range in age from 25 to 65+ years.

12(e) Method of recruitment:
The researcher in this project is an established performer and will conduct research within her own community where she is closely networked with other culture bearers. Participants will therefore be recruited through the insider knowledge and contact networks possessed by the researcher.

12(f) Please specify any payment or reward to be offered:
No payment or reward to be offered.

13. Methods and Procedures:
This project is grounded in music ethnography and employs ethnographic research techniques such as participant-observation fieldwork and informal discussion. Located firmly in a Polynesian epistemological framework, indigenous concepts such as talanoa (Samoa, Tonga) and kukakuka (Hawai'i), which may be interpreted
as 'informal discussion', between the researcher and participants replace the Anglo-centric notion of 'interviews' in this project. Participation, observation and talanoa or kukakuka will be used by the researcher to gather data and develop a phenomenological representation of the culture area being researched. This research does not involve any risk or harm to the participants, who will simply be invited to participate in talanoa or kukakuka at their own discretion. As a cultural insider, the researcher in this project is well aware of her own social standing in relation to the research participants and can be trusted to act according to well-founded cultural protocols during her fieldwork.

13. Compliance with The Privacy Act 1993 and the Health Information Privacy Code 1994 imposes strict requirements concerning the collection, use and disclosure of personal information. These questions allow the Committee to assess compliance.

14.

14(a) Are you collecting personal information directly from the individual concerned?

Yes

14(b) If you are collecting personal information directly from the individual concerned, specify the steps taken to make participants aware of the following points: (you should make participants aware of these points in an Information Sheet for Participants; a suggested template is attached):

- the fact that you are collecting the information:
- the purpose for which you are collecting the information and the uses you propose to make of it:
- who will receive the information:
- the consequences, if any, of not supplying the information:
- the individual's rights of access to and correction of personal information:

These points will be covered in an information sheet and reinforced orally by the researcher during the research process.

14(d) Does the research or teaching project involve any form of deception?

No

14(e) Please outline your storage and security procedures to guard against unauthorised access, use or disclosure and how long you propose to keep personal information:

Where research data is recorded, this will be stored by Dr Bendrups in a locked cabinet in his university office for the period required by the university, and then returned to the research participants or destroyed.
14(f) Please explain how you will ensure that the personal information you collect is accurate, up to date, complete, relevant and not misleading:

The researcher involved in this project is a cultural insider to the area being researched and the research participants are few in number and are known culture bearers in their community, therefore there is little risk of error in collecting personal information. Research participants will be invited to present their personal information in whatever manner they wish, including discretion over how honorific titles, full names or known names, indigenous names, bestowed names or other names are recorded.

14(g) Who will have access to personal information, under what conditions, and subject to what safeguards against unauthorised disclosure?

Only researchers named in this application will have access to this data, which will be stored securely by the research supervisor.

14(h) Do you intend to publish any personal information and in what form do you intend to do this?

Publication will be in the form of an MA dissertation, and subsequent academic publications may also eventuate from this project.

14(i) Do you propose to collect information on ethnicity?

Yes, if this is relevant to any themes that develop during the ethnographic research process. This will not involve comparisons with New Zealand Māori.

15. Potential problems:

The researcher in this project is an acknowledged expert in her culture and is equipped with sufficient cultural knowledge to avoid any potential problems or conflicts that might potentially arise. The likelihood of conflict or other problems arising as a result of music ethnography research is slim.

16. Informed consent

Research participants will be provided with an information sheet and/or an oral explanation of the information contained in the information sheet as best suits the requirements of each participant. This project does not involve the distribution and collection of consent forms. Rather, consent will be fully evidenced by each participant’s involvement with the research project. This is in keeping with the University of Otago policy for Ethical Practices in Research and Teaching Involving Human Participants, section F point 9, which states that “Researchers and teachers must ensure that their actions are appropriately sensitive to participants’ cultural and social frameworks”. As a recognised culture bearer in her community, the researcher in this project is of the firm belief that the Anglo-centric requirement of a written document to signify
consent is anathema to the cultural landscape in which she will be working and that to pursue this requirement might actually be to the detriment of the research.

Please attach the information sheet and the consent form to this application. The information sheet and consent form must be separate.

At a minimum the Information Sheet must describe in lay terms:

- the nature and purpose of the research;
- the procedure and how long it will take;
- any risk or discomfort involved;
- who will have access and under what conditions to any personal information;
- the eventual disposal of data collected;
- the name and contact details of the staff member responsible for the project and an invitation to contact that person over any matter associated with the project;
- details of remuneration offered for participation and compensation payable in the event of harm;
- Exclusion criteria for the project if applicable including Health Concerns. (If exclusion include a clear statement to the effect that: "People who meet one or more of the exclusion criteria set out above may not participate in this project, because in the opinion of the researchers and the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, it involves unacceptable risk to them.")

and any other relevant matters

The Information Sheet must conclude with the statement: "The University of Otago Human Ethics Committee has reviewed and approved this project."

The Consent Form must make it clear that a participant:

- understands the nature of the proposal;
- has had all questions satisfactorily answered;
- is aware of what will become of the data (including video or audio tapes and data held electronically) at the conclusion of the project;
- knows that he or she is free to withdraw from the project at any time without disadvantage;
- is aware of risks, remuneration and compensation;
- is aware that the data may be published;
- is aware that a third party (i.e. transcriber) may have access to the data;
- is aware that every effort will be made to preserve the anonymity of the participant unless the participant gives an express waiver, which must be in addition to and separate from this consent form.

(Applicants should use the pro forma Information Sheet and Consent Form provided by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, with appropriate adaptation, unless a case is made and approved that these formats would be inappropriate for the specific project; Research or teaching involving children or young persons require written consent from both the child or young person AND the parent/guardian unless an adequate justification is provided).
17. **Fast-Track procedure** (In exceptional and unexpected circumstances, and where the research needs to commence before the next monthly meeting of the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee, a researcher may request that the application be considered under the fast-track provisions).

Do you request fast-track consideration? (See Important Notes to Applicants attached)

No

18. **Other committees**

If any other ethics committee has considered or will consider the proposal which is the subject of this application, please give details:

None

19. **Applicant's Signature:** .................................................................

   Date: ........................................

   Please ensure that the person signing the application is the applicant (the staff member responsible for the research) rather than the student researcher.

20. **Departmental approval:** I have read this application and believe it to be scientifically and ethically sound. I approve the research design. The Research proposed in this application is compatible with the University of Otago policies and I give my consent for the application to be forwarded to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee with my recommendation that it be approved.

   **Signature of *Head of Department:** .................................................................

   Date: ........................................

   *(In cases where the Head of Department is also the principal researcher then the appropriate Dean or Pro-Vice-Chancellor must sign)*
TEUILA: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF SAMOAN MUSIC AND IDENTITY

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

This project investigates the role of music in expressions of cultural identity in Samoa. It focuses specifically on the Teuila festival, and investigates the roles of different types of music in Samoan culture, both in terms of their local significance and in terms of their impact on culture tourism. This project hypothesises that such performances constitute an important facet of contemporary Samoan cultural life, and it aims to test this hypothesis through ethnographic field research at and around the 2008 Teuila festival. This research will lead to a new body of knowledge concerning contemporary Samoan performance culture. These research findings will be the basis of the researcher’s MA dissertation at the University of Otago, and will also be used to inform teaching and research at the National University of Samoa.

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to participate in formal or informal discussions (talanoa) with the researcher concerning your involvement with and observations of Teuila over the course of the festival’s existence. These discussions involve an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Information for this project will be collected orally or recorded, and this information will form the basis of the study. Only the researcher and supervisor will have access to this data during and after the research process. The results of the project will be publicly available as an unpublished MA thesis at the University of Otago, and may subsequently be published in academic literature. Should you wish to be acknowledged by name for your contribution this will be duly noted, however, should you wish to remain anonymous then every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity. You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.
The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and destroy data gathered by email. However, the security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material.

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Tia Solomona or Dr Dan Bendrups
Department of Music or Department of Music
University Telephone: 643 479 8885 or University Telephone: 643 479 4025

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.