Spring 2020

# Religious Schism: A Case Study of Social and Political Critique in Sāmoa

Alexis M. M. Zilen
*Gettysburg College*

# Religious Schism: A Case Study of Social and Political Critique in Sāmoa

## Abstract

Examining religious schism within Sāmoa in order to demonstrate that schism of Christianity within Sāmoa, of charismatic-Pentecostal churches from traditional mainline churches, represents a social critique. By unifying under a reformed church environment, which mimics existing religious and cultural systems, Sāmoans are challenging their economic, social, and political positionality, while upholding the traditional framework of the fa'aSāmoa, Sāmoan way of life. This work highlights how individuals within Sāmoa navigate increasingly complex social, political, and economic power dynamics. Much of the focus of explores how individuals exercise religious agency, formulated through a created Sāmoan cosmology, to challenge larger structures of oppression within Sāmoa.

## Keywords

South Pacific, Religion, Anthropology of Christianity, Pentecostal-Charismatic Christianity

## Disciplines

Anthropology | Religion | Social and Cultural Anthropology

## Comments

Written as a Senior Capstone in Anthropology.

## Creative Commons License

**Religious Schism:**
**A Case Study of Social and Political Critique in Sāmoa**

Alexis Zilen
Anthropology 400: Capstone
Honors Thesis

# Table of Contents

## Acknowledgments

This project would not have been possible without the guidance and support of a variety of individuals. Thank you to Gettysburg College, especially the anthropology department and history department for supporting my research through funding, resources, and continual supervision. A special thanks to my family and friends living in Sāmoa, without your connections and willingness to assist me in every step of this process, I would have never been able to complete this project. *Fa'afetai tele lava*, thank you everyone for your support.

# I) Introduction

This paper seeks to examine the method of social critique implemented in contemporary Sāmoa, based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted on the Sāmoan island of Upolu. Social critique in Sāmoa is formulated through a culturally dictated framework, known as the *fa'aSāmoa*, which simply means the Sāmoan way of life. This cultural framework is a deliberately maintained historical record of Sāmoan tradition, comprising social, political, and religious foundations. The *fa'aSāmoa* is inextricably linked with Christianity (So'o 2008); according to one chronicler of Sāmoan history Kamu, "It is impossible to speak of the history of Sāmoa without referring to the history of Christianity in Sāmoa" (Kamu 2003, 1). Since societal organization and behaviors are largely dictated through the *fa'aSāmoa* and religious lenses, Sāmoans have increasingly utilized religious institutions to critique their positionality by creating schisms within the Christian community.

Conventionally, anthropologists have described religious schisms as a consequence of the impact of Western culture on indigenous societies; inevitably the tensions produced by such an impact lead to resentment and rebellion against the foreign power (Manyoni 1977). However, this structure, in the Sāmoan context, is inadequate as it does not consider the complex relationship between Westernized ideas, i.e. religion, and indigenous systems of control such as the *fa'aSāmoa*. The Sāmoan Christian schism did not denounce all elements of foreign culture but rather utilized the mixture of indigenous systems, the *fa'aSāmoa,* and Christianity to critique both internal systems of oppression as well as external dynamics.

In undertaking this study, I considered three main questions. First, how is religious identity in Sāmoa structured, taking special consideration to recognize the interconnected relationship of the *fa'aSāmoa* and Christian identity? Second, how have the external movements

of globalization and urbanization created palpable social pressures for the average Sāmoan? Finally, what are the internal push factors which drive the denominational schisms between various Christian groups? Utilizing the contemporary anthropological frameworks of Handman (2014) and Bialecki (2014) I will answer these questions and demonstrate that schism of Christianity within Sāmoa, of charismatic-Pentecostal churches from traditional mainline churches, represents a social critique. Schism is a social process which allows individuals to separate from the kinship and cultural ties which bind them to marginalized social positions. By unifying under a reformed church environment, which mimics existing religious and cultural systems, Sāmoans are challenging their economic, social, and political positionality, while upholding the traditional framework of the *fa'aSāmoa.*

Presenting this argument, the paper is structured as follows. First, I will examine briefly the evolution of anthropological literature on Christianity and schismatic eruptions. Specifically, I will examine the emerging shifts in the literature on the charismatic-Pentecostal faiths which often take root in the global South due to their ability to conform to existing indigenous social structures while still possessing a distinctly Christian character. Next, I will provide a historical context of religious colonization in Sāmoa, which is critical to the positioning of contemporary religious movements. Then, I will dive into the methodology, followed by a discussion of findings and observations based on my own fieldwork. These observations will highlight how individuals within Sāmoa navigate increasingly complex power dynamics. Much of the focus of these sections explore how individuals exercise religious agency, formulated through a created Sāmoan cosmology, to challenge larger structures of oppression within Sāmoa. Finally, I will round this project off with a brief discussion about my anticipations about the future conceptions of Sāmoan religious identities and future shifts in denominational control.

## II) Literature Review

This section provides a brief history of the anthropology of Christianity, which has been relatively short as an academic discipline when compared to the whole of anthropological literature. However short, this specialty has experienced an intellectual boom in the past decade. The anthropology of Christianity began in the second half of the 1990s and early 2000s (Robbins 2017, 228). Prior, the anthropology of religion was focused on non-Western religions, evoking accounts of witchcraft, magic, and ghosts. Often, the scope of these ethnographies was concerned with how religious beliefs reflect political and economic forces as well as social functionality (Eller 2007). Robbins (2012) argues that the delayed bloom of literature focused on the anthropology of Christianity is due to anthropology's historical trend of othering; since anthropologists were more interested in the study of other cultures and pre-colonized religions, there was little consideration in scholarship about Western religions. Thus, for much of anthropology's beginnings, studying Christianity was practically taboo and considered too introspective (Robbins 2012, 229-30). The shift in anthropological literature, which allowed the rise of anthropology on Christianity, came during an epistemological upheaval in anthropology coupled with shifts in global interactions. The rise of the anthropology of Christianity occurred in the years immediately preceding a dynamic shift in the development of Christianity itself: the sudden exponential growth of Pentecostalism.

Pentecostalism's success as a rapidly expanding globalizing movement prompted the rise of targeted scholarship which began to analyze the global impact of Christianity (e.g. Handman 2015; Jenkins 2002; Martin 2002). Since the rise of the anthropology of Christianity and the rise of Pentecostalism happened relatively in short succession, much of the early literature focused on this particular denomination of Christianity. Robbins (2012, 162) argues that the anthropology of

Christianity was, in reality, becoming the anthropology of Pentecostalism (Howell 2003). While this is a slight exaggeration, it does demonstrate that Pentecostal anthropology and Christian anthropology do exist in a large overlapping sphere of scholarship and that anthropologists are striving to describe the global experience of Christianity, as encountered in the locality of individual cultures (e.g. collected works by Cannell 2006).

The rapidly growing literature on Pentecostalism is highly varied; this is unsurprising because charismatic Christianity is highly diffused through many cultural, economic, and political groups. This lack of standardization can render the term meaninglessly broad (Droogers 2001, 46) or can cause conflicting evidential anecdotes. This problem is often due to social sciences use of folk terms as analytical categories (Robbins 2012, 119). Anthropologists are apt to parrot terms, like "Pentecostalism" and "Evangelicalism," which are utilized by the groups they work with, without awareness of the wider structures of definitions. For example, at the beginning of this research project, I would often use the term "conversion" while speaking of switching from Catholicism to Pentecostalism, following the usage of the community in which I lived. However, this caused confusion and misunderstanding as their definition of "conversion" differs from the anthropological definition. Conversion encapsulates the complex move from different religions instead of denominations within the same religious system.

This paper will explore Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity, which can be distinguished from other forms of "new-age" Christianity by stressing the power of rebirth through the power of the Holy Spirit and authority over spirituality. This means that a practitioner of Pentecostalism has authority due to the power of God; it is the right to make use of the word of the Lord in their own lives. Neo-charismatic faiths (e.g. Miller 1997) and fundamental Christianity (e.g. Stoll 1990) are beyond the purview of this project; each share

similarities with Pentecostalism but are systematically different and should not be interpreted as a charismatic faith.

Much of the literature on the Pentecostal churches have focused on Latin-America, Africa, and Asia (e.g. Hodgson 2001 and Engelke 2007). This is perhaps because these areas contain the largest numbers of followers and growth over time (Jenkins 2002, 3). One major theme in the anthropology of charismatic religions, regardless of location, is the fluidity of Christian groups to jump between charismatic religions, indigenous religion, and more mainline Christian sects, such as Catholicism. For example, Wittee (2018) attempts to contextualize how Pentecostalism is embraced or rejected by groups in the Ghanaian religious landscape, which entangles charismatic Pentecostalism and African traditional religion. Her work grows from the discontent with the current anthropology of Pentecostalism and Christianity, which remains too closely entwined with Christians' emphasis on religious differences to account for the interreligious dynamics. By contrast, Wittee's work focuses not on the perceived differences between two religions, but rather as a study of religion which manifests across frameworks of church and society. She argues further that Pentecostal and Christian faiths are not treated with ridged boundaries, meaning that people's religious itineraries shift, allowing for a moving back and forth according to specific needs. This practice and recognizing the fluidity of religious practitioners are noted in Oceania.

A major focus in the literature on Oceania is how charismatic religions have shaped indigenous culture, especially on a long-term global scale. Ernst (2012) argues that globalization and the rise of Pentecostalism are unfolding as part of a historical process; therefore, the relationship between the two can only be understood by examining the political, economic, and cultural changes in history. Ernst also states that Christianity is considered to be one of the

largest globalizing forces throughout the Pacific Islands. Binns, Kerslake, and Thornton (2010) demonstrate further how globalization and economic inequality have challenged traditional indigenous values. Pacific islanders have increasingly sought relief, via charismatic religions, from social and economic hardships brought upon due to the factors described by Ernst. Religious change can be seen as a side effect of economic change.

A rising area of study within the anthropology of Christianity highlights the trend of "studying specifically Christian institutions and social processes" (Robbins 2014, 163). Robbins argues that this shift comes in response to the argument that the anthropology of Christianity is largely idealist in orientation. Idealism commonly views everything as mental or spiritual, as such, it does not consider the tangible ability to create change. Thus, the 2010s brought an increased focus on the ability of Christianity to be used as a social critique (e.g. Handman 2014; Barker 2014; Hann 2014); this shift addresses idealism because it uncovers how Christianity can be studied beyond simply existing as a mental influence in indigenous institutions.  It is the goal of this research project to further the literature of the anthropology of Christianity specifically as a form of social critique.

My work has two main contributions. First, I will explore how charismatic faiths have benefited the most in a globalized economy and gained political influence.  Similar to Hardin (2016), I argue that Charismatic churches offer contentment of the *mana*, spiritual life force, without the need for economic affluence. By minimizing economic affluence in Pentecostal church communities, they sell the idea of spiritual-based faith. This hyper-fixation on spirituality allows churches to preach for larger political control and governmental control, thus gaining more influence on Sāmoan society without the need for economic-based power. I also consider the framework of Fer (2012), who has demonstrated that charismatic faiths cause a liberalization

of self and furthering of political activism which advocates for a Christian government. While Sāmoa has a secularized government, charismatic faiths fundamentally undermine this both socially and politically.

This research will also explore how marginalized groups utilize Pentecostal faiths to improve their social standings, building on the work of Brison (2007). However, unlike Brison, the categories of marginalization I use are not broken down into ethnic rivalries, but rather into gender and age. Pentecostal churches grow from the unacknowledged labor of women (Eckenwiler 2012); this labor is considered a blessing by the charismatic-Pentecostal women as women are often shut out of the social and political sphere in traditional Sāmoan social circles. Women simultaneously feel a sense of power and social mobility while being subject to the same patriarchal systems which they wish to escape. Overall, I argue that contemporary power struggles of economics, social class, and gender dynamics are interpreted through the lens of religion. Charismatic faiths are creating spiritual warfare in a previously religiously unified country; as such, this upheaval upholds the indigenous power structures while fundamentally changing religious identity in Sāmoa.

### III) Historical Context: A Brief Overview of Religion in Sāmoa

Prior to the arrival of Christianity in 1830, indigenous Sāmoans practiced a complex polytheistic religion; devotion was characterized by animism, ancestor worship, and, most importantly, connecting the "nature of reality and the unknown" (Taonui 1994, 1). When the first Christian missionaries, the London Missionary Society, arrived, Christianity rapidly spread throughout the Sāmoan islands. Missionaries from Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches were quick to follow in 1835 and 1845, respectively. Together, these churches create the "mainline" fellowships in Sāmoa, comprising approximately seventy percent of Sāmoans.

The rapid Christianization of Sāmoa happened for a multitude of reasons; however, two factors predominantly shaped this process. First, previous migratory systems created a cultural blend rather than a homogeneous influx well before the arrival of Christianity; therefore, Sāmoans already had a deeply entrenched and multilayered belief system. This migratory pattern led to a rather malleable religious structure that could incorporate new knowledge swiftly and harmoniously (Taonui 1994). Second, while Christian missionaries were present in Sāmoa since the early nineteenth century and had relative success in converting large numbers of Sāmoans, it was not until almost 100 years later that these missionaries recognized that the growth of Christianity within Sāmoa was dependent on a close relationship between religious and cultural frameworks (Binns, Kerslake, and Thornton, 2010).

A truly religious Sāmoa relied on entangling the *fa'aSāmoa* with Christianity. I use the term "cultural structures" primarily to refer to the *matai* and *fono*, the titled chiefs and the village council. These men were central to the organization of village society as they were, and continue to be, the traditional head of government. Missionaries targeted these men by demonstrating that their religious hierarchical structures would still empower these chiefs and uphold the social stratification. This process of qualifying Christianity through culturally familiar terms was not unique to Sāmoa; in fact, the spread of new religions in the Pacific came from these familiar customs and therefore was quick and efficient for the church. (Barnes and Hunt 2005, 254). This unification of religion and societal structures proved to be relatively stable; by the beginning of Sāmoan independence in 1962, Sāmoa was thoroughly Christianized, with more than ninety percent reporting as such.

Globally, charismatic-Pentecostal Christianity emerged in the early twentieth century among radical adherents of Western mainstream denominations of Christianity. Pentecostalism is

a movement within Evangelical Christianity that places special emphasis on a direct, personal relationship with God along with manifestations of spiritual gifts such as divine healing and proselytizing. The Charismatic movement began with the adoption of typical Pentecostal beliefs into Protestant and Catholic denominations. These movements rose relatively together as they share values, methods of worship, and emphasis on personal connections. Charismatic-Pentecostal faiths had been established in Sāmoan since 1928; however, they did not have a significant following and were often shunned from most social circles as incompatible with the *fa'aSāmoa*. Mainline Christian churches had adapted to the cultural structures of Sāmoa; Pentecostalism did not as it rejected cultural structures and favored individual growth above the community. Since Sāmoan society is built on reciprocity, this was considered detrimental and thus largely shunned. This perceived incompatibility would not last as Charismatic-Pentecostal churches became a powerful enticement for marginalized peoples. Often called a religion of opportunity, Pentecostalism's converts are those who are on the lowest rung of Sāmoan socioeconomic hierarchy. In the following pages, I will further piece together the complex push factors which drive people away from mainline denominations.

### IV) Methodology & Ethical Considerations

The data for this project was collected during two different stints of ethnographic fieldwork in the Independent State of Sāmoa, known as Western Sāmoa, beginning in February until May of 2019 and again in January 2020. I worked primarily in the urban city of Apia as well as spending short, week-long stretches in villages, confined to the central island of Upolu. During this time, I attended multiple services at rural and urban Roman Catholic and Methodist churches, and urban Assembly of God/Pentecostal churches. I emphasize the urban and rural

churches due to the religious constraints in rural areas; this distinction is important for contextualizing the parameters of my fieldwork. Urban areas provide a larger scope of religious freedom, while rural centers are typically more suppressed. I also participated in several meetings with women's organizations, which, while not exclusively religious organizations, were often socially religious, meaning, they were not an entity of the church but rather a social group composed of followers from the same church organization. The other main source of data is drawn from fifteen interviews conducted both through semi-structured interviews and the less structured *talanoa* dialogue, described in further detail below. During these sessions, I audio recorded sermons, interviews, and meetings. There was little translation needed as I attended the English-speaking services or the mixed language services, during which time I received translations from the families who hosted me. All interviews were conducted in English.

The data was collected through three methods: participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and *talanoa*. These data collecting methods are the standard methodology of anthropology; however, I wish to highlight the specific differences in conducting *talanoa* dialogue. *Talanoa* refers to "a personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities, and aspirations" (Vaioleti 2006, 21). This is a very theoretical definition; in the simplest terms, *talanoa* is immersing oneself in the community, helping scale a fish, watching children, having a drink. *Talanoa* is the shared understanding of letting oneself be known and respected to another person, which enhances these tasks and creates the *talanoa*. Pacific anthropologists argue that this allows more authentic encounters between those who participate, thus producing more relevant knowledge and possibilities in addressing Pacific issues (Vaioleti 2006, 21). In the past, indigenous groups have been stripped of their cultural knowledge with little repayment, and *talanoa* ensures that this legacy of intellectual theft will not live on.

All data was qualitative and analyzed through the paradigm of interpretative and post-colonial approaches. The interpretive approach is used to understand and describe how humans act within the complex web of their own cultural systems. The post-colonial approach is meant to challenge the deficit between the knowledge of the formerly colonized and the colonizers, while also promoting transformation and social change of the society being studied. This paradigm is appropriate for this study because the residual effects of colonization are still embedded in Sāmoa. Both paradigms take into consideration that there are multiple constructed realities existing within the country, which come from the binary histories of indigenous peoples and European conquerors.

All names, including villages, collaborators, churches, and organizations have been changed in order to protect confidentiality. All participants were fully consenting and briefed on the full extent of this project. This project was conducted under the supervision of the Gettysburg College Anthropology Department and funded in part by the Gettysburg Office of Student Scholarly Engagement, the History Department, and the Anthropology Department to cover the cost of travel for my second period of fieldwork.


**V) Data & Analysis**

*Creating a Sāmoan Christian Identity*

The first time I heard conch shells blowing throughout the rural village, I had been living in Sāmoa for two months. However, this was my first day living outside of the Apia Urban Area. I was washing clothes in the brackish pool in which my newest host sisters and I had just bathed when the muffled sounds filled the air. My host sisters gently but quickly helped me climb out of

the pool and collected my laundry. When I attempted to uncover what was happening, they simply answered that it was time for curfew. I found it highly unusual, as it was only six in the evening and my previous home had not practiced this. Once my sisters and I reached the house, we discarded the piles of clothing into woven leaf baskets by the front room of the house. Still wet, I was unsure why we had not hung them, but they assured me there was time for this later. We gathered around the small shrine of the Virgin Mary located along the one wall of the main house, joined with my host mother and grandmother. Together we prayed; they thanked God for my safe arrival, for the food that we had shared earlier, and for the continued health of the family. Almost twenty minutes from the first call, three rings from the church bells signaled an end to the curfew.

My sisters and I gathered the clothing to hang on the line outside. This is when they realized that I had not experienced this curfew before and began to explain. Called *sā*, meaning sacred, the sound of the conch shell was the call for evening prayer. Beyond the simple meaning sacred, *sā* is the prefix of Sāmoa, with *moa* meaning center, therefore the name Sāmoa means sacred center of the world. Bestowing the evening curfew, the same title of sacredness demonstrates the reverence of this widely practiced tradition in rural villages. No one was to be walking on the village roads, bathing in the pool, or swimming in the ocean bordering the village; instead, this was a daily time set aside for religious reflection. Every day we would be beckoned to our homes by the conch, I would sit on the *tama* mats with the women in my family, and together they would thank God for the day's gifts. We were never joined by the men in the family as they gathered elsewhere to conduct their prayers. *Sā* was not the only religious ceremony to be conducted every night. I would also attend church every evening before the

prayer. While the church would not be packed with the entire population of the village, as it would be on Sundays, the village's Catholic mass was well attended.

Whether attending church in the rural village or the urban center, the mainline churches operated under a similar formula, meaning there were few perceived differences in how an urban Catholic church and a rural Catholic church, or an urban Methodist church and a rural Methodist church, would conduct services. Before entering the church, one was expected to pay tithes to the church, and the amount, as well as your name, was written on a ledger to be tracked and totaled together on a weekly basis. When I had first arrived in Sāmoa, this practice was foreign to me. Being raised Roman Catholic, I was used to paying tithings in order to belong to my church; however, this tracking was unusual, especially the recording of my name followed by an exact amount and often the name of the host I was staying with. I did not think much of this in the beginning, as I assumed it was perhaps easier to collect money in this manner. Services would commence as a typical Christian service; throughout the duration of this project, I would attend English speaking or mixed language services, so it was easy to understand the familiar pattern of church services. Only after a few weeks of acclimating myself to Sāmoa was my attention called to the importance of these tithings. It became obvious that the church had been keeping tabs on how much each person and family was donating for a particular purpose, which I will discuss later in the paper. Of the six mainline churches I attended during my fieldwork, all but one had carefully monitored, handwritten spreadsheets that tracked every tithing donated to the church.

Services would proceed with fanfare every Sunday. Typically, the congregation would dress in white, women sporting large, ornate church hats, and men with a blazer jacket or formal top. The most notable part of mainline services, besides tithing, is the diligent transcription of the

services by church attendees. Many Sāmoans held personal Bibles and notebooks, taking detailed notes on what was being shared. These notes play an important role; religious leaders have enormous social influence, and, as such, these sermons are considered an instructional guideline of acceptable behavior. The importance of religious beliefs in shaping society has been documented amongst anthropologists (Holmgarrd 2018) and plays a large part in how mainline worshipers process biblical knowledge. In this instance, Sāmoans are rereading these sermons and actively applying the teachings to their everyday lives. Often, the phrase, "remember his lessons," is repeated, encouraging a reflection on the words of God and the church leader's words.

After church services, *tona'i* fosters the gathering of the whole village, with a large feast and plenty of alcoholic drinks, following the services on Sundays. The church leader and his family typically receive gifts of food for the week, more monetary gifts, and assistance in any problems around the church compound, as the religious leader and his family typically live inside the church compound. Since they are responsible for fulfilling the spiritual needs of their congregation, religious leaders do not typically have other means of employment, unless they are a titled man, who holds a different set of responsibilities. Therefore, it is important that the congregation demonstrates that not only can they provide monetary support to the church but also sustain the lifestyle of the leaders. Attending church is only one part of the production of Sunday services; feasting and community gathering play a large part in structuring a typical church environment. Charismatic-Pentecostal churches, while still part of the Christian faith, are organized very differently from the mainline denominations. First, tithing, while still required in the eyes of the church, is not rigidly controlled; there is no tally or private tracking. Instead, church elders carry around a sack collecting from those who wave them over to deposit their

donation. Collection of tithings occur during one of many musical numbers performed; as singers call for the Lord to lift the congregation and as spotlights highlight the performers, many raise their arms calling out for God to take them. This timing is important because it creates an atmosphere that encourages donations, as this is the perceived apex of spiritual fulfillment, members feel the energy of God and the church surrounding them and entering their bodies. Spiritual fulfillment, in turn, is repaid with donations, giving the perception of donation as a true gift to the church rather than a social obligation. Worship is characterized by this dramatic flair; the goal of such displays is connecting the followers to God by tapping into the spiritual center of a person and filling them with God's divinity.

A major difference between mainline worship and Charismatic-Pentecostal is how each group constructs indigenous ideas of *mana* and *pule*. *Mana* means power, but in this context refers to the spiritual lifeforce that a person possesses (Marshall 2012; Henderson 2010). *Pule* refers to the authority and blessings of God. Traditionally in pre-Christian society, *matai* and religious leaders hold the largest amounts of *mana*, which allows them to rule successfully. *Mana,* when interpreted through mainline churches, has remained static; according to my collaborators, the *matai* possess the most *mana* and *pule*. They have the ability to channel this into authority both socially and politically. Titled men, then untitled men, then women and children, hold decreasing amounts of power. *Mana* helps connect a person to God; therefore, it is the responsibility of the *matai* to successfully channel the congregation's connections to God. Charismatic-Pentecostal churches, contrastingly, encourage a personal connection to God and thus seek to increase personal *mana* and *pule.* By increasing personal authority and connection with God, Sāmoans who worship Charismatic-Pentecostal faiths are able to better navigate the culturally and socially complex system which has kept them tethered to mainline churches

(Hardin 2016). Creating authority within systems of oppression is crucial. First, it allows Sāmoans to claim authority over their lives in not only the sphere of religion but also in everyday aspects. Second, "by claiming *pule* and channeling *mana*, Pentecostal Christians create the possibility for effective action by foregrounding the divine as the source for current and future action" (Hardin 2010, 278).

Both in mainline and Charismatic-Pentecostal religions, the churches serve a dual role. First, they nurture the growth of one's spirituality through carefully constructed versions of *mana* and *pule*. Second, they act as a community pillar; the church is the pretext for upholding cultural traditions and social hierarchies. It is during these large gatherings that children learn to serve their elders and women serve the men of the church. In the past, "if you leave the [family] church, you leave the family" (Hardin 2016, 262), therefore, many Sāmoans were hesitant to sever ties. However, by demonstrating that mainline and Charismatic-Pentecostal churches have similar pillars of the community, charismatic denominations prove that they mimic the social structures which uphold Sāmoan society. This is key to religious schism. Those who move away from the existing church do so in part because they can recreate that which they have been effectively cut off from.

As previously mentioned, Charismatic-Pentecostal religions had not grown in Sāmoa at the rate of mainline churches, despite sharing a relatively similar timeframe religious colonization, demonstrating the importance of embracing communal traditions, which charismatic churches had failed to do during that time. Church services and *sā,* create a shared religious and communal identity; from a young age, Sāmoans are indoctrinated into this type of communal religious system. Thus, the continued growth of Charismatic-Pentecostal faiths in

Sāmoa will rely on restructuring and adapting familiar social interactions to serve the existing needs of the Charismatic-Pentecostal church community.

### *Monetizing Love: Economic Burdens and Social Obligation*

I have demonstrated the formation of Charismatic-Pentecostal's religious identities mimics those of mainline churches in order to show a foundational restructuring of internal groups to support the growth of new religious organizations within Sāmoa. However, this has not highlighted the question of why. Why have Sāmoans turned towards different Christian denominations? What external factors are influencing religious change? Looking historically, scholars are increasingly examining the correlations between the diversification of religious affiliations and fundamental transformation in Pacific Island States' cultures and societal structures (e.g. Fer 2012; Macpherson 1999). Colonial neglect and geographical isolation protected much of the Pacific Islands from large-scale societal change during the twentieth century. Most changes during this period can be connected to missionary work and the Christianization of Sāmoa. Religious colonization is viewed in a positive light by Sāmoans; during one interview, a *matai* stated, "Christianity removed some of our [Sāmoans] barbaric practices … like nudity and cannibalism for instance. It helped unite the warring factions of Sāmoa. By nature, we were a warring people … then Christianity arrived and that was the end of [large civil wars]. We were able to form larger communities and exist united under God" (Interview by Alexis Zilen. Apia, April 25. 2019) There is a disconnect between how Sāmoans view religious colonization, which is seen as positive and beneficial to society as a whole, and colonization of their lands, which is seen as destroying their cultural values.

It was the Second World War, coupled with increasing globalization during the twentieth century, that marked a fundamental change in Sāmoa, which would diversify the existing structures of social and economic governance. The war in the Pacific created increasingly complex trading networks that provided supplies to soldiers fighting across this vast landscape, as well as a spread of technology and new ideologies. This transformative network continued to expand in the following decades. During this period, while Sāmoa managed to hold many indigenous cultural practices through the preservation of the *fa'aSāmoa*, there was still undeniable social transformation via cultural values which were not considered compatible with a globalizing economy, namely the reliance on traditional subsistence and barter systems (American Sāmoan Economic Advisory Commission 2002). While to a lesser extent, this system is still in existence between kin groups, it has been largely replaced by a cash and wage system.

This is a significant change because the commodification of services created larger wealth gaps and an increase in relative and absolute poverty (Muagututi'a 2006, 63). The establishment of a monetary system created large internal and external migrations, of which I will only focus on the former. Apia is the only economic and commercial hub in the country; as such, the Apia Urban Area has greatly expanded, retaining more than thirty percent of the total population. There is also noteworthy development along the coast leading to the international airport, as this land had previously been under the control of the German authorities under colonization. Once this reign ended, this land was parceled up and developed significantly.

Internal migration is seen as a necessary burden; the need for employment as well as better education creates a push towards urbanization. However, such migrations tend to cause social isolation between the newly migrated family and the village community which they had

once belonged to. This isolation is important because by leaving the village sphere, those who have migrated are effectively cut off from the social and economic benefits traditionally provided. One couple I interviewed described this isolation as a form of necessary social death. They could not feed themselves nor their children, so they turned from the village which they had both been born in as an attempt to find more economic opportunities. While they visited their family every couple of months, they described their welcome back as almost hostile. Their family believed that they had cut the binds which connected the couple to the kin group, and they were treated as outsiders.

The 2008 Household, Income, and Expenditure Survey (HIES) (Sāmoan Bureau of Statistics) indicated that over twenty percent of Sāmoan households are living below the poverty line, which, in the Sāmoan context, is defined as the ability of a household to meet requirements for food, housing, schooling, church contributions, and cultural obligations[1] (Muagututi'a, 2006, 62). From my pool of interviews, over three-fourths responded that they spend large chunks of their household income on donations directly to the church as part of their tithings or in payments to church organized events. The average household income for Sāmoa was $694 tala per week while the average expenditure was $840 tala per week (As of April 2020, the conversion from tala to USD is 1 to 0.33 respectively). This figure is troubling as the expenditure clearly outweighs the income. Looking at the break down of expenditure reveals that thirty percent of income was donated as contributions to the church and village; this total is only seven percent less than the expenditure on food. As a perspective, Christian households in America give on average two percent of their income (Nonprofit Source 2018). The imbalance in Sāmoan

---

[1] Cultural obligations have a wide definition; however, this most often refers to weddings, funerals, village upkeep, community organizations, and other such social programming, however these obligations are not limited to just these events.

households is a consistent trend according to the HIES, as the 2002 and 2006 copies found similar income deficits and church donations.

The high percentage of donations is due to two primary reasons; first, the denominations of mainline churches require donations as part of the "privilege" of belonging to the organization; second, foundational to Sāmoan society is the concept of reciprocity, in this case, a monetary payment for the services which a church provides. This money is considered a gift, often referred to as a family's love by the congregation. During this project, I had noted these gifts as creating economic stress; however, it was only over a casual conversation during my second fieldwork, did I truly understand the true extent of this "love." I had been invited to dinner with my old friends, a married couple Michael and Ana, to celebrate my return, plates were full, and our beers never ran low. Our conversation had been jovial, telling tales of their lives since I had left almost a year prior. However, this soon turned to the nature of my work and why I had traveled half-way around the world yet again. They had a particular interest in my research, not only because they belonged to a mainline church, but also because Michael was a deacon at his particular church.

As we began to discuss my research goals, they immediately understood. Sāmoans are acutely aware of the economic burdens of belonging to a mainline church. Michael casually stated that he and Ana had given upwards of $10,000 tala per year to their village's church. Further donations were given directly to their priest, although these came in the form of material goods and foodstuffs as well as money, and finally smaller donations directly to the larger national Sāmoan Catholic Organizations. While I had known Michael and Ana were relatively wealthy by the privilege of spending much of my first fieldwork with them, I had not realized the

extent of these donations. Perhaps sensing my perceived shock, they explained that this was their love, their love for the church and for the community. These tithings are seen as essentially good for their society. Considering, once again, how reciprocity is foundational to Sāmoan society, it is not surprising that they took this stance. The church provides spiritual growth and the parishioners support their church through their personal monetary wealth. Michael and Ana are not an outlier, the 2008 HIES revealed millions of tala donated to church organizations annually by Sāmoan families.

More than voluntary love given to the church, there is an expectation of tithing, as demonstrated by the vigorous role-taking of tithings I had described previously. This tracking serves as a social control and monitors the amount of money or "love" each family has donated. Even I as a guest of Michael and Ana was expected to help uphold their image in the community and donate sums, some of which they provided for me, to uphold their image as charitable. Further than just monetary gifts, material goods, such as food, clothing, and 'ie toga, woven mats holding significant cultural value, are donated to the church leader. These donations support not only the religious leaders themselves but also their wives and children.[2] It is the social and economic responsibility of the village to support their religious leaders whose main responsibility is supporting the spirituality of those under their purview. The money is supposed to go to enriching the community, this was especially true before 2010 when Sāmoa had no national poverty programming set into place. However, these funds are being used instead to demonstrate the village's power and dedication to God, manifested through the large cathedral-like structures.

---

[2] With the notable exception of Catholic priests who do not marry or have children

When entering a village for the first time, the church is the easiest building to discern as they are typically towering over the other buildings in the village space and are ornately decorated with flowers, flags, and religious symbols. In the short time between my first fieldwork and my return, the Apia Urban Area completed two large church buildings, which stood prominent along the Apia skyline. These large buildings are not exclusive to urban spaces but have also been erected in small rural villages. This is problematic, especially when Sāmoans are living in poverty due to the immense pressure to provide monetary support for their churches, while also being denied any economic help. This is also noted in Binns, Kerslake, and Thornton (2010) who stated that since these churches typically host the pastor's residence, these building expansions are also meant to provide more luxurious housing for religious leaders.

Social stigma or embarrassment are among the mildest repercussions when a family does not meet the standard tithing requirement; punishments doled out by *fono*, village councils, are often harsh and financially expensive (Muagututi'a 2006, 62). These tactics punish those who cannot afford to donate as much as their neighbors with even more financial hardships. In extreme cases, a family can even be banished; this act, more so than a voluntary move, severs kinship ties in a village. This is one of the most severe forms of punishment and proves to be a powerful motivator towards prioritizing tithings and church donations in household expenditures. Considering that one in five Sāmoans live below the poverty line and cannot provide for their basic needs, this tracking of tithings may seem paradoxical. Mainline churches are becoming increasingly competitive between families who wish to demonstrate their religious dedication through their wealth; this marks an important push factor towards Pentecostal charismatic churches. Economic hardship was among the most highly noted factors for leaving mainline churches. Larger than my small group of collaborators, census data demonstrates a direct

correlation between large economic falls and the rise in charismatic denominations in the table shown below.

| Christian Affiliation | 2001 Census | 2006 Census | 2011 Census | 2016 Census |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Congregational | 35.0% | 33.8% | 31.8% | 29.0% |
| Roman Catholic | 19.7% | 19.6% | 19.4% | 18.8% |
| Methodist | 15.0% | 14.3% | 13.7% | 12.4% |
| Assemblies of God | 6.6% | 6.9% | 8.0% | 6.8%* |
| Others | 7.7% | 8.6% | 8.1% | 11.7% |

*There is a decrease in practitioners of the Assemblies of God from 2011 to 2016. This could be due in part to the fragmentation of the Pentecostal religion just solely the Assemblies of God into multiple smaller Pentecostal Organizations.

Between 2001 and 2006, while there is a slight decrease in mainline churches, these declines are not below two percent. After the Great Recession of 2008, an enduring scar of unemployment, poverty, and inflation created larger economic insecurity among Sāmoans. Thus, there is a greater increase between 2006 and 2011 of Pentecostal churches with a proportionate decrease from mainline churches.

As noted previously, as a Christian religion, Pentecostalism still requires tithings; however, unlike the mainline churches, there is no active tracking; instead, church officials walk around with sacks for people to deposit money voluntarily.  Since there is less pressure to donate, families are able to give a proportionate amount of their income while still fulfilling their duty of financially supporting their church. One of my collaborators, when asked why he had changed from his familial church, stated:

We [the immediate family] are no longer selling our love, instead, I feel as if I am feeding my soul. This church does not focus on money but God and his glory. I converted [from Catholicism to Pentecostalism] because I could not support my family while supporting my old church … paying for school, for food was not prioritized (Interview by Alexis Zilen. Apia. January 13, 2020).

This spiritual dilemma is often noted in anthropological works in Sāmoa (Binns, Kerslake, Thornton 2010; Hardin 2016; Ernst 2012). The origin of this concern comes from the domination of religious worship by the *matai* and the *fono*. The parliament was, and continues to be, controlled exclusively by the *matai*, many of whom perform dual roles of governmental offices and religious leaders. Thus, religion has become irrevocably tied within the governing political systems of Sāmoa. It is this religious infusion of traditional systems that have created a culturally centered method of social regulation. The *matai* also has control over which religions are allowed to be worshiped as they control the specific denomination allowed in a village. The 'one village, one church' village governance policy restricts which religion can be openly worshiped within the village, thus keeping the control of wealth in the hands of the *matai*.

Religious freedom cannot be practiced on a large societal scale, especially when moving into the increasingly rural village areas away from Apia. Several drastic legal cases have documented *fono* banishing members of their village for choosing to not attend the mainline churches within the village and instead hosting their own or seeking new religious worships (Ahdar 2012; Percival 2005). Villagers cannot attend churches in neighboring villages if they wish to worship another denomination. This further maintains the religious control by the *matai*; they control the money collected and distributed as church donations and tithings, they control which denomination is allowed within the village space, and they restrict the religious freedoms

of village members. This authority coupled with economic hardships creates what some collaborators refer to as financing faith; massive revenues from the village are reportedly not being redistributed. Members give graciously to the church, while not reaping benefits. The impoverished grow closer to the poverty line with little note other than ensuring monetary quotas are met. Thus, Pentecostalism has grown, as a symbol for those unable or concern other than to fulfill the quotas set forth by the village. The Assembly of God church, which is the largest Pentecostal organization in Sāmoan, claims to be a "church of the poor," they substantiate this claim by offering wide-ranging social programs as well as financial assistance, unlike the mainline churches.

The answer to the question, "Why have Sāmoans turned towards different Christian denominations?" which I proposed at the beginning of this section, is complex. In the simplest terms, Charismatic-Pentecostal churches are increasingly successful at selling themselves as a haven for those who wish to celebrate their spirituality or cannot donate the "love" required by other Christian denominations. Mainline churches continually place economic burdens on their practitioners, by doing this, these churches have monetized spirituality. Therefore, Charismatic-Pentecostal churches are growing in popularity not only because they promote the concept of spirituality over monetary affluence, but also by creating a welcoming church community which harnessed indigenous Sāmoan systems of knowledge, mentioned in the previous section.

### *Gender in Charismatic-Pentecostal Denominations*

The economic hardships I have outlined in the previous section have created large internal migrations from the village sphere into the Apia Urban Area. A majority of converts to Charismatic-Pentecostal churches are relatively poor, converts from mainline churches, youth or

young adults, or women. This is due to the perception of these denominations as being a religion of opportunity; the commonality between these groups is their low social position within Sāmoan society. From this group of marginalized peoples, I took particular attention to gender dynamics in Charismatic-Pentecostal faiths for two main reasons. First, Sāmoa is a highly patriarchal society, as such, while I could conduct interviews in informal settings with men, I was barred from participant observation in men's church organizations due to my gender. When I visited rural villages, the gender divide was acutely felt, I was constantly surrounded by women, while only meeting the male head of the house only once when I first arrived. Second, Charismatic-Pentecostal Christianity too had gendered roles that are distinct and hierarchical in nature. According to Hardin: "Men… formed the "head" of the household, and women were often referred to as the "neck"; the neck was not the primary center of decision-making but could direct the head toward moral pathways" (2019, 152).

This moral guidance is considered highly important to women as this gives a sense of mobility within the church community from their stunted positions as the bottom of both religious and social hierarchies of power. In mainline churches, women play one role, that of supporting wife or daughter. This is not the case in Charismatic-Pentecostal Christianity; women operate with more religious authority than women in other denominations. This traces back to the earlier conversation about religious *mana* and *pule*; women were considered to have the least amount; however, Pentecostalism teaches women how to harness this *mana* effectively and receive the Holy Spirit into their bodies giving them more authority within their new religious community. When asked why this created a difference, one female interview respondent answered, "Everyone can have a personal relationship with God, we are all equal in the eyes of the Lord here. I can be filled with the Lord's guidance and be heard … when I feel the Lord fill

me with his presence, I can articulate my problems, my desires, and my doubts and the Lord will listen, and the community will listen as he speaks through me" (Interview by Alexis Zilen. Apia, January 14, 2020). This egalitarian perception of authority also allows women to conduct small sermons to the congregation. These most often took place during non-Sunday services where church attendance was comparatively low.

The ability to conduct sermons is an important role; in mainline denominations, women have been systematically obstructed from *fono*, church leadership, and Parliament which entrenches their positions within a patriarchal structure and reduces their social mobility. Sāmoa has one of the highest rates of domestic and sexual violence in the world, a fact that is tied directly to religious structures. A National Public Inquiry Survey conducted in 2018 (National Human Rights Institution) revealed an "epidemic" amount of violence in the small island nation. Findings also stated that "The Bible is wrongly used to justify violence against women and children and perpetuates the patriarchal society within which violence breeds." (National Human Rights Institution 2018, 233). A proposed recommendation to help end the violence is to set limitations on church obligations, specifically those which are linked to the financial capacities. Mainline churches can feed into increased violence against women through the creation of social pressures which lead to increased domestic violence.

Only within the past two years has this gendered violence been given a voice, women had been encouraged to blame themselves for the violence enacted upon them, while the abuse itself is tolerated (Boodoosingh, Percival, and Schoeffel 2018). Therefore, by allowing women to speak in a leadership role within the church community, they has the ability to offer different interpretations of the bible, which is then carefully noted by those attending, as they furiously write her interpretation in their personal notebooks I had previously mentioned.

This acknowledgment of faith justified violence is important as it "allows fresh light to be cast on religious teachings and the mutually reinforcing relationship between religion and the *fa'aSāmoa* be rediscovered." (National Human Rights Institution 2018, 233). One of my collaborators corroborated this statement. Serving as an authority figure, the only women, within her Methodist church community, she argued that the patriarchal theology is preached in churches, which shapes how Sāmoans interpret the Bible and their personal religious challenges. She believed that the Sāmoan Christian interpretation of God is a controlling figure, therefore, men wish to emulate this control, through violent means, in their way. Violence is not encouraged in plane terms, rather it is the subtle messages which encourage male domination and violence. God is referred to as a father, a king, and a warrior. These masculine metaphors provide a link between the domination of man and the domination of God. Femininity, when mentioned, often revolved solely around motherhood. These rigid definitions of gender only encourage a gendered imbalance which helps perpetuate violence within Sāmoa.

When comparing sermons within the same church, there seemed to be little noticeable difference between male or female leaders in terms of crowd reactions. Typically, no matter who was speaking, there was calling out to God as he entered a person, raising of arms to physically open the body to God's glory, and general murmurs of encouragement. The biggest difference between the services would be what the presenter chooses to speak of. The most notable example of this came during my second fieldwork period. The male pastor began with the typical welcome to the church community. Much of his sermon was on the loosening morals of the nation as a whole, as such, he called for greater representation of religion in government. This had come after the stabbing of a parishioner the week prior. It should be noted that Sāmoa is far from secular, most ministers of parliament belonged to a Christian denomination. As to be a

member of parliament, one had to be *matai, matai* often perform dual roles of political and religious leaders. However, the argument was not focused on this fact, rather, it was an argument that more Pentecostal representation should be held in government. Since a personal connection with God is forged in every person, he argued that Pentecostal ministers would create a more righteous government. This was followed by his wife, where his sermon had been angry shouts for God's order to be established, hers was subtle, calling for healing within the community. She did not wave her arms like her husband, but rather opened herself, with her arms outstretched and asked that the congregation pray for the victim and his family. This demonstrates more of women's roles as almost a balm to the fiery anger of male biblical interpretation. This step is missing within mainline churches.

Church leadership is not the only space women have created for themselves by utilizing Charismatic-Pentecostal faiths, they also organize outside of the sphere of the church. During the end of my first fieldwork, I had begun attending women's meetings with one of my collaborators, Nicole. While not officially a church organization, Nicole's women's organization consisted of women from the same Pentecostal Church located within Apia. This collection served as a pseudo bible study where they discussed the carefully annotated passages from last week's sermons but also planned larger celebrations within the church. Nicole has once belonged to a Catholic church located within her family's home village on Savai'i, the other Sāmoan island. She had moved more than ten years prior to Upolu when she married her husband as his job brought him to Apia. She had first been wary of living in a totally new space and cut off from her home island, however, by attending the new church with her husband, she had been able to create a new space for herself in Apia. She had since moved forward to become of the pseudo-

heads of the organization of women. She most often leads the group discussion or delegated

tasks to women during larger events.

. We gathered at an empty residential building within the church compound. Women of

the group would often have prepared some type of food; allowing them to feast on the shared

bounty before beginning group business. Often, the men would also gather on the ground floor of

the compound, drinking and playing pool, whether these men had a dedicated biblical study is

unknown as women did not often venture downstairs, myself included. I could, however, hear

the click of the balls as the men lined shots so it was easy to surmise what they were doing. This

was a safe space for women to speak about their troubles and their interpretations of the bible.

New female converts would often come to these meetings almost as a training session in

discovering and utilizing their *mana* and *pule* in an informal setting. The discussion did not

always involve religious teachings, but there was always a tangible connection to religion in the

topics being spoken.  When I had returned less than a year later, their group had expanded

slightly including two new women. Nicole was very adamant that this organization was

important socially for the women's religious souls. She argued that women often have no voice

when they are members of mainline churches, stating, "I did not have the chance to speak before

or voice my interpretations of the good Lord's message. I can now speak, to him, to my

community. I feel heard through his graces" (Interview by Alexis Zilen. Apia, January 13, 2020).

This demonstrates Nicole's discontent at her previous station in the Catholic church, especially

on Savai'i, where women are further subjected to gendered hierarchies.[3] Nicole argued that her

work served a greater purpose as well, creating women-centered spaces where they can become

---

[3] While my research did not cover Savai'i, many of my informants had family on the island or had lived on the
island themselves. I spent approximately two weeks on Savai'i during my first stay although not necessarily for data
gathering purposes.

accustomed to speaking with authority about their beliefs; in turn, this makes them more likely to act with authority outside of a religious organization. Several women agreed with Nicole, arguing that they felt empowered by God, this empowerment allowed them to act with greater confidence in the world around them.

This newly formed confidence and authority in women is linked to the expanded roles of *mana* and *pule*. By harnessing indigenous authority as well a Charismatic spiritual authority, women and other marginalized Sāmoan groups are able to improve their social mobility. These groups are particularly drawn to Charismatic-Pentecostal faiths because these denominations are seen as an equal opportunity religion. Without the economic hardships associated with mainline churches, as well as opportunities found through the creation of new church communities, women feel a greater sense of power and opportunity. This power is an important push factor from mainline churches towards new religious denominations in Sāmoa.


**VI) Concluding Remarks: The Future of Religious Schism in Sāmoa**

My work has two main contributions to the anthropology of Christianity. First, I have demonstrated how charismatic faiths have benefited the most in a globalized economy and gained political influence by using Sāmoa as a case study. Second, my research also presented how marginalized groups utilize Pentecostal faiths to improve their social standings. These contributions are rooted in the concept of religious schism within Christianity, a relatively new piece of scholarship within anthropology. This work is important for understanding the effects of religious schism within contemporary Sāmoa and even other Pacific island nations. I have argued that the move towards denominations represents a social critique; Sāmoans, trapped at the bottom of a socially stratified society wish to be released from the social and economic pressures

which entrap them, without breaking the structure of the *fa'aSāmoa*. First, I presented how

Sāmoans structure their religious identities, demonstrating similar patterns when evoking

indigenous concepts of *mana* and *pule* to express one's authority. Then I demonstrated how

external economic pressure, couples with internal calls for tithing has created a system of

poverty that mainline churches have not begun address. Last, I demonstrated how women can

utilize religious schism to critique the patriarchal system which oppresses them. The existing

mainline religious systems privilege those who already hold power; many Sāmoans did not turn

their frustration towards the Christian God and reject the religious systems which had become so

embedded within their cosmology; after all, *fa'avaw I le Atua Sāmoa*, Sāmoan is founded on

God. Instead, they sought new ways to exercise personal agency against the mainline Christian

Churches.

The denominational schism will only widen over time, which makes this research

especially important for understanding contemporary Sāmoan social, political and economic

spheres. Looking towards the future, it is important to consider the effects of religious schism

within society as new laws are being enacted which only serve to exacerbate the denominational

differences between Christian faiths. As of mid-2017, Sāmoan has officially become a Christian

State; this means that the once secular state, passed a bill that amended their constitution which

declared the dominance of Christianity in Sāmoa. Previously, this was mentioned as being built

on Christian principles, however, this extra step has given far more potential to legal standings.

This action comes through two primary reasons; first, a fear of "religious wars," specifically

pointing to the rise of Islam and other non-Christian faiths; second, is to prevent outside forces

from advocating for modern cultural change, i.e. rising human rights issues such as the global

LGBTQAI+ movement. This action was taken to avoid a potential rise in religious tension within

Sāmoa, however, this has placed an unprecedented power into the hands of Christian groups. While they have accomplished their goal of stopping a diversity of religions from taking root in their country; they have created a larger widening of Christian denominations as each denomination's *matai* unite to vie for greater political control.

## VII) Bibliography

Ahdar, R. T. 2012. "The Scope of the Right of Religious Freedom in Samoa." *Journal of Church and State* 55(3): 432-455.

American Sāmoan Economic Advisory Committee. 2002. *Economic Structure of American Sāmoa*. United States Department of the Interior.

Barker, John. 2013. "Religion," in The Pacific Islands: *Environment and Society Revised Edition*, ed. Moshe Rapaport. 214-224. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Barnes, S. S. & Hunt, T. L. 2005. "Samoa's Pre-Contact Connections" in *West Polynesia and Beyond: Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 114 (3), 227-266.

Bialecki, J. 2012. "Virtual Christianity in an Age of Nominalist Anthropology," *Anthropological Theory* 12: 295–319.

Binns, T., M.T. Kerslake, & A. Thornton. 2010. "Alienation and Obligation: Religion and Social Change in Samoa," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51 (1): 1-16.

Boodoosingh, R., Percival S., and Schoeffel, P. 2018. "It's All About Eve: Women's Attitudes to Gender-Based Violence in Sāmoa," in *Rape Culture, Gender Violence, & Religion: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. London: Palgrave MacMillian Press.

Brison, Karen. 2007. "The Empire Strikes Back: Pentecostalism in Fiji," *Ethnology* 46 (1): 21-39.

Cannell, F. 2006. *The Anthropology of Christianity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Droogers, B. 2001. "Globalisation [sic] and Pentecostal Studies" in *Between Bale and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa*. London: Hurst

Eller, J. D. 2007. *Introducing Anthropology of Religion*. New York: Routledge Press.

Engelke, Matthew. 2007. *A Problem of Presence: Beyond Scripture in an African Church*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ernst, Manfred. 2012. "Changing Christianity in Oceania: A Regional Overview," in *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religiones* 157. 29-45.

Fer, Yannick. 2015. "Politics of Tradition: Charismatic Globalization, Morality, and Culture in Polynesian Protestantism," in *The Anthropology of Global Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism*, ed. Rosalind I. J. Robbins. New York: New York University Press, 228-242.

Fer, Yannick. 2012. "Polynesian Protestantism: From Local Church to Evangelical Networks." *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* 157. 47-66.

Gillespie, Kirsty. 2016. "'We Will Not Sit Down,' Exploring Agency Through Christian Music at Lake Kopiago, Papua New Guinea" in *Christianity, Conflict, and Renewal in Australia and the Pacific*, edited by Fiona Magowan and Carolyn Schwarz, 213-258.

Handman, Courtney. 2015. *Critical Christianity: Translation and Denominational Conflict in Papua New Guinea, The Anthropology of Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hardin, Jessica. 2016. "Claiming *Pule*, Manifesting *Mana*: Ordinary Ethics and Pentecostal Self-making in Sāmoa," in *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures*, ed. Matt Tomlinson and Ty P. Lāwika Tengan. Canberra: Australia National University Press: 258-259.

Hardin, Jessica. 2019. "'Father Released Me,' Accelerating Care, Temporal Repair, and Ritualized Friendship Among Pentecostal Women in Sāmoa," In *Journal of the American Ethnologist* 46, (2): 150-161.

Hodgson, Dorothy. 2001. "'Wicked' Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa." in *Gendered Modernity/Modernities: Ethnographic Perspectives*. New York: St. Martins Press.

Huffer, Elise. & So'o Asofou. 2005. "Beyond Governance in Samoa: Understanding Samoa Political Thought." *The Contemporary Pacific* 17, (2) 311-333.

Jenkins, P. 2002. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kamu, Lalomilo (1996) *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*. Apia, Donna Lou Kamu

Macpherson, C. (1999) "Changing Contours of Kinship: The Impacts of Social and Economic Development on Kinship Organization in the South Pacific," in *Pacific Studies* 22 (2): 71–95.

Manyoni, J. 1977. "Anthropology and the Study of Schism in Africa: A Reexamination of Some Anthropological Theories," *Cahier d'Etudes Africanies* 68, 599-631.

Miller D.E. 1997. *Reinventing American Protestantism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Muagututi'a, S.R. 2006. "The Human Development Indices," in *Samoa National Human Development Report*, Apia: National University of Samoa, 47–68.

National Human Rights Institution. 2018. *National Public Inquiry Into Family Violence in Sāmoa*. Apia: Sāmoa Office of Ombudsman.

Nonprofit Source. 2018. *Charitable Giving Statistics for 2018*. Bethesda: Nonprofit Source.

Percival, Steven. 2005. *Vivii I le Atua* (Praise to God): Exploring Religious Freedom in Samoa [videorecording, 38min.]. Apia: Paradigm Documentaries.

Robbins, Joel. 2004. "The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity," *Annual Reviews Anthropology* 33, 117-143.

Robbins, Joel. 2017. "Anthropological in the Mirror of Theology: Epistemology, Ontology, Ethics," in *On Knowing Humanity: Insights from Theology for Anthropology.* London: Routledge Press. 222-240.

Sāmoan Bureau of Statistics. 2008. *Household, Income, and Expenditure Survey*. Apia: Government of Sāmoa.

So'o, A. 2008. *Democracy and Custom in Sāmoa: An Uneasy Alliance.* Apia: University of the South Pacific Press

Stoll, D. 1990. *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Taonui, Rawiri. 1994. "Polynesian Oral Traditions," in *Oceanic Origins and Traditions*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1-32.

Tomlinson, Matt. 2011. *In God's Image: The Metaculture of Fijian Christianity*. San Diego: University of California Press.

Vaioleti, T.M. 2006. "Talanoa Research Methodology: A Developing Position on Pacific Research," in *Waikato Journal of Education.* Hamilton, Waikato: University of Waikato Press, 21-34.

Witte, Marleen. 2018. "Pentecostal Form Across Religious Divides: Media, Publicity, and the Limits of an Anthropology of Global Pentecostalism," In *Current Trajectories in Global Pentecostalism: Culture, Social Engagement, and Change*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, No Page Numbers Available.